

Comparative Study about the City Planning Systems in Taiwan (for the Years 1895–1945) and Korea (for the Years 1912–1945) under Japanese Rule

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Some existing studies have argued that the City Planning Orders of Japanese colonies were more advanced than the City Planning Act of Japan. The grounds are the integration of building control and city planning, the open-space district and their continued use by the Republic of Korea and the Republic of China after World War II. However, urban planning and building control were included in one system only to simplify the procedure for formulating orders. Furthermore, the Republics of both Korea and China continued using them for a comprehensive policy and an emergency evacuation, not because of order evaluation. Korea Urban Area Planning Order of 1934 and Taiwan City Planning Order of 1936 were created from the City Planning Act of 1919 and the Urban Area Building Act of 1919, reflecting the operational experience of Japan. These acts and orders have been improved as a group. Case studies of modern city planning in Japan, Korea and Taiwan are valuable references to each other.

Keywords: Taipei, Seoul, Taiwan, Korea, Colony

1. Introduction

This study compares the city planning systems in Taiwan (for the years 1895–1945) and Korea (for the years 1912–1945) under the Japanese rule. In Japan, the City Planning Act and the Urban Area Building Act formulated in 1919 were independent of each other. However, the Taiwan City Planning Order (1936) and the Korea Urban Area Planning Order (1934) included both urban planning and building construction control. These orders were maintained by the Republic of Korea and the Republic of China after World War II. Previous researches have elucidated that these orders had more merit and were more advanced than Japan's City Planning Act.

Regarding Japanese colonial city planning, the studies of Son¹ and Huáng² on Korea and Taiwan, respectively, are well known. They were studied mainly as part of the city planning history of their own countries. Therefore, these studies rarely mentioned the relationship between the Japanese city planning laws and the colonial orders, or the relationship between the colonial orders each other. Several Japanese researchers considered the city planning of Korea and Taiwan as derivations from Japan's systems.

Koshizawa wrote that 'In the colonies of Japan, the relationship between city planning administration and building control administration was closer than those in Japan, both the Korea Urban Area Planning Order of 1934 and the Taiwan City Planning Order of 1936 included building control, and their urban regulation methods were more advanced than those of Japan'³. Here, the urban regulation methods refer to the integration itself of building control and city planning, and the open-space district which analysed by Ishida. Ishida evaluated the colonial orders as more advanced system based on the existence of the open-space district, and said 'City planning bureaucrats who could not realize ideals in Japan may have tried to realize their dreams in colonial city planning'⁴. Koshizawa also stated that 'The Republic of Korea and the Republic of China had used these orders until the 1960s. However, both of the governments separately devised city planning law and building law. They abandoned the merits of the orders'.

Goto analysed the drafting process of the Korea Urban Area Planning Order (1934)⁵ and the Taiwan City Planning Order (1936)⁶ and identified the Urban Improvement Programs previously adopted in Seoul and Taipei⁷. The present work re-examines these topics in light of new studies by Goto. Specifically, the differences in the Urban Improvement Program between Seoul and Taipei, the drafting process of the orders and the reasons for including building control, establishing the open-space district and the continued use of the orders by the Republic of Korea and Republic of China are revealed.

The arguments in this paper based upon historical materials including administrative documents, newspapers and magazines. *Keijō nippō* and *Maeil sinbo* were considered agency papers of the Government-General of Korea. *Taiwan nichinichi shinpō* was considered agency paper of the Government-General of Taiwan.



2. Taipei Urban Improvement Program

2-1. Taipei Urban Improvement Plans

The Government-General of Taiwan promulgated⁸ the Taipei Urban Improvement Plan Committee Regulations on 29 April 1897 and announced⁹ the plan of streets and parks inside Taipei's wall as a first Urban Improvement Plan (Figure 1) on 23 August 1900. In addition, the Government-General of Taiwan promulgated the No. 30 Order on 21 November 1899¹⁰ to ban the building houses on the urban facility sites designated by the Urban Improvement Plan. On 23 August 1905, the Government-General of Taiwan extended¹¹ the area of the Urban Improvement Plan (Figure 2) to the whole old city.

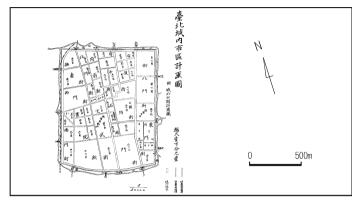


Figure 1: Taipei Urban Improvement Plan of 1900 (Taipei Prefecture Notification No. 64, 23 August 1900).

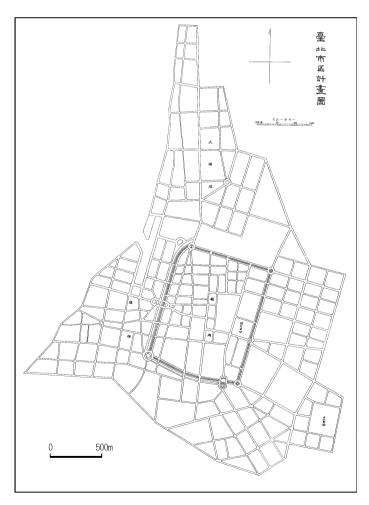


Figure 2: Taipei Urban Improvement Plan of 1905 (Taipei Prefecture Notification No. 200, 7 October 1905).



2-2. Building Order, Water Supply and Sewerage

The Government-General of Taiwan established building specifications¹² with the Taiwan House Building Regulations (No. 14 Order of the Governor-General) released on 12 August 1900. In the Taipei Urban Improvement Plan Area, each building plan had to include arcades along the streets in accordance with No. 31 Order¹³ of Taipei Prefecture (1900).

The Taiwan Sewage Regulation (No. 6 Order of the Governor-General, 1899) was extended to the area of the Urban Improvement Plan by No. 9 Order¹⁴ of Taipei Prefecture (1909). The Taipei Water Supply Regulation (No. 8 Order of the Governor-General Office, 1909) was also applied to the Urban Improvement Plan Area¹⁵, and The Urban Improvement Plan integrated diverse urban construction methods¹⁶.

2-3. Purpose of Taipei Urban Improvement Plans

The Taipei Urban Improvement Plan Committee Regulations of 1897 defined the purpose of the Urban Improvement Plan as a formation of urban area blocks and completion of sanitation facilities. *Taiwan nichinichi* $shinp\bar{o}^{17}$ reported on the Urban Improvement Plan of 1905, 'The blocks in the Urban Improvement Plan were designed to be shifted from the north–south axis as a result of consideration of sunlight and wind direction'. The Government-General of Taiwan planned streets and sewers together to efficiently design the sewage system¹⁸.

Gotō Shinpei, the Chief of Home Affairs of Government-General of Taiwan, established the Taipei Urban Improvement Plan Committee and supervised it as Chairman. He thought of sanitary facilities as the substitute for religion in an effective colonial rule. Taipei Urban Improvement Plan included many sanitary environmental improvement measures because of his thoughts¹⁹.

3. Seoul Urban Improvement Program

3-1. The Streets Selected for Improvement in Seoul

On 6 November 1912, the Government-General of Korea announced²⁰ The Streets Selected for Improvement in Seoul (Figure 3) and started the improvement process. The selection of the streets was greatly revised²¹ in June 1919 (Figure 4). There was no rationale for that, but the Governor-General of Korea implemented the street improvement program in accordance with the Road Regulation of 1915 (No. 42 Order of the Governor-General Office of 1915)²². Furthermore, The Streets Selected for Improvement did not restrict the private rights on the sites where streets had been planned. The Notification Act was merely a schedule for street construction, as neither administrative action nor private rights on the sites were controlled, and the planning illustration was only reference information.

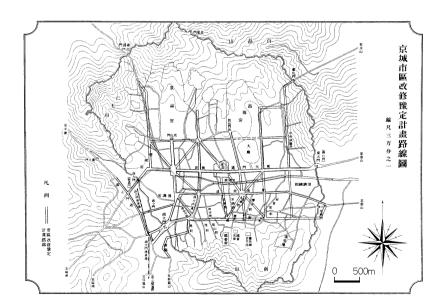


Figure 3: *The Streets Selected for Improvement in Seoul* (Government-General of Korea Notification No. 78, 6 November 1912).



3-2. Building Order, Water Supply and Sewerage

The Urban Building Regulation (No. 11 Order of the Governor-General Office of 1913) established building specifications²³. The buildings had to connect with roads, although The Streets Selected for Improvement was not included. The Government-General of Korea based the sewer system of Seoul on existing small-scale rivers. The Streets Selected for Improvement and the Sewerage Plan were not integrated. The Government-General of Korea bought and expanded the water facilities constructed by American businessmen²⁴ in Seoul, without relating them to The Streets Selected for Improvement.

Compared with the Taipei case, the urban improvement in Seoul did not incorporate The Streets Selected for Improvement with the maintenance of other urban facilities.

3-3. Purpose of The Streets Selected for Improvement

The Streets Selected for Improvement did not integrate water supply, sewers and buildings. It was limited to the maintenance of the streets and considered only as the road improvement of the urban area. It included the roads of Seoul's urban area previously renovated by the Government-General of Korea as part of the national highway maintenance. In other words, The Streets Selected for Improvement was the national highway maintenance plan for Seoul's urban area. The Government-General of Korea emphasised the maintenance of the national highway because of the colonial governance plan designed by Itō Hirobumi, the Japanese Residents-General of Korea. He considered road renovation as a prerequisite for promoting agriculture²⁵.

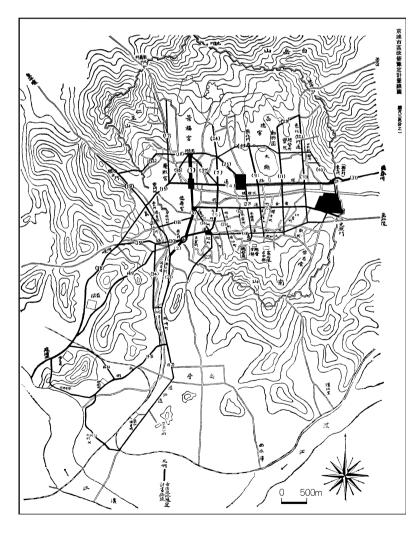


Figure 4: *The Streets Selected for Improvement in Seoul* (Government-General of Korea Notification No. 173, 25 June 1919).



4. The Drafting Process of the City Planning Orders

4-1. Background of the Korea Urban Area Planning Order of 1934

Son²⁶ explained that the Korea Urban Area Planning Order (No. 18 Order of the Governor-General of 1934)²⁷ was enacted because Rajin had to be systematically constructed as a base port city on the economic transportation route between Japan and Manchuria. However, *Keijō nippō*'s article²⁸ shows that the drafting process had begun before the designation of Rajin. Furthermore, Goto's study²⁹, based on the urban planning survey report by the Government-General of Korea³⁰ and the lecture record of Naoki³¹, concluded that the primary purpose of the Korea Urban Area Planning Order of 1934 was to create substitute sites for public works in suburbs of Seoul by land readjustment. Shinba, Kōhei, Director of the civil engineering department of the Government-General of Korea in 1938, mentioned some differences between the Korea Urban Area Planning Order of 1934 and the laws of Japan, such as integration of city planning and building control, emphasis on urban expansion and creation of new urban areas³². The open-space district was institutionalised with an amendment in 1940³³. The Urban Area Plan of Seoul was announced³⁴ on 26 March 1936 (Figure 5).

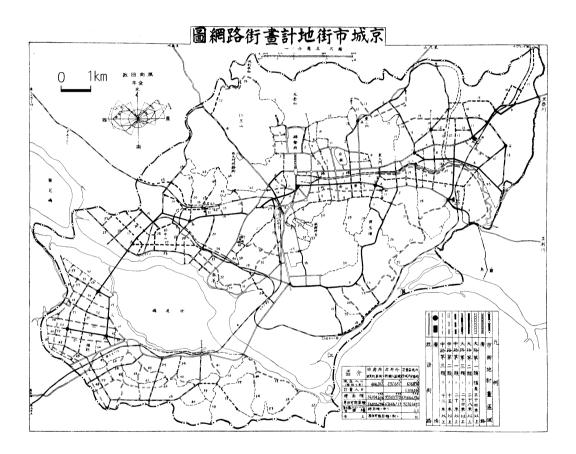


Figure 5: Urban Area Plan of Seoul of 1936 (Government-General of Korea Notification No. 180, 26 March 1936).

4-2. Establishment History of the Taiwan City Planning Order of 1936

The Government-General of Taiwan formulated the Greater Taipei Urban Improvement Plan on 7 March 1932³⁵ (Figure 6) to cope with the expansion of urban areas. However, no city planning order was enacted because of the contradictions in the legal system of Taiwan and unrelated to the technical aspects of city planning³⁶. The Taiwan City Planning Order of 1936 (No. 2 Order of the Governor-General of 1936)³⁷ differed from the City Planning Act and the Urban Area Building Act by introducing special use districts, provisions reflecting climate differences, etc.³⁸.



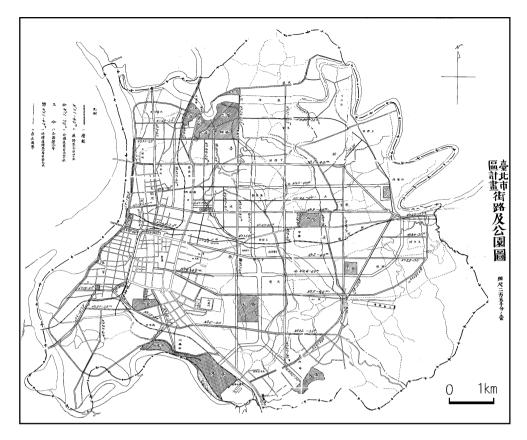


Figure 6: Greater Taipei Urban Improvement Plan of 1932 (Taipei Prefecture Notification No. 54, 3 March 1932).

4-3. Mutual Inheritance Relationships and Differences between the City Planning Orders

Ushijima Syōzō, Director General of the Government-General of Korea, explained³⁹ that the draft of the Korea Urban Area Planning Order of 1934 was based on the City Planning Act (1919), the Urban Area Building Act (1919) and the Special City Planning Act (1923). Ogawa Hirokichi, entrusted by the Government-General of Taiwan, stated⁴⁰ that the parental laws of the Taiwan City Planning Order of 1936 were the City Planning Act (1919), the Urban Area Building Act (1919) and the Korea Urban Area Planning Order (1934). These orders were formulated according to previous laws and orders, which originated from the City Planning Act (1919) and the Urban Area Building Act (1919).

As mentioned above, the Korea Urban Area Planning Order (1934) differed from the City Planning Act (1919) by emphasising the creation of new urban areas. According to Ushijima, the application area of the City Planning Act was restricted to the cities, towns and villages designated by the Minister of Home Affairs, whereas the Korea Urban Area Planning Order was applicable wherever the Governor-General of Korea considered necessary.

When enacted, the application areas of the City Planning Act (1919) and the Urban Area Building Act (1919) were determined by Imperial ordinance, but the Japanese government revised it and transferred the decision authority to the Minister of Home Affairs. The City Planning Act was revised on 28 March 1933⁴¹, and the Urban Area Building Act on 6 April 1934⁴². In this way, when the Korea Urban Area Planning Order was promulgated on 1934, there was practically no difference about deciding the applicable area between Japan's laws and the Korean order. By comparing the planning laws and the orders at the time of enactment, the orders of the Japanese colonies may appear more advanced than those of Japan. However, since Japan's planning laws have also been revised in a second time, there was no substantial difference between the laws and the orders in the 1930s.

The City Planning Act (1933), the Korea Urban Area Planning Order (1934) and the Taiwan City Planning Order (1936) had the same approach in determining city planning, subjects for planning, land regulation methods, private rights restriction of the site and so on⁴³ (Table 1). The laws of Japan and the colonial orders shared the basic structure not because each colony developed independently its own plan but because the city planning system of Japan was transferred to the colonies. The city planning systems of Korea and Taiwan were standardised by the orders.



		Japan	Korea	Taiwan
System of laws and Orders	City planning	City Planning Act	Korea Urban Area Planning Order	Taiwan City Planning Order
	Building control	Urban Area Building Act		
Applicable place	City planning	(4/4/1919) Cities designated by the Imperial ordinance (Article 2) (28/3/1933) Towns and villages designated by the Minister of Home Affairs, and All cities (Article 2)		Not limited
	Building control	(4/4/1919) Cities designated by the Imperial ordinance (Article 23) (6/4/1934) Areas designated by the Minister of Home Affairs (Article 23)		
Subjects for city planning		(4/4/1919) Important facilities to maintain public well-being or to promote welfare (Article 1 of the City Planning Act) Use districts are determined as the urban facilities (Article 10 of the City Planning Act)	(20/6/1934) Important facilities necessary for the creation or improvement of urban areas (Article 1) Use districts are determined as the urban facilities (Article 25)	(27/8/1936) Important facilities necessary for the creation or improvement of urban areas (Article 1) Use districts are determined as the urban facilities (Article 18)
Determining city planning		(4/4/1919) The Minister of Home Affairs decides on city plans after hearing the opinions of the municipalities concerned and upon the deliberation of the City Planning Councils (Article 3 of the City Planning Act)	(20/6/1934) The Governor-general decides on urban area plans after hearing the opinions of the municipalities concerned (Article 2) (18/12/1940) The Governor-general decides on urban area plans after hearing the opinions of the municipalities concerned and Korea Urban Area Planning Councils (Article 2)	(27/8/1936) The Governor- general decides on city plans after hearing the opinions of Taiwan City Planning Councils (Article 2)
Alteration of the shape and quality of land and building of buildings in areas of city planning facilities		(4/4/1919) Permission from the local governors is needed after the approval of city planning projects (Article 11 of the City Planning Act) (30/3/1940) Permission from the local governors is needed after the determining of open-space as city planning facilities (Article 11-2 of the City Planning Act)	(20/6/1934) Permission from the	(27/8/1936) Permission from the local governors is needed after the determining of city planning facilities (Article 9)
Use districts		(4/4/1919) Residential district, Commercial district, Industrial district, Special district within industrial area (Article 1 of the Urban Area Building Act) (28/3/1938) Addition of Exclusive commercial district, Exclusive industrial district (Article 2,4 of the Urban Area Building Act)	(20/6/1934) Residential district, Commercial district, Industrial district, Special district within industrial area (Article 18) (18/12/1940) Addition of Open- space district, Mixed use district and Special use districts, Abolition of Special district within industrial area (Article 15,19-3)	(27/8/1936) Residential district, Commercial district, Industrial district, Special use district (Article 21)

Table 1: Comparison of City Planning Laws and Orders.

Source: Official Gazette (Japan), No.1999, Apr.5, 1919. No.2449, Sep.30,1920. No.1871, Mar.29, 1933. No.2177, Apr.7, 1934. No.3367, Mar.28, 1938. No.3969, Apr.1, 1940. No.4194, Dec.28, 1940. (Gov.-General of Korea), No.2232, Jun.26, 1934. No.4173, Dec.18, 1940. (Gov.-General of Taiwan), No.2770, Aug.27, 1936.

5. Advanced Regulation Methods

5-1. City Planning Orders including Building Control

The Japanese Urban Area Building Act of 1919 was independent from the City Planning Act of the same year, but the colonial city planning orders included building control. The Korea Urban Area Planning Order of 1934 was the first one to do it. Furthermore, the Government-General of Korea tried to set up a new division under the Governor-General's Secretariat to unify the Home Affairs Bureau and the Police Bureau along with the enforcement of the Korea Urban Area Planning Order (1934)⁴⁴. The integration of building control and city planning in the colonial city planning orders was considered as a symbol of advanced features; however, the newspapers under the influence of The Government-General reported different facts. On 8 April 1933, *Maeil sinbo* reported that 'The Home Affairs Bureau and the Police Bureau agreed on the integration of the orders that they had studied'⁴⁵. On the same day, *Keijō nippō* reported that 'the orders will be integrated from the viewpoint of



speeding up deliberation of legislation and simplifying administrative procedures at the time of application'⁴⁶. The integration of city planning orders and building orders aimed at speeding up deliberations on legal proposals and simplifying administrative procedures, rather than embodying idealism about city planning.

On 1 August 1934, the Government-General of Korea enforced⁴⁷ only the city planning part of the Korea Urban Area Planning Order and waited until 20 September 1935 to actuate also the building control part⁴⁸.

The order was enforced in stages because the Home Affairs Bureau and the Police Bureau drafted the enforcement regulations separately for each part under their jurisdiction. At that time, they were not yet unified in the new division.

5-2. The Open-Space District

The Urban Area Building Act of 1919 established four types of use districts, including residential district, commercial district and industrial district. At the time of enactment, the orders of Korea and Taiwan had the same use districts.

The open-space district, introduced in the Korean order of 1940, did not allow use other than agriculture, forestry and fisheries, shrines, parks, etc., to suppress the expansion of urban areas and secure the green belt. The Taiwan City Planning Order of 1936 assumed one of the special use districts designated inside the residential area⁴⁹, but it was not realised.

The contemporary Japanese law did not contemplate the open-space district; hence, the colonial city planning orders have been considered advanced. The open-space district was introduced for the first time in the Japanese sphere of power with the Town and Country Planning Act in Manchukuo of 1936. The Policy and Purpose for Setting Open-Space District of 1936 formulated by the Government of Manchukuo stated that 'It is ideal to secure open space by site acquisition and to ease land use restrictions. However, it is difficult due to lack of resources' The open-space district was created just as a compromise.

In 1940, the City Planning Act of Japan institutionalised the open space⁵¹ as an urban facility. Matsumura Mitsuma, Director of City Planning Bureau of the Ministry of Home Affairs, explained that the open space was recognised as an urban facility rather than as a use district 'Because it is necessary to secure open space promptly by urban planning project'⁵². Thus, the seemingly advanced concepts found in the colonial orders were not necessarily advanced.

6. Continued Use of the Orders by the Republic of Korea and Republic of China

6-1. Republic of Korea

The Japanese rule of Korea ended with the defeat of Japan in World War II. United States Army Military Government in Korea announced The Ordinance Number 21 on 2 November 1945, which maintained the orders of the Governor-General from the Japanese occupation era, including the Korea Urban Area Planning Order of 1934⁵³. The Constitution of the Republic of Korea enacted on 12 July 1948 included Article 100, which preserved the effects of existing laws and orders. The legislation development by the Republic of Korea was delayed because of the Korean war and the coups. The Civil Law was promulgated on 22 February 1958⁵⁴, and the Commercial Law on 20 January 1962⁵⁵. Korea continued to use the Korea Urban Area Planning Order of 1934 after independence because it took time to formulate new laws and not because of the high consideration of the existing order.

6-2. Republic of China

Following the Cairo Declaration in 1943, the Republic of China reviewed the governance plan to obtain Taiwan and formulated the Taiwan Takeover Program on 14 March 1945⁵⁶. The Fifth Subsection of the program proclaimed the temporary validity of the laws and the orders of the Japanese reign era that did not contradict the Three Principles of the People or the laws of the Republic of China. The Governor Office of Taiwan Province, constituted on 3 November 1945, confirmed that the Fifth Substitution of the Taiwan Takeover Program was effective⁵⁷. The Governor Office of Taiwan Province confirmed the effectiveness of 236 laws, including the Taiwan City Planning Order of 1936, with Decree No. 36283 on 24 October 1946⁵⁸. The continued validity of some orders of the Japanese age was a comprehensive prescribed policy for the stability of society and the protection of residents' interests. The Taiwan City Planning Order of 1936 was included because it did not conflict



with the laws of the Republic of China or Three Principles of the People and not because the order itself was appreciated.

7. Conclusion

This study compared the city planning systems of Taiwan and Korea under the Japanese rule. In the early years of Japanese colonisation, the Urban Improvement Programs of Taipei and Seoul had conformed to the systematic Street Improvement Plans of the time. However, those plans significantly differed from each other. Taipei's plan had restricted the private rights on the selected sites and included the control of the sewage and the building constructions. Seoul's program was merely part of the national road construction in urban areas, with no restriction of the private rights, and did not consider sewage and building constructions. Therefore, the successive introduction of the Taiwan City Planning Order of 1936 and the Korea Urban Area Planning Order of 1934 standardised the urban planning systems between the two colonies. These orders were drafted after Japan's City Planning Act of 1919 and reflected its operational experience.

Urban planning and building control were both included in one order only to simplify the formulating procedure. The Taiwan City Planning Order of 1936 and the Korea Urban Area Planning Order of 1934 were based on Japan's City Planning Act of 1919 and Urban Area Building Act of 1919 and did not develop independently. Therefore, these colonial planning orders shared the same basic structure.

When considering the laws and the orders at the time of enactment, the colonial planning orders may appear more advanced than Japan's laws. However, since Japan's planning laws were successively revised, it slightly differed from the colonial orders in the end. Furthermore, the colonial orders were not so advanced as previously thought. They were improved as a group and not evaluated as advanced planning orders with respect to the old-fashioned Japanese laws. Case studies of modern city planning in Japan, Korea and Taiwan are valuable references to each other.

Endnotes

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- 3 Koshizawa, Harbin, 288.
- 4 Ishida, Nihon kindai, 204-207.
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- 6 Goto, "Introduction of Modern City Planning in Taipei", 859-864.
- 7 Goto, "Comparative Study", 865-870.
- 8 Official Gazette (Government-General of Taiwan), No.70, April 29, 1897.
- 9 Official Gazette (Taipei Prefecture), No. 188, August 23, 1900.
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- 12 Official Gazette (Government-General of Taiwan), No.796, August 12, 1900.
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- 17 Taiwan nichinichishinpō, October 8, 1905.
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- 30 Ueda, "Chōsen ni okeru toshi keikaku", 48-63.
- 31 Naoki, "Keijō no tochi kukaku seiri", 11-12.
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- 37 Official Gazette (Government-General of Taiwan), No.2770, August 27, 1936.
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- 39 Keijō nippō, June 20, 1934.
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- 42 Official Gazette (Japan), No.217, April 7, 1934.
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- 44 Keijō nippō, June 15, 1934.
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- 50 Ōta, "Man-sen Kansatsu-ki", 34-43.
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Figure 1: Taipei Prefecture. Official Gazette, No. 188, August 23, 1900.

Figure 2: Taipei Prefecture. Official Gazette, No. 425, October 7, 1905.

Figure 3: Government-General of Korea. Official Gazette, No. 81, November 6, 1912.

Figure 4: Government-General of Korea. Official Gazette, No. 2062, June 25, 1919.

Figure 5: Government-General of Korea. Toshi keikaku gaiyō (Outline of city planning). Seoul. 1938.

Figure 6: Taipei Prefecture. Official Gazette, No. 765, March 3, 1932.