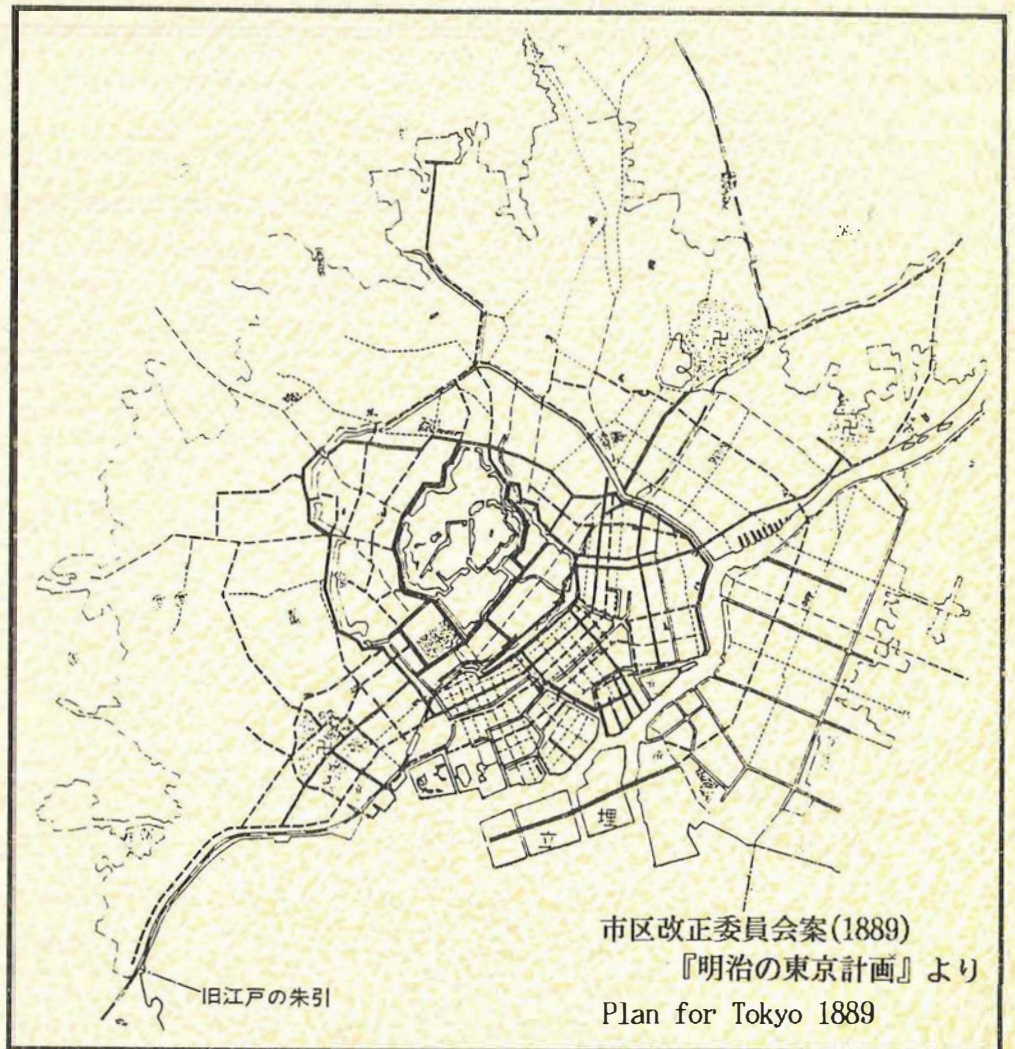


SUTCLIFFE

● 第3回都市計画史国際会議

— 都市計画システムの国際交流史 —



● THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY CONFERENCE

— THE HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE
OF PLANNING SYSTEMS —

11-12 November 1988 TOKYO

3rd International Planning History Conference, Tokyo

Anthony Sutcliffe

Modern urban planning and international transfer

It is possible to see the history of world planning as a process of international diffusion. With most of the world now affected to some degree by urban and regional planning, the great similarity of theories, methods and institutions seems to point to a common origin in Western Europe and North America. Only socialist planning stands partially outside this framework.

If the whole world adopted European and American planning, so a closer scrutiny suggests that planning evolved within the advanced industrial countries through a process of international exchange. Germany, beginning in the 1870s, stands out as the main source of planning expertise. Other countries - notably Britain, France and the U.S.A. - made their own contribution, and a mature planning was in existence by 1914, and had been adopted to a greater or lesser degree in all the countries of Western Europe, in the U.S.A., and in Canada. Already, diffusion was beginning to modernising countries outside Europe and North America, Japan being an obvious example.

Recent historians such as A.J. King have seen this diffusion as part of a process of colonialism or imperialism in which replanned cities embody European or American hegemony. Even independent countries such as Japan or the South American countries can be included through the use of the concept of 'informal Empire'. However, we should not rush to adopt this interpretation because the urban phenomenon tends to some extent to generate a narrow range of solutions to problems occurring at various stages in world economic growth. However, if this is true, then the idea of a world diffusion of planning, and its prior diffusion within Europe and the U.S.A. are subject to review.

Towns have generated a degree of planning since the early history of urbanisation. Their dominant roles, whether economic, social, military or religious have always generated a high degree of concentration. The prime task has always been to separate private from public land. Failure leads to the gradual extinction of the streets and the paralysis of the town, preventing its fulfilling any role. Efforts to reduce the danger of

conflagrations also date back to the early stages of town development. Dr. King was generally a public responsibility. However distant in time and space, towns generated policies to deal with these problems which were often markedly similar, with transfer an unlikely explanation of the congruence.

With industrialisation, towns in the areas affected converged markedly in their characteristics. With the same steam-driven textile factories built in Oldham, Fall River, and Bielefeld, a similar workforce employed in them, and a similar class of employees dominating the town; similar urban problems were bound to emerge at very similar times. Already before industrialisation, a pattern of urban landownership based on individual owners enjoying virtually untrammelled rights had been confirmed, in place of the partially corporate ownership of the Middle Ages. Planning thus took the form of a conflict between the public interest, represented almost everywhere by an elected municipal council, and private landowners. Technology, meanwhile, developed rapidly and was available at virtually the same time to all the industrialising centres. The controlling ideology was, almost everywhere, the ideology of industrialisation - individualist liberalism tempered by utilitarian interventionism.

Certain innovations, nonetheless, were diffused rather than independently generated in a variety of urbanising areas. The outstanding example is zoning, which originated in Germany in the early 1890s and went on to be incorporated into almost every national planning system. The neighbourhood unit, as the invention of one man, Clarence Perry, had a similar status. These and more locally generated developments will be discussed in detail, and the resulting perspective will be one of variety rather than uniformity. The mechanisms of international diffusion through visits, publications and migration will be identified.

However, the concluding emphasis of the paper will be on the spontaneous standardisation of planning responses to industrial urbanisation within the capitalist world. Within this perspective, the adoption of 'western' planning outside Europe and North America can be seen as reflecting world capitalist economic development rather than as the transfer of more or less appropriate planning elements to less developed countries.

12th May 1988

〔概要〕

「近代都市計画と国際伝播」

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近代都市計画は、理論・方法・制度における類似性のゆえに、西欧・北米に共通の起源があるように見える。とすれば、その国際交流はこれら先進工業国の中での動きであり、そこから世界へ伝播したと言える。このテーゼの1変形は、キングの「植民地・帝国主義テーゼ」である。

しかし、都市は大昔から何らかの集中問題を生じて、その対策として街路の確保、大火の防止、排水の処理等の対策を施してきた。工業化時代に入ると、都市には同じような工場、階級、問題が発生し、似たような公共介入を余儀なくされた。つまり、都市計画は、各地での内在的なものとも見ることが出来る。

この点にかんして参考になるのは、ポラードの「欧州の工業化は、イギリスをモデルとする伝播プロセスであった」とする説である。ここでは、①国家介入という「イデオロギー」と、②効率的な土地市場という「制度」がキー・ワードとなる。

自由な土地市場への国家介入というイデオロギー上の大転換は、何時おこったのか。ベンサム (1820—50) の功利主義は、チャドウィックに引き継がれて都市環境の改善に結びつき、公共介入への道を開いた。ナポレオン3世のパリ改造 (1850) や、ドイツにおける都市拡張の進行 (1870) もその代表例である。

ドイツでは、17世紀以来、絶対君主による都市拡張が行われ、その近代化の中から近代都市計画が誕生し、20世紀に各国へ影響を与えた。しかし、イギリス1909年法は、ドイツ型の都市全域・強制的都市計画ではなく、地区・任意的都市計画を目指した。

このように見てくると、各国の都市計画は、工業化がその制度・イデオロギーを決定し、その上に都市計画の枠組みが形成されると見るのが適当である。1930年までに、各国の都市計画は制度化され、その後の伝播の対象は (制度・イデオロギーではなく)、近隣住区やコルビジェの都市像といった技術・理論面に限られることとなった。

社会主義国の都市計画は、上とは違った制度・イデオロギーの問題であるが、第3世界のそれは、上記の工業化モデルが当てはまらないので論じない。

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM: "THE CENTENARY OF MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND PROSPECTS FOR THE 21TH CENTURY".

SESSION 1: INTERNATIONAL DIFFUSION OF MODERN URBAN PLANNING.

2 E10: "BUILT FORM VERSUS MODERN URBAN PLANNING LEGISLATION OF THE LAST CENTURY: GENIUS LOCI VERSUS INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES." /Summary/

Halina Dunin-Woyseth, Norway

The period from the beginning of industrialization and until about 1918, is a period of transformation of the national planning techniques into comprehensive planning systems, institutionalized by making them to planning laws. In this process the national approach was decisive, but international influences are easy to be tracked. In Britain, for instance, techniques for detailed design and arrangement of low-density residential areas had been a basis of the planning system, i.e. development from detail to the whole; in Germany the process began from town-extension planning techniques, i.e. from the whole, an overall framework, to the details. At the same time, both countries had been mutually influenced, especially at the turn of the nineteenth century. In Norway, the influence of the British and German examples is quite obvious, nevertheless the Norwegian planning system had been strongly affected by the distinctive physical features and the small number of inhabitants in relation to the vast surface of the country. Quality of urban environment, respect for "place", were obvious objectives of town planning. Britain and the United States generated different patterns of urban development than the countries of the Continental Europe.

The leading ideologies, models, "Leitbilder",* were similar in many countries, but the national legal tools of implementation, planning techniques, were different, and so was the visual result, urban built form. This period could be called the 'genius-loci planning' period.

Between 1918-1968, one prevailing ideology became a leading concept for urban development almost world-wide. Functionalism, with urban ideas of Le Corbusier, with its internationalism, or rather cosmopolitanism, with liberation from relevance to local conditions and history, colored towns of all the continents. Quality thinking was replaced by that of quantity. Beauty ideals became ideals of proper functions and physical efficiency. Urban built form of this period could in catchwords be described by separation of land use into zones, vertical compaction of buildings and horizontal green space. In the planning legislation, the new tools were zoning and the two-dimensional planning, steered by floor area ratio. Urban built form, world-wide similar, lost its local character, its environmental identity, which gives a man a sense of existential identity. Common ideals, similar tools of implementation, created monotonous urban landscapes, standardized urban built form. These fifty years are the period of the 'cosmopolitan planning'.

By the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, a broad and strong reaction against such trends in urban development caused a general change of the attitude to the town. But the criticism did not lead to creation of a singular, new, "universal" ideology, as that of the previous epoche. Instead, a new, broad consensus arose: repugnance to the modern placelessness of the environment, request for enhancement of its genius loci. The quality thinking in town planning resultated in new objectives: return to the primary values, new design; more maintenance than tearing, preservation. In almost all countries, this new approach launched development of new legislation tools for implementation of the objectives. New planning techniques were introduced as a supplement to the existing planning laws: protected zones, core zone planning, urban design planning, preservation of monuments, townscape conservation. The built form is a result of planning in steps rather than general, overall planning or of framework planning, giving more consideration to urban space, to the "place" in general.

The period after 1968 could be called again the 'genius-loci planning' period, when the leading concepts, "Leitbilder" of the town are common for many countries, but the tools for their implementation are different, being drawn from the local conditions, thus promoting an urban form in accordance with "places" ' own character, their genius loci.

* "Leitbild" - German term for "leading concept"

Halina Dunin-Woyseth (Norway)

工業化の始まりから1918年の期間は国内計画技術を総合的な計画システムに置き換える時期であり、計画システムは計画法に制度化された。国内のアプローチは決定的であり、国際的な影響は容易に識別できた。ノルウエーにおいてもイギリスやドイツの都市計画の影響は明白である。にもかかわらず、ノルウエーの計画体系は独特の物的な特徴や広大な割に少ない人口に強く左右された。都市環境の質と「場所性」の尊重は、都市計画の明確な目的である。イギリスとアメリカはヨーロッパ大陸諸国とは異なった都市開発パターンを示した。

基本的な主義、規範、概念は多くの国々で似ているが、国内法や計画技術は異なり、その結果、建築形態も異なっていた。この時代を「地域重視主義の計画の時代」と呼ぶことができよう。

1918年から1968年の時代、ほぼ全世界の都市開発をリードした概念は機能主義であった。その国際主義は地方性、歴史性、都市のカラーのしがらみからの解放を意味した。質の考えは量の考えに置き換えられた。美の理想は適当な機能と物的な効率性に置き換えられた。この時代、都市の建築形態は、土地利用の分離からゾーンに、建物の立体的集約と平面的なグリーンスペースに要約される。

計画法制の新たな道具はゾーニングと容積率であった。都市の建築形態は世界スケールで類似しており、地方の特色やアイデンティティが失われた。共通の理想と実現手段は、単調な都市景観を作り、建築形態を標準化した。この50年間は「世界同胞主義的な計画の時代」と呼ぶことができよう。

1960年代の終わりと1970年代のはじめに、それらの傾向に対する広く強いリアクションが起こった。それらの批判は、前時代の特質が故に、新たな世界共通のイデオロギーにはならなかった。しかし、広い共通認識が生まれた。即ち、「場所性」のなさに対する嫌悪と地域重視主義の高揚である。都市計画における質の考え方は、原価値への回帰、新しいデザイン、破棄よりは維持や保全に要約される。多くの国々でこの新しいアプローチは、新たな法制の道具を用意させた。新しい計画技術が既存の法律に付加された。即ち、保護地区、コア地区計画、都市デザイン計画、モニュメント保存、都市景観保全など。建築形態は一般的な全体的な計画よりはむしろ各ステップの結果であり、都市空間や場所性をより考慮を払う。したがって、1968年以後の時代は再び、「地方重視主義の計画の時代」と呼ぶことができる。基本概念は、多くの国々で共通ながら、地方の諸条件の違いのために実現手段は異なっている。こうして、建築形態の場所性、独自性との整合が促進されよう。

Abstract

The Planned Decentralisation of the Western City

Gordon E. Cherry

Over the last hundred years town planning policy in the industrialized nations has been marked at metropolitan scale by a consistent adherence to a strategy of decentralisation. By the end of the 19th century it was being argued that the large cities of the 19th century were unsatisfactory by virtue of their size, congestion, overcrowding and health, and that housing conditions for the lower paid were environmentally unacceptable. Reform pressures demanded experimentation with different forms of cities: in shape, size and structure. Ebenezer Howard's Garden City as a planned satellite offered one model and this was successful in international adoption. Garden suburbs at low density attached to the periphery of cities speeded up territorial dispersion. Regional planning models for New York, London and Moscow in the 1930s perpetuated the model of the dispersed metropolis. After 1945 Britain's New Towns programme, followed by town development schemes maintained the strategy, but land use policies generally have facilitated a loosening of patterns of urban development.

Operating in parallel throughout the 20th century have been the interlocking forces of economic, social and technological trends, all of which have powerfully reinforced the forces of decentralisation. The operation of market forces has neatly balanced the costs and benefits of centrality and dispersal, congestion and speculative opportunity, with the result that the outer reaches of the city have become more eagerly sought after than ever before. Social preferences have also identified the suburbs and the outer urban areas, in contrast to the older, inner areas. New forms of transport, both public and private, have made possible a far wider urban spread. Counter-urbanisation has been a process of change in the western metropolis, most marked in the USA.

In short, the changing geography of the western city has been strongly influenced by town planning ideas and practice. But the two aspects are not strictly in conformity. Town planning may spur or act as a brake on market forces: how much centrality and how much dispersal and why? Can cities any longer be 'shaped' by detailed land use policies? How much strategic direction? How much detailed intervention? Should we have a new programme of planned communities in peripheral areas? A new set of questions is now being asked at the interface of town planning and urban geography as, supported by current political philosophies in the west, the operation of the private market for development is given primacy.

概要

「欧米都市計画の計画的非集中化」

ゴードン・チェリー（英国バーミンガム大学教授）

先進工業国において過去百年、近代都市政策の中心を占めてきたのは、非集中化戦略である。

19世紀の末、大都市は過大・過密・不衛生で、労働者階級の居住状態はひどいと論議されてきた。そしていくつかの社会改革像が提示された。ハワードの田園都市論は国際的評価を得、田園郊外は都市拡散を促した。1930年代のニューヨーク等での地域計画は分散案を示し、イギリスのニュータウン法（1945年）、都市開発法はこの分散政策に沿ったものであった。しかし土地利用は次第に確たる都市開発パターンを失っていった。

20世紀を通じ、経済・社会・技術が一体的になり非集中策を支えた。人々がこうした郊外、外周部を好み住みたがるのも事実で、交通手段の整備が非集中化を可能とした。そして近年、反都市化（counter-urbanisation）が欧米、ことにアメリカでいわれる。

確かに、西欧都市の占める地位の変化は、これまで都市計画の理念と実践に影響を受けてきた。しかし、都市計画は市場の力を制御できるか、集中と非集中のバランスはいかにあるべきか、などの多くの問題が、現在の民活論、規制緩和という西欧の政治哲学の中で、新しい課題としてある。

THIRD INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY CONFERENCE Tokyo, 11-12 November 1988

Resume of Paper by John Minett (United Kingdom)

'COMPARING PLANNING SYSTEMS' - A METHOD WHICH HELPS OUR UNDERSTANDING AND AS A BASIS FOR TRANSFER OF IDEAS.

International Planning Conferences are much concerned with the transfer of ideas. The title of the coming Tokyo Conference includes the notion of "Exchange of Planning Systems", and the preamble mentions the transfer of concepts, techniques and administrative methods. But there is a fundamental problem: we tend to assume that planning systems are much the same whereas, as Max Neutze pointed out (Journal of Social Policy, Vol. 5 1975), planning systems differ considerably because each country develops its system for its own purposes. This was born out by research which I carried out with Professor Faludi and others in the 1970's, when we compared the English and Dutch planning systems. Subsequently I have confirmed the findings by further work in Canada and U.S.A. (1981), Belgium and Greece (1984) and Australia (1985).

If you look at another country's planning system you tend to assume that it is like your own, but in fact it can have significant differences, particularly regarding the legal basis for the plans we spend so much time making. For example, few countries allow the amount of discretion to administrators which is part of the British system.

Given that we are bound to want to compare planning systems and try to transfer ideas, yet systems are not often really comparable, what do we do?

An important conclusion we made ('Flexibility and Commitment in Planning' 1983) was that a better starting point is to compare control systems. If you follow a building permit through its procedural phases from application to approval/refusal, the role of planning, and different types of plans, becomes much clearer. From this starting point it is possible to understand the relationship and relative power of contemporary plans, to ask questions about the historic development of the system and be able to comprehend the extent to which external ideas were absorbed into the system.

In this paper I will explain the research carried out comparing the English and Dutch systems, and the development of a method for comparing control systems which I applied with students for countries as diverse as India, Mexico, and Sudan, and which I used for my own work in Canada, the U.S.A., and Australia.

One of the most important results of the research was to make us understand better our own system. As a result of this paper I hope that delegates might try out the method and become more aware of the effectiveness of other countries' ideas for their own planning systems.

John Minett, Oxford, August 1988.

比較計画システム —理解を助けアイデア交流の基礎となる方法—

ジョン・ミネット (連合王国)

東京会議では、各国の計画システムについての交換、その考え方や技法、行政的手法に関する問題等を扱うこととなろうが、そこには基本的な問題がある。すなわち、どこの国の計画システムも似たように見えるが、それはそれぞれの国独自の目的のために開発されるものであるため、かなりの相違がみられるということである。この見解は、ファルディ教授らと1970年代にイギリスとオランダの計画システムを比較した研究の結果生まれ、その後のカナダとアメリカ(1981)等の比較研究によって確信するにいたったものである。

他の国の計画システムも自国のものと同じように見えるが、実際は、とくに法的な問題等に関して、かなりの相違がみられるものである。例えば、英国のように、行政官への裁量がその一部として計画システムに組み込まれ許容されているような例はほとんどない。

ところで、計画システムを比較しその考えを交換したくとも、システムが比較できるようなものとなっていないことが少ない現状では、どうしたらよいのか。

われわれの得た重要な結論は、「コントロールシステムの比較から始めるのがよい」ということである。許認可申請の手續段階から建築許可に当たれば、計画の役割とか、計画のタイプの相違ということが非常にはっきりしてくる。この出発点から、現代の諸計画における関係とか威力の違いを理解し、システムの歴史的な発展についての疑問を尋ねたり、システムに取り込まれてきた外的条件の広がり大きさについて知ることができる。

今回は英国とオランダの比較研究およびカナダとアメリカ・オーストラリアの比較コントロールシステムの開発について説明しようと思う。なお研究の結果は自身のシステムへの理解を深めさせることになった。本論の結論として、デリゲートが、自身のよりよい計画システムを構築するためにも、よその国の計画システムを試み、その考え方を知ることの有効性について認識を高めるよう期待するものである。

Abstract of paper for Third International Planning History Conference
Tokyo, November 1988

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It is widely acknowledged that the garden city movement has exerted an important influence on the form of modern urban planning. This paper examines this process of influence in relation to the role of the pressure group that was established at the end of the last century to promote the idea of the garden city, as presented by Ebenezer Howard in 1898. The group in question was originally named the Garden City Association, later changing its name to Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, and subsequently to Town and Country Planning Association.

The Association has campaigned internationally to spread the idea of the garden city, and examples are taken (mainly from the early part of this century) to show the techniques it used and its main spheres of influence. It was most active in Europe, North America and British colonial territories, but the limited contacts that were made in Japan are highlighted as appropriate.

These examples are then used to explore the wider question as to how planning ideas have been transmitted. A simple typology of *time, place* and *people* is used to argue that an explanation is to be found in the interplay between structural (to include the historical and cultural context) and agency (to include groups such as the Association, and particular individuals) processes. The role of the Association in promoting the idea of the garden city is seen more as that of a facilitator than one that is causal.

デニスハーディ
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- ・ ガーデンシティ運動が現代都市計画の形成に多大の影響を与えたことは広く理解されているところである。このペーパーは、1888年にEbenezer Howard が提唱したガーデンシティの思想を広めようとするために前世紀の末に設立されたプレッシャーグループにからめて、この影響がいかんして広まっていったのかを検証するものである。このグループの名前は、当初はGarden City Association と称され、後にガーデンシティ都市計画協会と名前を変え、さらに都市農村計画協会に変わったのである。
- ・ この協会は、ガーデンシティの思想を国際的に啓蒙するためのキャンペーンを行った。そのキャンペーンの例としては、主として今世紀の始めから行われてのであるが、都市計画で利用される技術やその影響の主要な領域を示すことであった。その運動は、植民地で最も盛んであったが、同時に限られたものではあったが日本にもつながっており、このことについて説明する。
- ・ このような啓蒙運動は、いかんして計画の思想を伝達するのかという広範な質問を考察することであった。構造的（歴史的、文化的な意味を含めて）なプロセスと組織的（協会といったグループと特別な立場の個人を含めて）なプロセスの間の相互関係の中に説明が見出されるということを討議するために、運動に係わった時期、場所、人を書き出している。ガーデンシティの思想を押し進めようとするための協会の役割は、その原因を見出すことより、むしろそのアイデアを助長しているということにあることが分かる。
- ・ このレポートは、ガーデンシティの運動を進めていった人達とその組織の活動の歴史をおいながら、ガーデンシティの思想の外国への影響、外国での活動状況、その運動を進めた人達、開催された国際会議の様子が述べられる。
- ・ ガーデンシティ思想の拡張の過程を次に区分して、その事実を述べる。
 - a) 1914年以前のガーデンシティの啓蒙活動
 - b) 1914年の第1回国際ガーデンシティ都市計画協会の会議
 - c) 1920年代の啓蒙活動
 - d) 1966年の日本における国際住宅都市会議

The Netherlands are a low lying and very densely populated country. The country has a long standing tradition in the field of hydraulic engineering. This tradition has made the acceptance of physical planning relatively easy. Since physical planning became institutionalized in 1901, a unique planning system has developed. The Netherlands are one of the few countries to possess a planning doctrine at the national level. Planning doctrine is a term used to denominate the philosophy underlying policy.

The unusually supportive context for planning has given rise to a planning system which differs in many ways from that in other countries. Nevertheless, Dutch planning has drawn heavily on foreign examples. Several elements of the planning doctrine are of foreign origin. This paper does not draw up a balance sheet of import and export in Dutch physical planning, but tries to trace foreign influence on Dutch strategic planning. As far as the export side is concerned, Dutch influence in Indonesia, the former Dutch Indies, is discussed.

The paper starts with a discussion of the concept of planning doctrine. Dutch planning doctrine can be best illustrated by the Physical Planning Act (1962) and the Second Report on Physical Planning (1962). After the main elements of the Dutch planning doctrine have been traced, foreign influence upon them will be discussed. The sixth paragraph takes a look at the export of Dutch planning to Indonesia. The final paragraph takes up the transfer of planning systems.

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オランダの計画原則形成への外国の影響

C. N. van der Heiden (オランダ)

オランダは、その国土が低地にあり、人口密度のきわめて高い国である。この国は水工分野において顕著な伝統をもっている。この伝統のために、フィジカルな計画は、比較的、受け入れやすいものとなっている。

1901年にフィジカル計画が制度化されて以来、オランダでは、独自の計画システムが開発されてきている。オランダは、国家レベルにおける計画原則を有している数少ない国の一つといえる。なお、計画原則とは、ポリシーに底流しているフィロソフィーを意味して用いられる言葉である。

オランダの計画に対する異常ともいえるほどの支持・理解は、他の国のものとは多くの点で異なっているオランダ特有の計画システムによるものである。もっとも、その計画も、大いに外国の事例を参考にしている。計画原則のうちのいくつかの要素は外国起源のものである。

本報告ではオランダのフィジカル計画における「輸入」(受けた影響)分と「輸出」(及ぼした影響)分のバランスシートについては述べないが、オランダの戦略的計画に対する外国の影響について、後づけてみようと思う。「輸出」面については、インドネシアの事例について述べる。

本報告では、まず、計画原則のコンセプトについての論議から始める。オランダの計画原則は、1962年の「フィジカル計画法」と1962年の「フィジカル計画に関する2次報告」によって最もよく説明されるものである。

つぎに、オランダの計画原則に関する主要な要素をみ、のち、計画原則の形成についての外国の影響について考察する。

ついで、インドネシアに対するオランダの計画についてみる。

そして最後に、計画システムの交流について取り上げる。

ABSTRACT

Japanese New Town Planning in the United States

John Hancock and Hiroaki Sotoike

The exchange of modern urban planning ideas is worldwide. A case in point is the Japanese development of Mill Creek, Snohomish County, Washington, 20 miles north of Seattle. The Japanese investors have planned and built several new towns in Japan and in other countries throughout the world. Begun in 1973 and still underway, Mill Creek is the first Japanese-developed new town in the United States and the first new town built in the State of Washington in 60 years.

Mill Creek illustrates that new town planning is international in the origin and circulation of ideas and techniques; and very culture-bound in the specific towns created. The Japanese conceived and modified their master plan and design schemes in close cooperation with government officials to suit State and County laws and consumer demands in the Pacific Northwest, and carefully selected Americans to help in all phases of the development; but the overall process remains thoroughly Japanese. After reviewing early precedents in the international new towns movement, we discuss, evaluate and compare Mill Creek to other contemporary new towns in Japan and the U.S. The chief Japanese contributions to new town planning in this case are a high quality of physical planning, close cooperation and teamwork with American colleagues and public officials, ^{solid financing} and a philosophical commitment to long term excellence. The chief drawbacks are the plan's small scale and its poor relation to the region's economy and polity because of American conditions, not Japanese intentions.

概要

「米国における日本のニュータウン計画 ：ワシントン州ミル・クリークの事例」

ジョン・ハンコック、ヒロアキ・ソトイケ（米）

近代都市計画の考え方は世界各地で交流している。ここではワシントン州の Mill Creek で、日本人が、アメリカではじめて開発したニュータウンをとりあげ分析したい。

ミル・クリークの事例はニュータウンの考え方、技法の起源、流布が国際的であることを示唆し、そして作られた街はきわめて強い文化性をもっている。太平洋沿岸のニュータウンに居住を希望する人々のニーズを十分つかみ、政府の協力の下でマスター・プラン、住宅地デザインを修正している。しかし計画過程全体としては日本的となっている。

論文では、まずニュータウンをめぐる国際的な動きをレビューした後、ミル・クリークを他のニュータウンとの比較の中で分析している。このニュータウン計画での日本の貢献とは、かなりよくできた物的計画、アメリカ人および官僚との協調性、長期にわたるものの考え方のレベルでの参入などであろう。

課題としては、小規模開発に留まったこと、地域経済との結びつきが弱いことなどがある。しかし日本側が意図したことでは、もちろんなく、米の条件が備っていなかったという理由による。

Liang-Yong Wu

Abstract

From a brief historical review of urban development courses in the West and in China, featuring on identical and different characteristics, the author highlighted the significance of the accelerated development of urban regions along China's coast. In view of the western experiences, the author holds that China should study the common laws governing those development areas, and at the same time, strive to find new solutions to such problems as intensive land use, efficient utilization of resources and ecological degradation. Not only "urban illness" should be relieved, but also the illness of urban regions be watched and avoided. The best qualities of the modern culture should be incorporated into our cities, while preserving and developing regional urban and architectural heritages. The fulfillment of the above goals is by no means easy. It will call for a reform in urban administrative systems an integral part of China's socio-economic reform. But through innovative efforts, and trial-and-error, a Chinese approach to coastal urban development can be found

On Urban Conurbations

China's integrated coastal urban development

(第3回都市計画史国際会議—東京、1988年11月11—12日)

都市の協調的都市化—中国の総合沿岸都市開発

Liang-Yong Wu

[歴史的背景]

1840年代の租界の形成

第2次大戦中、50年代後半—70年代の内陸部への都市化

沿岸都市網による都市化

18世紀以前からの都市化状況と以後の停滞

過去10年の急速な都市化

[著者の意見]

孤立完結した都市の概念は有害

地方性：西中東で異なる。このうち東(沿岸部)がホット。

より開発が進んだ地域で、大中小規模都市の相互連携が緊密である。小都市の発展が速

い。揚子江デルタは、このよい例である。

開発が進んだ地域の方が、制御が可能であり、自然保護も可能である。

西欧との違いは、農業保全、既存インフラの活用、歴史文化の保存、コンパクトな都市

(特に公害発生源を小さく束ねる)形成。

都市の病気(政治社会経済要因、不均衡開発、環境破壊)は防べし。

町並み景観：多様性の中での部分的統一と自己同定。

[つまり]

中国風の都市開発を見付ける必要がある。

MacPherson-2.

MacPherson-1.

MacPherson

ABSTRACT

The Greater Shanghai Plan and Visions of a Modern China

Whether viewed from Chinese or from foreign perspectives, Shanghai has always been perceived as a special or as a model city. This was true of the original foreign settlements in the half century following Shanghai's opening as a treaty port; and subsequently it was a view shared by Chinese and foreigners and then extended to the Chinese city during the Republican era. Chinese attempts to develop a Chinese municipality which would include Chapei, Pootung, Woosung, Paoshan, a number of villages and small towns, as well as the International Settlement and the French Concession, gained impetus from their own visions of a Greater Shanghai. In turn, these visions and the practical measures set in train to realize them, were intimately related to the broader dreams of a Republican China, of a modern nation-state. Chinese initiatives along this line became clearer with a coterminous decline of British, indeed of the general Western will in Shanghai. Erosions of the Western will were attributable to several factors: the emergence of urban progressivism at home; renewed emphasis upon domestic social priorities; and a return, of necessity, to Euro-centered concerns over defence inspired by the rise of German power. In short, shifts in Western priorities and reallocations of national resources, or if preferred, Western misfortunes, afforded increased opportunities to those Chinese to whom the future of Shanghai was of prepossessing importance.

Through the latter portion of the nineteenth century, there had in fact been an incremental growth in Shanghai of Chinese municipal experience and power. Recognition was accorded these developments by foreign officials, by the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, business associations and business interests by

the turn of the century, with open acknowledgment that Shanghai and much of its enterprise would, ineluctably, become Chinese. In essence, the awareness grew in foreign circles that the Chinese were destined to assume control in all vital areas of the city's activity. In this context, we may better understand the Chinese municipal efforts of 1905 and 1912 and briefly describe their salient characteristics.

Impressed, as were many other Chinese, with the foreign model of Shanghai, limited though it was to the International Settlement, Marshal Sun Chuan-fang moved in 1926 toward a redefinition of Shanghai through creation of the Greater Shanghai Project, a central concern of this paper. Internal resistance to Sun's programme is of course an important constituent of our discussion; that is, resistance from the Kiangsu provincial government, from 'different gentries and interests,' which previously had undermined the Woosung scheme of Chang Chien and the special proposals of Sun Pao-chi. Sun Chuan-fang's renewed assault on the problems of Shanghai, his assumption of titular supervision over a Directorate of the Port of Shanghai and Woosung, appointment of a local executive Director, as well as elaboration of practical administrative and economic measures, and not least, the character of his colleagues, receive close attention in the evolution of this bold and imaginative definition of the world's (then) third largest city—a city confronting a vast agricultural world that still resisted the urban future. Unlike analogous events in London, Paris, and New York, these episodes in Republican Shanghai's history remain regrettably little explored.

概要

「上海大都市圏計画と近代中国のビジョン」

ケリー・マクファーソン（ホンコン）

上海は、通商港としてまた現在も、特別の、モデル的な都市であるといわれてきた。上海都市計画の都市像、実施手段は人民中国の夢と強く結びつき、西欧の影響、イギリスの影響がうすれるにつれ、この結びつきはいよいよはっきりしてきた。しかし、都市革新主義、内政重視など西欧から影響を受けた要因も多い。こうした西欧への傾斜は、上海を重要と考える中国人の間に、多くの（都市計画上の新しい試みの）機会を与えた。

19世紀後半、上海は拡張し、外国人達は、都市活動の中核部分は中国人自らの手で、コントロールされなければならないと考えるようになった。

1926年、上海大都市圏計画の構想が、Sun氏の手で浮上した。本稿ではこの構想がKiangsu地方政府及び、別の地主層の内部抵抗にあった様相を描く。この上海計画は当時、世界第三位の都市として描かれた大構想で、ロンドン、パリ、ニューヨークの都市史に比し、明らかにすべき事実が多い。

A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON THE PLANNING HISTORY OF BEIJING AND SHANGHAI (Resumé)

Zhu Zixuan

Beijing and Shanghai are the two most important metropolises in China. To make a comparative study upon the planning history of them through three main periods will be helpful to understand the evolution of Chinese planning history.

The First Period 1840-1949

The first period is the preliminary stage of modern Chinese planning history, during that time, most of the old feudal cities like Beijing were still preserved its traditional urban pattern and kept their unique characteristics, but have some change in function and forms in the late Qing Dynasty. The treaty port cities have many changes and rapidly growth like Shanghai. Its planning concept had been influenced by Western modern planning theories. Both of these two kinds of cities represented the social system of the country through the past hundred of years.

The Second Period 1949-1979

The founding of New China marked the beginning of a new period in Chinese history. In the early of 50 s. Beijing as the Capital began to develop, its planning concept was influenced by Soviet planning system, but has much advanced in the late 50's. Shanghai planning history has developed from the middle of 50's to the end of 70 s. according to its specific situation.

The Third Period 1979-2000

After the 3rd Meeting of the Central Committee of CCP in December, 1988. Reform and opening up policy promoted the rapid economic and social development of China. Beijing and Shanghai entered a very important period in their planning history. Beijing has been recognized as the political and cultural center of the whole country while Shanghai will transform from a domestic productive center to a world wide economic and financial center as well as an international trade port. Both of these two metropolises are facing severe challenge.

(第3回都市計画史国際会議—東京、1988年11月11—12日)

北京と上海の計画史の比較研究

Zhu Zixuan

2大都市の計画史を比較する。

原型

北京：フビライによる、周の理念に基づく計画：方形・対称。

上海：13世紀には揚子江のデルタの小さな町

第1段階：1840-1949:予備的段階：半植民地

北京：封建的形態を保つ百万人都市

アヘン戦争以後、教会、病院、学校、ホテル、工場等が建つ。

日本は、拡張計画したが実現せず。

僅かの工場のある消費都市。

上海：西洋の影響を受ける：英国人

1840年のアヘン戦争以後、貿易港となる。

英地区。仏地区。等、1927年まで。

以後、植民地政府、仏借地、国粋派：3百万人。

1929年、自治都市政府による上海拡張計画。51.8km²。

シビックセンターは西洋理念と中国伝統の混合物。米人参加。

日本占領(1937-45)による別の計画。

対米戦争支援の軍事輸送施設中心。

戦後の巨大都市計画(6百万人)。

サーリネンの有機分散理論、アバクロムビの大ロンドン計画、コペンハーゲンの

指形の影響。交通に沿った拡張と都市内緑地保全。

天津、青海、大連、広州なども、それぞれの宗主国によって計画開発。

第2段階：1949-1979:新中国形成

ソ連の支援による156の産業プロジェクト。8の拠点都市開発。

50年代前半の明快な軸線をもつ対称形の新しいモニュメント都市。

50年代後半60年代の新しい政治的状況。

北京：ソ連の影響を受け、消費都市から生産都市へ。高層化も。12百万人目標。

上海：経済主導の自律発展。9工業地区。衛星都市との連携。13百万人目標。

第3段階：1979-2000:4つの近代化政策。国際化。

北京：工業を捨てた政治学術文化センターとする。パターン保存。WDC風放射状検討。

上海：世界的中心とする。港、輸出品生産、沿岸開発、新都心形成、周辺都市連携、

開かれた多核的巨大大都市。海外資金の導入による先端的開発。都心部再開発。

A STUDY ON CHARACTERISTICS OF CITY PLANNING IN TAIWAN DURING THE JAPANESE COLONIAL ERA (1895-1945)

Shyh-meng Huang

Abstract

The author intends to analyze the planning concepts and techniques in Taiwan, when it was under the Japanese colonial rule from 1895 to 1945. The final purpose is to compare the planning characteristics of different political situations (before and after 1945) for the sake of future benefits.

The study period is divided into three phases: phase I, Improvement of Buildings and Streets (1895-1908); phase II, Enlargement and Planning Urban Area (1905-1935); and phase III, Establishment of City Planning System (1933-1945). In addition, from the City Planning Act and other acts issued in these different phases, we can delineate the hierarchy of planning areas as "Street Building" → "Street District" → "City Area"; and the hierarchy of planning context as "Rebuild" → "Planning" → "Institutionalization". The context of city planning changed from the "SHIGAICHI" in the first phase to the "TOSHI" in the third phase; from the daily usage of "SHIGAICHI" to the gathering of objects-"TOSHI". This is the extension of the idea of physical determinism, which was the assumption of city planning in the West before 1960.

One of the important findings is that the planning methodology and paradigm used in Taiwan was by no means originated from Japan, not to mention from Taiwan. They were transplanted from Europe, trying to solve the urbanization problems, by building an ideal city. In order to implement the above-mentioned ideas, the city planners adapted a lot of planning precepts and techniques. For instance, basic field survey, the idea of urban scale, the concepts of transportation system, land use system, and park system. These planning techniques had had positive meanings in dealing with city planning. But, on the other hand, they were used by city planners as universal techniques, applied to cities big as well as small.

Because the West industrialized earlier than the East, the West faced urbanization problems earlier than the East did. In order to solve the social problems caused by the industrialization and urbanization, the West developed many planning concepts and techniques which were later transplanted to Japan. These concepts and techniques gradually became very prevalent in Japan. In the same manner, after several decades, they were transplanted from Tokyo to Taipei, and were in turn adopted all over the island of Taiwan. This is a case of the international exchange pattern of "planning theory transplanting."

(第3会都市計画史国際会議 — 東京、1988年11月11-12日)

日本植民地時代台湾(1895-1945)における 都市計画の特徴に関する研究

シーメン ホァン (国立台湾大学工学部建築計画学科)

要 約

本論文は、1895年から1945年までの日本植民地支配時代の台湾における計画の概念および技術を分析しようとするものである。最終的な目的は、戦前と戦後という異なる政治情勢下における計画の性格を比較して、今後に役立てるところにある。

研究対象の期間は3つに分けられる。第1段階(1895-1908)は、建物と道路の改良、第2段階(1905-1935)は、都市区域の拡大とその計画、第3段階(1933-1945)は、都市計画システムの確立の時代である。さらに、これらの異なる時代の都市計画法や他の法令からみて、まず計画対象地域の大きさの段階を、「通り沿いの建物」→「通り沿い地域」→「市街地」とし、また計画の文脈の段階を、「改造」→「計画」→「制度化」とすることが可能である。都市計画の文脈は、第1段階の「市街地」から第3段階の「都市」にまで変化した。つまり、日常的に使われる「市街地」から、計画対象の集合としての「都市」にである。これは、物的計画によって都市活動が決定されるという、物的決定論の思想を拡大したものであり、1960年以前の西側諸国の計画に仮定されている思想である。

重要な発見の一つは、台湾で使われた計画の方法論や典型は、台湾に起源がないことは勿論であるが、日本に起源があるわけではないという点である。それらは、ヨーロッパから輸入されたものであり、理想的な都市を造ることによって、都市化の諸問題を解決しようとしたものである。このような思想を遂行するために都市計画家は、多くの計画の型と技術を採用した。たとえば、基礎的なフィールドサーヴェイ、都市的尺度、交通システム、土地利用システム、公園システムなどである。これらの計画技術は、都市計画を行ううえで、積極的な意味を持っていた。しかしながら、都市計画家はこれらの技術を一般的に通用する技術として、小さな都市にも大きな都市にも同じように適用した。

西側諸国は、東側諸国よりも早く工業化したため、都市化の諸問題にもより早期に直面した。工業化と都市化によって引き起こされた社会的諸問題を解決するために、西側は多くの計画技術と概念を発展させ、のちにそれは日本に移入された。これらの概念や技術は次第に日本で支配的になってきた。同じようにして数十年後、それらは東京から台北へ移入され、その後は台湾全島で採用された。これはまさに、計画理論の移植の国際的な交換パターンの一例である。

THE EVOLUTION OF AREA PLANNING SYSTEM IN TAIWAN SINCE 1945

By Prof. Hsing, Woan-chiau

RESUME

This paper is devoted to the discussion on the evolution of area or spatial planning system in Taiwan of the Republic of China, covering the period since the restoration of Taiwan in 1946, plus a review over the thoughts and planning systems of Western countries and Japan which had an impact upon Taiwan's planning systems.

This paper comprises the following seven (7) parts:

Part 1: It describes the evolution of hierarchy of the area planning in Taiwan. The evolution can be better depicted in 4 phases; that is Phase I in which efforts were directed to the planning for the individual cities and townships; Phase II in which urban plan was developed including the regional plan; Phase III in which the regional plan was the guideline for urban planning; and Phase IV in which area planning hierarchy: Taiwan Area Comprehensive Development Planning — the Regional Planning — Urban Planning was developed.

Parts 2, 3, and 4 are mainly concerned with the presentation of the significance, nature, and functions of urban planning, regional planning, and Taiwan Area Comprehensive Development Planning, in addition to a description on the introduction of the modern planning thoughts and systems from foreign countries as a reference for the planning system in Taiwan.

Part 5 deals with the evolution of Taiwan's planning concepts and techniques. In general, Taiwan's planning concepts and techniques were much influenced by that of U.K., the United States and Japan, and the changes in the latter have also impacted upon the former.

Part 6 presents the planning authorities, professionalism and the education. Generally speaking, ROC planning authorities are subject to the influence of the United States which is characterized by the integration of the functions of the planning and the housing sectors, but the authority of ROC planning agencies is inferior to that of the States. The education system for planning of ROC has been most susceptible to that of the States.

Part 7 comprises the conclusions together with problems and prospects. It is mainly concerned with the problems in the adaptation and incorporation of foreign systems and the prospects of the improvement in the area planning systems in future.

1945年以降における台湾の 地域計画システムの発展

スィン ウンチャウ (国立チュンスィン大学法商学部都市計画学科教授)

要 約

本論文は、1946年の台湾再建以後における中華民国(台湾)の地域、および空間計画システムの発展に力点を置いて論じたものであり、加えて、台湾の計画システムに強い影響力をもった、西側諸国および日本の計画システムの考え方を、参照したものである。

本論文は次の7つの部分から成っている。

第1の部分：台湾の地域プランニングの階層化の発展について述べている。発展は4つの局面に分けることができよう。局面1では、個々の市街のための計画を立てる努力がなされた。局面2では、地域計画をも含んで都市計画が開発された。局面3では、地域計画が都市計画のガイドラインであった。局面4では、地域計画において、台湾地域総合開発計画 — 地域計画 — 都市計画という階層化が行われた。

第2、3、そして4の部分では主に、都市計画、地域計画、台湾地域総合開発計画の主旨、性質、および機能に関連して述べている。またこれらに先立ち、台湾がその計画システムのために参照した、諸外国の近代計画思潮と計画システムの導入について記述している。

第5の部分では、台湾の計画概念と技術の発展を扱っている。一般的にいうと、台湾の計画概念と技術は、英国、米国、そして日本のものに最も影響を受けている。これらの国々での諸変化はまた、台湾に衝撃を与えている。

第6の部分では、計画当局、職能化、および教育について述べている。概して中華民国の計画実施体制は米国の影響下にあり、その性格は都市計画の機能と住宅部門の統合にあるが、中華民国の計画担当部局は米国のそれよりも劣っている。中華民国の計画用教育システムについては、米国のものに最も敏感である。

第7の部分では、問題点、今後の見通しとともに結論を述べている。ここでは主に、海外のシステムの採用と編入についての問題点と、将来の地域計画システムの改善の見通しについて取り扱っている。

Why "Taiwan-type cul-de-sac" failed in Kaohsiung ?
Dr. Yasuo Nishiyama
Department of Architecture,
Nagoya Institute of Technology

In this paper an analysis will be made of the transformation process of the cul-de-sac from its introduction in the suburbs of Kaohsiung in early 1970's to its modification under severe criticisms by the inhabitants. In seeking for the reasons for it, a consideration will be given to the interpretation that the cul-de-sac, one of modern town planning techniques, should also be firmly supported by the indigenous life-spatial conditions.

The first chapter refers to the purpose of this paper, then in the second chapter, we analyze how the cul-de-sac was introduced in the 1971 urban expansion plan made by the cooperation of German consultants for town planning and young Taiwanese town planners.

In the third chapter, the process will be analyzed of the modification of Taiwan-type cul-de-sac. So at first the spatial composition of the Taiwan-type cul-de-sac is analyzed, then we explain the modification process is divided into three stages: 1) construction 2) problem finding 3) modification or negation. And contents of the plans, intention of the planners, and problems are analyzed in the 15th, 18-5th and 25th land readjustment projects.

Based upon these facts, in the fourth chapter we analyze the reasons why the Taiwan-type cul-de-sac failed in Kaohsiung. Two fundamental reasons are mentioned: 1) Town planners has not understood the daily life image of people and their spatial images; 2) The spatial configuration of the cul-de-sac i.e. the dead-end alley, involves an essential problem.

Then in the concluding part, we point out 1) that town planning should be supported by indigenous societal conditions, 2) that the cul-de-sac can be said to be suitable to rich and mature society, and 3) that town planners should have the attitude of observing carefully the daily lives of people and of constructing the method of practice based upon their daily demands.

なぜ、台湾型クル・ド・サックは高雄で失敗したか

名古屋工業大学建築系

西山 康雄

本研究は、1970年代はじめ、躍進する台湾の高雄市郊外に導入されたクル・ド・サックが、次第に住民の批判をあげながら修正を迫られ、ついに平凡な格子状道路パターンへと変えられていった経緯を分析する。そしてなぜ定着しなかったのか、その理由を探るなかで、クル・ド・サックというひとつの計画技術も、固有の生活・空間条件によって支えられていることを明らかにしたい。つまり都市計画そのものを相対化する必要性である。

序章では研究の目的をのべ、第2章、「高雄市におけるクル・ド・サックの導入」では、1971年に立案された拡大都市計画の中でクル・ド・サックが提案されたこと、そしてこの拡大都市計画は、ドイツ人の国連都市計画顧問団と若い台湾人都市計画家が協力して立案したことを明らかにした。

第3章は、台湾型クル・ド・サックが住民の批判をあげ修正を迫られる過程を分析する。そのためにはまず台湾型クル・ド・サックの空間構成を分析し、つづいて修正の過程が、①建設、②問題発見、③修正、否定 という三段階に分かれていることを説明した。つづいて第15期、第18-5期、第25期土地区画整理事業をとりあげ、設計の内容、設計者の意図、問題点などを考察する。

こうした事実の上に第4章では、なぜ、台湾型クル・ド・サックは高雄で失敗したのか、その理由を探る。ここでは、①都市計画家が、クル・ド・サック周辺で営まれる人々の生活のイメージ、また沿道の空間イメージを読み切っていなかった ②袋路というクル・ド・サックの空間形態そのものが、もともと問題を持っている、の二点に要約して考察した。

そしてまとめの第5章では、都市計画が固有の社会的条件によって支えられていること、そして、クル・ド・サックは豊かな、成熟した社会に適合的であったと結論づけ、人々の日常生活の現実と要求にねざして都市計画を発想することの大切さを指摘した。

'THE TRANSFER OF BRITISH TOWN PLANNING TO THE COLONIES, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE AND HONG KONG'

by Dr. Robert Home (North East London Polytechnic)

Resume

British town planning ideas, such as garden cities, new towns and green belts, have influenced many countries, and most Commonwealth countries have adapted the British legal framework of town planning. Planning history studies, however, have given relatively little attention to the transfer of British planning systems to the colonial possessions in Asia and Africa.

This paper explores some themes in the relationship between town planning and British colonialism in the 20th century, with particular reference to Britain's Asiatic colonies: the Straits Settlements and Malaya (now Singapore and Malaysia) and Hong Kong. Using King's chronology for the 'export' of planning to the colonies, the paper considers:

(a) the 19th century origins of colonial urbanization, and differing traditions of colonial administration in the three case study countries, particularly the distinction between crown colony and protectorate or 'indirect rule' status;

(b) the introduction of British town planning approaches, including the garden city movement, in the 1920s and 1930s, relatively soon after the emergence of a distinct town planning profession in Britain;

(c) the late colonial attempts to introduce British-style local government and town planning after the Second World War, and the export of new town, urban renewal and regional planning strategies during the political upheavals of the immediate pre-independence period.

ロバート・ヒューム (イギリス)

イギリス都市計画のアジア、例えば、田園都市、ニュータウン、グリーンベルトは多くの国々に影響を与えた。それらの国々はイギリスの都市計画の法体系を受け入れた。しかし、都市計画史の研究においてはイギリスの都市計画システムのアジア・アフリカの植民地への移転については関心が寄せられなかった。

本稿では、イギリスのアジアの植民地であったマレーシア、シンガポールと香港を対象に、都市計画と植民地主義の関係を次の時代区分に基づき研究した。

- (1) 19世紀から1920年まで
- (2) 1920年から1950年まで
- (3) 第二次世界大戦後 (脱植民地以後)

マレーシアは、1920年代のリードの仕事以降、植民地行政の相続人たる連邦政府によってイギリスの計画の伝統を継承した。1923年には都市計画法を策定している。しかし、総合的な土地管理の発想は単なるゾーニングに置き換えられた。また、高水準の道路構成による道路用地買収費の増大は、理想を挫折させる一因となった。大戦後はいくつものニュータウン開発が実施された。しかし、計画の効果は連邦と州の関係のために損なわれている。イギリスの計画は地方政府が主体となるが、マレーシアはイギリスの計画策定システムを取り入れたのに連邦政府が強い力を持ち、地方政府は微力である。そしてゾーニングはコミュニティ好みの計画より技術的な内容に比重が置かれた。

香港とシンガポールは、直轄領であったので、植民地としての形成史からも保護国であったマレーシアとは土地所有制度などが異なる。即ち、香港とシンガポールは貿易都市国家そのものである。

シンガポールは、1920年前後に住宅地の改善に着手するとともに土地の再分割を規制したが、総合計画の用意や開発規制は行われなかった。大戦後、マレーシアの策定、ニュータウンによる人口の再配置が進められた。

香港は、1842年以降、英国の中国市場への貿易基地として自由放任主義の下、無計画な膨張を続け、住宅地の環境は劣悪であった。しかし、その文化は1970年代に至るまで政府の干渉を嫌った。70年代に入ってから総合計画的なアプローチが始まり、「新界」地域への分散が計画されるようになった。その無計画な香港が、1980年以降のサッチャー政権によって導入されたフリーハンドを与えられた企業ゾーンや、ドックランドやインナーシティにおける合理化された都市開発公社をモデルとしたことは皮肉である。

ADOPTING WESTERN PLANNING CONCEPTS FOR METROPOLIS IN NEWLY
INDUSTRIALIZING COUNTRY CASE STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY HONG KONG

R Yin-Wang Kwok

ABSTRACT

Since the Second World War, modern planning theories have been developed and planning as an intervention mechanism has been widely practised in the West. Newly Industrializing Countries (NICs), due to lack of precedent and rapid urban growth, often adopt these theories and practices. The purpose of this paper is to review and compare the Western planning concerns and context and the NIC's growth conditions, in particular, the case of Hong Kong's recent development.

The basis of modern Western planning perspective could be traced to the Garden City Concept - with its emphasis on environmental quality and physical planning - specifically on functional separation, and low density development. Western countries also recently witness population stabilization, and steady long-term economic growth, and are concerned to protect the traditional physical environment through planning or other institutional mechanism. The reorganization of the urban physical structure has seen a proliferation of office moving out of the CBD and gradual gentrification of the housing stock in urban centres. The city centres are converted into high income residential areas, and inner city deprivation is gradually replaced by pockets of central regeneration.

The metropolises of the NICs are experiencing the same metropolitan transformation process (industrial city - post-industrial city - international business city). The nature of transformation is not sequential - as industrial cities grow, they transform simultaneously into post-industrial cities and international business cities. As a result, economic activities increase and diversify. Another difference is that the population of the NICs, unlike those in the West, continue to grow. Metropolises receive a steady flow of migrants.

Hong Kong as an example illustrates how this densely populated metropolis restructures itself spatially in response to these economic transformations. During the industrial stage, Hong Kong's spatial development decentralized to the urban peripheries, but centralized its office development at the post-industrial stage, which is quite different from the Western pattern. In the international business stage, with offices remaining in the CBD, intensive land competition for economic and social land use is the characteristic of physical growth.

Planning in NIC metropolis, thus, are different from that currently practised in the West at least in four aspects. First, the priority of economic sectors in the NICs is in strong contrast to the concern of physical environment improvement. Second, the processes of urban core spatial restructuring varies significantly - therefore central city development must take a dissimilar path. Third, the squatter phenomenon, practically non-existent in the West, is a major social and land problem which has to be resolved. Lastly, the concept of functional zoning and low density development, in light of the economic and social complexity and pressure in the NIC, must be modified.

〔概要〕

N I C S の大都市のために 西欧の計画概念を受容すること； 現在のホンコンを例として

Y i n - W a n g K w o k (ホンコン大学教授)

第3世界では近代都市計画理論の伝統がないために、西欧から「都市計画」をしばしば借りてきた。しかし、N I C s と西欧の大都市の状況を比較してみると、現在のN I C の大都市と西欧のそれとは大きく都市計画の課題が異なっている。

近代の西欧の計画を概観すると、ガーデンシティの概念が基礎となっている。環境の質と物理的な計画に力点が置かれ、機能の分離と低い密度の開発が特徴である。西欧の国では、人口が安定しており、長い持続的経済成長があり、計画や他の制度的な機構を通じて伝統的な環境を守ろうとすることに関心がある。都市構造の再編成はC B Dの外にオフィスを拡散し、都心の住宅は次第にジェントリフィケーションになっていく。

一方、N I C s の大都市は、諸活動や人口が集中し、急激な変容をしている。変容は連続的に起こるのでなく、同時である。(工業都市-ポスト工業都市-国際的なビジネス都市) こうした多方面にわたる集中は土地利用の競争を起こしている。多くの大都市は首都であり、資本の集中がなされており、行政や司法などの機関が立地している。大都市の成長は後背地の農村や小さな都市からの労力や原材料による。小さな都市との差は次第に大きくなっている。N I C の経済的な成長は大都市の経済的な成功に大きく依存している。また、大都市の変容過程は外部の経済の影響を強く受けている。

そして、シンガポールを除いて、公共住宅などの低所得層に対する住宅施策は不十分である。不法占拠者は急激な都市化の最大の現象である。大都市の景観はこうした経済の急激で混乱した発展を示している。

ホンコンは、こうしたN I C s の都市に共通する現象が起こっており、経済の変容に対応して高密度な大都市が空間的に変化していくことを示している。工業化の段階では、開発は郊外でなされた。ポスト工業化の段階ではオフィスは都心部でなされた。このように西欧の都市発展の形態とは大きく違う。国際的なビジネスの段階では、オフィスはC B Dに残り、経済と社会生活の対立する土地利用は激しく対立し、物理的な成長の特徴になっている。

N I C s の大都市の計画は、4つの点で西欧のそれと異なるであろう。1、大都市は国の経済の中心であり、経済と社会開発の間におこる公害と競争が常にある。2、都心空間の再編成過程が多様である。3、不法占拠者が社会問題や土地利用問題として大きい。4、高密度の開発が混合用途と共に行われ、社会資本投資を軽減されるようにしている。

THE PROPAGATION AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE MODERN CITY PLANNING IN KOREA

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Prof. Byong-Kee, KAHNG

The city planning technology as the object of urban operation, which emerges in city, is known to result from the culture according to the standpoint of that the city is the product of culture. Thus this paper tried to explain the process of the propagation and acceptance of the modern city planning as the process of the conflict and transition between the 'ground' culture and 'map' culture in Korea on the presumption that the transition of planning technology should be grasped as the process of both cultural transition and technological transition.

In this paper, firstly, the distinction between the idea of Korea and the modern idea of the West about the fence, such as land or place, road and boundary facility which are closely related with the city planning, is outlined. Next, in spite of some points of the visible technology of the Korean culture similar with the neighborhood theory and superblock conception popularized as the technology of the modern city planning in the world, what changes have been caused for their concept in Korea are considered. Also, not remaining in the acceptance stage, besides the forceful direction of the modern city planning, the scenes which have to be grasped as the cultural conflict are dealt with by the cases of fence, paling and expansion of commercial activities along street. On the basis of the above stated, the problems of technological transition for the future are also considered from the experience of Korea in the two types of the transition of city planning technology including the compulsory transition and imitative transition.

Finally, the deepgoing understanding and discernment of the map culture carried on the technology and the ground culture held by the receiving region are considered to be necessary for the transition of cultural technology like city planning. Moreover, it is maintained that the cushioning and coexistent technology with which the conflict of the above two kinds of culture can be resolved under the moderate, not integrative, ideology should be firstly developed or transited in the acceptance side.

康 炳基

(Byong-Kee, KAHNG)

《 概 要 》

都市というものが極めて文化的所産であるという立場に立って考えると、都市の中から発生し、都市の操作の対象とする都市計画技術は、やはり文化的産物である。従って、計画技術の移転は、技術の移転とともに、文化の移転過程として捉えねばならないという前提に立って、近代都市計画の伝播と受容の過程を、韓国における「地」の文化と「図」の文化の葛藤、変容の過程として解釈することを試みた。

都市計画に関係が深いと考えられる、土地あるいは場所、道、境界装置としての塀に関し、韓国人の思想と西欧近代の違いの特徴を概観する。次に、近代都市計画がその技術として世界中に流行させた近隣住区理論とスーパーブロックの考え方が、韓国文化の中で、可視的技術の面では似ているにもかかわらず、どのようなコンセプト上の変化を起しているのかを考えてみた。最後に、いまだ受容の段階には至らず、強力な近代都市計画指向にもかかわらず、文化的葛藤として捉えられるべき場面を、塀と柵、商業活動の路線形展開を事例に論じる。以上を土台に、都市計画技術移転を二つの方式、移転強制型と模倣移転型に区分し、両方式を体験した韓国の経験を通して、今後の技術移転問題を考えてみた。

都市計画のような文化的技術の移転にあっては、技術が背負っている図の文化と、受容先が持っている地の文化への深い理解と洞察が必須であること、二つの文化の出遣いを統合 (integrate) の思想ではなく中庸の思想で解決できるような、緩衝と共存の技術こそが、まず受け入れ側で開発されるか、移転されねばならないことを主張している。

Chung-Sup Yoon (Dr.)

The open ports of Pusan (1879), Mokpo, Jinnampo, Gunsan and Sungjin marked the beginning of modern urban planning in Korea, with land-subdivision and attempts at street-widening, paving, drainage and so forth. At that time, the humanistic planning approach of Patrick Geddes, with emphasis on survey and analysis, was introduced.

It was with the Chosun Built-Up Area Planning Act of 1934 that zoning and land subdivision became officially adopted as urban planning tools. The framework provided distinctions such as "city planning areas", "parks", "scenic beauty districts" and "land-subdivision districts" rather than "commercial", "residential" and "industrial" use zoning. To this day, the positive and negative control of building use permitted in use zones is separately regulated by the Building Code, on Japanese lines, although the Chosun was finally abolished in 1962 when the City Planning Law was passed, and American influence prevailed.

American influence meant a more comprehensive and interdisciplinary approach, and introduction of the Master Plan with goals, objectives and planning content, the model case being Youngju (1961). The influences on American planning in the 1970s. of the human rights movement and advances in science and technology were also felt in Korea. Environmental Impact Assessment was adopted for large estate development and calls were made for more realistic citizen participation. Socio-economic goals and indices were included as well as physical ones in the general plan.

Since 1980 there have been many sophistications in the use of PIA, EIA and TIA, ie. Population, Environment and Transport Impact Assessment. The Building Code demands 3-dimensional volume design for urban design areas (cf. comprehensive area in U.K.). Experiments are being made with concepts such as PUD and CUD, ie. Planned and Community Unit Development.

The promotion of public interest and welfare is seen as the goal of city planning, which is therefore more public-sector than private-sector oriented, and as far as regulatory measures are concerned, the dominant influence of the "goal-tool" theme has been American.

However, when it comes to planning philosophy, there is a search for a new Korean regionalism, and this includes a re-evaluation of the roots of Korean traditional urban planning, influenced as it was by the Chang-an grid-iron pattern, and incorporating Chinese geomancy (fungshui) site planning. This comes at a time when local authorities are being given a greater say in decision-making.

概要

「戦後都市計画へのアメリカの影響：韓国の場合（1945－現在）」

尹定燮 (Dr. Chung-Sup Yoon)

アサン（1879年）などの開港は、土地分割、道路拡幅など伴う韓国における近代都市計画の始まりであった。この時、調査—分析というゲデスの人間的な都市計画の方法が導入された。

続いて1934年の朝鮮市街地計画令の中で、用途地域制、土地分割規則が明記され、用途地域を区分するというよりむしろ、計画区域、公園、景勝地が示された。当時、建築基準法は別に単体規制の手段として、日本の制度そのものとしてあった。そして1962年、アメリカ都市計画の影響をうけた都市計画が制定され、この旧法体系は廃止された。

アメリカの影響とは、総合的な方法、マスタープラン主義を中心にしたものであった。また70年代、アメリカ風の科学技術分野での民主的考え方が、韓国都市計画へ影響した。環境アセスメント、住民参加、社会・経済的目標への注目も、アメリカの影響といえよう。

80年代、人口・環境・交通関連のアセスメントが行われ、建築基準法もデザイン志向となった。また目的—手段説が、計画の基本的考え方として広く受け入れられた。

新しい傾向としては、韓国伝来の伝統的都市計画とは何か—といった土着的、地域主義的な計画観も見直されるようになり、中国・長安の計画、風水説が再注目をあびている。1988年の地方自治の認定は、韓国都市計画に新しい方向を与えよう。

THE BIRTH AND FORMATION OF THE PLANNING THEORY ON THE METROPOLITAN FUNCTION AND STRUCTURE OF TOKYO Prof. Hidemitsu KAWAKAMI The University of Tokyo

This paper reviews the city planning of Tokyo over the past century and deals with the formation of the idea and theory on the metropolitan plans formulated until now. Since the open of Japan to foreign intercourse, beginning at the improvement for the magnificent appearance of the imperial capital as the preliminary of the revision of the unequal treaties, the capital improvement has been continually concerned with seeking after the international model. This paper tries to make clear 'the logic of the position on the plans' by which the biggest metropolitan region of the world with above thirty million population has been built up while the decentralization policy was constantly advocated under the influence of the West, especially Britain, since 1940. These plans have been known to be the challenge to the huge metropolitan limit.

When tracing this process, the several themes pursued over hundred years appear in the mind.

- 1) The Conversion of the Cities to the Preventable State from Disaster
- 2) The Improvement of the Urban Structure Including the Road and Railway Network Supporting the Metropolitan Function
- 3) The Improvement of the City Central Area and the Fostering of the Subcenters
- 4) The Favoritism to the Harbor District
- 5) The Metropolitan Redevelopment

Even though the more or less difference appeared in the above main subjects of the metropolitan Tokyo by period, they are known to have had the strong continuity through the past hundred years. This kind of continuity wasn't only related to the continuity of the requested administrative responsibility held by the National Government and Tokyo Metropolitan Government but also resulted from the logic structure possessed inevitably in the metropolitan Tokyo function and structure. Since the Meiji era, as the main task for Tokyo with the role of the center of the high growth over a century, the continuing improvement of the infrastructure in Tokyo has been requested for supporting the larger continuing agglomeration.

Until now, the planning idea on which through constructing the system of the huge, capable and rationally functional infrastructure covering the metropolitan region, with the safe, comfortable and effective environment, the huge metropolitan functions are possible to be agglomerated has been formed. Because the policy of decentralization from Tokyo to localities didn't effectively functioned beyond the capital region, the formulation and execution of the big plan for forming the rational system accepting the concentration of the population and industry in the capital region into the metropolitan Tokyo region have always been the large subject unable to be left alone since the period of the high growth of economy. The reason why the effort toward the above object, going beyond the range of the measure to the problem of the overcrowding or the survival policy of Tokyo, resulted in the formation of the circular system increasingly promoting the huge agglomeration to the metropolitan Tokyo region just is the logic structure of the position on the planning of Tokyo.

過去一世紀にわたる東京の都市計画を振り返り、東京を現在迄に作りあげて来た大都市計画の思想とその論理の形成を考える。開国後、不平等条約改正の布石としての帝都の偉容を整えることに端を発して以来、首都の整備には国際的なモデルを追究する関心が、現在に至る迄続いている。欧米、特に英国の影響を受けて1940年代から現在迄、絶えず分散策を唱えながら、今や人口 3,000万人以上の世界最大の都市圏を形成してなお、巨大都市の限界に挑戦するかに見える「計画が置かれた状況の論理」を明らかにする。

この経過を辿ってくると、百年以上にわたって追求してきたテーマが浮かび上がってくる。

- 1) 都市の防災化
- 2) 道路網、鉄道網等、大都市機能を支える都市構造の整備の実現
- 3) 都心地区の整備と副都心の育成
- 4) 臨港地区への執念
- 5) 都市再開発

これらの東京都市計画の主要課題は、時代によって夫々に濃淡の差はあったにせよ、百年を通じて強い連続性を持っていた。この連続性は、国や東京都が行政責任として持つべき連続性もさることながら、巨大都市東京の機能と構造が必然的に帯びるに至った論理構造に由来する。すなわち明治以来、一世紀以上にわたるわが国の高度成長の中心的役割を担い続けて来た東京に対して、そのインフラストラクチャーを絶えず、より大きな集積に堪えうるよう整備し続けることが主題として要請されたのであった。

これは道路、鉄道、港湾、空港などからなる都市構造を重ねて、大都市構造、更には大都市圏構造と重層的に拡大・強化し、都市機能を担う諸活動が立地する圏域を拡げるシステムを作れば、安全、快適な環境のもとに巨大な都市機能の集積が可能であるとする思想を形成した。大都市の限界に対する挑戦であると言ってよい。東京から地方への分散策が首都圏域をこえて迄は有効に機能しない為に、首都圏における人口、産業の集積を受け入れる合理的なシステムを東京大都市圏に形成する大計画の策定と実施は、高度成長期以来放置できない大課題となった。この為の努力が、過密の弊害対策、換言すれば、東京の生き残り策の域を越えて、東京都市圏への巨大集積の進行を一層促進する循環システムとなってしまったのが、東京計画がおかれている状況の論理構造である。

Research Institute of Construction and Economy
Executive Director Tokunosuke HASEGAWA

In taking the issue of town planning history, especially change of land use from rural to urban, I would like, at first, to show concretely the historical changes of the relations between urban and rural area in Tokyo, by using maps and statistics. Here, the changes in the urban structure within Tokyo Metropolitan Region will be grasped quantitatively through the changes in population and land use from 1900 for 80 years. The specific aim is to display definite forms of the expansion of urbanized areas and the recedure of rural areas through comparion of changes in populations and land uses of classified areas and distances within Tokyo Metropolitan Region in time series.

Such figures are common to cities of various nations and it seems necessary to make a comparison of such analysis among those cities. I take, herein, the examples of the urban spheres of London and Paris. I hope that materials and date will be collected so that such comparison will be mede with New York or other big cities.

In order to compare the urban development movement since 1850, I would like to grasp the population movements in the three big cities classified by areas and distance. Accurate comparison is difficult due to the differences of time when administrative districts were changed and statistics were made.

It seems necessary to collect and prepare such data in order to grasp the traces of the urban growth historically.

(財)建設経済研究所
常務理事 長谷川 徳之輔

- 都市計画、都市政策の歴史を取扱うに当っては、とくに都市の都市構造の変化を把える必要があり、まず、その歴史の舞台となった東京について、地図及び統計を使って都市と田園の間の変化をさぐっていく。
- ここでは、東京都市圏の都市構造の変化を、まず人口と土地利用の1900年から80年間の期間を通しての変化で把える。この分析の目的は、一定の圏域と東京の中心部からの距離に従って人口、人口密度、土地利用の変化を比較することによって都市構造の変化と示そうとするものである。
- このような数値は、多くの都市に共通するものであり、このような共通の尺度によって相互に都市構造を比較する必要がある。ここでは、ロンドンとパリについてとりあげている。このような人口、土地利用に関するタイムシリーズの詳細なデータが入手できれば、例えばニューヨークのような大都市との比較も面白い。
- 近代の比較都市史を研究するために、各都市について地域を区分し、距離別で、かつ、時系列で人口、土地利用などのデータを求める必要がある。しかし、行政区域の変更や統計の改訂などのために、正確な比較分析は困難である。
- 土地利用の変化(地図)
 - 行政区域の変遷
 - 東京とパリの都市拡大の比較
 - 東京圏の人口動態
 - 東京都区部の都市構造の変化
 - 東京都区部の人口動態
 - 土地利用の変化(宅地化比率)
 - 宅地面積の増加と緑地の減少
 - 東京、ニューヨーク、ロンドン、パリの人口変化の比較
 - 東京、ロンドン、パリの都市構造の変化の比較

Yozaburo SHIRAHATA

The history of the system of modern city parks in Japan began by the Declaration of the Cabinet in 1873. After that about 400 parks were constructed between Meiji and Taisho Era. The most important event in the history of city planning and city parks about that time was the Tokyo City Improvement. It included two aspects which characterized the history of city parks in Japan.

One is that the planning of parks modeled after that of European cities. The other is that it was under the administrative control to plan, design and arrange parks.

In the Tokyo City Improvement Ordinance of 1888, London, Paris, Berlin and Wien were regarded as the four major cities in Europe. The rate of the park area to the population and city area, and the number of the parks in these cities were ideal for the administrative officials. The strong initiative of the administration was shown by the fact that the open spaces used in Edo Era were designated as parks, whose number was calculated from that of the European major four cities. It depends upon the administrative designation whether the places would be parks or not. About the features of the design of Japanese parks, we can see in the changes of the design of Hibiya-Park which was opened in 1903. 8 plans had been rejected from the first plan of 1893 to the last one of 1901. The reason to reject them seems that they were not European but Japanese styles. The final design was consulted the latest German text book of garden designs at that time.

The English and German parks which Japanese modeled were not only the places of popular amusements but also the places where the living style and the recreation of the ruling class were shown as better one and forced to the working class.

In the former half of 19th century, to make parks was not fashion but the absolute necessity for the upper class in the cities in Europe. The parks ornamented the cities which were their major active and living places.

Visiting Europe after the opening of the country, Japanese were highly impressed at the grandeur of these cities in which such parks were began to be constructed. The Japanese belonged to the intellectuals and the ruling class who had the same aesthetic sense as the European counterpart. Historical necessity made the parks constructed as facilities for the ruling class in Europe and Japan. The people who would push to construct the European style parks were those who thought Japan should take her place in the sisterhood of advanced countries and that Japan should have modern cities from the point of the city planning. This is the reason why the planning and design of parks modeled after those of European cities and the administration took the initiative in the planning and designs of the parks.

白幡 洋三郎

日本の近代的都市公園制度の歴史は、1873年太政官が出した布告に始まる。以後各地に公園が開設され、明治、大正年間に全国でおよそ400カ所近くの公園が誕生した。その間都市計画史上、都市公園史上の重要な出来事である東京市区改正があるが、そこには、後の日本都市公園史を特徴づける2つの面が見いだせる。

第1は、計画上の基準を欧米都市を模範として設定したこと。第2は、常に行政が主導して公園を計画し、デザインし、配置したことである。

第1の特徴については、1888年の市区改正案を生み出す母体となった1884年の市区改正審査会の中の公園計画案に、ロンドン・パリ・ベルリン・ウィーンを欧州の4大都市とみなし、その人口や市域面積に対する公園数及び公園面積が日本の首都東京の公園が理想とすべき数字の根拠となっていたことが挙げられる。また第2の特徴である、公園設置への行政の積極的なかわりは、欧州4大都市の統計から出てきた数字に見合うよう、江戸時代から庶民に利用されている場所を拾い出して公園に指定したという事実が、明らかにしてくれる。すなわち、公園であるか否かは、庶民の利用状態を根拠にしたのではなくて、行政が公園と指定するか否かだけにかかっていた。公園デザインの面においても、明治36年に開園した日比谷公園を例にすると、明治26年から明治34年まで、実に8つもの案が作られたが、ほとんどすべてが日本風であり、洋風でないという点で否定された。最終案は、当時のドイツの代表的な都市公園設計図を参考にしてできあがったものであった。

日本の初期公園制度を振り返ってみると、欧米が公園先進国と見なされ、欧米諸国の公園を模範として行政が強力な公園政策を指導したことが大きな特徴であった。ところが、日本が模範とした欧米の公園、たとえばイギリスやドイツの公園は、都市の上層階級が自らの必要から作りだしたものであり、好ましからざる民衆のレクリエーションに対置すべくつくられたものであった。それはまた、階級的な同一性と優越を確認するために重要な社交の場であった。19世紀前半、ヨーロッパ各国において公園の設置は流行というよりは都市の主人公である上層市民階級の使命だったのである。従って彼らの主要な活動・生活の場である都市を装飾するものとしても公園は重要な役割を担っていた。

開国以後に欧米諸国を見た日本人は、大都市の華麗さに感嘆した。それはちょうど各都市が公園を備える時期にぶつかったからであり、また彼らが欧米の都市中流市民と共通する美意識をもった知識人や、指導者層だったからである。欧米の公園が生まれた歴史的必然性は、これをぜひ必要とする階級が存在したからだが、日本の近代公園制度もそのような施設と制度をぜひ必要とする人々がいたからこそ生まれた。公園制度を推し進めた人々はあきらかに、日本を先進国に仲間入りさせる必要があると思っていた人々であり、都市計画からみれば先進国と認められるにふさわしい都市が必要だと考える人々であった。公園の計画並びにその設置やデザインにおいて、わが国が常に欧米を模範とし、いかにも行政主導的な色彩が強かったのはこのためだったのである。

by Shizuo NAKAMURA

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As city management is based on the worldwide principle, city problems have been trying to exclude factors of both originality and variety of nationalization, regionalism and socialization.

SYNTHETIC: *Preußisches Fluchtliniengesetz* is main task of study.
BUILDING LINE: About setting the location of road project, "District Development Planning System" in 1980 is followed after. LAND DEVELOPMENT WITH FRAGMENTATION: Special Planning Law in 1923 is formed with reference to English translated Adickes Law. It contributed to the war damage reconstruction greatly. ROAD AND TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM: As a result road laws are also greatly influenced by German system. ZONING SYSTEM is Old City Planning Law and Urban Building Law is influenced. REGULATION OF AESTHETIC AND NATURE CONSERVATION ZONING: Especially what an aesthetic zoning district has been developed as the integration of the Emperor system, Fascism and racial culture. BUILDING HEIGHT REGULATION was substantially applied in making architectural ensemble for large width of road and aesthetic zoning district. SOCIAL POLICY insisted since the end of MEIJI-period and its realization for zoning system regulation were introduced. CITY PLANNING ADMINISTRATION: These plans have been ordered one-sidedly by the government office, and it has begun the same city planning system from pre-war till high economic growth times in post-war. After World War II, both countries have newly organized the special administration for city planning. The thought which German city planning was only media in order to realize the whole future image of city government has, not been introduced.

ドイツ都市計画制度が日本に及ぼした影響に関する研究 (概要)

インターコミュニティ研究所

所長 中村 静夫

産業という万国共通の経済原則で都市経営が成立していたことから、都市を計量化し、システム化し、フィジカルに取り扱い、マスプロダクションを支援するのが、都市計画の課題であった。言葉を変えれば、国民性や地域性あるいはまた社会性等の固有ないし多様性等のファクターを排除する役目を都市計画が担っていたといえよう。日本がドイツに似せてきた側面が認められるので、その内容について21の国内研究論文を分析する。

日本の都市計画制度等の形成過程でドイツの都市計画制度の何を導入したかという①総合的にはPreußisches Fluchtliniengesetz (プロイセン建築後退線法)が主要な研究課題になっており、行政主導による禁止規定に基づく日本の都市計画等の制度形成過程に与えた事である。②ドイツ建築線規定をそのまま踏襲したことと「地区計画制度」に踏襲されている。③土地区画整理は震災復興と戦災復興事業にも大きく貢献した。④道路と交通体系は道路法がドイツの影響を強く受けた。⑤用途地域制は旧都市計画法と市街地建築物法に強い影響を与えた。⑥風地・美観地区の指定は天皇制とファシズムと国民文化の統合として展開された。⑦建物階数規定は広幅員道路の空間造形や美観地区への適用として実質的に導入された。⑧社会政策は衛生上の概念とそれを具体化するための用途地域制の規定に導入された。⑨都市計画の主管は内務省が都市計画と建築物関連を規制する主務官庁となる。都市計画等は中央行政庁の上位下達の政策となり、戦後は共に都市計画等の担当省庁を新設している点も共通している。

ドイツの都市計画制度等は時の政権の指導の下での富国強兵と天皇制の維持ならびにファシズム支配による絶対政治のためであり、封建的な政治と思想の下で、工業主体の近代化を乗り切ろうとしたことが窺える。ドイツ都市計画制度等から導入できなかったものは都市計画が市町村自治体の計画高権であるにも拘らず日本では都市計画が国家の課題であるとされたことである。

District Planning in Japan and Germany: A Comparative and Historical Analysis
-summary-

Building Research Institute, Ministry of Construction
Kenjiro Omura

In 1980 the district planning system was newly enacted to overcome the weakness of the urban planning system established by the town planning act in 1968. By the establishment of this district planning system both German Bebauungsplan (district plan) and the town planning practice in advanced municipalities in Japan at that time were referred.

This report compares the district planning system of both countries tracing the historical development of the district planning system of each country.

Firstly the background of the introduction of the district planning system is explained. It was a old town planning system by 1919 act that treated and guided the rapid urban expansion and housing development in the era of high economic growth from the late 1950s till the first half of 1970s, which caused serious urban problems. Lastly in 1968 at the peak of economic growth the new town planning act was enacted. This act showed much progress to prevent the sprawled development and to guide the planned development in the following points: transfer of the planning power to local government, specification of urbanization promotion area (UPA) and urbanization control area (UCA), development permission. But in the praxis process of this 1968 act, some weakness of the planning system had appeared. The absence of the adequate planning instrument to control the building activity on the district level for the better housing environment was pointed out. To solve this problems the district planning system was established. It contributed to strengthen the planning power of municipality. Besides the detailed control contents, the district planning is used selectively parallel to other planning instruments since this system is added as 7th instrument into present town planning system.

Then the historical development and presence of German B-plan is mentioned. The present two tiered planning system of F-plan and B-plan in West Germany established 1960 act has a long development history. In this report the archetype of B-plan was historically explained and the present character of it is analyzed.

Finally the characteristic of Japanese district planning in comparison with German B-plan is mentioned and the future scope of Japanese district planning is mentioned based on the survey of actual application of this system in municipalities.

[論文概要]

1980年、都市計画法、建築基準法の改正により、地区計画制度が日本において導入された。この地区計画制度は、1968年のいわゆる新都市計画法によって成立した、都市計画システムがその後の運用により、露呈した限界を克服することを企図して導入された制度である。この地区計画制度の成立に当たっては、当時、日本の先進的自治体で行われていた、様々な街づくりの試みが、参照されたと同時に、西ドイツの地区計画制度、いわゆる、Bプランが参考にされた。

本稿は、日本、西ドイツの地区計画制度の形成の歴史をたどりながら、現在の両国の都市計画システムにおける地区計画制度について比較史的に検討するものである。

まず、1980年に日本に地区計画制度が導入されるについての背景について概説する。高度成長期の全般的時期にわたっての、急激な市街地拡大、宅地開発に当たったのは、1919年に制定された旧い都市計画法に基づく計画システムであり、問題を含んでいた。高度成長期の後半の1968年になって漸く、新都市計画法が制定された。この法は都市計画権限の地方政府への移譲、区域区分制度、開発許可制度など、無秩序な市街化を抑制し、計画的に誘導する面で、大きな進展を示した。しかしこの新しい、都市計画制度システムも、その後の制度運用の過程で、スプロール市街地の発生、ミニ開発等の問題を生み出してきた。これらのミクロなレベルの市街地整備上の問題を解決することを企図して制定されたのが地区計画制度である。地区計画制度は、基礎自治体としての市町村の計画権限を強化する上で画期的なものであったが、地区計画制度が他の計画制度と並列的に付加された経緯で、地区計画制度適用区域と適用区域外の調整の問題を含んでいる等の面を含めてこの制度の特色について整理している。

つぎに、日本の地区計画制度の範型となった、西ドイツのBプラン制度について論究している。1960年の連邦建設法の制定により現在のFプラン、Bプランの2層型の都市計画制度体系が成立し、地区レベルのミクロな市街地環境の整序に大きな効果を発揮しているが、現在の一応完成した形になるまでには歴史的な積み重ねがあった。本稿では、1875年のプロイセン街路及び建築線法を出発点としたBプラン制度の歴史をトレースする形で、現在のBプラン制度を西独都市計画システムの中で位置づけている。

以上の議論を踏まえ、日独両国の地区計画制度の特質を比較し、この間の地区計画制度の市町村での実践状況を概観しながら、日本型地区計画制度の展望を行っている。

1. First

The purpose of this paper are clarifying the next 3 points.

① As for Okinawa City Planning Did it would have received the influence of the policy and planning system of U.S. reign government in the postwar? ② Simultaneously, as for Okinawa City Planning how did it would have maintained the relation with Japan City Planning? ③ Would have existed Okinawa original City Planning among U.S. and Japan? It is a characteristic of this paper to put and clarify importance in the above ① especially.

It describes to the next order in this paper.

(a) First of all , the changes and mechanism of the U.S. reign organization and Okinawa self governing organization was grasped as the reign organization in Okinawa of the postwar.

(b) Next, the materialization and changes of Okinawa City Planning was going to be announced every era classification including the relation between U.S. reign government and Naha city.

(c) The role and effect of practical case that U.S. reign government has got involved simultaneously, was searched. And the relation with Japanese City Planning was contorasted.

(d) The interesting of U.S. reign government for Okinawa City Planning was grasped by 3 survey reports (city planning, traffic, industrial city) that U.S. civil Administlation of the Ryukyu Islands investigated.

(e) The role that U.S. reign government accomplished for Okinawa city Planning was evaluated by these results. And it studied about the characteristic and the influence that Okinawa City Plannig received from U.S. reign government.

The contents of this paper are as follows.

2. The Reign Organization of Okinawa After the War

(1) Reign Organization by U. S.

① U. S. Military Government ② USCAR

(2) Self Governing Organization of Okinawa

① Okinawa Inquiry Committee ② Okinawa Civil Administration
③ Okinawa Gunto Government ④ Ryukyu Government

3. Materialization and Changes of Okinawa City Planning and Role of U. S. Reign Government in the Postwar

(1) Unlawful and Direct Reign Period (1945~50)

① Direct Reign by U.S. Military Government
② Compulsory Transmigration " Land Allotment" System
③ Aid in Kind "Standard House" ④ GROA Aid
⑤ Naha City Planning for Rehabilitation by U. S. Military Government
⑥ Building Permission of U. S. Military Government

(2) Regulation City Planning and Indirect Reign Start Period (1950~52)

① Authorization of Naha City Planning
② Naha City Planning Regulation and Urban Area Building Control Regulation
③ Aid by Ryukyu Restoration Finance Fund
④ Okinawa Islands Building Standard Regulation ⑤ Switching to USCAR

(3) Statutory City Planning and Self governing Idea Period (1952~56)

① Establishment of City Planning Law by Ryukyu Government
② Dicision of Statutory Naha City Planning

(4) Capital City Constrution Planning and Finance reign period (1956~60)

① Promotion of Capital City Construction Planning
② Stoppage of Aid to Progressive Mayor

(5) Practical City Planning and Long Term Planning Research period (1960~68)

① Slum District and Details Street Plan
② Survey of Okinawa City Planning by USCAR

(6) Japanese Assimilation Period (1968~72)

4. Conclusion

① Influence of U.S. Reign Government ② Relation with Japan
③ Originality of Okinawa City Planning

琉球大学 教授 池田孝之

1. はじめに

本論文は、戦後の米国統治の間における、①沖縄の都市計画への米国統治政府の政策や計画の影響、②日本の都市計画との関係、③沖縄独自の都市計画の存在、これらの3点の解明を通して、占領政策としての米国統治計画の性格とその影響、それに対する沖縄都市計画の独自性を探ることを目的とする。特に上記①に重点をおいて解明する。

本論文では、①まず、米国の統治機構と沖縄の自治組織の変遷及びその仕組みについて把握した。②次に、那覇市を中心に、戦後の沖縄都市計画の成立とその変遷を米国統治政府との関わりを含めて時代区分毎に明らかにした。③同時に、米国統治政府が関与した具体事例についてその役割と効果の程を探り、日本都市計画との関連も対比して見た。④更に、米国統治政府の沖縄都市計画への関心の程度、考え方について、琉球列島米国民政府が行った3調査報告書(都市計画、交通、工業都市)より把握した。⑤以上から、米国統治政府の沖縄都市計画に果たした役割を評価し、沖縄都市計画が受けた影響と特徴について考察した。
論文の目次を以下に示す。

2. 戦後沖縄の統治機構

(1) 米国による統治機構

①米軍政府 ②米国民政府

(2) 沖縄の自治組織

①沖縄諮詢会 ②沖縄民政府 ③沖縄群島政府 ④琉球政府

3. 戦後沖縄都市計画の成立・変遷と米国統治政府の役割

(1) 第1期：無法・直接統治期 (1945~50年)

①米軍政府による直接統治 ②強制移住「割当土地」制度

③現物援助「規格住宅」 ④ガリオア援助

⑤米軍政府による那覇復興計画案 ⑥米軍政府による建築許可等

(2) 第2期：条例都市計画・間接統治開始期 (1950~52年)

①那覇都市計画の認可 ②那覇市都市計画条例・市街地建築物制限条例

③琉球復興金融基金による援助 ④沖縄群島建築基準条例

⑤米国民政府への切り換え

(3) 第3期：法定都市計画・自治抗争期 (1952~56年)

①琉球政府による都市計画関連法の整備 ②法定那覇都市計画の決定

(4) 第4期：首都建設計画・金融統治期 (1956~60年)

①首都建設計画の推進 ②革新市長への補助停止

(5) 第5期：実際の市街地整備・長期的計画調査期 (1960~68年)

①不良住宅地区と細部街路計画 ②米国民政府による沖縄都市計画の調査

(6) 第6期：日本同化期 (1968~72年)

4. 結論

①米国統治政府の影響 ②日本との関係 ③沖縄都市計画の独自性

This paper aims to answer two questions:

1) Why did Japan NOT adopt French or British planning models in her drive to modernise society following the Meiji Restoration 1869? In other words, why were French and British models not suitable to the complex process of transferring planning tools to Japan?

2) Why did Japan adopt a German model, i.e., land readjustment, as the basic tool of public policy in the field of land use planning? In other words, what made the German model acquire the qualities necessary for transferability?

A third question, relating to this aspect, is also tackled. Japan and Germany have both embraced land readjustment as the basic tool of planning. However, German land readjustment has evolved into a Master Planning system, whereas the Japanese tool has become a flexible method of implementation, particularly for infrastructure. The paper attempts to identify the reasons underlying such difference in evolution.

To study the subject of transferability of planning tools is to study the nature of legitimacy required in a particular society for the introduction of new instruments of public policy. The paper, therefore, concentrates on the theme of legitimacy, particularly in relation to transferability. So far, comparative planning studies have largely neglected this crucial element, and have generally adhered to a more descriptive approach of research. It is the reasearch aim of this paper to introduce the study of legitimacy as a basic element in comparative planning, particularly that planning concepts and techniques have, over the decades since the Industrial Revolution, moved across national borders, resulting often in a pattern of development that lead to the creation of unique national systems.

Through utilising legitimacy requirements, the answers to the above mentioned questions are, very briefly, as follows:

1) The French model, although attractive because of the technical nature of bureaucratic actions, could not acquire legitimacy in Japan because of its reliance on compulsory land acquisition. The cultural value of land is extremely high in Japan, particularly in the period following the abolition of feudalism (1868).

The British model, represented in the Public Health Act 1848, did not offer any specific technical tool, with a universal character, to be transferred.

2) The German tool of land readjustment embraced a co-operative approach, thus respecting the value of ownership, as well as allowing the administration to guide and control the process. Here the emphasis is placed on the nature of the State, in its social welfare and constabulary roles, and on the role of administration as the 'State in action'.

ヨーロッパと日本における計画システムの
社会的受容性と転移可能性

ベルナルド・シマン , 戸田 常一
(京都大学)

本論文では次の2つの設問に答えることをねらいとする。

- ① 日本では明治維新以降に社会の近代化を進めるにあたって、なぜフランスやイギリスの計画モデルを採用しなかったのか。言い換えれば、フランスやイギリスのモデルはなぜ、日本へ計画手段を転移する際の複雑な過程に適合しなかったのか。
 - ② 日本は土地利用計画の分野の基本的な公共政策手段として、ドイツのモデル、すなわち土地区画整理手法をなぜ採用したのか。
- ②の点に関連して第3の設問についても考察する。すなわち、日本とドイツでは基本的な計画手段として土地区画整理手法を取り込んでいた。しかし、ドイツでは土地区画整理の手法はマスタープランの制度へと発展したが、それに対して日本では、特に社会的基盤施設 (infrastructure) 整備のための柔軟な事業手法となっている。本論文では、国によってなぜこのように異なった発展を遂げたのかの考察を試みる。

計画手段の転移可能性 (transferability) を研究することは、ある社会に新たな公共政策手段を導入する際にどのような社会的受容性 (legitimacy) が必要かを検討することに相当する。そのため、本論文では特に、転移可能性の視点から社会的受容性のテーマを扱うこととする。これまで比較計画研究 (comparative planning study) の多くはこの決定的な要素を配慮せず、通常はより記述的な研究アプローチにとどまっている。比較計画研究における基本要素として社会的受容性の研究を導入するのが本論文のねらいであり、特に、計画の概念や技法は産業革命以来何十年にもわたって、国境を越えて伝播し、しばしばそれが発展して独特な国家システムの形成に結び付いた。

社会的受容性という点から、上述の2つの設問に対する解答は次のように要約できる。

- ① フランスのモデルは、官僚的行為の技術的性格の面では魅力的であるが、土地の強制収容に大きく依存している点で日本における社会的受容性を獲得することはできなかった。日本では、1868年に封建制度が廃止されて以来、土地に対する社会的価値は極端に高いという事情に関連している。また、1848年の公衆衛生法に表わされるイギリスのモデルは、普遍的な性格を有したものであり、転移できるような特別な技術的手法を提示したものではなかった。
- ② ドイツの土地区画整理手法は、協力的な (co-operative) アプローチとして、土地所有権の価値を尊重し、かつ行政による事業プロセスの指導もしくは制御を可能とする。ここでは、社会的福祉や警察の役割という点で国家の性格が強調され、また国家の運営のために行政体の役割が重視されていた。

Yorifusa Ishida

We can hardly understand fully Japanese modern urban planning history without considering the repeated transfer of western modern urban planning; its concepts, ideas, techniques and systems. However, not all of the information was adapted successfully and yielded good results in Japanese modern urban planning. There were many failures as successes in transferring western planning systems to Japan. The failures can be categorized as follows; (1) Lack of awareness of information's importance; (2) Superficial knowledge of foreign systems; (3) Mistakes or misunderstandings in selecting information; (4) Inability to implementing western modeled systems; (5) Japanese political and social conditions that obstructed and prevented acceptance of foreign planning systems; (6) Tendency to understand planning ideas or concept apart from its background.

Causes of failure in the transfer of urban planning systems and techniques are no other than errors in receiving or interpreting the information. To some extent, it was due to inexperience on the part of the information's recipient; however, it also can be said that the information had not been sufficiently processed for the recipient's needs.

As the immediate recipients of urban planning information, planning experts must have a thorough knowledge of foreign systems but it is even more important to have full knowledge of the actual urban conditions of ones own country and to select, introduce and process foreign urban planning information on the basis of those urban problems of needing to be solved.

The ultimate recipients of foreign planning systems are the cities themselves. If some foreign system is transferred and applied to a given city without consideration of the conditions of the city, it causes a rejective reaction and the transferred system and concept might never take root. Without efforts to acquire the citizens' consent or landowners' understanding, even if the planners regard the applicable foreign planning system as the most appropriate one, it could not achieve good results nor even take root.

In concluding this article the author mentioned a good example in which a vernacular planning technique and transferred foreign technique have been combined, that is the Japanese land readjustment system.

明治以来、多くの接点を通じて、多くの欧米都市計画に関する情報が日本にもたらされ、影響を与えて来た。しかし、そこには成功の例よりも多いくらいの失敗の例がある。本稿では、明治初年から現在に至る間の失敗例を、情報の受けとめ損ない、誤解、制度化の失敗など、いくつかの要因にわけて考察し、都市計画制度の国際的移転に関する教訓を得ることを目的とする。

取りあげる事例は、要因別に次のようなものである。

(a) 都市計画情報としての重要性が認識されなかったもの、(b) 欧米制度の理解が充分でなかったもの、(c) 情報の選択に誤りや誤解があったもの、(d) 制度化したが実施の体制がないため無効になったもの、(e) 日本の政治的・社会的条件が受けとめ方を誤らせたもの、(f) 計画思想・コンセプト等を、その政治・社会・経済的基盤から切りはなし単に仕組・技術として受けとめる傾向

これらの、事例の分析から次のような結論を得た。

都市計画制度・技術の移転における失敗の原因も結局のところ、受けとめ方・受入れ方の失敗と見ることが出来る。それは、見方によれば、都市計画情報を受取る側の未成熟ということが出来るが、同時に、外国の都市計画制度・技術に関する情報が受けとめる側が受けとめ可能な形に整えられていなかったということも出来る。

外国都市計画制度・技術を移転するためには、まずもって第一次受けとめ手である専門家が育っていなければならない。外国の制度にも自国の都市問題・都市計画の課題にも通じた専門家が必要なのである。

外国都市計画制度・技術に関する情報の本当の受けとめ手は、その国の「都市」そのものである。その都市の都市構造、経済的・社会的状況、そこで生活するひとびとと無関係に移転された制度・技術は、拒絶反応をおこし定着し得ない。日本の失敗例の中の、東京グリーンベルト計画の挫折は、そのことを良く示している。都市の地域住民・土地所有者の理解を受けるための十分な努力を伴わなければ、たとえ都市計画専門家が良かれと思って導入した外国都市計画制度・技術・コンセプトでも、実施に移すことは出来ないのである。

最後に、日本在来の技術の発展と外国都市計画制度・技術の導入とを、比較的上手に結び付けた事例として、土地区画整理手法について簡単に述べて結論とした。

Japanese vs Western Urban Images:
Western Influences on the Japanese Architectural
Profession, 1910s-1920s

Shun-ichi J. Watanabe

The City Planning Act of 1919 (the "Old Act") grew out of the period of Japan's first contact with the world-wide diffusion of Western modern urban planning. In this paper, I have examined the background of that contact, the Japanese "urban image" it inspired, the differences between the original and its Japanese images and the reasons for these differences in six representative cases of the Japanese architects in the 1910s and 1920s. In each case I have attempted to analyze: 1) what the architect believed to be the basic character of the city; 2) what concrete image the architect had each for the urban center, the existing built-up areas and the suburbs; and 3) how the architect envisioned the "unified development" of urban infrastructure and individual buildings. The examples I have chosen are as follows:

(1) The urban planning theory (1910-1913) of Jun-ichi Tsuchiya, whose attendance at the RIBA Town Planning Conference of 1910 represented the Japanese profession's earliest direct contact with Western modern urban planning.

(2) The planning theory (1916-1918) of Yasushi Kataoka, who, identifying the problem of urban planning as a task for the architectural profession, developed his own theory adopted from the work of Nelson P. Lewis.

(3) Shigeyoshi Fukuda's development of the first master plan for the control of the whole metropolitan area of Tokyo (1918).

(4) The three-dimensional Haussmann-style master plan proposed by Paris-trained architect Junpei Nakamura for the reconstruction of Tokyo (1924).

(5) The Tamagawa-dai site plan (1922) drawn by Kintaro Yabe for Japan's Garden City Company and modeled on the San Francisco suburb St Francis Wood.

(6) Yoshizo Uchida's garden city proposal and his scheme for a semi-public Housing Company aimed at unified development and common return on development profits (1919-1922).

From analysis of the above, it becomes clear: 1) that the influences of Haussmann's Paris and of the Garden City were extremely large; 2) that, nevertheless, these were only accepted with modifications peculiar to the Japanese situation; and 3) that ideas like the control of the city as a whole, the unified development of infrastructure and buildings and the common return to development profits, despite some degree of acceptance at the conceptual level, were in reality ultimately rejected.

旧法成立期における欧米都市像の影響

(概要)

渡辺 俊一

(建設省建築研究所 第六研究部長)

わが国近代都市計画の原点ともいふべき「1919年都市計画法」(旧法)が成立したのは、19世紀末から20世紀初頭にかけての、欧米近代都市計画の世界的伝播と相互接触の中からである。本稿では、1910—20年代における、わが国建築プロフェッションと欧米近代都市計画との接触の代表的な6事例について、その接触の背景、受け止められた都市像、影響元との異同とその理由等を分析する。その際、都市像としては、建築家たちが、①都市の基本的性格をいかなるものとしてイメージしたか、②都心・内部既成市街地・郊外の各々の具体的イメージは何か、③都市基盤と建築物等の一体的開発をどうイメージしていたか、等を主に分析する。対象事例は、次の6ヶである。

- (1)欧米近代都市計画との本格的接触の発端となった、RIBA都市計画会議(1910年)へ出席した土屋純一の都市計画論(1910—13年)。
- (2)都市計画を建築プロフェッションの課題として受け止めた片岡安が、ネルソン・ルイスの著作を換骨奪胎して作り上げた都市計画論(1916—18年)。
- (3)福田重義が都市の総体的コントロールを目指し、都市全域をイメージした最初のマスター・プラン案(1918年)。
- (4)パリ帰りの中村順平が東京復興のために提案した、オースマン型の3次元的マスター・プラン案(1924年)。
- (5)田園都市株式会社において矢部金太郎が、サンフランシスコのセント・フランシス・ウッドを模範として作図した多摩川台のプラン(1922年)。
- (6)一体的開発と開発利益の共同還元とを目指して、半官半民のデベロッパーである住宅会社の構想を伴って提案された、内田祥三の「田園都市」プラン(1919—22年)。

以上の分析から、①オースマン・パリと田園都市との影響が極めて大きいこと、②しかしそれらは独自の日本的「変形」を伴って「受容」されたこと、③都市の総体的コントロール、都市基盤と上物との一体的建設、開発利益の公共還元等は、一部の観念レベルでの受容にもかかわらず、現実レベルでは「拒否」に終わったこと等が明らかとなった。

The Role of Social Reform in Urban Planning: Some Comparisons between Japan and the West English Summary

Blaine A. Brownell

Both in the West and East, urban plans have tended to have some "larger" purpose besides aesthetic considerations - to underline the grandeur of imperial regimes or enhance military defense - generally in the service of established economic and political interests.

In Europe, the idea of social reform, of challenging the existing order, gained momentum from the side-effects of the industrial revolution, with calls for clean, healthy liveable cities and decent dwellings for the poor. In America, these were superimposed with more abstract goals of "co-operation" and "justice", to contend with social and ethnic diversity.

The focus of urban planning in Japan has been more narrow and practical (as reflected in the terminology - urban "engineering"), concerned with providing adequate utilities and services and a functioning transportation system rather than an image of a "brave new world".

The paper speculates that (at least in the West), specific proposals have a life of their own that can be stripped away from any initial purpose that led to their creation; that specific recommendations can be readily accepted while the philosophical underpinnings are ignored.

For example, Howard conceived the Garden City as a means of superceding capitalism and creating a civilization based on cooperation. The "garden city" idea has been adopted in many forms, by technocrats and real estate entrepreneurs, for new towns, "back to nature" suburbs and Den-en-Chofu style residential districts. The commitment to social change was ignored in favor of certain features that were popular and adaptable. Le Corbusier's Radiant City reflected his discontent with capitalism. Its legacy is seen around the world in steel and glass office buildings and apartments arranged symmetrically around large parks, rather than in major social reform.

The paper concludes with a list of questions for directing future cross cultural comparison: changing Japanese perceptions of planning and "modernity"; occupational social divisions versus racial and ethnic ones; the travel-worthiness of philosophical underpinnings; whether the relative absence of social reform considerations in Japanese planning has rendered it quite different from its Western counterparts or whether the ability of Western societies to strip away unwanted ideologies renders this a mute point.

概要

「都市計画における社会改革の役割：日本と欧米の若干の比較」

ブレイン・ブラウネル（アメリカ）

洋の東西を問わず、都市計画は単に「美しきものをつくりだす」に留まらず、帝国主義、防衛から、経済、政治利害の反映に至るまで、より大きな目的の中に位置づけられてきた。ヨーロッパでは、既存秩序に抗する社会改革の理念が、このより大きな目的としてあった。アメリカでは、協調、正義が都市計画をとりまく、より大きな目的としてあった。

しかし日本ではどうであったか。

日本の都市計画はその目的を、「新しい世界をつくる」という大目的ではなく、道路、インフラなど目にみえるものに求め、意義を狭く、実務的に捉えている。

本稿では、（少なくとも西欧世界では）都市計画上の大きな普遍的な初期の計画目的、また計画哲学が変容し、特定の提案となって行きつづけるという様子を分析する。

社会変革の理念にもえるハウードの田園都市論も低密住宅地と解釈され、資本主義への抵抗の精神を表現したコルビュジェの構想も高層都市像としてしかとらえられなかった。

論文は一連の問いかけで終わる。

「日本における職業の違い」は都市計画の上で、「西欧風の人種の違い」と同じだろうか、幅広く世に通用する計画哲学とは何か、社会変革の理念に欠ける日本都市計画とはいったい何か、などである。

SESSION A:
INTERNATIONAL DIFFUSION OF MODERN URBAN PLANNING

Third International Planning History Conference, Tokyo.

Anthony Sutcliffe

Modern Urban Planning and International Transfer

The history of the international exchange of planning systems and of components of planning systems is an apt theme for this third international conference of the Planning History Group. International exchange plays an important part in all planning history, as even a brief review of the basic planning history texts, such as the writings of Peter Hall, will indicate. It was prominent in the first international conference of the Planning History Group, in London in 1977, when Britain's debt to foreign experience at the time of the first British Town Planning Act in 1909, was the main example studied.

If Britain, as the world's most advanced urban nation, could be so strongly influenced by Germany, c.1900-1910, there is every reason to believe that the industrialised countries of western Europe and North America could shape the planning adopted in more backward countries, particularly when they exercised imperial authority or economic control over them. Once those countries reached greater economic maturity, they were often inclined to identify a lack of correlation between their needs, and the planning systems which appeared to have been imported, wholly or partially, from abroad. Thus the 'colonial' or 'imperial' planning identified by A. D. King and others has often been seen by historians as an artificial, undesirable form of

importation. This marks a strong contrast with exchanges within the industrialised world, which are generally seen as both voluntary and beneficial.

Less attention, perhaps, has been given to the common features of the urbanisation process within which planning evolved. This was industrial urbanisation, a dynamic process beginning in England after about 1770, and spreading abroad, which in most cases by the nineteenth century ^{coast drive} ~~drove~~ the urbanisation level up to ^{an eventual} 80/85 per cent within a few decades. The later this process has occurred, the faster it has tended to be, and in recent decades certain Third World countries have urbanised to some extent ahead of industrialisation. The resulting towns, cities and urban networks have, nevertheless, not differed significantly from those of nineteenth-century Europe. The largest cities of these recently urbanised countries tend to accommodate a much larger proportion of the national population than was the case in the urbanised countries of the last century, or indeed is the case in those countries today. Many are classified by geographers as 'primate' cities. In other respects however they are recognisably cities of the industrial era. The peripheral shanties can appear to challenge this conclusion but their gradual evolution into settled, fully equipped suburbs shows that they are the normal development form for the Third World city rather than a challenge to traditional urban patterns.

If the development of planning can be seen as a response to circumstances generated by urbanisation in the industrialising world, it might be expected to spread spontaneously to other countries once they began to urbanise under the influence of

industrialisation. Of course, this generalisation is much too simple, because the genesis and the application of planning ideas is bound to be determined by national institutions and ideologies, and particularly those related to landed property. On the other hand, these tended to be influenced in their turn by the onset of industrialisation, either before or after the main changes in the organisation of production. In his influential book, Peaceful Conquest, Sidney Pollard described the development of industrialisation in Europe as a diffusion process in which Britain, the first country to industrialise, provided a model. This model included not only technology and organisation, but also institutions and ideology. The ideology included the liberation of private property and enterprise from the control of the State and institutions, such as the Church, which sought primarily to maintain their power and status through the prevention of change in society. The ideology received its most persuasive expression, in the early stages of industrialisation, in Adam Smith's great attack on unproductive ideas and institutions, The Wealth of Nations (1776).

Pollard argues that these components of industrialisation were imported directly from Britain, or via early industrialisers on the Continent. Germany, for instance, first of all adopted British industrialisation between the 1830s and 1860s, and then re-exported it to Eastern Europe, where it had a virtual monopoly of trade. After c.1870, Pollard admits, the growth of nationalism in Europe, reflected for instance in German and Italian unification, promoted a new wave of ideologies based on State power. These ideologies included State intervention into economic activity. Although the State role was intended to promote economic growth,

it took distinctly nationalistic forms. One may argue nevertheless that even the divisive forces of nationalism were pervaded by industrialism after 1870. In the First World War, the most obvious product of these divisive forces, the main combatant countries adopted similar methods of organisation and production. After the war, national reconstruction policies had much in common, including subsidised housing for the working classes, and more ambitious urban planning. Even the Soviet Union, created as a deliberate alternative to capitalism, could not, at any rate in the view of Stalin, function effectively without industrialisation. Thus industrialisation can be seen as associated with a growing standardisation across national boundaries.

What standardisation of institutions and ideology, then, was relevant to planning, and what form did the standardisation take? The most important institutional change was the creation of an efficient land market. In economic terms, we are referring to the minimisation of transactions costs in the valuation and exchange of land. Of course, those pre-industrial land transfer systems in which land was allocated by a ruler or institution to their followers - for instance, the practices still followed today by African chiefs, or in the Middle Ages by European monasteries - can be seen as a form of planning in that the resulting environments were pre-determined. However, such procedures were inconsonant with industrialisation because it was impossible to establish a market value for the land and to transfer ownership and use rights in such a way that the land could be given its most productive employment. Any society contemplating industrialisation with land institutions such as

these would find it difficult to achieve even the most primitive economic change. Industrialisation was thus associated with the creation or perfection of a land market in which legislation and the courts could protect defined private land rights, which could be exchanged through the market. In this system, even land in corporate hands would acquire a market value.

In Europe, this transition to a private land structure was associated with the dismantling of feudal institutions between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries. In North America, it was present from the earliest colonisation in the British areas. In French Canada, a transitional system was introduced in the seventeenth century, when the initial settlers were seen as the clients of great seigneurs holding land grants from the French Crown. Arguably, the 'British' system was the more efficient and productive in terms of generating settlement and maximising production on the settled land. In South America, the free land market was not created until the nineteenth century, when the national independence movements destroyed the remains of control by European rulers and their supporting aristocracies. Only now did European investment enter those countries on a large scale, building up the infrastructure which permitted the creation of national productive systems closely linked with those of industrial Europe. This diffusion of European ideas and institutions outside the continent has been built up by the historian, John Roberts, into a theory of world history, with ~~the~~ today's world perceived as the production of 'westernisation'. His book, The Triumph of the West thus complements Sidney Pollard's European study, but the message is very similar.

Although there is no fundamental contradiction, there is perhaps at least a superficial irony in the link between the creation of a free land market and that of a system controlling the use of private land. Underlying this development was a change in ideology. Historians still disagree about the exact origin of this change, but it is normally located in industrialising Britain between 1820 and 1850. Some attribute it to the utilitarian philosopher, Jeremy Bentham, a pure product of the new ideological atmosphere of industrialisation, whose concept of individualism permitted public interference with private freedoms, in certain circumstances, in order to maximise the happiness of society as a whole ('the greatest happiness of the greatest number'). Bentham was not directly interested in urban problems (he was mainly concerned with the reform of the criminal law), but his disciple, Edwin Chadwick, progressed from the administration of poor relief to the improvement of the urban environment. Bentham showed that urban disease and death were multiplied by the effects of the urban environment, which increased the expenditure of the poor relief authorities. Thus action to improve the urban environment, which inevitably involved interference with individual freedom, was both desirable in the common interest and could be justified to the majority of the individuals affected.

Other historians have questioned the role of Benthamite thinking, seeing the development of public intervention in private activities as the product of administrative accretion, or of a series of individual political decisions made on the basis of perceived advantage. However, these decisions - particularly in relation

to the urban environment - moved, for the most part, in the direction of greater public control. Moreover, other industrialising countries exhibited the same trend. The developments were not simultaneous, for they tended to occur when industrial urbanisation generated problems similar to those which had prompted Chadwick and his associates in Britain from the 1830s. In France, for instance, the sustained development of public intervention began in the 1850s, when the Second Empire both promoted urbanisation and sought to minimise its most dangerous effects. Baron Georges Haussmann, who carried through the reconstruction of Paris, probably knew little of Bentham and Chadwick, neither of whom figure in his memoirs. However, his policies had much in common with the British orthodoxy of the 1840s, because they were an equally apt response to evolving urban conditions under industrialisation. In Germany the process can be traced to the 1870s, reflecting Germany's later industrialisation, beginning in the 1840s, and the lack of a national framework of institutions until after ¹⁸⁷¹~~1851~~. Germany was acutely aware of the British example in public health, and study visits and consultancies multiplied from the 1860s. Germany was however mainly interested in British technology, particularly in relation to sewers and water supplies. The institutions and ideology, though deriving from the modernisation episode during the Napoleonic period, were German rather than British, and in some important respects German institutions were more ambitious than the British. The outstanding example was town extension planning (Stadterweiterungsplanung), which in many ^{cities}~~provinces~~ and states had developed into comprehensive town planning (Städtebau) by 1900.

The origins of German town extension planning lay in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the 'absolutist' princes who ruled Germany's numerous territorial states imposed town plans on the individual owners. This intervention arguably weakened the rights of private property and was a typical pre-industrial institution. However, after 1808 a number of German states adopted a piece of modernising French legislation which dealt primarily with the drainage of marshlands and other aspects of agricultural reform, but which included clauses on the preparation of town extension plans. These urban powers were hardly used at all in France, where the courts ruled that they infringed older rights of private property. In Germany, however, they appear to have been used to modernise the older, 'absolutist' practice of town extension planning. Little use was made of them in the early nineteenth century, before industrialisation, but when German towns started to grow from the 1840s, the planning powers were put into effect. By the end of the century development plans were being prepared for entire cities, and not just the new districts under construction, and town planning in its modern form was in existence in Germany.

Much of the physical content of German town planning was influenced by foreign example. At first, the broad avenues and boulevards of Haussmann's Paris were incorporated into the new plans. By the 1890s, the asymmetrical, historicist ideas of Charles Buls and Camillo Sitte were being adopted. After 1900, the English planned suburb, as conceptualised by Raymond Unwin and put into effect by him at Letchworth, was very influential. This adoption of physical concepts and components from abroad made German planning more effective and persuasive. After 1900

the whole German approach began to influence other European countries and even the United States. Throughout this process the British ideology of public intervention in the operation of the rights of private property was very influential in Germany, but the basic framework and dynamic of planning were an essential German creation, based on the 'absolutist' tradition of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, reinforced by the German adoption of a Napoleonic measure well in advance of industrialisation.

By 1900 the German concept and practice of Städtebau were so fully developed that they could begin to contribute to urban control policy even in those countries which initially had been an example to Germany. Britain's first Town Planning Act of 1909 provided powers for the planning of new districts, and in France a law on town extension planning was brought before Parliament at the same time, culminating in the pioneering Cornudet law of 1919. Some less urbanised and more individualistic countries went through an even more abrupt adoption of the German example. The work of Donatella Calabi has shown how Italy, which had no experience of comprehensive urban planning before 1914, took over German planning theory on a large scale, translating German planning texts and failing to develop a specifically Italian planning theory. In the U.S.A., planned urban form and design continued to be influenced by the classical traditions of France and, to a lesser degree, Italy. However, the most distinctive German planning institution, zoning, was very largely influenced by the German institution of 'building districts', first put into effect in a large city in Frankfurt in 1891. The introduction of zoning in

New York in 1916 helped to promote this planning method in other cities, to such a degree that by 1927, it is said, half the urban population of the U.S.A. was living under zoning regulations.

We must be careful, however, before we assume too readily that direct importation occurred, even in backward countries. The existing land market institutions and legal framework had to be capable of accommodating the new planning practice. In Britain, for instance, the Public Record Office retains the files of the Local Government Board on the preparation of the Town Planning Bill which became law in 1909. At no point do these papers acknowledge German influence. Germany is mentioned only in respect of 'German planning'. By this the officials drafting the Bill understood the compulsory planning of entire urban areas, which they were completely unwilling to contemplate. They in contrast were working towards the voluntary planning of individual, small districts which were about to be developed on the edge of towns. Their example was British, and they clearly had in mind recent experiments such as Port Sunlight, New Earswick, Letchworth, and Hampstead Garden Suburb. The recent, privately promoted building regulations Act for Hampstead Garden Suburb (1907) was more in their mind than any German legislation. It is possible to show - and we have argued this in other places - that the German example was crucial to the growth of urban planning in Britain. However, detailed study of planning legislation and practice tends to reveal that national ideology and institutions, more or less shaped by industrialisation, provide the context for ideas which, however

foreign in the first instance, quickly take a national form. If they cannot be nationalised in this way, they soon fade away and cease to exercise any influence.

This paper makes no detailed reference to the twentieth century. We have argued elsewhere that modern planning was already in full existence by 1914, and certainly by 1919. Most countries had adopted urban planning institutions of some sort by 1930. Thereafter, planning transfer largely took the form of movements of technology and theory. An outstanding example is Clarence Perry's neighbourhood unit of the 1920s, or Le Corbusier's alternative concept of the 'unité d'habitation'. These new urban components could be advocated and adopted successfully because they existed within the framework of the planned city, and this framework was no longer in question. The neighbourhood unit and the 'unité d'habitation' were modified in many cases, and they were not universally adopted. They were innovations, available for general use, but they were not taken up if the local institutions and ideology could not accommodate them. That they were adopted so widely reflected the worldwide spread of industrial urbanisation rather than local subservience to international ideas.

There is no room at this point to deal adequately with the Third World, lying outside the spread of industrialisation, and the socialist world, which achieved the world's first planned industrialisation and rejected, at any rate in theory, the dominant features of the capitalist city. Neither fits into the industrialisation model which we have presented here. The Third World, as a whole, has very little urban planning and it does not qualify for inclusion in this

analysis, except insofar as it reinforces, negatively, the main argument about the genesis of planning. Socialist urban planning is a fascinating case, for the ideology and institutions which created Western planning are almost completely absent. As a result, planning is even more necessary, for there is no land market to control the city and bids by users are, theoretically, impossible other than in terms of social necessity. The technology of the planned city - tower flats, freeway systems, parks - is exactly the same as in the West. Only the ideology and institutions are different. These fascinating paradoxes cannot be discussed here, but perhaps they will arise in our discussions as other papers are presented.

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM: "THE CENTENARY OF MODERN URBAN PLANNING AND PROSPECTS FOR THE 21TH CENTENARY."

SESSION I: INTERNATIONAL DIFFUSION OF MODERN URBAN PLANNING.

2 E10: "BUILT FORM VERSUS URBAN PLANNING LEGISLATION OF THE LAST CENTURY: GENIUS LOCI VERSUS INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCES."

Halina Dunin-Woyseth, Norway

CAN WE LEARN FROM THE PAST?

The idea of this paper was to study development of urban built form during last hundred years, and to look at it through two relationships: urban built form as a result of urban planning legislation, and at the same time, result of influences, created by dialectics between the national, local and the international, foreign.

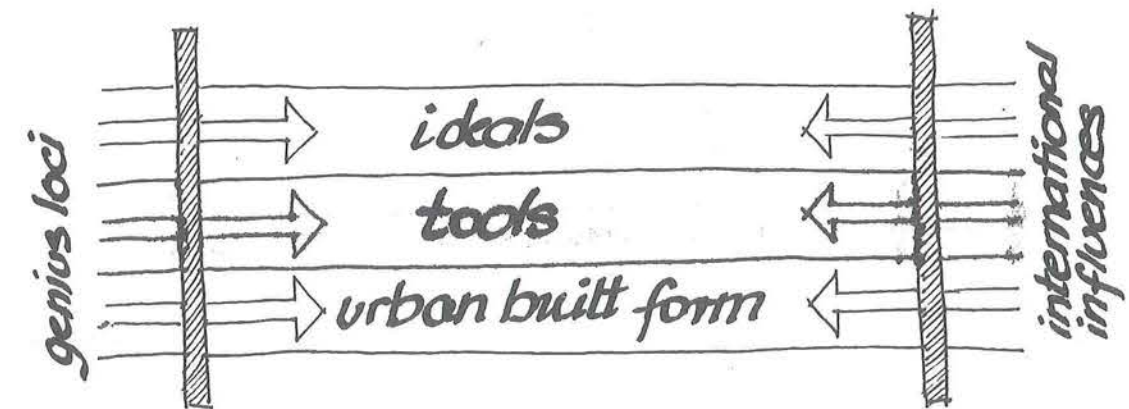


Figure 1. Interdependences between approaches to the problem.

The built form of the town has been a physical expression of the total situation of people who lived in towns at any time in history. Both the unique, monumental, expressed in wood, brick and stone, and the "rest", an anonymous substance and background for the "unique", have been formed by a social consensus, written and unwritten rules and laws (Dunin-Woyseth, 1987, 25). These laws, urban legislation, were first building codes and in our modern time, also planning laws.

Urban legislation expressed tradition: the local, the national, it 'ratified' the established practice and habits. It was also an attempt to improve the existing situation in the town.

But above all, it aspired to promote ideals of its epoch: social, political and artistic (Dunin-Woyseth, 1986,4).

Urban legislation has been a necessary link between ideals and realization of them in urban built form. It has been a tool for implementation of the ideals: ideologies, policies and objectives.

During last hundred years, urban physical environments, urban built form, changed dramatically. Looking back, one can indicate periods of "good urban form", and those which are regarded as "bad".

What is "good urban form"?

A comprehensive literature has been dedicated to this subject (Lynch,1981,359-372). Still, no single definition can be introduced, a definition valid as an archetype. In attempt to describe physical environments analytically, one misses the concrete environmental character, that is, the very quality which is the object of man's identification (Norberg-Schulz,1980,5). It is rather by looking at urban physical environments as at "places" of distinct, individual character, and thus to draw near their substance and nature, "the spirit of places", genius loci.

The assumption could be made, that good urban form, as a source of man's identification, potentially giving him a sense of existential foothold, should be an "evergreen" of planning objectives. Good planning legislation, being a tool for implementation of planning objectives, should also promote good urban form; good form meaning a form of distinct, individual character; good legislation meaning a good tool for enhancement of genius loci of urban "places", the physical environment.

Does the term "international" mean in this context "negative" or at least "neutral", whilst "local" is synonymous to quality?

In order to illustrate the question, three periods of urban development will be presented: the formative years, when national planning techniques had been transformed into comprehensive planning systems and institutionalized by passing planning laws, i.e. the period until the World War I; the following fifty years of consolidation of planning practice; and finally the years from approximately 1968 onwards, when the criticism of the last period launched a new wave in planning.

For the first period, three countries had been chosen as representative of different ways towards creation of comprehensive planning systems: Britain, Germany and Norway. Second period is to be illustrated by general considerations on the international level. Finally, for the third period a case study had been chosen in the United States.

PERIOD OF "GENIUS-LOCI PLANNING"

BRITAIN

Modern urban and regional planning arose in Britain in response to specific social and economic problems, which in turn were a result of the Industrial Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century (Hall,1985,19). The rate of growth was extremely high: London doubled approximately 1 million inhabitants to about 2 million between 1801 - 1851, doubled again by 1881 and reached 6½ million in 1911 (Sert,1944,53).

The town of the Industrial Revolution was a town of a walking distance; they who worked in factories and warehouses, had to live within this distance (Lichtenberg,1986,202). Thus the densities of population rose during the first half of the nineteenth century. Manufacturing had been often localized in the central areas of towns, followed by an army of poor industry workers. The worsening environment in the centre drove out the more prosperous. As there were no fortifications in the British towns, the outskirts of the towns became the new residential districts of the privileged (Sutcliffe,1981,3).

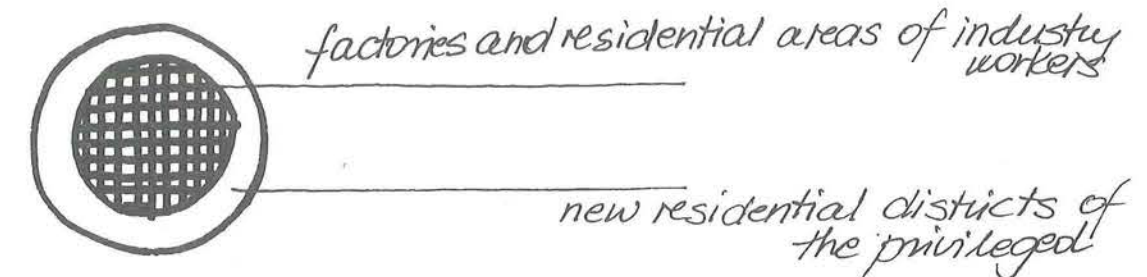


Figure 2. Pattern of urbanization of the British industrial town.

The level of public services was not even elementary with insufficient water supplies and lacking waste disposal. Neither medical treatment, nor public health controls protected the town-dwellers (Harper,1985,XII). Pollution of water supplies caused cholera epidemics in 1832, 1849 and 1868 (Cherry,1972,37).

The epidemics concerned the whole society, even its most privileged members. In order to improve the situation, some steps should be done: the general consensus of the society that an improvement strategy was necessary; suggestions of the medical know-how; an implementation machinery, including the necessary controls and provision of public services (Hall,1985,28). Whereas the two first conditions were easier to fulfil, the latter was an challenge to the "laissez-faire" society.

A long political struggle gave results, a series of Acts; the Public Health Act of 1848, which set up a Central Board of Health and enabled establishment of Local Boards of Health; the Nuisance Removal Acts of 1855 and the Sanitary Act of 1866 (Gaskell,1983,VII-IX),(Benevolo,1973,103). From the mid-century, most of the larger towns in Britain became responsible for control of environment (provision of drainage system, water supplies, duty of keeping existing thoroughfares

clear and in good technical state).

From the 1860s, most accent was put on control of building standards.

Until then, building regulations mainly concerned fire prevention. According to the contemporary medical know-how, bad residential conditions were the main cause of epidemics. Consequently, control of building standards was regarded as a tool for prevention of dangerous diseases (Sutcliffe, 1981, 51).

The Public Health Act of 1875 enabled a reform of local government in England and Wales; the country was divided into urban and rural districts, which would be supervised by a central government department, the Local Government Board.

The Board published a model set of by-laws which the local authorities began adopt for the construction of new housing from the 1875s onwards (Harper, 1985, XXI).

By-law housing has been a well-known feature of many British towns, as most urban building was governed by regulations which in fact were very similar from town to town.

The development of building regulations went to include further regulation of arrangements of houses and the spaces around them. The medical know-how recommended that each house face a broad street and an open space behind it, so that the draughts could blow right through the house (Dunin-Woyseth, forthcoming 1989). So the Town Improvement Clause Act suggested a width of thirty feet for all streets used by wheeled traffic, and twenty feet for non-traffic ones.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the figure increased even to forty-two feet for new residential streets. Half or more of each site remained unbuilt, according to the regulations.

"Public Health and By-law legislation resulted, with all the rigid, unimaginative inadequacies of regulation... though affording mitigation of unsanitary conditions, (it) retained the monotony and dreariness that commonly attaches to mechanized building rigidly, fixed by rule, and from which the exercise of artistry and imagination is excluded" (Hiorns, 1956, 325-6).

Building by-laws had as a main objective public health, so they were not an appropriate planning and implementation tool for establishment of major new traffic routes. But by the end of the century, the urban legislation gave powers to shape all elements of urban environment (the Lands Clauses Consolidations Act of 1845, some resolutions of the Public Health Act of 1875, the Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act of the same year and the Housing Act of 1890 for redevelopment of slum areas).

Still, there lacked a general belief, a conviction, that the existing tools could be combined into a strategy for a city-wide development.

And then, the situation began to change. No practical problems, no propositions of efficient solutions started this process of change. In the British society began a debate on how man's well-being was affected and even determined by the physical environment and its qualities (Cherry, 1972, 114-5). Man believed there was not enough to ensure healthy houses with appropriate sanitary equipment to the town-dwellers. The town itself should be changed.

This debate went on at the same time, when the trends of decentralization of urban population became more and more heard.

This intellectual development coincided with technological development of transportation systems (Lichtenberg, 1986, 203). Slowly, the attention of society shifted from clearance of slums in the central areas of towns to the newly-created, green suburbs. The architect-profession contributed to this shift by creating cheap, low-density areas (Sutcliffe, 1981, 77). An ideal, a pattern to follow, were two villages, built by factory owners: Port Sunlight (1888) and Bournville (1894) (Gallion, 1950, 72).

All these factors were bringing about a search for a new city-wide approach to urban problems. A new strategy should aid in solution of such problems like: overcrowded, unhealthy and expensive housing in the town centres, shortage of new housing for the working people; the lack of public open space in working-class areas; depressing ugliness of the environment shaped by the by-laws.

There emerged two alternative strategies: the garden city idea and the idea of town-extension planning.

Garden city's father, Ebenezer Howard (1859-1928) proposed a general planned movement of people and industry away from the deteriorated city. In his book of 1898: "Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform", this idea was presented in an almost practical way. He points out the advantages and disadvantages of both existing cities and the existing countryside. The city offers opportunities, the countryside a good environment. The countryside has no opportunities, the city good environment. A 'garden city' would combine the qualities of both. It should be deliberately localized outside normal commuter range of the old city, rather small - up to 30 000 people - surrounded by a large green belt (Hall, 1985, 48).

In a restricted competition in 1909, the winners, architects Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker, produced a plan for Letchworth, the first garden city, which was to become a model to follow in Britain and abroad.

The plan was an example of a comprehensive urban planning, containing distinct industrial and commercial areas, a network of communications, a civic centre, a green belt, a park system, housing areas with fixed densities. The housing followed a new code of building regulations, different from building by-laws. The authors introduced a low net density in new residential areas of about 12 houses to the acre, whilst the net density according to by-laws usually 40-50 houses to the acre (Sutcliffe, 1981, 67).

Unwin and Parker made a revolutionary impact on quality thinking in planning. "Their design changed traditional relationships of dwelling and environment". "They democratized the stylistic achievement of their time, making great advances in the planning of the smallest dwelling... and in aesthetic landscaping and grouping of dwellings" (Day, 1981, 156-7).

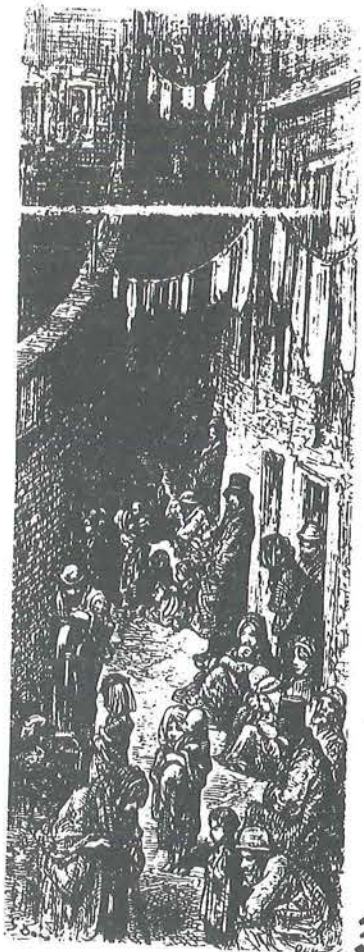
The other strategy was town-extension planning on the lines similar to the German planning system, which was supposed to replace the British tradition of piecemeal planning actions. It was advocated by T.C. Horsfall (1841-1932) in his book of 1904: "The Improvement

of the Dwellings of the People: The Example of Germany" (Harrison, 1981,116).
The work was less impressive than Howard's, but it had a great advantage: it promised rapid improvements in the existing towns.

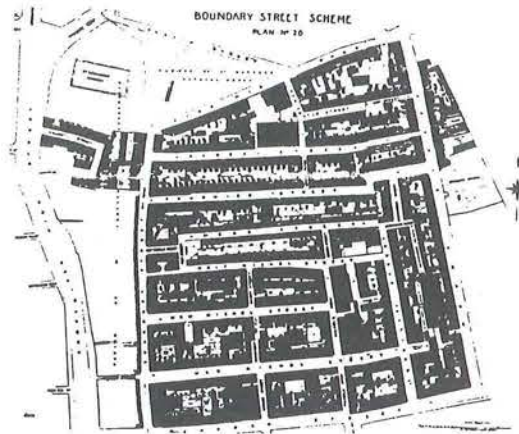
From 1906, extension planning, now called town planning, began to be a leading strategy in the struggle for improvement of the urban environment.

The Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909 allowed urban authorities to design the main communication system, designate industrial and residential areas, to set aside land for open space and public buildings, and to fix densities and house types in the residential districts.

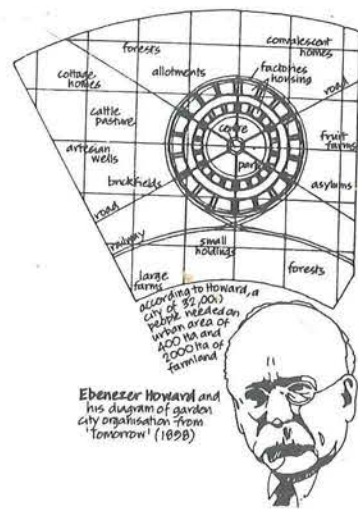
All these resolutions concerned new districts. City-wide planning was still out of question (Sutcliffe,1981,82).



3.



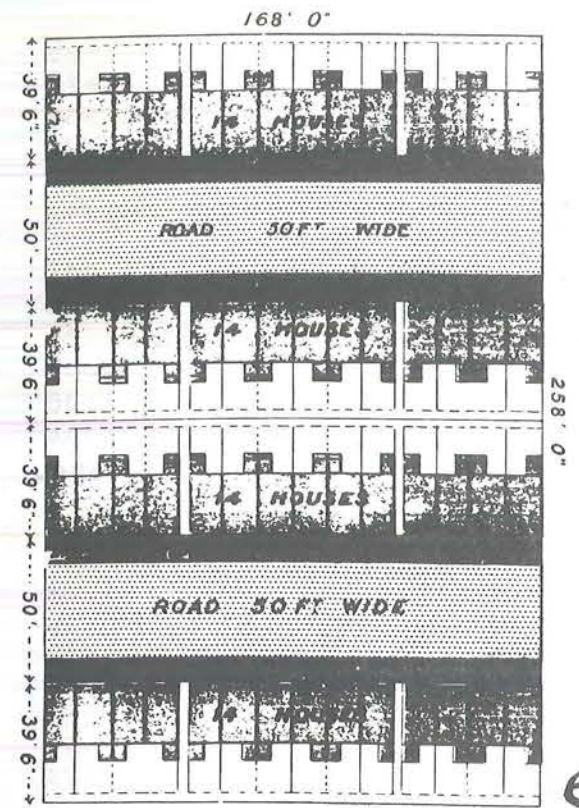
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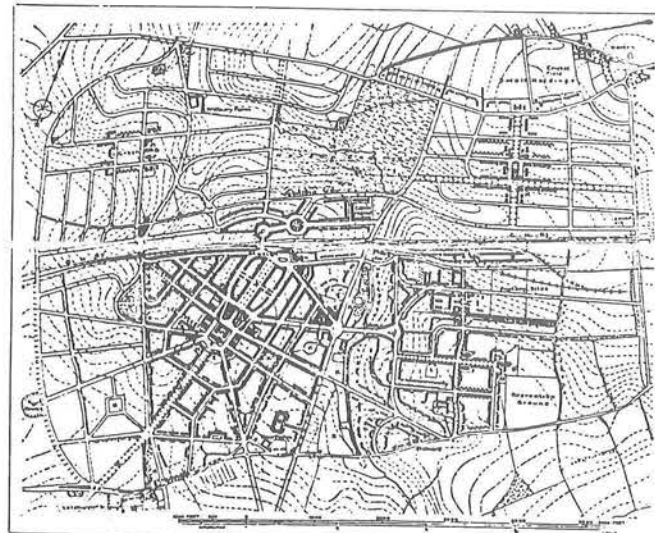
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Figure 3.and 4.: Residential conditions of the working classes in the British town (from:3. Fehl,1985; 4. Sutcliffe,1985).

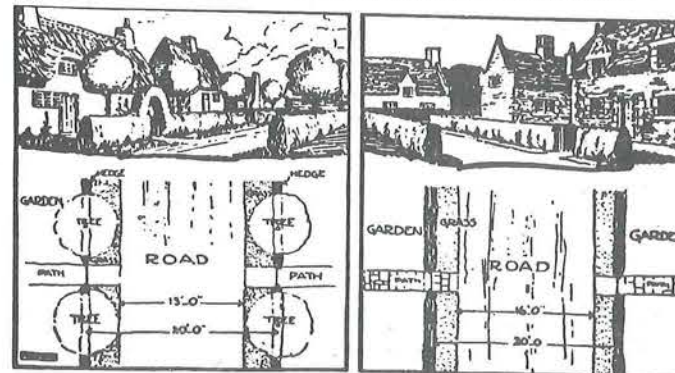
Figure 5.: Ebenezer Howard and his famous diagram of the Garden City idea (from: Risebero,1985)



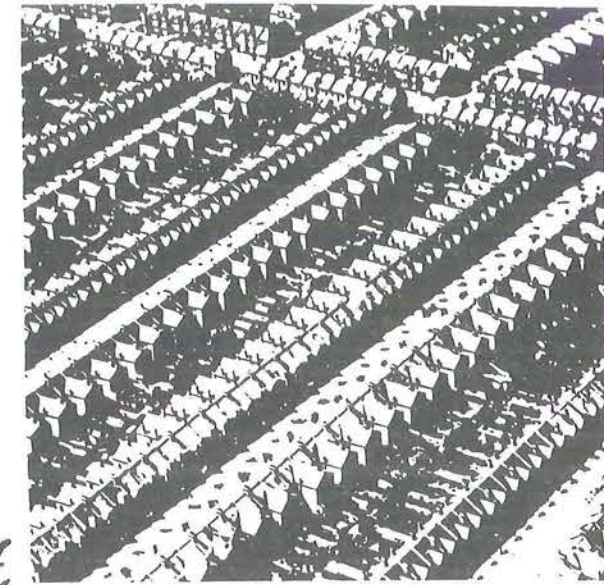
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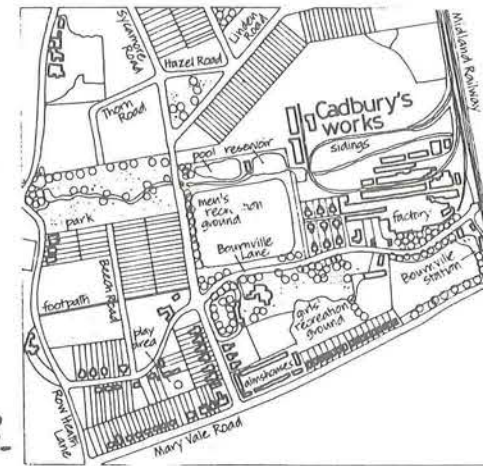
62, 63: Unwin and Parker's plan for Letchworth, the first garden city, and drawings showing how the designers had translated Howard's radical social ideas into an utterly unthreatening environment.



9.



7.



8.

Figure 6. By-laws in Birmingham, following the Public Health Act of 1875: the breadth of the street 50 feet, depth of the sites 39,6 high 2 storeys, density 56 houses to the acre (from: Sutcliffe,1985)

Figure 7. A section of a by-law shaped urban residential form. (from: Le Corbusier: The City of Tomorrow, London, 1929).

Figure 8. A pattern to follow for a better, qualitative environment: Bournville, established by the factory owner, G. Cadbury in 1893. (from: Risebero,1985)

Figure 9. The first Garden City, Letchworth, planned by Unwin and Parker. (from: Barnett,1986).

GERMANY

The history of German urbanization is different than that of British, as are the socio-political and cultural backgrounds of both countries.

In 1815 the German Federation was founded, consisting of forty member states of different types and sizes. The German Reich was founded in 1871. German industrialization began in fact as late as around 1840 (Deutsche Geschichte, 1984, 273). The rate of urban growth, its rapidity, made a profound impact on the German towns (Kantzow, 1983, 25).

Urban development pattern was different from that of Britain and in a way similar to other countries of the Continental Europe. Until the middle of the nineteenth century the fortifications restrained the outward growth. Then their role faded, they were removed, but a new restriction replaced them, the factory belt. Thus the outer districts of towns did not attract the middle classes who continued to live in the central areas, whilst the lower middle classes and the labour people moved to suburbs. But this 'exodus' was too weak to change the pattern of vertical development, established the first half of the nineteenth century.

Industry was often localized in large towns, where both land and house rents were already high (Sutcliffe, 1981, 5). In the older districts, many houses of pre-industrial period were turned into smaller, cheaper apartments. The new residential districts were built up by multi-family buildings.

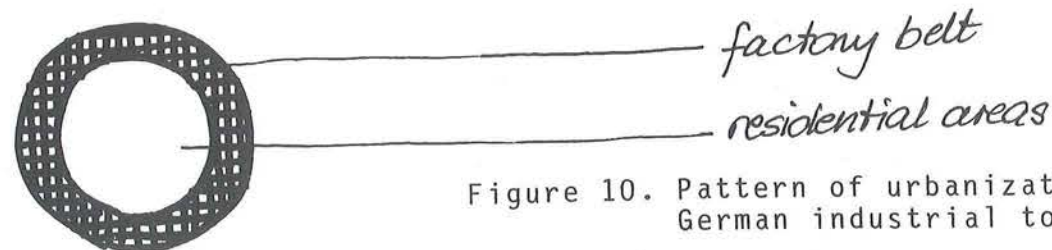


Figure 10. Pattern of urbanization of the German industrial town.

Urban revolution caused new problems and intensified the old ones. Some of the problems were not unlike those of Britain: swamped drainage, exhausted water supplies, pollution of air and water (Kabel, 1949, 56). The developing transport technologies, railways and canals, pushed and destroyed parts of central areas; roads became congested; low-income housing overcrowded.

Not only the problems were similar. The way to solutions of them was also far, because of the prevailing social and political rules of individual freedom and private property rights; those rules, which were the ideological basis of industrialization in the whole industrialized world.

What kind of tools were at disposal for managing the situation in the German towns?

Urban authorities could use the legal instruments for the development land, descending from the Middle Ages and evolved during absolutism (Ernst, 1953, 208-9). In Prussia they were codified by the general territorial code (Allgemeine Landrecht) in 1794 (Kabel, 1949, 53). Giving to all citizens the right to own land, it also

defined the powers of the local administrative organs of the State (the Polizei). One of them was the power to establish the boundaries of areas of land to be reserved for use as new public thoroughfares (Fluchtlinien) in and around the towns. Thus the tools were ready to be applied, when the rapid urban growth demanded new initiatives.

The most known example of urban development in the 1860s is Berlin, a model for other towns in Germany and abroad. As the pressure on land increased, the answer to demand was found in building of tall residential blocks (Heiligenthal, 1921, 86-7). Even interiors of the sites were built up by tenements, arranged around one or more courtyards. This type of residential blocks is known as 'rental blocks' (Mietskaserne) (Hegemann, 1930, 212).

The year 1875 is an important moment for the German legislation, as it is for the British. The law on street lines (Fluchtliniengesetz) made the municipalities responsible for drawing up extension plans (Croon, 1983, 72). The compulsory purchase of land reserved in plans for new streets was an other resolution of the law. The cost of building, draining and lighting of the new streets were transferred onto the owners of the frontage sites. Although greatly relieved of the costs for carrying out town extensions, municipalities were not imposed to interfere with the health standards of the new residential blocks.

The period after 1875 is that of consolidation of the new municipal powers (Sutcliffe, 1981, 19). Extension planning became an everyday municipal activity in Prussia. Between 1875 - 1890, urban growth accelerated in Germany (Piccinato, 1983, 27). New factors intensified the process: public transport and the growth of the middle class. The electric tramcar appeared in the early 1890; Germany's rapid economic expansion accelerated establishment of a big army of white-collar employees. The middle class had greater means at its command and living in peripheral areas was getting more and more desirable (Sutcliffe, 1981, 28).

From 1890 onwards, the housing question came into focus in a new way: until 1890 the main concern was public health and sanitation; now it was regarded in a broader context of the social question (Gallion, 1950, 101-2). The quality of physical environment of urban surroundings had been looked at as an important factor influencing people's well-being, even as its 'conditio sine qua non' (Kabel, 1949, 155).

Among other important personalities of this wave, one has to be emphasized; a new quality approach to planning found a theoretical basis in a little book: "City Planning According to Artistic Principles" (1889), written by an Austrian architect and planner, Camillo Sitte. His source of inspiration was the town of the Middle Ages, with its variety of forms, the picturesque, "irrational". He abstracted from the layout of the towns a series of principles which was a guide for "genius-loci" planning (Cherry, 1972, 29). The message of the book made a strong impact not only in all German-speaking countries, but also in Britain and Scandinavia (Jensen, 1980, 33).

The municipalities refrained from the direct provision of housing, but tried to promote it by provision of cheap public transport and improvement of environmental controls.

Many reform associations began to propagate stepped, or differential building regulations (Staffelbauordnungen). The principle was that full heights and high densities on sites should be allowed in central areas of towns, where land values were high (Sutcliffe, 1981,43). In outer areas, only less intensive use of sites and lower densities should be permitted. Narrower streets round smaller houses could be planned on the cheaper land.

In 1891, Germany's first comprehensive set of differential building regulations was passed, dividing Frankfurt into an inner and outer building zone (Kabel,1949,147). The new Frankfurt regulations had revolutionary influence on the development of the German urban planning. By the early 1900s, the majority of larger towns had introduced differential building regulations. But soon, it became obvious that the new tool needed a more scientific approach, when applied to preparation of development plans. Now, it was only a step to comprehensive planning of whole towns.

In 1900, the general urban development law (Allgemeine Baugesetz) passed by the Saxon parliament (Kabel,1949,86). Now, it was the responsibility of urban authorities to prepare general plans for both new and established districts. Besides powers to lay out streets and provide drainage and other underground services, the authorities could designate land for open spaces, playgrounds and other public functions. Also maximum heights and arrangement of buildings on private sites were a subject to the municipal decisions and control. If advantageous for the town, the authorities could forbid industrial or commercial development on private sites. The law codified and amended the existing legal possibilities of compulsory purchase of land for all public purposes.

The example of Saxony was followed by other states, and in 1906 by the conservative Prussia. Thus early in the 1900s, town planning became a recognized municipal activity.

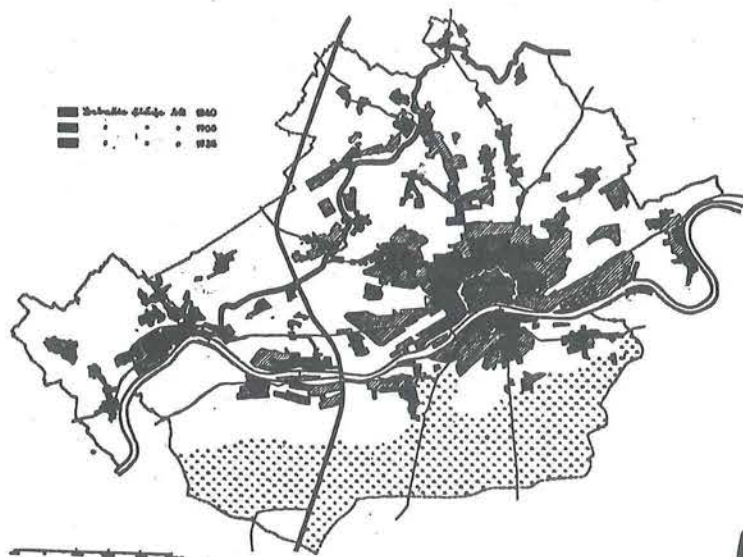
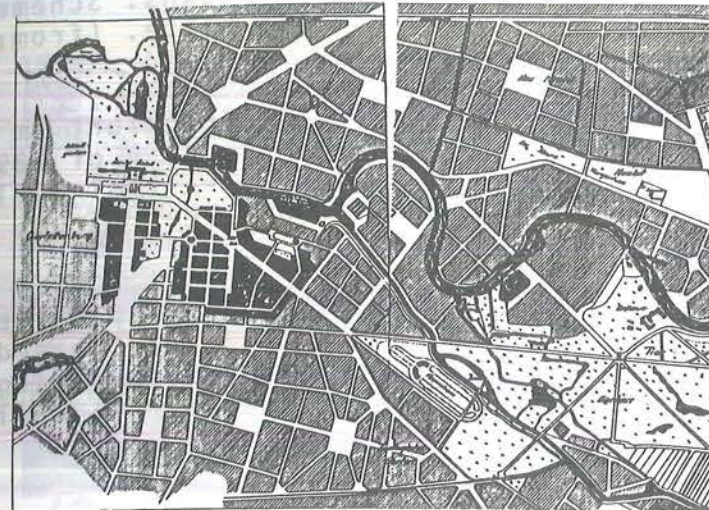
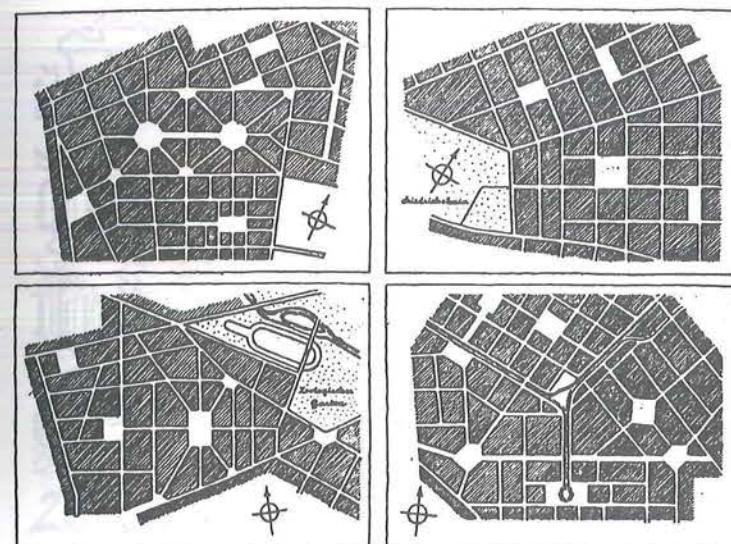


Figure 11. Urban growth after 1800: three rings of growth are indicated: 1860,1900 and 1935. Example : Frankfurt am Main. (from: Kabel).

11.



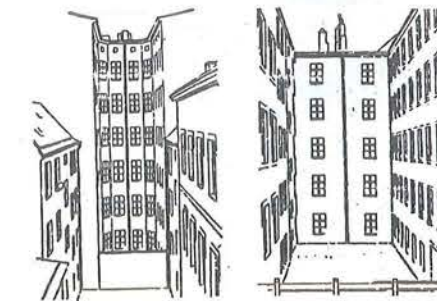
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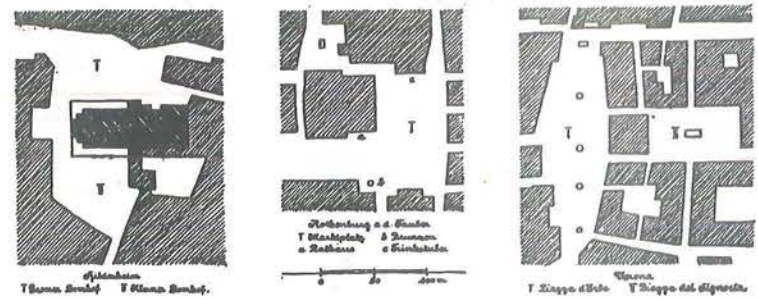
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Figure 12. Extension plan of James Hobrecht (1858-1862). Characteristical are the enormous dimensions of the city blocks, the "rental blocks" ("Mietskaserne") (from: Kabel).

Figure 13. The Hobrecht's plan. Sections of the plan, illustrating the forming principles of this period (from: Kabel).

Figure 14. "Rental blocks". A bird-view. (from: Hegemann).

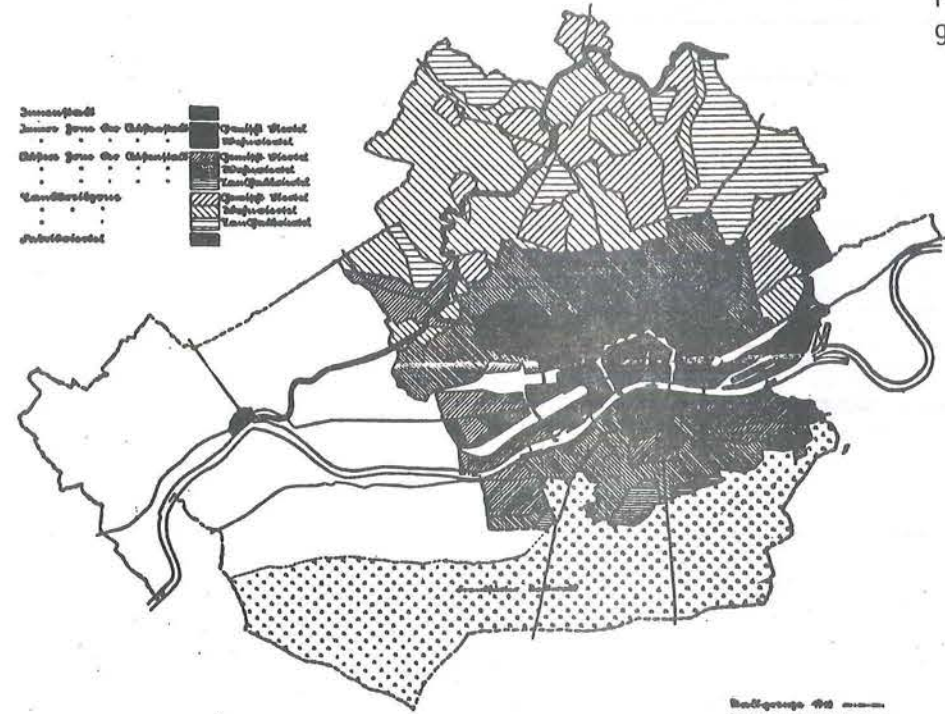
Figure 15. Courtyards of the "rental blocks". (from: Kabel).



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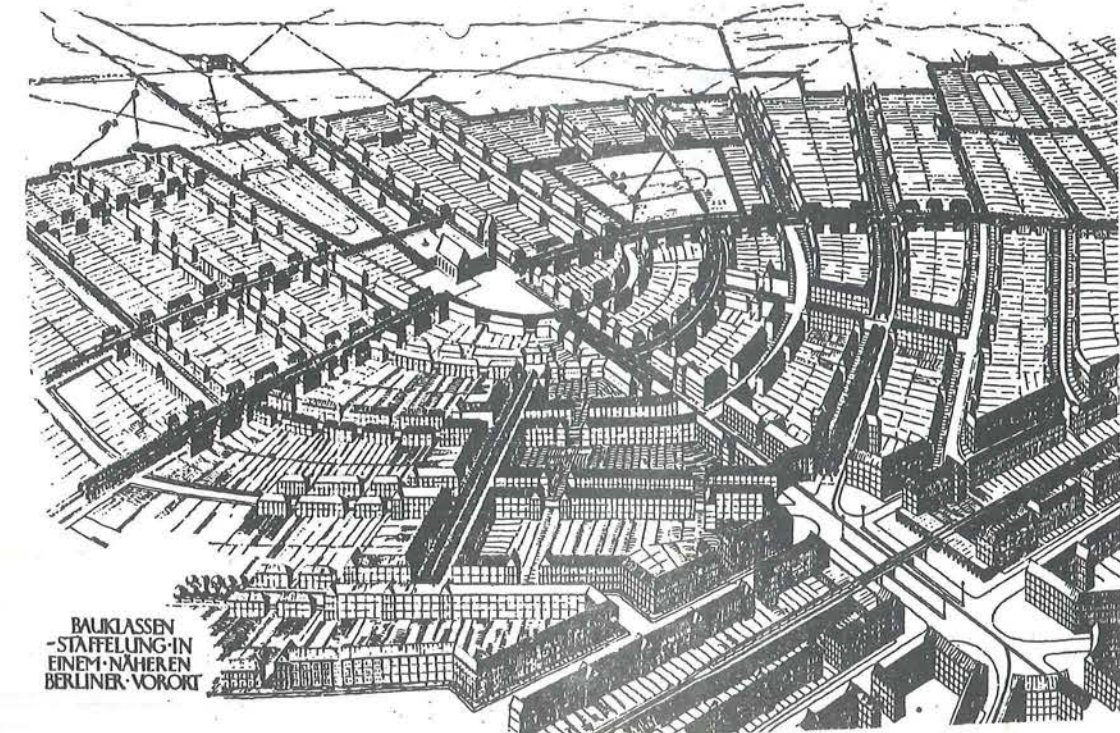
Figure 16. Urban space in historical towns. Schemes by Camillo Sitte. (from: Kabel).

Figure 17. Frankfurt am Main. Zoning Plan of 1891. Use of differential building regulations (from: Kabel).

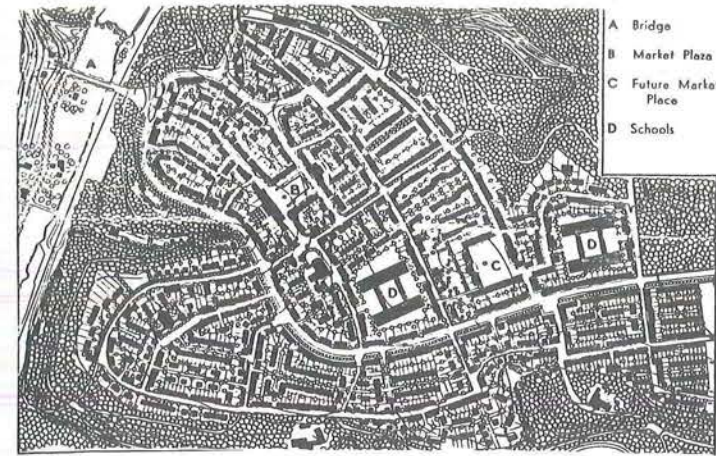


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Figure 18. A perspective drawing of a plan, based on differential building regulations. (from: Heiligenthal).

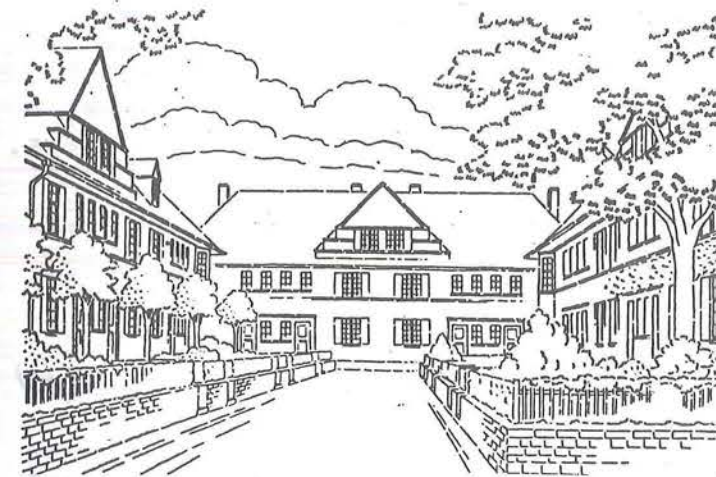


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Figure 19. Margarethen-Hohe, Essen. Example of British influence. Emerging from the Garden City movement, this village was developed in 1912 by the Krupp family for workers in the industrial steel plants in Essen. (from: Gallion).

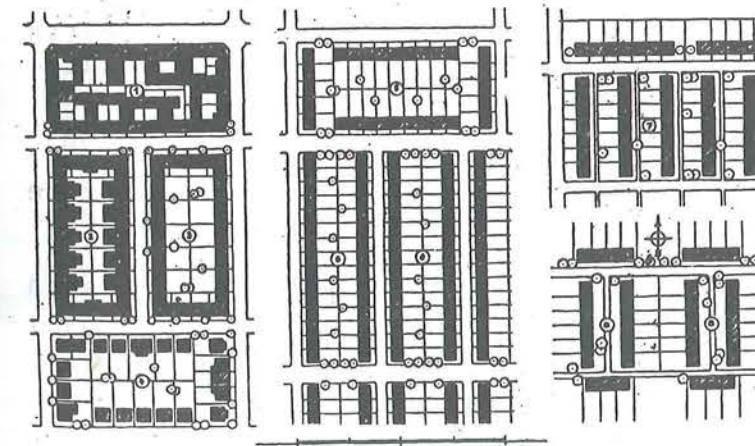


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Figure 20. Margarethen-Hohe. A perspective drawing. (from:Kabel).

Figure 21. Development of urban built form in Germany. Residential building.

1. Rental blocks with built courtyards.
2. "Slot"-building mode with uniform courtyards.
3. Dense block system along streets with gardens in the courtyards.
4. Block system, "opened"; all houses have spaces between each other.
5. Groups of buildings.
6. Terrace houses.
7. System of parallel rows of houses situated perpendicularly to the residential street.
8. Group of houses (Wohnhöfe) creating community. (from:Kabel).



21.

NORWAY

In Norway urban development and urban planning is especially influenced by the geographical, topographical and climatic character (Lemberg, 1981, 37). More than 70 per cent of the land area is covered with mountains, ice, snow and lakes. Almost 25 per cent is covered with forest and only about 3 per cent is arable land (Housing in the Northern Countries, 1960, 85). The length of the country is over 1750 km, equal to the distance between Oslo and Rome in Italy. About 30 per cent of the territory lies north of the Arctic Circle. Long and deep fjords cut into the land. On the area of 324 000 square kilometres live about 4 million people. Great distances and topography make the communication both difficult and expensive.

These factors have always deeply influenced settlement development in the country. Being a big country of a thin population, Norway followed a different pattern of urbanization than those of other industrialized countries. Urban settlements concentrated mainly in some larger urban areas: Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim and Stavanger, and many larger and smaller towns along the coast and in the valleys.

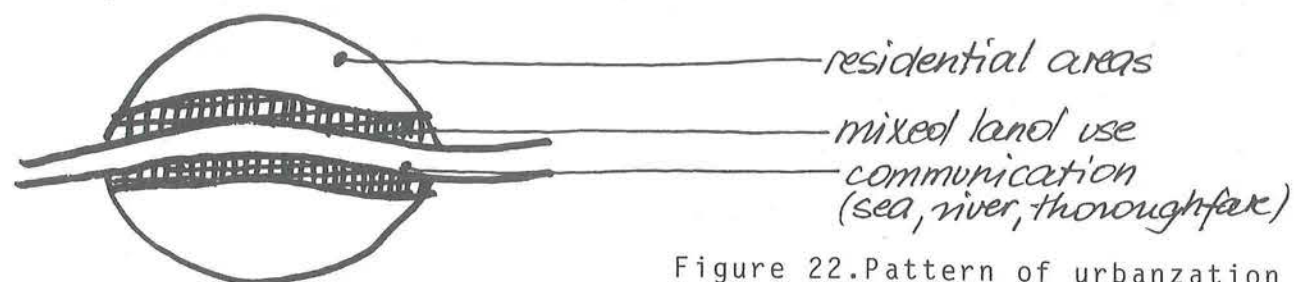


Figure 22. Pattern of urbanization of the Norwegian industrial town.

Industrialization in Norway began round 1850. But first after 1916, industry became the main trade in the Norwegian economy. Population densities increased in the existing towns at the end of the old century and the first years of the new one (Jensen, 1980, 46).

Urban legislation, i.e. urban regulations, have a long tradition in the country. The first urban regulations originate in the twelfth century (Hagerup, 1979, 2). They concerned urban building, aiming at the reduction of fire risk.

No actual building legislation, valid for all the country, passed before 1845. According to this law, building- and regulation commissions were established in all towns. Their duty was to provide land for extension of the existing and new streets or building of new ones (Hagerup, 1981, 337).

The law recommended gridiron plans of equal blocks and equal breadth of streets (Dunin-Woyseth, 1988/9, forthcoming).

As in the German urban practice, there was no restrictions on the content of new blocks.

Between 1845 and 1913, the social debate included such issues as improvement of health conditions, sound housing, laws and regulations and political ideas. New policies and the technological progress in modes of transportation, its impact on urban development, caused

demand for new legislation tools.

The laws of 1860 and 1875, are an expression of the consideration for public health (Stang, 1943, 16).

The building law of 1896 was more comprehensive than that of 1845 (Hagerup, 1979, 2-3). It was a response to the urban development which followed rapid urbanization of the country. Overcrowding, bad sanitary conditions, traffic congestion, increased fire risk, all the symptoms well known in other industrialized countries, produced a situation in towns which demanded a better, more efficient system of public intervention.

The gridiron street pattern was still regarded as an ideal arrangement for street regulation. But there were functional matters and concerns which were the main content of the law.

The resolutions of the 1896-law did not stop the wave of fires in towns. The majority of buildings in towns was wooden, as it was the least expensive mode to build. A new "fire law" was passed in 1904. It was called the "Brick-compulsion" law (Murtvangloven). The law made use of brick in town buildings compulsory (Larßen, 1988, 378). In the "wooden Norway" it was a drastic and expensive legislation, so the law was amended: building of wooden houses was permitted, if a space between them of at least 5m (later increased to 8m) remained unbuilt. But the restriction to build up to 2-storeys, still concerned only wooden houses.

The influence of the law is still visible in the Norwegian townscapes: wooden villa colonies grew up in suburbs, as a new form of housing development; the existing wooden areas of towns kept on decaying; a "carpet" of mixed wooden and brick houses of different heights became a characteristic feature of the urban landscape (Dunin-Woyseth, 1988/9, forthcoming).

As early as in 1913, a commission began to prepare a proposal to a new building law (Stang, 1943, 34). In 1924 the new law passed by, giving the legal basis to all urban planning until 1965 (Heggelund, 1929, §20-§34).

There was no directive as to the character of the built form, but the law expressed concern for the quality approach in planning. Plans should respect and enhance the town's genius loci.

"In the process of planning, one has to pay consideration to the location of the planned area in relation to the whole town; to its development; demand for dwellings; communication; fire resistance; public health conditions; technical infrastructure. New building should be designed and arranged in such way, that there be harmony between the old and the new" (§26) (Heggelund, 1929, 24-26).

The same paragraph says that man has to take account to the topography of sites; designate places for recreation and apply limited densities of people and buildings in the outer areas of the town. Buildings should not be higher than 3 storeys, except for in commercial districts of larger towns.

The law expressed at the same time the functional approach to planning. It reflected the development since 1896: increase of densities in towns, provision of more advanced technical infrastructure, arrival of the still young private motorization, request for stronger public intervention.

Planning should contain more sectors than street regulation. New terms appeared: curved street, villa colonies, separation

of functions, differentiation of traffic streets.
The law was a breakthrough for the modern planning in Norway.

What is specific in the law, is its consideration and respect for the local character of the physical environment, its *genius loci*. In the period, when a functionally planned town, a town of functionally designed architecture, was regarded as a beautiful town; when the leading concept was the arriving functionalism, the Norwegian legislation reflected in the law of 1924 an independent approach, integrating the international planning ideals, but retaining own urban form ideals, focused on environmental identity.

Based on this law, many plans were prepared. The most known, even internationally, were the works of Professor Sverre Pedersen (1882-1971). "His planning was based upon his eye for a city's particular features of nature and he determined usage of topography and terrain. His forms gave impressions of dominant axial patterns stressing natural viewpoints" (Jensen,1980,XXII).

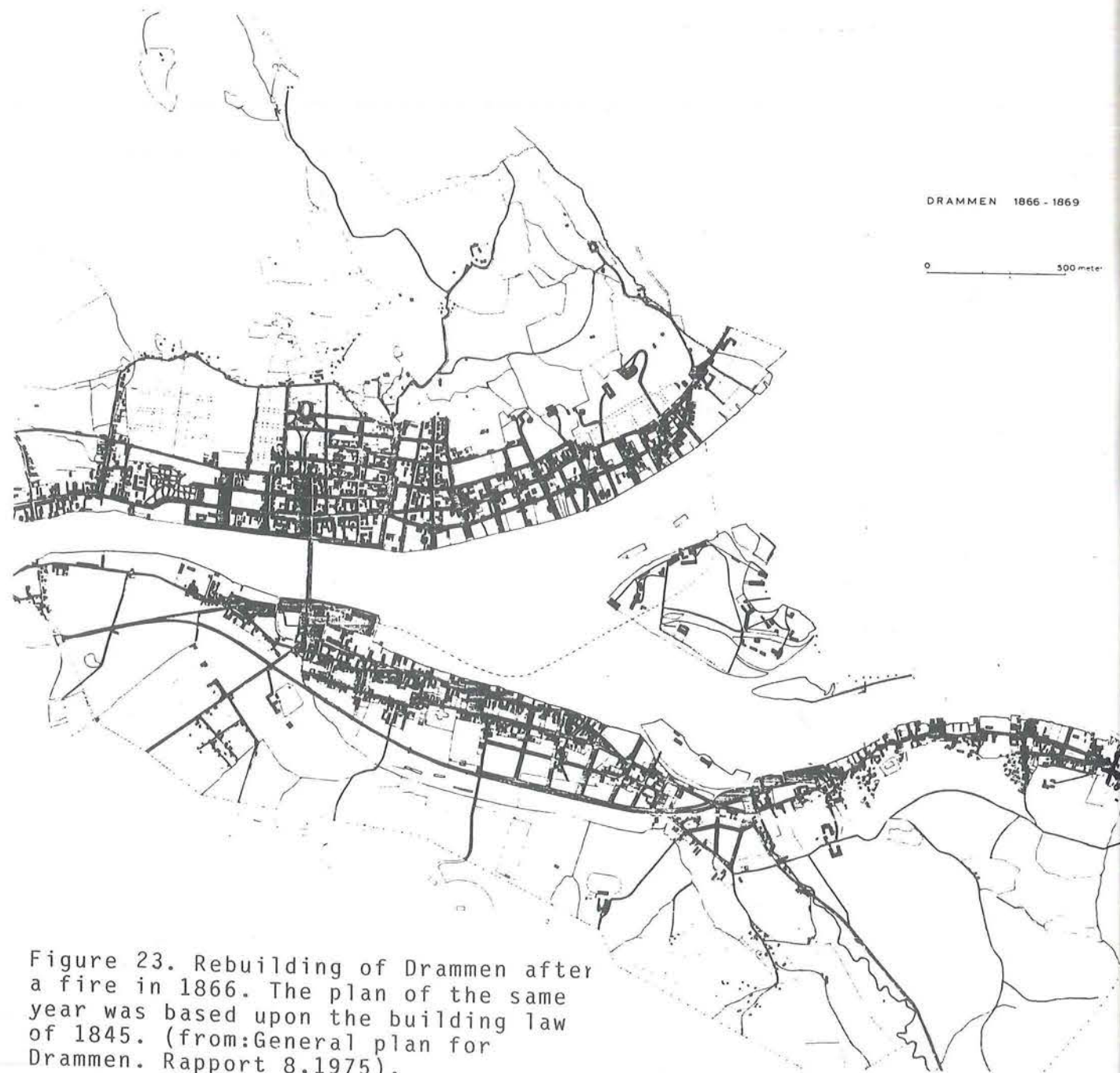
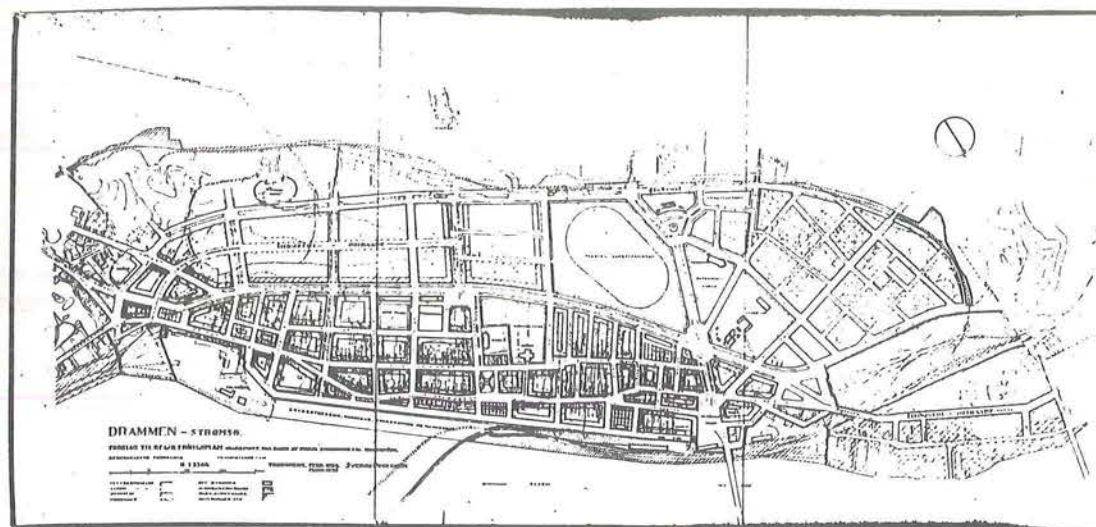
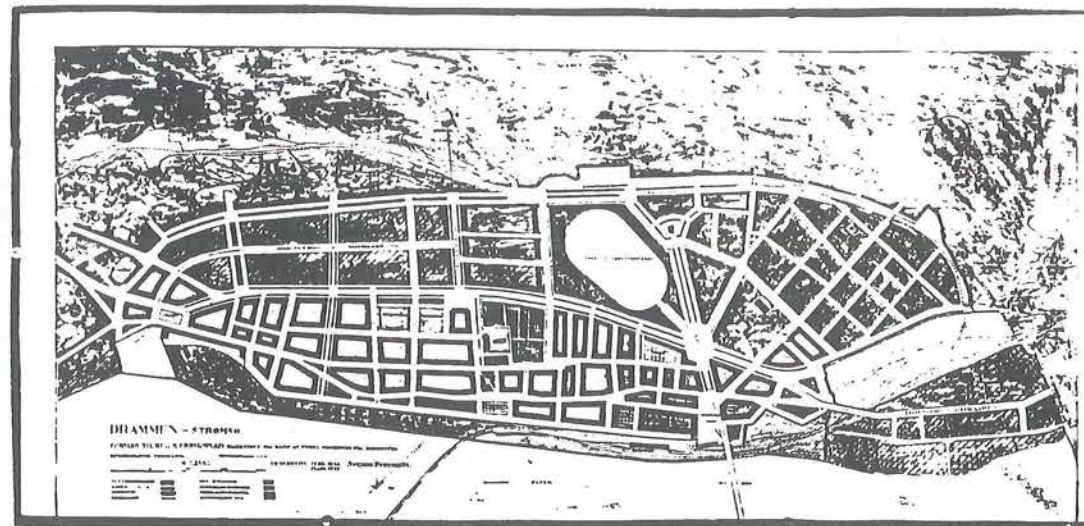


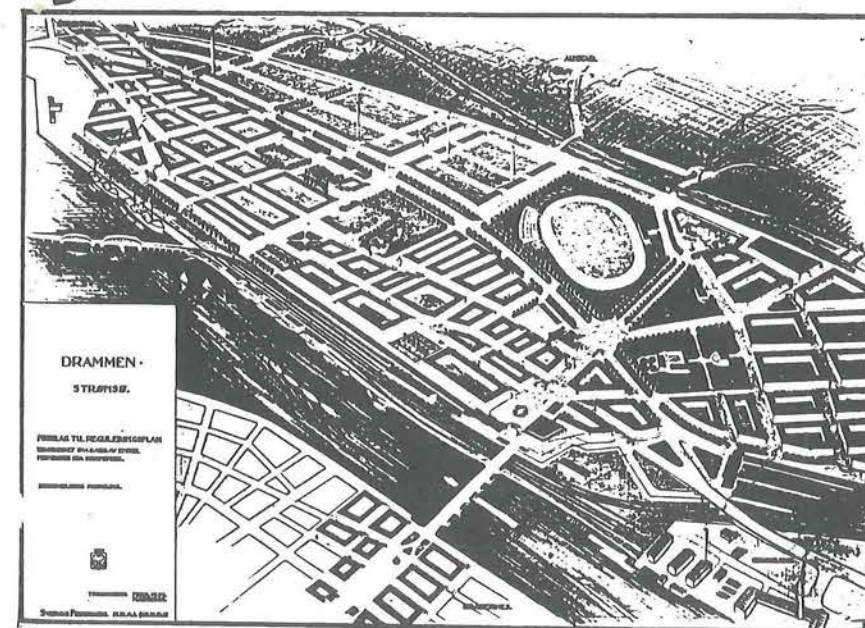
Figure 23. Rebuilding of Drammen after a fire in 1866. The plan of the same year was based upon the building law of 1845. (from:General plan for Drammen. Rapport 8,1975).



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26.

Figures 24. 25. 26. Drammen. Development plan of Professor Sverre Pedersen from 1934. The plan was based on the building law of 1924. (from:B.Veirud: "Styringsssystem for plan- og byggesaker." Arbeidsnotat 1.1986., and the Archives of the Drammen Municipal Planning Office)

BRITAIN - GERMANY - NORWAY

In the British planning system, the emphasis was put on housing reform and social matters. Britain's first comprehensive planning law of 1909 contained potentials of quality approach to planning. The experiences from Letchworth and Hampstead Garden Suburb, and the British architectural everyday practice within residential planning, became a pattern to follow all over the world. In the law of 1909, man "permitted the suspension of pre-existing by-laws and statutory enactments, thus permitting the greater freedom of design" (Punter, 1986, 352).

In the German planning system, the accent was put on municipal control and preparation of comprehensive plans. This comprehensiveness of the system made a great impact on the process of transforming the British planning techniques into own system. Beauty aspects had been taken care of by the law on street lines (Fluchtliniengesetz) and distance/space regulations, number of floors (Ausnutzbarkeitsbestimmungen) and the differential building regulations (Staffelbauordnungen). (Kalusche, 1976, 207). The only direct 'beauty paragraphs' were those on "disfigurement" (Verunstaltungsgesetze), the laws which forbade building of "disfiguring" urban environment.

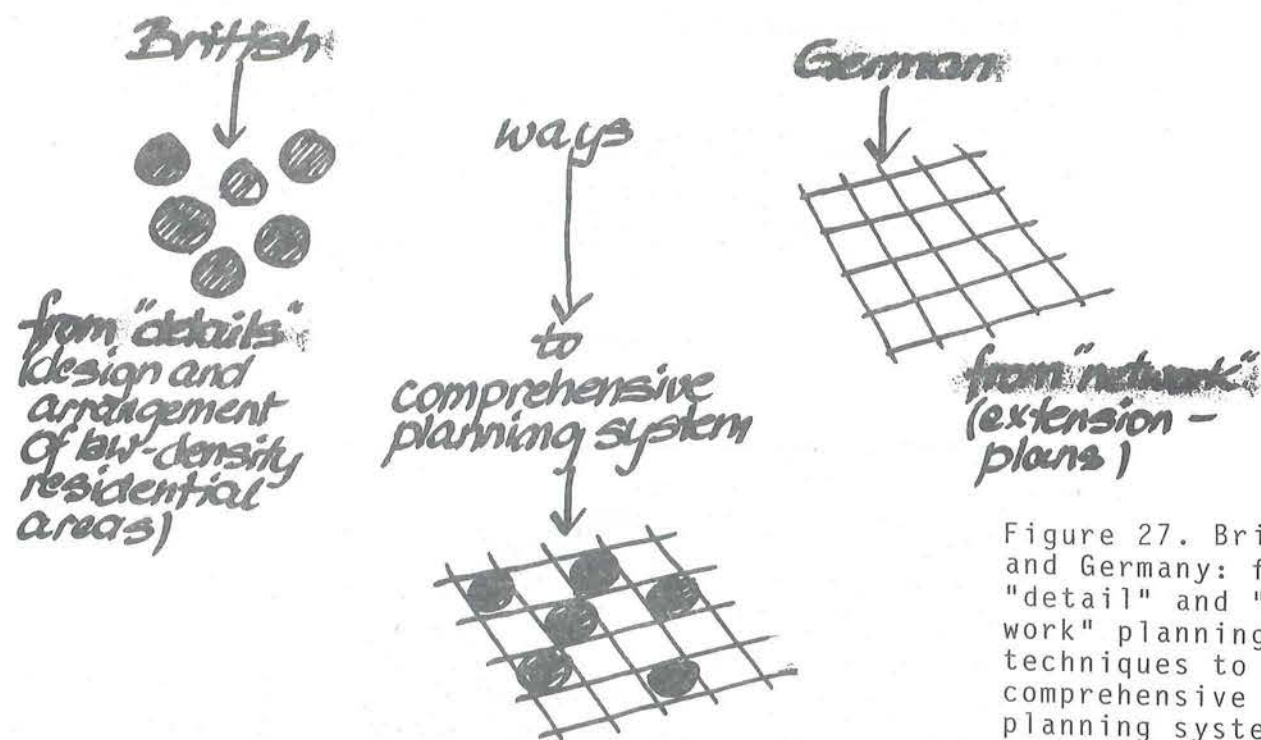


Figure 27. Britain and Germany: from "detail" and "network" planning techniques to comprehensive planning systems. Diagram.

Norway is in a way representative of many other countries which were influenced by the 'giants': Britain, Germany, France and the United States.

The Norwegian planning system is regarded as a descendant of the German one (Cibula, 1970, 22). Until the World War I, the German influence was the strongest one, with the "curve line" planning of Camillo Sitte, zoning principles etc. But later, the influence of the British social housing and garden city principles were more and more evident.

But in spite of strong international influences, the Norwegian urban tradition of concern for the environment was continuously present.

PERIOD OF "COSMOPOLITAN PLANNING"

By the end of the 1910s, in Europe and other industrialized countries, comprehensive planning systems became a fact. Social and political ideals evolved in different countries and were diffused all over the world. They were integrated into planning practice by new regulations. But generally, the national planning systems were still strongly colored by national planning techniques and bound by the local urban tradition.

A wave of changes began already before the World War I. (In the Continental Europe, for instance, the process started by improvements within the existing principles of urban form as reduction of densities of building sites, by introduction of lower building heights and keeping courtyards unbuilt):

The new, revolutionary direction in town planning, was result of many factors and new ideas, created by great personalities, architects, engineers and planners, or groups of them (Giedion, 1936?, 272-8). But the most important, and even symbolic of the period was Le Corbusier (1887-1965).

A new urban credo had been formulated by this Swiss-born architect. His two books: "The City of Tomorrow" (1922) and "The Radiant City" (1933), being a manifesto against the traditional town, were at the same time a proposal of a new, future one. The books were a reaction to urban conditions in the early 20th century: overcrowding, disease, congestion and devastation of the World War I. On the formal level, they were a reaction to the picturesque town planning, propagated by Camillo Sitte and Raymond Unwin; a reaction to the Ecole des Beaux Arts, focusing on decoration and the urban past (Le Corbusier, 1986, 91). The great inspiration Le Corbusier found in the rapidly developing technology.

The success of the new ideals has lasted for almost fifty years. The power of the 'message' was due to its form: it was a complete vision, uniting the socio-political, technological and formal aspects. Moreover, it proposed physical and spatial solutions of the socio-political, technological problems.

What were so his proposals?

He recommended to cure the traffic congestion of towns by increasing the density: locally there would be very high densities, owing to tall building structures, around which, however, available ground, green space, would make up to 95 per cent of all the area. Corbusier proposed further equal densities all over the town. "Flows of people would become much more even across the whole city, instead of the strong radial flows into and out of the centre, which characterize cities today" (Hall, 1982, 75).

His 'ideal city' should consist of 3 zones: centre with high towers for business, surrounded by 6 storey housing; open space around the whole; a ring of garden city communities on the periphery.

Traffic system should be separated and differentiated, according to its kind and speed. Streets should be straight to achieve a sense of direction and efficiency. They should not be followed by buildings, their role being only as purely traffic axes. Standardization and mass production should be the means to create the new town (CIAM,1930,110).

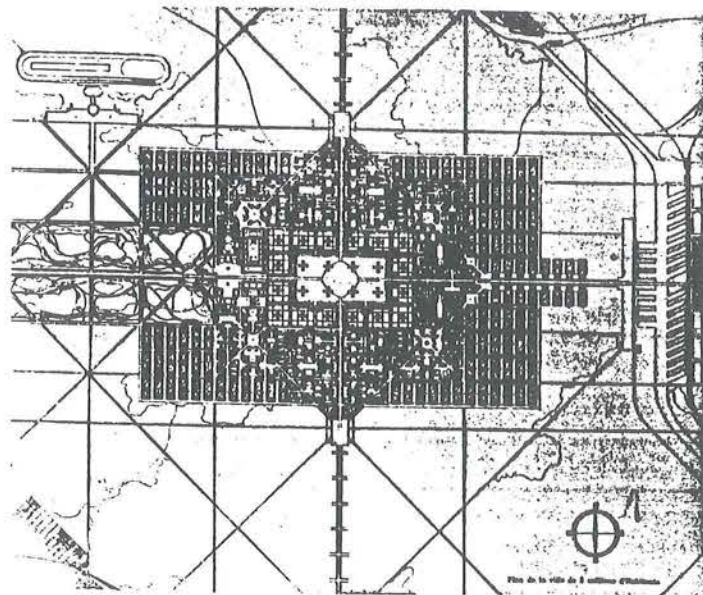
For development of urban form, these fifty years meant a break from the continuity of local and historical traditions. The 'functional' ideals erased the substance and nature of urban "places", their genius loci. Urban form became "cosmopolitan": towns resembled each other on all continents.

As in the previous periods, also in course of these fifty years, the prevailing planning ideology was followed by the legislation. As the formal ideals were those resulting from functions, urban form was getting more and more "standardized", according to the "standardization" of functions.

Zoning, Floor Area Ratio, the two-dimensional land-use planning, were the tools of implementation of the ideals, thus "forming" the towns. Form became a by-product of the planning process.

These fifty years could be called the "cosmopolitan planning" period, when the whole triad: ideals, tools and urban form, became uniform all over the world and the towns lost their local flavour.

The following table attempts to give a short review of urban development during the period of the "cosmopolitan planning" and at the beginning of the next one. (page 22)



93: Le Corbusier's 1922 design for a city of three million people organizes all buildings within a rigid geometrical system. The managerial elite were to live near the downtown skyscrapers; satellite towns for workers and their factories would be built beyond the greenbelt.

28.

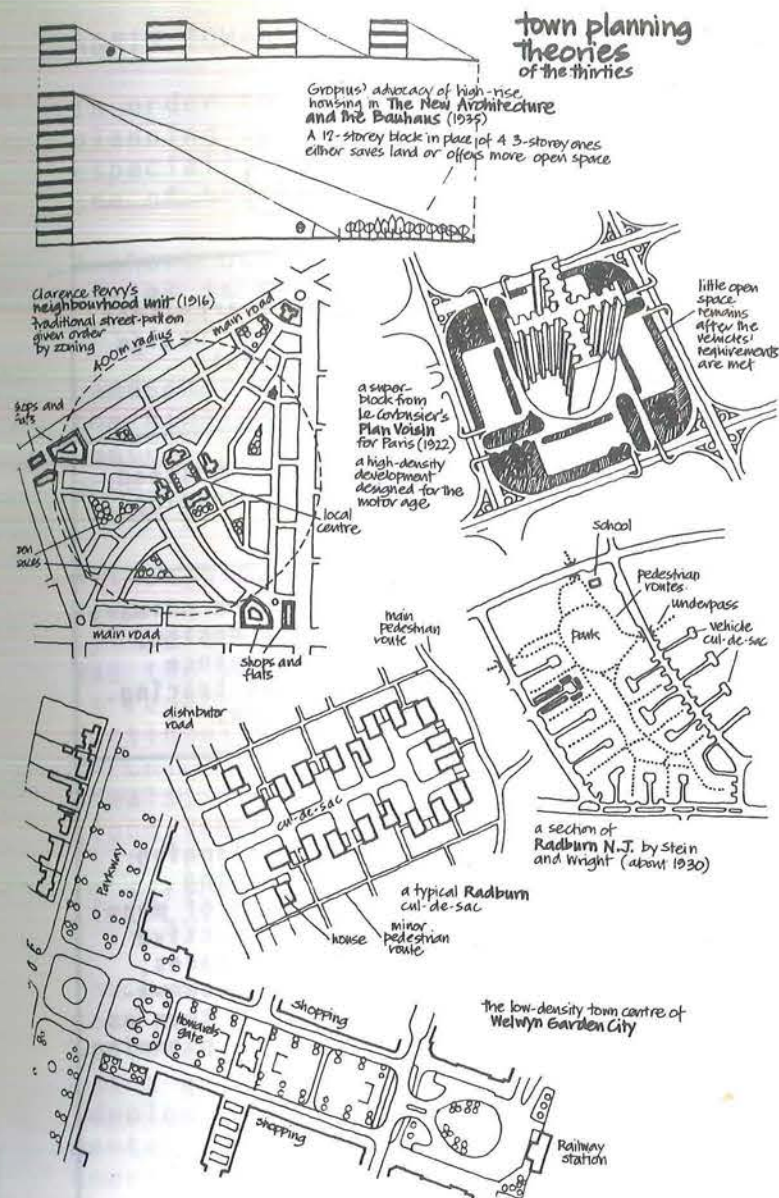
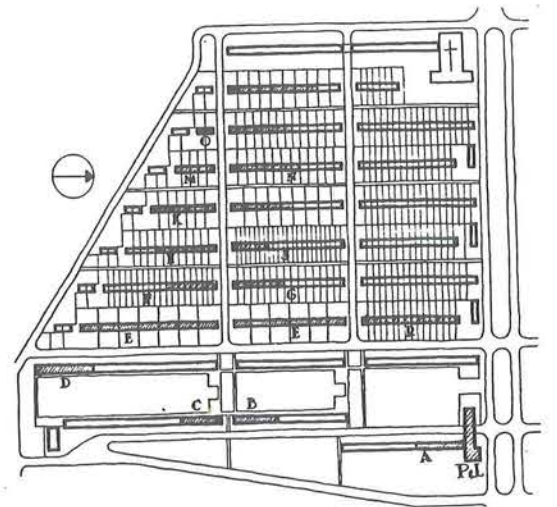


Figure 29. Town planning theories of the thirties. (from: Risebero, 1985).



Architect	Unit	Architect	Unit
Otto Haesler	A, M, N	Fritz Rosler	H
Riphahn & Crod	B	Hans Rostiger	J
Walter Gropius	C, D, F	Alfred Fischer and Walter Merz	K, L
Frans Rockle	E, R	Alfred Fischer	O
Wilhelm Lochstampfer	G		

This project, 750 dwelling units, demonstrates the rigid formula for site planning that emerged in the German program:

1. Uniform orientation for all dwellings.
2. Elimination of traffic between buildings.
3. Open space in proportion to building height.

Figure 30. A German example of town planning of the period of the "cosmopolitan planning". (from: Gallion).

Outline of urban development 1918 - 1988

	1918 - 1940	1945 - 1968	1968 -
<i>ideals objectives/policies/ideologia</i>	Functionalism Le Corbusier	No new basic ideologies (unrealized ideal conceptions as Archigram, J.Friedmann...)	Postmodern architect. Postm. urban design Urban Renewal
	Separation of land use into zones	Zoning as basic principle in planning	Qualitative instead quantitative development
	Vertical compaction of buildings and horizontal green space. Residential areas in green space	Promotion of tower block of flats as an incorrect interpretation of the Ville Radieuse.	Return to the primary values. New design, More maintenance rather than tearing. Preservation.
<i>legal tools</i>	Zoning Floor Area Ratio as a modern tool for land use planning. Compulsory building line loses its meaning as a tool for forming of the urban built environment. Now it keeps the traffic apart from the built area.	Zoning Floor Area Ratio. Planning becomes in an increasing extent two-dimensional land use planning.	Protected zones Core zone planning Design-planning Preservation of monuments, distinctive quality of places, townscape conservation; all of them as new forms of planning
	System of parallel rows of houses		
<i>results/built form</i>	Initially focused on street axes, so more and more turning away from the street. First attempts at differentiation of height between floors.	Open, often irregular arrangements of buildings of different heights. The street becomes a purely traffic axe. Division between pedestrians and vehicles	Urban renewal/ Townscape conservation
		Mixed arrangement of buildings	Planning by small steps. Small, "self-reliant" building groups, enclaves, instead of general, overall plans. More consideration to urban open space. More renovation activities.

Table 1. Based on: Hornberger

AGAIN TOWARDS THE "GENIUS-LOCI PLANNING" PERIOD?

In order to better realize the character of the changes in the planning approaches in general, and in planning techniques especially, an example had been chosen in the United States, one of the "giant" countries in urban planning.

A short outline of the development of planning in the United States is necessary, in order to put the chosen example into the settings of 1968.

Landscape planning which made great advances from the middle of the nineteenth century, with such successful undertakings as the Central Park in New York, prepared the ground for thinking in greater lines in the municipal context than that of a single urban plot or a city block (Wengel, 1987, 257).

Although many American towns were planned as early as in the seventeenth century (Jamestown, Virginia, 1607; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1683; Marlborough, Virginia, 1691) (Reps, 1965, 1969), there was the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago in 1893, which is regarded as the start of modern planning on the American Continent.

In Chicago an attempt had been made to bring aesthetics and beauty ideals, some models to follow in the future to people living in gloomy, depressing environments of tenement houses, slums and filth (Scott, 1971, 33). Called "White City" or "City Beautiful", it influenced the American way to establishment of an own planning system until the stock market crash in 1929.

The success of the "City Beautiful" movement made it obvious, that good urban form had to be promoted by deliberate public and private intervention. Acknowledgement of this interdependence was a great step forward in the period when the 'laissez-faire' ideology was prevailing. Many white civic centres and other monumental structure in classical styles were built, "beautifying" American towns. But the movement had no direct relevance to the social and economic problems of the people (Gallion, 1950, 82).

"While cities had begun to utilize the 'police power' inherent in government in regulating land use, (...), it was not until 1916 that zoning was shaped into the form in which we know it today" (Smith, 1979, 15).

During this time, the term 'planning' began to be regarded as a governmental function. A general consensus evolved that towns needed a deliberate guidance for the future development.

Daniel Burnham, the architect of the Chicago Exhibition, prepared a plan for the entire Chicago region (1909) (Tunnard, 1955, 199).

In Hartford, Connecticut, the first official planning commission had been established in 1907, an example followed by other states which enacted state-enabling acts, authorizing towns to create planning commissions (Smith, 1979, 15).

The year 1916 is an important moment: New York City passed a comprehensive zoning ordinance to promote land use regulation. The ordinance combined restriction on and regulations for land use,

heights and bulks of buildings, and the density of population and development (Gallion, 1950, 175). "A Standard State Zoning Enabling Act" of 1922 was an attempt to provide some degree of standardization in all states (Scott, 1985, 166). At the same time, zoning became the main incentive of urban development, eclipsing the concept of comprehensive land planning.

The stock market crash in 1929, followed by years of depression, kept private construction in halt. One of the ways to solve current economic problems were public works. The necessity of planning became quite obvious (Teaford, 1986, 75). By 1936 almost all states had established state planning boards.

The Public Housing Act of 1937 was a start of the first low-rent housing programs. Long thought of as local problems, housing needs for all income levels had been recognized as governmental responsibility (Scott, 1971, 329).

But the turning point in making planning activity a local matter, was the Federal Housing Act of 1954 (Smith, 1979, 19). The ground had been already established in 1946 by the urban redevelopment legislation for slum clearance and the residential re-use. The Federal Housing Act assumed comprehensive planning as a prerequisite to funding for urban renewal and made the federal government responsible for financial and for municipal, county, regional and eventually even state planning.

There was no central agency at federal level, handling the complex of problems presented by urban growth until the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) was established in 1965 (Miller/Melvin, 1987, 205). It was given responsibilities in the field of metropolitan area planning.

What is the specific American feature of the use of land policy, is that it may be affected by two different operations: planning and zoning, and that these are in principle different. Moreover, the real core of the American system of land-use control is not planning, but zoning. Zoning is a device for segregating different types of land use, especially those thought of to be incompatible. But zoning cannot be used when protecting open countryside against development (Hall, 1982, 267).

With ineffective planning and partly effective zoning, controls over the physical growth and change within urban areas are much weaker in the United States than in the European countries.

But in spite of such "gloomy" planning situation, there was in the United States that Europe found ideas which awoke it from the lethargy brought about by the "cosmopolitan planning" period. San Francisco's people and authorities gained a great respect in the USA and abroad (Trieb, 1976, 31) for their innovative approach to urban planning, based on the local premises.

What was the status quo of the urban planning legislation which enabled the success?

The law governing local planning and land regulation in California has a long history. The first zoning law dates back to 1917, only one year younger than that of New York City. Preparation of local general plans was provided by the law of 1927 (Fourcroy, 1951, 91-5). In 1971, the requirements were enacted that zoning and subdivision approvals be consistent with the general plan. The general plan received the status of a constitution for local development (State of California General Plan Guidelines, 1980, XVIII, XXI).

The Urban Design Plan of 1971 was an expression of the general consensus of the people of San Francisco, that something should be done for protection of the acknowledged high environmental qualities of the town.

The Plan, being a part of the general plan, deals with the problems of both conservation and development. It recognizes physical qualities of San Francisco and gives guidance for protection and enhancement of them. It also proposes how to improve parts of the towns which are not satisfactory.

"The Plan is a definition of quality, a definition based upon human needs" (San Francisco Master Plan, 7.2.) Following issues had been dealt with in the Plan: City Pattern, conservation, Major New Development and Neighborhood Environment. In each case, the following subjects had been taken up: essential human needs; an overall objective for attainment of them by public and private efforts; fundamental principles, with graphic illustrations among parts of the environments, such as open spaces, buildings, hills and streets; a series of policies necessary to achieve or approach the overall objective, based on the acknowledgement of the needs and principles and which is supposed to be a continuing guide and directive for public and private decisions (San Francisco Master Plan, 7.2.).

In the professional circles of architects, urban designers and planners, an important event took place: The San Francisco Downtown Plan of 1985, 'guided' by the Urban Design Plan, had been awarded by the periodical "Progressive Architecture" (1/86). The members of the jury emphasize the approach of the planners who had taken the starting point in the "soul of the city", its genius loci. "Much in this document grows out of an understanding of particular conditions that one finds in San Francisco. The uniqueness of it is a strength; usually you pick up an urban plan and it could be about any city in North America" (s.123/4).

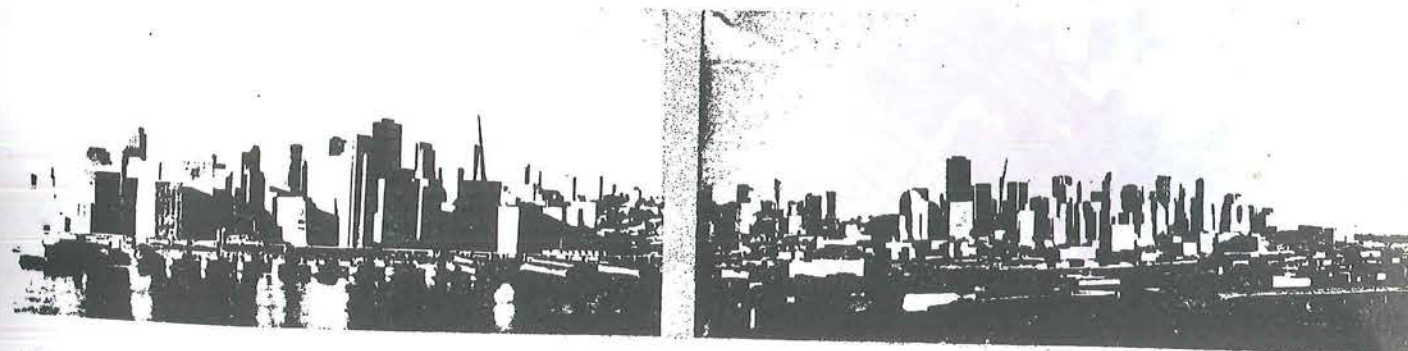


Figure 31. San Francisco. (from: "Progressive Architecture", December, 1985).

Fundamental Principles for Major New Development

These fundamental principles and their illustrations reflect the needs and characteristics with which this Plan is concerned, and describe measurable and critical urban design relationships in major new development.



The relationship of a building's size and shape to its visibility in the cityscape, to important natural features and to existing development determines whether it will have a pleasing or a disruptive effect on the image and character of the city.

A: Tall, slender buildings near the crown of a hill emphasize the form of the hill and preserve views.

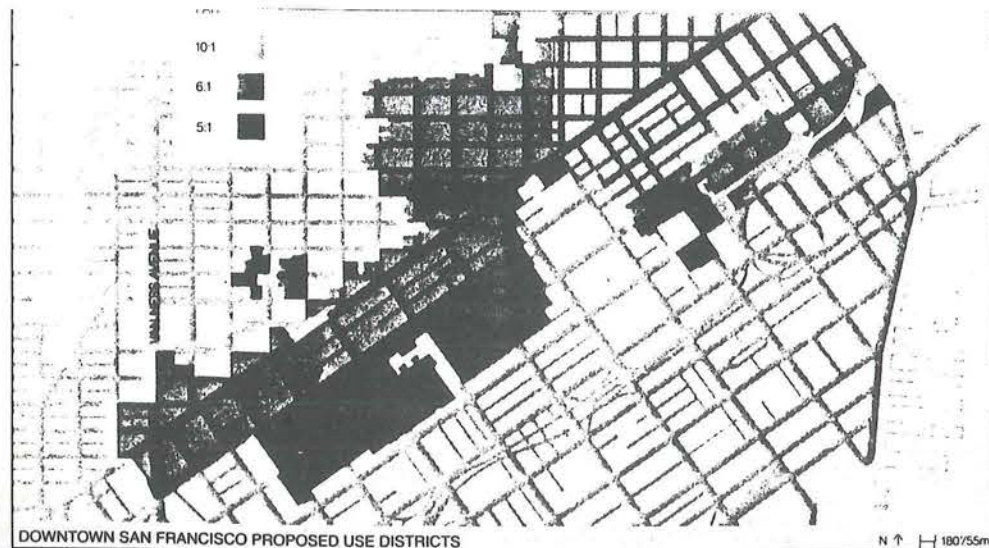
B: Extremely massive buildings on or near hills can overwhelm the natural land forms, block views, and generally disrupt the character of the city.

C: Low, smaller-scale buildings on the slopes of hills, at their base and in the valleys between complement topographic forms and permit uninterrupted views.



THE URBAN DESIGN PLAN

32. Figure 32. A fragment from the San Francisco Urban Design Plan (From the UDP, 1971)



33. Figure 33. Downtown Plan for San Francisco. (from: "Progressive Architecture, Dec. 1985)

QUO VADIS, URBAN FORM?

By following the history of the last hundred years, one can indicate periods, when the quality orientation was an integrated part of the town planning process, when planners were not afraid of using the term "beauty of urban environment". It was incorporated into the whole of other, more "rational" objectives of planning and was followed by planning legislation for implementation. Urban form, produced as a result of the process, had been thus deliberately created.

As the "Zeitgeist" * changed and the quantity orientation, the "rational" ideals, became prevailing, the legislation omitted the "beauty paragraphs". Urban form changed according to this oscillation.

The world is getting smaller. The diffusion of different leading concepts, ideas, opinions, is more rapid than ever before. "Rudiments of town planning as a repetitive feature of civilization the world over, represents both artistic creativity and a way of community life" (Cherry, 1974,6).

How to reconcile the objectives of beauty of physical environment with the accelerating process of dissolution of differences between societies of the world in the period of the overall advanced communications?

Beauty of physical environment is, after all, synonymous to its uniqueness, singleness. Where should one search for a creative basis, a foothold when shaping urban environments? (Relph, 1976, 44).

When the period of the "Cosmopolitan planning" was over, the broad and strong reaction against it did not give rise to a new, "universal" ideology, as that of the previous epoch. Instead, a new, broad consensus arose: that of repugnance to the modern placelessness of the environment, of request for enhancement of its genius loci. This quality approach to town planning, resultated in new planning objectives the world over: return to the primary values.

It should be regarded as positive, that this general objective is shared internationally, and still there is no believe that there are "universal" ways to achieve the goals.

They should be searched for in the local context of "places", thus reconciling the positive of the international influences, general urban policies, but at the same time seeking for artistic inspiration in genius loci of the local environment.

What should be so the role of urban legislation?

It should create a framework proper for promotion of quality thinking, of good solutions of the existing and future urban problems.

* "Zeitgeist" a German term for the genius of a period

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THE PLANNED DECENTRALISATION OF THE WESTERN CITY

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Planned decentralisation of population and economic activity from the heart of big cities is a strategy particularly associated with Britain, perhaps because of the success of the garden city movement and its London origins. But it rapidly became internationally adopted, at least in the western, developed countries. This paper looks at the enthusiastic take up of the idea, in various forms and the reasons for it; it also considers how the changing nature of urban geography, world-wide, has changed some early simplistic notions, requiring redistributive planning strategies to be much more flexible and pragmatic than in earlier years of the century.

Plans for decentralisation and dispersal: Britain

In Britain one can date the origins of the strategy almost to a year or so, shortly after 1900, though factors conducive to it had been present for perhaps two decades (Cherry, 1988). The fact was that the operation of the housing market had already begun to work in favour of suburban growth. In the last 30 years of the 19th century declining population levels had been recorded in the overcrowded districts of inner London; comensurately suburban growth was clearly in evidence as new housing followed the lines of communication outwards. Orderly terraced development allowed skilled artisans, clerks and shopkeepers to people the outer reaches of late Victorian London, the work journey to the centre facilitated by cheaper train travel, but there were enclaves for more privileged low density estates too, one good example being that of Bedford Park in West London, begun in 1875.

London continued to grow fast, but prosperous suburbs could not conceal the facts of poverty, destitution, poor housing and squalid environments in the centre. New housing on the outskirts had the benefit of some attractive features: sound construction, drainage and sanitation, space around dwellings and perhaps access to open space and countryside. These environmental features offered the biggest prizes: fresh air, space and sunlight, and it was held that these attributes would overcome the health hazards of high density, overcrowding and polluted air. The literature of those years abounds with references to a so-called degeneration of the human race; it was argued that Britain was breeding an unfit urban people. This puts into context the vigour of the housing reform movement in the 1880s and 1890s, protagonists insisting that the old slums be swept away.

Housing policy had been slow to take effect. Legislation in 1875 (the Artizans' and Labourers' Dwellings Improvement Act) introduced the idea of dealing comprehensively with the unfit housing problems of a whole district, making the demolition of extensive unhealthy areas possible, and it also provided for rehousing. But the legislation was permissive and the Act largely failed, in part due to onerous compensation clauses. The Housing of the Working Classes Act, 1890, proved more successful, particularly in London where the LCC in two administrations from 1889-1895 pursued an energetic policy of municipal housing; redeveloped sites prevailed, the largest scheme being at Boundary Street, Bethnal Green in East London. After three years out of office the Progressives (Liberals and Socialists) were returned in 1898 and proceeded to build according to need (as Part III of the 1890 Act permitted them to do). The intriguing part of the story now follows because a switch in policy ensued: from building in inner redevelopment areas, to laying out housing estates on green field sites on the periphery. The purchase of central area slum land was simply too expensive compared with suburban land. Before the outbreak of the Great War LCC estates had been commenced at Tooting

and at Norbury (near Croydon) in the south, at Tottenham in the north and Acton in the west - all cottage estates with a free layout style. The pattern of housing policy was fixed for at least a quarter of a century, when Britain once again, in the later 1930s, turned its attention to the clearing of the slums and the redevelopment of inner sites.

There was no formal declaration of a decanting policy (that would come later), merely the assumption that people in overcrowded conditions would be filtered out into more salubrious development. The great Alfred Marshall, Professor of Economics at Cambridge, argued that it made no sense to house the poor in the centre of cities; the health and housing reformists pointed to the quality of low density environments as the abiding target at which to aim; and the land reformers (sometimes espousing land nationalisation) argued for new taxation measures to bring land on to the market. In the meantime the great advocate for vernacular cottage design in new forms of residential layout - Raymond Unwin - had captured the possibilities of the new tradition.

The idea of the factory surrounded by workers' houses, situated in or adjoining the countryside, is an old one. In the second half of the 19th century Titus Salt's Saltaire, W.H. Lever's Port Sunlight, and George and Richard Cadbury's Bournville were heirs to that tradition. Bournville struck a distinctive stance with its emphasis on houses with gardens, tree lined streets and an overall informality, which was heightened by the cottage architecture of W.H. Bidlake. Unwin, above all, developed the logic and the potential qualities of the picturesque model. With his cousin-in-law, Barry Parker, he created New Earswick, a planned estate on the northern outskirts of York for another chocolate manufacturer, Rowntree. More significantly they won a competition for the design of the first garden city, Letchworth, and later Unwin alone was the architect for that early masterpiece, Hampstead Garden Suburb.

The emergent town planning movement in the first decade of the century was strongly identified with these new forms of residential layout. The garden suburb became fashionable: low density estates laid out in sympathy with local topography; ample gardens, allotments and open space; an openness to all classes; a readiness to seek cooperation between landowners and local authorities; and co-partnership housing with self-management by the residents.

Meanwhile the garden city movement made its own contribution to a rapidly changing scene. Ebenezer Howard, after struggling for some years with his scheme for a cooperative socialist settlement, abandoned Unionville and was persuaded to adopt Garden City as the summation of his ideals. The full significance came later when the strategic model of metropolitan dispersal was espoused by disciples such as C.B. Purdom and F.J. Osborn after the Great War. But even by 1914 it was clear as a result of the dictates of private suburbia, and the relentless urban health campaign, and a combination of the effect of garden suburbs, garden cities, the London County Council housing programmes and the design fashion of the new architecture, that the shapers of city form had embarked on a major period of change.

Suburban, low density development was one thing; planned relocation policies were another. But between the wars continued pressure was exerted in this latter direction. In 1920 a Government Report from the Unhealthy Areas Committee, chaired by Neville Chamberlain, was particularly sympathetic to the idea. (Note incidentally the term 'unhealthy areas' was derived from the housing legislation of 1875 and was retained in common use throughout the inter-war period: a pointed reminder of the origins of the decentralist movement.) Chamberlain's Interim Report (1920) considered that there were only two alternative methods of relieving the congestion of London: either by vertical expansion in multi-storey buildings, or by removal of part of the population elsewhere, in order to achieve lower densities and larger open

spaces; the second was favoured, through the establishment of garden cities surrounding London.

Welwyn became Howard's impulsive, idiosyncratic choice of the second (and final) garden city in 1920, but in the meantime a powerful suburban movement in British residential development had begun to take place. The Government had decided by the end of the Great War (for reasons which remain contentious to this day) that local authorities (not the private builders, nor the voluntary associations) would be given responsibility for meeting the country's housing shortage. A Committee chaired by Tudor Walters, an M.P. and Chairman of Hampstead Garden Trust, but crucially advised by Raymond Unwin, advised on housing design and related matters. With Unwin's practical background and known philosophy (subsumed under the heading of that strange pamphlet of 1912 'Nothing Gained by Overcrowding!') the result was perhaps a foregone conclusion, but the Committee set new standards for working class housing and clarity of advice for site selection. The Government's Housing Manual (1919) adopted the far reaching recommendations. The full logic of the new situation came with fresh legislation in 1919. First, it was made obligatory for local authorities to prepare surveys of their housing needs, draw up plans and carry out their schemes; second, local authorities were given direct subsidies to build houses of various types. Although there were to be many twists and turns of housing policy throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s, three basic features of urban change were established. Britain built 4 million dwellings between the wars, one million of them council houses, thereby introducing a new tenure group; low density estates prevailed; and a buoyant private sector market unfolded, particularly in the 1930s, when London especially expanded territorially in suburban estates.

But the planned decentralist model remained elusive. A private group, the Hundred New Towns Association, advocated (as their title implied) a

radical redistribution of population, particularly in South East England and the Home Counties. The building of Wythenshawe as a satellite for Manchester, and enclosed by an agricultural belt, was a City Council development, and was not copied elsewhere. London proved to be setting for a new initiative, as indeed was justified by the scale of the problem and the extent of ongoing change. In 1927 the Greater London Regional Planning Committee was constituted by the then Minister of Health, Neville Chamberlain; it was purely an advisory body of representatives from all the local authorities in an area of 1800 sq miles, within 25 miles of central London. Unwin was appointed Technical Advisor. His First Report was published in 1929, offering the model of four rings for the Greater London region: population belts of decreasing density from core to periphery, separated by belts of open space for recreation purposes. Two Interim Reports were published in January 1931; a Second and Final Report in March 1933 made a detailed proposal for a narrow green girdle around London.

A British city had for the first time a comprehensive plan for strategic developments; events showed that it was to be a robust one. From time to time in the past there had been proposals for particular aspects of London's growth, such as open space or traffic, but never with such integrated purpose. The plan, being advisory at a time when the country was in the throes of political change and economic depression, was not acted upon, but it served to push the debate along. Government Reports became increasingly forthright: Lord Chelmsford's Departmental Committee in 1931 was cautiously attracted to the idea of satellite towns, but Lord Marley's Committee in 1935 advocated the fullest adoption of garden city development.

Further support came from another source: it was a spin off from consideration of regional economic problems in the disadvantaged regions, hard hit by the world depression. The uncontrolled growth of London identified the

problem of the location of industry as requiring a new policy approach. There was of course the strategic argument of national defence: London and the South East were vulnerable to air attack from continental bases. But there was also the opinion, increasingly heard, that much of the industrial flow which had flooded into London might reasonably be directed elsewhere: at a stroke two problems might be solved if industry, not totally dependent on location within Greater London, could be elsewhere - not just stemming the growth of the metropolis, but possibly effecting the economic regeneration of unfavoured regions elsewhere.

The Royal Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population (1937-9), chaired by Sir Montague Barlow grappled with these issues; the Barlow Report was published in 1940 (Cmd 6153). The Commission had received evidence of a kind which had maintained a generally decentralist line, powerful advocacy coming from the London Passenger Transport Board (near the limits of efficiency given the territorial spread of Greater London in the later 1930s) and the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association. In the event Barlow endorsed the principles of dispersal of industries and industrial population from congested urban areas, and redevelopment of such areas where necessary.

It seemed that Barlow caught a tide of specialist opinion. World War II gave the recommendations an urgency and a popular appeal which would have been difficult to imagine. The catalyst was bomb damage. The blitz of September 1940 to May 1941, followed by the continuation of night attacks in 1942, the resumption of day attacks in 1943 and the flying bombs in 1944 wrought physical destruction on many cities, particularly East London and port and manufacturing cities. Half a million dwellings in the U.K. were destroyed or made permanently uninhabitable by enemy action.

War damage provided the opportunity to rebuild, a new social psychology gave community determination and political support, while a major professional figure (Abercrombie) offered the technical insight and vision for the plans that were needed. Long term planning came into its own and the decentralist seeds sown in the 1930s fell on fruitful ground. A reconstruction plan for the County of London was urgently required. The LCC Architect J.H. Forshaw, in conjunction with Patrick Abercrombie, then Professor of Town Planning at London, published the County of London Plan in 1943, having been commissioned by Lord Reith in 1941, then Minister of Works and Planning. Vested interests worked against a decentralist approach and the plan failed the test of radicalism, at least that espoused by the Town and Country Planning Association (as it was by now called). A plan for Greater London was now commissioned, to be drawn up by Abercrombie as head of a small team, with boundaries 30 miles or so beyond the LCC limits. The Greater London Plan 1944, published in 1945, was conceptually a very different document. Its strategy rested on the principle of dispersal: 1½ million people from inner, overcrowded London to a variety of other locations, including eight new satellite towns and a number of existing towns at various distances beyond a green belt, itself much wider than Unwin's green girdle of a decade or more before. For Greater London the comprehensive web of economic, social and strategic purpose was particularly compelling, but the same principles were illustrated elsewhere, in other large built up areas: the Clyde Valley Regional Plan (Abercrombie and Matthew, 1946) and the West Midlands Plan (Abercrombie and Jackson, 1948).

The New Towns Act 1946 articulated the decentralist policy. As an example of how a battle for ideas had been won, it is remarkable to note (within the context of confrontational British politics) that the Bill was unopposed in its passage through Parliament. The London ring of New Towns followed: Stevenage (though not without some early difficulties), and then

Hemel Hempstead, Harlow, Crawley, Hatfield, Welwyn, Basildon and Bracknell. East Kilbride was Glasgow's first New Town. The dispersal of big city population was later encouraged by further legislation: the Town Development Act 1952 gave financial help to small townships to carry out major urban expansion by accommodating surplus population of larger parent cities.

Plans for decentralisation: other cities

We must leave the British decentralist story at that point. It had become a policy which took perhaps 50 years to gestate, from garden city to New Town; in the end it was peculiarly suited to British conditions and experiences. But it cannot be dismissed as simply a national quirk, because planned decentralisation was also favoured in other countries where different situations obtained. The International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, although always perhaps claiming more for its influence than was ever achieved in practice, was a vigorous propagandist in this regard. However, the remarkable fact is that in the developed western countries, right across the political spectrum, planned dispersal policies were introduced for the capital cities in the inter-war period: France, Soviet Union and U.S.A.

Housing and land use policies in Paris were slow to develop, in spite of severe overcrowding and health problems (Evenson, 1979). The conditions described in Emile Zola's novels were accurate enough, the drama of Parisian slums heightened by the elegance of new middle class apartment housing provided through the urban renovations of Haussmann. By the turn of the century pressure for housing reform and an anxiety about social stability was beginning to match that expressed in Britain twenty years earlier. The Société Française des Habitations à Bon Marché was created in 1889; it inspired legislation in 1894 which provided government assistance in

housing. But before the outbreak of the Great War neither a growing awareness, nor organisational efforts had produced any significant result. Overcrowding remained; tuberculosis levels were high; and levels of population in central Paris continued to rise. The central city achieved its maximum population as late as 1921 (1871 for parts of inner London), suburban Paris then beginning to increase rapidly. After 1919 attention turned to removal of the worst of the overcrowded and insanitary districts (the îlots insalubres) and the HBM office of the City of Paris built a number of new housing complexes in some peripheral districts. Meanwhile, unplanned suburban expansion took place, in the form of small privately built houses: speculators acquired extensive tracts of cheap land in outlying areas, parcelled it into small lots, which were then sold for modest weekly payments. In many cases the purchasers built their own small dwellings, first as temporary shelter. These working class suburbs, 'lotissements', springing up with a lack of urban utilities, quickly became infamous.

By comparison, the French equivalent of the garden city was developed. A Société des Cités Jardins was founded in 1903 but it was not until after 1919 that the garden city ideal had any real influence on government housing programmes. In 1919 Henri Sellier who directed the HBM office at the Département de la Seine announced proposals for the building of housing ensembles in the suburbs, though not as complete, self sufficient towns. Between the wars 16 cités jardins were constructed, the largest at Plessis-Robinson with 5500 dwelling units, in the south west of the city; Suresnes (2735) in the west; Stains (1655) in the north; and Champigny-sur-Marne (1197) in the east. They were not complete towns, but they followed the British tradition by combining housing with community services and abundant open space. Curving streets, cottage style dwellings (though increasingly with apartment blocks of three to four storeys, on cost grounds) and gardens front and rear were typical features.

If French policy towards decentralisation had appeared modest and perhaps lukewarm, the debate in the Soviet Union was vigorous and fractious, but deeper rooted in Howard's principles (Cooke, 1978). The garden city idea got off to a relatively early start in Russia. A St. Petersburg lawyer, Alexander Block published a full translation of Howard's book in 1911, and from an architect and engineer Vladimir Semionov came both a book and a scheme: Blagoustroistvo Gorodov (The Planning of Towns) and the building of Prozorovka for the Moscow-Kazan railway company as 'the first garden city in Russia'. A Garden City Association in Russia was established in 1913-14. 'Backward' Russia was to be propelled into the twentieth century by emulation of the west.

The post-revolutionary years were considerably influenced by these auspicious precedents. Between 1917 and 1925 the garden city environment continued to represent an unchallengeable model for the urban future. Moscow was now the capital and a series of plans for the city and its environs showed the garden city as a conspicuous inspiration. A Greater Moscow Plan of 1925 showed a ring of towns reconstructed into garden cities between 100,000 and 150,000 inhabitants. By the end of the 1920s the question of urban design and strategy had become entrapped by the niceties of ideology: what should be the proper form of the Soviet, socialist town? Between 1929 and 1931 a bitter 'urbanist-disurbanist' debate ensued. There were three factions: those who favoured an unchecked metropolis on Corbusier's lines, those who proposed dispersed settlements of strictly limited size with compact living blocks in green settings, and the disurbanists who favoured complete dispersal on linear, a-nodal lines. The resolution of the debate was an accommodation to the proponents of a particular kind of urban form, an established method in settlement construction and the dictates of political ideologies. It was a combination of the environmental principles of the garden city with the requirements of a radical social system. Ideal housing form was deemed to be

of four or five storey blocks; the housing environment was to be protected from its related industrial zone by green space; and housing would be clustered into districts offering a basic daily self-sufficiency. The single large city would be replaced by clusters of interconnected towns, with an open spatial structure. In 1935 the General Plan of Reconstruction for Moscow limited the city's size to 5 million people; in 1939 it was already 4.1 million and after the 1950s it ceased to be a meaningful figure. But the concept of Soviet Satellite cities (goroda sputniki) remains, in sympathy with Howard's notions.

American experiences and the take up of dispersal policies was different; this can be illustrated with regard to plans prepared for New York City, particularly between the wars (Johnson, 1988). New York and other big American cities had the typical problems of poor housing, overcrowding, sanitation and ill-health, but developments in planning at the turn of the century owed more to two other features: the park planning tradition and the City Beautiful movement. It is symptomatic therefore that New York's metropolitan strategy can be traced back to both. In 1868, Frederick Law Olmsted envisioned an urban spread linked by a web of urban spaces and parkways. Subsequently, once New York and Brooklyn had joined with three other counties to form the Greater City of New York (1897), a City Improvement Commission was created to prepare a comprehensive plan for the newly consolidated area; submitted in 1905, this emphasized urban aesthetics and city beautification.

Other plans followed, but it was the Regional Plan of New York and its Environs (1921-9) which has achieved particular fame by not only synthesising earlier planning attempts, but by breaking new conceptual ground. The planning staff was directed by Thomas Adams, erstwhile secretary of the Garden City Association, exponent of garden suburb development, before leaving

Britain for Canada. In the first draft of 1923 a number of important guidelines underpinned the design of the regional plan. For example, wedge-shaped agricultural zones should be established to ensure generous open space provision. There should be selective decentralisation of certain economic functions. To break down dependency on the centre, new transportation facilities should facilitate circumferential rather than radial movements. Development corporations should be established to assist in industrial relocation and to build satellite towns. When finally published in 1929 there was some dilution of the more controversial policies, and the plan remained weak on housing, but as a pragmatic spatial strategy, well backed by survey data, it was pre-eminent of its kind. It offended, however, the traditionalists of the British Garden City and Town Planning Association, whose criticism was articulated by Lewis Mumford.

The issue really was Adams' acceptance of growth (from 8.9 million population in 1920 to 21 million in 1965 - which proved to be a significant overestimate) versus the purists' concern for decentralisation to satellites. The niceties of the two views in a sense summarise the difficulties of long term strategic planning. The terms 'decentralisation' and 'dispersal' have so far been used almost indeterminately, but in fact to the purists they had very different meaning. Planned decentralisation into satellite communities located at a distance from the parent city was one thing; in diagrammatic form it was well illustrated in Howard's Social City and it attracted the adherents of those who thought such a spatially determined, clustered settlement pattern was both right and possible. Planned dispersal on the other hand held no such fixity of view; a loose assembly of low density suburbs, free flowing with interconnected open space, would suffice for essentially an uncertain future. Those advocating dispersal, without planned decentralisation, accepted the notion of metropolitan growth (as with Adams in New York); the true decentralists did not. The irony was that in the event,

the New York region that evolved resembled neither, as low density suburban development spread into the fringe areas made accessible by the new parkways and other highways.

The changing relevance of the decentralist argument

London, Paris, Moscow, New York: four major cities each with very different urban histories, political systems and cultural sets of expectations, still found it possible in the years this century up to the 1940s to prepare planning strategies which responded in some way to forms of decentralist and dispersal traditions. It is significant that they are all western industrial cities, having experienced a common historical pattern over the previous century: rapid population growth, development of a new manufacturing base, the concentration of the poor and ill-housed at the centre, and a legacy of sanitary deficiencies and ill-health. Models of a planned relocation of population and economic activity were made in response to a common problem.

But the western industrial city was not typical of all cities - far from it- and the garden city/garden suburb solution met the needs of only some urban situations. As an international transplant it had its limitations. Moreover as the second half of the 20th century unfolded, the simplicity of Howard's strategic model began to have less and less relevance. The fact was that the 19th century city, with its centrality, and concentration of ill-housed in the inner parts (to which relocation was an apt antidote) was disappearing fast. Geddes' 'conurbation', so termed in his Cities in Evolution (1915), had become 'megalopolis' 50 years later, as described by Gottman (Megalopolis: the urbanised northeastern seaboard of the United States 1964). Through the transport revolutions, both electric railways and the car, cities were loosened from the earlier restraints on physical growth, a process

confirmed by recent developments in tele-communications. Huge metropolitan corridors of urban development are now the world pattern, perhaps best expressed in Southern California, but to be seen elsewhere where poly-nucleated city systems have emerged, not just in the USA but now in most of the urbanised countries of the world. The old territorial city has been replaced by the new dispersed city.

Half a century ago there was a firm belief that an ideal spatial future could be articulated in a master plan. Abercrombie for London was right, though he planned for a London of the first half of the century; but within his own life time (he died in 1957) that judgement would have had to be reversed. A simple custodial view of an urban community's future ('leave it to the planners and an all-wise bureaucracy') could no longer be sustained. The emergent urban pattern, recognizable even a quarter of a century ago was quite different: it was now loosely knit, weakly centred, a low density space economy spread out over a wide hinterland. Adams was right for New York in 1929 on this basis: he was right in recognizing that city process was basically one of adaptation, where over-precise, definitive solutions for long term future are inadmissible.

The modern city is enormously complex, and the forces which impell its change notoriously uncertain in direction. Even over 20 years, we have begun to revise our judgement about cities we thought to be in perhaps terminal decline. In the USA the Sunbelt cities boomed in the 1970s, but in the 1980s parts of the Frostbelt have made a come-back. Houston has run into trouble, but New York and Boston have reversed their population decline. Economic revival can take place: Pittsburgh has supplanted steel production with an economy based on education, banking and research. Birmingham (England) has seen the contraction of its car production, engineering and metal trades, but is now witnessing an interesting growth in services, based on Exhibition and

Convention Centres and business tourism. Equally, recovery of residential environments in older neighbourhoods continues to take place. Revitalised inner city areas cater for a distinctive group in housing demand in American, and some British cities: young, educated, professional, childless couples and single persons.

So flexibility and pragmatism are probably the essential planning virtues to foster. Fixed policy solutions only solve yesterday's city. A loose, dispersed city fits our present requirements, without being too restrained by particular spatial models. In Britain there has been a recent resurgence of interest in the planning of small communities, largely on the outer urban fringe in rural settings, but also in inner areas where opportunity is provided. The ghost of Howard lives on, but in a rather different context.

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THIRD INTERNATIONAL PLANNING HISTORY CONFERENCE
Tokyo, 11-12 November 1988

COMPARING PLANNING SYSTEMS:
A METHOD WHICH HELPS OUR UNDERSTANDING, AND AS A BASIS FOR
TRANSFER OF IDEAS.

John Minett (United Kingdom)

I was trained as an architect, and as a town planner. After practising architecture with a private firm and urban design with a city housing department, I became a lecturer in what is now one of Britain's foremost planning and urban design schools - the Joint Centre for Urban Design at Oxford Polytechnic. I have taught also in many European countries, Canada, USA, Australia and Sri Lanka. I have now returned to practice, and to create "Oxford Workshops in Urban Design", where participants from around the world discuss urban issues, whilst improving their English.

I. INTRODUCTION

Obviously, when people travel they compare and assimilate ideas from places they see. And, if they have any curiosity, they wonder about the way other people do things: both the similarities and the differences.

As an urban designer I am interested in the way cities are put together: what they look like, how they work, how they developed, why things are done in one way or another. When I travel I do not look specifically for ideas, but it is very likely that I will carry some new thoughts home with me: maybe to use, maybe as a basis for criticism.

International conferences are in a way designed as breeding grounds for the transfer of ideas. Indeed the title of this Third International Planning History Conference was initially "The History of the International Exchange of Planning Systems", and the preamble mentioned the transfer of concepts, techniques and administrative methods. At such conferences we hear people talk about the ways that certain problems were tackled in their country, and we are often led to assume that the method can be transferred. But what do we know of the situation in which the particular exercise occurred? To what extent can ideas really be transferred?

It is clear from the number of international planning consultants that exist that many planners believe there are considerable similarities between planning systems; certainly sufficient to enable concepts, techniques and methods to be transferred quite freely. But I question whether this is true. Certainly, as an urban designer, I wonder where we are going when I see the end products of the international planning style that are now being built around the world.

My own belief is that planning has not lived up to the promises of its founders to produce humane and satisfying environments, and that this is to a considerable extent caused by us not understanding how our planning systems work. If we do not understand how our own systems work, what chance is there in understanding how someone else's system works?

In the first part of this paper I am going to describe a research project which I was involved in which compared two planning systems. They were thought to be very similar. In fact they proved to be very different. It concerns a comparison of the Dutch and English planning systems and it was carried out in the late 1970's. I want to discuss it because I think it has useful lessons for all planners, but especially those who work abroad.

The specific findings I do not think are of great value to this conference (if anyone wishes to read them see D. Thomas et al 'Flexibility and Commitment in Planning', Martinus Nijhoff 1983), but I do believe that the research provided valuable insights into the way the operation of a planning system is bound into the historical and cultural attitudes which inform the administrative and legal procedures of that country. In this aspect it demonstrated a point made by Max Neutze (1975), who, having studied the planning systems in five western countries, concluded that countries create planning systems for their own purposes.

But if the research did not turn out as we expected originally, it did provide a valuable method for investigating and understanding a planning system, and its relationship with the development process which it seeks to guide and control. This I will discuss in the second half of the paper, when I might inspire some people to try out the method for themselves, in order to better understand their own system. It helped us understand ours!

II. COMPARING THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH PLANNING SYSTEMS

In 1976 I joined a team of researchers in Oxford who combined with a team in the Netherlands to compare the operation of the English and Dutch planning systems. Initiated by Professor Andreas Faludi (now of Amsterdam University) our aim was to understand the way the two planning systems coped with the changing demands of development. Although we intended to examine similarities and differences, I think it is fair to say that we thought we were looking at fundamentally similar systems. After all, we thought, England and the Netherlands are both western European democracies who share a considerable amount of common culture.

We started from the assumption that our main difficulty would be to understand the Dutch planning system. We had all worked in England and therefore assumed

that we understood it. Consequently the Dutch studies started first and we tried to match them in England, but usually with some difficulty. Differences in approach appeared which at first we could not understand. Only later did we come to recognise that although we were examining two 'planning' systems, they were very different in their assumptions and modes of operation.

Approach to the Research

Our research centred on case studies of similar development in each country. We started with small examples and worked to larger ones: a block of flats; a development of three storey housing; an office block; a shopping centre; a planned neighbourhood; an urban renewal exercise. In each case we were interested in the way that the development took place, and the respective roles of the planner and developer.

We had a basic hypothesis about the relation between the development process and the planning process: that some people seek to promote development and others attempt to control it, and their roles shape their approach to the development process. Fundamentally we assumed the normative view of a planning system: that it produces plans and rules which govern development, and that developers are expected to work within the plans or negotiate changes. Planners are put in the role of conceiving the future; developers implement it. It is the sort of approach taught in planning schools. It is what we found in the Netherlands. But it is not the same in England.

Differences in Operation

We found that the Dutch planning system followed what may be regarded as a 'normal' one step process. Planners, in consultation with the public, make plans and produce rules for their implementation. Once approved a local plan, known as a 'bestemmingsplan' (direction plan), becomes a legal document, and as long as a developer obeys the rules permission to develop must be given.

In contrast we found that the English planning system adopts a two stage approach. Planning authorities make plans which are intended to give guidance. They do not lay down rules in a hard and fast way but rather they set out 'policies' which a planning authority can vary in the degree of their imposition. The 'plans' are really frameworks indicating what a planning authority considers best. Each application to develop is considered "on its merits" with the plan regarded as only one of a number of "material (important) considerations" which are taken into account. In coming to a conclusion about a development proposal, the English planning system uses 'discretion' to weigh a wide range of factors.

Legal and Administrative Basis

We found that the differences in approach stemmed from the different legal and administrative traditions. Dutch administration follows the principle of legal certainty enshrined in the doctrine of the 'Rechtsstaat', whereby every citizen has a right to know exactly what the rules are which govern practice. This is enshrined in the Constitution. Similar principles are followed in many other parts of Europe and the world where Roman/Dutch law obtains.

In contrast 'administrative discretion' is the basis for the practice of central and local government in England. In England the legal system is based on the decisions of Parliament which creates and when necessary changes the framework of law. The powers and responsibilities of the different levels of administration are decided and changed from time to time by Parliament. The whole administrative system is ultimately supervised by the law courts whose role is to interpret the decisions of Parliament. It is the idea of 'interpretation' which underpins the concept of 'administrative discretion' where the administration is allowed discretion to interpret the powers given by law, subject to challenge in the courts.

We found that in the Netherlands the municipal council is an autonomous body empowered to make its own law. Consequently, once a plan has been adopted it becomes the law and is only altered when replaced by a new plan. Appeals against the plan are dealt with by the municipality, or by the Administrative Courts. This has been the case since their first planning Act in 1901.

In contrast local councils in England are regarded as providers of certain public services which are specified by Parliament. Planning is one such service, and planning decisions can be challenged by appealing to central government who, in this respect, have a quasi-judicial role deciding between citizen and local authority. This has been the situation since the first planning Act in 1909.

Effect on Development and Urban Design

Both the Dutch and English planning systems grew out of a concern to control the physical expansion of towns in a positive manner, but have approached it differently. Planning from national to local level in the Netherlands is much concerned with the disposition, location and structure of urban areas. The bestemmingsplan is a modern equivalent of a town planning scheme which provides a once-and-for-all blueprint for a building project, setting out the overall design of streets and buildings, land use and open space.

Whilst Dutch planning has retained what might be regarded as the traditional approach to town planning, English planning has evolved a distinct path to its present position where it attempts to oversee and coordinate not only physical

development but also social and economic policy as it inter-relates with the development of land. As the planning system has evolved, planning control has become separated from building control, and also from direct allegiance to the Development Plan. Since the Town and Country Planning Act 1947 the requirement that development control decisions take account not only of the Development Plan, but also of any other "material considerations" has pushed the development control aspect of English planning into its coordinative role.

The result of these two contrasting approaches is that towns in the Netherlands and in England appear rather different.

Since its inception the Dutch system has always been based on the presumption that development initiatives stem from the planning system. The result is large areas of planned layout giving a feeling of homogenous urban design.

In contrast the English have almost always presumed that development initiatives lie outside the planning system, and, certainly since the 1920's, they have been concerned to provide planning frameworks more than blueprints. The result has been a more heterogeneous approach to urban design.

Assuming that, in the final analysis, a planning system is concerned with guiding and controlling the development of land, the two planning systems turned out to be almost opposites - like two sides of the same coin. The Dutch system appears to emphasise the end product; the English system emphasises the process. The Dutch planning system aims to provide certainty for both citizen and developer, but appeared inflexible in dealing with changing ideas. The English system is very flexible, but provides much less certainty about expected outcomes. They differ because of the law and the way planning has been seen historically in the politics of the two nations.

III UNDERSTANDING OTHER PLANNING SYSTEMS

If you start by examining a chart which seeks to describe the Dutch planning system (see fig.1) or the English planning system (fig.2) would you understand the subtleties which I have tried to describe? If you tried to understand the planning system in the United States, or the Canadian one, or the Indian one how would you start? If you were to try to explain to a foreigner how your planning system worked in relation to development how would you start?

The first rule for comparative research, according to Jim Sharpe (Breakell 1975), is *maximum similarity*. The second rule is *maximum discreteness of focus*. We have seen that countries use their planning systems for different purposes. Direct comparison of planning systems does not meet these criteria. Apart from

anything else, a country may claim to plan when it has no system. Further, some countries claim to plan but with no effect. So how can we know what we are looking at?

I suggest that this conundrum can be solved by asking a simple question - how does a developer seek permission to develop? I suggest that it is not reasonable to assume that all countries have operational planning systems, whereas it is reasonable to assume that all countries attempt to control development, and have operational processes to do so. Comparing control systems can meet Sharpe's criteria.

Control systems can be compared in a way that planning systems cannot. Furthermore investigating a control system allows us to penetrate the intricacies of a planning system, so that we can better understand how it works in relation to the development it seeks to guide and control. Such an approach also gives us insight into cultural attitudes underlying a system.

Comparing Planning Control in the Netherlands and England

Fig.3 shows what happens to an application in the Netherlands; Fig.4 shows what happens to an application in England.

As mentioned above, in the Netherlands an application is considered against the legal local plan, if it is in an area covered by a plan. If it is in an old part of the city, built before 1901, it is not likely to be covered by a plan and is therefore considered against the byelaws. If it meets the requirements of plan or byelaws it must be passed. If it does not it *should* be refused, but the Dutch have developed ways of circumventing their law. The only consultation that is required is over aesthetics. The decision process is fundamentally bureaucratic, based on preconceived plans and rules. Appeals against decisions are made to the council who made the plan, and if still dissatisfied to an Administrative Court.

In comparison, in England what is known as 'development control' follows a more tortuous path. The application is considered against plans and policies, and the site is visited by a planning officer. At the same time consultations are carried out with a whole range of people from government departments to local neighbours. The results of the 'research' (which is not unlike an 'Environmental Impact Assessment') are gathered together by a planning officer who synthesises the comments into a recommendation to the Planning Committee. The committee may accept the advice, or vary it. The process is marked at all stages by the use of discretion. The decision process is 'political'. The same approach takes place at appeal when the Department of the Environment may approve the development, over the head of the local planning authority.

Approached through an analytical flow chart of an application for a development permission I suggest that it is possible to ask ever more detailed questions about the operation (and effectiveness) of a planning system. Approached from a flow chart of a planning system I believe one is lost.

Application of the method

Since this research was completed I have applied the method a number of times. I have asked overseas students from countries as diverse as Mexico, Botswana, Sudan and Andhra Pradesh in India (Fig.5) to draw charts explaining the way their planning systems work: how do they seek to control change? In each case the method provided insights not only for me but also to them.

I have used the method myself when travelling in foreign countries. It has provided me with a way of understanding the planning situation in Montana U.S.A., (Fig.6) Ontario, Canada (Fig.7), South Australia (Fig.8). In each case 'certainty' and 'flexibility' are becoming major issues.

What we find from such investigations is that most countries appear to have sought to provide certainty, using zoning as a technique. Usually zoning is used in a broad brush way; occasionally it has been used to provide a three-dimensional urban design picture. But it is a rigid approach, which is being caught out more and more by development ideas changing faster than the rules permit. Then the planning system gets into a tangle, and loses effectiveness. In addition, the principles of zoning are being criticised increasingly for encouraging stereotyped 'bureaucratic' environments.

The debate about certainty and discretion in planning control is likely to continue. The differences in the control techniques of 'zoning' and 'development control' have been set out in a research document produced for Edmonton, Canada (Edmonton 1979) (fig.9), which was produced as part of a debate on the best method of planning control. In Britain the government is trying to encourage more certainty, whilst other countries are seeking to introduce more discretion. (Looking at my charts, you can see that Canada and Australia appear to be heading towards a hybrid. I think this is probably the way forward.)

I believe that it is very valuable to understand more about the operation of different planning systems and their interaction with the development they seek to control. Only this way can we learn from each other and help planning to be more effective. Forward with comparison, but only on the basis of good research.

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The Planning System in the Netherlands

The Minister is responsible for 'formulating proposed national policy on physical planning'

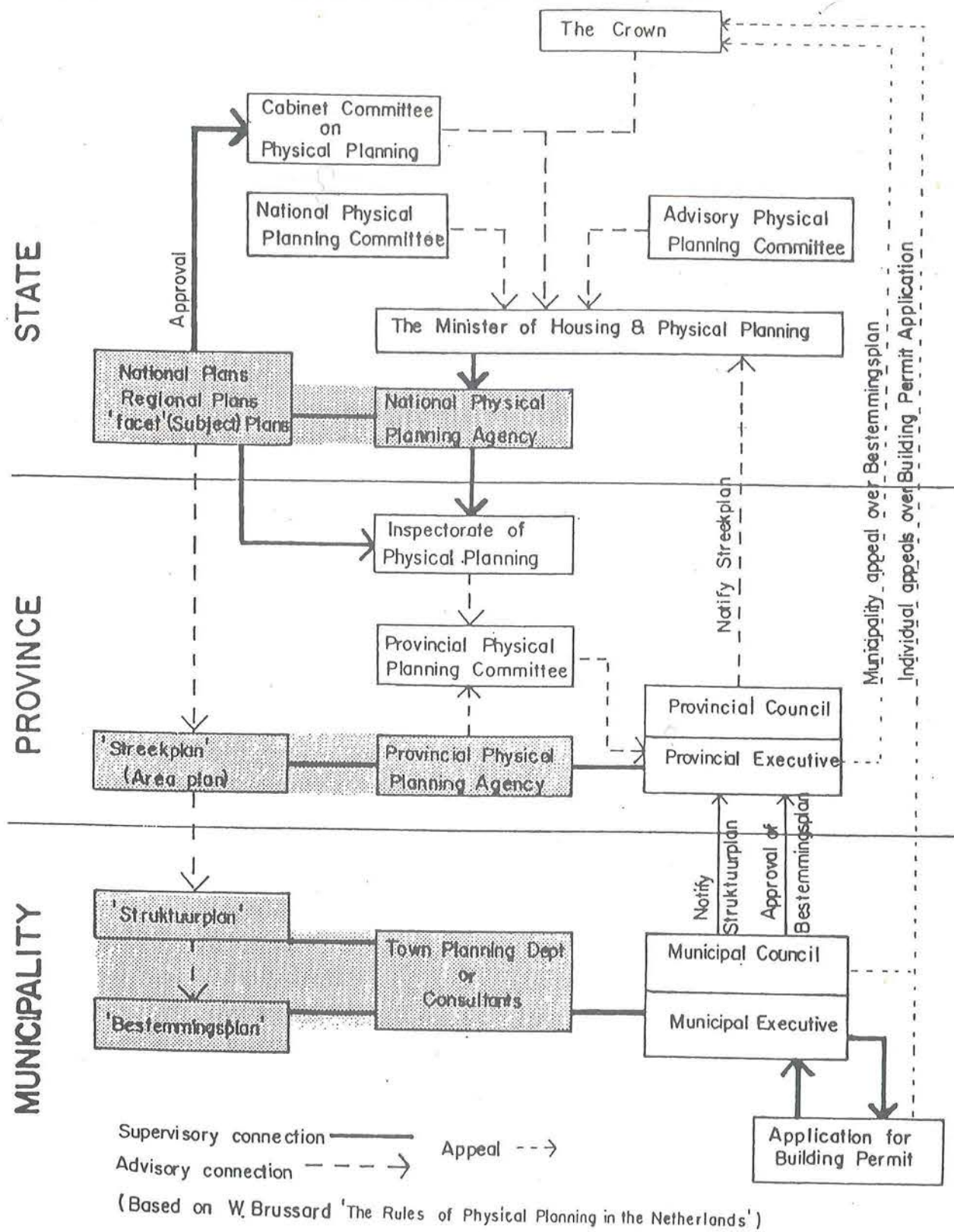


Fig.1 THE PLANNING SYSTEM IN THE NETHERLANDS
 (From Thomas D. 'Flexibility and Commitment in Planning' 1983)

The Minister is responsible for 'securing consistency and continuity in the framing of a national policy with respect to the use of land.'

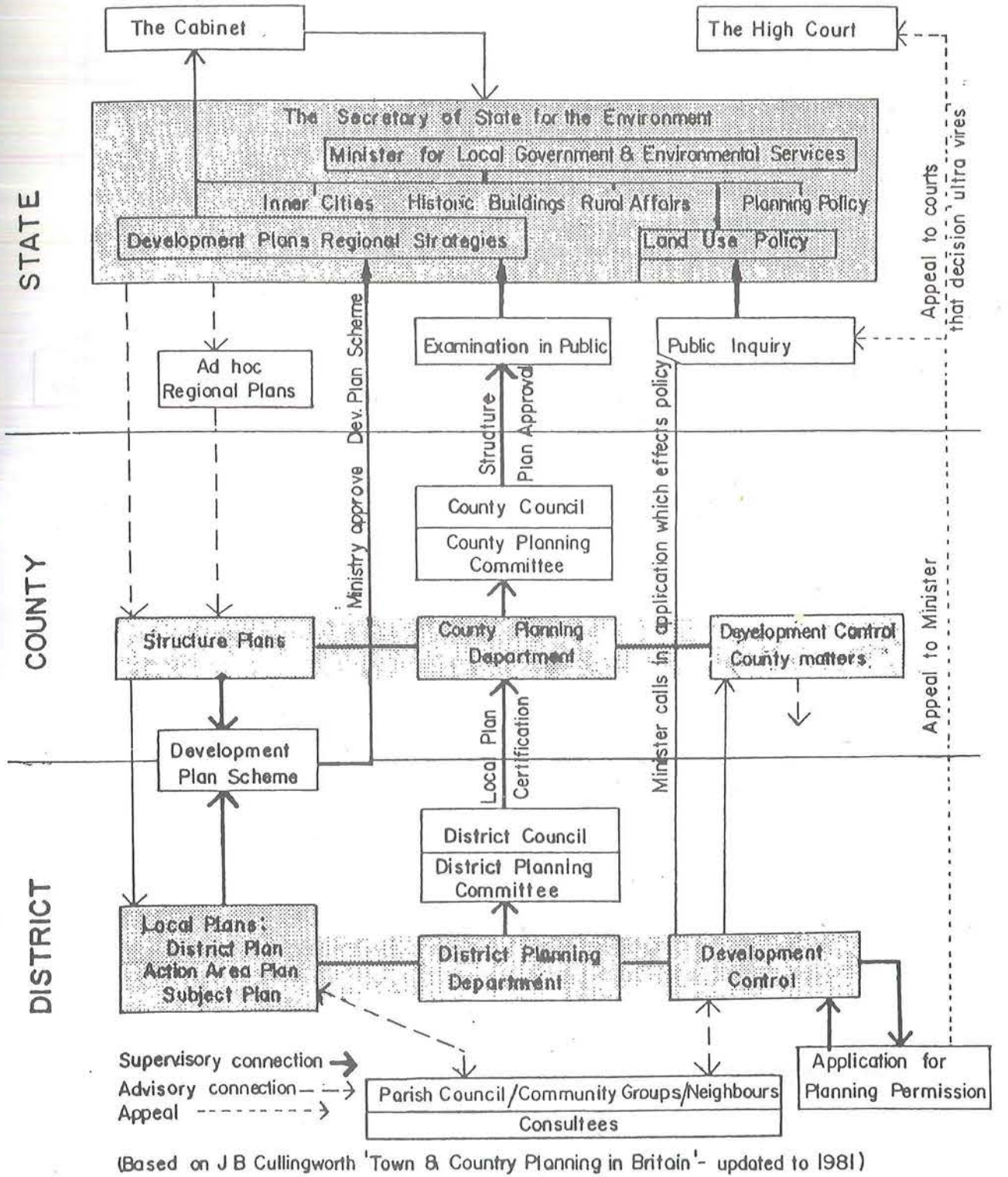
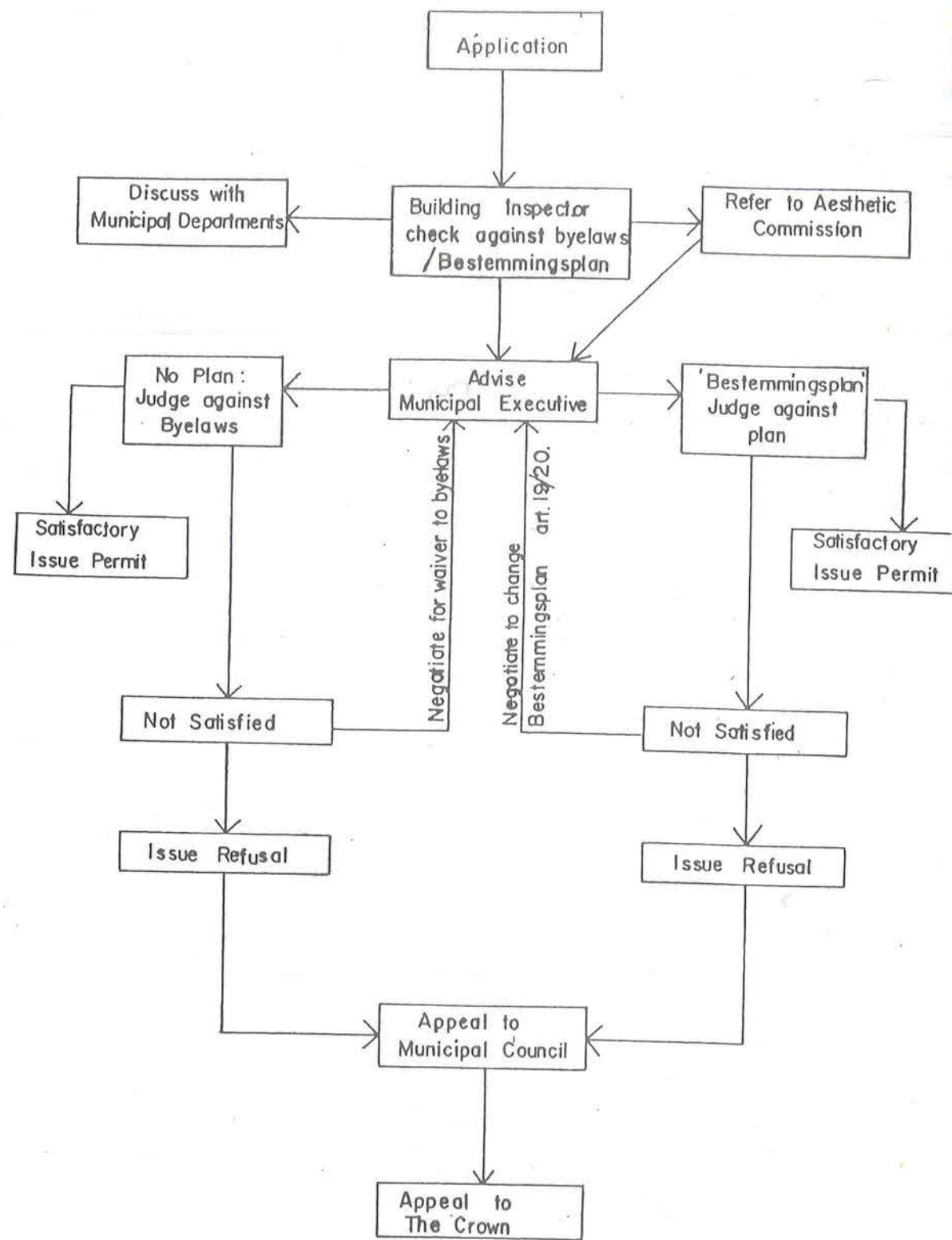


Fig.2 THE PLANNING SYSTEM IN ENGLAND
 (From Thomas D. 'Flexibility and Commitment in Planning' 1983)



(Based on E.H.A. Kocken 'Netherlands' In J. Stasson ed 'Building Permits: a Comparative Study')

Fig.3 PLANNING CONTROL IN THE NETHERLANDS
(From Thomas D. 'Flexibility and Commitment in Planning' 1983)

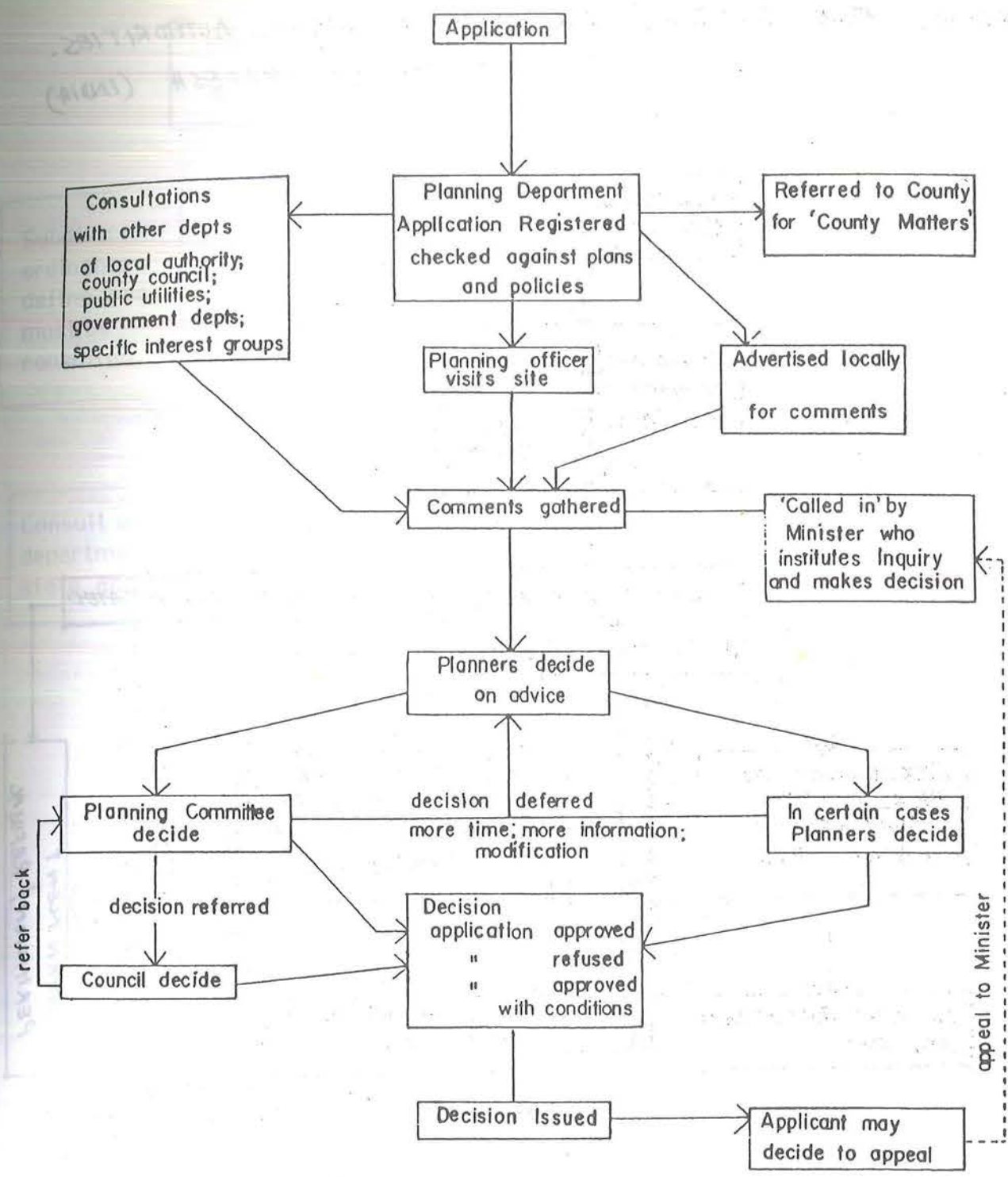
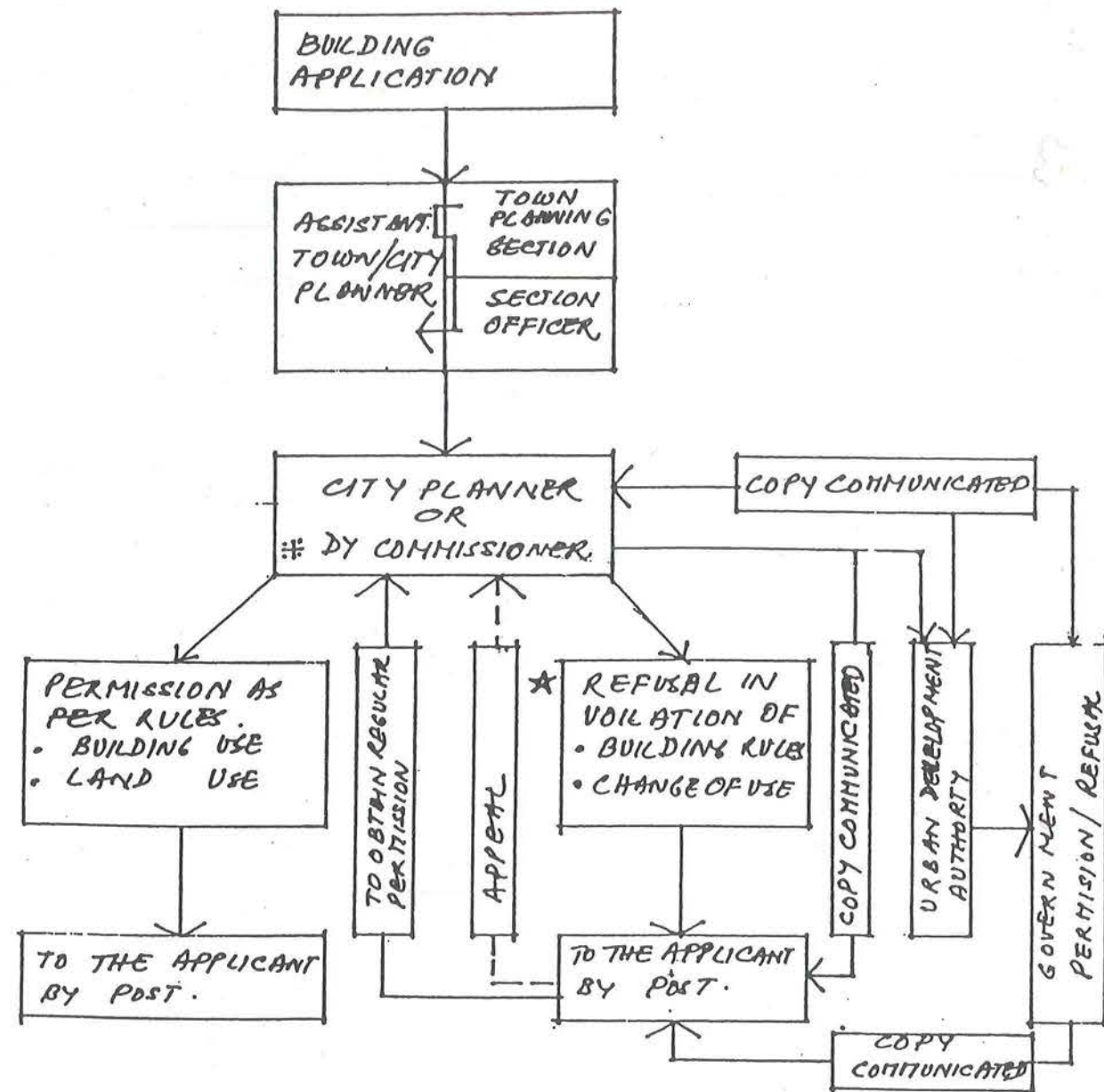


Fig.4 PLANNING CONTROL IN ENGLAND

(From Thomas D. 'Flexibility and Commitment in Planning' 1983)

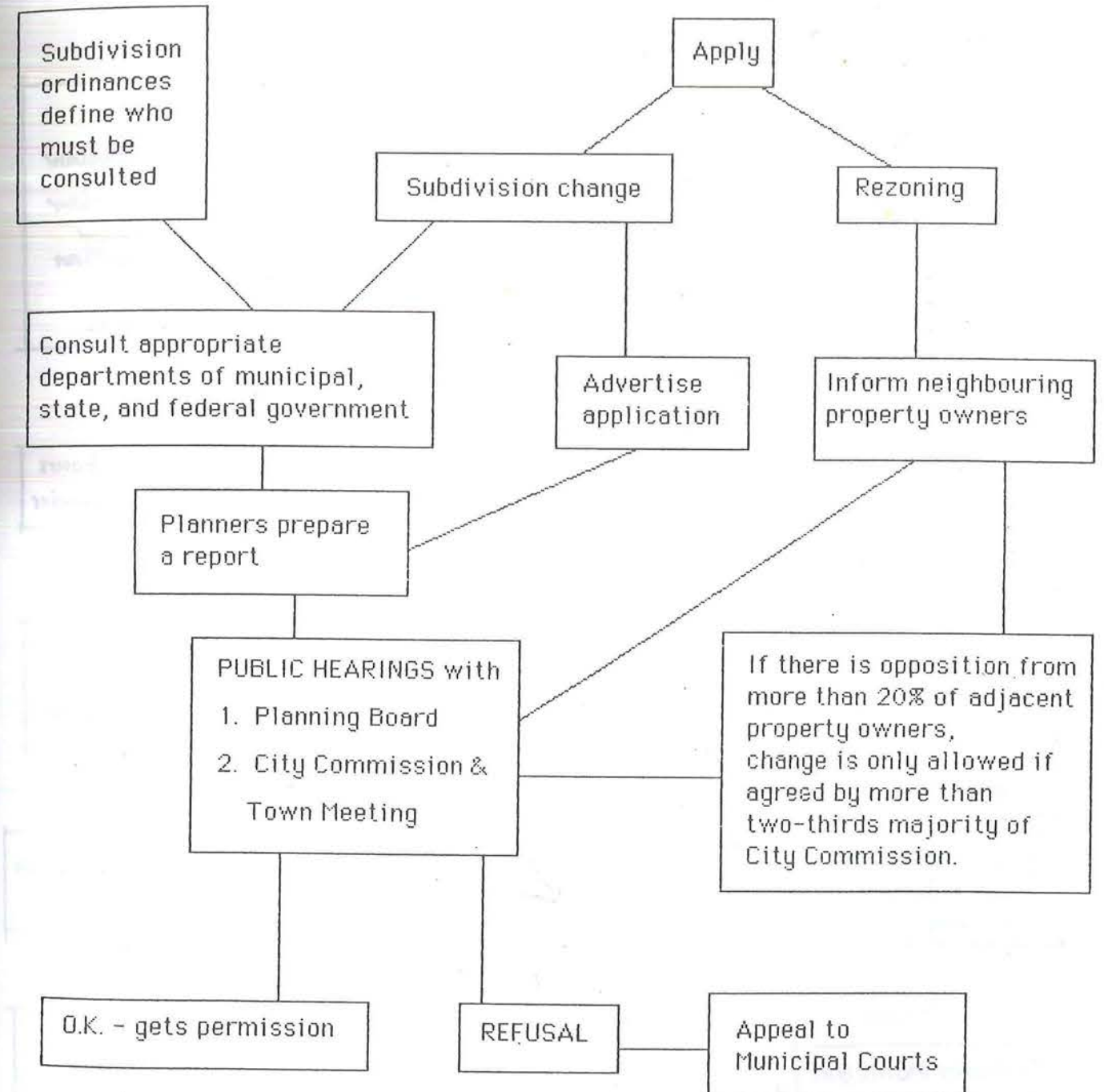
MODEL FOR BUILDING PERMISSION IN LOCAL AUTHORITIES.
ANDHRA PRADESH (INDIA)



THE MODEL IS BASED ON BUILDING BYE-LAWS 1972.
AND BUILDING RULES 1955 (DIST. LOCAL AUTHORITY)

Fig.5 PLANNING CONTROL IN ANDRA PRADESH, INDIA

Note: this flow chart deals with changes to a locally adopted plan. Applications which meet zoning ordinances (byelaws) and subdivision regulations are dealt with by the Building Inspectorate.



For development on a green field site, the developer is required to put in services and recreation facilities, or put up money for recreation to the value of one-ninth of the value of the land. The developer is responsible for designing and constructing facilities.

Fig.6 PLANNING CONTROL IN BOZEMAN, MONTANA, U.S.A.

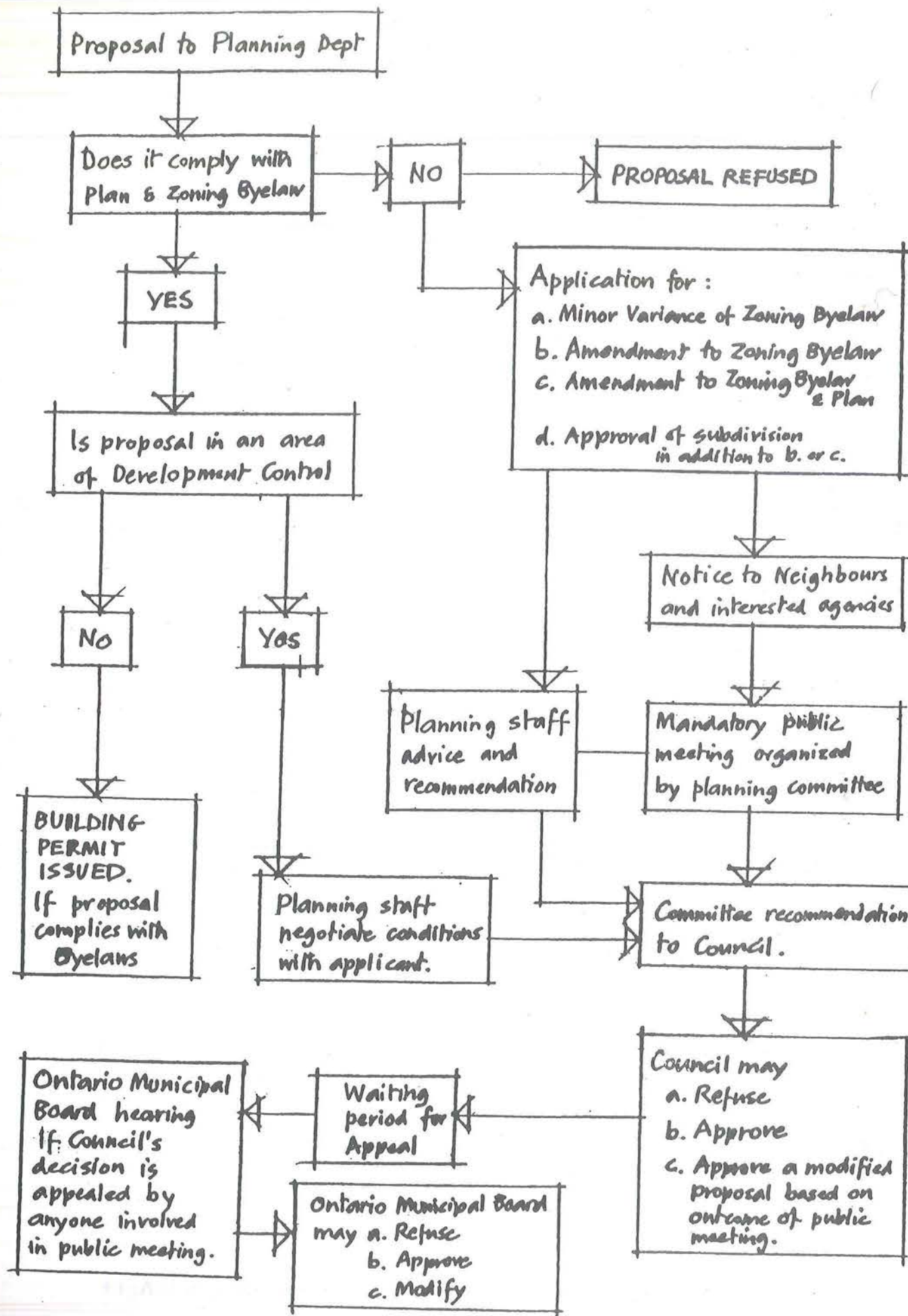


Fig.7 PLANNING CONTROL IN ONTARIO, CANADA
A4-15

THE DEVELOPMENT CONTROL SYSTEM

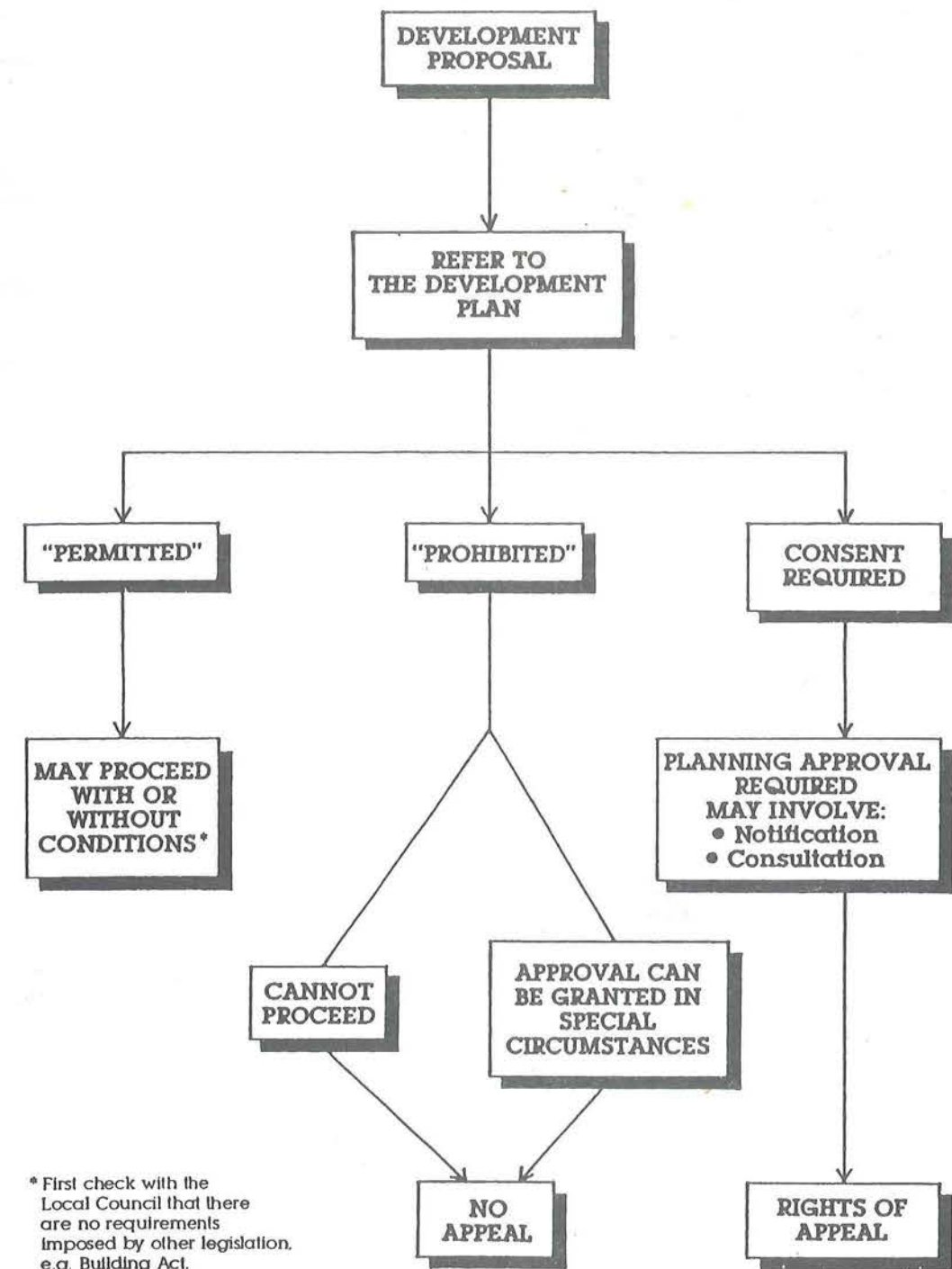


Fig.8 PLANNING CONTROL IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

ZONING	DEVELOPMENT CONTROL
aims toward a <u>specified ideal end state</u> .	<u>dynamic</u> planning process.
<u>static</u> : changes in values, technology, and economic conditions not accounted for.	<u>transitional</u> : recognizes and reflects changing conditions.
map and text are <u>difficult to amend</u> .	map <u>requires no amendments</u> ; bylaw generally only outlines the operational procedure.
by its blanket application <u>creates monotonous zones</u> of uses and forms.	allows a mix of forms and uses, <u>encourages transitional uses and complimentary diversity</u> .
<u>focuses on differences</u> and incompatibilities between forms and uses.	<u>concentrates on overall relationships</u> that tie uses together.
<u>neighbourhood stability</u> is provided by <u>limiting alternatives</u> and specifying permitted uses.	<u>flexibility</u> , but with an element of uncertainty.
<u>certainty</u> for developer is ensured by <u>specifying permitted uses</u> .	element of <u>uncertainty</u> and <u>will often require prior negotiation</u> .
<u>intensity</u> of development is <u>specified</u> .	<u>intensity is discretionary</u> and devices may be used to require concessions not normally required in trade for increased density, etc.
regulations are well defined and specifically approved by politicians so there is <u>little administrative discretion</u> .	intent of Council exercised through <u>administrative discretion</u> .
regulations are physically oriented and more <u>suitable for non-complex situations</u> .	greater focus on urban design elements, thereby better suited to large and complex projects.
designed to prevent the worst abuses, <u>sets minimum standards</u> and prescribes form.	<u>flexibility in standards</u> and form, will allow innovation.
tends to be two dimensional, especially in terms of use. Problem on interpreting a flat map in terms of three dimensional reality.	recognizes vertical relationships of uses and <u>three dimensional reality</u> .
must <u>define the land requirements</u> for each land use in advance.	can allow <u>adaptability</u> to current market forces.
<u>rules apply uniformly</u> across the district.	<u>recognizes unique features</u> of each site.
<u>consistent rules</u> makes it easier to administer.	<u>requires more professional review</u> of development applications.
<u>focuses on lot and zone boundaries</u> .	comprehensive outlook goes beyond immediate boundaries and <u>recognizes relationship of site development to broader areas</u> .

Fig.9 COMPARISON BETWEEN ZONING AND DEVELOPMENT CONTROL

From 'A New Land Use Byelaw for Edmonton' 1979)

MODERN URBAN PLANNING : THE INTERNATIONAL ROLE OF THE TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING ASSOCIATION

Paper for Third International Planning History Conference, Tokyo 1988

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The garden city idea has proved to be one of the most pervasive sources of influence on the form of twentieth-century urban development. If seldom attained in its entirety, at least the ideal of low-density, small settlements, blending the best of town and country, and allowing for the fullest involvement of the community, is one that continues to be admired and sought around the world. It is an ideal that stands in contrast to that other great generator of twentieth-century cities, a modernist vision of high-density and high-rise structures, dependent on rapid transit and accommodating millions rather than thousands.

Against this background of competing sets of ideals, this paper assesses the role of a single organisation, the Town and Country Planning Association, in championing and spreading the garden city idea across national boundaries. Through a series of cameos drawn mainly from its early history, it will be shown how and where the idea was disseminated - with particular reference to Far Eastern connections where appropriate. In the light of this process of dissemination, the conclusion will consider whether or not the international garden city campaign marshalled by the Town and Country Planning Association was successful, and, in turn, the underlying theoretical question as to whether or not pressure groups can alter the course of events. How and why are ideas spread, and do our cities reflect the work of such groups or not?

Spreading the Garden City Idea

Although, in 1898, Ebenezer Howard, in his book Tomorrow : A Peaceful Path to Real Reform, coined the term 'garden city' and laid out a rationale and formula for its implementation as a novel solution to the 'town and country problem', the author was the first to acknowledge that the idea was derived from a variety of existing theories. It was "a unique combination of proposals" (1) rather than a totally new concept - a fact that immediately clouds the issue of cause and effect in trying to disentangle where the idea started and how it was spread; there is, in fact, no single starting

point, nor a single outcome. Moreover, at about the same time as the publication of Tomorrow, in both France and Germany alternative garden city proposals could also lay claim to originality. (2)

With the above reservations, the fact is that Howard's book led in the following year, 1899, to the formation in Britain of an organisation, the Garden City Association, to promote the idea of the garden city and to put the idea into practice through a practical scheme (which materialised in the form of Letchworth, the first garden city). It was this organisation, renamed in 1909 the Garden Cities and Town Planning Association and in 1941 the Town and Country Planning Association, that is the focus of this paper. It is seen here as a pressure group (the term *propagandist group* is used by contemporaries in its early history) dedicated to the dissemination of the garden city idea. While most of its work has been directed towards advancing the cause of planning in Britain it has also, from the outset, pursued an active international role.

To illustrate and to assess this latter role, attention will be drawn to selected episodes in the Association's history - the growth of international activity before 1914; the formation of an international association to promote the garden city idea; the campaign in the 1920s; and the World Planning Congress held in Tokyo in 1966.

(a) Garden City Campaign before 1914

What comes across most strongly in its early years is the fact that the Garden City Association was a proselytising body, with a mission to spread the gospel of the garden city that was every bit as powerful as that of a religious sect. Its members toured Britain in search of converts, and it was a logical enough progression to extend this search across the waters.

In fact, the international task was made easier by the fact that in its early years overseas enquiries and visitors came first to Britain, intrigued by the ideas of Howard (3) and then by the lure of Letchworth - "the mecca of the housing reformer and the town planner throughout the world". (4)

In July 1904, the Garden City Association hosted the first International Garden City Congress in London. (5) The event showed that at the time the main centres of interest overseas were in Germany and France (each with their own Garden City Associations) and the United States, but letters were also received from Budapest, Stockholm and Brussels. Other correspondence already on the Association's files included letters from Japan, Australia and Switzerland.

The Garden City regularly carried news of foreign contacts, including a section, Continental Notes. It showed, for instance, that the embryo interest of correspondents in Brussels had developed by 1905 into a Belgian Garden City Association, distinguished by a commercial rather than a propagandist bias. Before 1914, however, a more important liaison was that which developed with Germany - a 'bitter sweet' relationship marked, on the one hand, by close personal contacts and a mutual admiration of developments in each country, yet, on the other hand, soured by a growing uneasiness that, in the face of industrial and military competition, Britain should not yield the secret of what was regarded as an important source of national vitality. Rightly or wrongly, garden cities were equated with a healthy environment and, so it was argued, with the formation of a healthy race.

The United States was also viewed with suspicion as a competitor, but this did not stop the Secretary of the Association, Ewart Culpin, setting sail to America in 1913. A lecture tour was arranged in response to requests from a variety of North American organisations, and in giving it their official blessing the GCTPA were hoping that Culpin's tour would help to lay the foundations for a similar Association in America. While the outcome did not quite take this form, a number of branches of the GCTPA were formed and the idea of the garden city was spread to many towns and cities receptive to ideas for rational models of urban development.

Ewart Culpin travelled some 30,000 miles, and on his return the Association's Council entertained him at the Holborn Restaurant to hear his account of the visit. It was reported that the outstanding feature of the tour had been the enthusiastic reception of the message of the garden city. The Association soon received numerous enquiries from American and Canadian organisations seeking more information and advice. There were also letters of praise, like that from Regina, Saskatchewan, which thanked Mr. Culpin for contributing to a climate of urban reform, and saying that after the meeting a City Planning Association had been formed. But, successful though it was, a brief visit could hope to do no more than to sow some seeds, and it was to be a former Secretary of the Association, Thomas Adams, who would make the greater impact in taking the idea of town planning to North America. (6)

Recalling Britain's position at that time as an imperial nation, it is, perhaps, understandable, that the Association reserved its greatest enthusiasm for what were referred to in the journal reports as the 'Dominion beyond the Seas': There was none of the concern about assisting Britain's 'rivals' when it came to dealing with colonial territories. In 1912 it was reported that this sphere of activity was growing rapidly, "and during the year constant negotiations have been going on with a view to getting into touch with various associations in the Colonies, having for their aims the improvement of the conditions of life." (7) A Colonial Committee was

set up to promote the good work, and plans were laid to despatch pamphlets and lantern slides, and from time to time the Association's own representatives, to the far-flung outposts of the Empire.

In this latter context, for instance, William Davidge undertook a tour of Australasia on behalf of the Association, returning in 1914 with the news that "throughout the whole tour the utmost enthusiasm was experienced, and the reports and statements received indicated that a good deal of permanent good work had been done." (8) On a subsequent tour, Davidge was accompanied by the Assistant Secretary of the Association, Charles Reade, with the latter staying on in South Australia to advise on town planning in the state. (9)

The Australian connection is effectively explored by Robert Freestone. (10) He indicates that the year 1914 saw the clearest expression of a concerted British planning 'export' campaign, with the presence of Sir William Lever in Sydney, sessions on town planning at the Australian meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and another lecture tour organised on behalf of the GCTPA. The ideas enjoyed a good reception, but Freestone concludes that garden city advocates at that time "represented less of a 'movement' than an informal coalition..." (11)

Looked at overall, the Association had become an international clearing-house, despatching information and receiving news of progress from around the world. In a report in 1912, Continental Europe (together with Russia), North America, South Africa and the Belgian Congo were mentioned as areas of contact. (12) In the following year, no fewer than 21,799 postal packets were sent out to all parts of the world, "each of which contained some matter explanatory of the aims of the Association." (13) From that situation, it was to be a logical enough step to see the formalisation of an international network secured in the form of a new association.

(b) First Congress of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, 1914

The new association, formed in 1913, was known initially as the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association. Very much the brainchild of Ewart Culpin, it was urged as a means of supporting the growing volume of overseas activity, particularly those initiatives that were otherwise isolated. Representatives from Germany, France, Norway, Poland, the United States and Japan (Mr. Masao Ito, Osaka) were present at the launch of the International Association, but the dominance of the British movement is evidenced by the fact that Culpin became the first Honorary

Secretary, G. Montagu Harris the Chairman, and Howard the President. What is more, the offices used were those of the GCTPA in London.

Within a year of its formation, the IGCTPA held its first congress in London. Described in the Annual Report as "the great event of the year", (14) it was certainly a grand occasion. In addition to 25 British delegates, the event on the eve of the First World War was attended by 146 'foreign and colonial' visitors - from America (20), Australia (1), Austria (5), Belgium (2), Canada (1), France (27), Germany (43), Holland (5), Hungary (2), India (1), Italy (2), Poland (2), Russia (32) and Spain (3).

Papers were delivered to provide a broad picture of the state of the garden city movement in the various countries, but the highlight of the conference was the ambitious tour of developments of interest to housing and town planning reformers. The first day of the programme is indicative, being a tour of sites in London with the entire party transported around the capital in a fleet of 44 motor cars - in the morning to the London County Council's Caledonian Road Estate and the White Hart Estate in Tottenham, and after lunch to the Duchy of Cornwall's Estate in Kennington and back across the river to Wembley Garden Suburb (with speeches delivered in a marquee, and translated into Russian, French and German). But the day was not yet over, and in the evening came the official welcome of the GCTPA, with speeches from the President, Lord Salisbury, and from the President of the International Association, Ebenezer Howard. It was subsequently reported that "the reception was perhaps the most successful function which up to then had taken place in connection with the garden city movement." (15)

The tour continued over the following week, including visits to Ealing and Hampstead Garden Suburbs, to Bournville and Harborne Garden Suburb, to Port Sunlight, and, of course, to Letchworth Garden City. Everywhere speeches were made, contrasting their joint efforts for peace with the threatening clouds of war. In fact, so close was the outbreak of hostilities that it was only on the very day that war was declared that the last of the visitors left England.

(c) Campaigning in the 1920s

Appropriately (in view of the support that was given when that country was overrun) the first international gathering after the First World War to invoke the role of garden city planning in Europe's reconstruction was held in Belgium. (16) The conference in September 1919 was arranged jointly by the Belgian hosts, L'Union des Villes et Communes Belges and the IGCTPA. A delegation of twenty five members from England was amongst those who toured the battlefields of Western Flanders, and who saw amidst the devastation

the true need for reconstruction. Howard made "a short but inspiring speech", (17) committing himself again to the cause of an International Garden City in Belgium as a living memorial to all that had been lost in the war. With plans for the League of Nations close to fruition, it was a time when talk of international collaboration was warmly received.

In the following year, the postwar revival of the International Association was marked by its own conference, attended by some 150 delegates from around the world. The conference was accommodated at London's Olympia, as part of the Daily Mail Ideal Home Exhibition. (18) Howard gave a stirring presidential address:

"Great as was the need of a vast extension of garden city enterprise before the war, that need had now become intensified. Vast fields of destruction were calling loudly for reparation, and the vital necessities of life, of which there was such a terrible shortage throughout Europe, demanded the widest acceptance of garden city principles... the International Association would be found an ally of tremendous power and value to the League of Nations." (19)

Papers were presented on a range of topics, but the event which was to test the loyalties of the organisation was a letter from the Austro-German Garden City Association calling for the restoration of old relations. Howard hoped that recent wounds could be healed, but French and Belgian delegates asked for a little more time, at least to allow for some progress with rebuilding. A decision was deferred, but in a spirit which encouraged the view that the International Association was giving a lead, not simply in the advancement of town planning, but also in international relations. (20) Within a few months, in June 1920, the two General Secretaries of the International Association (Culpin and Purdom) travelled to Cologne to meet with officials of the German Garden City Association to pave the way for an early return of the organisation that had been a source of strength in the movement before the war.

In other respects, too, it seemed as if the intention was to turn back the clock. The International Association was still administered from the offices of the GCTPA, and the officers elected in 1920 were all from Britain. Howard continued in his post of President, with G. Montagu Harris as Chairman, Raymond Unwin as Treasurer, and Ewart Culpin and C.B. Purdom sharing the secretarial post. The British monopoly was an arrangement that had served well enough in launching the movement in the first place, and in getting it restarted after the war, but by the early 1920s strains were beginning to show. Purdom recalls that the British executive "wanted to keep the international as a mere extension of its activities at home, to be conducted for its advantage, which did not

fit in with my ideas or with those of some of the more prominent continental members, who felt there was a place for a genuine international housing and town-planning body." (21)

As a result, the hold of the British organisation was gradually loosened. In 1922 the International Association acquired its own office, and a full-time Organising Secretary was appointed (described "as the least internationally minded of men"). (22) The name of the organisation was amended to that of The International Garden Cities and Town Planning Federation. In the following year, Montagu Harris was replaced as Chairman by the pioneering French garden city planner, Henri Sellier, though most of the original British contingent continued to serve in an honorary capacity. In 1929 another link with the past was severed when the organisation changed its name again, this time to that of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning.

If the above sequence of events is indicative of the Eurocentric phase in the development of the international body, that is not to imply that there were not important examples of progress in promoting the garden city idea in other parts of the world. Dr. Goh Ban Lee, for instance, has drawn attention to the import of urban planning into Malaysia, showing, in particular, the influence of the garden city missionary, Charles Reade. (23) In 1921, Reade left his post in South Australia for what was to be a twelve month secondment as town planning adviser to the government of the Federated Malay States. Thus it was, asserts Lee, that with the arrival of Reade official planning really began. And far from leaving after one year, Reade stayed in the formative years through to 1930.

Reade's years in Australia had certainly not diminished his enthusiasm for garden city ideas, and first impressions of his new country confirmed his love of organic form and affinity with Nature. He observed some "delightful residential quarters" amidst tropical trees, "their informal growth and departure from rigid lines; and the symmetrical charm of their many curving streets, winding along the contours of the hills and valleys, suggest possibilities in planning and effects which could never be achieved by purely geometric methods"; and he spoke of his hope of seeing garden city principles applied in this "young wonderland of the East." (24)

In fact, while promoting the cause of garden cities when he could - as, for instance, in two exhibitions he organised in 1926 and 1927 to educate the public about town planning - Reade proved to be something of a pragmatist, with legislation that he drafted combining planning ideas of England, America and other European countries. (25) Perhaps this is itself indicative that ideas communicated between different cultures inevitably take on new characteristics, creating new hybrids in the process.

(d) World Planning Congress, Tokyo 1966

Finally, brief reference can be made to an event in 1966 that was supported by the TCPA, namely, the World Planning Congress of the International Federation for Housing and Planning. Members were encouraged to attend, and successive issues of the journal carried advertisements for the event (at an inclusive price of £400 for fifteen days).

F.J. Osborn wrote a report after the event, recording the attendance of 1000 delegates at the conference, half of them from countries other than Japan. "There can be, I feel sure" Osborn reported, "no land in the world that is more interesting to study." Typically, "the organisation was good, the hospitality and receptions lavish and friendly, the circulated papers... highly informative, and the debates and discussions, as always, stimulating, and not less valuable because inconclusive." (26)

It was further reported that "there is great interest in Japan in the British initiative towards urban dispersal and new towns, and some very important projects for regional redistribution of the population." (27) Clearly, Osborn, on behalf of the TCPA, saw himself as carrying the beacon of dispersal across the oceans, continuing a tradition that was by then nearly 70 years in the making - and, indeed, a tradition that continues to this day.

Time, place and people

The question of the spread of the garden city idea is far more complex than the above examples alone can show. But it is fair to conclude that an idea (or, more accurately, a set of ideas) emanating in Europe found their way in one form or another to many countries in the world. The Town and Country Planning Association (and its predecessors) was one source of this dissemination, but it would be misleading to suggest that any one group is capable of controlling the process on its own. Instead, it will be concluded that the Association, as an effective pressure group, played a part, but that we must not understate the significance of the structural context in which it operated. This conclusion can be summarised in terms of an interplay between factors of **time, place and people**:

(a) **Time**: The garden city idea was very much a product of its age. It attracted support in the industrialised nations at the beginning of the century because it offered a broadly acceptable alternative to the cramped and unhealthy conditions that characterised the main urban centres. Moreover, the advent of new technologies in the form of electricity and the internal combustion engine gave the idea a bedrock of practicability.

It has been shown that there was an undercurrent of doubt in Britain about exporting the idea to potential industrial and military competitors, but the zeal of the garden city missionaries was strong enough to spread the idea as worthy of adoption throughout the world. "The fact is," said one garden city enthusiast in 1912, "no new city or town should be permissible in these days to which the word 'Garden' cannot be rightly applied." (23) And if the importing country happened to be within the Empire, so much the better: "We want not only England but all parts of the Empire to be covered with garden cities." (29)

It mattered not whether the recipient culture had experienced the urban problems associated with early industrialisation (30); instead, born of an era of colonial dominance, it was assumed that an idea of such merit, conceived in the Mother Country, would *ipso facto* be of benefit to the rest of the world (including non-colonial territories). Culturally, as a colonial power, Britain possessed not only an attitude of dominance but also the channels of communication to achieve it.

In this context, the transference abroad of the garden city idea was a product of what Anthony King has classified as the second period in the process of the 'export of planning', "beginning in the early twentieth century, which coincides with the development of formally-stated 'Town Planning' theory, ideology, legislation and professional skills in Britain when the network of colonial relationships was used to convey such phenomena - on a selective and uneven basis - to the dependent territories." (31)

Part of the argument, then, is that the international diffusion of the garden city idea has to be understood in a structural context, in relation to the specific historical state of international relations in the early twentieth century. The 'time' when all this happened was, therefore crucial.

(b) **Place**: In attempting to explain the diffusion process, time was, however, by no means the only factor. Place was also important. The export of ideas is an active process; experience shows that ideas are malleable and susceptible to the varying needs of specific cultures, and the recipient country is by no means an empty vessel into which undiluted ideas are poured. There is sufficient evidence from various localised studies to demonstrate that the concept of the garden city has been widely adapted. Reference has been made above to the amalgam of ideas that was introduced in Malaya, gaining from the planning experience of different countries; and Robert Freestone has shown that what materialised in Australia was "a refinement of views publicly aired in 1890 rather than solely 'derivative of Howard's garden city theory'." (32)

Another interesting example comes from Japan, where Professor Watanabe has shown that the formation in 1918 of the Garden City Company Ltd. (Den-en Toshi Kabushiki Kaisha) gained from a tradition of garden city ideas, but

that its developments on the outskirts of Tokyo were by no means cast in the mould of Howard. "The Company only represented the general notion of the garden city at that time - in a word, the image of suburban living." (33)

In the international diffusion of ideas, place is a filter through which original concepts are refined and adapted. Like the historical context, it is a structural factor that shapes the process, setting limits on what can happen as well as enabling change.

(c) **People:** In contrast to both time and place, agency factors - characterised here as 'people', and to include groups as well as individuals - are also important. For all the inherent attractions of the garden city idea, would they have been so widely adopted without the promotional efforts of garden city proponents? In particular, would so much have happened - with garden city associations in different countries, with international networks, and with the building of a variety of garden city developments around the world - without the constant work of the pressure group established in 1899 to secure these very ends?

The gist of the paper has been to acknowledge the role of the Town and Country Planning Association (and its predecessors) as an important one, though one that has to be moderated in the context of wider structural processes of time and place. Given this reservation, the specific contribution of the Association was to nurture the original idea of the garden city, and then to disseminate it through a multiplicity of channels of its own making - from lecture tours and exhibitions, to promotional literature and a network of influential sponsors. Moreover, as Freestone asserts, the "transmission of garden city theory was certainly aided by key individuals", (34) with the likes of Howard and Unwin, Adams and Reade, Culpin and Reade, Davidge and Osborn, all playing important roles.

It can be concluded that the garden city idea has attracted considerable international interest, and the work of the garden city pressure group that was formed at the end of the last century has contributed to this. However, because of the importance of underlying structural factors, the role of the Association might be seen more as that of a catalyst that has stimulated and facilitated, rather than having caused, the process of diffusion.

Notes and References

1. This was the title of Chapter 11, in E. Howard (1898), Tomorrow : a peaceful path to real reform, London : Swann Sonnenschein.
2. See Peter Hall, 'Metropolis 1890-1940 : challenges and responses', pp.19-66, in A. Sutcliffe, ed. (1984), Metropolis 1890-1940, London : Metropolis.
3. Howard's book immediately attracted international interest and translations have since appeared in Russian, Czech, French, Italian, Spanish, German and Japanese.
4. From a report of a visit by representatives of the German Garden City Association, Garden Cities and Town Planning (NS) Vol.II, No.9, September 1912, pp.195-203.
5. See First Annual Report of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, 1915.
6. See, in particular, M. Simpson (1985), Thomas Adams and the modern planning movement : Britain, Canada and the United States, 1900-1940, London : Mansell.
7. Garden Cities and Town Planning (NS) Vol.II, No.3, March 1912, p.60.
8. Garden Cities and Town Planning Association Minute Book, 22nd October 1914.
9. Annual Reports of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, 1915 and 1915-1916; and A. Hutching and R. Bunker, eds. (1986), With conscious purpose, Netley : Wakefield Press.
10. R. Freestone (1986), 'Exporting the garden city : metropolitan images in Australia, 1900-1930', Planning Perspectives, Vol.1, pp.61-84.
11. *Ibid*, p.68.
12. Garden Cities and Town Planning (NS) Vol.II, No.3, March 1912, p.56.
13. Garden Cities and Town Planning Association Annual Report for 1913.
14. First Annual Report of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, 1915, p.3.
15. *Ibid*, p.8.
16. The International Association had assumed a major role during the war in organising support for Belgian architects and planners, and for contributing to preparations for postwar reconstruction.
17. From a report of the conference, in Garden Cities and Town Planning Vol.IX, No.12, December 1919, pp.239-240.

18. The Daily Mail was part of Associated Newspapers, the company owned by the Harmsworths. The Harmsworth brothers, Alfred and Cecil, were important sponsors of the garden city movement in this period.
19. From a report of the conference, *op. cit.*, Note 17.
20. 'The revival of the International Association', Garden Cities and Town Planning Association Vol.X, No.3, March 1920, p.45.
21. C.B. Purdom (1951), Life over again, London : Dent, p.62.
22. *Ibid*, p.63, referring to Harry Champion.
23. Goh Ban Lee (1988), 'Import of urban planning into Malaysia', Planning History Vol.10, No.1, pp.7-12.
24. *Ibid*, p.9.
25. *Ibid*, pp.9-10.
26. F.J Osborn (1966), 'Planners in Japan', Town and Country Planning, Vol.XXXIV, No.9, pp.434-436.
27. *Ibid*.
28. The Garden City Vol.II, No.15, April 1907, quoted in A.D. King, 'Exporting "planning" : the colonial and neo-colonial experience, 1877-1977', p.1, in paper to First International Conference on the History of Urban and Regional Planning, London, September 1977.
29. Captain G. Swinton, Chairman of the London County Council, Garden Cities and Town Planning, (NS) Vol.II, No.4, quoted in King, *op. cit.*, p.1.
30. King, *op. cit*, pp.6-9.
31. King, *op. cit.*, p.3.
32. Freestone, *op. cit*, p.72.
33. Shun-ichi J. Watanabe, 'Garden city Japanese style : the case of Garden City Co. Ltd., 1918-1928', paper to the First International Conference on the History of Urban and Regional Planning, London, September 1977, p.18.
34. Freestone, *op. cit.*, p.66.

1. Introduction

There goes a saying that God has created the world, but the Dutch have made the Netherlands. And indeed, the Netherlands is in many respects a man-made country. More than one fifth of the country is lying below sea level. An even larger part of the country is under the constant threat of flooding. In order to survive the Dutch have been forced to protect themselves against the rivers and the sea.

The Netherlands are commonly known as Holland, but this is only a part of the country. The provinces of Holland are the economic core of the Netherlands. It is here that we find the typical Dutch polder landscape. In the polders life is only possible thanks to an innumerable amount of waterworks. The construction and maintenance of dykes, ditches, bridges and mills has been a government task from the twelfth century onwards.

The Netherlands are not only a low lying, but also a very densely populated country. Today over 14.5 million inhabitants live and work on 41.470 square kilometers (approximately 16.400 square miles). This means 426 inhabitants per square kilometer or 885 inhabitants per square mile. A large share of the population lives in the provinces of Holland.

The heritage in the field of hydraulic engineering has made the acceptance of physical planning in the Netherlands relatively easy. The Netherlands have a long standing tradition in physical planning. Town Planning in the Netherlands dates from 1901, when the Housing Act came into force. Since then a unique planning system has developed. The characteristics of this planning system largely depend on the Dutch context. During the course of time, a specific Dutch planning doctrine has developed.

The unusually supportive climate for physical planning severely limits the transferability of Dutch experiences¹. Notwithstanding its uniqueness, Dutch planning has drawn heavily on foreign examples. The Netherlands are a net importer of concepts and ideas from abroad. It is not possible to draw up a balance-sheet of of import and export in Dutch physical planning here, but an attempt will be made to trace foreign influence on Dutch strategic planning. As far as the export side is concerned, Dutch influence on planning in Indonesia, the former Dutch Indies, will be discussed.

At the centre of this paper will be foreign influence on strategic planning. Strategic planning lays down guidelines for long term development. There are important differences between large scale long-term planning and small scale short term planning. The decisions involved are of a different nature. The essence of planning is to plan for an open future. This means strategic plans should only contain those decisions which have to be taken at a given moment.

This paper starts with a discussion of the notion of planning doctrine. The next paragraph takes up the subject of Dutch planning doctrine.

Dutch Planning doctrine is best illustrated by the Physical Planning Act of 1962 and the Second Report on Physical Planning of 1966. As the fourth fifth paragraphs show, the Physical Planning Act and the Second Report on Physical Planning were heavily influenced by foreign examples. The sixth paragraph takes a look at the export of Dutch physical Planning to Indonesia, the former Dutch Indies. The final paragraph takes up the exchange of planning systems.

2. Planning doctrine

The concept of planning doctrine has been introduced by Faludi² in an attempt to explain the effectiveness of Dutch urbanization policy formulated in the Third Report on Physical Planning. An analysis of the report showed that it had many weak points. The planning methodology underlying the report was defective, as it did not give enough guidance to day-to-day decision making. The policy itself nevertheless proved a succes. Clearly, if the effectiveness of the policy could not be traced to the qualities of the report, then there should be some other explanation. Faludi claims that the planning doctrine underlying the report explains its succes. Actors participating in the policy making process shared the same concepts and ideas and behaved accordingly.

Planning doctrine can be defined as "a set of coherent notions concerning the physical make-up of a given region, taking account of the historical circumstances, the economic situation, the technical possibilities and the prevailing view on planning"³. Planning doctrine is the philosophy underlying policy. It is a set of general concepts and notions thought relevant for planning in a given region. Part of these general concepts and notions may be of foreign origin. Sometimes they have to be given a twist to fit a different context.

Planning doctrine has two elements, a substantive element and a procedural element. They concern the questions "what" and "how" in planning. The substantive element of the planning doctrine consists of the planning concepts governing policy formulation. Generally these can be related to broad goals of policy⁴. An example of a planning concept is the separation of functions. The separation of functions leads to the zoning of separate industrial estates. The industrial estate therefore can be called an applied planning concept⁵.

The procedural element of the planning doctrine encompasses the prevailing plan- and planning conception. Planning conception can be defined as "a notion concerning the working method to be used in the preparation of a plan". Planning conceptions are in large part based upon notions about democratic decision-making and the relation between knowledge and action. Plan conception can be defined as "a notion concerning the form and effectiveness of a plan". The form of a plan is mainly determined by legal doctrine. There are two forms of effectiveness. The effectiveness of a strategic plans depends on the role it plays in day-to-day decisionmaking. Departures from the plan are acceptable. However, in blueprint planning, conformity is the aim.

The planning doctrine of a country is usually very stable. Especially in the Netherlands changes of planning policy are rare. The political system of the Netherlands does not allow for radical changes. Policies are discussed at length and only when consensus is reached are they adopted. Nevertheless, a planning doctrine can be replaced. Reasons for

such a replacement may be as well internal as external. External causes are changes in the context within which planning takes place. The economic crisis in the Netherlands for example has made planning more economically orientated. Internal causes are developments within the science of planning itself. Planning law in the Netherlands for example has changed after much scientific research had shown the need for more flexible plans⁶.

That planning doctrine is a concept used to characterize physical planning in a given region, does not mean that there is no place for foreign influence. However, transfer of planning systems will only occur if transfermechanisms exist and planners consider foreign examples relevant for the situation they face. The main transfermechanisms are literature, conferences, field trips and training courses. The relevance of foreign examples largely depends on the context within which planning takes place. If the historical circumstances, the geographical situation, the technical possibilities and the prevailing view on planning differ vastly, we may expect only limited transfer of planning ideas.

3. Dutch planning doctrine

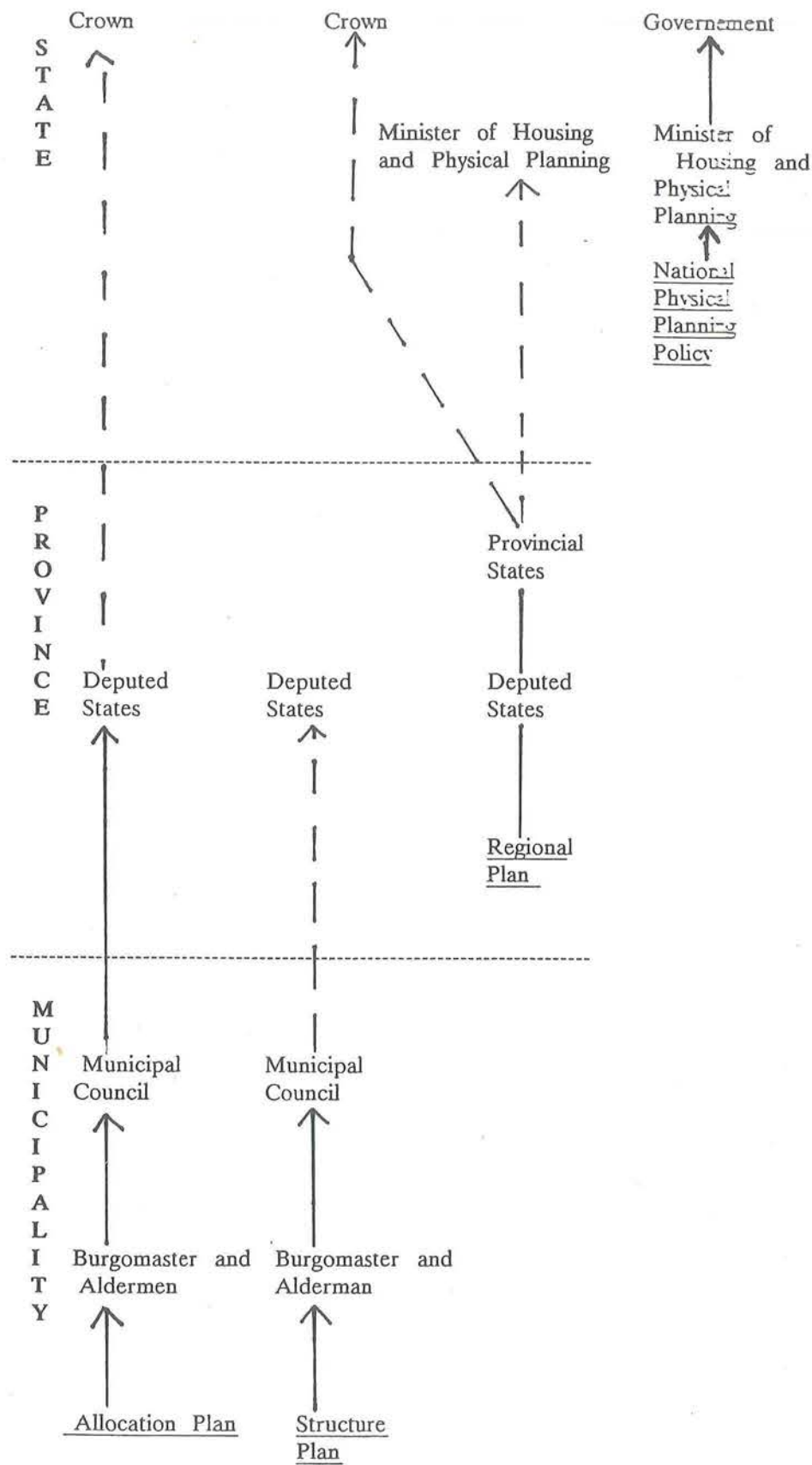
The years 1965 and 1966 saw the culmination of about forty years of development in physical planning in the Netherlands. After more than 25 years of preparations in 1965 the Physical Planning Act (Wet op de Ruimtelijke Ordening) came into force. Planning was from now on no longer legally speaking an adjunct to housing. In 1966 the Second Report on Physical Planning appeared. It was this report that really started planning at the state level⁷.

The Physical Planning Act brought a three tier planning system. Each governmental level, the state, the province and the municipality has its own plan. This system reflects the idea of the decentralised unity state (gedecentraliseerde eenheidsstaat). In the decentralised unity state lower authorities are largely autonomous from central government. So, the planning system is essentially a bottom-up system whereby much initiative is left to the municipalities.

The Physical Planning Act did away with blueprint planning at the provincial and the state level. State Reports on Physical Planning and provincial plans (streekplannen) are now indicative plans. The only binding plan is the local allocation plan (bestemmingsplan). The allocation plan consists of a set of maps, an explanation and zoning regulations. Municipalities are allowed to lay out guidelines for the allocations plans in structure plans.

The Physical Planning Act allowed for more flexible plans than its predecessors. In spite of this, Dutch planning since 1965 has been much criticized for its inflexibility. This criticism largely concerns local allocation plans. The inflexibility of allocation plans is due to the importance Dutch planners attach to the principle of legal certainty⁸. The principle of legal certainty derives from the concept of the Rechtsstaat, which originated in nineteenth-century Germany. One of the basic principles of the Rechtsstaat is the rule of law. The rule of law demands that all government actions are based upon the law. In Dutch town planning then, allocation plans are binding plans. Local government cannot refuse a building permit (or a construction permit) if the allocation plan allows for the development.

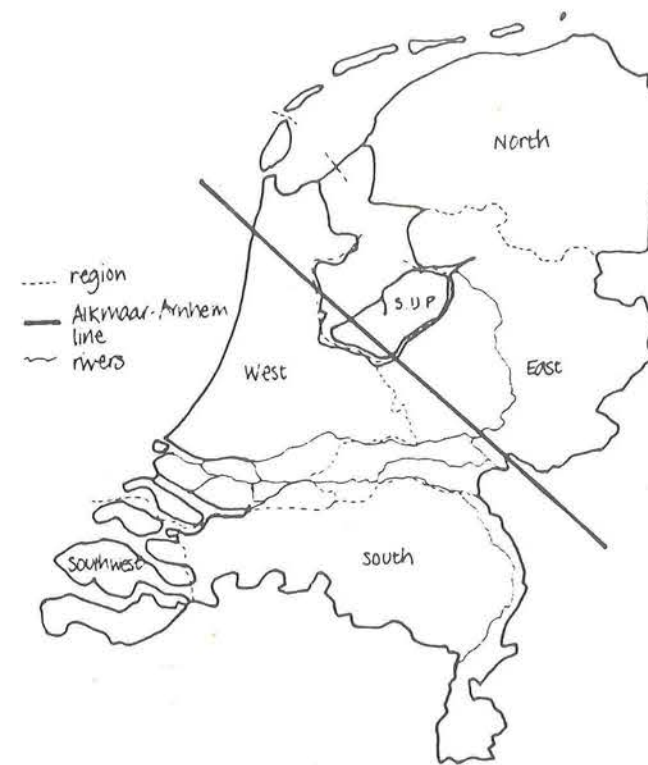
Figure 1: Instruments of Physical Planning according to the Physical Planning Act of 1965



The planning conception underlying the Physical Planning Act is that of survey-analysis-plan. The Planning Regulations (Besluit op de Ruimtelijke Ordening) oblige the provinces and the municipalities to make a survey before drawing up their plans^o. The survey must encompass the physical make-up of the region, demographical development, economic resources and social and cultural development. Also a survey must be conducted into the retailing sector.

One year after the Physical Planning Act came into to force, the Second Report on Physical Planning appeared. The report set out a comprehensive urbanization policy. The report made good use of the First Report on Physical Planning of 1960 an a number of Industrialization Reports. The First Report had become obsolete because population projections and economic growth rates had radically changed. The Second Report expected population to grow from 12 million in 1966 to 20 million in the year 2000.

Figure 2: The A-A line

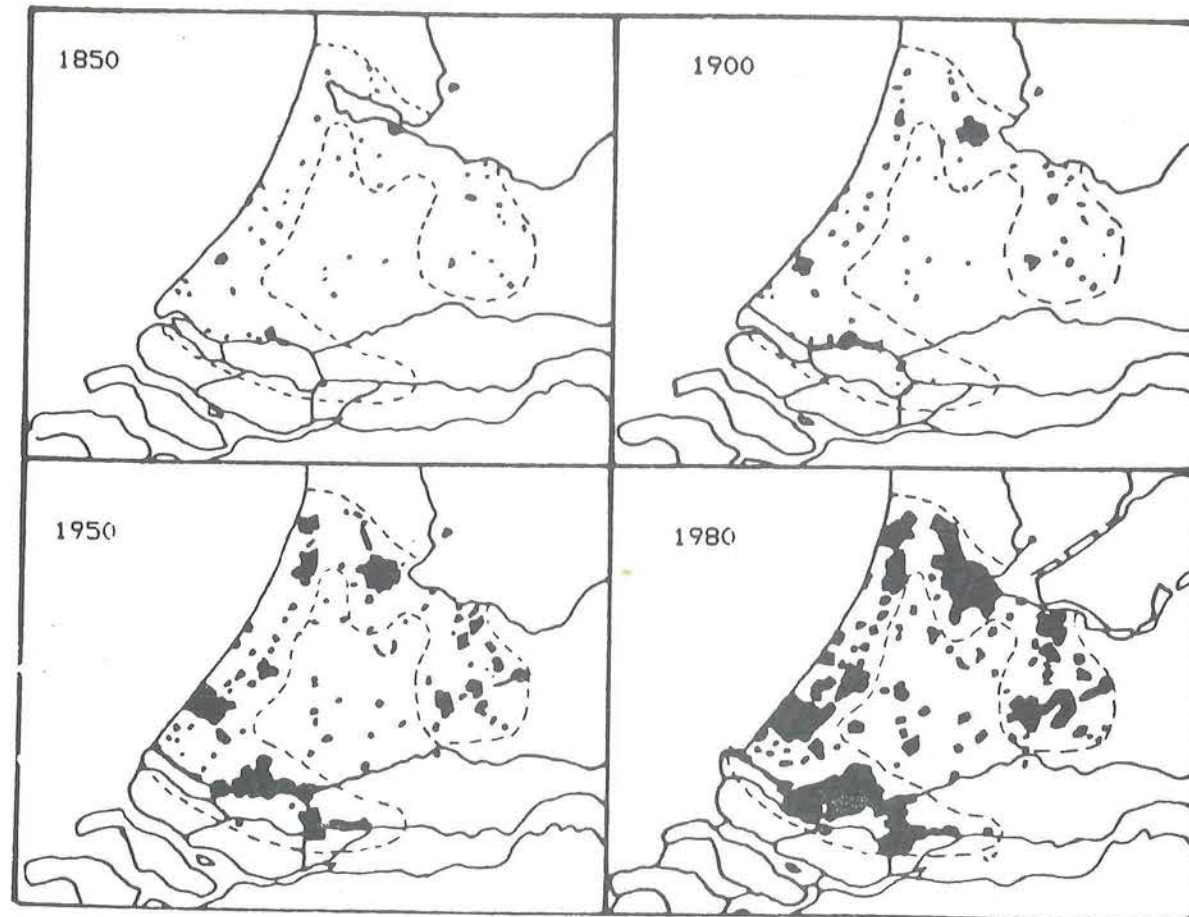


Source: Hamnett, S.L., page 309

The economic growth of the country would largely take place in the part of the country beneath the A-A line, an imaginary line from Alkmaar to Arnhem (see figure 2). As a consequence, population growth would also be strongest there. Already 9 out of 12 million people were living in the south-western part of the country and by the year 2000 this would be 15 million out of 20 million. A more harmonious population distribution was necessary to guarantee good living conditions. The Second Report therefore proposed a strong dispersal policy. The economically backward regions of the country were to cater for a larger share of population growth. The government was to give incentives to companies settling in the north and several government services were to be relocated there.

The dispersal policy could not prevent further population growth in the urbanized part of the country. Especially in the Randstad (see figure 3) urban sprawl posed a real threat. The Randstad or rim city is the economic core of the Netherlands, consisting of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. For historic reasons, the Netherlands have never developed a primate city. Instead, the main urban functions are spread over four cities. Amsterdam is the capital and the cultural and financial centre of the country. Government has its seat in The Hague. Rotterdam is the most important port and a centre of heavy industry whilst Utrecht is the national conference centre. Apart from these four cities, a number of medium-sized towns like Delft, Leyden and Haarlem belong to the Randstad.

Figure 3: Growth of the Randstad



Source: Boonstra, 1984 page 55

The Randstad forms horse shoe around a large open region, the Green Heart. The Randstad is therefore sometimes called the "Green Heart Metropolis"¹⁰. The south-western part of the Green Heart contains one of the most efficient market gardening areas in the world. The north eastern part possesses a number of lakes, used for recreational purposes.

According to the Second Report on Physical Planning, the Green Heart was to be reserved for recreational and agricultural purposes. As the cities forming the Randstad were separated by bufferzones, growth had to be directed outwards. The main planning concept of the Second

Report, then, was concentrated deconcentration. It was a compromise between suburbanization and concentrated development. A number of growth centres were to be designated to cater for the overspill of the Randstad. Because there was no room for growth centres in regions of scenic beauty like Het Gooi and Kennemerland, growth could only be directed to the south and to the north and north-east. Among the growth centres there were two new towns in the newly reclaimed Ysselmeerpolders, Lelystad and Almere. The other growth centres were existing villages and towns.

4. International influence on Dutch planning: the procedural element of the planning doctrine.

Foreign influence on Dutch planning has been important because urbanization in the Netherlands started rather late. In countries like England, Germany and even Belgium industrialization and urbanization began in the first half of the nineteenth century. The economy of the Netherlands in this period was stagnant and cities were losing inhabitants¹¹. It was only after 1870 that cities started to grow. At that moment town planning had already taken root in other countries.

Dutch planning has been most strongly influenced by German, English and American planning. Although German planning was most important at the outset, two World Wars have discredited everything of German origin. Therefore, German influence has been decreasing over time, whilst English and American planning have become more and more important.

The history of planning in the Netherlands started at the local level with the expansion plan, then followed the regional plan (streekplan) and finally the national plan¹². Local planning dates from 1901, regional planning from 1931 and central planning from 1941. This paragraph shows how foreign planning has influenced the birth of strategic planning at the local, the regional and the national level.

A milestone in the development of Dutch planning was the 1901 Housing Act. The Act tried to put an end to the bad housing conditions of the working classes. The town planning paragraph was a small but important element of the Housing Act. Large and rapidly growing cities were obliged to draw up an expansion plan, showing the lay-out of streets, canals and squares. The town planning paragraph was not revolutionary, but made legal the town planning practice of important Dutch cities like Amsterdam.

The foundations for the town planning paragraph of the Housing Act were laid during the conferences for Public Health in 1896 and 1897. Dutch town planning in this era showed strong German influences. Until the First World War the mark "made in Germany" was considered a recommendation¹³. The works of Baumeister, Stübgen and Eberstadt were widely read. The doctrine of health light and air came to Holland through German channels. The town planning paragraph of the Housing Act was largely based upon German legislation and especially upon the Prussian "Strassen und Bauflichtliniengesetz" of 1875. The article concerning compulsory purchase, however, was inspired by the English "Housing of the Working Classes Act" of 1890.

In the first decade after 1901 the number of expansion plans was fairly

small. Nevertheless, the need for more global plans soon made itself felt and the first pleas for strategic planning were heard. In 1908 at a conference of the Society for Public Administration and Statistics J.W.C. Tellegen and J.H. Valckenier Kips argued that expansion plans should be less detailed. Tellegen, the head of the Building Inspectorate in Amsterdam, claimed that much unnecessary work was done because of needless detailing. As it was impossible to foresee the future, expansion plans should give no more than a general outline of future development. Tellegen relied heavily on German sources which, he said, were particularly relevant, because Germany had already thirty years of experience in the field of town planning. Already in 1894 Conrath, Meyer and Stübben in their "Gutachten" (commentary) concerning the building bye law of Düsseldorf had warned against too much detail¹⁴.

Tellegen in his paper attacked the first expansion plan of Berlage for Amsterdam South. According to him the plan was too detailed. Berlage at the time was a follower of Camillo Sitte. Sittean influences are clearly visible in the plan ¹⁵. The most important elements of the plan are a number of squares with monumental buildings. Berlage needed a detailed expansion plan to fulfil his aesthetic aspirations. A visit to the United States changed Berlages vision on town planning. The second expansion plan for Amsterdam South of 1915 differs in many ways from the first. It was a much more sober plan, although it also gave details. The network of roads became the basis for the development of the area.

The attack of Tellegen on Berlage is important because it highlights differences of opinion between architects and civil engineers. After the passing of the Housing Act architects entered the field of town planning, which had hitherto been dominated by civil engineers. Expansion plans made by engineers were criticized for their disregard for aesthetics¹⁶. Very often plans made by engineers contained no more than the lay-out of streets. Architects now claimed a larger share in town planning. Whereas among engineers the understanding was growing that expansion plans required a different approach than building schemes, among architects the plan conception of the blue-printplan was still dominant.

The fact that the first handbook on town planning was written by a layman, the alderman of Utrecht, Fockema Andreae, shows that town planning in the Netherlands shortly before the First World War was still in its infancy. The book is called "De Hedendaagsche Stedenbouw" (Town Planning today)¹⁷. The term "stedebouw" is a literal translation of the German "Städtebau" (city building or urban design). Until about 1941 this term was used to describe the whole field of physical planning. German influence is also visible in the sources Fockema Andreae used. For further reading he recommended "Der Städtebau" by Josef Stübben and "Handbuch des Wohnungswesens und der Wohnungsfrage" by Rudolf Eberstadt. To gain knowledge of the Garden City Movement "Town Planning in Practice" by Raymond Unwin was recommended. In the last chapter of the book Fockema Andreae draws the attention of Dutch town planners to the dangers of too detailed plans emanating from the work of Baumeister, Stübben and Unwin.

It took several decades before legislation allowed for more flexible expansion plans. The revision of the Housing Act of 1931 finally made less detailed expansion plans possible. This revision also introduced the regional plan. This shows that, by 1930, strategic planning in the Netherlands had reached the take-off point.

The call for regional planning was first heard shortly after the First World War when wealthy citizens started to leave the cities and moved to areas of scenic beauty. Commuting was made possible by improvements of public transport and the introduction of the motor car. Especially around Amsterdam suburbanization was very marked¹⁸. In the coastal region around Bloemendaal and the Gooi region around Hilversum the number of commuters steadily increased. Building activity led to the loss of woods, dunes, heathes and valuable agricultural land.

Planners soon realized that planning could no longer be confined to the city and its immediate environs. This realization had come earlier in England, where Patrick Geddes in 1914 founded the Regional Survey Association. The first regional studies appeared during the war. These studies did not focus on London, but on industrial regions like South-Lancashire and South-Yorkshire. The hall-mark of English regional planning was the regional survey.

In Germany too, regional planning became an issue earlier than in the Netherlands. In 1912 talks started about a regional plan for the Düsseldorf region¹⁹. After the war this initiative led to a regional plan for the Ruhrarea, made by the "Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk". This plan was the most ambitious planning effort at that time.

These first initiatives did not go unheeded in the Netherlands. Among planners there was a growing awareness that rapid urbanization made regional planning a necessity in the Western part of the country and in several industrial regions. The goal of these plans should be the conservation of natural resources, the coordination of the expansion plans of different municipalities, the promotion of regional economic development and the planning of traffic facilities²⁰. In 1918 a plan was made for the coal mining region of South Limburg, which can be considered a fore-runner of a regional plan. This plan was not based on a survey, nor did it have any legal status.

The 1924 conference of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association brought the break-through for regional planning in the Netherlands. The conference was a great success for the Netherlands Institute for Housing and Town Planning, founded in 1918. Dutch politicians attending the conference were impressed by the papers presented by internationally renowned experts like Unwin and Abercrombie. The conference greatly improved the climate for regional planning in the Netherlands. The major efforts at regional planning, the Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk, Gross-Berlin and the Regional Plan for New York and its Environments were discussed. English planners dominated the conference²¹. Especially important was the contribution of Abercrombie because he set out the principles of the regional survey. For many Dutch town planners this was the first introduction to the planning conception of survey-analysis-plan. In the Netherlands, hardly anybody had read the work of Geddes, the most important author in this field²².

Shortly after the conference two Dutch books appeared which paid attention to regional planning. The first one was "Het Stadsgewest"²³ (The City Region) by Roegholt, a civil engineer. He devoted much space to the regional survey and to German regional planning. Roegholt discussed at length the "Siedlungsverband Ruhrkohlenbezirk" and the "Zweckverband Gross Berlin". These examples mainly served to underline the necessity of regional planning. The second book to appear was

"Stedebouw" by De Casseres²⁴. De Casseres had studied in Germany and in England and was an Associate member of the Town Planning Institute²⁵. His book was devoted to English planning and contained a preface by Abercrombie. In the chapter on regional planning he explained the principles of the regional survey.

It was now time to put regional planning into practice. Several committees worked on legislation. Thanks to these initiatives the regional plan (streekplan) became part of the Housing Act in 1931. The act made regional planning a task of joint committees of municipalities. In the meantime, however, several provinces had created committees to prepare regional plans. In the nineteen thirties these provincial committees led the way in regional planning. Many provinces followed the English example and only made regional reports containing a regional survey. An example of this is Noord-Brabant, where De Casseres was head of the regional surveycommittee²⁶. Some planners criticised English regional planning for being weak on implementation. For this reason, they preferred German regional planning. Until 1940 only one binding regional plan was made, the Streekplan Westkust Zeeuwsch Vlaanderen (1938)

The Amsterdam Conference of the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association not only introduced the regional plan, but also the National Plan. At the conference the Dutch conservationist H. Cleyndert Azn. made a plea for a National Plan²⁷. The National Plan was necessary for the preservation of nature and open space. Cleyndert wanted to create a system of national parks connected by parkways. The park movement is of American origin, and Cleyndert had learned about it during a trip to the United States in 1920. In the 1922 yearbook of the National Trust (Vereeniging tot behoud van Natuurmonumenten) he reported about the American parkmovement under the title "What I saw and heard in America"²⁸. In the article he stressed that a National Plan was an absolute necessity for the densely populated Netherlands.

In the nineteen twenties Cleyndert did not receive much support for the concept of a National Plan. The idea simply sounded too fantastic. Only De Casseres, without referring to Cleyndert, pleaded for a Nation Plan in a now famous article "De grondslagen van de Planologie" (The foundations of Planology) published in 1929²⁹. De Casseres claimed that the National Plan had been introduced by the American Cyrus Kehr in his book "A Nation Plan". In the nineteen thirties De Casseres also wrote several articles on American planning in the Journal of Economic Geography. By that time he was already persona non grata in the world of town planning because of his conceitedness and no longer played a role in the Dutch planningmovement.

Developments abroad and moves by the conservationist movement made national planning an issue in the nineteen thirties. In the nineteen-thirties national planning became institutionalized in the United States and Germany. Also, in 1937, part of the joint conference of the "International Federation for Housing and Town Planning" and the "Internationaler Verband für Wohnungswesen" in Paris was devoted to national planning. The executive committee of the Netherlands Institute for Housing and Town Planning decided to devote a conference to the National Plan when competition for the National Plan threatened from the conservationist movement. This conference took place in 1938.

At the 1938 meeting American and German national planning were considered the most useful examples in the Dutch context. In America

under the presidency of President Roosevelt, a National Resources Committee had been installed. In Germany since 1936 a "Reichsstelle für Raumordnung" (State Agency for Physical Planning) existed. This Reichsstelle had a much more limited task than the National Resources Committee. It confined itself to physical planning and hence was considered the best example for a Dutch Planning Agency³⁰.

The German planning system is especially relevant for the Dutch situation because, in May 1940, the Germans occupied the Netherlands. The Germans almost immediately tried to reform Dutch planning along German lines. In October 1940 talks started to set up a national planning service which was to prepare a national plan. The model for this central agency was the "Reichsstelle für Raumordnung". In 1941 the Bureau for the National Plan (Rijksdienst voor het Nationale Plan) was set up and work on the National Plan began³¹. According to German occupation law the national plan would be a binding plan based on an extensive survey. Occupation law also made regional planning a task of the provinces. Provincial Physical Planning Agencies (Provinciale Planologische Diensten) were set up to perform this task.

In 1941 then, most of the elements of the three tier level planning system described in paragraph two were present. At the state level, the Bureau for the National Plan took care of the National Plan. Provincial Planning Agencies prepared regional plans and municipalities were responsible for expansion plans. All plans were binding. This system remained unchanged until 1965. This means German occupation law remained in force for 25 years.

German occupation law remained in force for such a long time because there were disagreements about a new Physical Planning Act. Another problem was that its German origin heavily discredited the Bureau for the National Plan. The bureau had a hard time fighting for its survival. In 1949 it was given a new name, National Planning Agency (Rijksplanologische Dienst). As Micheels³² has shown though, German influence was restricted to organisational matters. In 1940, on the day of the German invasion, a ministerial committee already advised to start preparing a National Plan.

5. Foreign influence on Dutch Planning: the substantive element of the planning doctrine.

The Bureau for the National Plan after the war faced the difficult task of preparing a binding national plan. This task soon proved too difficult and the Agency decided to work first on a national planning policy³³. In the nineteen-fifties this policy was laid down in a number of reports several Industrialization Reports amongst them. The Second Report on Physical Planning can be considered as the last of this series of reports.

One of the few countries where a national planning policy had developed was England. From the middle of the nineteen-thirties onwards the foundations were laid for a comprehensive national urbanization policy. The corner stones of British planning were the Barlow Report of 1940 and the Greater London Plan of 1944. Both owed much to the Garden City Movement. It is to these examples that Dutch planners turned to develop a planning policy for the Netherlands³⁴.

Physical Planning in the Netherlands was at that time already heavily

indebted to the Garden City Movement. The first Dutch book on garden cities appeared in 1906³⁵. Dutch physical planning, however, only made use of certain elements of the Garden City concept. It was impossible to build self-containing garden cities in the Netherlands because existing cities were already very near to each other. Besides, poor soil conditions made concentration of urban development an absolute necessity. Low density development was too expensive. An attempt to build a garden city near Amsterdam therefore met with failure.

In practice, the Garden City was reduced to the garden suburb. Between 1900 and 1930 a large number of garden suburbs were built. The most famous of these were Vreewijk in Rotterdam (1923) and Betondorp in Amsterdam (1918-1925). After 1930 the garden city met with opposition from the Modernist Movement. The number of garden suburbs dropped sharply³⁶. The Amsterdam expansion plan of 1934 neatly rejected garden cities and chose for a concentric expansion of the city.

Figure 4: The axial belt



C.B. Fawcett (1931)

E.G.R. Taylor (1938)

Source: Boonstra, 1984 page 23

It was only after the Second World War, when the Netherlands experienced an unprecedented population growth, that ideas on Garden City lines became popular again. The Second Report on Physical Planning testifies to this. The analysis of the situation in the Netherlands is couched in the same terms as the Barlow Report. The Barlow Report concluded that people and jobs in Great Britain were concentrated in the "axial belt", consisting of the region around London and the Midlands (see figure 4). The equivalent of the axial belt in the Second Report on Physical Planning was the A-A line, a line from Alkmaar to Arnhem³⁷. The Randstad and other important economic regions are lying to the south of this line. Life in this part of the country was affected by congestion.

Basic to the Barlow report is the planning concept of urban containment.

Further growth of the cities in the urbanized part of the country is considered undesirable. To prevent further growth there, a dispersal policy is suggested. The Second Report on Physical Planning also puts forward a dispersal policy. The Report aims at a more harmonious population distribution, but zero-growth in the region south of the A-A line is impossible in the face of rapid population growth.

The policy for the Randstad largely derives from the "Greater London Plan" of 1944. The "Greater London Plan" provided for a number of new towns to absorb the overspill of London. A Green Belt was to stop the growth of the London agglomeration. Obviously, the growth centre idea in the planning concept of concentrated deconcentration derives from the concept of the new town. The most important difference between the two is that the growth centre generally is a smaller, already existing town. The Green Belt in the case of the Randstad is not outside but inside the metropolis, it is the "Green Heart". This shows how planning concepts are transformed before becoming part of planning doctrine.

The Netherlands and England are both western countries. Both are highly mobile, industrialised nations. Given the similarities in the context of planning, transfer of planning comes not as a surprise. In Indonesia the historical circumstances, the economic situation and the technical possibilities are very different from those in Europe. Indonesia has a completely different culture, a less developed economy and technical possibilities are far more restrained. Hence, the country needs a different planning doctrine. The planning doctrine underlying the Second Report on Physical Planning seems to be of limited relevance in the Indonesian context. In spite of that, Dutch planners have introduced western planning concepts like concentrated deconcentration in Indonesia.

6. Exporting planning: the case of Indonesia.

Three hundred years of colonialism have left Indonesia with a large Dutch heritage. In the major Indonesian towns and cities, old Dutch neighbourhoods can still be recognized. On their arrival, the Dutch applied a settlement pattern copied from their own towns. Old Batavia (Jakarta), for example, very much resembled Amsterdam. Later on Dutch and Indonesian culture intermingled. Throughout the colonial era, however, in the cities different racial groups remained segregated. The Dutch mainly lived in spacious houses set in large compounds, the Chinese had their own camps and the local Indonesian population lived in the kampung (camp), following a life-style very close to that of rural areas.

The Dutch on their departure in 1949 left the Indonesians a planning system. This year we celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the colonial Town Planning Act³⁸! Several cities possess building regulations from long before the Second World War. After Indonesian independence, Dutch planners nearly all went back to the Netherlands. Because of political tensions between the Netherlands and Indonesia, no technical assistance was provided until the middle of the nineteen sixties. This paragraph will give a short account of planning history in colonial times, after which two recent examples of assistance in the field of town planning will be discussed.

Around the turn of the century, town planning was introduced in the Dutch Indies in the context of a reform of local government. In the

period of "ethical policy", decentralisation of government started. In 1903 the Decentralisation Act came into force. The act made possible the creation of urban municipalities (*stadsgemeenten*). In 1905 Batavia was the first of these urban municipalities, but other towns soon followed suit. In 1930 there were 32³⁹ urban municipalities. These municipalities were dominated by Europeans.

The urban municipalities performed a number of tasks connected with public health, traffic and the beautification of the city. Among these were housing and town-planning. Leading in the field of housing and town-planning was the municipality of Semarang. In 1911 a study of Westerveld, a member of the municipal council, showed bad housing conditions were the cause of diseases and high death-rates in low-lying kampungs. The municipality at the time was already working on an extension of the town in the much more healthy hill area south of the town. At first the municipality wanted to move the kampung to the hills. This turned out to be impossible, because the hill area was too far away from the city centre⁴⁰. In the end the town-planner Th. Karsten developed an expansion plan which provided for a development with well appointed houses for wealthy Europeans. This was one of the first modern expansion plans in the Dutch Indies.

The urban municipalities were confronted with rapid population growth. Between 1900 and 1925 the population of Batavia more than doubled, the population of Semarang doubled and the population of Bandung more than tripled⁴¹. Urbanization in the Dutch Indies was based upon the development of a market-oriented economy. Industry and trade grew and the number of European entrepreneurs increased. Indonesian towns, which until then had displayed a low-density settlement pattern, became more and more densely populated. In kampungs this led to overcrowding and unhealthy living conditions. Poor hygiene also posed a threat to the growing European middle class.

The way Dutch administrators perceived these developments and the solutions they proposed were determined by the experience with housing and town planning in the Netherlands. In comparison with the Netherlands urban municipalities had hardly any means to discharge their responsibilities in this field. Town-planning had no legal basis like the Dutch Housing Act. Furthermore, urban municipalities had no say in the kampung as these belonged to the "Inlandse gemeente" (indigenous municipality). In general, power, money and expertise were lacking. Several conferences were devoted to these problems. Particularly important in this respect are the Housing conferences of 1922 of 1926. Thanks to the 1922 conference government granted the urban municipalities the right of expropriation for the purpose of improving housing conditions. Expulsory purchase, however, was only possible if the urban municipality on the basis of a master plan could prove it needed the land for housing. Town Planning in the Indies until 1940 was mainly based upon this so called "Bijblad 11272" of april 27 1926⁴².

What master plans on the basis of the Bijblad 11272 encompassed, shows the 1933 master plan of Malang in Eastern Java. The plan again was made by Th. Karsten. Because of rapid population growth the town of Malang had been expanding for some years. The situation in the kampungs deteriorated and the urban municipality was faced with land speculation. The situation would only grow worse as population was expected to double in the next twenty-five years. To stop speculation the urban municipality prepared a master plan in 1929. Government did not approve of this plan. Therefore a new plan was prepared in 1933.

The 1933 master plan of Malang (see figure 5) has some typically European traits. Basic to the plan are traffic and public health. The plan lays out a systematic network of roads. Important elements of the plan are a number of squares with monumental buildings. Especially in European quarters on the western side of the town, parks and sports-ground are provided. The plan is based upon segregation of social classes instead of segregation of racial groups. This is to be achieved through zoning of different types of buildings (small houses and villas, kampung, shops etc.). To provide for more healthy living conditions for lower classes, new, more spacious kampungs are provided to the south and to the north of the town. New kampungs are needed because, in spite of efforts at kampung-improvement, old kampungs do not provide good living-conditions⁴³.

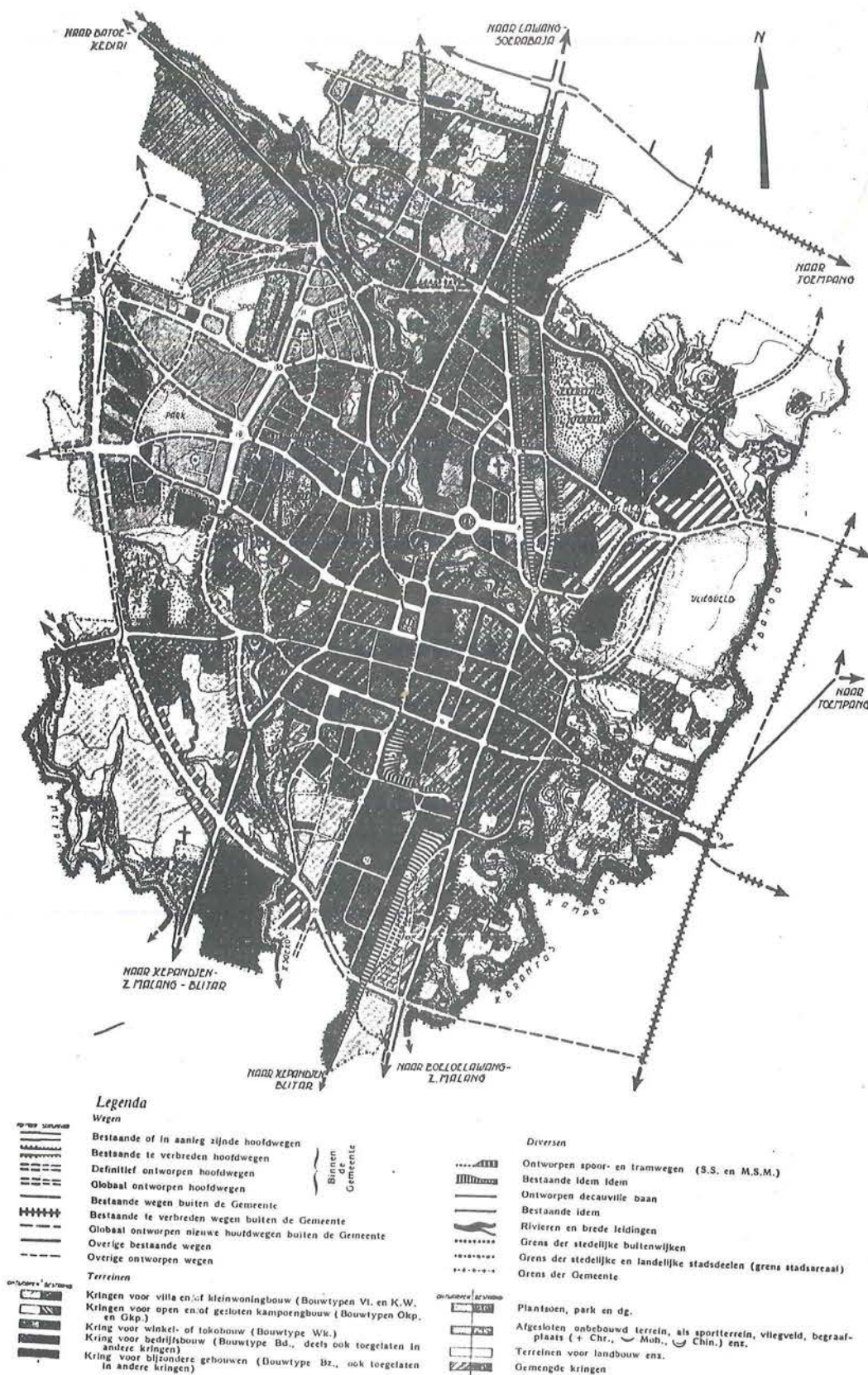
Kampung improvement was the main activity of the urban municipalities in the field of housing. In most urban municipalities kampung-improvement meant physical improvement to obtain a more healthy and orderly environment. The prohibition to work in the kampung was lifted in 1918 and from 1927 onwards the central government paid 50% of the costs of improvements. Unfortunately, the economic crisis of the nineteen thirties led to drastic cuts in the budget and in many urban municipalities kampung-improvement almost came to a halt⁴⁴. In 1938 government set up the so called "kampung-improvement committee", to study the way scarce subsidies could best be spent. Because of the Second World War the recommendations of this committee could not be put into practice.

In 1933 the Society of Local Interests (a society of local administrators) devoted a conference to the costs of town-planning. This conference put a request to the central government for legislation in the field of town-planning. In 1934 the government formed a committee under the chairmanship of Professor Logeman, a lawyer, to prepare the draft of a Town Planning Act. Other prominent members of the committee were Th. Karsten and Jac. P. Thijsse jr. Thijsse was to play an important role in Indonesian planning after the war.

The appointment of Karsten was no coincidence. Karsten can be considered the "grand old man" of town planning in the Dutch Indies. He came to the Indies in 1914 and in 1916 became town planner in Semarang. His experiences there formed the basis of one of his first publications: "Indische Stedebouw" (Indonesian Town-Planning) of 1920. In other publications, he further elaborated the ideas put forward in "Indische Stedebouw". Karsten worked for many urban municipalities and from 1932 onwards had his own consultancy. Because there existed no course in town planning, Karsten educated his own personnel. He often published the directives he gave to his personnel for example his "Indische Stedebouwkundige Richtlijnen" (Indonesian Town Planning Directives). Thanks to Karsten, there was some uniformity in town planning in the Dutch Indies before 1940⁴⁵.

Karsten's ideas on town planning were progressive compared to contemporary Dutch practice. In "Indische Stedebouw" he put forward that the town was a dynamic organism. Town-planning was therefore an ever-lasting effort to give guidance to the growth and change of cities. Blueprint planning was impossible. On the basis of this Karsten developed a planning system for urban municipalities reaching from a master plan, through detailed plans to building schemes. The master

Figure 5: Master Plan for Malang, 1933



N. B. Wegbreedten en dg. zijn niet overal op schaal getekend. Als „bestaand” is aangegeven de toestand in 1933.

Source: Karsten, Th., 1936

plan would be a strategic plan in every sense of the word. It would be global and open to change at every time. Only the building scheme would be binding. Implementation would be guaranteed by building regulations.

It is noteworthy that the Logeman committee not slavishly followed the Dutch Housing Act. The committee made an effort to provide a Town Planning Act which suited the Dutch Indies. In 1938 the committee published the draft of the Act together with a Memorandum⁴⁶ by Karsten. The Memorandum gives an analysis of spatial developments in Indonesian towns. It puts forward that town planning in Indonesia must be rooted in Indonesian culture. The draft of the Town Planning Act (Stadsvormingsordonnantie Stads Gemeenten Java⁴⁷) was largely based on the ideas of Karsten. The planning system consisted of a master plan, detailed plans and building regulations. The master plan was a flexible planning instrument. The other plans and regulations however were of a highly sophisticated nature. Critics of the Act argued that implementation would be too complicated and too costly for the smaller urban municipalities⁴⁸.

The Town planning Act was only to be the basis of a planning system which, in times to come, would also encompass regional and national planning. In 1939 the publication of the draft of the Town Planning Act was celebrated at a conference of the Society of Local Interests. Speakers at the conference agreed that regional and national planning were necessary in the Dutch Indies⁴⁹. They argued Indonesia was just one step behind the countries in Europe. Soon, Indonesia would experience strong urbanization and industrialization. Often, physical planning in Europe could only improve undesirable situations. But, in Indonesia it could prevent them.

Due to the Second World War the Town Planning Act did not come into force until 1948. Regional planning and national planning were also delayed. At the end of 1948 a committee under the chairmanship of Professor Jac.P.Thijssse was formed to prepare the draft of a Physical Planning Act (Wet op de Ruimtelijke Ordening). Thijssse was head of the National Planning Bureau (Centraal Planologisch Bureau) of the Department of Reconstruction and Public Works and professor at the Polytechnic of Bandung. In the National Planning Bureau he had brought together the personnel of the bureau of Karsten and planners from several urban municipalities. Karsten himself had passed away in 1944. The bureau prepared master plans for most urban municipalities. In 1949 Ir. Susilo, former office-manager of Karsten, designed a new town for Jakarta, Kebajoran.

In 1949 all this was transferred to the new republic of Indonesia. The Town Planning Act soon became applicable in all urban municipalities (kotamadya). The draft of a Physical Planning Act was handed over to the Indonesians in 1951. In the meantime, tensions had been building up between the Dutch and the Indonesians. All Dutch town planners working at the National Planning Bureau (now called Jawatan Tata Ruang Negara) resigned. Until 1962, when New Guinea was handed over to the Indonesians, relations between the Netherlands and Indonesia steadily deteriorated.

It took until 1965 before the Indonesians attempted to provide a series of master plans for their cities⁵⁰. The central planning bureau in Jakarta, now called "Direktorat Tata Kota dan Daerah", still played a

of Housing and Town Planning⁵⁴. In time, Dutch town planners took up important positions in international organizations. Van Eesteren was chairman of the C.I.A.M. Movement in the nineteen thirties. His colleague on the Amsterdam General Expansion Plan, Scheffer, became president of the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning after the Second World War. Shortly before his appointment the International Federation decided to move its headquarters from London to the Hague.

The Netherlands clearly provide a good climate for international exchange. The country has a trading tradition of several centuries. This means the Dutch have been internationally orientated from a very early age. England and Germany are neighbours of the Netherlands, so innovations reach the Netherlands very easily. In the case of town planning the fact that many housing reformers and planners had a socialist background may also have played a role. Socialism has a very strong international tradition. The first chairman of the Netherlands Institute for Housing and Town Planning, Hudig, was a member of the socialist party. He wrote his Ph.D. thesis on unionism in the Netherlands. Thanks to him the Institute joined the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association in 1922⁵⁵. Hudig also reviewed foreign journals in the journal of the Netherlands Institute, the "Tijdschrift voor Volkshuisvesting en Stedebouw".

If we are to understand why experiences abroad were so important for Dutch planning, we have to take a look at the stage of development of Dutch planning itself. Town planning as a profession was slow to develop in the Netherlands. The number of town planners was fairly limited and education in town planning and professional organizations were absent. For many years a platform for the exchange of ideas was lacking. It took until 1923 before the Netherlands Institute for Housing was renamed Netherlands Institute for Housing and Town Planning. Twelve years from then, in 1935, an autonomous organization of town planners was created⁵⁶. The first course in town planning at university level dates from 1946⁵⁷. The main innovative centers before 1940 were the town planning departments of the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and the Hague created in the nineteen twenties.

The acceptance of foreign physical planning was made a lot easier by the way planners looked at planning. Until the nineteen-sixties, in the Netherlands the technocratic view on planning prevailed. Planning was of a technical nature and hence was a matter of experts. It was a neutral instrument which could be used at will everywhere in the world. And of course, differences between European countries were small. In Indonesia, however, the situation was quite different. There planning was introduced in a totally different culture and in a society at a different stage of development. The technocratic view on planning led many to believe that Indonesia was just one step behind and that in the end it would also become a highly developed urbanized society. Planning was needed to prevent the problems which had occurred in Europe.

It is difficult to assess the influence of Dutch planning on contemporary Indonesian planning. Of course, the planning system is still largely of colonial origin and there are several programmes for assistance. However, the younger generation in Indonesia does not speak Dutch. This means Dutch literature is no longer accessible. This is not to say that there are no Indonesians studying in the Netherlands. The Institute for Social Studies in The Hague and the Institute for Housing Studies in Rotterdam

provide courses for students from Third World Countries. These courses also have Indonesian participants.

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JAPANESE NEW TOWN PLANNING IN THE UNITED STATES:

THE CASE OF MILL CREEK, WASHINGTON

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The century-long transfer of modern Western urban planning ideas to Japan is a phenomenon well-recognized by planning historians. Hardly recognized and as yet unstudied is the fact that this exchange works both ways: Japanese planning ideas have also been carried from East to West and to all major regions of the modern world.

The Japanese have been exporting urban planning ideas for almost as long as they have been importing them. From the 1890s to 1940s, soldiers and entrepreneurs planned and built new cities, and replanned and rebuilt existing ones, in Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria and China -- a colonial era which ended with Japan's defeat in World War II. Following her rapid postwar growth into an economic superpower, Japanese land developers have been building new communities in Southeast Asia, Oceania, the Middle East, the Americas and elsewhere throughout the world.

The new American city of Mill Creek, Washington, is a case in point. The Japanese planned and developed it in light of international new town ideas, prior experience in Japan and abroad, and American customs, laws and consumer preferences. Mill Creek portrays two aspects of contemporary real estate activity in the United States: suburban planned unit development and the only American new town developed by the Japanese. Historically, suburbs have been the most desired form of American habitat.¹ Today more Americans live in suburbia than anywhere else, and more than 70% of those

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who live in suburbs also work in suburbs. Mill Creek's creation is an important event in the history of both Japanese and American planning, and illustrates that modern urban planning, in this case new town planning, is a reciprocal worldwide phenomenon -- not a Western-centered one.

International Antecedents

The quest for a better living environment has been a major idea and effort in human society for centuries. One modern manifestation is the so-called "new towns movement," a planned community alternative to huge cities and rapid, unplanned urban growth. This "good city" alternative responds also to such urban ills as congestion, disorder, slums, lack of greenspace and outdoor recreation, sprawl, long journey to work, socio-economic inequity, and other modern complaints.

Modern new town planning first appeared in Europe, North America and Asia in response to urban problems magnified or created by the Industrial Revolution. The best known early approach was Ebenezer Howard's garden city concept and its manifestations, which had a great impact on the international diffusion of the new towns movement. Howard's idea was to limit city growth by building planned towns, of about 30,000 socially mixed residents each, with diversified urban and rural land uses, public ownership and control of land, profit-sharing cooperative businesses, and a greenbelt surround to prevent growth and sprawl inside and encroachment outside the city's boundaries.²

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In the first several decades of this century, the new town movement caught on in a limited way in the United States and Japan. Several hundred garden-city inspired, planned new towns were built in the U.S. in the first half of the 20th Century, including a few known for design and social planning innovations like the suburbs of Radburn, New Jersey, and Greenbelt, Maryland, and the city of Kingsport, Tennessee.³

The garden city idea was familiar to Japanese travellers, who spoke favorably of the new towns they saw abroad before World War I. In Japan, the largest suburban developer in the Taisho Period (1912-26) was the Den-en-Toshi [Garden City] Company Ltd., founded in 1918 to build upper-middle-class suburban retreats from overcrowded, dusty cities. After acquiring rural land and building a railroad to it, the Company developed a prestigious, highly profitable garden suburb, Denenchofu, southwest of central Tokyo. While not incorporated into a town like European and American suburbs, Denenchofu was one of the first Japanese examples of an amenity-rich residential greenspace, and it demonstrated the potential for integrating high quality suburban communities with the central city. Although not widely emulated in the interwar suburban boom, it still is one of the premier neighborhoods in the giant Tokyo metropolis.⁴

However, unlike Kingsport, most pre-mid-20th Century American and Japanese planned communities were not new towns but just large, upper-middle-income residential commuter subdivisions without the commerce, employment, economic equity and social balance urged by Howard, and rarely even greenbelt separation from external development.

The new towns movement boomed everywhere after World War II, often assisted by special legislation. For example, the British New Towns Act of 1946 led to 28 towns, and the Japanese New Residential Area Development Law

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of 1963 led to 25 new towns. In contrast, only one new town (The Woodlands) has been created under the American "demonstration cities" acts of 1966, 1968 and 1970, while 70 were built by the private sector since 1947.⁵

During the 1960s, garden-city-like new town planning was reified in the separate states of the U.S. by statutes enabling planned residential development (PRD), sometimes referred to as planned unit development (PUD), under which most contemporary new towns in the United States have since been built. PRD ordinances promote three ideals of community development: planning controls, to minimize pressure for speculative development; balance, to achieve an integrated mix of land uses, facilities, amenities, economic and cultural activity, and regional population; and self-sufficiency, through political independence, self-governance, a self-sustaining tax base, and jobs for employable residents. A special county or municipal ordinance, PRD permits higher density, clustered development; more open space; and greater mix of land uses, building types, facilities and services than normally allowed in local zoning ordinance and subdivision regulations. In exchange the developer agrees to implement a master plan for the whole area, set aside land (typically 20%) as public open space, and form a community association for resident management of commonly owned elements -- opportunities unavailable to builders of conventional residential suburbs. The ordinance can be applied to subdivisions within existing jurisdictions (as it most often is) or to wholly planned new cities.⁶

Generally, American local governments prefer the PRDs over unplanned subdivisions because they promote a high quality of life in several ways. The clustered development and higher densities help preserve natural landscape features, increase government revenues, reduce the cost of public

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utilities and services, and permit a wide range of affordable housing to be built, ideally including low-income units. The community association -- the smallest unit of local self-government -- enhances citizen political control and power in the community. However, while PRDs are environmentally, fiscally and politically sound, their lot size is typically half or less that of a comparable house lot in sprawling, traditional suburbs, where a freestanding house surrounded by generous greenspace has been the material essence of the "American Dream" for generations. To market PRDs successfully, some developers have added state-of-the-art recreation and other amenities from golf courses to country clubs. From a planner's or investor's point of view, the question becomes, "*Will buyers accept the PRD version of the American Dream?*"

Japanese real estate developers have recently become interested in the economics of American new town building. Their interest reflects a dramatic recent increase of Japanese investment in foreign real estate generally, particularly in the United States. While the exact amount is unknown, it is estimated that Japanese capital invested in U.S. real estate has more than doubled each year for four consecutive years since 1984, from a total of \$700 million in 1984 to \$12 billion in 1987. This investment is driven by such underlying factors as (1) Japan's huge pool of capital from soaring trade surpluses and savings; (2) upsurge of the yen's value, making U.S. land prices relatively cheap compared Japan's; (3) low interest rates in Japan, allowing the Japanese to borrow money cheaply to purchase American real estate; (4) favorable U.S. property depreciation tax rates (18 years compared to 65 years in Japan); and (5) high U.S. market rate of annual return on investment (7-9% compared to 1-4% in Japan).⁷

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Mill Creek, USA

Late 1973 saw the first stages of construction on the new town of Mill Creek in Snohomish County, Washington, the northern part of the Greater Seattle Urban Region. The site is 1,073 acres of rural fields, forests, creeks and wilderness in a lush green, hilly setting approximately 20 miles north of Seattle, 10 miles south of Everett and two miles east of U.S. Interstate Highway 5.

Mill Creek is developed and managed by the United Development Corporation (UDC), a joint venture of two Japanese corporations with much experience in new town building. Planning, financing and sales are handled by Tokyu Group (Tokyu Land Development Limited), Japan's major hotel, retail, transportation and land development company, a multi-business corporation comprised of 281 companies with 80,000 employees. Tokyu Group planned and developed one of Japan's largest new towns, Tama Garden City, a western suburb of central Tokyo, for 400,000 residents; and Yancheb City, 25 miles from Perth, Australia, for an expected 70,000 people. Mill Creek's infrastructure development, maintenance and grievance management are handled by Ohbayashi-Gumi Limited, one of Japan's largest construction firms with 10,000 employees in 10 countries worldwide. It has had projects in the U.S. for more than a decade, including a \$50 million I-10 tunnelling project in Phoenix, Arizona, in partnership with several American firms.

Currently UDC is managed by two Japanese from Tokyu Group. All 50 other employees are locally hired, as are those of its Mill Creek Sales company. However, UDC receives close attention from the owner-presidents of Tokyu and Ohbayashi, whose corporate policies remain in place over the years without the shareholder pressure to make a quick profit typical of American businesses today -- an important factor in the long-term view and commitment to excellence characteristic of Japanese enterprises.

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Mill Creek is a pioneering real estate venture in several respects. This first Japanese-developed community in the U.S. is also the first new town built in the State of Washington in more than sixty years, and the first PRD in Snohomish County. There was no prior Japanese experience in the U.S. and no precedent to learn from in Snohomish County or the State of Washington. Unfamiliar with local regulations, UDC's heads had to set up everything on their own from the PRD contract and planning process to construction, sales, and management strategy.

The Japanese solved the problem of unfamiliarity with American ways in characteristic fashion. They emphasized cooperation, teamwork and careful attention to detail -- tactics which helped immeasurably in getting a good start at Mill Creek. As in Japan, UDC staff in the U.S. worked closely and smoothly with political officials, consultants and subcontractors in all phases of the planning, development, sales and management process. They approached all tasks in an unhurried, well-prepared yet open and pragmatic, collegial manner. Before a shovel of dirt was turned or a house built, the Japanese staff at Mill Creek had spent six months familiarizing themselves with local American real estate building and construction practices and getting to know the public and private sector people involved. Many of these early contacts became close colleagues and some were hired by UDC as division heads or key consultants. UDC was in daily contact with County officials for nearly a year to secure approval of the PRD rezoning contract and master plan details. UDC's contacts and reputation for integrity have smoothed the way for obtaining various permissions over the years since.

UDC's primary objectives were to make a profit and to expand their real estate business in the United States. Since they were newcomers and the regional real estate market was slow at that time, UDC -- supported by

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carefully selected land planners, market analysts, and builders -- chose to gain market acceptance by devising an attractive overall image for the new town and by establishing a reputation for high quality work. Choosing an already-assembled 1,000 acre land package (on which two previous American developers had failed to secure financing), they originally gave the community an Indian name, "Klahanie," but changed it as sounding "too foreign" (the name was subsequently used by another developer who has successfully marketed a rival PRD east of Seattle). The name "Mill Creek" was chosen from an American business consultant's suggestion, to convey UDC's desired nostalgic, pastoral image of small town life related to the several creeks crossing the property; UDC then built a rustic mill over a creek on a corner of the property.

Next UDC and consultants identified housing types, amenities, jobs, public services and facilities which they thought affluent potential buyers and renters would find superior to those offered by other Northwest developers. UDC planned for an ultimate population of 12,000 to 14,000 residents on the 1,073-acre site, comparable to fitting the population of a sizeable American town into a village or a big subdivision. The master plan had 20 major "residential parks" or neighborhoods of clustered housing, and 15 smaller clusters of condominiums and apartments, all centered around an 18-hole championship golf course and adjacent nature preserve. Each cluster had a flora-like name -- Evergreen, Holly, Sunrose, Huckleberry, Red Cedar, and so on -- images reinforced by distinctive landscaping. The dwelling types were roughly a third each single-family detached, single-family attached, and town house to high-rise condominiums and apartments, the last sited mainly near the town's main entrance. The civic center was clustered with swim, tennis and country clubs near the

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center of the community. Every street had a bicycle lane and every housing cluster several recreation amenities. Three kinds of commercial facilities were planned: two neighborhood convenience shopping centers, a community shopping center, and a business park (Mill Creek Plaza) for the major businesses, offices and city hall located by the main entrance.⁸

Construction began in late 1973, before formal County approval of the area's rezone and master plan. Most infrastructure -- roads, utilities, parks, and so on -- and all of the major amenities were completed before home construction began. Residential construction is still under way. Originally scheduled for completion in 15 years (1973-1988), the plan is about two-thirds completed now.

Mill Creek has become one of the most expensive upper-income communities in the State of Washington. When the first residents moved in in Spring 1976, average price of homes was \$64,300, higher by \$20,000 than average Seattle prices at the time. Home prices at Mill Creek have been climbing ever since: from an average of \$91,700 in 1978 to \$235,000 in 1987. Today's prices range from \$94,000 condominiums to more than a million dollars for a few single-family detached houses. The homes built more recently are more spacious than earlier construction, ranging from 1500 to 6000 square feet, but are sited on lots very small by American suburban standards. Their 1/2-1/3 ratio of house to lot is closer to that of a detached Japanese suburban house (e.g. 1/1.5) than to a typical American suburban home of comparable size and value (1/4-1/8). On the other hand, a typical American suburban home is not adjacent to a large park or recreational commons like the PRD ordinance permits at Mill Creek.

Mill Creek was incorporated in 1983, when its population reached 3,500 persons. Today it has a population of more than 6,000 residents and is

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expected to reach its planned maximum population of 14,000 by 1995. Mill Creek has an elected mayor and city council, a planning department, a city hall, a library (on donated land) and its first elementary school, which just opened. A middle school will open in 1989 and a high school in 1991.

Despite large start-up costs, quality has not been sacrificed for a quick profit. Financing -- from the Bank of Tokyo, Mitsui Bank, the Long-Term Credit Bank of Japan and other Japanese banks which offer more favorable rates than American banks -- remains strong. Exact figures are unavailable, but the local media estimate that UDC has put from \$30 to \$50 million into the project to date, including \$5.4 million for land, more than \$20 million for basic infrastructure and public amenities, and several million for staff salaries and office expenses. Some observers estimate the ultimate cost will be \$150 million.⁹

Evaluation

Having looked briefly at international antecedents of the new town movement and in detail at Japanese development of an American new town, we now seek to answer several questions about Mill Creek's relation to the 20th Century international new town planning movement. (1) Have the Japanese investors and planners achieved their primary purposes to date? (2) What unanticipated problems have surfaced? (3) How does Mill Creek compare to other American and Japanese new towns built since World War II? (4) What do the answers suggest about the feasibility of future Japanese investment in American new community development? Finally, (5) what does Mill Creek add to our knowledge of the history of modern new town planning as a worldwide phenomenon?

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The Japanese have not yet achieved their primary purposes -- to make a profit and to expand their real estate business generally in the United States -- within the scheduled 15 years, but they expect to do so by the time their work is finished in another five to seven years. UDC made its first profit in 1987. Given the exchange rate as a factor in the venture's ultimate success, UDC anticipates a reasonable 7-10% final return on investment, according to its president.

As completion nears, Mill Creek has acquired a growing favorable reputation as a high-quality habitat in a region of magnificent natural resources and easy automobile access to an expanding urban region and to a big, diverse, culturally rich metropolitan center. According to 1983 and 1986 survey data, residents cite environment as their first reason for moving to Mill Creek (31%), followed by the Community Association's restrictive covenants (re yard maintenance, house color, etc.), investment value, neighborhood quality, security, town cohesiveness, accessibility to other parts of the region, and recreation and country club amenities. Media reports on Mill Creek cite it as an outstanding example of planned new communities in the northwest. Snohomish County planners say they are proud to have Mill Creek in their jurisdiction and they encourage emulation of its high standards. A steady stream of knowledgeable visitors -- planners, architects, landscape architects, environmentalists, public officials, developers, et al., many of them from Japan -- have commented approvingly on the sensitive, harmonious integration of natural and built environs, although some of them accurately observe that Mill Creek contains a very narrow part of the American socioeconomic spectrum.¹⁰

Residential development has been slowed by several factors including (1) doubling of U.S. home interest rates during recession in the early

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1980, (2) miscalculation of buyer preferences, and (3) untimely incorporation. UDC misread the market for high-rise (not garden) condos and for detached housing. Only half of the planned 4600 housing units have been built so far, and the end number has been reduced to 3600 total units because of demand for big, expensive single-family detached homes on slightly larger lots. UDC's most serious miscalculation was based on the belief that as housing and land in the extended urban region becomes scarce and prices rise, buyers will accept high or mid-rise housing. This assumption clearly ignores the continuing power of the American Dream, in good times or bad, for a detached home, even if on a smaller lot than in purely residential suburbs.

Business development is also behind schedule, its prospects affected by results of activity beyond the PRD: two small malls quickly slapped up by speculators just outside the town's main entrance, and the Northwest's largest shopping plaza five miles away, built a decade ago. The goal of 2,500 jobs in Mill Creek for residents has not yet been reached, but probably will be as new firms move in in the next five years.

The master plan has some major unforeseen shortcomings. Above all, the plan's physical and human scale is too small for a full-fledged town and it lacks a sense of the region and the town's place in it. UDC's president says that if the developers could start over again, he would recommend planning Mill Creek (1) on a scale large enough to reflect the region's socioeconomic character and (2) as a politically and economically dependent unit in the region's overall development.¹¹ Just how large Mill Creek should be is open to question, but Howard's idea of 30,000 people living on several thousand acres of land seems about right in order to justify the enormous start-up costs involved in building a planned town

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from the ground up under one authority. Yet no matter what the ultimate size, some way must be found to share the costs with those outside the community who benefit from its existence. Like any successful new town, Mill Creek has a definite regional impact, pro and con -- it attracts "sprawl" on its edges which cannot be controlled from inside the town unless it expands by annexation. Today the town's planning and design integrity, hence its overall image, is threatened by probable annexation of unplanned, speculative land developments across the highway; and a serious traffic problem is developing just outside the city entrances, which can't be controlled unless the land is annexed or the State widens the roads.¹²

While the Japanese style of development minimized political problems with the County, early incorporation of the town in 1984 has multiplied them. Incorporating before the master plan was completed definitely slowed development. Incorporation -- the transfer of administrative and police power authority from Snohomish County to the new municipality -- introduced a different vision of the community, a modified set of expectations more attuned to the residents than to the developers, and a completely new public planning authority, which has forced UDC to file a new planning and zoning contract with the City -- in effect starting the process all over again with a powerful but lesser-scale new government and new officials responsible for the town area only, not the whole County. The City's new Planning Department and the elected Mayor and City Council, while not hostile to UDC, have a different, less regional idea of the City's identity and objectives. They have already adopted different standards of architectural control, are currently preparing their own comprehensive plan, and have enlarged the town and its tax base by annexing areas not physically integrated into the original circulation plan. Thus, while self-government

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is a fundamental part of local life in the U.S., early incorporation, far from reinforcing UDC's carefully controlled development, has divided it.

On the other hand, one limited form of local governance, the Mill Creek Community Association (MCCA), has been a watchdog over planned development. As the PRD ordinance requires, UDC formed the MCCA to protect the common interests of property owners. MCCA is a State-chartered, nonprofit association to which all property owners in the original town automatically belong. Its bylaws have been revised several times to give it authority over new design proposals as well as maintenance. If homeowners in annexed areas are admitted to the MCCA as full members they too may help maintain the town's high-quality design standards.¹³

Not surprisingly in a town with an expensive upper-middle-income range of housing, the developers have created a narrow socioeconomic community. Compared to the population generally in Snohomish County, Mill Creek residents are older, have fewer youth between 15 and 24 (11% compared to 18%) and a much larger adult population between the ages of 41 and 64 (31% to 18%). Mill Creek households are slightly larger (2.5 versus 2.41 persons/unit) and more than twice as wealthy. According to UDC's 1983 and 1986 surveys, nearly one third (27%) moved into Mill Creek from another state, transferred by their companies. Many other residents are affluent retirees between 55 and 70. Two-person employment is common outside of retired households, and mostly in management, the professions, and white-collar hi-tech specialties. Mill Creek's outside work force commutes rather evenly (at the moment) between downtown Seattle and the suburbs, where the majority of new jobs are located, especially in new firms located in the "Technology Corridor" along two intersecting freeways near Mill Creek. Only 6% of the working population is employed in Mill Creek and vicinity,

Hancock & Sotoike, Mill Creek, p. 15

although that figure is rising. More than 90% of all workers commute by automobile, a trend not likely to diminish significantly even though public bus service is improving.

Overall, Mill Creek's Japanese planners and American consultants have achieved most, but by no means all, of the basic physical goals in their master plan: balance of home, work, play, with emphasis on outdoor leisure amenities; preservation of the natural environment (29% of Mill Creek is open space compared to the 20% required by the County PRD ordinance); and a unique visual image of the town's identity as a high-quality environment. UDC has done a marvelous job of preserving the natural environment, landscaping each housing cluster, and utilizing the original topography to enhance aesthetic and active enjoyment of it. Recreation facilities are first-rate and, as the American life style becomes more and more leisure-oriented, such amenities definitely will be advantageous to home sales in contemporary new towns.

How economically feasible is American new town development for a Japanese investor? Assuming an approach like the Mill Creek case, it seems very feasible, provided the investor is committed to staying with the project for 20 years before it pays off and does not make fatal market guesses along the way. UDC clearly succeeded in establishing a high quality, amenity-rich, highly marketable product at Mill Creek. However, the high-quality housing, community and recreation facilities at Mill Creek have not brought immediately better results in housing value and price appreciation than have competitor housing developments.¹⁴ The Japanese developers of Mill Creek -- in fact and according to plan -- have subordinated short-term profitability for their long-term corporate image and reputation for high-quality performance in order to support expansion of their real estate business in general.

Hancock & Sotoike, Mill Creek, p. 16

Conclusion

While new town ideas are international in origin and circulation, the planning and development of a new town is culturally determined and varies widely among and sometimes even within nations. Most Japanese new towns are built by government-directed joint public-private teams operating under nationally standardized planning regulations and administration; whereas those in the United States are usually built by private enterprise operating for profit under state business charters and land use laws which vary from state to state.

Mill Creek's chief contributions to the international new town movement are to be found in the high quality, integrative planning and design of physical elements within the town; in the conservation of natural resources; in the attention to leisure activities; and in the Japanese planning philosophy of long term commitment to excellence and to team effort in every phase of the development process. Beyond that, Mill Creek more resembles a village than it does most so-called new towns in Japan, the United States, or any other nation, on the basis of acreage and population. Compared to new towns in Japan and most nations except the U.S., Mill Creek is also poorly related to the economy and polity of the surrounding region. Thus planning is worldwide yet ever culture-bound.

The 25 contemporary Japanese New Towns are small in area and large and dense in population compared to American new towns, with a majority of people living in medium and high-rise apartments. The towns average 3000 acres and 135,000 residents. The combined expected population of Tama New Town (410,000) and Tama Garden City (400,000), west of central Tokyo, makes Tama one of the larger urban concentrations in Japan as well as part of the largest urban region in the world.

Hancock & Sotoike, Mill Creek, p. 17

Not self-governing, Japanese new towns are planned as integral parts of regional economic development, as major living and working area extensions of existing "mother cities," linked by high-speed railways and highways to other parts of the metropolitan region. As elsewhere in the world, their functions are changing gradually from predominantly housing to a more balanced mix of residential, recreational, and economic activities; and housing type is changing from high and mid-rise to a mix of garden apartments, townhouses and single-family detached houses. Notable Japanese efforts in these directions include Tsukuba Science City, north of Tokyo, and Hokusetsu New Town, north of Kobe. The latter town is divided into four districts located in a superb natural setting on a gentle hill surrounded by forests and fronted by mountains overlooking Kobe Bay. The master plan contains 15 neighborhoods of 8,000 people each. The Hokusetsu NT developers (Japan Housing Corporation and Hyogo Prefecture, a sister of Washington State) recently invited a team of American urban designers and lumber companies from the State of Washington to design and build a neighborhood of single-family detached "Pacific Northwest" houses in part of the western district to be called "Washington Village."¹⁵

Most of the 70 or so new towns built in the United States since 1947 are also bigger in area and population than Mill Creek, averaging 10,000 acres and 75,000 intended residents. Unlike recent Japanese counterparts, most American new towns also do not have a broad mix of functions and income groups or a sound economic base: they are mainly pleasantly landscaped, spacious bedroom and leisure suburbs of the upper middle-class.

A few of the best are planned and built as complete towns but have major shortcomings. For example, Columbia, Maryland, between Baltimore and Washington, D.C., is justly renowned for its success as a planned town

Hancock & Sotoike, Mill Creek, p. 18

except for its narrow range of income groups and lack of political status. The current 70,000 residents (100,000 eventually), 20% of them non-white, live in nine villages on a 14,000-acre reserve, with 28% of the resident workforce employed in the town. However, housing costs limit residence to predominantly college-educated, upper-middle-income, white-collar groups; and the developer's decision not to seek incorporation makes them second-class citizens. The Woodlands, 27 miles north of Houston, is the most successful American new town built in the same period as Mill Creek, but the Southwest's oil-related recession may prevent attainment in this century of its intended population of 180,000 residents. The only survivor of 15 privately built new towns funded partly by "demonstration cities" legislation, the 17,000 acre town is planned for a racially integrated, mixed income population living in a superior natural and cultural environment. The town will not be incorporated for many years, an arrangement which leaves the developer in complete control for the entire construction phase. He anticipates a huge 20-23.5% return on his investment, as at Columbia and other American new towns. As of 1985 the Woodlands had a population of 20,000 people, 9% minority, living in a distinctly middle- and upper-income community.¹⁶

No American new town yet has succeeded in realizing the social and economic goals envisioned by Howard. While American planners have stressed the regional importance of new towns since the 1920s, they "have advanced a landscape ethic, not a land ethic, and an economizing mode, not changes in the economy," as Carol Christensen observes. They have defended the new town as a "good city" -- defined as a natural unit of individuals, primary groups, and friendship nets organized as family neighborhoods but not defined in the economic, political, or social terms of American society at

Hancock & Sotoike, Mill Creek, p. 19

large and its shared values. "Although proposed as vehicles for social change, new towns in America have accommodated to the culture more than they have reformed it." However, they have also championed trends toward qualitative, decentralized growth, small-scale, human-centered institutions, and natural landscapes.¹⁷

The anti-urban ideology underlying so much of modern planning in Europe and North America since the late 19th Century -- the dislike of large cities, perceived as economic creations that threaten peoples' social and political well being -- is virtually unknown in Japan, where habitable land is scarce and a strong pro-urban tradition is backed by a strong national government, weak local political autonomy, and a tradition of inter-municipal and private sector cooperation to make it work. Japanese new towns, with their mix of socio-economic groups and (recently) of functions, and their political and economic ties to the region, are one result of this strong urban ideology.¹⁸

Thus while the new town movement is international in scope, specific examples naturally manifest the conditions and requirements of the cultures in which they are developed. The main differences between Japan and the U.S. in approach to new towns development are the degree of strong central government involvement, of required public-private cooperation, and of relatively secure financing. All are much greater in every phase of development in Japan -- facts which give more certainty to the completion of new towns as planned in Japan than in the United States, regardless of the origin of the planners and their ideas.

Hancock & Sotoike, Mill Creek, p. 20

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SESSION B:
ASIA AND MODERN URBAN PLANNING

Liang-Yong Wu

Abstract

From a brief historical review of urban development courses in the West and in China, featuring on identical and different characteristics, the author highlighted the significance of the accelerated development of urban regions along China's coast. In view of the western experiences, the author holds that China should study the common laws governing those development areas, and at the same time, strive to find new solutions to such problems as intensive land use, efficient utilization of resources and ecological degradation. Not only "urban illness" should be relieved, but also the illness of urban regions be watched and avoided. The best qualities of the modern culture should be incorporated into our cities, while preserving and developing regional urban and architectural heritages. The fulfillment of the above goals is by no means easy. It will call for a reform in urban administrative systems an integral part of China's socio-economic reform. But through innovative efforts, and trial-and-error, a Chinese approach to coastal urban development can be found

On Urban Conurbations

——— China's integrated coastal urban development

A: A global and historical perspective

The Industrial revolution in the west marked a turning point in the long history of global urban development. Sharp difference between the two periods can be indentified in terms of trend and scale of urbanization, urban physical pattern, and planning and design principle. China's urban development has followed a slightly different course. First, the demarcation line should be drawn somewhere around 1840. when China's secluded feudal coastal cities were banged open by western colonists. This line also marked two different periods with the following features Firstly in contemporary time, the urbanization trend occurred in the coast, spreading its forces into the interior (During the World War II period and the period from late 50s to 70s, there was urban development in considerable scale in the interior), unlike historical urban development patterns which were characterized by the most intensive development in China's central plain. Secondly, contemporary urbanization saw the development of urban conurbations, consisting of a system of cities, particularly along the coast. This is different from the rather independent growth of a single city as the political and economic center of its region. Thirdly,

er prior to the 18th century, China's urbanization level was higher than that of other countries as regions in the world. China's urban culture, as an inseparable part of Chinese civilization, was quite splendid. This situation changed during the contemporary era. The stagnation and deterioration of Chinese cities like Beijing is an example. This is due to the fact that from Industrial Revolution to a considerable time after 1840. China's socio-economic development came to a halt due to political reasons. This situation began to improve only in the last few decades. Progress has been made in planning ideologies, development, policies, planning skills, management and legislation. The major problem confronting Chinese planners is no longer urban stagnation and deterioration, but a prepared mind to face the challenge of development in all respects. We have a lot to learn from the successes, as well as the failures of western countries, Japan and other developed and developing nations in Asia.

Fig. ①

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In the last decade, there has been rapid urbanization in China. During the period from 1978 to July 1988, the number of China's chartered cities increased from 193 to 407, and we can foresee that this urbanization process will continue along socio-economic development well into the 21st century, giving further impetus to the socio-economic and cultural development of the nation. Now both professionals and laymen are paying more and more attention to urban development issues. A long neglected academic discipline urban studies, is being born in China. The past decade has seen great accomplishments. For example, urban development policies and strategies have been prepared in many cities. Up to 1986 more than 90% of all the China's cities have been equipped with master plans. Most of these works were done from very beginning or with little previous achievement to make use of. Yet we are still facing a lot of problems as relates to policy: For instance, how to keep the balance between controlling large cities and developing small towns? Different opinions still need to be further discussed. The out-dated idea of a city as an isolated entity still, to some extent, exerts bad influence on peoples' perception of a city and their efforts to develop it. Therefore, it is necessary to encourage the study of "the patterns of city region".

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Different urban patterns in different regions

China is a large and populous country with diverse physical and socio-economic conditions, each region characterized with distinguished cultural backgrounds and different levels of urban development. That is why

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China's state government has laid out the varied policies and strategies for different regions. Roughly, China's vast territory is divided into 3 development zones: the eastern coastal region, the central region and

Fig. ②

the western region. In fact, even within one region, there are still sharp differences in terms of urban development. For example, within the eastern coastal region, the Yangtze River Delta and the Pearl River Delta are relatively more developed and possess greater growth potentials than other areas. Even some of the less developed areas, such as southern Fujian Delta, have achieved some progress in recent years under the directions of correct policies.

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The urban systems in different regions are also varied in characters. The Southern Jiangsu urban system in the Shanghai Economic Zone is located at both the middle part of the eastern coast and the mouth of Yangtze River occupying a large area. The pattern of the urban system a megalopolis, falls into the shape of a comet headed by the city of Shanghai. For a long time the development of industrial bases, agricultural production, trade, education in this area has been bloom and prosperous. The existence of Shanghai, and its convergence and interaction of the whole urban system make this area one of the most developed city regions in China. Shanghai has the potential to compete the "world city" status.

Fig. ③

Fig. ④

The Beijing-Tianjin-Tangshan urban Region is another type of urban system which also consists of two parts Qinhuaodao and Tanggu. It is a multi-functional city region, including political, economic and cultural centers, and expanding deep ocean ports. Beijing as the capital of China, is likely to be an important world city nominee a fusion of intellectual production. The areas between major cities connected by railroad, highway embraces a vast countryside quite resemble, the pattern of "Randstad" in Holland.

Fig. ⑤

The city region in the Pearl River Delta consists of Guangzhou, Hongkong, Macau and both Shenzhen and Zhuhai Special Economic Zones (SEZ) which are interrelated with the above cities. The existence of Hongkong and Guangzhou ----- "the southern gate" of the Main Land, makes this urban area very important. In this area, large, middle, small cities as well as rural centers are all interwoven into a network. The "export-oriented economic" in small towns as rural areas are very prosperous (In 1987, there were about 140,000 similar enterprise in Guangdong Province which employed more than 1 million workers. They earned 1 billion yuan (FEC). The form of this city region can be seen as a "multi-

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constellation" pattern in which urban settlements are not only inter-connected, but relatively divergent and independent.

Fig. ⑥

Study of these city region patterns will help us understand the specific growth characteristics and different growth patterns in areas under intensive and rapid development and with long history of foreign influence.

The "Golden-triangle" located along the eastern coast, which represents the Southern Part of Fujian

province is composed of several port cities: Xiamen(Amoy), Quzhou, Zhangzhou and Fuzhou. As the potential business trade expanded between Fujian and Taiwan may be developed into a pattern of "moon and stars" with the city of Amoy shining in the middle.

The newly established Hainan province has its specific geographical and socio-economic characteristics. The author has proposed in 1987 a "round-sea city" pattern for its urban development.

These diverse urban patterns exist not only along the eastern coast, but also in inland regions, for example, Wu-han city region located at the intersection of Yangtze agglomeration and Beijing-Guangzhou railroad(urban growth axis) and combined with small cities in the water network region.

Despite the difference existing in the above city region pattern, there are some common characteristics:

1) Large, medium sized and small urban settlements are interslated to form a complete system of "urbanized region". There are some such terms as "conurbation", "regional-city" agglomeration etc. have been suggested by P. Geddes, C. S. Stion and other noted planners and geographers as early as the beginning of this century. Their terminologies have different origins though they convey similar meanings. According to research, there are about 50 such heavily urbanized regions in initial stage though in China.

2) The size of the population and territory is often different in such an urban system. Usually these are one or a few large cities, or even a "world city", as the "dragon head" (dominant city) of the urban system, with some towns or even rural centers as basic components.

3) In such an urban area, different cities have different characteristics and function (political, industrial, business, cultural, scientific, agricultural, etc.). Some are single-functional settlements, some are multi-functional, based on the original socio-economic base and needs of socio-economic

development.

4) In more developed regions, the more intensive is the interaction or mutual relation between large, middle-sized and small cities. Within the region, small cities have the chance to develop much faster. Medium sized cities also have the tendency and condition for further development. The development of the Yangtze River Delta and the Pearl River Delta demonstrated a good example of this characteristic.

5) In urban agglomeration and developed urban area, the more demand for modernization, the more necessary to have a modern transportation and communication system. At present, almost all the inter-city transportation and communication systems in urban areas are very backward, which constrains further urban and socio-economic development of these regions. The over burden of the

Fig 7

Fig 8

Nanjing-Shanghai railroad is an example.

6) The farm or forest areas as well as coast areas surrounded by many cities "growth axis" is of economic and ecological importance. It is a non-ignorable part of regional development.

7) In such an urban system, the socio-economic goals of cities and towns can be more specific. The development tendency can be estimated. The problem of large cities, in terms of control and development, can be managed at a higher level. The layout of physical environment can be analyzed from the relationship between the whole and the parts, so as to find its possible and optimal pattern. For example, after I conducted a survey in Xiamen (Amoy), I proposed a "round-sea city" pattern with high flexibility and possibility in its urban development.

The above preliminary analysis would help us to understand the nature of city-regions. Basing on this analysis, we can further study special characteristics of each region. Creativity often results from understanding common laws and deeply studying specific characteristics.

III. Intensive land-use and preservation of natural resources.

After a long period of development, the western countries have already had vast urban agglomeration areas. They no doubt, have their own advantages. But we should also be aware of the fact that they lavishly use up vast tracts of land and natural resources, by the

very scattered residential area over development and many abandoned urban roads and infrastructure. Many scholars in the west have already pointed it out. But the situation here is a shortage of farm land, and on the other hand, we have the largest population in the world. Moreover, most areas around the urban agglomeration are high-yielding farm land. In such rapid urbanization, we should pay full attention to intensive land use. We should not copy from western countries without a conscious analysis. Therefore we should:

1) While we consider regional industrial and infrastructure development, we should not ignore the studies on agricultural development, energy development and environmental protection policies.

2) In order to save capital investment and local resources, we should make full use of existing urban infrastructure and gradually make improvement to meet the demand of modernization. For example, in the Yangtze River and the Pearl River deltas. We should make full

use of the advantage of enormous waterways and develop near-sea transportation along the coast.

3> Preserve historic and cultural resources.

4> Search for urban pattern of intensive land use. Urban developments should keep rational compactness and concentration. For the industries which produce pollution, it is better to put them close to each other so that remedial measures can be more effectively take.

In terms of searching for the Chinese way of urban development the above principles are the prerequisite.

IV. Diagnose urban-illness from regional perspective

Urban illness is usually referred to housing problem, environment pollution, traffic congestion and social problems, etc, which are evolved along with the process of modern urban development.

There are many reasons why these urban illness exist:

1> The political, social, and economic factors which fundamentally shape a city. It has to do with social system and policies. It is naive to hope to improve the social conditions by physical planning.

2> Capital shortage and unbalanced development. For example, the unbalance between direct infrastructure investment (usually refers to road, city street, railroad, harbor, transportation, industrial watersupply, power supply, etc.) and indirect infrastructure investment (usually refers to housing, education facilities, cultural and entertainment facilities, social services, water and sewage,) will also cause urban illness.

3> From the city region level, the unbalance between environmental construction and natural environmental quality. As we mentioned previously, ignorance of agricultural development and ecological environment will also cause bad results.

Some urban illness are caused by historical reasons, others caused by present situation (e.g., lack of experience or integrated system as well). If we don't try to solve them as soon as possible, they will become more and more difficult to be solved. Urban illness does not only exist in large cities. Although, needless to say, those in the large cities are more serious and more difficult to be solved. It is not practical to think that we can avoid urban illness by limiting the size of the city. The ignorance of above problems may also generate urban illness in middle sized and small cities. For example, in the small towns of the Southern Jiangsu

Province, industries develop rapidly in recent years, generating many problems such as environmental pollution, inefficient use of energy, destruction of ecological systems and decline in soil fertility. We must have effective means to deal with these problems. Otherwise the urban illness would affect the whole urban region. I do hope this situation will not come to reality and my worries will turn out unnecessary.

Overall, it is easier and more efficient to adopt a concentrated development scheme, relative concentration and comprehensive development and multi-stage incremental development, than a planless sprawl development growth. The later is very unscientific and undesirable, and can not achieve high economic, social and environmental efficiency.

V. The issues of urban and architectural culture in the "city region"

Urban culture is a big issue. I am only going to make a brief discussion in this limited space. With a point

of view of regional culture, it is obvious that each region has its own architecture style, life style as well as natural landscape characteristics. In some regions, their identity is sharper than that of other regions (f.e. Fujian). Some are more concentrated than others. (f.e. Southern Jiangsu) Usually large cities are more diverse and ever-changing. As cities develop more and more rapidly, it is certain that local characteristics will be emerged in the mighty torrent of change. In modern society, it is impossible to keep a city in a homogenous integrity like what Chinese did in feudal times and what Europeans called monumental city during the Renaissance period. In fact, even in the Renaissance, there was no such a perfectly integrated city. But it is certainly true that in city region, we can achieve partial integrity. If we adopt the "concentrated development scheme". We can preserve historical residues in traditional areas, create some interesting characteristics in newly developed areas. In this way, each area can have its own distinguished identities. We may achieve such a goal as both reducing chaos and attaining variety. Under the world-wide tendency towards a cultural assimilation, local identity preservation and development are worthy of attempts.

VI. Find a Chinese Mode of Urbanization

There are still a lot of issues to be discussed on city region. The execution of proper ideas relies on the socio-economic and political reforms, as well as the reform of urban administrative system. In such a large country as China, we need the rational urban policy and legislation to obtain a managed development. On the other hand, we should give more autonomy and decision-

making power to the local governments. For this purpose, we still need to conduct many investigations and researches.

Above all, the discussion made previously mainly focuses on the urban development along the Chinese coast, a relatively developed region, where some specific socio-economic problems and certain regional patterns have been generated. The national policy of opening to the outside world and developing an export-oriented economy have great impact on the formation of this urban pattern. Therefore, some research is necessary to be conducted on new urban transformation, integrated development of city regions and influence of urbanization process along the coast region as the current urbanization process will continue from the

coast regions to the central part then we have to make specific research based on "nation wide" territory planning.

Yet, recently, China's urban development has resulted in some "unseen" problems in its management design profession, ideological concepts and implementation. So that we need not only to learn from the international urban policies and experience: particularly new urban development theories, practices and its criticisms of western countries since industrial revolution, but also the experiences in Asian countries, as well as a reappraisal of China's urban policies and implementation in the past few decades. In reality, we may have a clear understanding of China's historical, geographical, socio-economic-cultural background as a whole, or and in particular of the city region with a creative enthusiasm. We can conclude with confidence that we can, although by no means easy, find a Chinese mode of urbanization.

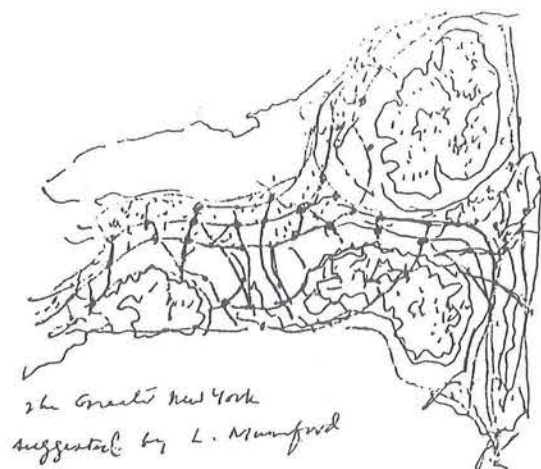
NOTES:

- (1) B.G.Jones: "Cities of the Future: Implications of the Rise and Relative Decline of Cities of The West"
- (2) RENMIN RIBAO (overseas edition)
- (3) Xia Zhonggan and Zhu Wenhua:
"Review and Prospects of the Development and Distribution of Chinese Cities and Towns"
It is estimated that in 2000, urban population in China will reach at about 30% of the total population.
- (4) Wu Liangyong: "Based on the Actual Local Conditions, Plan the Urban Development"
- (5) Wu Liangyong and Dai Shunsong: "Development and Planning of Townships in the Taihu Lake Region"
- (6) Wu Liangyong: "Some Remarks on the Master Plan of Shanghai"
- (7) R.L.Meier: "The Infrastructure and Institutional Base Needed to Support World City Functions in Beijing"
- (8) Wu Liangyong: "Planning and Design in Beijing"

- (9) RENMIN RIBAO (overseas edition)
- (10) Wu Liangyong: "Xiamen(Amoy) Special Economic Zone--A General Survey and Planning Proposals"
- (11) Wu Liangyong: "Comments on Hainan Island Urban Development"
- (12) Xia Zhonggan and Shi Chengqiu: "Explore the Large Cities--Central Issues of Development in China"
- (13) Zhou Gangzhi: "On Small Cities Development"
(A Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the Urban Science

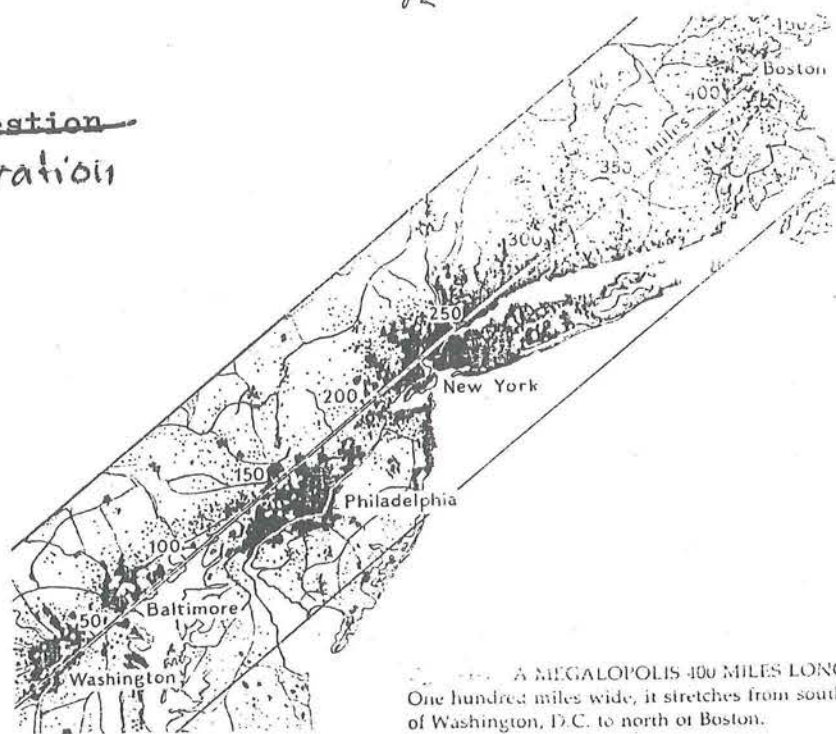
Research Association)

- (14) Wu Liangyong: "Saving Urban Land Resources"
- (15) L.Mumford: "City in History" "The Urban Prospect"
- (16) H.Wentworth Eldredge: "A National Urban Plan And Divergy System"
- (17) J.Barnett : "The Elusive City"



The Greater New York
suggested by L. Mumford

Dissolution
Regional ~~in Teyrestion~~
Integration



A MEGALOPOLIS 400 MILES LONG
One hundred miles wide, it stretches from south
of Washington, D.C. to north of Boston.

From: "compact city"

Fig ①

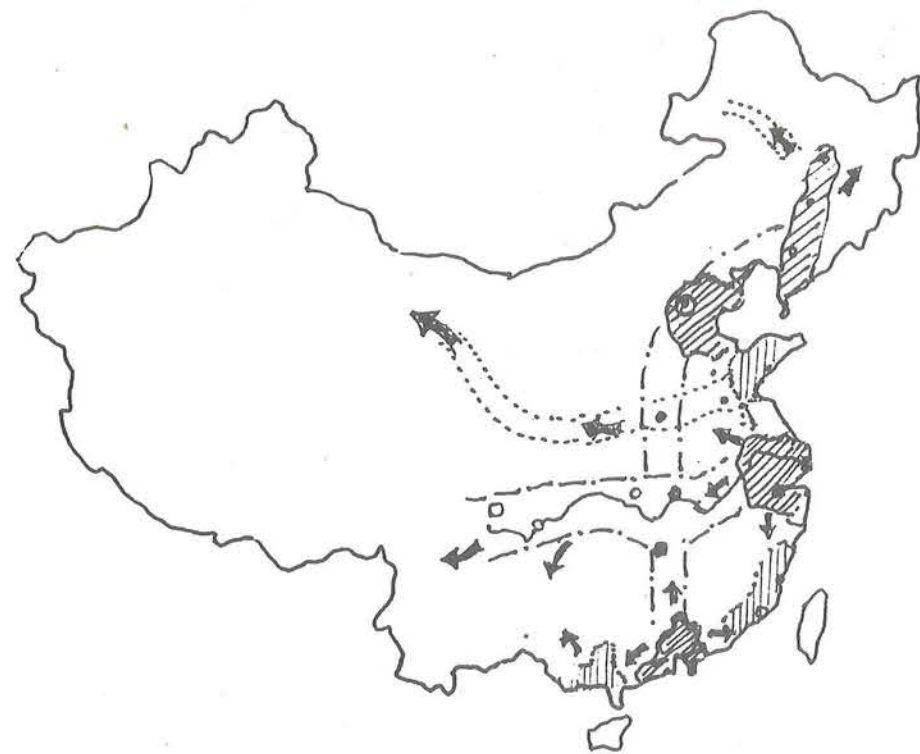


Fig ②

After Yao Shimo
Present and Future Trends of Urbanization
in China.

Fig 4

TABLE III. LARGEST WORLD AGGLOMERATION, 800-1800 A.D.
AND RANK OF LARGEST CHINESE CITIES AND SHARE OF TOP TWENTY-FIVE

YEAR	LARGEST CITY	POPULATION	RANK OF LARGEST CHINA CITY	NUMBER OF TOP 25 IN CHINA	PERCENT OF TOP 25 IN CHINA
800	Changan	800,000	1	7	28.00%
850	Bagdad	850,000	2	7	28.00%
900	Bagdad	900,000	2	7	28.00%
950	Sian	525,000	1	7	28.00%
1000	Cordova	450,000	3	6	24.00%
1050	Kaifeng	420,000	1	6	24.00%
1100	Kaifeng	442,000	1	7	28.00%
1150	Constantinople	300,000	3	8	32.00%
1200	Hangchow	255,000	1	8	32.00%
1250	Hangchow	320,000	1	8	32.00%
1300	Hangchow	432,000	1	8	32.00%
1350	Cairo	450,000	2	8	32.00%
1400	Nanking	473,000	1	6	24.00%
1450	Peking	600,000	1	7	28.00%
1500	Peking	672,000	1	8	32.00%
1550	Peking	690,000	1	7	28.00%
1600	Peking	706,000	1	7	28.00%
1650	Constantinople	700,000	2	6	24.00%
1700	Constantinople	700,000	2	6	24.00%
1750	Peking	900,000	1	7	28.00%
1800	Peking	1,100,000	1	7	28.00%
1850	London	2,320,000	2	5	20.00%
1900	London	6,480,000	13	2	8.00%
1950	New York	12,300,000	5	2	8.00%

Fig 3

Southern Jiangsu urban system.

The pattern of the urban system a megalopolis, falls into the shape of a comet headed by the city of Shanghai.

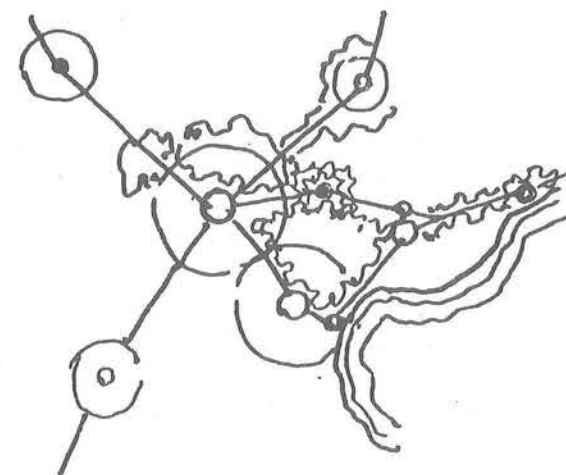
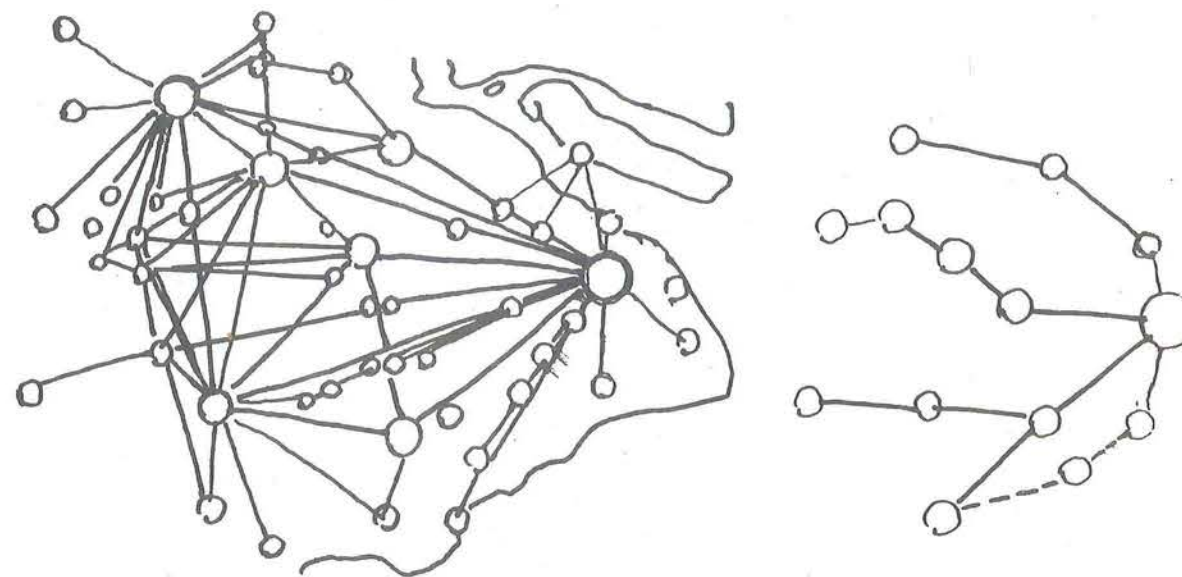


Fig 5

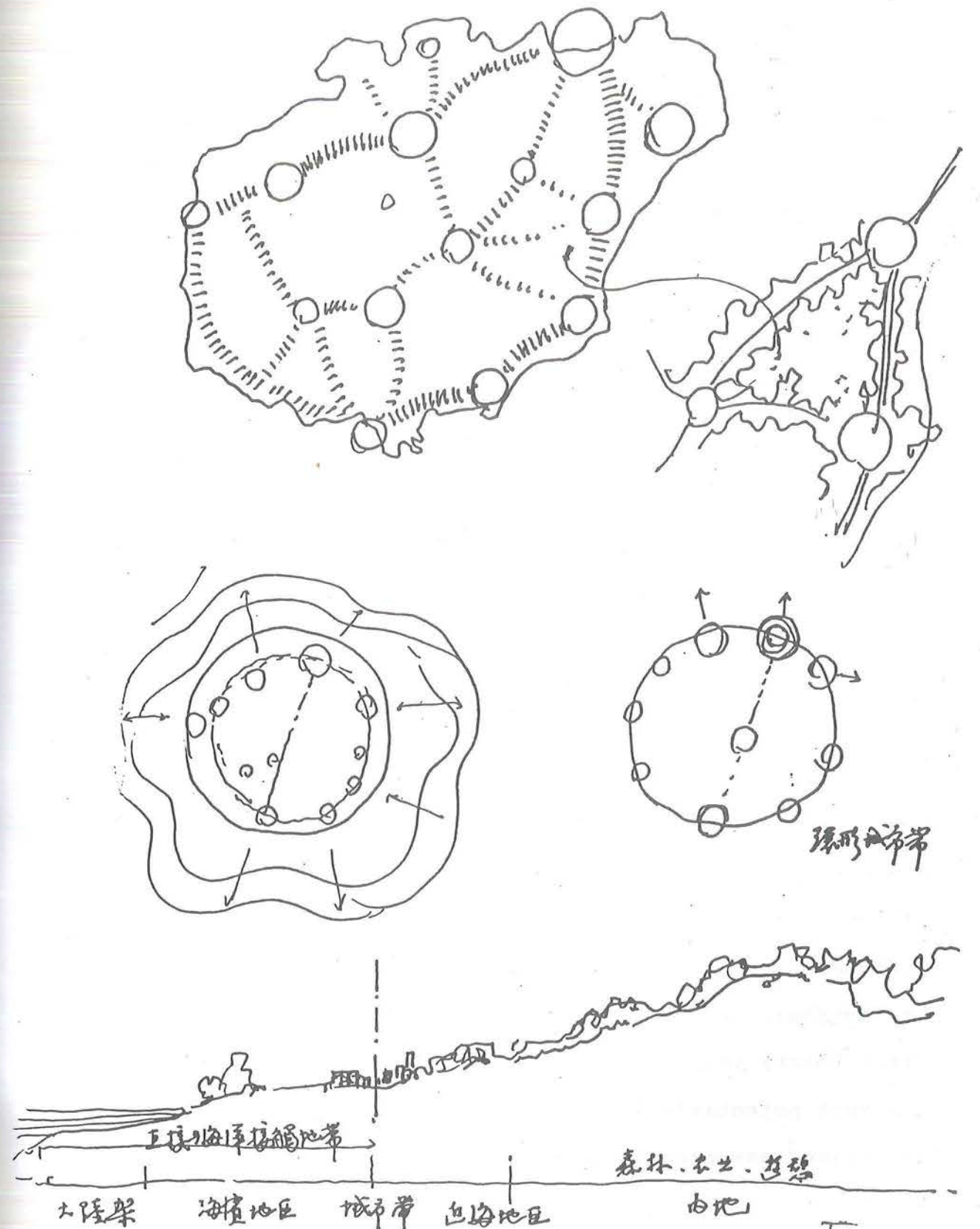
The Beijing-Tianjin-Tangshan urban region.

Fig ⑦

Xiamen (Amoy) - An important part of "Gold-triangle" may be developed into a pattern of "moon and stars" with city of Amoy shining in the middle.



City region in the pearl River Delta - a "multi-constellation" pattern relatively divergent and independent.



Hainan Round-the-sea City System

Fig ⑧

THE GREATER SHANGHAI PLAN AND VISIONS OF A MODERN CHINA

BY

KERRIE L. MACPHERSON 程愷禮
香港大學

Shanghai, whether viewed from Chinese or foreign perspectives has always been perceived as a special or model city. This was true of the original foreign settlements in the half century following its opening as a treaty port. It was also a view subsequently shared and extended to the Chinese city during the Nationalist era, and to the entire set of communities that comprised a unified Shanghai from 1949 to the present. But these views themselves must be placed in a still broader context.

It is axiomatic that the nineteenth century constituted "the age of great cities". That expression embraced the expansion of liberal polities, the sloughing off of vestigial feudalism and aristocracies, the provision for the elevation of personal and public standards of living within environments, which to an unprecedented extent, were man-made. The principal monuments to this elaborate and pioneering process were London, Paris, and New York, although within the Western world, or within the ambit of its influences, many other cities such as Berlin, Chicago, Vienna or Shanghai, were close behind. Moreover, throughout the first thirty years of this century, abundant reflections upon the vast potentialities of these major metropolises, as well as refined assessments of their transparent shortcomings

proved to be the inspiriting force that underlay a redefinition of great cities. It was also a major source of encouragement for the planning or replanning of their futures.

Redefinition was essentially a political, juridical, and administrative development, one which differed in substance from place to place, that eventuated in the transformation of each of them. In the case of London, for instance, prior to 1888 the metropolis was an inchoate urban entity, entrusted with only a modestly prototypical municipal government. This was the Metropolitan Board of Works, that was soon replaced by an administrative county--the London County Council--a first step in an ineluctable migration toward regionalisation. Similarly, the consolidation of New York City into Greater New York by the absorption of the City of Brooklyn and other contiguous areas in 1898, represented another step in the same direction for a community that would shortly supercede London as the world's foremost metropolis. Destruction of Parisian fortifications, the circumvallations that girdled the city, in the 1860's and the concurrent Haussmannization of the City represented a quintessentially French variation on the same theme. And, while other world cities lagged somewhat in redefining their bailiwicks, they, too, were headed toward their own versions of regionalisation.

Coincident with this urban redefinition, the first third of the century also brought forth an effusion of plans and planning, which extended beyond administrative alterations to include greater emphasis upon social amelioration or the enhancement of the quality of metropolitan life. Among the most notable of the planning impulses--many of them to become international in their influences--were Ebenezer Howard's Garden city concepts, Patrick Geddes's broad urban progressivism, the "City Beautiful" movement inspired by the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, and on the Continent, the pragmatic translations of the conceptions, amongst others, of Tony Garnier and Arturio Soria y Mata. These heralds of the new urbanism were accompanied by a host of supportive "municipal, architectural, and planning publications, which provided fresh lines of communication about urban proposals and problems, while broadening forums for their intelligent description and discussion. And, as planning activities climaxed--almost in consonance with the last bursts of nineteenth century confidence in progress--they were both incorporated in and lent further expression by a number of internationally influential organisations or gatherings: the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, launched in 1906; the Berlin-Charlottenburg Seminar on City Planning and a similar Paris gathering that drew nearly 4,000 participants in 1908; the first National Conference on City Planning in Washington, D.C.; the British Parliament's

sanction of the initial town planning act; and, not least, the integration of city planning with leading university departments or programs.

Such briefly, was the international matrix within which Shanghai commenced the development of its own municipal government. A context in which many learned voices cried out for the fashioning of cities that were worthy of their own peoples and for nations that were worthy of their greatest cities.

Shanghai's impressive economic growth during the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the magnetism that it exerted upon hundreds of thousands, eventually millions of Chinese, as well as upon smaller but important numbers of foreigners, as well as its basic political establishment, were direct consequences of British, American and French settlement after 1843. Against the old walled city that had remained virtually in stasis during the first half of the nineteenth century, these foreigners constructed the medical topographies requisite to medical and sanitary progress, which in turn were prerequisite to converting anotherwise unpromising, if not forbidding, site into a healthy and habitable place even by relatively modern criteria. They furnished the nucleus of Shanghai with what passed eminently well through the last century for a modern urban infrastructure: raised, broadened, and paved streets; a pure and continuous water supply system; a banded

foreshore; extended and improved drainage; adequate sewage disposal; eleemosynary and charitable institutions; a constabulary and a fire brigade. In order to finance and forward such work, a fairly open, voluntary, and insofar as foreigners were concerned, judicially equitable, liberal government was created, epitomized by the Shanghai Municipal Council. (1)

For these reasons, foreigners within the settlements viewed what they had created as a "Model Settlement". One that was exemplary, unique, and worthy of emulation. Indeed, comparisons were readily made between the estate of the settlements' populations and those of the great classical republics: Periclean Athens, Republican Rome, even fifteenth century Venice. However extravagant and historically glib such allusions may have been, they nonetheless were commonly espoused. In short, as perceived, the settlements were a remarkably free and viable polity, utterly unindebted for its existence, as Justice Feetham would later acknowledge, to any state, to any legislature, or to any government. (2)

Between 1905 and 1914, when Shanghai's Chinese initially appeared to be devising their own instruments of municipal self-governance, they were openly praised by Settlement foreigners for their eclecticism. That is, on the face of it, the Chinese seemed to be following the same evolutionary steps earlier traced by the Shanghai Municipal Council and

its antecedents: from a "General Works Board", to a self-government Office", to a "Municipal Government Hall". Furthermore, the functional responsibilities of those fledgling institutions intimately resembled those of the Settlement's Council: namely, the fielding of a constabulary (or militia); constructing or improving roads and bridges; seeing to the disposal of garbage, refuse and night soil, as well as to the adequacy of drainage and sewerage; overseeing schools, charities and the licensing and inspection of retail shops; and of course, the assessment and collection of taxes. As one British observer concluded in the *Municipal Gazette*, the Chinese, as evidenced by the aggregate of these municipal enterprises, were paying:

the highest compliment possible, for in this [Shanghai] and other centres of industry she [China] appears to be anxious to adopt our form of government, our legal practice, our police procedure, our municipal methods, and even those minor social matters, our food and clothing. (3)

The intertwining of patronizing views, pride, and conceit in this observation were manifest. Certainly it belied any grasp whatever of the fact that the genesis of Chinese municipal government at Shanghai, as Mark Elvin has noted, was the product of "a steady evolution in local administration" well prior to 1905. (4) And while the comment carried in the *Municipal Gazette* had no claims to profundity, it ignored the many skills gained by Chinese in bureaucratic management, in the oversight of water conservancies, notably provision

made for the Huangpu 黃浦 conservancy in 1905, which were revised and extended in 1912, in the essentials of taxation, and in the planning and direction of rudimentary public works by Shanghai's gentry over preceding centuries.

However, even with the lengthy experiences garnered in local administration by the gentry being fully granted, there was truth nevertheless inherent in foreigners' conceits about Chinese mimesis in regard to the Settlement's municipal institutions and civic life. Although leading elements of the Guomindang 國民黨 were no more comfortable with the urbanity, cosmopolitanism, or "foreignness" of Shanghai than was more recently to be the case with Mao Zedong's regime, they were fully cognizant of the Settlement's inescapable influences. For instance, Marshal Sun Chuanfang 孫傳芳, in the mid-1920s, overlord of Jiangsu, Jiangxi, Zhejiang, Anhui and Fujian, in addressing the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce 中國商業聯合會 in Shanghai, conceded the importance of the Model Settlement: first, because of the usefulness of the lessons learned there over the previous seventy-five years; and second, because the Settlement's achievements afforded a benchmark for Chinese municipal and democratic aspirations.

Sun's immediate objective in his May 1926 speech was the unification of all administrative powers pertinent to Shanghai into "one centre so that it might have the authority to improve municipal government". Given a more mundane translation, this meant the development of a new port,

resolution of animosities endemic to the existence of extraterritoriality--the so-called "long standing diplomatic disputes" (as they were courteously phrased), and the conversion of "the area outside of the foreign settlements into a model city". More importantly, it meant the eventual abolition of the foreign concessions themselves.

A nationalist by self-proclamation, Sun, of course, spoke to his country's exuberant nationalism. "Whenever I come to a treaty port", he declared, "I feel thoroughly humiliated...because the treaty port is a long standing reminder of our loss of sovereignty". But, having reaffirmed his patriotic credentials before his audience, Sun then invoked the foreigners' municipal accomplishments the more vigorously to inspire civic and democratic sentiments among his compatriots.

For as it transpired, his "humiliation" when in Shanghai had a dual provenance. It was foremost, a loss of Chinese sovereignty. In addition, however, as he instantly indicated, there was another source of his mortification:

Whenever we pass from the concessions into Chinese we feel that we are crossing into a different world--the former is the upper and the latter is the underworld, for nothing in Chinese territory--roads, buildings, or public health--can be compared to the concessions.

That stark contrast in Sun's judgment, constituted "the greatest of our national humiliations, much greater," he emphasized, "than our loss of sovereignty". (5)

In this regard, Sun differed little from his

predecessors. In 1912, General Chen Chimei 陳其美, impressed by the "prosperity and efficiency" of the Settlement, used his authority as Military Governor of the Port to embark upon innovative administrative reforms in the Chinese city. Reputedly, the attempted reformation failed to generate more than tepid public enthusiasm, which in part certainly revealed a general refusal to yield up the essential revenues. Destruction of the old city's walls and their replacement by the circular Minguo Road 民國 代表了 the sole "permanent" results of what for a time had been a flurry of proposals.(6)

Yet Shanghai's difficulties in this respect were strikingly similar to the vexations experienced in other world cities--London, Paris, and New York--both in terms of their inner political necessities and their relationships to surrounding polities and to the state. Moreover, the imperatives that underlay visions of a Greater Shanghai, that is, of a Chinese metropolis, persisted: those imperatives being the dissolution or absorption of the foreign concessions and their simultaneous substitution by Chinese municipal institutions that were at least equally as effective as organization like the Settlement's Municipal Council. Thus, in this light, it is not difficult to account for Zhang Jian's 張謇 Wusong scheme 吳淞, or Sun Baochi's 孫寶琦 plans for the creation of a "special area" status for the city, each of which foundered on the shoals of

Jiangsu's official indifference and the plans dependent upon it. (7)

The marking of these administrative wrecks provided ample warning to Marshal Sun that he would be obliged to chart a municipal course of his own. Above all, he sought to avoid lodging his plan in the vise of conflicting administrative authorities. It was to escape such entanglements that he decreed the establishment of a unified organization charged with the preliminary development of Greater Shanghai. Prior consultations with the Civil Governor lent a harmonious cast to Sun's creation of a Directorate of the Port of Shanghai and Wusong and his personal assumption of the office of Director General. Unable to reside in Shanghai, Sun deputed responsibility for execution of his plan to Dr. Ding Wenjiang 丁文江. At thirty-nine, two years junior to Sun, Dr. Ding brought impressive training and experience to his position. Basically a geologist and mining engineer, he had studied in Cambridge, Glasgow, and Freiburg. With his formal education completed just before the Nationalist era dawned, he served subsequently as the Director of the Agriculture and Commerce Ministry's Geological Survey 中國地調查所, as General Manager of the Beipiao Coal Mining Company 北票煤礦公司, as Trustee of the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture, and simultaneously with Sun's selection of him, he sat briefly as one of the three Chinese members of the Anglo-

Chinese Boxer Indemnity Commission. Whereas Sun, a native of Shandong, could claim extensive administrative and military experience within China, Ding complemented him with his Western background and his knowledge of the Settlement's most numerous foreigners--the British. Indeed, his stated task was to overcome foreign as well as domestic opposition to Sun's project. (8)

The Directorate of the Port of Shanghai and Wusong was not a municipality. Sun and Ding acknowledged its transitional character. Ideally, as they well understood, a Greater Shanghai would have to embrace Nanshih ^{南市}, Pudong ^{浦東}, Zhabei ^{閘北}, and Baoshan ^{寶山}, along with many villages and smaller towns, any number of which possessed their own jurisdictions, officials, gentry and local interests--not the least of them agricultural. And there were additional complexities that suffused the region encompassed by these bodies. Through the north and west of the area, for example, ran the disputed "extra-concessional" roads built by the Settlement under the Yangjingbang Land Regulations. By 1926, 170 miles of road had been constructed, every mile replete with actual or potential friction with foreign perspectives and interests. These highways were of no small concern, for their total extent of 6,666 2/3 acres was larger than the foreign settlements themselves hence they posed serious practical questions. Did the Settlement's Land Regulations extend to these sectors? Who was responsible for policing

them? What authorities controlled the utilities above and below such streets? How and by whom were taxes or licensing fees to be levied? And so on. Similarly, Nanshih and Zhabei, even as the Directorate was being formed, were already municipalities, the latter having just been taken over by the provincial government. Both municipalities, furthermore, were adjacent to the foreign settlements, again with the usual blurring of mutual interests and authorities, while Pudong, was studded with scores of foreign industries.

Worse yet, within the Directorate's ambit, sources of revenue were not forthcoming. Nanshih and Zhabei together, raised less than \$1,000,000 annually from taxation; even their police salaries were unsecured. Pudong and Wusong, indeed, most of the localities lying west of the settlements, suffered from a total deficiency of municipal income. Preliminary estimates of the Directorate's areal responsibilities revealed, in fact, that the vast bulk of taxable properties unfortunately lay within the foreign settlements.

Sadly, too, Shanghai harbor, a world class port, and according to Marshal Sun, "China's greatest source of revenue", as well as the master key to unlocking the potentialities of Greater Shanghai, was itself a fiscal oasis greatly in danger of dessication. Trade's reliance on the harbor, reduced to basics meant reliance upon "a stretch of the muddy and erratic Huangpu River. But the natural vagaries

of the River were only slightly more troublesome than the eccentricities of the governments charged with its mastery.

In 1905, cognizant of the River's vital importance, the Treaty Powers and the Chinese Government established the Huangpu Conservancy, which reasonably well funded, proceeded with essential work to deepen the channel. Within a few years, however, Government funding ceased and the Conservancy operations halted. A renewed agreement between the Powers and Beijing in 1912, revived the Conservancy and broadened the representation of its membership. Nonetheless, the Conservancy's revenues henceforth were drawn exclusively from the Port's trade, assistance from the Central Government having been withdrawn. Withdrawal of funding, however, was not a signal of Beijing's neutrality. For, as Marshal Sun believed, the Central Government had consistently pursued a policy of obstruction" in regard to the Port's development--obstruction at a juncture when trade was rapidly outstripping Port capacities. Even landfills composed of channel dredgings, which became valuable real estate, as developed under the Conservancy Board's auspices, were disposed of illegally both by local and central authorities, thereby "crippling the work of the Board". (9)

Thus, not different from London, Paris, or New York--a company in which the Shanghai of 1926 ranked third--Chinese Shanghai almost continuously confronted either the

indifference or outright hostility of the larger polities into which it fitted and, inevitably in the administrative scheme of things, upon which it had been made dependent. Like other great metropolises, it was always to be viewed as "exceptional", as a "Special Municipality" 特別市, in effect as a case without precedents.

Nevertheless, cleaving through a sea of conundrums, Sun's Directorate was launched by remarkably clear-headed leaders. Expositions of its objectives were discussed openly, along with obstructions that could hinder their attainment. Lacking financial resources, that is, without viable sources of local taxation or financial sustenance from the Central Government, Sun boldly founded his project on the ultimate urban reality. He candidly informed the public that while the Directorate, the first step toward a Greater Shanghai, would be subsidized by an already inadequate military budget, Shanghainese could no longer persist in demanding results before they paid taxes. Payment would henceforth be demanded first and subsequently, if there was no improvement in government, "then, and then only" would they have the right to protest. (10)

Of all the essentials to the success of the Directorate's transition into a fully functioning municipal government for Greater Shanghai, this forthright claim to revenues was the most fundamental. Indeed, Dr. Ding's attempt to marshal a host of disparate localities and administrations

under one rubric may legitimately be perceived as a campaign to gain a secure fiscal base. By implication, it also posed a lesson in the burdens of democratic citizenship in a metropolitan setting. That is, if and when semblances of democracy reappeared. For, the Directorate, as well as what followed it, represented an imposition of municipal authority, not a return to the singular, albeit only marginally democratic "Regulations for Local Self-Government" which had evolved under the Council and its Assembly between 1909 and 1912---a development that has been described as "the apogee of...Shanghai self-government". (11)

Authority, percipience, and realism, consequently, marked the transformation of the Directorate, between June 1926 and July 1927, into a Special Municipality, into the City Government of Greater Shanghai 大上海特別市政府. The new entity was at once severed from any dependency on either the Shanghai District or Jiangsu Provincial government. Rather, it was directly subordinated to the Executive Yuan in Nanjing by 1930. Less than two years later with Wu Tiehcheng's 吳鐵城 installation as Mayor, his position in the executive Yuan, as well as his membership in the Guomindang's Central Executive Committee, effected a direct link between Shanghai and the Central Government. Here of course, structural comparisons of Greater Shanghai and the government of the International Settlement (the Shanghai Municipal Council) failed. For the Settlement was politically independent; whereas the City

Government of Greater Shanghai, could in many regards, be seen as a colonial dependent of the Chinese Central Government, of the Guomindang Party. In that sense, the "model" was Chinese, closer to French and German practice than to British or American. (12)


The structure and basic functioning of Greater Shanghai's municipal government, briefly described, included ten separate bureaux, as well as a Secretariat and a Counsellors' Office modelled on the previously established city government of Guangzhou. Fiscal reforms were promptly initiated under the short-term mayoralities of Huang Fu 黃郛, Zhang Dingfan 張定璠, and Zhang Chun 張羣. Taxation was extended and made more equitable and as a result, revenues rose dramatically. Close attention was paid to urban fundamentals: in order of importance, expenditures went to extraordinary constructions, to police affairs, to ordinary construction, education and culture, which for example, took about 20% of budgeted spending, and to public health, an area in which favourable comparisons were made with Western cities. More importantly, measured against those in other major Chinese cities, these expenditures appeared impressive. (13)

However singular the foregoing accomplishments were, they nonetheless constitute the basics of urban life. However, the retention of an urban vision, was by far the most interesting and unique aspect of the municipality's

agenda. Particularly was this true under the administration of Mayor Wu Tiehcheng, which began 1 January 1932, after the swift departure of three earlier mayors. Although born in Guangxi, Wu's family was native to Guangdong, hailing from the same district as Sun Yatsen. He was educated briefly in Japan at Meiji University enjoying a career that carried him through important police and military positions, magistracies, counsellorships, and when just forty into the Legislative Yuan and the Ministry of Interior as a vice-minister. Wu was the first to give official public voice to the conception of Shanghai as the urban expression of a "Chinese Renaissance". Furthermore, the impressive municipal construction and urban development during his tenure (1932-6) was accomplished despite Japanese military operations in the area. (14)

The Plan which included not only the redevelopment of the older districts now comprising Greater Shanghai, but also the building of a new city centre, evolved from the work of the City Planning Commission, which commenced its work in 1929. Dr. Shen Yi, Commissioner of Public Works for ten years, lent continuity to the Plan's execution, though the political and military turmoil in China prevented its successful completion. A German-trained engineer, with expertise in hydraulic engineering, in which he would later gain renown, Shen gave able direction to the Planning Commission. (15)

The City Planning Commission of Greater Shanghai, was charged with the goal of creating a comprehensive plan that would represent a broad spectrum of community interests as well as provide for the much needed physical expansion of China's largest city. The Commission was composed of eleven technical experts drawn from the various city departments, as well as national and international advisors. Dung Dayou, a native of Hangzhou, for example, though only in his thirties, had earned B.S. and M.S. degrees from the University of Minnesota and had worked for the Shanghai architectural firm of Suenson and Company, before becoming the Chief Architect of Greater Shanghai's proposed Civic Centre. He would later enjoy a bright career in the Society of Chinese Architects as a Secretary and Editor. Somewhat older, the foreign consultants who reviewed and critiqued the Plan included a past president of the American Society of Civil Engineers, Carl E. Grunsky, a German educated Californian, who had served as one of the seven original engineers on the Panama Canal and who enjoyed an international reputation as an expert on hydraulics. Another American, Asa Phillips was a respected city planner, and University of Berlin professor Herman Jensen, who became acquainted with Shen Yi in Germany added their own weight to the consultancy. (16)

Basically, what was proposed was a new central city located in the Jiangwan District  between Wusong (the site of the new port) and the International Settlement, close

to the Yangzi River on more than a thousand acres of land that were to be embanked and zoned. Rail and future extensions of Port facilities were carefully considered in relation to the site, as well as a proposed system of broad, rectilinear streets designed to alleviate Shanghai's already enormous congestion and frighteningly high rentals. Roughly 15% of the area was designated for parks and open spaces, including land on both sides of the numerous waterways that cut through the area.

A geographically determined zoning system was to be utilized, in contradistinction to the system whereby a series of concentric circles governed building regulations. Cognizance of the prevailing wind patterns also decided the location of industries. Indeed, the Commission adduced a myriad of beautifully integrated detail just in fleshing out the project's groundwork. (17)

Most dramatic and imaginative of all, however, was the planned Civic Centre, the architectural and spiritual heart of the "new" city. Occupying about 333 acres, it evinced a style and scale reminiscent of Haussmann's Paris, even to its provision for a "grand croisee", intersecting right angle roads (up to 60 meters wide) on east-west and north-south axes. The main intersection of these axes was to be "known henceforth as the Centre of Shanghai". A 50 meter pagoda was planned as the centrepiece of a 170 meter tract, with a 600 meter, Washington style, reflecting pool. Nearby sites for

major government buildings, a library, art gallery, additional, if smaller reflecting pools, a Municipal Auditorium seating 3,000 people, and a comprehensive Medical Centre. The landscaping was to complete the ensemble with extensive gardens, traditional style bridges, and a memorial pai lou 牌樓 as a gateway to the complex. (18)

Although much of the complex remained unbuilt and what was constructed demolished during the Sino-Japanese War, a few obvious generalizations are in order. Its conception was eminently Chinese. If there were impressions of Paris, or Washington evoked by it, its closest comparisons, nevertheless, were most aptly applied to traditional Beijing. But with this difference. Though its execution was to be under authoritarian auspices, its representations, its architectural statement, was clearly open and, in that sense, unlike the Forbidden City, democratic. Its aesthetics were far superior to the bland utilitarianism, the cottage coziness, of a Garden City. It was, on the drafting boards anyway, less overwhelmed by monumentality than Washington and, considering provisions for the port and rail connections, it was at once more practical in a functional economic sense. On paper, it escaped being tarred with the worst criticisms of Haussmann's Paris: its development was not at the expense of tradition encrusted neighborhoods, nor did it suffer from lengthy boulevards, sided with uniform, rather monotonous structures, designed like the Opera, for

example, to lead the eye to monumental architecture that many felt was not worth viewing anyway. If comparisons are in order, they would seem to pertain to the more imaginative urban plans of the 1950s to the 1980s--Rome's Eur, for instance, or Montreal's Olympic City; or, on a smaller scale, the Civic Centre projects spotted across the Western world, mostly as part of urban revitalization. Redesigned Greater Shanghai, as far as can be presently determined was sufficiently bold and inventive to have been decades in advance of anything else in the world.

More critically, the Greater Shanghai Plan, in the context of this century's planning enthusiasms, was a reflection of urges toward modernity--a vision of a modern China and a city capably embodying that vision. For Shanghai represents a living fossil of China's recent urban experience, the basic stratum upon which China's city development has been founded and the bedrock of China's urban future.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) For a sampling of the literature, see, Robert Vaughan, D.D., *The Age of Great Cities, or Modern Society Viewed in its Relation to Intelligence, Morals, and Religion* (London: Jackson and Walford, 1843); Adna Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1899); Steen E. Rasmussen, *London the Unique City* (London: Jonathon Cape, 1937); Howard Saalman, *Haussmann: Paris Transformed* (New York: George Braziller, 1971); Barry Kaplan, "A Study in the Politics of Metropolitanization: The Greater New York Charter of 1897" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1975); Dugald Macfayden, *Sir Ebenezer Howard and Town Planning* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1970) Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement & to the Study of Civics* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1915); Arturo Soria y Mata, *La Ciudad Lineal, Antecedentes y datos varios acerca de su construcción* (Madrid: Est Tipográfico "Sucesores de Rivadenegra", 1904); and K.L. MacPherson, *A Wilderness of Marshes. The Origins of Public Health in Shanghai, 1843-93* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1987).
- (2) Richard Feetham, *Report of the Hon. Richard Feetham, C.M. G. to the Shanghai Municipal Council* (Shanghai: North-China Herald Office, 1931), Vol.1, p. 178. See, also, *Shanghai Past and Present and a Full Account of the Proceedings on the 17th and 18th November 1893* (Shanghai: North-China Herald Office, 1893) p.19.
- (3) Shanghai Municipal Council, *Municipal Gazette*, 22 March 1912, 81.
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- (6) For a brief biography of Chen, see, H.L. Boorman and R.C. Howard, *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967) Vol.1, 163-65; On the destruction of the old city's walls and construction of Minguo Road, see, 鄭祖安 [上海旧县城], [上海近代史研究] 1985年, 頁 95-7.

- (7) See, S.C. Chu, *Reformer in Modern China: Chang Chien, 1853-1926* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965). For a biography of Sun, see, Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. 3, 169-70. See, also, 上海通社 [上海研究資料] (1926年) 頁 75-8.
- (8) See, 胡適 [丁文江的傳記] (1956年) 頁 27-31, 32-40, 59-70.
- (9) See, 胡適 [丁文江的傳記], 頁 63-4. *The China Yearbook 1926-7*, 1014. [申報], 1926年5月5日, 頁 13. On external roads, see, Feetham, *Report*, Part VI and [申報], 1926年3月17日, 頁 13. On Zhabei government and problems of taxation, see, [申報], 1926年2月21日, 頁 13; 24日, 頁 13; 25日, 頁 13; and 3月17日, 頁 13.
- (10) On taxes and protest, see, [申報], 1926年5月13日, 頁 13; 18日, 頁 13; 22日, 頁 13, 14; and 6月7日, 頁 13, and so on.
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- (13) 沈怡, [上海市工務十年(上)], [傳記文學] 17:2, 頁 11-18.
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A COMPARATIVE STUDY ON THE PLANNING
HISTORY OF BEIJING AND SHANGHAI

Zhu Zixuan

China is an ancient civilized country, has a quite long history of building cities. In old China especially after the year of 1840, the types of Chinese cities could be divided into two categories; one is traditional feudal cities like Beijing, Xian etc; another is semi-feudal and semi-colonial cities like Shanghai, Dailian and some others. To make a comparative study on the evolution of planning history upon these two kinds of cities, people can get a brief outline about Chinese city planning history through recent hundred years. Also we can find the influence of the Western planning theories which where integrated or conflict with the Chinese traditional civilization. Since Beijing and Shanghai are two most important examples of those two kinds of cities, make a comparison of them through three main periods of Chinese social development will be helpful, three main periods usually can be summed up as follows:

First period	1840-1949	109 years
Second period	1949-1979	30 years
Third period	1979-2000	21 years

First Period 1840-1949

After the Opium War in 1840, Chinese became a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country more than one hundred years, it's social conditions can also be found in the planning history of Beijing and Shanghai.

Beijing

Beijing is an ancient capital city of China with a history spanning of 800 years and five dynasties including the Liao, Jin, Yuan, Ming and Qing dynasties. The Old City has been built up in Min Dynasty, but it was initiated from Yuan Dynasty.

During the middle of 13th century, the first emperor of Yuan, Kublai Khan built his capital, the Dadu City (fig. 1), According to the ideal pattern of Chinese imperial capital (fig. 2) in Zhou Dynasty (11-3 century B.C). The whole city was nearly in square shape in the center and to the south was the Imperial City, in front of it was the Imperial Court, behind it was the City Market Place, to its left situated the Imperial Ancestral Temple, while on the right was the Altar of Land and Grain. The primary elements were a distinct symmetrical layout, rigid form, grid-like road networks and a powerful north-south Central Axis. All of these elements were meant to express the supreme power of the Emperor. Based upon the Dadu City, the third Emperor of Ming Dynasty built his Capital, Beijing (fig. 3) in the beginning of 15th century. The layout has been revised according to the idea of the first Capital of Ming in Nanjing, the result was more strengthened the basic theme of an imperial capital. At the middle of Ming in 1553, the Outer City has been finished (including two important temples within it, i.e. the Temple of Heaven and Altar of Agriculture). Finally, the Central Axis from the Bell and Drum Tower at the north was extending to the extreme south gate of the Outer City, total near eight kilometers in length. Along this Central Axis Planned the main palaces and imperial courts. Most of the important administrative institutions, temples and altars were symmetrically allocated. The spatial sequence of the Central Axis and the rhythm of the City silhouettes were wonderfully designed with rich variety. Adjacent to the Axis was the green spaces of Six Lakes, from south to north, they were Nan Hai (South Sea) Zhong Hai (Middle Sea) and Bei Hai (North Sea), these were imperial gardens. While the northern part were the public spaces Shi Sha Hai. The landscape of these two parts are quite different, but both of them are natural scenery integrated with the solemn artificial Central Axis formed a specific fascinating townscape within the City. Besides, the orderly layout of

whole city and its strict hierarchy of arrangement has reached the climax of planning arts in ancient China. Professor Edmund Bacon in his book "Design of Cities" has indicated that "Possibly the greatest single work of man on the face of the earth is Peking (Beijing). This Chinese city, designed as the domicile of the Emperor, was intended to mark the center of the universe".

In late Qing Dynasty, after Opium War, established the special district of foreign embassies, military camps within the south part of the Inner City. Many new kinds of buildings such as cathedrals and churches, hospitals, schools, hotels, factories and some others, marked the feudal Capital was entering a new period. But the layout of whole city still remained in its original phase.

After the collapse of Qing Dynasty in 1911, republic social system has made some changes, for examples, the east-west city communication has been improved, some imperial palaces were opened to the public, but the Old City still well preserved. Under the occupation of Japan from 1937-1945, the Japanese authority had made a new independent development plan at the western suburb, but hadn't been realized. Until 1949, Beijing was a consume city only has a few modern industry with a population about one million.

Shanghai

Shanghai was an old small town near the Chang Jang (Yangtze River) Delta during the middle of 13th century, the old city has been built in Ming period. After the Opium War in 1840, according to the Treaty of Nanjing in 1842. Shanghai became a treaty port opening up to the West. The British found the first settlement, then the French concession and other countries' settlements continued. The history of Shanghai city development reflected as an expansion of foreign settlements from 1845-1927. After 1927 Shanghai was dominated by three

forces; i.e. the Authority of Foreign Settlement, the French Concession and the government of Nationalist (Kao Ming Tang). During that time Shanghai became the largest metropolis of China with a population of 3 million (1930) just less than New York and London. Owing to the separate occupation Shanghai lack a unified city planning.

In 1929, the Municipality Government of Shanghai began to make the Greater Shanghai Program (fig 4), it was the most comprehensive for one single urban settlement and its surrounding area in the history of city planning in China, it covered an area of almost 51.8 square kilometers. The entire scheme included provisions for communication, industry, housing and a modern civic center. This plan especially the civic center reflected as a monumental city design concept from the Western, but integrated with Chinese traditional planning treatment. The architecture style were also shown as some kinds of Chinese eclecticism. Some American experts had been participated in the planning works as consultants. This program has been partially realized and stopped during the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. Under the occupation of Japan from 1937-1945, Japanese authority had made another plan (fig 5). From that plan a special attention was to stress the function of military and transportation to support the urgent demand of the Pacific War, certainly this plan also couldn't be realized under the political situation.

After 1945, in the light of the postwar reconstruction, Shanghai Municipality Government started to make a new plan of the giant Metropolis (meanwhile the population had been reached to 6 million), the planning tasks lasted from 1946 to 1949, and changed for three times. The last one as shown in figure 6. From this can be found the influence by E. Saarinen's organic decentralization theory and Sir P. Abercrombie's Greater London Plan, as well as the influence of the finger plan pattern of City Copenhagen. The basic idea of this plan was the new development showed spread out along the transportation corridors in order to reduce the congestion and

high density of the central city; increasing the percentage of city green space, built new railway stations, harbors and airports, etc. This is the first time to have such a comprehensive plan of Shanghai much better than the plan of 1929. Since lack of economic and social planning it couldn't be realized. But it marked the turning point of the modern planning theory and method transferred and accepted in Chinese modern city planning history.

In 1900 to 1949, some other colonial and semi-colonial cities like Tianjin, Qingdao, Dailian Wuhan, Kuangzhou were planned and partly built up, their plans were also reflected the influence of the planning system of different occupationists.

As a whole, the first period is the preliminary stage of modern Chinese planning history, during that time, most of the old cities and towns were still preserved its traditional urban pattern and kept their unique characteristics although have some changes in functions and forms. But the treaty port cities have many changes and rapidly grew up like Shanghai. Both of these two kinds of cities represented the social system of the country through the past hundred of years.

The Second Period 1949-1979

The founding of New China marked the beginning of a new period in Chinese history. Based upon the national planned economy system, China started to develop modern industries and cities. According to the first five year economic plan, 156 units of industrial projects supported by Soviet Union were decided and placed to eight key-point cities. The planning system during that time (early 1950s) was undoubtedly following the soviet style, a new kind of monumental city design concept with strict axial symmetry. At the later of 1950 s. to the beginning of 1960 s. caused by political situation and change of policy,

the planning idea of China has much advanced, it can be found in the planning history of Beijing and Shanghai separately.

Beijing

In 1949, Beijing was electing to be the Capital of People Republic of China, in accordance with the policy of "transform the consumer city into a productive city". Beijing initiated to develop industry in a large scale. On the other hand, as a Capital, the central government agencies and administrative center should be set up. Since Beijing is an old capital having a glorions long history and numerous precious historic relics. How to arrange the new development areas integrated with the Old City was a difficult decision making. Professor Liang Shichen, Director of Architecture Department, Tsinghua University, as well as the Vice Chairman of Beijing City Planning Committee, insisted on the principle of conservation he and his partner Mr. Chen Zhangxiang, student of Sir P. Abercrombie, presented a suggestion to develop the new administrative center at the western suburb (fig 7). On the opposite side an other idea was to develop the new Capital just upon the Old City to keep and renovate the Old City as the center of the Capital. In 1953, a delegation of Soviet planners came to Beijing, under the guidance of the Soviet experts made a new plan in 1954. (fig 8) This plan was influenced by the Moscow's urban pattern in 1935. The basic scheme was a concentric development plan with radiate and ring roads system, it was the first comprehensive plan of Beijing after liberation.

In 1958, the planning idea of Beijing has much advanced according to the principle of integration between urban areas and countryside, the Master Plan segregated the old concentric agglomeration type of the central city by remaining a lot of agriculture lands and open spaces in order to form a sort of

"scattered cluster" urban pattern (fig. 9) such an idea of decentralization has an important meaning to avoid of over agglomeration and aprawl out in concentric development. But the clusters planned are too small in scale, lack of enough public service fascilities, without attraction.

During the "Cultural Revolution" period the planning works have been stopped, urban development lost of control, built areas sprawled out and fulfilled many agriculture lands which has been remained. Many new heavy industries such as petrochemical complex, heavy machinery, steel plants built up, increasing the shortage of water supply, energy of the Capital, also increasing the heavy load of population, traffic congestion, pollution and other urban problems. Within the Old City, it's traditional layout and important relics have been destroyed such as demolishing of the Old City Walls and it's wall Gates which were built in 15th century, a lot of courtyard houses were replaced by new highrise buildings.

After liberation, Beijing has much enlarged, it's population increased from 1 million in 1949 to 10 millions in 1958 since it's capital region increased from 645 square kilometers in 1949 to 16800 square kilometers in 1958. Now the metropolitan area of Beijing is 750 square kilometers with a population of 5 millions (if including the transient population will reach to 6.5 millions, in respect to year of 2000 population of Beijing Region will be 12 million while it's metropolitan population will be 6-6.5 millions plus transient population will extend to 8-8.5 millions. The central part (Old City) is 62 square kilometers, it's population is 1.8 millions.

Within the Old City there were also a series of changes, for example, Tiananmen Square as the symbol of New China, has been enlarged to 40 hectares in 1959; Extending the Chang an Boulevard to 80 meters wide to form an east-west axis to meet the old Central Axis at the Tiananmen Square.

Shanghai

At the early of 1950 s. due to the national policy in limiting of the coastal cities' development. Shanghai city planning has a little change, only planned and built up some workers neighborhood units along the peripheries of the central city. In the late of 1950 s. and early of 1960 s. accompany with the change of policy. Shanghai as the most important economic and industrial center of the whole country began to establish new industrial bases such as nine industrial districts at the periphery after 1956. At the end of 1950 s. some industrial satellite towns like Jiading, Minhang, Songjiang, Wujin, Anting etc. In the late of 1970 s. at the northern and southern wings near the Changjiang River Delta and Qiantangjiang River Delta, built up two giant industrial plants i.e. the Baoshan Steel Company at the north and Jinshan Petrochemical Complex at the south. As a result of more than 20 years development, this metropolis has a new urban structure as the central city surrounded by two wings, some satellite towns and numerous small towns and villages to form an urban network. (fig. 10)

Within the old city, also has some changes perhaps reformed the Race Court into a Municipal Square and a park, extending of the Ronghua International Airport; increased some harbors and ports along the Huangpa River. In order to release traffic congestion, built up the main ring road Zhongshan Ring Road; increased a lot of new parks and gardens within the congested built up areas. In 1982, the population of Shanghai was 11.86 millions, while the central city has a population of 5.9 millions in an area of 141 square kilometers. To 2000, the population will increased to 13 millions, it's central city area will increased to 260 square kilometers its population will limited to 6.5 millions in two wings and satellite towns will increase to 1.3 millions. (excluding the transient population of 2 millions per day) Up to date the infrastructure and housing conditions of the old central city are still

very poor.

At the year of 1980 s. Jiangsu, Guandong has been grown up quickly, the city Nanjing, Suzhou, Changzhou, Wushi developed rapidly, Shanghai facing a big challenge. From the above comparason of these two metropolis through the last thirty years, we can find the strong influence of the policy. Beijing from a feudal capital transformed to a modern Capital, extricated from the Soviet style to search for her own way, while Shanghai has a very strong economic base and less influence from the Soviet. Facing the future both of them have severe challenge in the following period.

The Third Period

1979-2000

In December of 1978 resolution of the Third Meeting of the Central Committee of CCP announced that the major policy of the Party and the people is to achieve the Four Modernization of the nation. This marked the turning point of China from a closed society into an international society. Reform and opening up policy promoted the rapid economic and social development of the whole country. City especially the metropolis and large city should shared the responsibility as the economic center to develop it's surrounding regions. Besides, the metropolis and large city are also directly open to the world. Under such circumstances, Beijing and Shanghai entered a very important period in their planning history.

Beijing

In 1980, the Secretary of Central Committee of CCP posed Four Principles for the reconstruction of the Capital. In 1984, the Central Committee and the State Council authorized important instructions for the Master Plan of Beijing, defined

that Beijing should be as the political and cultural center of the whole country. In order to decrease its industrial function, should readjust the structure and displacement of industries, including restrict the heavy industry and encourage the development of tertiary industry, strengthen the culture development, including increase cultural facilities, substantial educational and research institutions, preservation of historic relics especially emphasize on conservation of the traditional urban pattern layout and its specific townscape. Based upon those guidelines, Beijing began to formulate its long term Urban Development Strategy. Since the Capital will generate a World City in the next century, large economic and social demands will seriously conflict with its limited resources (water supply, land, energy, etc). Also a severe problem is how to harmonize the rapid growth of economic and social development with the urban spatial development. In Beijing's metropolitan area 750 square kilometers now have the population 5 millions. In the year of 2000, it will be increased to 6-6.5 million in estimation, if including the transient population of 1.5-2.0 millions, total will reach to 8 millions, it's a serious problem to the Capital. Some suggestions are developing along the main transportation corridors to form a radiate corridor development system like the regional plan of Washington D.C. to instead the development of satellite towns, which are difficult to grow up and without attraction.

In planning method also has been improved by integrate the physical planning with the economic and social planning especially in short term programs. Another is after comprehensive plan adds a stage of district planning, it's a kind of detail zoning plan, all the land use, roads and infrastructures, height zoning control, density and FAR control etc will be designated in this plan. Now, the reform of housing system and land market system is another important factor will

influence the planning system of the Capital. In one world, Beijing facing new problems and great challenge in the third period.

Shanghai

After 1979, accompany with the reform and opening up policy, Shanghai just under the transformation from an important domestic productive center to a world wide economic and financial center, as well as the largest international trade port of China.

In the late of 1970 s., Shanghai has outdated and starting to fall behind other cities in Jiangsu, and Guandong provinces. Up to 1987, it reached a valley and lack enough strength and energy to forge ahead. Shanghai total income has dropped to sixth place nationally. In this year the Shanghai authority according to the National Economic Strategy and special policy just faces a flight to regain former glory. Not only takes the top leader of China but also plays an important role in the Pacific Region. The basic idea of the new plan of Shanghai in the Third Period will be indicated as follows.

1. to be the largest port city of China.
2. to be the base of outward-oriented economic production.
3. to have a comprehensive development along the sea coast and riversides.
4. reconstruction of the central part of the city, develop a new CBD on both sides of Huangpu River adjacent to the Bund.
5. develop the two industrial wings and satellites towns integrated with the developed countryside and small towns to form a new type of urban network.
6. the urban form of this giant metropolis will be an open and multinuclear centers type.

In recent years Shanghai will concentrate to develop three

main economic zones, i.e. Hongquao International Airport region for foreign affairs and outward-oriented economy; Minghang region for high-tech and Chaohe region (south west suburb). In 2nd to 4th May, 1988, Shanghai hold an International Symposium upon the Development of Pudong New District (east part of Huangpu River just opposite the old center of Shanghai). This basic idea has been raised in 1987, in order to establish the largest world trade center and culture center along the west coast of Pacific. Shanghai should develop this core area. The strategy as shown in figure 11, focusing on three main points namely Lujiazui as new CBD. Huamu as high-tech and Outer Gaoqiao as international port for world trade. A main traffic network has served for the developing areas, including railways, express ways, air port, sea ports, bridges and river tunnels. Besides the landuse can be divided into high-tech district, industrial and agriculture zones, public facilities, educational and cultural institutions, etc. Such a tremendous program will spent billions of money. The principle of realization will accept a series of international and domestic investments including bids, loans, joint ventures, cooperations, auctions, transferable development rights (TDR) and some other means. This Strategic program has stimulated the great interest of the international financial groups.

In central city, a lot of urban reconstruction works have planned, such as the landuse readjustment, roads and traffic adjustments, reconstruction of the slums and improving the infrastructure etc.

In conclusion, connected with the deepness of the national economic and political reform, China is more and more opening up to the outside world. Beijing and Shanghai, the two largest metropolis just experienced a great change in its city character, functions and development strategy, although their historical background are quite different, but in future there were met a

same goal, i.e. to be an international World City. How to keep their specific character and its unique urban form and townscape, how to absorb the experience from other World Cities is a very important issue. To make more deep investigation of the evolution of their planning history in the later, will be meaningful and enrich to the planning history of East Asia even of the world.

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元大都城图

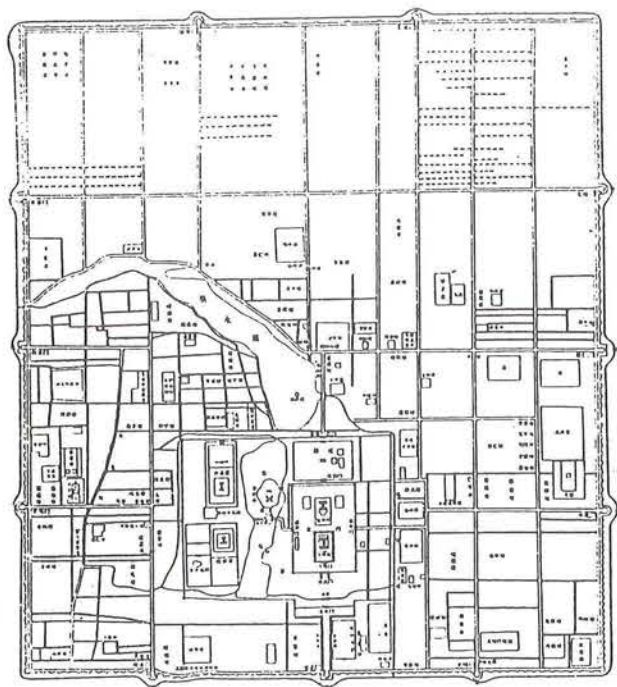


Fig. 1 Plan of Dadu City

明北京城图

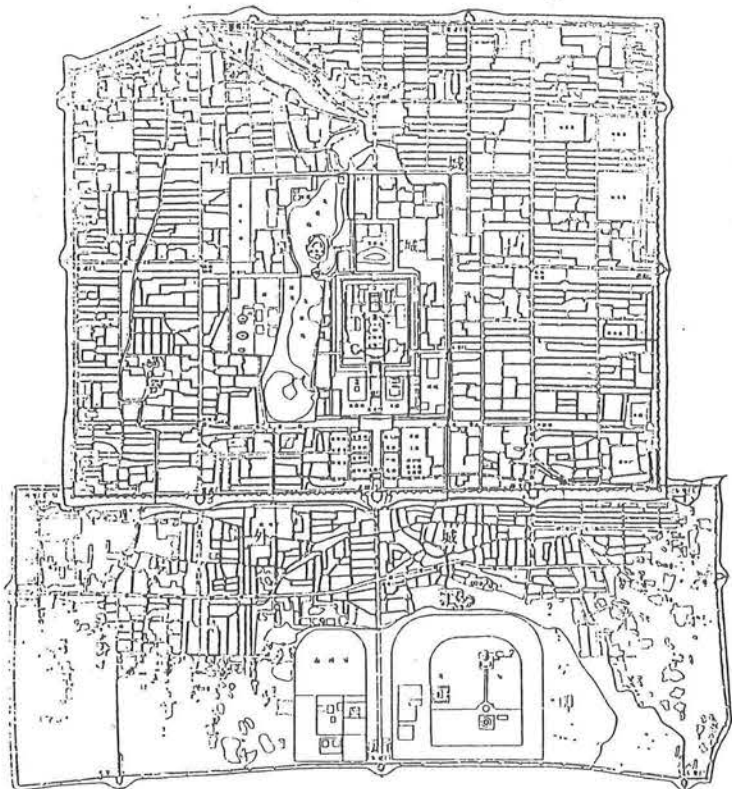


Fig. 3 Plan of Beijing in Ming Dynasty

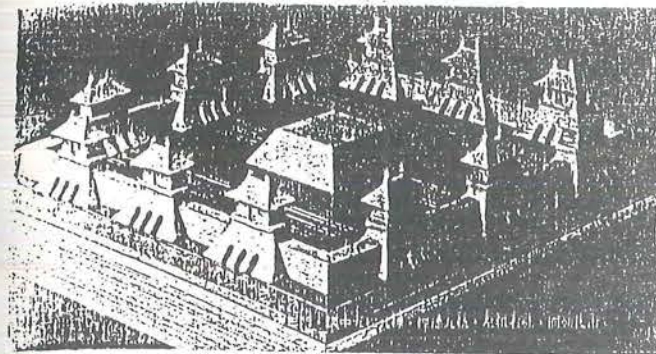


Fig. 8. Model of ideal pattern of Chinese imperial capital (From 《华夏意匠》李允诗著)

《周礼·考工记》
“匠人营国，方九里，
旁三门，国中九经九
纬，经涂九轨，左
祖右社，面朝后市”

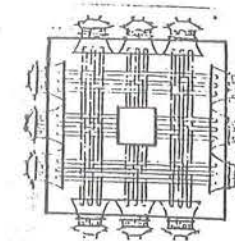


Fig. 9 Diagram of ideal pattern of Chinese imperial capital

Chapter of "A Study of Engineering" in the book Zhou-Li (Rite of Zhou Dynasty) states that "workers built capital in square shape, the length of each side is 9 'li', with three gates. From each gate led three main roads parallel to each other forming a criss-cross network of communication. The imperial City was supposed to face south, in front of it was the Imperial Court, behind the imperial City was the Market Place, to the left situated the Imperial Ancestral Temple while on the right was the Altar of Land and Grain".

Fig. 2 Diagram of ideal pattern of Chinese imperial capital

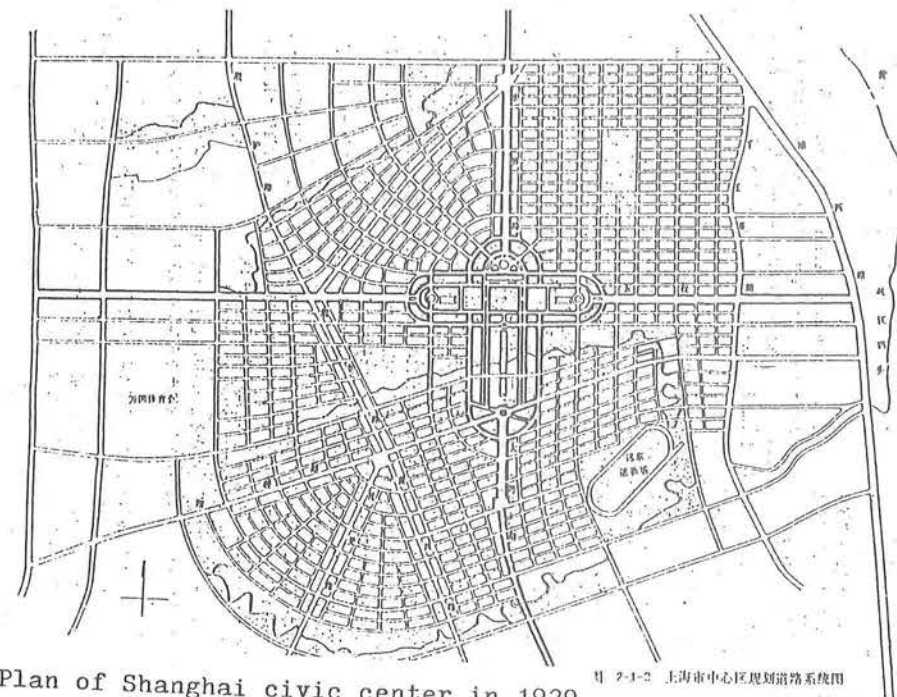
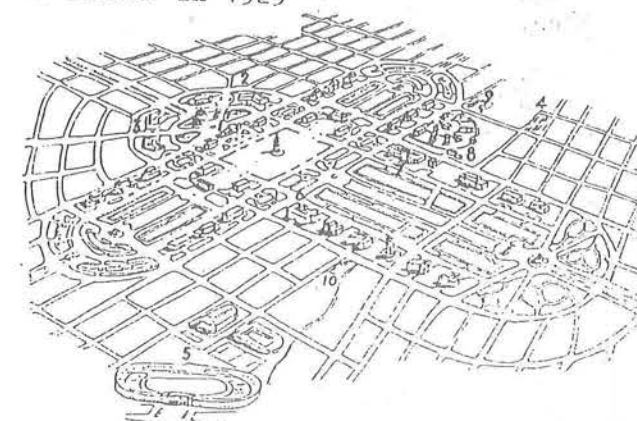


Fig. 4 Plan of Shanghai civic center in 1929



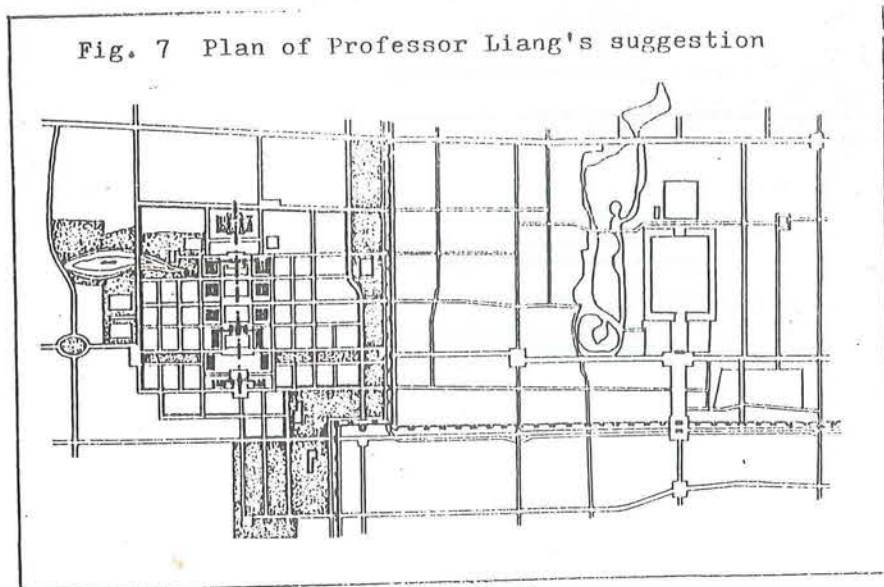


Fig. 8 Plan of Beijing in 1954

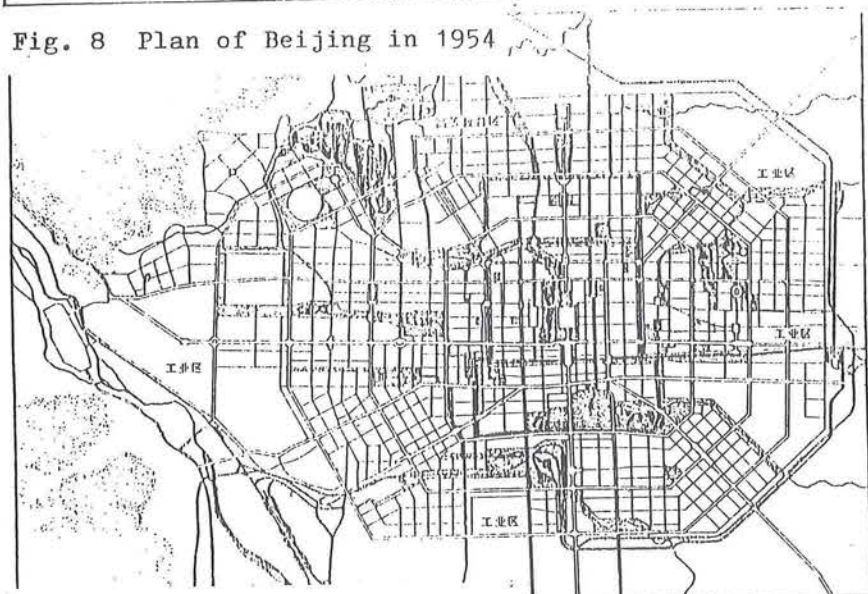


Fig. 9 Plan of Beijing in 1958

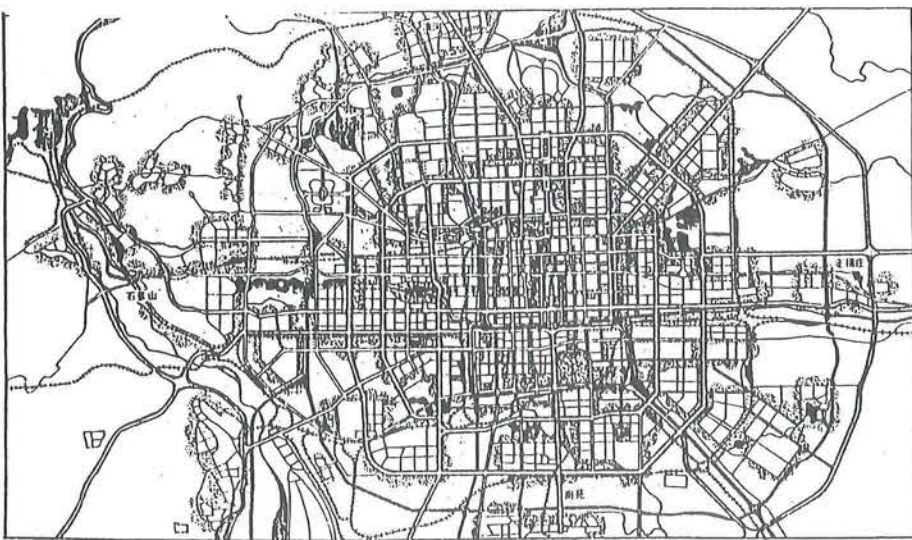


Fig. 10 Urban pattern of Shanghai in 1981

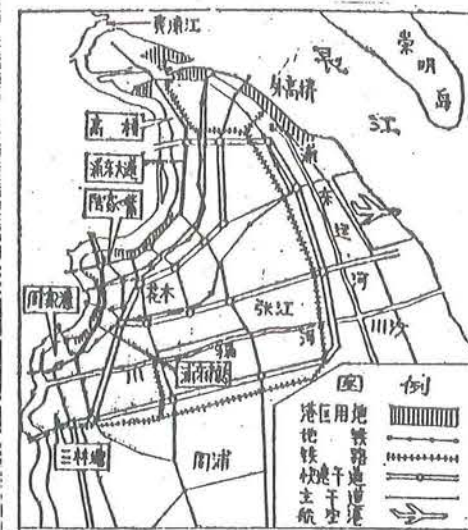


Fig. 11 Development Plan of Putong (Shanghai) in 1988

Fig. 6 Plan of Shanghai before Liberation in 1949

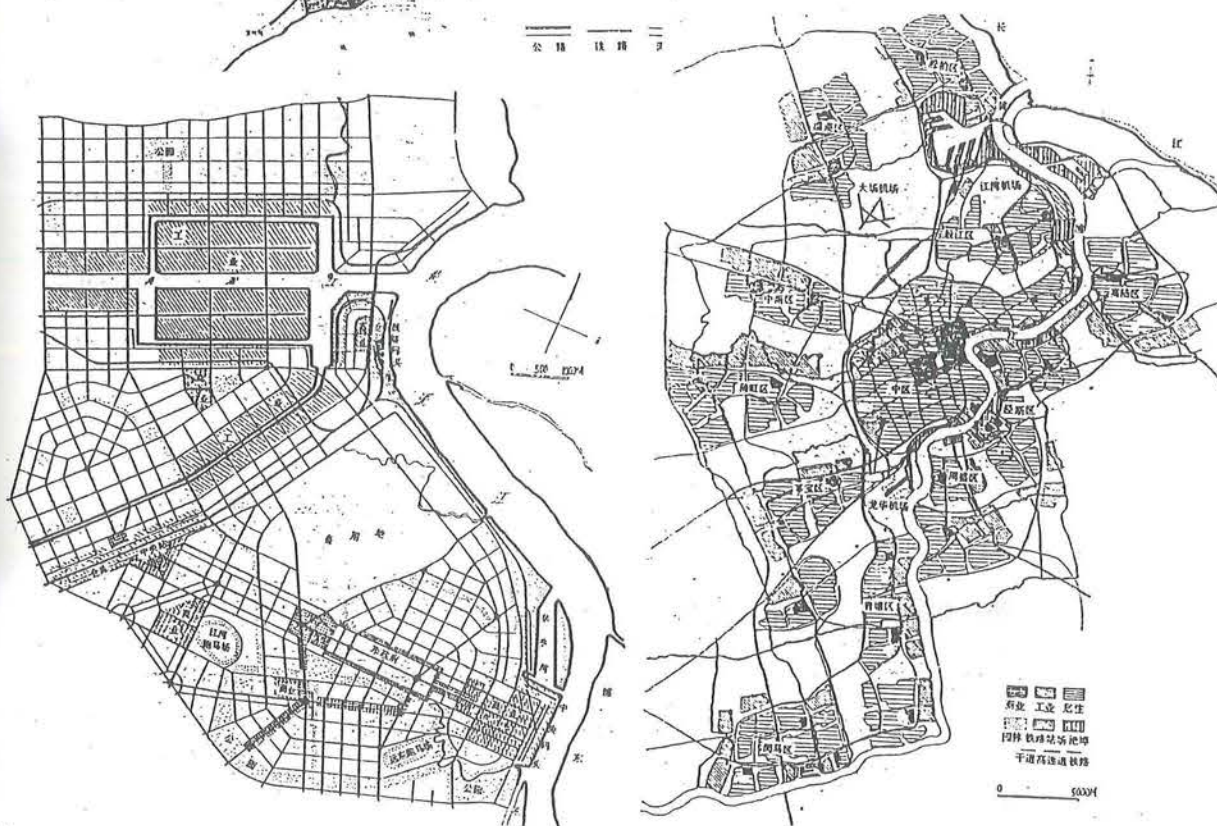


Fig. 5 Plan of Shanghai during Japanese occupation in 1940's

A STUDY ON CHARACTERISTICS OF CITY PLANNING
IN TAIWAN DURING THE JAPANESE COLONIAL ERA
(1895-1945)

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Introduction

This paper is a part of a series of studies on "The City Planning History in Taiwan"[1] which were conducted by the Graduate Institute of Architecture and Planning, National Taiwan University. It aims to analyze the planning concepts and the techniques of city planning in Taiwan, when it was under the Japanese occupation from 1895 to 1945. This research was motivated by the following reasons and purposes:

- (1) Most city plans in Taiwan were formulated by the Japanese and are still in effect today.
- (2) The documentation and personages who participated in the planning processes in the Japanese era are rapidly vanishing. It is imperative that we collect data and carry out studies immediately.
- (3) By comparing the basic concepts and techniques of city planning employed before and after 1945, it is hopeful that this research effort could facilitate future studies on urban and regional development in Taiwan.

Accordingly, the author uses the following methods in this paper: First, in addition to general data of Taiwan history, the author emphasizes the gathering and analysis of the archives of city development and planning. Second, the physical developments in the Japanese period are surveyed. Third, persons who were involved in planning processes and the old citizens who were political powerful in the government or in local communities are interviewed. Finally, a chronological diagram was made [2] to divide the history of Taiwan City Planning into three phases: (1) Improvement of Building and the Streets(1895-1908); (2) Enlargement and Planning of Urban Area (1905-1935); (3) Establishment City Planning System (1933-1945).

By analyzing the speeches and publications of the decision makers and planners, surveying the city planning areas, and analyzing the laws and regulations, the author tries to uncover the planning paradigm of the decision makers and planners who worked for the Taiwan Governor-General (台灣總督). In brief, the concepts, techniques, and methodologies of city planning are examined, based on the image of ideal city of decision makers, planners, and the ordinary people in the Japanese era. Now we briefly describe the characteristics of Japanese Taiwan city planning.

(I) Analysis of the City Planning Concepts

1. The concept of "SHIGAICHI (urban area)(市街地)" and "TOSHI (city)(都市)"

Referring to the British Housing-Town Planning Act (1909), Japan announced the City Planning Act (都市計画法 *TOSHI KEIKAKU HOU*) and the Streets Building Code (市街地建築物法 *SHIGAICHI KENCHIKUBUTSU HOU*) in 1919. According to the paper "The Evolution Process of the Phrase of City Planning" [3], Shun-Ichi Watanabe said "Garden City and City Planning (*KAEN TOSHI TO TOSHI KEIKAKU*)", written by Seiki Hazime in 1913, firstly introduced the phrase of "*TOSHI KEIKAKU* (City Planning)" in Japan. The Ministry of Home Affairs established the Committee of City Planning Survey in 1917, firstly used this phrase in an official capacity. Before this phrase became popular many synonymous phrases such as *ICHI*(市), *SHIGAI*(市街), *SHIKU*(市區), and *SHIGAICHI*(市街地) etc., were in use. Why did not call *SHIGAICHI KEIKAKU HOU*(市街地計画法) and chose the phrase of *TOSHI KEIKAKU HOU* (都市計画法)? It's a very interesting history and we try to examine the concept by the phrase of *SHIGAIGI* and *TOSHI*.

SHIGAICHI means "the setting where a lot of people live together". It included activities(市), streets(街), and settings(地). But *TOSHI* means "the capital city in a country which always has a large city scale", as is meant by the Chinese character. The new phrase of *TOSHI KEIKAKU*, popularly after 1920s, indicated that planners adopted new planning concept from the West. The planners wanted to elude the period of *CITY AREA IMPROVEMENT*(市區改正) which was mainly concerned with facilities planning and physical construction. They used a fresh phrase, a new term to envision how to plan an ideal city for the future.

It is very unfortunate that, during 1930s in Taiwan, *TOSHI* was used to imply "the gathering of objects: streets, rivers, parks, public buildings, housing, shops, and plants". The change of the phrase of urban settlement from *SHIGAICHI* to *TOSHI* implies that the lively places in the traditional *SHIGAICHI* were understood as lands, streets, and buildings. The urban activities became supplementary to the physical objects. The composition of objects, instead of urban activities, became the main subject of city planning.

2. Using physical layout to control the order of living environment

Ichiro Tsukamoto and Katsuzo Aoshima, the planners in Taiwan Government-General, emphatically commented in the training courses of city planning which was held for the first time at Taiwan Government-General in Jan. 1937. [4]

"City planning only deals with the problems of the physical compositions. Ideas, religion, and moral are excluded. To improve the urban mental lives is not the goal of city planning." [5] "If *SHIGAIGI* is formed without control, it would be chaotic. So the prevention of the emergence of chaos becomes the goal of city planning." [6] On the other hand, city planning did not deal with the human problems directly, that exerted influence on the people through the arrangement of objects. Actually, it was an extension of the idea of "Physical Determinism". It was also the assumption of city planning in the Western countries before 1960. From this point of view, plans were represented by and enforced according to drawings. The build-

ing lines and planning maps were the instruments of city planning. All the building sites could be represented by three-dimensional symbols. The order in space was visually observable. The way to deal with urban chaos was to assign the land use and buildings on a two-dimensional plane. Thus, non-spatial planning (e.g., regulated activities) and other policy making were neglected.

Such city planning (i.e., zoning), using physical controls to achieve the spatial order, soon reached its limits. The deep-rooted inclination of physical determinism made buildings control, instead of activities control, the planners' only interest. Finally, zoning became superficial because of the difficulties of dealing with the variety and complex changes of land use activities.

3. The ideology of planning

Since city was defined as the gathering of lands and buildings, and city planning was supposed to control the composition of gathering of objects, what is the purpose of achieving a good composition? The following statements represented the different ideologies: "City planning is not just beautification. A comprehensive plan of transportation, sanitation, safety, and defence is necessary. To ensure the efficiency of enterprise activities and the safety and comfort of urban lives is the purposes of urban planning." [7]

"Due to the progress of industrial technology and the improvement of management, the products with high quality and low prices are competitive in the world markets. However, maintaining the ability of competition needs not only the improvement of business administration but also the coordination of city planning, for instance, to improve the transportation facilities." [8]

According to the above statements, the purpose of city planning seemed to be to increase the efficiency of industrial activities and the standard of physical living, but the real purpose was to avoid the inefficiency of industries and the inconvenience of urban living induced by urban chaos. It was based on the control of the urban chaos. This type of planning notion is a product of industrial society. It is different from the city planning in the pre-industrial age. On the surface, it emphasized both the efficiency of industry and the living environment. Actually, it implied the dominant priority of industry.

4. Planning concept fitting for dealing with metropolitan problems

In Japan or Europe when industrialization began, so would the urban problems. This was even more evident in large more industrialized cities where a lot of people were concentrated. After the industrialization, the Western city planning was inclined to handling with the urban problems of larger cities. Furthermore, the capitals of all countries were playing an important role in economic development, as well as in constructing an image of a magnificent, elegant, national city. There-

fore, the capital planning, that always a large city, played an important part in modern city planning history.

As to the feature of international city planning, the Eastern countries are very eager to adopt the current planning concepts, methods, and legal systems to solve the urban problems, but it is difficult to observe the hidden, obscure problems, that could not solve in the West. Furthermore, they always neglected the real causes and context behind the scenes. In addition, Japan always learned the theories used by the West in order to deal with the larger cities, or capitals, but not considered to learn how to deal with the medium and small cities or towns.

As far as the Japanese urban development status during the 1900s was concerned, the populations of big cities, such as Tokyo, Osaka, etc., were smaller than those in London, New York, Paris. But these Japanese big cities more or less developed like the Western industrial cities, therefore it was reasonable to adopt the Western planning concepts to deal with the metropolitan problems. But as far as Taipei, Kaohsiung, Taichung cities in Taiwan at the same time were concerned (see table 1), these cities were not so big as the above-mentioned cities, therefore, it looked like "a master hand's first small display" for the Japanese planners in 1900s to deal with these small cities in Taiwan. As a result, whether the area was big or small, urban or rural, Japanese planners drew their urban plan and underwent urban construction with the same planning ideology.

(II) Planning Characteristics between Taichung City and Taichung Port City

There were 70 city plans effectuated in the Japanese Colonial Era, as shown in figure 1. Among these plans, only 8 were officially enlarged or revised, as the one in figure 2. Taichung City plan of 1935 (see figure 3) had been revised for four times, whereas the Taichung Port City plan (see figure 4) was never revised. Taichung Port City had a planned population of 300,000 and a planning area larger than Taichung City in 1940.[9] Owing to the sparse population in Taichung area, the city planners could freely draw out the Taichung City plan and Port City plan according to their idealized concepts. Therefore, by analyzing these two plans, we could see the basic differences of city planning in early and late parts of the Japanese Era.

The Taiwan North-South Railroad connected almost every large cities in western coast of Taiwan. The most distinguished development feature in these cities was the different development patterns in both sides of the railroad station. Generally speaking, on the front side of the railroad there was a busy mixture of commercial, residential, and administrative urban functions. While in the other side of the railroad, land was used for agriculture or industrial purposes and was not as prosperous as the front side. In Figure 5 we could see Taichung City(1928) with this specific development pattern. One of the reasons was that the key industries in early Japanese occupation was agricultural, the Taiwan North-South Railroad ran through most fertile and developed lands and induces such specific urban structure.

Table 1 The Comparison Between Urban Population and Their Increase Rates.

City	1875 Population	1875-1900 Annual Increase Rate (%)	1900 Population	1900-1925 Annual Increase Rate (%)	1925 population
New York	1900	3.26	4242	2.45	7774
London	4241	1.71	6480	0.71	7742
Tokyo	780	2.64	1497	5.19	5300
Paris	2250	1.58	3330	1.47	4800
Berlin	1045	3.42	2424	2.04	4013
Moscow	-	-	1120	1.83	1764
Chicago	405	5.95	1717	2.96	3564
Manchester	590	3.07	1255	1.28	1725
Osaka	320	4.36	931	3.54	2219
Lyons	331	1.56	487	1.18	653
Hamburg	348	3.85	895	1.71	1369
Leningrad	-	-	1439	-0.03	1430
			1920 Population	1920-1935 Annual Increase Rate (%)	1935 Population
Taipei			175	3.44	291
Keelung			37	5.05	76
Ilan			17	1.33	21
Hsinchu			12	8.19	40
Taichung			25	5.32	54
Changhwa			17	2.41	25
Tainan			66	2.20	91
Chiayi			24	5.09	50
Kaohsiung			33	6.23	82
Pingtung			9	6.38	22
Hualien Port			6	7.51	17

Unit : Population (thousand persons)

- Source : 1. The foreign population from A. Sutcliffe (ed.),
< Metropolis, 1890 - 1940 >, P.7.
2. Taiwan Urban Population from < The existence of Urban
Planning and its General Investigations >.

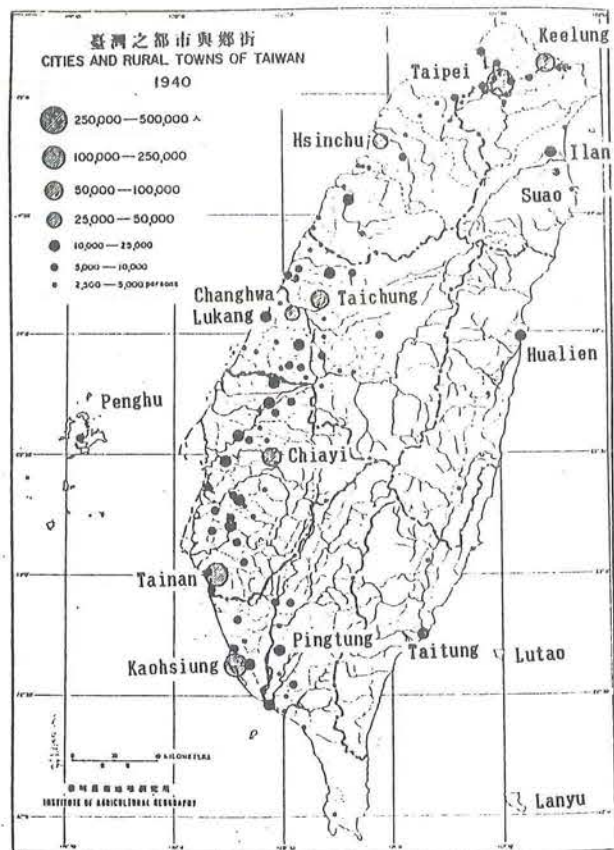


Fig.1 The Distribution of City Planning Areas in Taiwan (1940)

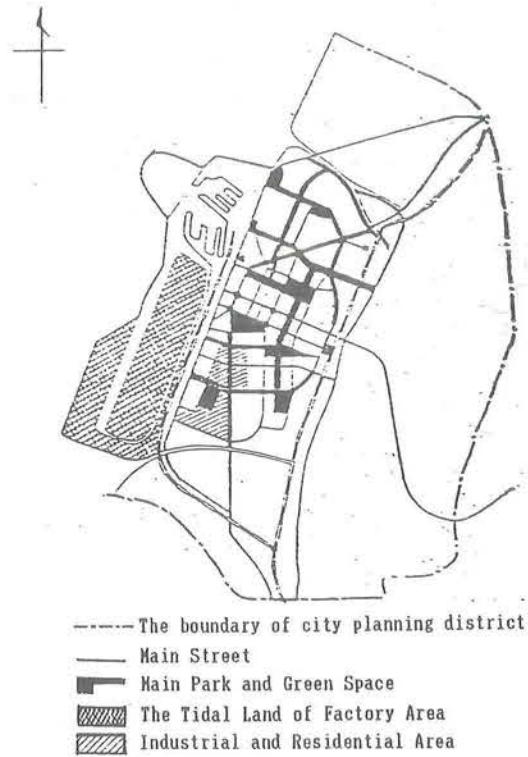


Fig.3 The Sketch Plan of Taichung Port City (1940)

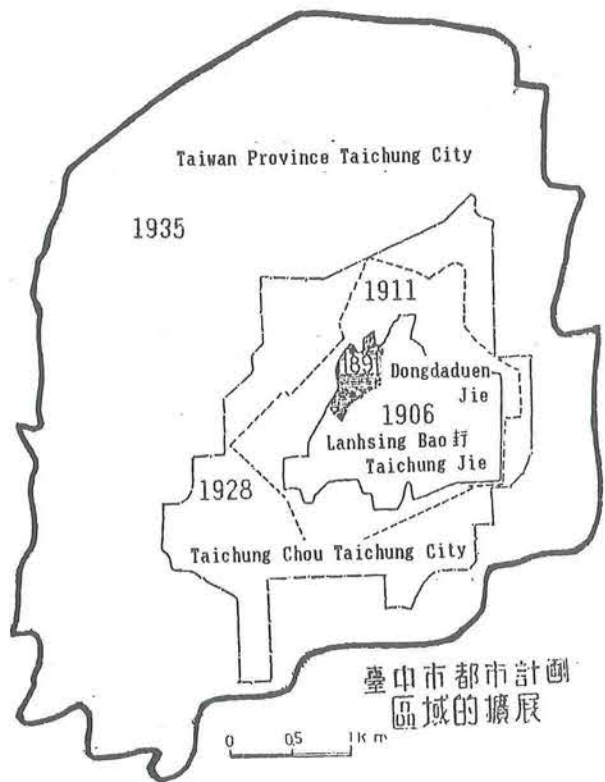


Fig.2 The Extension of Taichung City

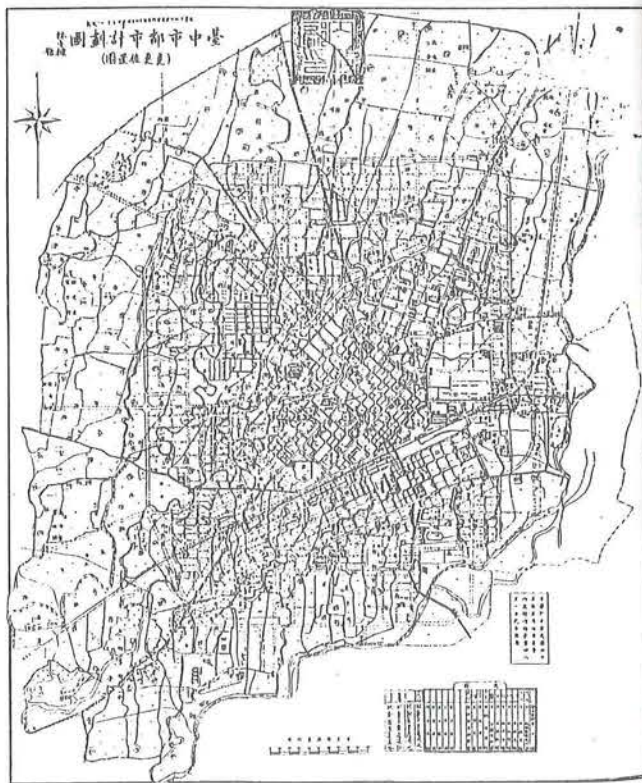


Fig.4 The City Plan of Taichung (1935)

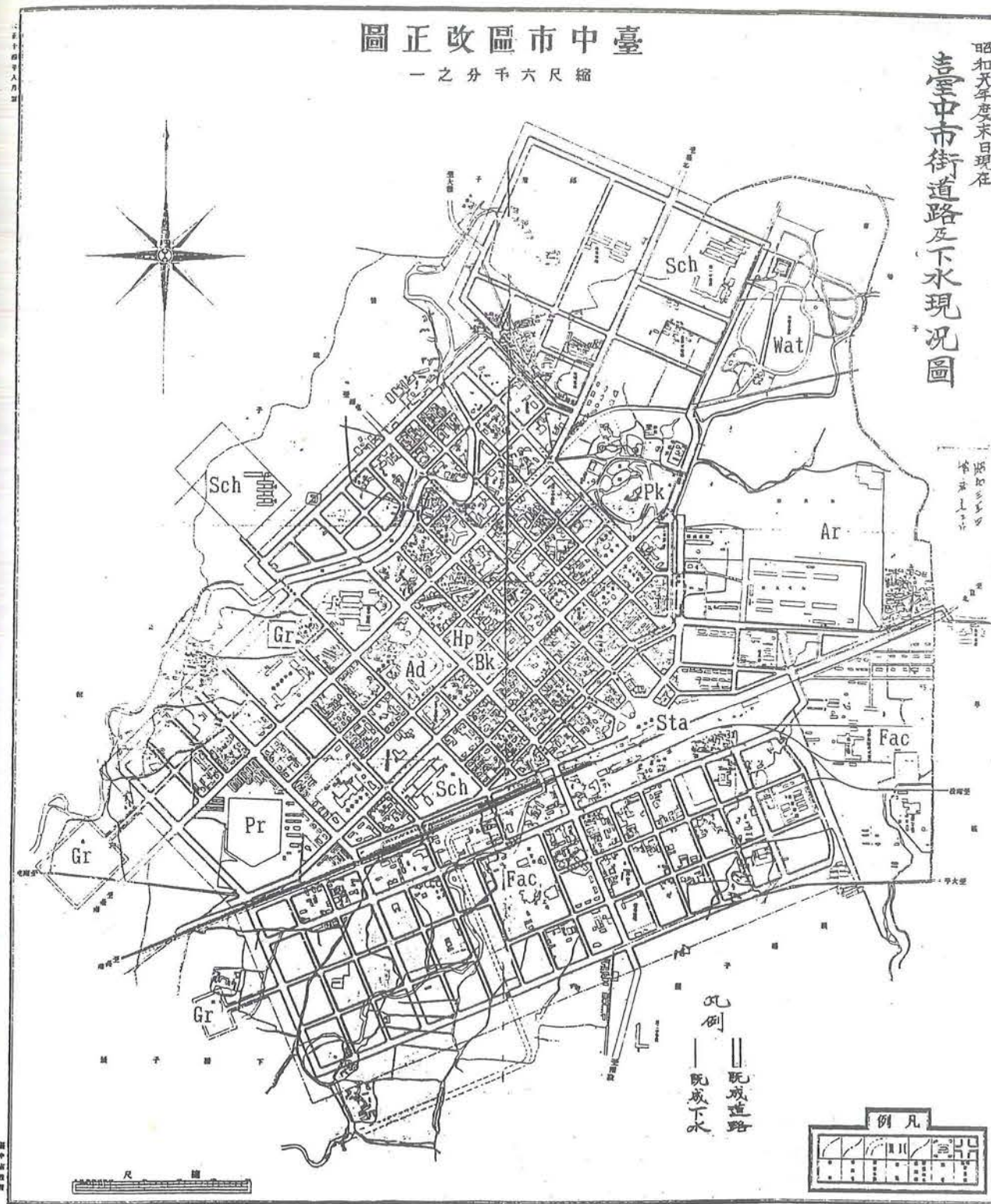


Fig.5 The City Area Improvement of Taichung City (1928)

- Abbr. :
- | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| Ad (Administration) | Gr (Grave) | Sch (School) |
| Ar (Army) | Hp (Hospital) | Sta (Station) |
| Bk (Bank) | Pk (Park) | Wat (Source of Water Supply) |
| Fac (Factory) | Pr (Prison) | |

Owing to the fact that city planners had a strong sense of center edge, the city pattern would surely follow this conception. In figure 5, there were city hall, banks, markets located in the center part of Taichung, whereas the prison, grave yards, schools, parks, military and industrial facilities were located in the outskirts of the city. These urban patterns were often also evident in small or medium cities or towns. The chessboard road pattern was also an important concept in Japanese city planning. It always delineated small, square blocks in the central areas, while providing big, rectangular blocks in the outskirts. These different blocks, divided by the different road patterns, form the urban shape of Taiwan cities. After 1930s, the planners in Taiwan recognized the advent of the car era and began to classify the road pattern and widened the urban streets.

Another important aspect of urban pattern was urban park system. In early year of the Japanese rule, urban parks were usually few in numbers but big in size, and always located in the center of the city. Later, urban parks became more numerous and the pattern of park allocation more hierarchical. In addition, these different scales of parks were linked by parkways which connect urban parks, greens, waterfronts, hillsides, and, most importantly Japanese shrines (SHINTO). This design concept was adopted from the Western park system. Owing to the thoroughness of Japanese copying, the urban park planning concept, which was originally used in big cities to prevent urban sprawl in the West, was also employed in small towns or villages.

The above-mentioned city planning concepts and techniques of land use, road system, and park system were almost totally tried out in the Taichung Port City plan. The author believes that among all urban plans drawn in Japanese Era, the most mature one was the Taichung Port City Plan.[10]

(III) The Analysis of Planning Methodology

In Taiwan city planning history, the planning methodology for city area improvement and planning in early Japanese Era was purely "problem / reaction" type. However, city planning in the late period gradually become more and more institutionalized. The concept of forecasting was brought into planning process. The methodology was "problem (or potential problem) / forecasting / reaction" type.

1. The method of problem definition

Problem definition method in the early "problem / reaction" type was simple. All problems occurred were related to either physical environment or health facing the Japanese rulers or economic environment. After the Taiwan City Planning Ordinance 1936 [11] had been announced, some new concepts had been introduced from Japan. At that time, the problems defined had indicated some characteristics of the planning profession. From the following paragraph, we can realize how problems were defined in cities.

"In recent year, population concentration in cities has been a worldwide trend. The ratio of urban population to whole population in the country is 47 % in the U.S., 65 % in German, more than 80 % in Britain, 32.7 % in Japan (1935), and 16.2 % in Taiwan.... The population will keep growing if various industries can be developed.... However, the growth should be reasonable. If it gets out of control, many problems will follow Many different problems such as the disordered situation of transportation, the mixed landuse, overcrowded housing, shortage of park, green space, and other vacant land, etc. Such unreasonable developments will bring cities into in impasse. Therefore, only a complete planning and preparation can help cities grow up in a more smooth manner." [12]

Basicall, the belief that the future growth in Taiwan cities will face many problems was a theoretical hypothesis based on evolutionism; and the evolution of all cities were in the same route. As a result, those under- developed countries might share the same experiences which owned by the developed countries. If the hypothesis is adoptable, we could learn those experiences in advance.

Based on the hypothesis, it was discovered that many problems occurred in cities in the developed countries due to industrialization. Although Taiwan had not had the same problems, many city planning might be still carefully done.

2. The process of city planning

Goals setting and planning techniques were inherited from the Western countries, but their feasibility in the East had not been carefully judged. On many occasions, planning techniques went first and then goals followed. Problems were sometimes defined in order to legitimize goals. Consequently, we found that many technical sections of the planning process were strong while the choice of strategies was less persuasive.

There was little material to tell the integrity and consistence of the technical section. One reference paper entitled: "*TOSHI KEIKAKU NO RIRON TO ZISAI* (The Theory and Practice of City Planning)" was written by a Japanese planner, Sujumi Hayagawa who worked in the Taiwan Government-General [13]. According to his planning method, data should be collected in accordance with the requirements of common ideals, ideas, or functional criteria. Under the planning regulation and existing constraint, planning areas, city patterns, street layout, subdivision layout, park system, and other facilities were decided. Finally, a financial implementation plan was presented. (see Figure 6) In each steps, conducting investigation, drawing ideal planning maps, doing partial adjustments based on existing situation and regulations were needed to obtain a final zoning map.

From the method of problem definition and process of city planning, we could realize the characteristics of planning tools as follows:

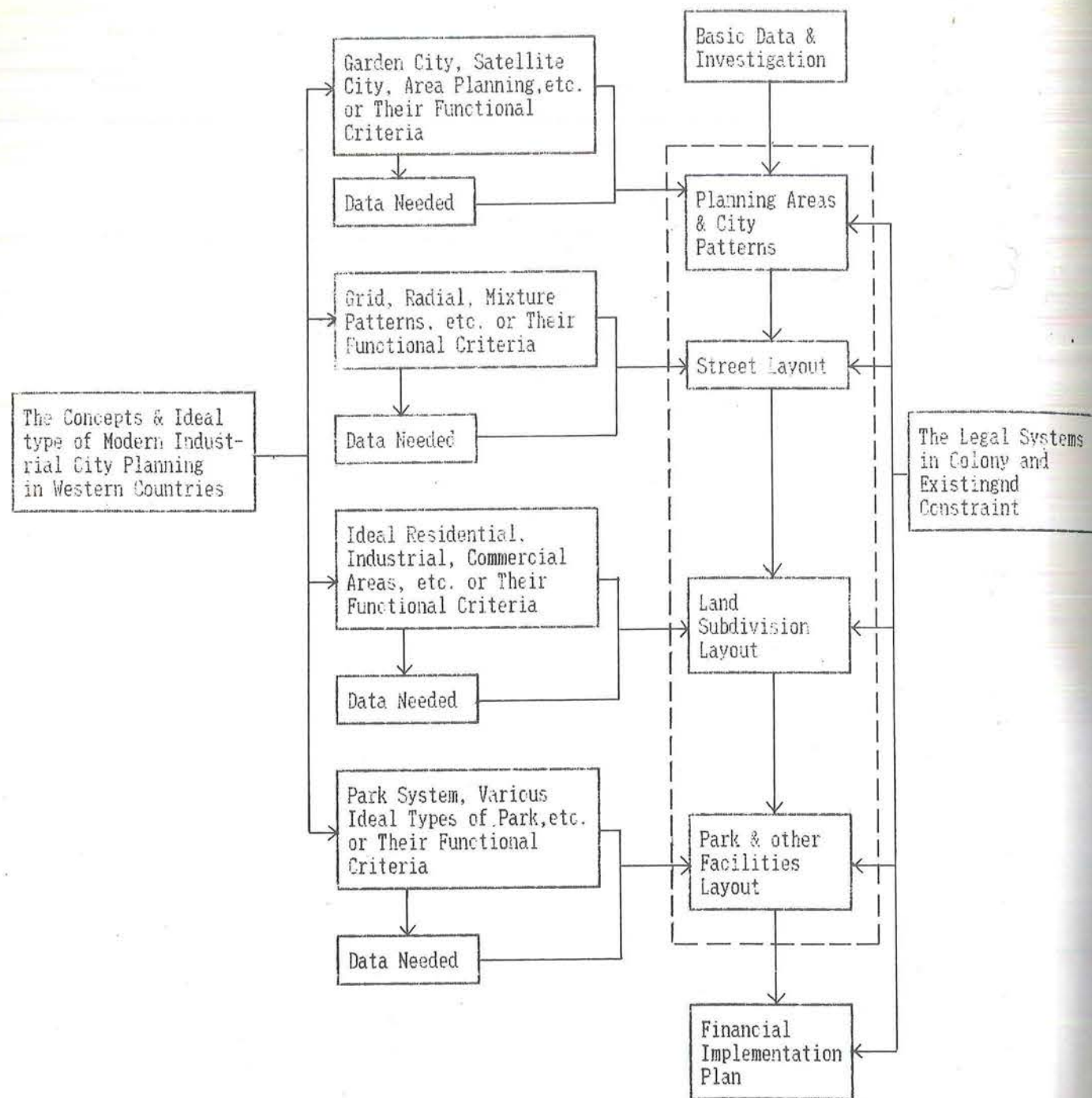


Fig. 6 The Concepts and Methods of City Planning in Japanese Colonial Era

(1) Its synthetic was linear. For instance, street layout was determined by planning areas and city patterns, land subdivision was determined by street layout, and facility plan was determined by land subdivision. The interactions of these individual plans were also "one-way" type. Among those, streets were most important, subdivision was second, and facility plan was last. The model reflected the kind of city planning which emphasized the planning of spatial order rather than the resolutions of social problems.

(2) Few feed-back processes. The planner believed that the outcome of city planning was only a planning map instead of being a process. The completion of a planning undertaking merely meant finishing a map. The plan did a few feed-back system to readjust itself. To do a plan and to implement it were considered two different things. It fully reflected the authority of both the planning profession and the Taiwan Government-General.

(3) The planning process started with building an ideal type which would be modified by reality. It was different from the process which started with reality toward ideal. Again, it expressed the characteristics of the planning profession. To implement the process, there should exist a strong power. At that time, the power was from the Japanese rulers.

(IV) Conclusion

This paper divides Taiwan city Planning history from 1895 to 1945 into three phases, "Improvement of Buildings and Streets," "Enlargement and Planning of Urban Area", and "Establishment of City Planning System ". The issued regulations and laws clearly reflected the evolution of the concept of planning subject : "Town House" → "Street Area" → City Area → Regional Area → National Area.

One of the most specific features of city planning was that existed planning theory and methodology which was used in all kinds of planning. The planners all followed the theory and methodology to draw city, town, and rural settlement plans. In the long run, there were same urban patterns in all kinds of settlements, whereas the only difference was the settlement scale.

If we ask "what is planning ?", the answer may mean a set of value judgements, logical thinking, planning techniques, and the negotiation pattern to adjust the environment. If these are stable in a specific period , then we could regard these sets of value judgements, logical thinking, planning techniques, and the negotiation pattern called "planning theory".

Because the Western countries industrialized earlier than the East, therefore their urbanization problems also appeared earlier than the Eastern ones. In order to solve the social problems caused by the industrialization and urbanization, the Western countries developed many planning concepts and techniques which were

transplanted to Japan after several decades. These concepts and techniques were encouraged by the scholars and politicians by means of international meetings and various types of publications. Gradually, these theories and techniques became very popular in Japan. In the same way, after several decades, these concepts and techniques were transplanted to Taiwan, and were gradually adopted by the local scholars and politicians. This is one of the international exchange pattern of "planning theory transplant".

Have we carefully examined the basic social context and history behind these planning concepts and techniques which we have been using for so many years? Or, more importantly, is it the high time that we start from our own land, own people, and own problems to find for ourselves the right path to the paradise? This is the question we must answer sooner rather than later, and will be asked by history!

NOTES

- (1) Shyh-meng Huang, " A Study on the Paradigm of City Planning Theory Under the Japanese Rule in Taiwan (1895-1945) ", 1986(in chinese).
- (2) Yorifusa Ishida, " Nihon Kindai Toshi Keikaku No Hyakunen (A Hundrad History of Modern City Planning in Japan)", pp. 9-13.
- (3) Shunichi J. Watanabe(1980), " Yogo Toshide No Toshi Keikaku No Seiritsu Kateini Kansuru Kousatsu(The Evolution Process of Terms of City Planning)" (1980), Nihon Toshi Keikaku Gakkai Gakujutsu Kenkyu Happyokai Ronbunshu(City Planning Institute of Japan), no.4 pp.19-24.
- (4) Taiwan Soutokkuhu (Taiwan Government-General)1937, "Taiwan Toshi Keikaku Koushiuroku (The Report of City Planning Seminar)". The seminar was held first on January 11 to 22 in 1937 at the Government - General.
- (5) *ibid.*, p.59.
- (6) *ibid.*, p.60.
- (7) Teishun Ishigawa, " Taiwan Toshi Keikaku Koushiuroku (The Report of City Planning Seminar)", p.5.
- (8) *ibid.*, p.6.
- (9) The material related to the Taichung city planning was from the document of "the Taichung City Planning", published by the Taiwan Provincial Government; and the material related to the planning of the Taichung Port was from the document of "the City Planning of Port and its Periphery", published by the Taiwan Government-General, July 1940.
- (10) The Taichung and Taipei City Area Improvement Plans adopted, in Jan. and Aug. 1900, were the first two city plans in early Japanese era. While the Niitaka (新高) Port City plan (now Taichung Port City), promulgated in Aug. 1940, the represented ideal city plan in the late Japanese Colonial Era.
- (11) "Taiwan City Planning Ordinance (Taiwan Toshi Keikaku Rei)" established in Aug. 1936.
- (12) Katsuzo Aozima, "Taiwan Toshi Keikaku Koushiuroku (台灣都市計畫令)(The Report of City Planning Seminar)", pp.648-655.
- (13) *ibid.*, p.393.

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C O N T E N T S

	Resume
I	The evolution of hierarchy of the area planning
II	Urban planning and county(city) comprehensive development planning
III	Regional planning
IV	Taiwan area comprehensive development planning
V	Planning concepts and techniques
VI	The planning authorities, the planning profession and education.
VII	Conclusions

I. The evolution of hierarchy of the area planning

The evolution of the area planning hierarchy in Taiwan since its restoration in 1946 can be divided into 4 phases as detailed in the following: (1)

1. Phase I: Planning for the individual cities and townships from 1945 (in which Taiwan was restored back to the ROC Government) to 1964.

Where the Nationalist Government of the ROC had promulgated "Urban Plan Law" in 1939, the provisions of the law were much too general and failed to be specific for a practical implementation, thus it failed to cope with the requirements for the planning and control of urban development after restoration of Taiwan. That was why the then Taiwan Provincial Government had adopted the "Directive of Urban Planning for Taiwan area" together with its Implementing Regulations promulgated by Japanese authorities in 1936 during its occupation of Taiwan. the said directive was the basis for the planning and control of the development of urban land in Taiwan.

In this phase, the planning and utilization of land were aimed at the planning of the individual cities and townships plus a passive control, without development of the integrated planning and utilization system of the regional land.

2. Phase II: Urban planning inclusive of the regional planning for period from Sept 1964 to 1973.

In the wake of the successful implementation of the "Land to the Tillers Program" and the economical reconstruction programs in Taiwan area, we had seen the accelerated industrial and urban developments. In order to meet with the actual requirements and eliminate the urban planning system originated by the Japanese, it became mandatory for us to revise the planning law and regulations in Taiwan area.

On Sept 1, 1964, the ROC Government revised the "Urban Planning Law" which was enacted in 1939, with the planning system covering the specified category of urban planning to include city (or town) planning, rural settlement plan, special district planning, and regional planning. In short, the regional plan has been integrated in the urban plan.

Although the government had mapped out the regional plans for Taipei-Keelung Metropolitan area and Kaohsiung late in 1950's However the plans did not materialize because there were not prepared on the proper basis of law and regulations in practice. Although the Urban Planning Law was

revised in 1964 had included the regional plan, the revised law was basically still limited to some expansion of the concept in urban planning, or just emphasized the physical development of the metropolitan areas without an overall consideration from the regional point of view for the guidance of regional development.

3. Phase III: Separate legislation of urban planning and regional planning, with the regional plan as the guideline for urban planning, for period from Sept 1973 to 1979.

In June 1973, the government promulgated the second revision of "Urban Planning Law," which eliminated the provisions pertaining to regional planning from the urban plan. In 1974, the government promulgated separate "Regional Planning Law." Henceafter separate legislation of urban planning and regional planning has been in practice; and, the regional plan in become the guideline for urban planning.

Prior to 1973, the control of non-urban land in the areas was based on the provisions under Land Law. In consideration of a deteriorating situation in which the non-urban land (farmland) has been shifted to non-agricultural purpose without justifiable plans or programs, and in order protect agriculture and ensure source of staple food, the central government of ROC promulgated "Implementating Rules on Restriction on Use of Land for Construction," which meant that the government took control of non-urban land by issuance of administrative order which was in force before the promulgation of Regional Planning Law and the "Regulations for Non-Urban Land Use Control". In 1974, the Government promulgated "Regional Planning Law." In 1976, the Ministry of Interior promulgated "Regulation for Non-Urban Land Use Control" to be followed by the promulgation of "The Implementing Regulations on Regional Planning Law" in 1977. Thus these Regulations have not only established the regional planning system, but also the allout control of the use of non-urban land in compliance with the regional planning law.

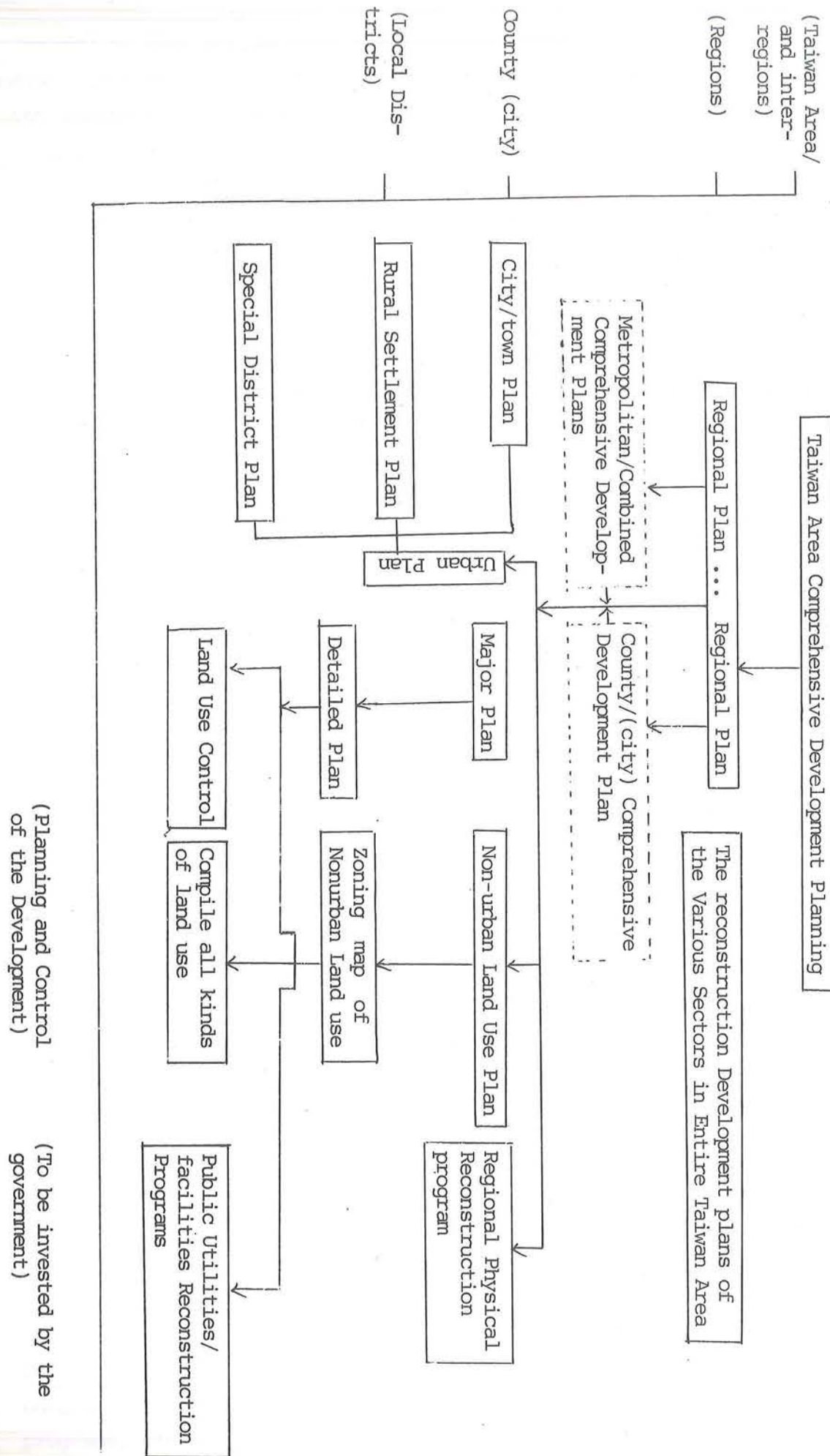
4. Phase IV: The development of Taiwan Area Comprehensive Development Planning—the Regional Planning—Urban Planning hierachy System, and the comprehensive development plans for the counties (cities).

This Phase started with the approval of the Executive Yuan of Taiwan Area Comprehensive Development Planning in 1979.

During the course of the evolution in the accelerated industrial and economical development in the wake of the various economical reconstruction programs, the absence of policy guidelines for distribution of location and

the regional comprehensive development planning for the basis of the programming, the situation so resulted has reflected imbalance in the regional development as well as the contamination of farmland and living environment. With a view to resolving the problems in the society and the living environment in the wake of the accelerated economical development, the adjustments to the economical development and social welfare as well as environmental protection policy and proper conservation of the available natural resources, the government had started simulating the relevant systems of Japan and S. Korea in 1971 and developed the tentative comprehensive development planning for Taiwan area which met with the approval of the Executive Yuan in 1979. Henceafter, the comprehensive development plan for Taiwan area served as the guideline for regional planning of Taiwan area.

After the 80's, the local governments in Taiwan had begun with seminars for the comprehensive development and drafted the county (city) comprehensive development plan with an attempt to integrate the physical plan, the various sector development plans, the longrange plans and the mid-range plans for county (city) development.



II. Urban Planning and county (city) comprehensive development planning

1. The significance and categorization of urban plan

Urban plan refers to a planned development for significant facilities concerning urban living such as economic activities, communications, sanitation, public security, national defense, culture, education, recreation and so on within a definite area and to a rational planning for land use therein.

Urban plan can be divided into the following three (3) categories:

- 1) City (or town) plan, 2) Rural-settlement plan, and 3) Special district plan.

In terms of hierachy, urban plan comprises the major plan (the responsibility at the higher level), and detailed plan (at the lower level).

2. Evolution of the policy and system relevant to urban plan:

Ever since the restoration of Taiwan in 1945, the evolution in the concepts, techniques or system of urban planning can be divided into the following three (3) phases for description:

1) Phase I: from 1945 to 1960:

During the initial phase of reconstruction of Taiwan upon restoration in 1945, the urban reconstruction was aimed at the public facilities/utilities destroyed in the World War II, and the review on the urban plans promulgated by the Japanese Government during its occupation of Taiwan.

The urban plan in Phase I stressed the physical planning of the individual cities and townships, whereas the planning concepts were much susceptible to the movement for urban beautification, such as the design of circle at main road junctions.

2) Phase II: from 1961 to 1970:

In this phase, the activities of urban plan comprised the review and revision to the existing plans on the one hand and the preparation of the new urban plans for new development area on the other.

The continued urbanization had resulted in the forming of Taipei City as a metropolitan area in the 50's. Thus, the competent authorities has proceeded with the preparation of metropolitan area planning.

The Hierarchy System of Area Planning in Taiwan (2)

In 1964, the government promulgated the revised Urban Planning Law, with the regional plan integrated in the Urban planning system.

During this phase, the authorities started with the expansion of the planning area for revised city/town plan in line with the concept of regional planning and begun with the construction projects of "New Towns" so as to alleviate the pressure of the development of central city in the metropolitan area.

The revised Urban Plan Law in 1964 revealed the spirits in land use as outlined in the following:

- 1) The concepts for planning of land use had extended from localized urban areas within the administrative area to the area beyond a given administrative area.
- 2) Strenuous efforts had been exerted to the preparation of urban plans in line with the following strategies:
 - A. The Central Government is authorized to prepare urban plans on behalf of local governments when the situation so dictates.
 - B. The length of the operational flow for scrutiny of the detailed plan has been shortened, under which Provincial Government is empowered to grant the approval of the detailed plans and the revisions except for the nation's capital, metropolitan areas and the cities directly under provincial government.
 - C. Specialty personnel shall be appointed for the operations of urban plan by the governments at all levels.
- 3) Strategies have been promulgated for the planned development in support of the promotion of urban plans, as detailed in the following:
 - A. Constraints have been promulgated under which owners of the land in the scope of urban plan shall not make use of their land if such use would interfere in the implementation of urban plan. Prior to the promulgation of the said plan, no construction projects could be approved; the construction projects thereon shall be subject to the requirements under Construction Code upon the promulgation of the urban plan.

- B. It has been stipulated that the period for the reservation of private-owned land for public facilities is limited to a maximum of 5 years, which may be extended for another 5 years; if the reserved land is not requisitioned at the expiry of the said extension period, the reservation of the land shall be rescinded.
 - C. Local governments may dismantle the squatter houses or slums under the slum clearance program for reconstruction for the sake of sanitation and safety.
 - D. The local governments are authorized to levy on surtax on the landlords for benefit received from the public works, governmental bonds may be issued to raise the sources of finance in support of the implementation of urban enterprise and capital improvement program.
- 4). For the publicity of the approved policies, public notification should be served to inform the general public and allow them to express their different opinions for consideration.

Upon having completed the plan and prior to submittal to the higher authorities, the local government shall put up public notification for a period of 30 days for the purpose of acquiring the opinions of the general public which shall be consolidated before forwarding to the higher level as a reference for scrutiny on the planning.
 - 5). The strategies for use of urban land and for control:
 - A. The strategy has a better flexibility in land use zoning; and allows for the designation of special purpose zone.
 - B. The residential zones are to be delineated in line with the concept of neighborhood unit.
 - C. The control measures include the requirements for building coverage ratio, building height limit and air raid shelter facility.

3. In the period after 1971

In terms of the planning system for urban land utilization, the urban plan in this phase was considered as the localized planning at the third level which referred to the area planning systems in Taiwan area in support of the comprehensive area planning at the higher levels. In the 80's, the competent authorities stressed the importance of urban plan as one of the links in the chain of longterm comprehensive development plan of the local governments at the level of county and city, and the coordination should be intensified with other projects or programs of other departments in charge of developments.

With respect to the techniques involved in the planning for land use, the method of quantitative analysis has been used in this phase. During the course of the planning, emphasis had been placed on the system dynamic process, with publicity made known to the general public to enable them to understand the situation in the planning and allow them to express their opinions.

In regard to the development of urban plan, the competent authorities had made an intensive review over the urban plan in this phase in addition to the preparation of the rural settle plan and the special district plan.

The second revision of the Urban Planning Law promulgated in 1973: The second revision of the Urban Planning Law stressed the policies on land use and planning as detailed in the following:

- 1) To intensify the planning for the cities for stimulation of the development under the following strategies:
 - A. To further simplify the procedures on approval of urban plans by means of delegating more authority to the local governments.
 - B. To intensify new town construction projects and old community renewal projects.
 - C. To add clauses pertaining to the systems for acquiring funds for the implementation of urban plans.
 - D. To encourage private investment in the projects relating to urban planning enterprise.

2) To facilitate the rational use of urban land and the development in line with the following strategies:

- A. To implement a preferential development order on a phase to phase basis, which is determined in accordance with the anticipated development trend and the local financial ability within the planning area:

The priority should be established for the preparation of the detailed plans under the guidance of the major plan; whereas the detailed plans are the basis for taking adequate control of the duration of the development on the part of local government as well as the control of the schedule for public works investment programs.

- B. To extend the duration of the reservation of the land for public facilities:

The provisions pertaining to the maximum duration for reservation of private land for public facilities stipulated that such duration should not exceed 10 years. In consideration of financial stringency of the government and the duration for such preservation of the land is much too short to permit a normal urban development, the revised provisions have extended the duration to a total of 15 years in addition to a change to the dates for counting of the duration of such preservation.

3) The following is a discussion on the strategies for control of land use:

- A. It was stipulated in the revised version that the "Zoning Regulation on land use" should be integrated in the detailed plan.
- B. To cope with different, practical situation and requirements, the authorities are authorized to further divide the zoning into sub-zones as appropriate.
- C. The authorities may reserve land for agriculture or the conservation area commensurate with the specific topography,

or for military security reasons.

- D. To specify the use and capacity (bulk control) for the sub zones for the control of land use, whereas the governments at provincial and city level are authorized to specify their special requirements commensurate with local situation in addition to the execution of the Enforcement Regulation for this Law.

In Feb. 1976, Taiwan Provincial Government and Taipei City Government promulgated for the first time the Enforcement Regulation for Urban Planning Law.

In Apr 1983, Taipei City Government promulgated "Regulation For Land Use Zoning of Taipei City," which made Taipei City as the government that has publicized the first such Regulation in R.O.C.

The policy for use of urban land promulgated in the 80's had further reflected the following spirits:

- 1) To emphasize environmental protection and preservation of ecology.
- 2) To maintain and safeguard cultural assets.

4. Construction of new towns (3)

- 1) The first construction of new town in Taiwan area in 1957:

"Chunghsing New Villa" was the first so called "self-contained" new town ever constructed in Taiwan area.

The new villa is situated in Nantou County, it takes some 40 minutes by car from here to Taichung City. The foundation land of the new villa used to be a mild gradient slope land with picturesque landscape and mild climate. The land is owned by the government. The project of the new villa covered some 1,000 hectares and the construction was started in 1957. To date, some 200 hectares of land has been developed for construction in the said new villa with a population of 20,000 persons.

The construction of the said new town by the name of "Chunghsing New Villa" was to serve the purpose of moving Taiwan Provincial Government from Taipei City which was much too crowded and had to

thin out some of the governmental building because Taiwan is still in a hostility against Communist China on the mainland; that was why the Provincial government was required to move to Central Taiwan and located in Chunghsin New Villa.

- 2) The failures in the construction project of new towns from 1966 to 1972.

In this period, the competent authorities were much concerned about the accelerated growth in Taipei metropolitan area and in order to alleviate the pressure from the considerable growth inside Taipei City as well as the alleviation of the development on the plain area where there were many development projects, the government decided to develop Nei Hu District of Taipei City and Linkou for construction of new communities.

Where the competent authorities had established task team for development of the two communities, the improper administration and high price of the land precluded the projects from implementation.

- 3) The planned construction projects of new towns in period from 1976 to 1981.

During this period, the policy for construction of new towns had the following two features:

- A. The projects were not only mapped out for alleviation of the high population density in the large cities but also were aimed at making balance of the developments between regions.
- B. The locations for development of new town were in the slope land in the vicinity of metropolitan areas, and the slope is categorized at the lower grade farmland.

Under the guidance of the 6-year economic reconstruction program, the following 5 new towns would be developed as detailed below:

- (1) Development in northern Taiwan:

- (a) Linkou new town.

Located at the top of Linkou high land, this new town becomes one of the satellites of Taipei Metropolis.

(b) Nan-keng new town:

This new town is located to the north of Taoyuan City and to the south of Linkou.

(2) Development in Central Taiwan:

Taichung Port new town

This development of new town was to cope with the construction of Taichung Port and the new town was designed as the satellite of Taichung City for dispersion of the dwellers of Taichung City.

(3) Development in Southern Taiwan:

(a) Ta-ping-ting new townships:

This program included Hsiao-kang, Fengshan, Linyuan and Taliao for an area of 2,249 hectares in total.

(b) The new communities in the vicinity of Cheng-ching Hu Lake area:

The new communities are located around the Lake area for about 3,096 hectares in total.

4) The special features and problems of the policies for development of new towns in Taiwan Area:

- A) The first program for construction of a new town was for the reason of national defense. However, the recent programs for development of new towns and communities are aimed at the rational alleviation of the pressure from the persistent growth in the larger cities, as well as the considerations of the policy for the balanced developments in the regions and the factors relevant to the social and economical aspects.
- B) The majority of the newly projected development of the new cities/townships were aimed at the use of slopes and the farmland at the lower grade categories; this is to say strenuous efforts must be exercised to avoid damage to agricultural production and consideration of the opportunity costs for development.
- C) The designed capacity of the newly developed and constructed new town ranged from 150,000 persons to 500,000 persons, which revealed a much larger scale for economic factors to be emphasized.

- D) Since the scale of the new towns is larger, it follows that their functions are more complete and adequate to see higher degree of self contained.
- E) "The provincial government is in charge of the development of new towns/communities, while the Dept for Development of Housing and Urban Area is responsible for the execution," "The local governments shall apply with the Foundation Funds for Urban Reconstruction Programs for the loans; local governments shall be responsible for acquisition of the necessary land or the implementation of land consolidation programs, the administration of urban development plans and the issuance of construction licenses and permits,; "while the authorities at the central government level do not actively participate in the financial support nor the physical development programs."
- F) Because of the difficulty in acquiring the land for development of the new towns or communities the local governments have to undergo urban land consolidation programs except for the development in Ta-ping-ting new town. While the said consolidation program has its advantages such as less political pressure or hinderance and less government investment costs, the land so developed shall still be owned by the original landlords over whom the authorities cannot see any effective administration of the use of such land, nor the land price increment be levied by the government; thus this kind of approach is inconsistent with the principles of the development of new towns/communities.
- G) To date, there is no an integrated, complete independent law or regulation on the reconstruction of new towns in Taiwan area, which has an adverse impact upon the effective development of the new towns/communities.

5. Urban renewal:

- 1) In the 1964 revised Urban Planning Law, provisions pertaining to the renewal of the old community in the cities have been incorporated.
- 2) In the second revision of the Urban Plan Law as amended in 1973, Chapter VI has been added which is exclusively concerned with the renewal of old community in the cities, together with details on the operation for the renewal programs.

- 3) In the period after 1975: This period happened to be covered by the 6-year Economic Reconstruction Program and the construction of the public housing was one of the major items of the said Program, for which the governments at county and city levels were required to make use of the public land for construction of public housing units or the reconstruction projects to be executed after having torn down the obsolete wooden bungalos. The public housing projects in this period were characterized by high rise and emphasis on the integrated plan for the entire community.
- 4) In 1979: In order to solve the problem in acquiring the land for construction of the public housing and to cope with the improvement program for the living environments in the military dependents quarters, Taiwan Provincial Government executed with Ministry of National Defense an "Agreement for Construction of Public Housing Units on the Land in the Military Dependents Quarters upon Dismantling the Old Houses," which was under the experimental program for the renewal of old military dependents quarters.
- 5) In 1981: Taipei Municipal Government started to draft its policy and plans for the long-range urban renewal.

The chief purpose of the execution of urban renewal programs in Taiwan area is aimed at the following two situations, that is the renewal of the old community in the cities, and the clearance operations for removal of the illegal constructions or the irregularly developed housing units without any sound plans. In Taiwan area, the second category is quite evident, which involves in the problems of social relief and a much complicated nature and difficult to resolve.

The approaches to the urban renewal in Taiwan area were patterned after that of the United States, such as the conservation, rehabilitation and redevelopment.

6. The approaches to the execution of the development, zone expropriation and the consolidation of urban land.

Upon the promulgation of the urban plan and regional plan, the major working items of the execution of the development included the following:

- 1) The development of new cities, new communities, and public housing.
- 2) The renewal of the old community in the cities.
- 3) The development of industrial zones and scenic spots.
- 4) The reconstruction projects for national defense and public facilities.
- 5) Reconstruction of rural communities.

The land necessary for the development programs was acquired in the following manners:

- 1) Zone expropriation.
- 2) Consolidation of urban land
- 3) Expropriation.
- 4) Purchase
- 5) Apply to the competent authority for use of the public own land.
- 6) Lease.

Among the aforesaid approaches, consolidation of urban land and zone expropriation proved to be most instrumental to the success in the integrated development. Details follow:

- 1) Zone expropriation:

This approach refers to the expropriation of entire land in a certain sector or area by the government, which shall be re-processed section by section to be followed by construction of public facilities, and then go ahead with the redistribution, sales, or lease to the private enterprises or natural persons for construction purpose.

Proper chance for the execution of the zone expropriation includes the following:

- A. For the implementation of nation's economical policies.
- B. For the development of new cities/towns.
- C. For defense constructions or installations.
- D. For construction of public utilities/facilities.
- E. For development of new communities of a city.
- F. For renewal of old community in the city.

- G. For reconstruction of rural communities.
- H. For acquisition of the land for public facilities.
- I. For construction of public housing units.
- J. For the development of industrial zones.

In addition to facilitating the materialization of the integrated development and planning of land use, the zone expropriation can also service the purpose of accrument of land value increments to the public which can also prevent the private business or natural persons to make profiteering on the land. Unfortunately, the said policy is seldom executed due to financial stringency on the part of the government and the tremendous political pressure, so that the total area of the land resulting from the said zone expropriation was limited to 100 hectares only.

To avoid political obstruction to the zone expropriation and alleviate the financial burden for the expropriation on the part of the government, the competent authorities have established an alternate approach to the effect that part of the values of the expropriated land shall be repaid in the manner of giving a plot of land in lieu of cash, and such land is also referred to as the "Offset land."

2) Land consolidation

Back in 1946, the ROC Government had introduced from Germany and Japan the concept of "Farmland consolidation," as well as the procedures. However, the legislation of "Urban Land Consolidation" was not made until 1958.

The purpose of urban land consolidation in Taiwan area is to ensure the use of land in an economical and effective manner as required for the development of new cities, new communities, the renewal of old communities in the cities, or the acquiring the land for public facilities in a fair and effective way, or for the purpose of readjustment to the boundaries of land ownerships to see the regular shape of the land.

Presently, both the government and the private organizations may proceed with urban land consolidation in Taiwan area.

As the costs for public facilities and the related land are shared by the participating land owners in the urban land consolidation program in accordance with the degree of the benefit received from the execution of such program, we deem it agrees with the spirit in which the beneficiary pays the cost for such benefits, whereas the government is relieved from the expenditure for public facilities in the new community reconstruction programs and alleviate the disturbance in the expropriation of the land for public facilities; that is why the government is pleased to adopt this kind of development approach.

Starting from 1958, ROC Government initiated the program of urban land consolidation in Kaohsiung City; up to June 1986, the area of such consolidation program executed was up to 6,536 hectares. An estimate revealed that the population presently residing in the areas of the consolidated land accounted for one ninth of total population in Taiwan area.

7. Taipei land use zoning regulation

Back in the latter part of the 60's, the competent authorities had initiated the concept of land use zoning regulation for Taipei City, and strenuous efforts were exerted to the preparation of the outline schemes in the 70's. In 1983, the government formally promulgated land use zoning regulations. The following will give you a general picture of the regulations.

- 1) The said regulation has set up the zoning for such purposes as residence, commercial business, industry, administration, education/culture, scenic spots, warehouse, agriculture, and the conservation zones. Among the zonings, the residential zone is further divided into 4 kinds of sub-zone, the business zone into 4 kinds of sub-zone, and the industrial zone into 3 kinds of sub-zone.
- 2) In line with the natures of use of land and buildings and the degree of their conformity, the urban land uses are further categorized into 44 use groups.
- 3) Commensurate with the purpose of the use zones and the sub-use zones and to facilitate the achievement of the targets for control, the government has set up limits as detailed in the following:
 - A. Uses limitations for each kind of use zone, may classify as:
 - A) The use groups which are permitted.
 - B) Those use groups which are subject to approval by Taipei City Government.

- C) Those use groups which are subject to the limitations on the first floor etc.
- B. Limitation of the capacity of the buildings, such as
 - A) Building coverage ratio
 - B) Floor area ratio
 - C) Height ratio
 - D) The front yield, rear yield and rear yield ratio of the lot plus the side yield.
- C. The sub-division control; such the minimal width and depth of the lot.
- D. Limitation of the advertisement materials, and off-street carpark or loading space provision.
- E. Bonus for integrated space design.

The provisions and framework in the zoning regulation of land use in Taipei City are much familiar to that of the New York City of the United States.

The experience in the zoning regulations on land use as implemented in Taipei City indicated that the regulation was more effective in the control over the newly developed community, while that in the old community of the city was much less effective.

8. County(city) comprehensive development planning.

- 1) The significance of the county(city) comprehensive development plans.
The prevailing county(city) comprehensive development plan has not been enacted in the legislation procedure, and the plan is much necessitated for the practical requirements to cope with the current situations or to mend the defects in the present planning systems on the part of local governments.
- 2) The nature and the functions of county(city) comprehensive development plans:

The so-called "Comprehensiveness" implied in the county(city) comprehensive development plan includes both the physical and non-physical items, or the integration of the physical requirements plus the social, economic and administration departments. In terms of space, the said plan covers all the urban areas and the non-urban areas within the administrative districts of the local government.

- 3) The sketch-type and strategic plans
They refer to the planning for direction and strategic purposes.
- 4) The long-range, prospective plan:
The plan will deal with the next two decades' development for which a study will be made to identify the direction of the long-term development. The functions of county(city) comprehensive development plan will include the following:
 - A. To interpret the policy of regional planning.
 - B. To process and incorporate the development policies mapped out by the various departments of the county(city) governments covering both the urban land and the non-urban land.
 - C. To serve as the bridge between regional plan and urban plan.
 - D. To serve as the guideline for the preparation or revision of urban plans, and also as the basis for the development of the midium-range program on the part of county(city) governments.
- 5) The evolution of county(city) comprehensive development plans:
The said comprehensive development plan was first initiated by Cincinnati City Government of the United States in 1925, and the said plan became gradually popular in the advanced countries since the 1950's.
The evolution of county(city) comprehensive development plan in Taiwan can be described in the following three (3) phases:
 - A. Phase I: In 1978 Taipei City Government entrusted a certain college for study and preparation of the comprehensive development plan, which marked down the beginning of an experimental preparation of the comprehensive development plan on the part of the counties and cities in Taiwan.
 - B. Phase II: In the period after 1981, a couple of county and city governments in Taiwan area had held the convention of seminars on the comprehensive development, to be followed by the preparation of

the plans; thus, this phase should be referred to as the period for extension of the concepts for comprehensive development.

C. Phase III: In 1987, the Ministry of Interior issued letters to the governments at county and city level requesting for the preparation of the comprehensive development plans, in addition to commissioning the research institutes for the demonstrative preparation of county/city comprehensive development plans. Henceafter the said comprehensive development plan entered into the stage of systemization.

9. Description of the imitation of the modern planning theories and systems of the foreign countries by our government.

Much of the system for urban planning and the administration of ROC Government was patterned after those of the foreign governments, as explained in the following:

- 1) The definition of urban plan: much of our urban plan definition was patterned after that of Japan.

Our urban plan for the period immediately after Taiwan's restoration should be deemed as an extension from the urban plan mapped out by the Japanese during their occupation of Taiwan. The then urban plan emphasized the street planning for the individual cities or townships plus the passive control over land use.

- 2) The concepts and techniques for the planning of metropolitan area, the concepts for urban renewal, the research and analysis on cities, the quantitative method, and zoning regulation of Taipei City were mainly patterned after those of the United States.
- 3) The concepts for new town planning were mainly introduced from U.K.
- 4) The urban land consolidation was partly learned from that of Japan, whereas the zone expropriation was mainly patterned after that of W. Germany.
- 5) The following instances can better reflect the fact that the county /city comprehensive development plans in Taiwan area was patterned after that of Japan in the early stage of the said evolution, while

that in the latter stage was based on the reference materials of U.K. and the United States:

III. Regional planning

1. The preparation of regional plans in Taiwan area

In the 50's, ROC Government started with the development of regional plans in conjunction with the expansion project of Kaohsiung Harbor, and the regional development plans covering Taipei and Keelung Metropolitan areas, but none of them have been materialized.

In consideration of an evident conflict in the use of the land in the various categories to the extent that environmental pollution and flood area development could not be properly controlled, coupled with the absence of the priority for use of the land in the various areas in which farmland was badly in need of protection while the environment was dictating protection in the 1970's, the competent governmental agencies had exerted strenuous effort in the revision of the regional plans upon the promulgation of the Regional Planning Law and its Regulation on the Implementation. Later on, further revision was made to the regional plans to cope with the requirements for the implementation of the approved Taiwan area comprehensive development plan and the readjustment to the scope of the various regions.

In the early part of the 1980's, the competent government authorities promulgated the current regional plans for Northern Taiwan, Central Taiwan, Southern Taiwan, and Eastern Taiwan one after the other.

2. Definition and functions of regional plan

Regional plan denotes a regional development plan which is prepared in consideration of the common interests and the interdependence of geography, population, resources and economic activities (refer to provisions under Article 3 of Regional Planning Law).

The regional plan fulfills an intermediate coordination role between the Taiwan area Comprehensive development and urban plans. Based upon the guidelines of the comprehensive development plan it guides the urban plans.

Thus the regional plan is considered as the area plan at the second level. The purpose of the use of "Region" as the unit for spatial planning is to distribute the land use in the region as well as the balanced activities in the use of the land.

The major functions of the regional plan include the following:

- 1) To ensure the normal growth and development of the key cities and prevent any possible sporadic developments.
 - 2) To rationalize land distribution and use so that land for agriculture and industry is available for increment of production and employment.
 - 3) To prevent or minimize public pollution so as to ensure clean atmosphere for living and recreation of our citizens.
 - 4) To ensure the balanced development between cities and rural areas.
 - 5) To make contribution to the preservation and development of natural resources.
 - 6) To guide and coordinate of the nation's economic reconstruction and the development and use of the resources of the nation.
3. Delineation of the regions

1) The delineation of regions in 1972

A review on the delineation of the regions in Taiwan area in 1962 revealed that such delineation was incomplete because of failure to include the mountainous areas and the off-shore islands/islets in addition to the insufficient basis for the study and analysis.

With a view to the foregoing discrepancies, the authorities revised the delineation of the regions in 1972 and on the following bases:

- A. The administrative districts of the county/city.
- B. Topography.
- C. The key cities (central cities).
- D. Meteorology
- E. Population growth rates
- F. Structures of the industries.
- G. Industrial zones.

H. Metropolitan areas

I. Sub-areas of water resources

J. Distribution of mines.

In consideration of the inter-relations of the foregoing functions and the similarity in their natures as well as the proximity of the spaces, the authorities had delineated Taiwan area into 7 regions.

Among the seven regions, the 3 regions located in Northern, Central and Southern Taiwan are considered as the major regions which were delineated on the basis of nodal region, functional region; whereas the rest regions are of the sub-regions and homogeneous regions.

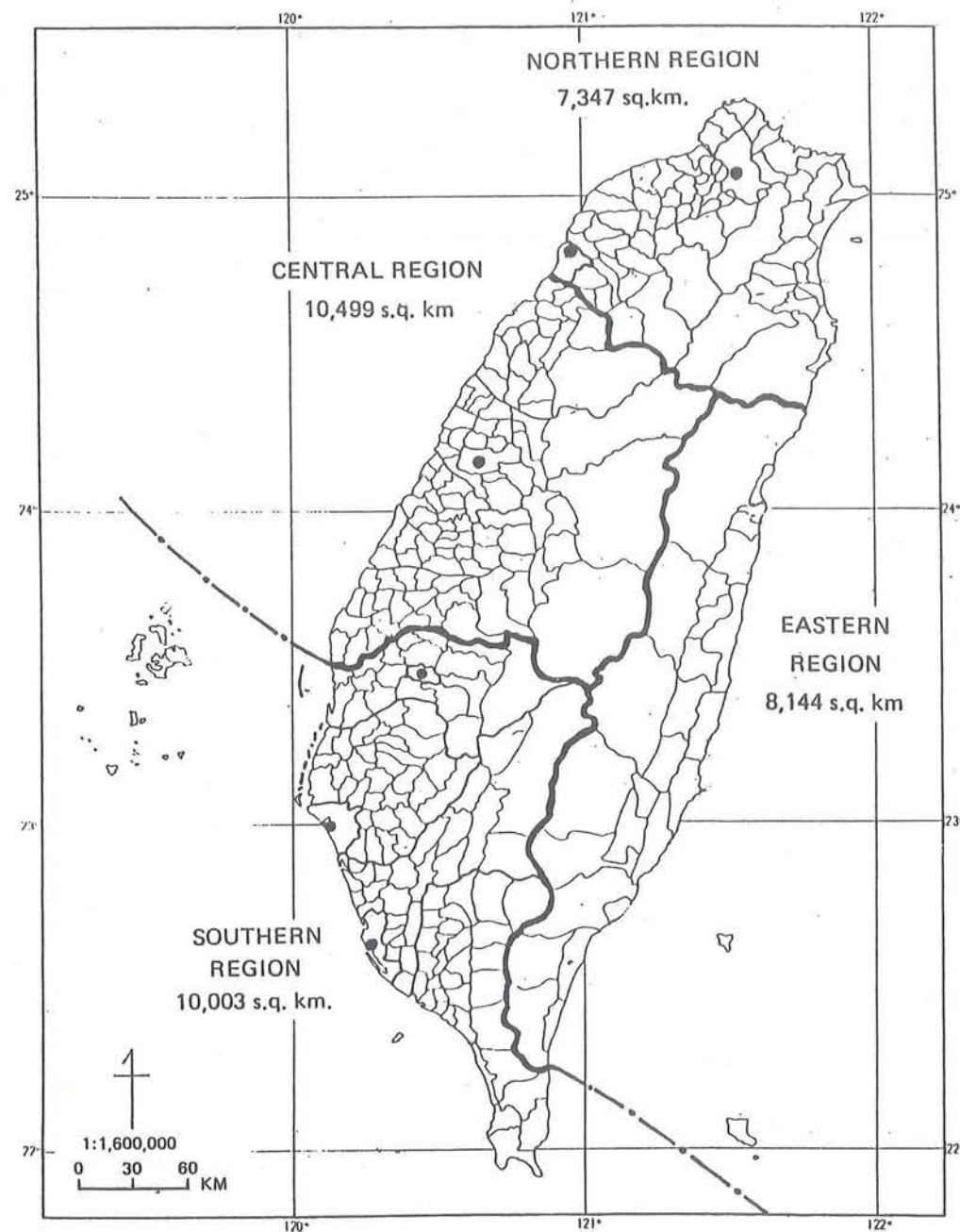
2) The delineation of regions in 1978

In his instructions on the designation of the regions, Mr. Chiang, the then Premier of ROC, required that the original 7 regions be consolidated into 4 regions, that is northern region, central region, southern region, and eastern region which were for the better coordination and cooperation between the regions.

At a meeting convened by the Regional Planning Commission of the Ministry of Interior, the following principles of the adjustment of the regions were resolved:

- A. The delineation of the scope of the individual region should gear with the requirements for future development of the region and the achievement of the targets, rather than just based on the current situations.
- B. That the delineation of the individual region should be mainly based upon the Sphere of influence of the central city or the metropolitan area.
- C. To facilitate the planning of the regions and the execution of such plans, the delineation of the regions must not divide the existing administrative districts of the county or city so involved.
- D. To ensure a rational distribution of the population, industries, and the natural resources in entire Taiwan area, the area and the resources in any one region should not have a significant

The Consolidated 4 Regions in Taiwan



difference from those of the rest regions.

- E. Whenever appropriate, each region should have its own sea port or airport to facilitate liaison with other areas and satisfy the requirements for national defense and trade.

The names and scope of the four regions after the adjustment are as follows:

- A) Northern Region: includes Taipei City, Taipei County, Yi-lan County, Keelung City, Hsinchu County and Hsinchu City.
- B) Central Region: includes Miaoli County, Yunlin County, Taichung City, Taichung County, Nantou County and Changhua County.
- C) Southern Region: includes Chia-yi City, Chia-yi County, Tainan City, Tainan County, Kaohsiung City, Kaohsiung County, and Pingtung County.
- D) Eastern Region: includes Hualien County and Taitung County.

4. Regional zoning of the use of non-urban land in the region.

- 1) The urban land and the non-urban land.

According to the pertinent provisions under the Regional Planning Law promulgated in 1974, the land in the region is categorized into the urban land and the non-urban land.

The urban land referred to herein denotes:

- A. The land where urban plan has been in force and
- B. The land where it has been defined in accordance with regional plan for the preparation of a new urban plan.

The non-urban land refers to the land outside the urban plan.

- 2) The non-urban land use zone and the control systems

- A. Non-urban land use zone:

The following categorization will be applicable to the non-urban land use zoning:

- A) Special agricultural district.
- B) General agricultural district.

- C) Industrial district
 - D) Rural district
 - E) Forest district
 - F) The preserved slope land
 - G) Scenic district
 - H) The exclusive districts for other purposes.
- B. Within the individual non-urban land use zone, the authorities may designate each piece of land for various use in line with the nature of use districts. Such as:
- 1) Class A Construction Land (for construction in agricultural districts).
 - 2) Class B Construction Land (for construction in rural districts).
 - 3) Class C Construction Land (for construction in forest district, the preserved slope land, and scenic districts).
 - 4) Class D Construction Land (for industrial construction).
 - 5) Farmland and pasturage (for live stocks).
 - 6) Forest land
 - 7) Land for marine products cultivation.
 - 8) Land for salt production
 - 9) Land for mining
 - 10) Land for kiln industry
 - 11) Land for transportation.
 - 12) Land for water conservancy
 - 13) Land for recreation
 - 14) Land for preservation of historical relics
 - 15) Land for ecologic protection
 - 16) Land for national defense and security.
 - 17) Land for cemetery
 - 18) Land for development of specific industries.

- 5. The influence or the imitation of the theories and systems relative to regional planning of the foreign countries.

Much of the the concepts and planning techniques in Taiwan's regional planning was based upon the theories of the Western countries.

The present non-urban land use zoning in Taiwan was mainly developed from the original land use control system of ROC plus partial reference to the regional zoning of the States of Hawaii of the United States.

While the techniques applied to the regional planning in Taiwan area is so sophisticated that it can be compared with that of any advanced countries, the lack of tools for the implementation of the established policy has curtailed a great deal of its effectiveness; thus we may say that the actual function of the regional plan in Taiwan area is limited to the passive control over the land use only.

IV. Taiwan area comprehensive development plan.

- 1. The significance and the functions of the comprehensive development plan:

Ever since the implementation of the phase-by-phase economical reconstruction programs in Taiwan, we have seen the accelerated development in the intensified, programmed development of industrial zones, and the expansion of export sales as well as the continued industrial growth, particularly in the 1960's and 1970's. Notwithstanding, the absence of the policy of overall industrial location or location distribution has resulted in an abnormal situation in which industrial development and urbanization were concentrated in the vicinity of Kaohsing Harbor, Keelung Harbor and the corridors along both sides of such major cities as Taipei, Taichung, and Tainan because of the readily available transportation systems and utilities facilities; thus it has caused imbalance in regional development in addition to the significant difference in the per capita income among the regions, as well as the excessively higher degrees in the population flow and concentration at the three major cities in western Taiwan.

The over-concentration of the industrial installations and population at the metropolitan areas would bring about over-crowded living space, the inadequate public facilities and serious contamination and pollution in the environment; whereas the regions or counties which saw big outflow

of population would have to face with a situation in which the natural resources could not be effectively developed for economic use so that the existing public facilities would be a waste.

The function of regional plan is limited to the alleviation of the conflict in the use of land inside the region and the arrangement of suitable location for the various activities; whereas resolutions to the conflict on imbalance in the developments between the regions and the proper distribution of the national resources to the various sectors will depend much upon the comprehensive development plan.

Functions of comprehensive development plan:

- 1) Coordination on the regional development in the various regions of Taiwan so as to see the rational distribution of the population and the economical activities and reduce the difference in the development between the regions.
- 2) Alleviation of the conflicts in the use of land for development programs, such as urban land, industrial land and agricultural land.
- 3) Assurance of the timing, space, quality and quantity of the important public reconstruction works in gearing with the requirements for the nation's economical development so as to upgrade the effectiveness in the economical development.
- 4) Proper conservation and development of natural resources to avoid any possible abuse or idling of the resources.
- 5) Neutralizing the conflict between economical development and the protection of living environment.

2. Nature of the comprehensive development plan:

- 1) The comprehensive development plan of Taiwan area is the top-level area plan for the Taiwan area.
- 2) The said plan sets forth policies, guidelines and perspectives for Taiwan long-range, physical development.
- 3) The said plan is in the nature of Taiwan area/region planning.
- 4) The said plan also is an allocation plan for spatial distribution of population, industrial physical facilities and development of natural resources.

- 5) Through the judicious use of land, the plan aims at the close coordination between economic, social, defense, culture and physical spheres of development.

3. Goals of the plan

- 1) Rational distribution of population and economic activities.
- 2) Improvement of the living and working environment.
- 3) Conservation and development of natural resources.

4. Area and regional development strategies:

- 1) Basing upon the background and the characteristics of each region, efforts will be exerted to seek for the best use of the resources and eliminate the obstruction to the development so as to ensure the equal opportunities for the various regions to make development in the years ahead.
- 2) To intensify transportation and communication reconstruction so as to further enhance the development in the various regions.
- 3) For the regions which have seen accelerated development, continuous efforts will be made by taking advantages of the existing conditions for the development. However, adequate, effective measures should be taken to prevent excessive concentration of the population and economical activities in a certain area, particularly the metropolitan areas in Northern Taiwan and Southern Taiwan, if we are to avoid the resultant situation of agglomerate diseconomical, higher social costs, and crowded and contaminated environment.
- 4) For the regions with relatively slow development, the strategy for development should be started with the establishment of growth centers so as to facilitate a sound growth for which the pertinent authorities will promulgate the incentive measures and the policy for investment in public works and reconstruction projects.
- 5) For the regions with special problem (including poor land along the coast, the non-developed mountainous area and off-shore islets), the government should provide them with the basic public facilities

necessary for the improvement in their living environment and conditions.

- 6) To intensify the development of the industries which are more lucrative with higher profitability.
 - 7) For the reconstruction projects relevant to the cities, rural districts and residential quarters, the development will be on a large scale with priority assigned to the items of importance so as to increase the effectiveness in the development.
5. The evolution of comprehensive development ideologies in Taiwan area
- In 1971, ROC Government proceeded with the preparation of "Comprehensive Development Plan for Taiwan Area," which had been subject to many revisions and finalized for implementation in March 1979. The highlights of the plan were aimed at the materialization of the various physical reconstruction necessary for improvement in the environment for economic development and the industrial development, in addition to the strengthening of the development conditions in the backward areas so as to shorten the difference in the development in the various regions.
- Since the implementation of the comprehensive development plan in 1979, the government had encountered numerous new problems and the changes in the nation's policies for economic reconstructions, such as 1) the persistent, continuous population outflow from the counties and townships where there was inadequate public facilities and backward conditions for development, while the population of the various regions was concentrated in the metropolitan areas or the major cities; 2) the natural resources and ecologic systems were subject to gradual damage resulting from excessively high population density and the expansion of construction projects; whereas the general public became more concerned with their living environment and quality in the environment as a result of the continuous increase in the GNP and better opportunity for education in the recent years; 3) the gradual liberalization and internationalization of economies have created a new situation for the industrial development and the planning and construction of recreational facilities; thus the plan had to be revised to cope with the changes in the situation.

The ideologies of the subsequent comprehensive development plan were aimed at the planning and construction of "Local Living Perimeter" so as to cut down the difference in social welfare between the regions, as well as the intensification of environmental protection, strict control of pollution, plus the planning and construction of the installation relevant to culture, tourism and recreational activities which are necessary for the further upgrading in the living quality of the general public and assurance of the perpetual use of the resources. Under the policy of liberalization and internationalization of the economies, the competent authorities have made adjustments to the structure of industries in the various regions together with consideration of dispersion of some lines of industries to overseas markets, plus the intensified efforts for promotion of international tourism and recreational activities and participation in international activities.

The subsequent comprehensive development plan differed from the original plan in the following 4 aspects: (4)

- 1) Emphasis was shifted from the shortening of the difference in economical development in the various regions to the shortening of the difference in social welfare among the various local living perimeters.
 - 2) While the original plan placed main emphasis on the improvement in the conditions of economic development, the subsequent plan has expanded the scope to include the emphasis on the continuous improvement in environmental quality.
 - 3) While the original plan stressed the economy-oriented reconstruction, the subsequent plan has widened to include social-welfare oriented reconstruction program.
 - 4) The subsequent plan has integrated the concept of internationalism coped with the changes in international economies and trade, as well as the policies of the expansion and intensification of international relations.
6. The influence or imitation of the theories and planning systems relative to regional plan of the foreign countries.

Much of the concepts and spirit of comprehensive development plan in Taiwan area was derived from that of Japan, while the concepts of local living perimeter was also mainly a copy from that of Japan. The strategies of central place for the growth applicable to the development in the backward regions were introduced from Europe.

V. The concepts and technology for the planning.

The following is mainly concerned with a brief introduction of the concepts and technology for the planning from the time of Taiwan's restoration till today:

1. Transition from the Blue Print to Process.

In the traditional concept of our people, the so-called "Plan" is generally referred to the "Blue Print" which is to be materialized. Since mid 1960's, the concept of our people has undergone gradual changes as a result of the influence of the planning theories from the West so that they consider the plan as the "Planning being a process." That is why our people have gradually given emphasis on flexibility in the planning and the periodical review for necessary revision or modification.

2. A shift from the "Directive-type Plan," and "Confidential Plan" to the planning for the people.

At the early stage, the urban plan was considered as confidential documents and the contents of the urban plan were in the nature of passiveness and authoritativeness. However, since the 1970's, the pertinent authorities had stressed the "Planning for the people" with emphasis on the rational process in the development of the plan together with a program of public opinion, under which the local residents may express their different ideas or opinions which will be the reference material for consideration in the process of the approval of the plan.

Most recently, many local scholars advocated the promotion of "Public Participation" in the planning process which means that the level of "Planning for the people" is further promoted to the level of "Planning with the People."

3. Contents of the plan:

Prior to 1964, the urban plan in Taiwan area stressed the physical planning of the streets and land use only. In the period after 1964, the urban plan had divided into the major (master) plan and the detailed plan two different levels. In the 1970's, our government introduced the concept of the comprehensive development plan.

4. A shift from the judgement by the professional planners to the gradual stress on the research and analysis on the plans.

In the past, much of the preparation of the planning was based on the intent of the chief of the governmental agencies and the professional judgement by the technicians in charge of the planning. Starting from the latter part of the 1960's, the planning process had gradually stressed the basic study and analysis, particularly the emphasis on the quantitative analysis method which were the result from the influence of the experts and advisors assigned by UN to work in Taiwan area then.

5. A shift from the mere analysis on presentation by words to the gradual emphasis on the quantitative analysis.

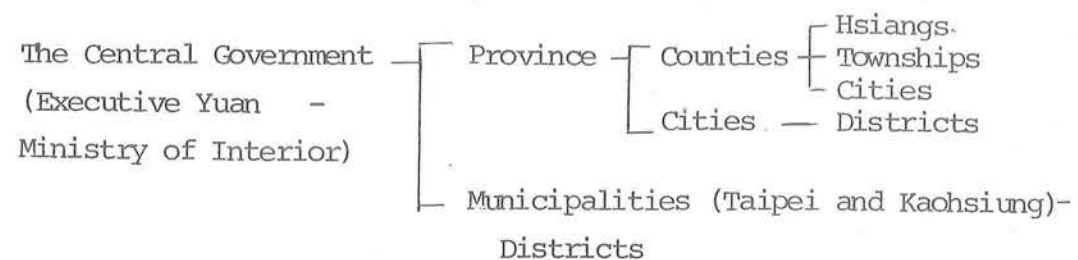
The contents of the traditional plan usually included the static figures in addition to simple description in words and maps. Since the mid 1960's, emphasis has been placed on the statistics and analysis for the planning process. In period after 1971 in which our planner had been influenced by the planning methodology then popular in the West, we started with the application of the quantitative models, including the partial models, general models, system dynamic model and the disaggregated models which had brought forth advancement in the techniques. Most recently, we stressed the research and application of the integrated models for incorporation of land use and transportation systems.

VI. The authorities for the planning, the experts for the planning and their education.

1. The authorities for the planning.

1) Governmental system and the authorities for the planning.

The following is the present governmental system in Taiwan area:



The government at any level has its own department in charge of administration relevant to the planning and the commission for review of the plans.

- 1) The authority in charge of planning at the central government level is the Ministry of Interior.

Under the Ministry of Interior, the Department of Construction is in charge of the relevant administration, and the commissions for Urban Plans and for regional planning are involved in the scrutiny of urban plans and the regional development plans respectively.

Besides, the "Housing and Urban Development Department" under the Commission for Economic Development of the Executive Yuan is responsible for the preparation and development of "The Comprehensive Development Plan for Taiwan Area."

- 2) Under Taiwan Provincial Government, the Bureau for Public Housing & Urban Development is charged with the mission of preparation of plans for urban development and regional development. In addition, the commission for Urban Planning and the commission for Regional Planning are in charge of the review of urban plans and regional plans respectively.

- 3) The municipal governments under the Executive Yuan establish Urban Planning Dept which operate under Bureau of Public Works and in charge of the study and preparation of urban planning and the related administration.

Each of the municipal government of Taiwan has "Commission for Urban Planning" which is mainly concerned with the review on urban plans.

- 4) Under the county or city government, the Bureau of Public Works of Bureau of Reconstruction has Urban Planning Section in charge of the activities relevant to urban planning. The "Urban Planning Commission" is in charge of the review on urban plans.
- 5) The Reconstruction Section of city government under county government and that of Hsiang and Township Government have the responsibility for urban planning, while the commission for urban planning is established

at the level of city government under the county government in charge of the review on urban plan.

2. The characteristics of the governmental agencies for planning.

The characteristics of the governmental agencies for urban planning at the various levels can be described briefly as follows:

- 1) Governmental at all levels have their department in charge of urban planning activities and the commission exclusively for review of urban plans.
- 2) The urban planning organization directly under provincial government is at a parallel with other departments for development; whereas that of the local governments is subordinate to the bureau of public works or the reconstruction unit which means that the level of such urban planning organization is relatively lower.
- 3) As the urban planning organization and other departments for administration of transportation and environmental protection operate independently, it appears to be hardly possible for us to see adequate integration of the planning and activities for land use, transportation and environmental protection.
- 4) The commissions for urban planning and the regional planning is headed by the chief of the governments at the various levels, while the roles of the commissioners of the commissions are played respectively by the chiefs of the relevant departments or their representatives, experts/scholars, councilmen at city/county level and the prominent figures in the society. This is to say that the organization of the commission is so well designed as to ensure adequate coordination between the administrative bodies, the harmoniousness in the political relationships and the functions of the theories and technologies available from the scholars and experts.

3. Professionals and education in the planning

In the past, the positions of the planners/staffs of the urban planning of the governmental agencies were mainly filled by the personnel with the background of architecture or civil engineering;

whereas local universities and colleges did not have the departments of urban planning or the regional planning for cultivation of the professional experts for our society then.

Ever since the mid 60's in which the urban planning activities were gradually influenced by the current planning concepts of the West, ROC Government has started the requirements for the planning personnel to possess the comprehensive knowledge of socio-economy and administration in addition to physical planning. In 1968, the National Chung Hsing University established its Urban Planning Institute - the first of its kind in Taiwan - for the purpose of cultivation of the planning experts at the medium and high levels required by our society. To date, two of local universities have established department of urban planning, while a number of other universities have set up relevant institutes for the research and training of professionals for urban planning, regional planning and environmental research. The contents of the courses and teaching materials are mainly transferred from the schools of the United States and U.K.

As a general rule, the qualifications for any civil servants of ROC call for national examination. While the qualifications for participation in the national examination of ROC for recruitment of staffs of the department for urban planning are not restricted to the graduates from dept of urban planning of the university or college, the newcomers have to pass the exam for the subjects relevant to urban planning or the relevant subjects.

VII. Conclusions

In consideration of the rather limited resources of land in Taiwan area where population keeps on growing, it becomes mandatory for the competent authorities to ensure the rational distribution of limited land in gearing with the relative development activities in the various phases. As problems in different natures may come up in the various stages of development, different planning policies and systems have to be mapped out to cope with a big variety of requirements in the periods of the development.

While much of the formulation and evolution of Taiwan's area planning system was developed in line with the requirements and resolution to the pro-

blems encountered in the phases of the development, such evolution has been subject to the influence of the thoughts and systems of the planning on the part of the advanced nations of the West as well as that of Japan. As a matter of fact, the sphere of such influence from outside is quite wide and comprehensive, including the values, judgement on the problem areas, the objectives to be attained, planning strategies, planning concepts and technologies, the education in the planning, administration, as well as laws and regulations.

In order to see social stability, economical prosperity and promotion of the livelihood and welfare for the people ever since Taiwan's restoration, the ROC Government had proceeded with the planning for economical reconstruction program since 1953, to be followed by the execution the program of urban planning and reconstruction starting from 1961. To ensure that the spatial planning in Taiwan area was with the forward-look nature together with the upgraded functions for effective guidance and direction for the execution, the ROC Government has been in the past 3 decades introduced from the advanced countries the planning thoughts, the policies, systems and the related experiences. The manners for the said introduction included despatch of staffs to make advanced studies at foreign institutes, the observation tours, and retaining the foreign experts and scholars to work in ROC as the specialty consultants, or procurement of relevant publication and documents from outside.

While the learning of the systems and experiences from foreign countries may reduce the try and errors in establishing our systems as well as the acceleration in the development of our systems, we wish to point out that we have encountered the following two thorny problems, that is 1) In many instances, the planning policies or systems introduced from abroad failed to suit for the requirements or conditions in our society and culture. The problem awaiting our resolution is as to whether we should sacrifice our tradition and culture so to facilitate the implementation of the new policies and system; or the policies and system should be revised in order to maintain our traditions and culture. 2) Where there are merits in the effective, special planning systems and experiences of the advanced countries which are worthwhile for our use as the basis for our planning system, how should we make proper selection or make combination of the various systems from outside so as to satisfy our requirements? These

remain thorny problems for us to resolve.

Presently, this author is in charge of a specific study, which is mainly aimed at an overview on the area planning system of Taiwan area which was mainly introduced from foreign nations.

Notes:

- (1) Hsing (1987) PP. 97-98
- (2) Hsing (1987) PP. 99
- (3) Hsing (1982) PP. 216-219
- (4) CEPO (1988.7) P. 27.

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- 3. 行政院 (CEPD) (1988.7) 當前經濟建設的挑戰與因應
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Why the "Taiwan-type cul-de-sac" failed in Kaohsiung?

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1. Introduction

An English encyclopedia of urban planning, defines the "cul-de-sac" as "a street closed at one end, also called in residential areas a 'close'... Cul-de-sac planning has been very widely employed in residential areas during the mid-twentieth century because the cul-de-sac affords the advantage of residential seclusion... while economically it compares satisfactorily with other forms of layout."⁽¹⁾ It is, in short, a planning tool employed widely in the residential areas of Europe, especially of England.

The word "cul-de-sac" brings to us an image of rich green suburban residential areas with low-storeyed and low-density houses and wide plots. A typical example would be English new towns such as Milton - Keynes. Indeed the cul-de-sac is one of the main techniques of modern residential planning in suburban areas in England.

Recently gigantic cul-de-sacs 17m wide with 9m wide parking spaces were introduced into the suburbs of Kaohsiung, a remarkably progressive city in Taiwan, in a corner of Eastern Asia. What was the result, however? Due to the severe criticism of the inhabitants the town planners were forced to change the Taiwan type cul-de-sacs, which were finally transformed into commonplace grid pattern roads.

In this paper an analysis will be made of this process of transformation and, in seeking the reasons for it, a consideration will be given to the town planning and indigenous social conditions supporting it.

2. The introduction of the cul-de-sac in Kaohsiung

Kaohsiung City is a large industrial city situated in southern Taiwan. It is one of the most important cities in Taiwan which has grown miraculously. Together with the expansion of industry the population has increased rapidly; and has continued to increase at an annual average of 25,000 over the past two decades, reaching 448,000 in 1960, 803,000 in 1970, up to the present figure of 1,330,000.

In the latter half of 1960's, the city was urged to change its total town planning system, owing to the increased importance of the exporting industry and the subsequent growth in the population. On the larger scale planned areas were needed for industrial purposes, living facilities, and the planning of an arterial road network, while on smaller scale individual districts, access roads and public facilities were to be further improved and planned so as to create a better environment for living.

From 1968 to 1971, three different special level plans were made: a regional plan (for the Tainan-Kaohsiung area), a comprehensive plan (for Kaohsiung), and a local detail plan (Urban Expansion Plan).

The Urban Expansion Plan or so-called 'local detail plan' included a detailed street plan which had been previously determined. It was a unique plan centering round cul-de-sacs, strikingly different from the grid road plan made for the heart of the city in prewar days. Its special characteristics can be seen in the detailed decisions which defined the level of its access roads. In consequence, all the developments centering round land readjustment were carried out according to this street plan.

Who could have developed a detailed street plan which centered on the cul-de-sac? Since 1965, eleven members of the U.N. town planning advisory group had been staying in Taiwan and had been engaged in making plans for various regions. Similar cooperation and guidance existed between the UN advisors and a Taiwanese town planner's group in the three town plans made in Kaohsiung from 1968 to 1971. No detailed records have of course remained about the roles which these two groups virtually played in introducing the cul-de-sac into Kaohsiung⁽²⁾. All that the municipal staff in charge of the land readjustment at that time have told us is that a German UN advisor had planned it. Judging from this, at least the following three points may be surmised:

(1) During the period of economic growth in Taiwan, development always came first, even when planning control was insufficient and fell behind; it was a so-called paradise for developers. The reverse was true of the 1971 Urban Expansion Plan introducing the cul-de-sac; here the German concept of "no development permitted without detailed plans"⁽³⁾ prevailed.

(2) In Germany from the end of the previous century to the beginning of this century the procedure had always been followed that land readjustment was implemented according to a street plan decided beforehand.⁽⁴⁾

(3) The idea that the districts under the Urban Expansion Plan were to be arranged through land readjustment was an acceptable one in Kaohsiung where land readjustment was prevalent. Land readjustment seemed also very natural to the German advisor.

In short, the 1971 Urban Expansion Plan could be said to be strongly connected with German town planning in the three respects of planning ideas, of the planning control method, and of the project implementation tool.

The cul-de-sac designed in Kaohsiung, however, with a road width of 17 meters, was on a gigantic scale, and was entirely different from the European type which only had a width of 6 metres. They were Taiwan type cul-de-sacs full of ingenious devices, along which highly dense terrace houses were to be built. They seemed to have been supported by the good ideas proposed by competent Taiwanese town planners who were well acquainted with the human settlement style in Kaohsiung.

The introduction of the Taiwan type cul-de-sac may be summed up as the result of a combination both of the accumulated experiences of town planning by German UN advisors and of the daring will of young Taiwanese town planners well versed in Western town planning techniques.

3. The process of transformation in Taiwan type cul-de-sacs

In this section, consideration will be first made concerning the concrete spatial composition and road widths of the Taiwanese cul-de-sac, and by referring to the three particular districts. Analysis will then be made of the process of the break-down of the cul-de-sacs.

3.1 What is the Taiwan type cul-de-sac?

The roads in Kaohsiung are very wide, roads as wide as 60m, 30m, 28m, or 21m, run in all directions, reminding one of the roads in Nagoya, Japan. Branching off from these wide roads are 17m wide cul-de-sacs. In view of Western conception of the cul-de-sac as a 6m wide access road, their Kaohsiung counterparts can justifiably be called gigantic. This 17m wide road consists of a 9m wide parking area, and 4m wide roads on both sides, with a public square at the front end so that cars can

be easily rotated. Because of this remarkable difference I have distinguished the Taiwan type cul-de-sac from the traditional European one.

This Taiwan type cul-de-sac was intended to exclude through traffic, and to force pedestrian-vehicular segregation thus ensuring safe and comfortable walking and shopping. The pedestrian path patterns are different in residential and commercial districts. In the residential district, there are two types, one in which pedestrian paths were quite independently constructed (the 18-8th project, fig.2), in the other type the pedestrian paths were attached to the cul-de-sacs (the 18-5th project, fig.4). In either case the road width is 4 to 6m. In the commercial districts (the 15th project, fig.3, the 25th, fig.4), large malls with a width of 10 to 25m run through the middle and are combined with the cul-de-sacs.

In the Urban Expansion Plan of 1971, these Taiwan type cul-de-sacs were to be made in nearly 70% of all districts, while loop type streets were to be constructed in about 10% of the districts.⁽⁵⁾ Thus the cul-de-sac was not introduced from the West without any modification, but was only introduced into Kaohsiung after having been modified extensively so as to be adaptable to Taiwan.

3.2 The process of transformation of the cul-de-sac

Land readjustments in Kaohsiung were called "the N th period land readjustment" and roughly corresponded to its respective date of publication. The cul-de-sacs were introduced into four districts with areas of 592.0ha in the 15th, the 18th, the 25th, and the 28th period land readjustment projects. The 29th project has still not been undertaken, and is excluded from this

analysis (6).

The outlines in each district are shown in table 1. The 15th and 25th projects include commercial districts. In the 18th project the project area is as large as 268.4ha, and distributed throughout many places, so that the analysis will be mainly concerned with the 18-5th period district.

The 15th period land readjustment was announced in 1978, the 18-5th in 1980, and the 25th in 1985. About seven years separate these three projects. And these seven years correspond to the process of transformation of the cul-de-sac which involved (1) the construction of the cul-de-sac, (2) the finding of problems in the cul-de-sac, and (3) the modification and the negation of the cul-de-sac.

The 15th period was the one in which (1) the construction of the cul-de-sacs were undertaken, and after (2) the discovery of problems, (3) the modifications were made. In the 18-5th period a similar process can be seen, and in the 25th project, upon reflection on these problems the plan itself was changed, whereby the cul-de-sacs gave place to grid roads. Thus the three districts here analyzed can be regarded as useful, not only in the varieties of land use of residential and commercial districts, but also in tracing the process of the transformation of the cul-de-sacs.

3.3 Problems found and remedied in the cul-de-sac ---- The 15th period land readjustment project (fig. 3)

The area in the 15th period land readjustment project is situated about 2km, east of Kaohsiung Station, and the project was undertaken as early as in 1978, the earliest project. The southern half was specified as the commercial district, and the

northern half as the residential district. In the commercial district, the conception of development was that in the central mall customers could walk back and forth safely and comfortably on the vehicle-pedestrian separation roads, while cars ran and parked on the 17m wide cul-de-sacs. This may be conceived as the so-called 'walkers' paradise' (i.e. vehicle-free promenade) that can be seen in Western central commercial districts.

But what was the real situation? The intention of vehicle-pedestrian separation resulted in utter failure because it caused inconvenience to customers, shop-keepers and residents, with the result that cars ran on the mall. Now the mall has become an ordinary road, only few shops along the mall are opened, and there is no sign of bustling business, while small factories connected with the automobile industry are prominent and render the district quite similar to any mixed residential, commercial and industrial area commonly found in Kaohsiung.

In the residential district the same situation prevails. Though pedestrian paths of a width of 4 - 6m have been built everywhere, crosswise, cars run on every road. The closed type cul-de-sacs have become open-type roads. In spite of the excellent conception originally held by the planners, people rejected and denied it because it forced inconvenience upon them. The name of the mall, "Chien-Min" (in Japanese, we may read 'built by people'), sounds ironical to the writer.

3.4 A switchover necessitated in the cul-de-sac --- The 18-5th period land readjustment project district (fig. 4)

The 18-5th period land readjustment district is a residential area with mainly four or five storeyed terrace houses, and is situated 3 to 4 km north-east of Kaohsiung Station. By this

time a lot of criticism had been voiced by the inhabitants regarding "the cul-de-sac in the midst of transition."

The municipal authorities collected the comments and criticisms concerning the system. They included, the difficulty of finding one's friend's house, the necessity of a detour to visit a neighbour, inconveniences felt by the postman, garbage or electric bill collectors in locating destinations, the difficulty of using rooms at the corner of the cul-de-sac owing to the curve of the building and so on. In addition to these inconveniences in everyday life, economical and practical reasons were also pointed out. Land prices did not rise, the price in a cul-de-sac district being cheaper than that in other non-cul-de-sac districts; the blind alley (i.e. the cul-de-sac) makes commercial business unsuitable⁽⁷⁾. Furthermore, incessant troubles in the boundaries of plots were attributed to errors liable to be made in surveying.

Above all, the lack of consideration of the aspect of a house caused by the cul-de-sac made decisive the inhabitants' discontent. By the 'aspect of a house' is meant 'the characteristics of house building and the direction of the house faces, considered to be the sign influencing the owner's destiny.' A Taiwanese still believes firmly that a house in front of the blind alley is an "empty, vain, and ominous place", and also regards it as a visually oppressing place which can easily be shot at by an arrow. Certainly the housing prices in places where temples are built in old cities remain 60 to 70 % lower than normal.

In this sense, both the very modern progressive attitude of planners seen in introducing the cul-de-sac and the great wave of modernization in the economically developing Taiwan were

defeated by the traditional conventions in which common people believe, in their daily lives.

Finally the Town Planning Committee⁽⁸⁾ decided not to adopt the cul-de-sac any longer, and the inhabitants constructed new 4 to 6m wide roads or alleys in places considered necessary, and where inconveniences could be avoided.

3.5 The cul-de-sac abolished and the grid pattern road network reinstated --- The 25th period land readjustment project (fig. 6, fig. 7)

Following the above decision by the Town Planning Committee, in the 25th period land readjustment (publicized in 1985) cul-de-sac planning was abolished. In some places buildings now can be seen along a designated building front-line, but in most districts linear grid pattern roads are built with widths of 12m, 17m, or 21m widths, and as the new northern commercial base have been and are being built in many novel designs, both post-modern style commercial buildings and residential houses. Compared with the 18-5th project, land prices are said to be higher in the 25th project⁽⁹⁾, probably reflecting the popularity of grid pattern roads as against the unpopular cul-de-sac.

In this way, at last in 1985, 15 years after the decision to introduce the cul-de-sac in 1971, this daring and novel conception was abandoned.

4 Why the Taiwan type cul-de-sac failed in Kaohsiung?

The cul-de-sacs introduced into Kaohsiung had encountered difficulties, and been modified and finally been abandoned. What were the reasons for this?

We have seen above that the cul-de-sac introduced into Kaoh-

siung was not a mere imitation of the Western cul-de-sac, it was on a larger scale and was uniquely Taiwan type, and based on particular instances, we have pointed out that the reasons for failure were due to the inconveniences of daily life, the lack of consideration of the aspects of houses, the fact that land intended to be utilized for commercial areas was not limited to the purely commercial areas, but extending to mixed residential and commercial areas.

In summing up these considerations, the fundamental reasons for failure may be listed as follows:

- (1) Town planners had not understood the daily image of the people living near cul-de-sacs and the spatial image around them.
- (2) The spatial configuration of the cul-de-sac i.e. the dead-end alley, involves an essential problem.

We will take up these problems respectively in more detail.

- (1) Town Planners did not realize the real aspects of living and dwelling space.

In introducing the cul-de-sac the town planners supposed that the space along the roads would be a high-density urban area, where 3 or 4 storied terrace houses, common in the suburbs of Kaohsiung, could be built, and that pedestrian-vehicular separation was desirable for purposes of security. This necessitated pedestrian paths, and in local shopping centres shops would be placed in densely populated areas, thus shopping malls being necessary to ensure the possibility of pedestrians enjoying shopping safely. The Taiwan type cul-de-sacs, with their pedestrian paths and shopping malls, were built with this in mind.

What was the actual situation? Certainly the city became a high-density urban area. There appeared, however, dwelling houses which were used for commercial and industrial purposes, where there were shops on the first floor arcade with small factories attached. This then became general in the urban area in Kaohsiung. Thus the project produced not purely residential areas, but constructed cul-de-sacs in mixed residential and commercial areas. Pedestrian-vehicular separation was not successfully realized; pedestrians and cars went side by side. Although there were not many cars they even ran on exclusive pedestrian paths. The fact was that the roads were utilized multi-purposely, stalls were opened and children played everywhere. Even the roads along commercial malls were no longer purely commercial areas with commercial accumulation but mixed areas for residence, commerce and industry.

The land use mixture and diversified uses of roads are characteristic of the urban scenery in the real Kaohsiung, and are quite different from the dreams of ideal urban scenery held by town planners, where the purification of land use and pedestrian-vehicular separation were to be realized just as in the West. Furthermore, the lack of consideration of the aspects of houses in which people living there firmly believe ensured the failure of the cul-de-sac. In the depths of people's heart, it may be said, things do not change so easily.

The cul-de-sac failed, in short, because town planners failed to observe carefully the daily lives of the population, and to construct a method of practice learnt from this observation.

- (2) The spatial configuration itself of the dead-alley, the

cul-de-sac, involves some problems, and presupposes a quite special and inherent image of life and space.

A quotation from a textbook says, in pointing out some problems involved in the cul-de-sac, that '...despite its adaptability in uneven lands, it has the disadvantage of a lack of convenience regarding the difficulty of finding one's way because of the non-existence of detours.'⁽¹⁰⁾ This very disadvantage led directly to the failure of the cul-de-sac in Kaohsiung.

In spite of this disadvantage, why it has been adopted widely in England and other places?⁽¹¹⁾ In a manual for residential planning it is stated that 'the cul-de-sac is an access road through which 20 to 30 houses form a small group which constitutes a community, forms a visually collected body, and constitutes a space with unapproachable territory.' In brief, a cul-de-sac is inaccessible to strangers, however for dwellers, a closed, territorial and comfortable space which does not allow foreigners to approach (as they please). There it is a quiet, secure, and comfortable community, which more than makes up for the inconvenience. These considerations have brought about the utilization of the cul-de-sac in such wide districts. It is valid because it is supported by those people who cherish these value judgements of life and of spatial conception. Let us analyze a little further these points of view.

The cul-de-sac has been developing as one of the western town planning tools of suburban residential areas. Speaking schematically, a suburb is a homogeneous place for middle-class people, where the ideal image is to lead a rich and comfortable country life, presupposing the use of cars. The spatial image suitable to this image is the one of low-rise, low density,

purely residential districts, which guarantee security, quietness, and comfort. Furthermore, a small community is formed consisting of the group of the houses around the cul-de-sac; thus it ensures the sense of unapproachable territory. The cul-de-sacs in England, thus, relied upon the living ideal and spatial images peculiar to middle-class people there, and were a special planning tool, the advantages of which surpassed the disadvantages. On the other hand, in Kaohsiung these English living and spatial images were missing, so that the disadvantages came to the fore. Contrasted with the flexibility of grid pattern roads, the cul-de-sacs were indeed seen to be very peculiar and contrastive.

The misjudgment by town planners as mentioned in (1) above and the difference in inherent life and space images (2), lead to the conclusion that the success in building cul-de-sacs demands suitable conditions in the society to be introduced. England, where the cul-de-sacs are widely accepted, has towns and suburbs definitely distinguished, and in suburbs houses are low-density and their uses are purely unified, aiming at comfortable living environments; above all, England was a rich society with the middle class acting in the centre. On the other hand, in Kaohsiung, or more generally in Taiwan, metropolitan functions are scattered, and towns and suburbs are not distinguished; even suburbs are highly density, with many mixed uses, valuing above all convenience; it was a society becoming rapidly rich.

In the two countries, social and spatial images, and town planning goals are quite different. The cul-de-sac can be said to be a town planning tool suitable to rich and mature societies as was modern town planning⁽¹²⁾.

5. Conclusion

The introduction of the Taiwan type cul-de-sac into Kaohsiung was quite deliberate. Its failure, therefore, offers several important suggestions to add to the theories and conceptions of town planning.

First, the cul-de-sac is a planning tool, which is supported by indigenous living and space conditions, and, furthermore, town planning itself is based upon proper social conditions, and is to be considered relatively to them. Secondly, it is suggested that the plan must be rooted in the situations in which people live, and their daily demands, with the culture of the country and human settlement being seriously taken into consideration.

In view of the growing increase in the international exchange of town planning systems, the suggestions given here should be taken as a warning against the blind introduction of town planning from a different cultural sphere, which is far away from the inhabitants in both the sense of an outside technology and monetary assistance, and direction from above through elite bureaucrats educated in foreign town planning schools.

The failure in Kaohsiung, it is true, was striking because it bravely tried to introduce the cul-de-sac into such a vast (600ha) area. It is said that "Kaohsiung was an experimental area of modern town planning theory".⁽¹³⁾ Indeed this brave attempt thus encouraged many innovative approaches in modern town planning theories. So the pioneering aspect must justifiably be pointed out.

Acknowledgment:

Deep thanks are due to Prof. Hwang Chiu Yueh, Architect Hsu Chung Chuan, Prof. Hwang Shi Men, Dr. Lin Chong Sen of Kaohsiung City, Director of the Department of Land Affairs, Mr. Tom. C. Soong, Deputy Director, who kindly assisted me cordially in my twice investigations in Kaohsiung in 1985 and 1988, and Prof. Kimihira for his translation.

notes

(1) Arnold Whittick, Encyclopedia of Urban Planning, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974, pp. 297-298

(2) This paper is never a malignant criticism of roles and responsibilities. But regarding some delicate points, strangers (foreigners who are not directly concerned) are apt to miss some crucial points.

(3) The street plans made for the central city in prewar (Japanese settlement) days were very detailed, where even access roads were definitely determined. Thus a basis may be said to have been laid for the introduction of a detailed urban expansion plan.

(4) In the Prussian act for street and building frontage lines in 1875, and in the housing act of 1918, these methods were adopted. Kaohsiung and German cities were similar in their lack of controlling buildings. In prewar days in Japan, a method was introduced in Japan to designate a positive building frontage line and this contributed to the formation of local streets.

(5) Districts in the 1971 Urban Expansion Plan were developed by municipal land readjustment projects and private developers. Districts in which the cul-de-sac was developed privately failed. The analysis here, owing to restricted data, is limited to the land readjustment area.

(6) In the 29th land readjustment project area, as in the 25th, the cul-de-sac was abolished in favor of the grid pattern road.

(7) In Taiwan, we can see small shops in residential areas.

(8) With the mayor of Kaohsiung as president, the 15 to 17 members organization is composed of an administrative staff, professionals from private firms and men of learning and experience. This led and determined the town planning administration.

(9) According to the table, the land prices were nearly the same at the time of the completion of the land readjustment in the 18-5th and the 25th. In the 25th project, in the spring of 1988, land price soared to 30 to 45 thousand NT/m².

(10) Research Group for Town Planning Education (ed.), Toshi Keikaku Kyokasho (Textbook for Town Planning), Shokoku-Sha Publishing Company, 1987, pp. 47-48.

(11) The reason why we have used England as an example here is mainly due to the fact that cul-de-sacs are widely used there. The city staff of Kaohsiung told me that both the German advisors and the Taiwanese planners regarded it as advisable to adopt the cul-de-sac, because they were widely utilized in Europe and also recommended in the textbook.

(12) This suggests that even in Taiwan, if we carefully choose an area where there exists the same conditions as were analyzed in chapter 4, the cul-de-sac system might be realized.

(13) S.M. Hwang, "Kaohsiung: Experimental City of Modern Town Planning Theory," Architect, December 1987, pp. 51-57.

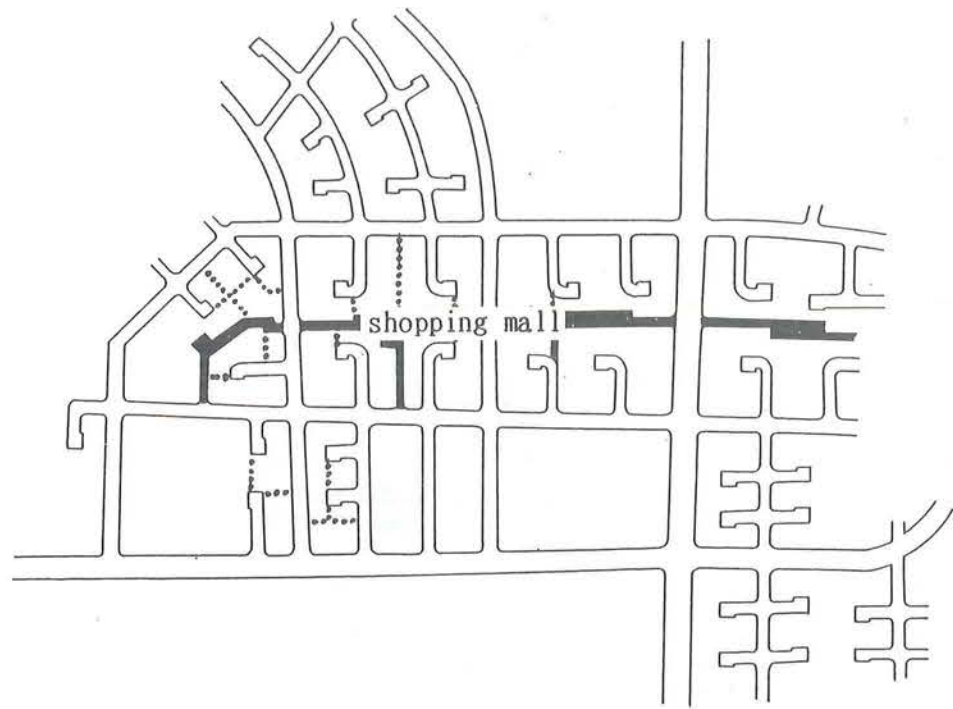


Fig 6 Plan for the 25th period Land Readjustment Project (part, before revision)
Black shows shopping mall. In the part of the area, dotted line shows pedestrian path.

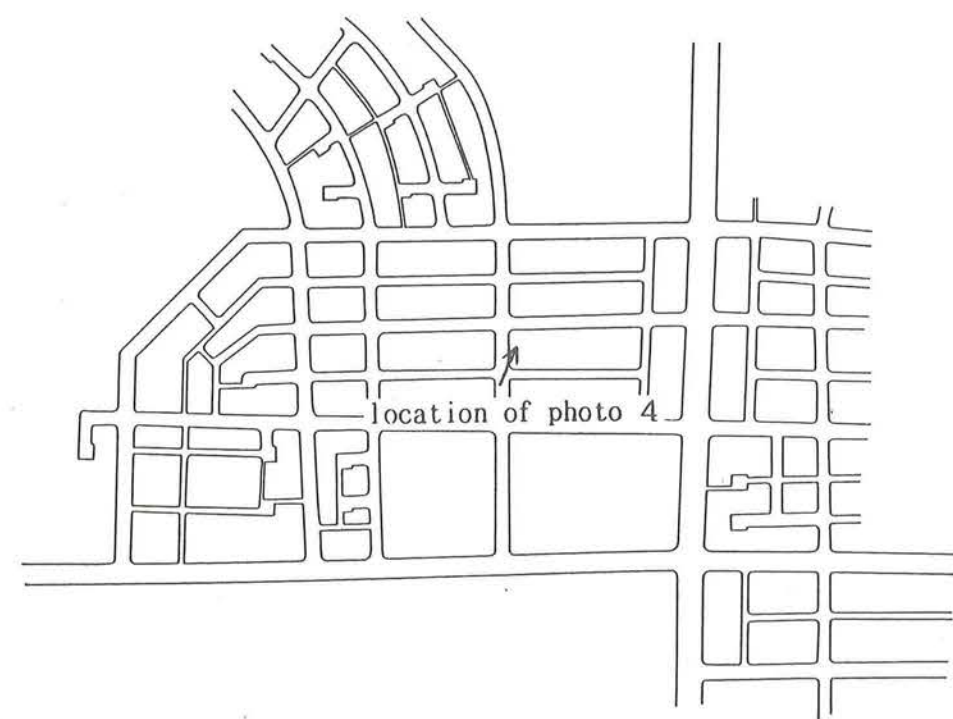
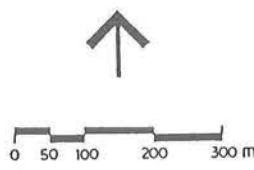


Fig 7 Plan for the 25th period Land Readjustment Project (part, after revision)

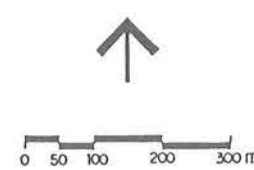


Photo 1 Shopping Mall in the 15th period Land Readjustment Project (taken in April, 1988)

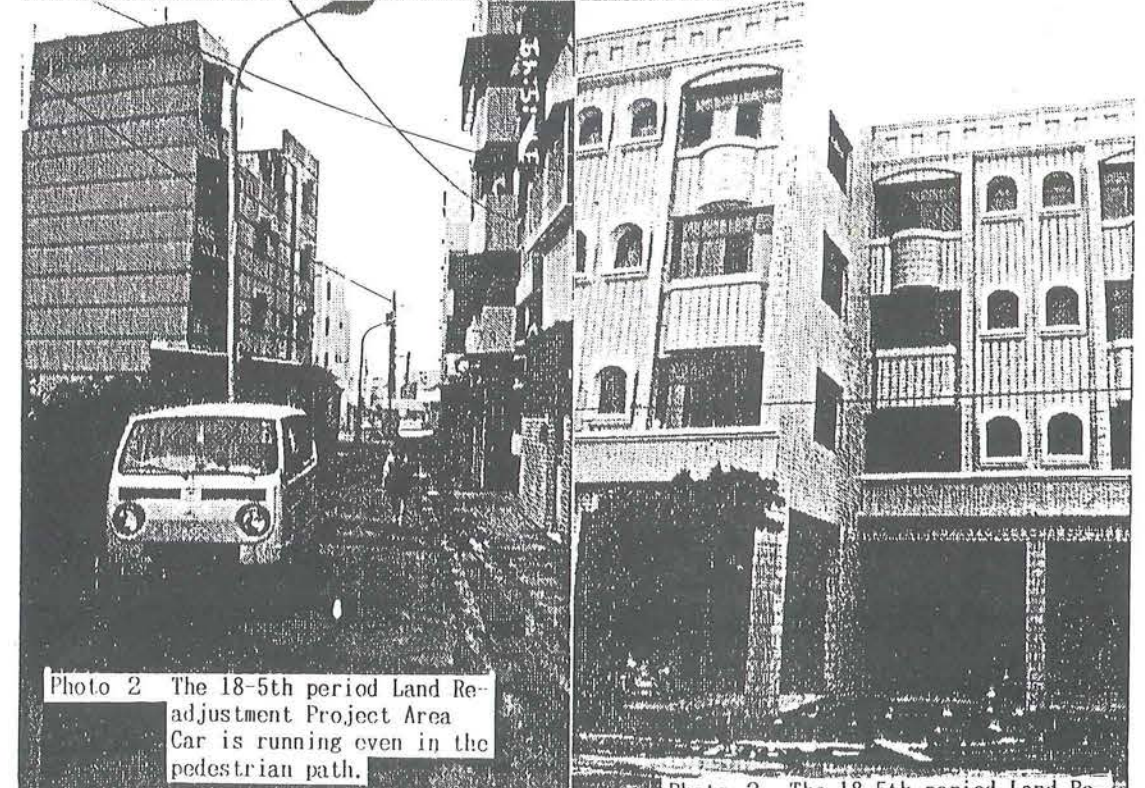


Photo 2 The 18-5th period Land Readjustment Project Area
Car is running even in the pedestrian path.

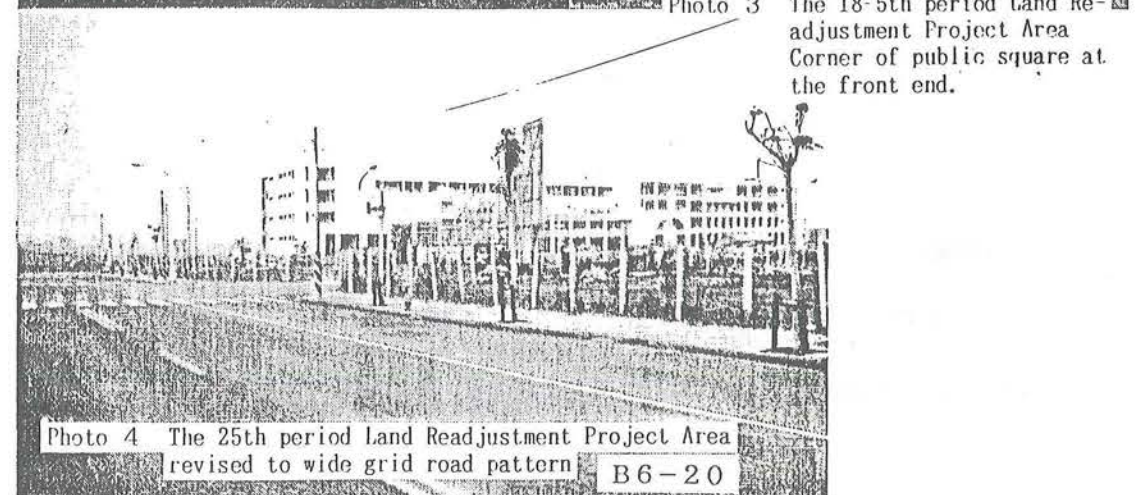


Photo 3 The 18-5th period Land Readjustment Project Area
Corner of public square at the front end.



Photo 4 The 25th period Land Readjustment Project Area revised to wide grid road pattern B6-20

なぜ、台湾型クル・ド・サックは高雄で失敗したか

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1. はじめに

クル・ド・サックとは一体何か。

「行き止まり路、住宅地ではクローズともいわれる。土地の有効利用に結びつくとともに、通過交通から住宅地を隔離させるため、今世紀半ば、住宅地で幅広く用いられてきた」(1)。辞書ではこのように説明されている。「ヨーロッパ、ことにイギリス」の「住宅地」で、「安全で快適な住環境を保つ」ため幅広く用いられてきた計画技法というわけである。

我々がクル・ド・サックという言葉聞いた時、思い浮かべる情景は、郊外、豊かな緑、低層低密住宅地、ゆったりとした広い敷地などであろう。そしてその典型例として、ミルトン・ケインズなどイギリスのニュータウンの名が挙げてこよう。

クル・ド・サックはイギリスを中心にみられる、郊外型近代住宅地計画の主要技法のひとつであった。

ところで1970年代はじめ、東アジアの一角、躍進著しい台湾の高雄市郊外に、幅員17m、中に9m幅の駐車スペースまでも備えた巨大なクル・ド・サック——それは台湾型とでも名づけられよう——が、広い地区に導入された。

結果はどうであったか。

高雄の台湾型クル・ド・サックは、次第に住民の批判をあげながら変容、修正をせまられ、ついに平凡な格子状道路パターンへと変えられていった。本論文ではこの経緯を分析する。そして何故、高雄に台湾型クル・ド・サックが定着しなかったのか、その理由を探る中で、都市計画技術とそれを支える固有の社会的、空間的条件の関係について考察してみようと思う。

2. 高雄市におけるクル・ド・サックの導入

高雄市は台湾南部に位置する一大工業都市である。「奇跡の成長」と讃られる台湾のエンジン部に当たる都市として、工業の拡大に伴い人口も急増し、1960年44.8万人、1970年80.3万人、そして現在133万人となった。この20年間に、年平均約2.5万人も増加し続けた

わけである。

1960年代後半、高雄市は輸出型工業への傾斜とそれに伴う人口増加に伴い、都市計画体系を整備する必要に迫られていた。大は広域圏における計画的な工業・住宅機能の配置と幹線道路網整備のための計画立案の必要であり、小は地区レベルで、区画街路と公共施設の整備を押し進め、良好な居住環境を形成していくための計画立案の必要であった。

1968年から1971年へかけて広域圏計画（台南・高雄区域計画）、都市総合計画（高雄市綱要計画）、地区詳細計画（拡大都市計画）という三つの異なる空間レベルの計画が策定された。

拡大都市計画は市街化の予測される郊外部に対し、あらかじめ詳細な街路計画を計画決定した、いわゆる「地区詳細計画」であった。クル・ド・サックを中心にしたユニークなもので、戦前に策定された都心の格子状道路計画に比べ対照的である。さらに、区画街路レベルの道路まで計画決定した、その詳細さも特徴のひとつとしてあげられよう。この結果、土地区画整理事業を中心にした全ての開発はこの街路計画に従って行われることになった。

ところで誰が、かくも詳細なクル・ド・サックを中心にした街路計画を立案したのであろうか。

台湾には1965年以降、11名の国連都市計画顧問団が滞在し、各地の計画立案作業に携わっていた。1968年から1971年へかけて行われた高雄市の三つの都市計画の立案過程でも、国連顧問団と台湾人の都市計画家集団の指導・協力関係はみられた。

この二集団が、高雄市におけるクル・ド・サックの導入に具体的に、どのような役割を果たしたのかをうかがわせる、きめ細かな記録はもちろん残ってはいない(2)。しかし当時、市職員として区画整理を担当していた人々は異口同音に、「ドイツ人の国連顧問が設計したものです」と語ってくれた。この点をヒントに、少なくとも次の3点は推測できよう。

1) 経済成長の真只中であつた台湾は、つねに開発が先行し、計画的コントロールは不十分かつ後追いで、「開発天国」であつた。しかしクル・ド・サックを導入した1971年拡大都市計画は逆で、「計画なきところに開発はなし」というドイツ的な考え方が色濃くみ

える(3)。

2) 市街化の予測される地区に、あらかじめ街路を計画決定しておき、区画整理を行うという方法は、19世紀末から20世紀当初にかけてのドイツで行われていた(4)。

3) 拡大都市計画の区域を区画整理で整備するという考え方は、土地区画整理事業の盛んな高雄では自然であった。ドイツでも区画整理は盛んで、ドイツ人顧問にとり何ら違和感はなかったものと思われる。

つまり、1971年拡大都市計画は、1)計画観、2)コントロール手法、3)事業手法の3点で、かなり強くドイツ都市計画との結びつきをうかがわせるものであつたといえよう。

しかし高雄で設計されたクル・ド・サックは幅員17mにもなる巨大なもので、ヨーロッパにみられる幅員6m程度のものとは全く異なっていた。クル・ド・サックの周辺に4～5階建ての高密度テラス・ハウスが建つことを想定した、工夫に満ちた台湾型クル・ド・サックであつた。この台湾型クル・ド・サックの提案には、高雄における都市居住形式をかなりよく知る有能な台湾人都市計画家の着想があつたものと思われる。

結局、高雄市における台湾型クル・ド・サックの導入は、都市計画技術、制度がまだあまり発達していなかった当時の台湾の白いキャンバスの上に、ドイツ人国連顧問団の都市計画技術の「蓄積、経験」と、恐らくは西欧で都市計画教育を受けた若き台湾人都市計画家集団の「大胆さ」が合体した結果、編み出されたものと推察されよう。

3. 台湾型クル・ド・サック変容の過程

ここではまず、台湾型と特に名づけたクル・ド・サックが、具体的にどのような空間構成と道路幅員をもっていたのかを考察し、つぎに三地区をとりあげ、クル・ド・サックがどのように崩壊していったのかを分析する。

3.1. 台湾型クル・ド・サックとは何か

高雄市の道路はとにかく広い。60m、30m、28m、21m、といった広幅員街路がのびやかに

縦横に走り、何となく日本の名古屋を思い浮かべる。こうした広幅員街路にこれまた広幅員17mのクル・ド・サックが貼りついている。クル・ド・サックは幅員6mの地先道路である、という西歐的な基準からすれば、巨大であるとしか形容できないものである。17mの幅員構成は中央部に9mの駐車スペース、両側に4mの道路をもち、先端に車が回転しやすいように広場をもつ(図5)。台湾型クル・ド・サックと名づけた所以である。

この台湾型クル・ド・サックは通過交通を排除し、歩車分離で安全で快適な歩行、買物を願っていた。そして住宅地と商業地で歩行者専用路のパターンが異なる。住宅地の場合、歩行者専用路が全く独立して設けられた事例(第18-8期、図2)と、歩行者専用路がクル・ド・サックを結びつけている事例(第18-5期、図4)があり、いずれも幅員4~6mである。商業地の場合(第15期、図3、第25期、図4)、幅員10~25mの大きなモールが中央部を走り、クル・ド・サックを結びつけている。

そして1971年に策定された拡大都市計画では、およそ7割の地区でこの台湾型クル・ド・サック、1割の地区でループ状道路が計画されていた(5)。

つまりクル・ド・サックは西歐型のものを即、適用するという単純な誤りをおかすことなく、まずは台湾に適合するような形に修正設計され、高雄郊外に幅広く導入されたわけである。

3.2. クル・ド・サック変容の過程

高雄市の土地区画整理事業は、ほぼ事業の公示日順に「第N期土地区画整理事業」という風に呼ばれている。そしてクル・ド・サックは第15期、第18期、第25期、第29期の4地区、592.0haに導入された。第29期土地区画整理事業はまだ着手されていないので、ここでの分析からは除く(6)。

各地区の概要は表1に示す通りである。第15期、第25期は商業地を含んだ地区である。第18期は全体として施行面積268.4haと広く、分散しているため、ここでは住宅中心の第18-5期を分析地区に選ぶ。

ところで第15期土地区画整理事業は1978年、第18-5期は1980年、第25期は1985年に公示された。この三土地区画整理事業の間には、およそ7年間の差がある。そしてこの7年間は、①クル・ド・サックを建設する、②クル・ド・サックに問題を発見する、③クル・ド・サックを修正さらに否定する という、クル・ド・サック変容の過程であった。

第15期土地区画整理事業は、最初にクル・ド・サックを①「建設」した事例であり、②「問題発見」の後、③「修正」された。第18-5期もほぼ同様の過程を経ている。そして25期ではこれらの反省の下、計画そのものを改定し、クル・ド・サックから格子状道路へ改められている。つまりここで分析対象とした三地区は、住宅地、商業地という土地利用上の多様性ばかりでなく、クル・ド・サック変容の過程を知る上でも有益な事例といえよう。

3.3. クル・ド・サックに問題を発見し修正した —— 第15期土地区画整理事業地区(図3)

この第15期土地区画整理事業は、高雄駅の東、およそ2kmと立地がよく、区画整理の着手も1978年と一番早かった。南半分は商業地区、北半分は住宅地に指定されている。

商業地区では、「歩車分離の中央部モールを買物客が安全に快適に行き来し、車は幅員17mのクル・ド・サックを走り、駐車する」という姿が想定されていた。欧米都市の中心商業地区にみられる歩行者天国をイメージしたものであろう。

現実はどうであったか。

中央モールには車が走り、買い物客、商店経営者、居住者などに不便を強いる歩車分離の意図はみごとに失敗している。今やモールはごく普通の道路に化している。モール沿道には4、5階建ての建物が建ち、商店はまばらである。表通りのにぎわいはなく、むしろ自動車関連の小工場が目立ち、高雄のどこにでもみられる住商工の混合地区となっている(写真1)。

住宅地でも事情は変わらない。幅4~6mの歩行者専用道路が縦横に建設され、4~5階建て住宅が貼つき、いずれの道にも車が走っている。閉鎖型のクル・ド・サックは、利用面で、開放型道路に変更されている。

「歩車を分離する」という計画者の優れた意図にもかかわらず、人々はこれを生活に不便を強いるものと拒否し、否定したわけである。建民路（人々の建設したみち）というモールの名称は、日本語で「人々の建設したみち」とも読める。そこに皮肉を感じるのは筆者だけであろうか。

3.4. クル・ド・サックは転換を迫られた —— 第18-5期土地区画整理事業地区（図4）

第18-5期土地区画整理事業地区は4～5階建てのテラス・ハウスを中心にした住宅地で、高雄駅の北東、3～4kmに位置する。建設されたクル・ド・サックに批判の意見が数多く出され、クル・ド・サックは転換期にあった。市当局は、地主、住民から意見聴取を行った。

- ・友人を訪れるのに住所がわかりにくい。
 - ・隣人を訪れるのに大まわりして行かなければならない。
 - ・郵便配達、ゴミ収集、電気料金徴収の時、住所がわかりにくく不便である。
 - ・クル・ド・サックの隅切り部が曲線のため、曲がった建物となり、室が使いづらい。
- こうした生活上の不満に加え、実利上の問題もあった。
- ・地価が全体に上がらず、クル・ド・サックでない他の地区に比して安い。
 - ・行き止まりのため人通りが少なく、商売に適していない(7)。

さらに、測量に誤りが生じやすく、土地界の争いが絶えないことも指摘された。

加えて住民の不満を決定的にしたのは、クル・ド・サックが家相を無視していたことである。家相とは、「その人の運勢に影響するかしらないかの目じるしとなる、家のたて方や方角の特色」（三省堂国語辞典）をいう。台湾の人は今でも、行き止まり路の正面を、「むなし、はかない、縁起でもない場所」とであると固く信じ、弓矢が当たる、視覚的圧迫感を与える場所ともみなしている（図5）。確かに古くからの市街地では寺院の建つ場所で、住宅価格は周辺の6～7割に留まっていた。

結局のところ、クル・ド・サック導入という都市計画家の進取の気性も、経済成長期にあった台湾の近代化の大きなうねりも、伝統的な因襲を信じる人々の日常生活の重みの前に、

あえなく敗れたといえよう。

結局、都市計画委員会(8)はクル・ド・サックを今後、採用しないことを決め、住民は4～6m幅員の道路、路地を必要な場所に新設し、不便さをなくそうと努力した。

3.5. クル・ド・サックをやめ格子状道路へ変更した。 —— 第25期土地区画整理事業地区（図6、図7、写真4）

都市計画委員会のこの決定に従い、クル・ド・サックの計画を最初にとりやめたのが第25期土地区画整理事業地区（1985年公示）であった。クル・ド・サックの場所を示す建築線に沿って建てられた建物のみられる地区も一部あるが、大半はのびのびした幅員21m、17m、12m、の直線格子状道路で、北の新しい商業拠点として斬新なデザインの、ポスト・モダン調の商業建築、住宅の建築ラッシュが続いている。

地価は、同じ商業地でも第18-5期に比し、この第25期の方が高いという(9)。人気の格子状道路、不評のクル・ド・サックを一面、反映したものであろう。

結局、クル・ド・サックの導入を決めた1971年から数えて15年後の1985年にして始めて、その大胆で、斬新な構想は否定されたことになる。

4. なぜ、台湾型クル・ド・サックは高雄で失敗したか

高雄に導入されたクル・ド・サックは、問題発見、修正・否定という失敗の道をたどった。なぜか。

すでに、西欧型クル・ド・サックを単純に模倣したのではなく、巨大でユニークな台湾型であったこと、また失敗の理由として、日常生活上の不便、家相の無視、想定した土地利用が純商業地ではなく、住商工の混合地となったことなど、個別の事例にもとづき指摘してきた。

こうした事実をまとめると、クル・ド・サック失敗の基本的理由として、① 都市計画家が、クル・ド・サック周辺で営まれる人々の生活のイメージ、また沿道の空間イメージを説

み切っていなかった ② 袋路というクル・ド・サックの空間形態そのものが、もともと問題をもっている、の二点が浮かび上がってくる。

以下、順次、考察していきたい。

① 都市計画家は、現実の生活イメージ・空間イメージを読み切っていなかった。

都市計画家はクル・ド・サックの導入にあたり、「沿道の空間は、高雄の郊外に一般的にみられる3～4階建てテラスハウス、つまり高密市街地となる。従って巨大な台湾型クル・ド・サックとする」、「歩車の分離は安全確保のため望ましい。従って歩行者専用路を設け、歩車分離とする」、「地区商業中心には、商業集積がみられるであろう。従って、歩行者が楽しく安全に買物できるよう商業モール化する」などの推測、願望、仮説にもとづき、台湾型クル・ド・サック、歩行者専用路、商業モールを設計した。

現実はどうであったか。

確かに高密市街地になった。しかし一階はアーケードに店舗、小工場が貼りつき、二階以上は住居という併用住宅となった。これは高雄の一般市街地の姿である。つまり結果として、純住宅地ではなく、住商工の混合地にクル・ド・サックを建設したことになった。歩車分離も成功していない。車は少ないが、ともかく歩車は混在し、歩行者専用路にも車は走っている。そしてどこにでも屋台を開き、子供も遊ぶという道の多様な利用が現実である。また商業モールの沿道も、商業集積のみられる純商業地ではなく、住商工の混在地となっている。

用途混在、道の多様な利用こそ、活気にあふれた高雄の現実の市街地風景であり、都市計画家が望ましいこととして、しばしば西欧を基準に描いてきた用途純化、歩車分離の市街地風景とはかなり違っていた。

まして人々が固く信じる家相を、古い因襲であると捉え無視したことは、クル・ド・サックの失敗を決定的なものとした。人々の心のひだの部分にはなかなか変わらないということであろう。

以上要するに都市計画家に、人々の日常生活を精緻にながめ、そこから学び論理を組み立てていくという姿勢に欠けるところがあったため、クル・ド・サックは失敗したといえよう。

② 袋路というクル・ド・サックの空間形態そのものが問題を持ち、かなり特殊な、固有の生活イメージ、空間イメージを前提に成立している。

「……高低差のある地形に採用しやすい点もあるが、迂回路がなく分かりにくい等、利便性に欠ける問題がある」(10)。クル・ド・サックの問題点を指摘した、教科書からの一文である。高雄ではこの問題点が直接、クル・ド・サックを失敗へと導いた。

とすれば、なぜ問題点にもかかわらず、イギリスなどで幅広く用いられてきたのであろうか(11)。

住宅地計画のマニュアルには、「クル・ド・サックは地先道路である、20～30戸の住戸が小集団化し、コミュニティを形成する、視覚的にまとまりをつくり、領域性の高い空間を形成する」などと書かれている。つまり、袋路はよそ者にとり「分かりにくい」が、一面、見知らぬ者の勝手にしのび込めない、居住者にとり閉じた、領域性のあるいい空間であるともいえよう。また静かで安全で快適である、小コミュニティをつくる、さらに領域性の高いことは、「利便性」に欠けるという欠点を補ってあまりある——こうした一連の価値判断があって、はじめて、クル・ド・サックはかくも広く用いられてきたに違いない。

そしてクル・ド・サックは、こうした価値判断を持つ人々の生活イメージ、また彼らの好む空間イメージに支持され成立している。この点を今少し展開してみよう。

クル・ド・サックは、郊外住宅地の計画技法のひとつとして発展してきた。やや図式化して描けば、郊外は中産階級の住む同質的な場であり、田園に慣れ親しむ生活、車利用を前提にした生活、快適な生活を有らまほしき生活イメージとして描いていた。この生活イメージに対応する空間イメージは、緑豊かな広い敷地の低層低密の純住宅地であり、従って安全・静けさ・快適さという特徴をもつ。さらにクル・ド・サックのまわりの住戸群を単位

に小コミュニティが形成され、そこは同時に、領域性の高い空間でもあった。

以上要するに、イギリスにみられるクル・ド・サックは、中産階級の固有の生活イメージと空間イメージに支えられ、その問題点を上まわる利点をもつ特殊な計画技法であった。

しかし、高雄には、こうしたイギリス的な生活イメージ、空間イメージがなく、従って問題点が表面化したわけである。

格子状道路の汎用性と比較した時、クル・ド・サックの特殊性は対照的である。

①の都市計画家の読み誤り、また②の固有の生活イメージ、空間イメージとは、結局のところ、「クル・ド・サックの成立に適合的な諸条件をもつ社会がある」ということであろう。クル・ド・サックを幅広く受け入れてきたイギリスは、都心と郊外は明確に分かれ、郊外は低密、その用途は単一機能に純化され、快適な居住環境づくりをめざしていた。そして何より中産階級が社会の中核を占める豊かな社会であった。一方、高雄、ひいては台湾では、都心機能は分散し、都心と郊外は二分されず、郊外も高密、用途は混合、何よりもまず利便性を重んじる、急速に豊かになりつつある社会であった。

ふたつの国ではかなり社会像、都市像、空間像、都市計画の目標が違うわけである。そしてクル・ド・サックは、近代都市計画と同じく、豊かな社会、成熟した社会に適合的な計画技法であったといえよう(12)。

5. おわりに

高雄における台湾型クル・ド・サックの導入は、かなり思慮深い試みであった。にもかかわらず失敗に帰したことは、都市計画の理論、発想にいくつかの重要な示唆を与えている。

第一に、クル・ド・サックというひとつの計画技術でも固有の生活・空間条件によって支えられていること、さらに都市計画そのものも、固有の社会的条件によって支えられ、相対化の必要があること、第二に人々の日常生活の姿と要求にねざし、また一国の住文化にもとづき都市計画を発想することの大切さを示唆している。

これらの示唆は、今度ますます盛んになると思われる都市計画システムの国際交流にあ

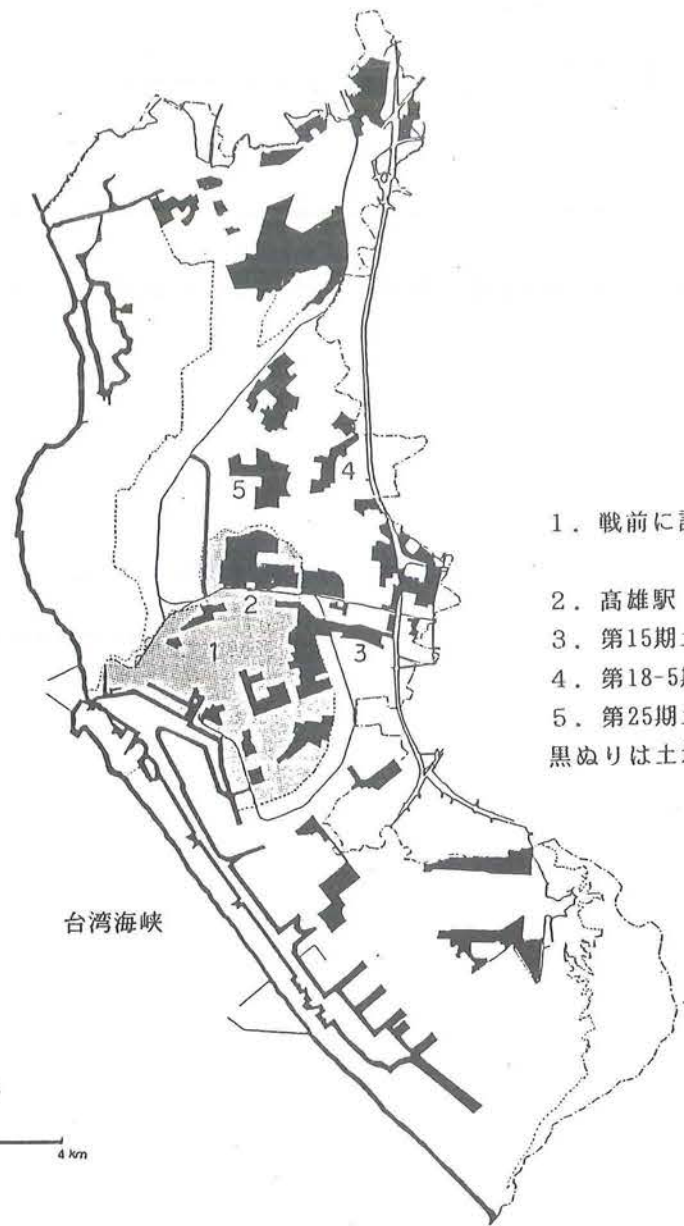
たり、技術援助、資金援助を通じ外から、また外国で都市計画教育を受けたエリート官僚の手で上から、つまり住民にとり二重の意味で日常生活に遠いところから、異なる文化圏の都市計画システムが無自覚に導入されることがないようにという警告でもある。

確かに高雄の失敗は、600haにもなる広い地区に、大胆にも一度に導入しようとしたため目立った。しかしこの大胆さは、「高雄市は近代都市計画理論の実験の場であった」(13)といわれるように、同時に、多くの先進的な都市計画上の試みを育ててきた。ここではその進取の気性も指摘しておきたい。

謝辞 — 1985年、1988年の二度の現地調査に際しお世話になった、黄秋月教授、許仲川先生、黄世孟教授をはじめ、高雄市の林中森博士、宋清泉部長ほか関係者の方々に厚くお礼申し上げます。

(注釈)

- (1) Arnold Whittick, *Encyclopedia of Urban Planning*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1974, pp. 297-298.
- (2) 本稿のねらいは、この役割を徹底的に追求し、責任を糾明するといった人の悪い、粗さがしにはない。また微妙な点になると外にいる者(外国人で、当事者でない者)にはわかりにくい。
- (3) 都心部を対象とした戦前の日本の植民地時代に策定された街路計画も区画街路まで決めた詳細なものであった。従って詳細な拡大都市計画を受け入れる素地はあったといえよう。
- (4) 1875年のプロシア街路線及び建築線法、1918年のプロシア住居法でこうした方法がとられた。また建築物のコントロールのなかった点も、高雄とドイツで共通している。なお、戦前、積極的建築線指定として日本にも伝播し、細街路形成に寄与した。
- (5) 1971年の拡大都市計画区域は、土地区画整理事業と民間開発により整備が進められている。民間開発地でクル・ド・サックが崩壊した地区もある。しかし本稿の分析は、資料の制約もあり、土地区画整理事業地区に限る。
- (6) 第29期は第25期と同様、すでにクル・ド・サックを改定し、格子状道路にすることが決められている。
- (7) 台湾では住宅地でも、小規模商店は一般的にみられる。
- (8) 市長を委員長とし、市職員、民間専門家、学識経験者などからなる15~17名の組織で、高雄市の都市計画行政全般を指導、決定している。
- (9) 表1によれば、区画整理の完了した時点の第18-5期と第25期の地価はほぼ同じであった。しかし1988年春、第25期では3~4.5万NTD/m²と高騰している。
- (10) 都市計画教育研究会編、『都市計画教科書』、彰国社、1987年、47-48ページ。
- (11) ここでイギリスをとりあげた理由は、クル・ド・サックがイギリスで幅広く用いられているという事実による。むしろドイツ人顧問団も台湾人都市計画家も、「欧米で広く用いられ、教科書でも推奨されているクル・ド・サック」というぐらいの位置づけであったという(高雄市役所でのヒアリングによる)。
- (12) このことは、同時に台湾においても、4章の①②でみた「クル・ド・サックに適合的な条件の場所」を選べば成立することを示唆している。
- (13) 黄世孟、「近代都市計画理論の実験の場：高雄」、『建築師』、1987年12月号、51-57ページ。



1. 戦前に計画された格子状道路の地区
(中心市街地)
 2. 高雄駅
 3. 第15期土地区画整理事業
 4. 第18-5期土地区画整理事業
 5. 第25期土地区画整理事業
- 黒ぬりは土地区画整理事業を示す

図1 高雄市における
土地区画整理事業

期	面積 (ha)	区画整理後の土地利用		区画整理 公示の時期	換地処分 の時期	事業が完 了した時 期	地 価			
		宅地面積 (ha)	道路面積 (ha)				整理前 (NTD/m ²)	整理後 (NTD/m ²)	上昇率	減少率 (%)
第15期	43.4	30.0	13.0	1978年 8月	1979年 9月	1980年 2月	2,142	5,674	2.65	32.0
第18-5期	54.8	39.5	14.9	1980年 4月	1982年 8月	1982年 8月	3,563	9,145	2.57	32.9
第25期	102.4	34.0	30.2	1985年 5月	1986年 6月	1986年 11月	6,000	9,700	1.62	39.0

1) N.T.D.とは New Taiwan Dollarで 1N.T.D.=5円

表1 分析地区の概要



図2 第18-8期土地区画整理事業

図4 第18-5期土地区画整理事業

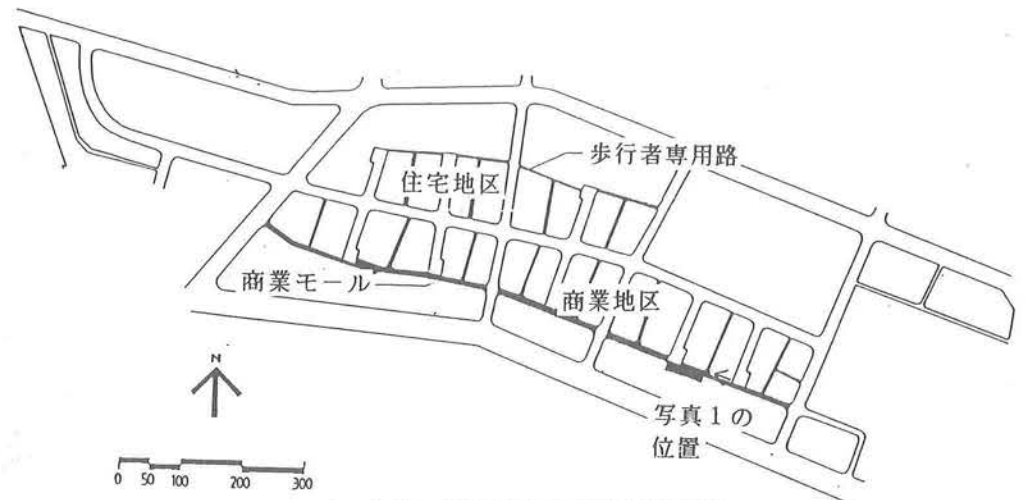


図3 第15期土地区画整理事業

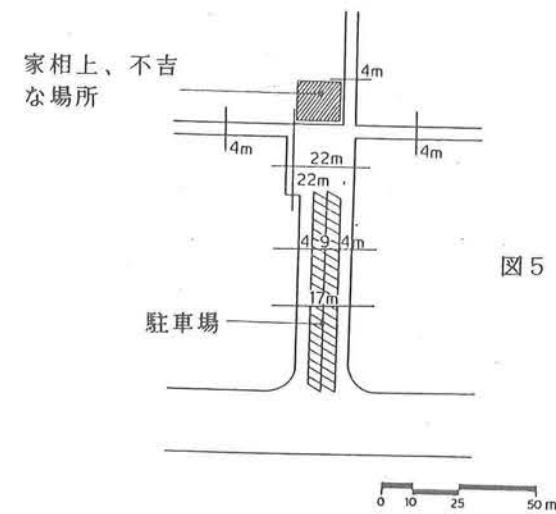


図5 台湾型クル・ド・サックの詳細

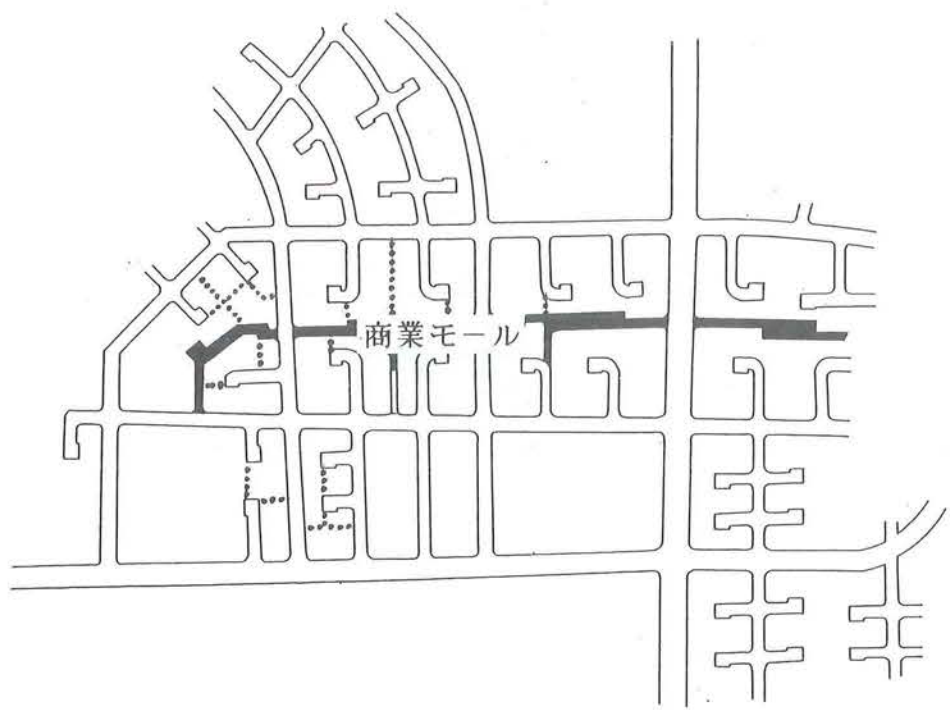


図6 第25期土地区画整理事業計画図（部分、改定前）
黒ぬりは商業モールを示す。歩行者専用路は一部地区のみ破線で示した。

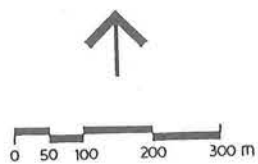


図7 第25期土地区画整理事業計画図（部分、改定後）

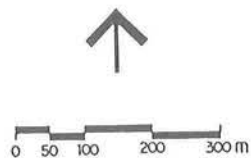


写真1 第15期土地区画整理事業地区内の商業モール
(以下全て1988年4月撮影)



写真2 第18-5期土地区画整理事業地区
歩行者専用路にも車が走る

写真3 第18-5期土地区画整理事業地区
クル・ド・サック先端の回転広場



写真4 第25期土地区画整理事業地区
格子状道路に改められている。 B6-16

THE TRANSFER OF BRITISH PLANNING TO THE COLONIES
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE AND HONG KONG

by Dr. Robert Home

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Planning history studies have given relatively little attention to the transfer of European-derived planning systems to their colonial possessions. What recent work has been done criticizes such planning systems as inappropriate in the post-colonial situation:

'... most formal postcolonial urban additions and new cities continue to embody European planning norms. It would seem important to indigenise town planning practice, and hence the structure of new cities and townships, as part of the process of postcolonial change. Yet there has been remarkable continuity in this sphere ... It is certainly no longer possible to recreate a totally indigenous urban vernacular, but far more locally distinctive and appropriate forms could be developed.' (Simon 1988)

One of the few researchers in the field, Tony King, has provided a useful chronology for the 'export of planning':

'(a) A period up to the early twentieth century when settlements, camps, towns and cities were laid out according to various military, technical, political and cultural principles, the most important of which was military-political dominance ...

'(b) A second period, beginning in the early twentieth century, which coincides with the development of formally-stated "town planning" theory, ideology, legislation and professional skills in Britain, when the network of colonial relationships was used to convey such phenomena - on a selective and uneven basis - to the dependent territories.

'(c) A third period of post- or neo-colonial developments

... when cultural, political and economic links have, within a larger network of global communications and a situation of economic dependence, provided the means to continue the process of "cultural colonialism" with the continued export of values, ideologies and planning models.' (King 1980)

This paper examines the history of British-derived town planning activity in the three countries which were Britain's major colonies in East Asia - Malaysia (formerly Malaya, 131,000 sq km, 1987 population 16.5 million), Singapore (630 sq km, 1986 population 2.6 million) and Hong Kong (1000 sq km, 1986 population 5.6 million). It loosely follows King's chronology, and attempts some kind of balance sheet for the British-derived planning systems in those countries.

Nineteenth century urban processes

It was the East India Company which brought British colonial rule to the important strategic area of the Straits of Malacca - 'a gullet through which the foreigner's sea and land traffic in either direction must pass' (Andaya 1982:24). Three colonies (known as the Straits Settlements) were established: Penang (acquired from the Sultan of Kedah by dubious means in 1786), Malacca (now known as Melaka, acquired from the Dutch in 1795), and Singapore (acquired from the Sultan of Johore in 1819 and the seat of government from 1832).

The first Straits settlement, George Town (Penang), was initially unsurveyed, unplanned and unhealthy:

'A mixed, a little estimable population, live huddled together in a manner little superior to their favourite animal, the buffalo' (a contemporary observer quoted in George Town 1966:2).

By contrast, the first plan of Singapore (prepared by Lieutenant Jackson in 1827) shows projected as well as existing streets, and segregated areas for the European, Chinese, Arab and Malay populations. A map by G.D. Coleman shows the town in 1836, hemmed in by hills and swamps to the west, by small hills to the south, and

the sea to the east, while the Singapore river was still to be bridged. Later extensions to the original scheme were less well planned, partly because of the East India Company practice of selling off land freehold and on 99-year leases (Fraser 1957).

Local government in the Straits Settlements followed British and colonial Indian practice. Acts of 1839 and 1848 (modelled on the English Municipal Corporation Act of 1835) provided for a rating system and tax on vehicles, from the revenues of which municipal works could be undertaken, and for elected Municipal Commissioners. In 1867 the Straits Settlements were transferred from the India Office to the Colonial Office, and local government on the English model was introduced by Ordinances of 1887 and 1913, with staff separate from the colonial administration. These administration pursued public works projects similar to British city councils, and the 1913 Ordinance established by-law planning on the basis of 36 ft. streets, back lanes and height restrictions.

After the Straits Settlements had secured Britain's trade route to the east, Hong Kong Island was taken by Britain in 1842 as her trading base for the huge Chinese market. Kowloon was added in 1860, and the New Territories leased in 1898. The population was only 7,000 in 1842, but grew to 0.3 million in 1906 and 0.6 million in 1945. Land was sold leasehold by public auction, and the system of administration was more *laissez faire* than in Singapore, with minimal interference with private property rights.

The extension of colonial rule from the Straits Settlements to Peninsular Malaysia was gradual. Not until 1880 was the seat of government transferred inland from Port Klang to Kuala Lumpur, and the final transfers from Thai to British control were as late as 1909. Towns (generally originating as Chinese mining camps) were small and few, since the Malay settlement pattern was dispersed villages (*kampongs*). Kuala Lumpur, only had a population in 4000 in 1887, and George Town was the largest town (110,000 population in 1914). Until the 1950s there was no system of municipal government like that in the Straits Settlements or Hong

Kong, but towns were administered by sanitary and town boards, with appointed members, and staffed from the colonial administration (Norris 1980).

Thus the colonial administrative systems of the three colonies differed significantly, with consequences for the later development of town planning. Hong Kong and Singapore were developed as Crown Colonies and trading centres, with 'direct rule' administration; all land was owned by the crown, and leased or sold with few restrictions. In Singapore strong municipal government developed, while Hong Kong followed an extreme *laissez faire* approach. In the Federated Malay States (FMS), on the other hand, an indirect rule or protectorate system developed: the traditional rulers and land tenure systems were retained, with British colonial administrators ostensibly in the role of advisers ('Residents'), and the mining towns and immigrant Chinese and Indian labour were kept segregated from the indigenous Malay (or *bumiputera*) population.

Transfer of British Town Planning 1920-50

Within a few years of the passage of Britain's first planning legislation (1909) and the formation of the Town Planning Institute (1914), British town planning practice was being exported to the colonies by garden city enthusiasts: 'We want not only England but all parts of the Empire to be covered with Garden Cities' (quoted in King 1980:203). As early as 1915 the Council of the FMS was discussing the need for town planning legislation:

'The Government is an all-powerful and benevolent one. Every Resident is a Socialist in his own State. I should like earnestly to recommend to the Government ... proper control over the development of our towns before they become large towns.' (quoted in Goh 1988)

Singapore appointed a planning expert (Captain Richards) in 1920, and the FMS, probably motivated by rivalry with the Straits Settlements, soon after approached the South Australian Government

for the service of its town planner, C.C.Reade (1880-1933), who had worked in Britain as a publicist for the Garden Cities Association. While Richards left Singapore, frustrated at the obstacles he met, in 1924, Reade was confirmed as Town Planning Adviser to the FMS (one of the first such salaried advisers in the colonies), and served until 1930. His appointment might seem so far-sighted as to be incongruous in a colony which at the time had only two towns of over 50,000 population, but both the colonial administration and the Chinese mining communities of Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh and Taiping were initially enthusiastic. Reade reported his activities regularly in the British Town Planning Institute's proceedings and the newly created Town Planning Review (Reade 1921), and indeed through the 1920s and 1930s the FMS received far more reportage in the professional planning press in Britain than either Hong Kong and Singapore.

Through Reade's influence the FMS passed one of the earliest examples of colonial planning legislation, the Town Planning Act 1923. This empowered the Resident to appoint a town planning committee, and gave the Government Town Planner wide powers to prepare a 'General Town Plan', setting aside zones for residential, commercial, industrial, agricultural and other specified purposes, after which no land could be sold unless accompanied by a certificate of conformity. Soon after, however, the local colonial administration began to tire of Reade's evangelism, and in 1927 a new Act made the Federal Town Planner an adviser only to the sanitary boards, and reduced the earlier vision of comprehensive land management to mere zoning regulation.

One cause of hostility to Reade was the cost of highway land acquisition: the 1923 Act provided for ample road reservations - 66/150-foot main roads, 50/66-foot secondary roads, 20/50-foot residential roads, and 10/20-foot pathways - but the Government was not prepared to pay for them. (An earlier solution to the problems of congestion and street hawkers, adopted in Kuala Lumpur when the town was rebuilt after a disastrous fire in 1886, had been to require each shop to be set back on the ground floor for a covered way ('the five foot way') so that pedestrians could pass unobstructed by street hawkers (Gullick 1983:74).)

Compared with the FMS experiment in enlightened planning legislation, Singapore appeared to Reade as:

'... a striking example of planless modern city and regional growth undirected by any comprehensive general plan and complementary schemes of improvement and development. The outcome of that modern growth is much unnecessary disorder, congestion and difficulties for which remedial measures have long been overdue' (Singapore 1928)

Following criticism of the poor housing conditions by a Housing Commission in 1918, the Singapore Improvement Trust (SIT) was created in 1927; it was empowered to raise an improvement rate, undertake improvement schemes, and control land subdivision, but not to prepare comprehensive plans or control development.

Housing conditions and public health were recurrent problems in the rapidly growing colonial ports and towns, and the Chinese shophouse was singled out as a particular health hazard. Similar forms of building had existed in the commercial centres of mediaeval European cities: a narrow frontage (typically about twenty feet), great depth (100 feet or more) and no rear access, the ground floor shop having an internal staircase to living rooms on the upper floors, usually subdivided into long, narrow cubicles, with little or no direct light and fresh air. These shophouses were considered to be the main factor in the high incidence of tuberculosis (Concannon 1958b:306). Singapore had developed a type of back-to-back shophouse which created particularly insanitary conditions, and before the Second World War the SIT undertook a number of improvement schemes, opening up backlanes through 800 shophouse blocks to allow access for services and more light and air; this form of rehabilitation was later abandoned in favour of more comprehensive renewal.

In Hong Kong, although housing conditions and urban congestion were at least as bad as in Singapore, the colonial administration limited the planning function to a small division within the Lands and Survey sub-department of the Public Works Department, exercising less influence than in either Malaysia or Singapore. Public control over private property rights was minimal,

and attempts to impose planning restrictions were generally dismissed by the courts as ultra vires (Wigglesworth 1982).

By the late 1930s British town planning legislation was being exported to many colonies. The 1947 Act is now regarded as the great milestone in British planning legislation, but most colonial legislation was based upon the earlier 1932 Act. This extended the planning powers of local authorities over not only potential development land but also existing built-up areas and land not intended for development; control was exercised through planning schemes and interim development orders, and there were financial provisions to cover both betterment and loss of value resulting from planning proposals. Hong Kong paid lip service to the 1932 Act with its 1939 Town Planning Ordinance (Cap. 131), but it was largely ineffective, and even the Government Town Planner referred to it as 'a necessary charade' (Wigglesworth 1982). In Malaysia Part IX of the 1939 Town Boards Enactment brought the 1927 Act in line with British practice.

Post-war and post-colonial planning

All three colonies were under Japanese occupation from 1941/2 to 1945, and after the end of the War three themes dominated planning:

(a) the continued export of British planning ideas under the Commonwealth Development and Welfare Programme and as part of the Attlee's government's drive towards local democracy in the colonies.

(b) massive growth and redistribution of population, the result of both immigration and natural increase. All three countries have experienced among the highest population growth rates in the world: Malaysia's population doubled in three decades (from 4.9 million in Peninsular Malaysia in 1947 to 11.1 million in 1980), but Hong Kong's increased by a staggering tenfold in four decades (from 0.6 million in 1946 to 5.5 million in 1986).

(c) the politics of decolonization and independence, under which planning and state intervention assumed a high profile.

In Malaya the town planning department grew rapidly in size after the War, as an advisory department within the Ministry of the Interior and Justice. An important focus for its activities was the Emergency of 1948-56: some 400,000 Chinese were forcibly resettled into some 500 'new villages', in order to control estate workers and prevent food and supplies passing to the Communist insurgents. Crudely planned in rectangular layouts which could be easily set out by untrained staff, many of these settlements nevertheless remained in existence after the end of the Emergency.

British-derived new town programmes and regional planning became important political initiatives after Malaysian independence. Petaling Jaya new town, on the outskirts of Kuala Lumpur, was followed by the creation of a Federal Capital Territory for Kuala Lumpur and the development of Shah Alam new town as the state capital of Selangor. The 1969 riots led to a drastic political reappraisal resulting in a New Economic Plan to increase the participation of the Malays in urban and economic development. In 1971 Urban Development Authority was created, which has built the prestige Dayabumi development in central Kuala Lumpur (Amato 1982), and seven regional planning authorities were created between 1972 and 1983 (Bruton 1985). Malaysia's Federal Planning Department has also been strengthened, growing from less than 10 professional planners in 1970 to over a hundred by 1982. A new Planning Act in 1976 was modelled closely on the British 1971 Act, introducing the new structure and local plans, but under the Malaysian federal structure the states can choose the parts (if any) of the Act they wish to adopt, which has limited the application of the new system (Bruton 1982). Planner training programmes now exist at three higher education institutions in Malaysia, with strong involvement from British planning schools (notably University of Wales, Cardiff) (Bruton 1982).

In Singapore large-scale urban renewal and new town development was undertaken from the 1960s, helped by the falling in of 99-year leases granted by the East India Company before 1840 and 1860. A Master Plan was prepared between 1950 and 1956, and in 1960 SIT was reorganized into the Housing and Development Board, which built over half a million housing units in the following 25 years with the support of a strong land acquisition act. In 1965 the island rather unexpectedly became independent, and planning became a politically high-profile activity. More corporations were created (the Jurong New Town Corporation and the Urban Redevelopment Authority), and a programme of 15 new towns and major transport investment has reshaped the whole settlement pattern on the island. Over 80% of the population of Singapore now live in public housing (compared with 40% in Hong Kong), and well over a million people have moved into new towns in both city states, representing probably the largest and most rapid new town development programme in the world.

Hong Kong, however, remained the least planned of the three colonies. Sir Patrick Abercrombie, that ever-present planning guru of the day, prepared a 'preliminary outline plan' on a short visit in 1948, but government indifference to his initiative provoked a scathing criticism by a reviewer in the 1960s:

'Official Hong Kong policy - "Build now, plan later" - has proved to be the negation of his whole teaching both in theory and results ... The tragic outcome of this administrative effort is the crowding within 400 square miles of rocky terrain of over three million persons, most of whom are crushed within 5% of the total land area, ... a vast slum on the border of China in face of decades of professional and academic protest. If the Isle of Wight had been so treated by Asians, Britain would have risen in resentment long since ... The condition of Wanchai and the Western District of Victoria is a lasting and unmerited smear on British planning expertise' (Davis 1965).

Occasional riots, costly building collapses and fires which left thousands homeless only slowly brought action on public housing. Industrial satellite towns in the 1950s at Kwun Tong and Tsuen Wan, and new towns in the 1960s at Castle Peak and Sha Tin,

proceeded slowly until 1972, when a 10-year housing programme was introduced. This proposed new housing for 1.6 million people, and a massive decentralization to new towns under the Territory Development Department, following the planning principles of self-containment and balanced development. Thus Hong Kong has belatedly adopted a planned approach, based upon the Colony Outline Plan (prepared 1965-71) and a Territorial Development Strategy. The official commitment is still to private rather than public development, with the NTDD's role limited to assembling land and infrastructure, while private developers undertake most of the construction (Wang and Yeh 1987).

Conclusions

This article is a preliminary sketch of the export of British planning systems to the three colonies, which it is hoped has shown how the scope and effectiveness of planning activity was profoundly affected by the colonial governmental structure.

Thus Malaysia inherited a strong planning tradition dating back to the work of Reade in the 1920s, and firmly located at the federal level of government, which was the direct heir to the colonial administration. Some major new town developments have been carried out, but planning effectiveness has suffered from the relationship between federal and state governments. In Britain planning has become firmly embedded in the district level of local government, with strategic planning at the county level, but Malaysia, while adopting the British system of plan-making with little modification, has not built a strong local government tier because of the continuing strength of the state governments. As in other developing countries, such as Nigeria (Home 1982), the states have been reluctant to foster active local government, although there have been some vigorous local authorities (such as George Town and Ipoh). Planning seems to have had little effect on ribbon development, dispersed settlement patterns, or regional development, and to have over-emphasized technical content rather than planning for community preferences.

Hong Kong and Singapore were very different colonial creations from Malaya - trading city-states with no traditional or pre-colonial system of government surviving. Singapore developed an interventionist style of government based on the municipal corporation and the improvement trust; after the War there was political backing for a major master plan exercise and a redistribution of population to new towns. Hong Kong's free enterprise culture brooked little state interference until the 1970s saw the beginnings of a comprehensive plan approach and planned decentralization to the New Territories.

It may seem ironic that, of the three countries under study, 'non-plan' Hong Kong should have provided one of the few examples of colonial influence upon metropolitan planning practice, for Hong Kong provided a model for the planning-free enterprise zones and the streamlined urban development corporations in dockland and inner city areas which were introduced by the Thatcher Government after 1980.

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Adapting Western Planning Concepts for Metropolis in Newly Industrializing Country: Case Study of Contemporary Hong Kong

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INTRODUCTION

- I. MODERN WESTERN PLANNING PERSPECTIVE
- II. METROPOLIS IN NEWLY INDUSTRIALIZING COUNTRY (NIC)
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- IV. PLANNING THE NIC METROPOLIS

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ADAPTING WESTERN PLANNING CONCEPTS FOR METROPOLIS IN NEWLY INDUSTRIALIZING COUNTRY: CASE STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY HONG KONG

INTRODUCTION

Since the Third World generally has no modern planning tradition, urban planning practice often is borrowed from the West - Western Europe. The aim of this paper is to review how relevant is such adaptation. Specifically, how appropriate is the Western planning concepts for the metropolis in the newly industrializing countries (NICs)? To illustrate, Hong Kong's recent urban development is used as an example.

This paper is organized in four parts. Certain dominant planning concepts are outlined. Modern Western Planning Perspective outlines these aspects and traces the origin and causes. The characteristics, the development role and the growth process of the metropolis in NIC are delineated in Metropolis in NEWLY INDUSTRIALIZING COUNTRY. These are further examined in THE CASE OF HONG KONG. By comparing the conditions of the metropolis in NIC and Western planning practice, some major contrary trends which influence the nature of planning are identified in PLANNING THE NIC METROPOLIS.

I. MODERN WESTERN PLANNING PERSPECTIVES

The basis of modern Western planning practice - referring specifically to Western Europe can be traced to the Garden City Concept. The main elements of this concept focus on environmental quality and physical planning - specifically on functional separation and low density development. The reason why this 19th Century planning concept is still relevant is because these elements are still compatible to contemporary urbanization phenomenon. Two recent urban events - restructuring of urban industry and gentrification, are instrumental to the continuous adaptation of the concept. Western planning practice is, therefore, firmly embedded in the Garden City tradition.

Environmental Quality

Environmental quality is one of the main features of the Garden City Concept. The importance of creating a pleasant environment is expressed in Ebenezer Howard's ideal of cities (Sutcliffe, 1981: 64). Environmental value is

established as the traditional concern of urban planning. Controlling the physical environment has become the planning tool to ensure a certain level of quality for living. By arranging land uses, separating incompatible uses, adjoining complementary, and grouping uses to service social activities, community needs will be met. By providing land development with road, open space and infrastructure, physical environment will be sustained and improved. Moreover, physical environmental control will prevent the overloading or underloading of land use capacity in relation to service facilities such as transportation and energy networks (Self, 1982: 7-8).

Another aspect of environmental values is the protection of cultural, historic and recreational resources. It is argued that they have long term social value which cannot be measured by the prices of the land and construction they occupy. The fact that fine buildings, townscapes and landscapes are increasingly appreciated, admired and visited, strengthens the case that they have intrinsic environmental value and therefore they should be protected against developmental pressures to replace them for more economic uses (Ibid).

The concept of protecting man-made and built environment extends to the natural environment, as air, water, land and energy are seen as limited resources which have to be conserved and protected. Pollution and abuse of these resources not only impoverish but also deplete these irreplaceable elements. Modern urban development often infringes into the natural environment, thus planning and land use regulation have to be established in order to control the sources of pollution and depletion in order to maintain and improve the quality of natural environment.

In Western Europe, where urban centres are stable or facing decline rather than growth, urban policies emphasize on the management of environment in order to prevent deterioration instead of planning for development (Simpson, 1988: 2-3; Cherry, 1988A: 12). There is no significant growth in the urban centres, because urban growth policies tend to channel growth away from areas of environmental overload or worthy of special protection towards areas where disruption of the environment is minimal (Berry, 1981: 143).

Why is environmental quality accepted as essential in urban living? The answer lies in the concurrent economic, social and political development in the West. Economically, subsistence needs are generally fulfilled. There is no employment problem - even unemployed are provided with subsistence and welfare benefits. Other social services have been developed to provide for basic health, education

and to safeguard old age and other unforeseen emergency. All these are made possible because these countries have reached an advance level of economic development. Politically, citizens have some access to the decision-making processes on policies that affect their lives. Although there is much apathy to political participation, the opportunity to participate, though may be not very effective, are nevertheless available. With no worry for basic human material, social and political needs, citizens look forward positively to seek ways to improve the quality of life. This desire is expressed in the attention to environmental values and socially manifested in promoting physical environment in the urban context.

Physical Planning

The main objectives of physical planning are to use land to the best advantage, to improve physical conditions for human needs within the resource constraint, to inspire and enrich human existence in all activities, and to conserve natural resources and beauty, historical and human recreations (Rose, 1985: 50). In the UK, planning and related legislation, since the Second World War, have emphasized on physical and spatial aspects of planning. Primarily they are concerned with location and mobility, design of new towns, suburban estates, town expansion and urban renewal (Bruton, 1984: 13-14). The same situation can also be found in other Western European countries (Kerndal-Hansen, 1984: 118).

One of the two main characteristics of physical planning is functional separation. The division of areas into zones of different landuses makes each parcel of land possess distinctive function (Sutcliffe, 1981: 2). Land zoning is considered essential because land development under laissez-faire can result in irrational distribution of land purely based on profits. If landuse is not regulated, land development may cause harmful social and environmental consequences and even lead to depreciation of property values. Zoning regulations, established for land control, is the mechanism for functional separation (Rugg, 1979: 62-63, and 293).

The other prominent characteristic of physical planning is low density development. Howard's ideal of a Garden City had a population limit of 32,000 and his city was to be ringed by an agricultural belt (Howard, 1965: 27, 140). The ideal of low density development is applied to post-war urban expansion. Suburbanization with single family houses with gardens is possible as new technology in public and private transport provides the means of decentralization.

The private motor car and the highway are the crucial element to maintain low density urban expansion. As low density development allows for the fusion of built and natural environment, it is a means of promoting environmental quality because suburban areas are places where sunny healthy conditions are found (Cherry, 1988B: 5). This type of development is by no means unique in UK. Other European countries such as West Germany and France, follow the same pattern of development (Simpson, 1987: 21).

Why are functional separation and low density development so embraced in planning practice? These two distinct characteristics of physical planning are not merely planning ideal or rationality, but they are operational because they reflect the concurrent conditions. In the post-war period, particularly in the last two decades, Western population has stabilized and many countries have or are closed to zero growth (Kunzmann, 1984: 23; Cullingworth, 1985: 363). Population stabilization with high level of urbanization puts little pressure on urban land development - particularly for high density land development. As real household income grows, private car ownership becomes pervasive. Consequently, commuting areas are extended. Urban residents are more mobile and can move to the suburban areas to enjoy better physical environment. The effect is population decline in central city (Berry, 1981: 143). The increase of private car ownerships exerts demand on road and highway construction which forms a natural barrier for functional landuses. These demographical and technological trends make functional separation and low density development possible and a reality.

Restructuring of Urban Industry

Manufacturing, the prime production force in the industrial city, steadily disperses to the urban peripheral since the Second World War. Recently industrial parks have been set up in the peripheral districts of European cities (Ostrowski, 1973: 412). The reasons for such disposal are many. Many previous locational advantages such as vast and varied labour pool, abundant reasonable factory space, easy transport access, and multiple linkages to other firms, are diminishing (Self, 1982: 46 - 47). Modern factories are increasingly capital intensive and operating in large scale, and require large horizontal space - including car parking for workers. Congestion in transport, higher labour cost and unionization, administrative complexity incur higher production cost in inner city. Relatively, the suburban locations have cheaper land, highway access and less labour organization and give greater production

advantages for manufacturers. Moreover, the emergence of offices which have a higher land productivity can often out-compete manufacturing in the central city sites. Exodus of manufacturing to urban peripheral is common in the West (Lawless, 1986: 187; Simpson, 1987: 122).

As industrial city grows, its economic sector expands and diversifies and it transforms into a post-industrial city. Secondary sector is gradually supplemented by a maturing tertiary sector accompanied by the quaternary sector.¹ Sustaining its growth, the metropolis continues to develop the quaternary sector to extend its economic linkage to the surrounding region and often over international boundary, with the support of a burgeoning quinary sector (see Fig. 1). The metropolitan transformation process has been gradual with sectors of economy introduced successively, and each additional sector emerges to dominate the urban economy. In each stage of transformation, succession and replacement of land use takes place and the urban land pattern alters accordingly.

The emergence of the tertiary, quaternary and quinary sectors gradually take over the secondary sector as the prime economic forces in cities. The rise of these 'new' sectors is pervasive in the Western countries (Rugg, 1979: 70). In the 60s these emerging sectors took the form of offices and occupied the city centers (Berry, 1981: 144; Lawless, 1986: 194; Yeates and Garner, 1980: 36). In the 70s, however, centralization of offices was reversed. Increasingly, they were dispersed to the outskirt areas (Cherry, 1988B: 5; Lawless, 1986: 194; Kunzmann, 1984: 15; Simpson, 1988: 3). Decentralization of urban offices responded to the pressures of rising rents, higher taxes, labour recruitment difficulties, and traffic congestion in the central areas (Kwok and Au, 1986: 118). The higher efficiency in communication, the availability of car parking space and accessibility have made suburban areas attractive location for offices.

1. Classification of economic sectors
 - a. Primary sector - agriculture and mining
 - b. Secondary sector - manufacturing
 - c. Tertiary sector - transportation and utilities
 - d. Quaternary - insurance, finance, trade and real estate
 - e. education, government, health, recreation and research

Source: Daniels, 1982.

The major urban economic activities - secondary, tertiary and quaternary sector, in particular, are now moving out of the city cores. This spatial restructuring process has altered fundamentally the urban land pattern. Whereas in the traditional industrial cities, productive activities agglomerated in city centres, is now no longer the case, leaving the inner cities for other urban functions - residence and its related service, commerce and administration.

Gentrification

Most of the Western cities, particularly in Europe, have a wealth of historical buildings, hence, a low-rise urbanscape. Many of the Western countries have deliberate historical preservation control supported by acts and regulations (Cullingworth, 1985: 127-128). Other countries have sophisticated planning techniques and legislation to restore existing buildings (Simpson, 1987: 61-63, 72; Bardizzi, 1984: 27). Throughout Europe, public and private developments are combined to preserve rehabilitate city centres that continue to dominate urban life (Berry, 1981: 144). As greater protection is given to historical buildings, it is more difficult to build high-rise new development in cities. As factories and offices are leaving, central areas now provide opportunities for middle and high income housing. The real estate effort to renovate existing buildings supplies an attractive housing alternative to the suburban homes. The concentration of cultural, social and commercial facilities in the city centres and the improvement of habitat with environmental charm persuade the young middle class, professional and managerial groups to return to the central city (Self, 1982: 48-49; Lawless, 1986: 165; Kunzmann, 1984: 14). The return of the YUPPIES has revised the urban landscape.

II. METROPOLIS IN NEWLY INDUSTRIALISING COUNTRY

Looking at the NICs and Third World countries, the urban system show metropolitan primacy. Concentration of activities and population in the metropolises quickens the metropolitan transformation process. The nature of the transformation is not sequential but simultaneous. As a result, economy expands and diversifies, and population increases and stratifies. The convergence and intensification of functions heightened land competition and conflicts. In order to rationalize land development, planning intervention in NIC metropolis has to respond to these specific conditions and requirements.

Metropolitan Primacy

In NICs, economic development concentrates in the metropolises. The provision of infrastructural services, not only in transportation but also in communication and energy is suitable for commercial, industrial, service and information activities (Potter, 1985: 37; Payne, 1977: 26). Labour force - both white collar and blue collar is more abundant, and training facilities are also better (Kwok and Au, 1986: 120-121). As many metropolitan cities are national capitals, legislation, administration and government agencies are located there (Rivkin, 1976: 14). Because of its scale, metropolises are centres of capital market. Financial institutions, trade and commerce also cluster there because of its superior infrastructure, human capital, administration and other facilities to support production and living, modern firms find it advantageous to locate in metropolis for there is greater economy in production, marketing and transportation. These large cities are prime economic concentrations of the NIC, and contain large proportions of the nations' industrial employment, production and finance (Potter, 1985: 37; Rivkin, 1976: 13).

Because of the superior production environment and support in the metropolises, they attract production, capital, labour and technology. The growth of these large cities drains the rural hinterland and smaller cities of their capital labour and raw materials (Mehta, 1972: 295-300). The widening gap between the conditions in the metropolises and those of the small cities has made the secondary cities undesirable for private investment. Over concentration of economic activities further enforces metropolitan primacy and further increases the economic gap. However NIC economic growth heavily relies on the economic success of the metropolises.

Metropolitan Transformation Process

The metropolitan transformation process in the NICs is heavily influenced by a powerful external economic input which is a major cause for development. NIC metropolises are the choicest location for multi-national corporations branch operation (Cohen, 1981; Castells, 1984). The recent production technological change allows for firms to operate in large scale. The production process can be broken down in different places, and of which has specific locational and labour requirement. The firms can be broken into many plants which can cross international boundaries, thus

leading to the formation of multi-national corporations and international division of labour.

This new economic input from advanced industrialized countries necessitates the complementary economic sectors for production support. Tertiary, quaternary and quinary sectors are formed simultaneously (Kwok and Au, 1986: 120). The NIC metropolises enter the industrial, post-industrial and international business stages all at the same time. The diversity and intensity of development quicken urban growth and heighten land competition with economic and social confusion and conflicts.

Spatial Competition in Metropolis

These economic sectors supported by multinational corporations and foreign investment are in the superior competitive position to acquire land. They occupy the CBD and the choicest suburban sites not only for production and business purposes but also for housing and related services for their workers - often from overseas. New special districts of apartment complexes with varying degrees of heterogeneity are built for professionals, managers and administrators (Potter, 1985: 92).

Production are often linked externally particularly to the overseas supplier and market. Information and transactions between plants and firms in various domestic and overseas locations require quaternary and quinary sectors. Most of these activities find the CBD suitable. Office and commercial development backed by communication systems ranging from international hotels, restaurants to telecommunication sprout out in high rise buildings strategically in the city centres.

Apart from the buoyant demand of land, there is immense pressure from the country's own population. Table 1 illustrates the level of urbanization and the annual growth rate of the urban population. The NIC's annual growth rate, apart from Singapore, often doubles that of the Western countries. Apart from the much higher natural growth rate, the cities in NICs absorb a large proportion of rural migration, caused partially by the lower level of urbanization (measured by percentage of total population). Because of the lower level of per capita income, the rural migrants and a large portion of the population usually cannot enter into the housing market. With the exception of Singapore, the NICs have limited allocation to public housing, and cannot provide sufficient subsidized housing for the lower income population. Squatters therefore is one of the most ubiquitous sign of rapid urbanization in

the NICs (Potter, 1985: 91). Squatter housing utilizes unused public or private sites on the urban periphery, steep slopes or unattractive land in the urban areas. Squatter settlements illustrate the failure of private and public housing sectors to provide adequate low income housing (Ibid). Whenever there is legitimate land demand, these settlements are the prime sites for new developments.

The metropolitan landscape reflects the rapid and perplex evolution of the urban economy - modern, high-tech, high rise building juxtaposed to shanty towns, intensely developed areas adjacent to unused and desolate land and well maintained estates surrounded by dilapidated neighborhoods. The hustle of disorderly and uncoordinated construction activities, the speed and the scale of development demand necessitate planning intervention.

III. THE CASE OF HONG KONG

Hong Kong, de-facto, is a city-state and displays all the characteristics of a NIC metropolis. With its phenomenal economic growth in the last decades, it now is an international business metropolis with all the economic sectors in place. Although the modern development are visible and impressive and its public housing accommodates 45% of its population, there is still sizeable low income population who are unable to enter into subsidized housing. Squatter settlements exist both in the urban areas - though less visible, and in the urban outskirts. With urban development concentrated around the CBD and the harbour, the high-density activities provides vitality and excitement, but are seldom tolerated or accepted by the Western standards.

Metropolitan Transformation in Hong Kong

Since the beginning of 1950s, Hong Kong entered the industrial stage - export manufacturing. Its chief export - clothing, textile and plastic goods, are produced primarily by small firms (King and Man, 1979: 39; Cheng, 1977: 156; Chen, 1980: 7). Government has committed to protect business interest by providing low taxation and minimum interference to the private economy, institutional and infrastructural supports for production, and a huge public housing programme to lower and stabilize labour wages. These conditions have attracted international capital and multinational corporations. The spatial response directed by planning intervention were twofold. First, industrial areas was provided in the urban periphery for manufacturing, and second, a public housing programme

was initiated to produce large housing estates (Cheng, 1977: 327-328).

In the 1970s, Hong Kong was catapulted into the post-industrial stage where tertiary sectors grew rapidly with combined public and private efforts - most notably were the development of container port, power stations, and the international airport. With overseas financial and technological penetration, the quaternary sectors in finance, professional services and real estate also boomed. Within the harbour, land reclamation for the container port and the airport were already evident. But adjacent to the CBD, harbour was landfilled to provide office and commercial land for the quaternary sectors. New human settlements were decentralized into the rural areas under a programme where several new towns were planned with large public housing served by highways and electrified railways linking them to the urban centre. Within the urban areas a subway system was being built to service the commuting workers.

Multinational corporations have established regional headquarters there, hereby ensuring Hong Kong as the terminal point for Pacific freight movement. Bulk freight was distributed to and assembled from the Southeast Asia through the container port. In the 80s, following the opening of international trade in the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong has been reasserted as an entrepot, facilitating import and export between China and the outside world, but with a major difference. Hong Kong's goods and services now are traded directly to the China market as well as to the overseas market, but it also facilitate the Chinese trade with the overseas. More office is needed (Kwok, 1986: 246). Reclamation planning of the harbour continues as it is one way to increase central urban land for the flourishing quaternary sector, in-town housing, social services and recreational space (Yeh, 1986: 263).

Essential to international trade, a highway between Hong Kong and Guangzhou - the major southern Chinese metropolis is being developed by the private sector, railway between the two cities are double tracked and electrified serving the increasing volume of freight and passenger flow. For overseas transportation, the container port, already the busiest in the world, is being expanded. There are plans of relocating the international airport under study as the existing airport will soon reach its full capacity.

The quaternary sector thrives and is supported by increasing public investment in the quinary sector. Large tracts of land in the urban periphery and in the rural area

are designated for new tertiary education institutions, as these are necessary to keep up the supply of high level human capita.

Planning in Hong Kong

Although Hong Kong's transformation is sequential the later stages have not replaced the earlier one. Instead, emerging economic sectors are built concurrently with the existing one. In fact all sectors of economy are growing simultaneously. The diversity and complexity of economic development pose special problems to planning. In resource allocation, the government neither has the capacity nor the resources to provide for all the sectors at once. In order to maintain economic growth, it must set up planning priority to concentrate public investment to key sectors, and to involve the private sector in providing some essential and basic services.

Although committed to a laissez-faire system, Hong Kong government takes many forms of planning intervention to support the private sector. The prime engine of development and growth unmistakably comes from the private initiative. The system is 'compulsive' whereby the private sector initiates production. When the venture proves to be operational, the public sector then provides for the needed social overhead capital. Planning action normally follows the private sector's lead and not infrequently, legitimatizes some private actions already taken. The active economy generally out-paces planning and has often caused some social and environmental problems (Hills, 1986: 268).

During the period of real growth, Hong Kong has been experiencing intensive land competition between the economic sectors, residence and social facilities. In this competition, economic sectors with greater financial power, often win out. Although the vast public housing programme has reserved space and protect the low income population, social space such as for recreation which requires extensive areas is in short supply. Because of severe constraint of buildable land, social facilities are insufficiently provided.

Externalities of production, have not been strictly controlled, though such neglect is attractive to producers and community pays and suffers. Environmental pollution caused by industry as well as the growing population has emerged to be a serious social problem (Hills, 1986: 272).

Even with these urban problems, it is undeniable that the planning system has served Hong Kong's development well. In order to improve the standard of living for its population, the metropolis must have a sound healthy economic growth. As a NIC metropolis, Hong Kong must rely on the outside world for investment, technology, market and trade. Its survival rests on its international economy. Planning must service activities related to the international sector as its priority. Social and environmental concerns though vital to the community cannot override this priority.

IV. PLANNING THE NIC METROPOLIS

The urban context and conditions for planning in the NICs metropolis are quite different from those in the West. The Hong Kong case illustrates what and how planning problems emerged. In order to ameliorate urban problems and facilitate development, it is debatable whether the current Western planning concepts can be adapted to the present NIC metropolitan development.

Generally, there are four areas of major differences which will affect the nature of planning practice. First, because they are at different levels of economic development, the Western countries and the NICs expect different social objectives from urban development. The West with much higher standard of living is concerned about physical and living environmental improvement and considers physical planning, in the similar direction as the Garden City concept, will provide the desired result. The NIC metropolises is the centre of national economic growth - a vital role that it cannot relinquish. Its prime commitment is to facilitate the development of economic sectors, and planning provision of infrastructure is the way to pave the way for development. Furthermore the externalities of economic development - environmental pollution and competition between economic and social development are the attendant problems that planning must contend with.

Second, the processes of spatial restructuring of urban centre are also dissimilar. The Western urban centre is going through a succession of landuse changes from industry to office and now to high and middle income housing. In contrast, the land issue in the centre of the NIC metropolis is the replacement of low utilized land - particularly squatter settlements, into business and office expansion. These separate directions of spatial development are in response to the specific urban roles in the different sets of social and economic developments.

Third, squatter housing which is pervasive in NIC metropolis normally does not exist in the Western cities. These high density low-rise settlements are not only a reminder of the failure of the housing market or the low level of economic development. They are real and serious urban social problems and they are health and fire hazards, symbol of human uncertainty, transiency and instability. Planning for an improved and more permanent environment for the squatter is one obvious urban objective.

Last, the desire of the Western urban dwellers for a low density development and clear division of land function do not seem to fit well into the NIC metropolis reality. With the myriad of economic activities and a rapidly increasing population, low density development means extensive urban expansion which requires sizeable infrastructural investment. The financial commitment is normally beyond the capability of the NIC metropolis. The realistic alternative is for higher density development with mixed land uses to reduce infrastructural investment, commuting and transportation costs. The direction adopted by NIC metropolis is fundamentally opposite to that of the Western city.

In summary, planning in the NIC metropolis must serve economic development needs which are contrary to the Western commitment to physical environmental improvement. Economic necessity overrides social desirability.

FIG. 1 METROPOLITAN TRANSFORMATION PROCESS

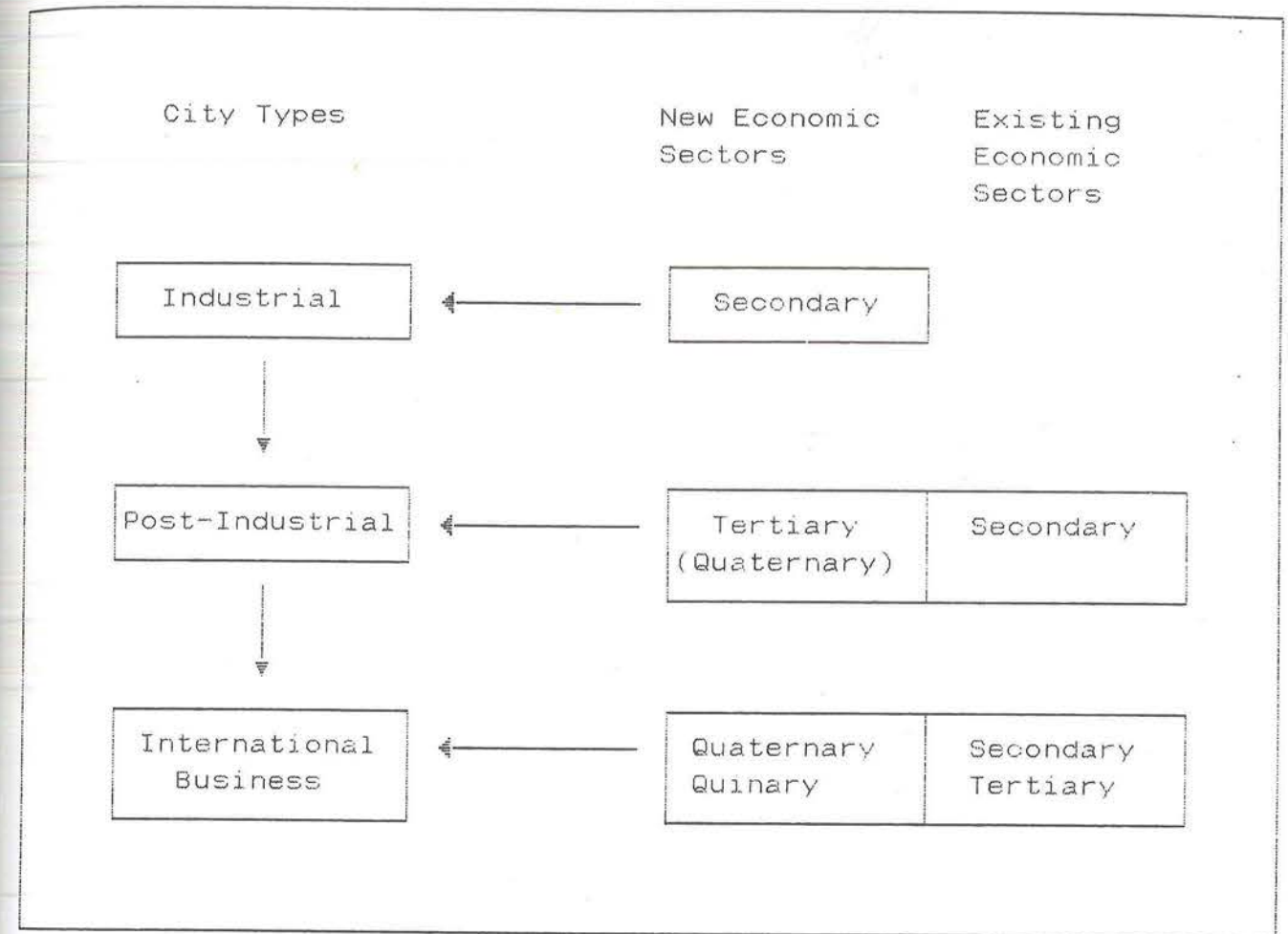


Table 1. Urban Population Growth in Selected Countries in Western Europe, NICs and Third World (S.E. Asia)

Countries	Urban Population (in %)			
	Percentage of total population		Average annual growth rate	
	1965	1984	1965-73	1973-84
Western (Industrial Countries)				
U.K.	87	92	0.7	0.2
France	67	81	2.0	1.2
Germany, Fed. Rep.	79	86	1.2	0.3
Canada (US)	73 72	75 74	1.9 1.6	1.2 1.3
NICs				
Hong Kong	89	93	2.1	2.6
Singapore	100	100	1.8	1.3
Korea, Rep.	32	64	6.5	4.6
Malaysia	26	31	3.3	3.6
(Mexico)	55	69	4.8	4.0
Third World				
China	18	22	3.0	2.9
India	19	25	4.0	4.2
Bangladesh	6	18	6.6	7.7
Philippines	32	39	4.0	3.7
Indonesia	16	25	4.1	4.5
Sri Lanka	20	21	3.4	3.5

Source: World Development Report, 1986.

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THE PROPAGATION AND ACCEPTANCE OF THE MODERN CITY
PLANNING IN KOREA

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The city planning technology as the object of urban operation, which emerges in city, is known to result from the culture according to the standpoint of that the city is the product of culture. Thus this paper tried to explain the process of the propagation and acceptance of the modern city planning as the process of the conflict and transition between the 'ground' culture and 'map' culture in Korea on the presumption that the transition of planning technology should be grasped as the process of both cultural transition and technological transition.

In this paper, firstly, the distinction between the idea of Korea and the modern idea of the West about the fence, such as land or place, road and boundary facility which are closely related with the city planning, is outlined. Next, in spite of some points of the visible technology of the Korean culture similar with the neighborhood theory and superblock conception popularized as the technology of the modern city planning in the world, what changes have been caused for their concept in Korea are considered. Also, not remaining in the acceptance stage, besides the forceful direction of the modern city planning, the scenes which have to be grasped as the cultural conflict are dealt with by the cases of fence, paling and expansion of commercial activities along street. On the basis of the above stated, the problems of technological transition for the future are also considered from the experience of Korea in the two types of the transition of city planning technology including the compulsory transition and imitative transition.

Finally, the deepgoing understanding and discernment of the map culture carried on the technology and the ground culture held by the receiving region are considered to be necessary for the transition of cultural technology like city planning. Moreover, it is maintained that the cushioning and coexistent technology with which the conflict of the above two kinds of culture can be resolved under the moderate, not integrative, ideology should be firstly developed or transited in the acceptance side.

韓国都市における近代都市計画の伝播と受容

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- 1、はじめに
- 2、伝播過程における「地」と「図」の変化
 - イ) 韓国人の土地観—私の場所と皆の土地
 - ロ) 自然態の道とシンジャクノ
 - ハ) 内外秩序の共存と拮抗
- 3、近代都市計画コンセプトの伝播と変容
 - イ) Neighborhood Unit/Center
 - ロ) Superblock
- 4、受容過程に見られる文化的葛藤
 - イ) 塀と柵に見る文化的葛藤
 - ロ) 路線商店街の文化的葛藤
- 5、結び

1. はじめに

韓国における近代都市計画の伝播と受容の過程は、近代を代弁する西欧文化の、それも近代以後の文化の伝播、受容過程の一断面にすぎない。しかも、これらの過程は、その初期にあつて韓国自らの意思に反して外部から強制されたもの、日本という招かれざる代理人の手を通して、異なる文化が押し付けられた時期と過程があつたことを抜きにしては語れない。都市は文化の所産であつて決して技術の産物ではないと考えるが故に、伝播され受容されるのは技術やコンセプトに内在する文化である。従つて文化的摩擦や葛藤を通じて、近代都市計画の技術は変形された形で新しい土壌の上に現れる。

全ての計画対象には、その対象を現在の状況たらしめた履歴がある。履歴や現状には可視的なものもあれば非可視的なものもある。それら履歴を含めた現状が計画操作の対象であり、計画操作は、計画主体の価値観が是とする改善方向あるいは改善像を、現状という「地」(Ground)の上に「図」(Figure)として描き込もうとする。描き込まれたり、あるいは描き込もうとした痕跡は、次の計画の「地」となる。鮮やかに描き込まれたかに見える「図」は、時の経過につれて益々鮮やかさを増す場合があるかと思えば、「地」が滲み上つて来て、図と地のコラージュのような、計画意図の思惑をはみ出した状況をつくりあげることもある。

本論では、韓国人の肌に合うが故に、その生活の底流として流れる思想と、近代西欧の思想が、居住環境の形成と変容を夫々どのように考えてきたのか、韓国文化という地の上に西欧近代都市計画はどのような技術を図として描こうとしたのか、又、地の文化はどのように対応してきたのかという点について、特徴的事例をもとに、文化の葛藤相として論じることを試みる。

2. 伝播過程における地と図の文化

イ) 韓国人の土地観—私の場所と皆の土地

多くの韓国人は今尚、土地には周囲の地勢によって形づくられた「気」が流れ、澱み、あるいは凝集すると考える。9世紀末、中国から風水理論が伝えられると、在来の民間信仰と相まって風水地理説として定説化し、以後、韓国人の住居・墓地の立地に絶対な影響を及ぼした。この思想は韓国に背山臨水という定住地パターンを根づかせた。山脈と谷(河川)が造り出す形局のうちでも藏風得水とあって、「気」の流れが見事に凝集して散じ難い形局を最上とした。だが最上の形局だからといって誰でも定住できるわけではない、陰陽五行説により形局の五行とト居あるいは定住しようとする人の持

つて生まれた五行の性(ショウ)が合わねば意味がないとする。高麗末期、後に李成桂が高麗を倒して漢陽(現ソウル)を都とすることを見通したかのように、僧道銑は「以為繼王者李、而都於漢陽」と予言していたと伝えられる。背山臨水の定住、ト居パターンのフィジカルな立地条件は近代都市計画であげている住宅地の立地条件と似ているため、昔の人達が経験を通して科学的根拠を既に持っていたと感心して終る意見もあるが、それは的外れな見方であると思う。韓国人は背山臨水の条件を満す多くの土地のうち、自分にとって特別な意味をもった場所がどれであるかという合い性の方に、フィジカルな条件よりも感心がある。韓国人の思想は、土地と自分(自分を含めた連綿たる家系)の間には、あたかも人と人の間柄のように、つき合つて幸運をもたらす場所と災厄をもたらす場所があると考えた。地勢や地形に現れている天と地の理にできれば乗っかきたいという欲望が、韓国人の自然順応的な態度をもたらせたのかもしれない。この順応するというのは、人工を加えないという意味ではなく、地の理が理想のパターンを具えていない場合にはその欠陥を補うべき手を施すが、その手、すなわち人工的加工が、決して本来ある地の理に逆うことがあつてはならないという意味である。似たような自然条件をもった土地でも、そこに潜在する地の理が異なり、同じ場所であってもある人には吉地であるが他の人にとっては凶地であるとする、韓国人の定住・ト居観は、形而下の実用的な条件よりも形而上の文化的条件を優位においたという点で、近代都市計画の思想とは異なる。

西欧近代は、神の摂理ではなく、実証可能な事象に基づいた人間の合理性が支配する思想であるばかりでなく、合理性の普遍的支配を前提としている。特定の場所がもっているかもしれない文化的意味は捨象され、可視的意味のみが意味を持つ。特定の個人は捨象され、普遍的な人間一般すなわちヒューマンとして客体化される。ある個人にとっての幸福ではなく、全ての人間にとっての幸福が主題となる。しかも幸福という形而上の概念も、計測可能な形而下の要素によって測ろうとする。土地と己れとの間に存在しているものと確信している吉凶という主観的価値判断ではなく、極めて客体化された土地の機能的効用が、幸福を測るための関心事となり、伝統的思考や文化はシャーマニズムや迷信として、出る幕を失う。人の気持ちとは妙なもので、たとえ迷信であるとわかっていても、ある場所が自分や子孫にとって幸いをもたらしてくれるかも知れないとなると、定着性や愛着が生じ、手あらしに扱わなくなる。何となく気が合うように感じ、万事うまくゆけば勿論であるが、そうではない場合にも、そのうちうまくゆくであろうと期待して、簡単には

見捨てない。逆に、不幸や災厄が、己れの住んでいる場所に由来するのかも知れないことに考え及んだ時の不安は、それが、たとえ一顧だに値しない迷信であると判っていても気持ちのよからうと答がない。このような、住み手の気持ちの良し悪しは、住む場所の持っているフィジカルな諸条件がもたらす好悪とは、その質を異にする。西欧近代にとって、居住地はその効用が同じであれば取替え可能な生活の容れ物にすぎないが、韓国人が土地を移るのは、自分と合い性の良い、私の場所を捜し求めて移った。最近でも墓地についてはこの考えが支配的である。

ロ) 自然態の道とシンジャクノ

韓国人が近代都市計画あるいは近代文明に接した最初は、おそらくシンジャクノ(新作路)と呼ばれた広幅員の直線道路が、村や町の中や外郭に開通したのを見た時であろう。シンジャクノには、やがて、役所や大店が建ち並んだ。従来、韓国の道路は極く短区間の広幅員直線道路がソウルなど一部の都城にありはしたが、基本的に、地形に順応した不規則形道路がほとんどであった。シンジャクノの度肝を抜くような広さと吸い込まれるような見透しに加えて、道の左右に堂々と構える日本風近代建築物の姿の中に、韓国人は近代を見るよりも、折しも韓国を併呑した日本の威丈高を見せつけられるように感じた。在来の零細宅地群を、あたかもナイフで切り割くように開通した直線道路は日本の韓国侵略を眼のあたりに見るようであった。馴染みのない直線パターンと侵入者日本への嫌悪感が重なりあって、近代都市計画の代表的パターンは初めからハンディキャップを背負っていたと思われる。

この点で、第二次世界大戦後アメリカ文化として、もっと広幅員の直線道路が導入された時には、解放軍、友好国、先進国、模倣とすべき文化というアドヴァンテージを伴っていたが故に、先を争って模範されたことと較べて面白い。パターンの伝播者が誰であるかによって、片方には抵抗的底流が潜在して、受容に批判的過程であったが、もう一方に対しては、無批判に好意的すぎて受容の度が過ぎたともいえよう。

ハ) 内外秩序の共存と拮抗

韓国の定住地形成のプロセスは付加的、増殖的である。必要に応じて付け加えるという意味の他に、ある全体空間をいくつかの単位細胞に分節化(articulate)して構成するため増殖的である。このような構成方法は、大規模住宅の例に極めて明瞭に見てとることができる。建物と庭という内部空間と

外部空間とでなる単位細胞が、内堀を介して巧みに組立てられている。住宅は必ず、細胞膜にあたる堀によって囲まれており、細胞膜が細胞にとって必須であるように、堀も住宅にとって必須の空間エレメントであるうえ、外界と内界を媒介する。集落や村は、これら堀に囲われた細胞群によって構成され、拡張はこれら細胞の増殖によって行われる。

この住宅細胞ともいえる、堀によって圍繞された空間は一つの小宇宙をなすが、堀という衝立てによって仕切られているため、いわば半開きの宇宙といえる。この小宇宙内での家屋や庭の配置は、堀を空間のエレメントとしつつも、堀を超えて遠くにある大宇宙、すなわち、地の理が形づくる形局に、家の主の陰陽五行が対応する形で配される。このときの堀は、大宇宙との対応関係によって夫々の座を占めた家屋群や外部空間群の周りに、ゆるくはりめぐらされた境界表示用の紐のようなものに過ぎない。ところが、夫々の堀の内側なる小宇宙の中で、各々の主観的判断による大宇宙との対応が行なわれるのであるから、もし、村中の堀を消し去って、家屋の配置を調べたら、家屋相互間や道路や地形などの外界条件との調和という点で、支離滅裂なこともある。この場面における堀の役割はまことに重要である。堀は各細胞内の個体内状況の多様性を可能にすると同時に、外界と個体との関係を円滑なものに仕立て上げる装置として働く。この堀があればこそ、堀の内側は外界(道路や地形)の構造の制約から脱して、もっぱら大宇宙の地の理との対象に専念できる。堀は個体と個体の間は勿論、個体と全体との間の媒介項として、たとえ、道が昇り降りし、曲がりくねったとしても、堀がそれらに沿って囲らされるので、道路の景観(外界の可視的構造)は外界の構造に順応した堀の景観として統一される。近代都市計画の初期伝播は、堀の文化圏である日本を経て伝播したため、このあたりの馴染み方はスムーズであったといえる。

これに対し、近代都市計画の母胎である西欧には、圍繞空間の要素としての堀は見当らないようである。柵という機能的存在は圍繞の重要な条件である遮蔽条件を満たさない。欧米では建築物の厚い壁が内と外、私と公の間を区分するのが原則である。建築空間と外部空間は、ジグソー・パズルのようにならぬスキもなくキチッと噛み合っている。あるいはぼう洋たる外部世界の中に、厚い壁で身を固めることによって、建築内部に自らの小宇宙を築きあげるといって極めて強い閉鎖主義をとる。

いずれにしても、内と外が壁一枚(たとえそれがどんなに厚くても)だという事実は、内部空間と外部空間の両方を、極めて完結的、閉鎖系の空間へ

と駆り立てるようである。内と外は夫々の独自の秩序で閉鎖的、排他的に完結しようとするため内と外が出遭う壁は益々厚くなる。建物の壁は、内と外の秩序の拮抗の手段であり、かつ表現である。ここには、堀内空間のような曖昧な領域は許されない。

3、近代都市計画コンセプトの伝播と変容

イ) Neighborhood Unit/Center

第二次大戦後、韓国人が自らの意志によって本格的に近代都市計画が移入され実施される際に、目立って印象的なのは、生活便益施設が生活領域の中心部に出現した点である。日本を介した初期近代都市計画パターンの特徴が、広幅員直線道路に沿った路線商店のヘリ型配置であったのに較べて、解放後、欧米のコンセプトを直移入したともいえる近代都市計画のパターンは、生活便益施設のアンコ型配置といえよう。特に1970年代以降急増した大規模住宅地開発や大規模団地においては、近隣中心商業施設が団地の略中心に配置される試みが増えた。アーサー・ペリーの近隣住区単位提案、英国のハーローニュータウンや日本の千里ニュータウンなど近隣住区理論に忠実な事例が伝えられたこと、G・フェーダーの日・週・年生活圏理論や石川栄耀らの同様な生活圏の段階構成理論は、開発対象地の規模に関係なく、同じ論理と同じ単位の繰返しで対応できる便利さもあって、韓国のプランナーのみならず意志決定者達にも好まれた。その結果、近隣住区単位で構成された幾多の団地が出現し、必ず中心部に中心商業地区といわれる、公共施設と商店などの集積地を持つべきとされた。

このような計画コンセプトの受容の経過は戦後日本における経過とも大変似ている。しかし、中心地区を構成している中身に注目してみると国柄があるようである。近隣住区単位理論はコミュニティ運動のなかから、その実践的方法論として提案されたはずであった。日本ではこのコミュニティにかなり重点をおいて、コミュニティ意識の培養機能を大事にし、集会場や広場施設などに力を注いだ。韓国においては、近隣住区単位の提案は、定住地空間を埋めてゆく単位としての概念と、日常生活の便益施設、特に購買施設の大規模化、近代化を進める上で好都合である点に主な関心が注がれ、政治状況などもあったせいか、住民の集会場などは敢えてとりあげなかった。その結果、韓国の中心地区は、いきおい住民の消費生活に対する商業施設が大部分を占めるようになってしまった。次に、これら中心地区あるいは中心施設の立地パターンであるが、大韓住宅公社が計画実施した団地についてみると、

最初は団地中心部の地区幹線沿いに路線商店街パターンをとる。大規模団地としては最初の試みだったせいもあって、商業施設の配置だけは、既存市街地に多くみられる路線型にしたと思われる。幹線街路沿い路線商店街は、近代都市計画プランナー達から批判されたにも拘らず、結構賑わっている。住宅公社は、より近隣住区単位理論やコミュニティ・センターのセンター性に忠実たろうと地理的中心部に団塊状（広場型ではない）に配置してみたあと、商業を主とした施設であるという理由をあげて、徐々に、周辺道路部もしくは交差点部分に位置させることを試みている。この傾向は民間のアパート団地に多い。このパターンは、商業活動の生態的展開に適しているうえ、周辺一般市街地の土地利用パターン（沿道宅地の商業利用）とも一致して、団地と市街地を馴染ませるのに一役買っている。団地内での路線商業パターンはいまだにタブー視されているにも拘らず、団地内の商業用建物の1階店舗は路線商店街風なりニアー配置が圧倒的に多い。

ロ) Superblock

計画対象地域内の地形、生態などの自然条件や、人文的条件などの既存条件は、新しい計画にとって手かせ足かせでしかないというCIAM的発想に完全には同意しないとしても、それら既存条件のために、問題の解決を難しくする場合が多いことは認めざるを得ない。何らの制約をうけない更地の上で、思いきり計画の理想を発展させてみたい欲望は、しごく当然である。1970年を前後して、英米文化圏で都市計画を学んだり、見聞した人々の帰国が多くなる。特に1960年代にはアメリカに留学した建築系の人達が比較的都市計画に関心をもって勉強して帰る傾向が見られる。1950年代から1960年代にかけて、アメリカで盛んであった都市再開発は、山を開き川を埋めて新しい居住地を開発していく土木的スケールの建設に匹敵するような、建築分野の巨大プロジェクトであった。既存の雑多な地上の条件を、フィジカル、ノン・フィジカルを問わずブルドーザーで一掃して、更地という絶好の機会を提供する手法は、途上国の留学生にとって、アメリカの強大さと先進性を眼のあたりに見る思いがしたであろうと想像される。

折しも、第三次経済開発5ヶ年計画（1971～1976年）、第一次国土建設総合計画（1971～1980年）、1972年12月維新憲法公布（大統領に非常代権）、重化学工業推進方針の発表（1973年）など国家的にみて重大な政策決定が相次ぐ中を、韓国経済は離陸期を終えて上昇気流に乗りはじめる。大都市のスプロールにブレーキをかけ、かつ都市周辺に自然環境を保存しようという趣

旨で、突然、大都市のゆく手に立ちはだかった開発制限区域（俗称グリーン・ベルト）（1971年）は開発の波の行く手をさえぎり、都市の内側へ波がしらを向けさせた。上昇気流に乗った経済も都市内部市街地の再編と更新へと動きはじめていた。1971年市街地再開発事業が都市計画事業として加えられる。1972年再開発促進地区新設、1976年12月都市再開発法が分離独立する。

ソウル市都心部に多くの再開発区域が行政側によって指定され、略一斉に各区域に対する再開発基本計画が多くのプランナーやコンサルタントによって作られたが、ほとんどの提案がスーパー・ブロック方式を模していた。

計画対象区域内には既存の都市組織がそれなりに機能していたが、多くの再開発計画は、それら既存のネットワークや組成などの組織を無視して、あたかも無人の荒野で区画するごとく、数個の小ブロックに統合再編して、1ブロック1建物を原則にした大規模建物に立体化することにより、CIAM的な近代都市像に近づけようとした。多くの土地区画整理事業の経験は既成市街地内でも、土地の交換や権利変換が可能であるという自信を生み、新たに移入されたスーパー・ブロック方式は、零細敷地と小規模低層建築物の後進国コンプレックスから脱け出る糸口を与えるに充分であった。そもそも再開発区域の指定は住民側の合意形成と要請によるよりは、官主導の必要性の論理が先行して指定された。1970年から1974年まで在任した、あるソウル市長は、都市行政の実践目標として三大空間（道路空間、緑地空間、駐車空間）確保をスローガンにしたものである。多くの再開発計画もスローガンの延長上に位置するものである。かくして、韓国に移入されたスーパー・ブロックのコンセプトは、クリアランスというブルドーザー過程を前提にした、更地の上で計画できる方式、零細敷地建物を大規模化できる方式、不足気味の道路、緑地等の公共空間と自動車時代を先取りした駐車スペースを充分にとることが出来る方式として受容され、スーパー・ブロックの概念が強く指向したところの区域内建築群と内外空間を統合的に計画できるアーバン・デザインの側面は当分の間、認識されずじまいであった。その結果、スーパーブロックは道路によって幾つかの小事業単位という大規模敷地に区切られ、その上に建つ建築物は一般建築法による単体規定の下で建設されてゆくというのが全ての計画に共通する大筋である。スーパー・ブロックが幾つかの大規模敷地に分割され、大規模高層建築物は可能となったが、スーパー・ブロック方式の最大の狙いとも言うべきブロック内に統合的都市空間を割り出すという点には背を向けてたままである。スーパー・ブロックという発想はそのもの、クリアランスという手荒れな手段が全て、統合的な都市空間を目指した

コンセプトであったにも拘らず、肝心の目的は後回しになり、手段のみが移入されて、スーパー・ブロックを装って受け入れられている。

4. 受容過程に見られる文化的葛藤

イ) 塀と柵に見る文化的葛藤

ソウル市庁広場に面して徳寿宮という古宮がある。都心に位置し、古宮の高い石塀に沿って格好の散策コースとしても知られているため、いつも市民で賑わっている。1960年代初め頃当時の軍事政権は、石塀に遮られた古宮の内部を、欧米の古宮などのように見透しのきく鉄柵に変えて市民を喜ばせようとしたことがある。ところが意外と市民の反応が悪くて、早々に石塀に戻したハプニングがあったそうである。韓国にあって、塀は建築の一部であり、大事な空間要素である。塀を取り除くことは建築物の一部を取り除くこと、あるいはそれよりもっと大きな改変と考えられている。

この点で欧米の柵が物理的遮断機能のみを持ち、視覚的遮断という空間的機能を重視しないのとは根本的に違う。京都洛西にある竜安寺石庭の、あの築地塀が透視柵に替えられた場合を想像してもらいたい。塀のない韓国建築は、あたかも裸で広野にさらされているような堀立小屋に転落しかねない。口の字型の都市型庶民中庭住宅には土地の制約などから、別途の塀がない場合が多く、住宅の外壁をもって塀に代えたが、それでも母屋の板の間の高さを高くするなどして、家屋内空間と塀との間の空間関係を保持しようとしたし、住宅の外壁の仕上げを塀の仕上げに近いものとした。大規模な都市住宅や農村住宅では中庭の外へ更に幾重にも塀内空間を重畳させるようにした。

近代都市計画、特に解放後のアメリカ風近代都市計画は、韓国のような塀文化を利己的閉鎖主義として非難するとともに、狭い路地空間が塀のため更に狭く見えるなどを理由にして、アメリカ郊外住宅にも見られるような塀も柵もない芝生庭に囲まれた田園住宅を理想の住宅像として受容しようとした。1970年代から本格化した漢江以南の新市街地開発にあたって、既成市街地である江北地域の宅地規模の2~3倍にあたる、宅地規模100坪以上の田園住宅地を目標とするとともに、塀をできるだけ低く（1.5m以下）した透し塀もしくは生垣とするよう建築許可申請時に行政指導（強制）した。その甲斐あってか、一時江南区域の塀は相当低く、上半分は透し柵が作られた。しかし、竣工後いくばくも経たずに、まず透し柵部分が盲塀と化し、低かった塀は人の背を越す位にかさ上げされる例が多かった。人によっては、新開発地域の治安の悪さと社会情勢不安を原因に指摘することもあるが、筆者は

このような変容を韓国の塙文化に由来する自然の成り行きと考えている。アパートのバルコニーの透し手摺なども、大部分何らかの遮弊手段によって疑似塙化していることから推しても、塙文化の根は深いものがある。このようにして、近代都市計画の理念にのっとして開発されるべきであったはずの江南地域の路地風景は旧市街地のそれと本質的に同じくすっかり韓国の路地風景になってしまった。にもかかわらず、いまだに建築許可の但し書きには低い透し塙が条件としてついでまわっている。

ロ) 路線商店街の文化的葛藤

よく言われるように東洋の市街地は、広場を中心部に持った西欧の市街地に較べて、道路のみで構成されている。東洋では道路と施設が都市構造の決定要素であるとするなら、西欧では広場と施設が道路網を、そして都市を構造づける決定要素といえる。西欧社会が広場でとり行う諸々の活動を、東洋社会は概ね街路上で行う。韓国の街路空間は、通行、出逢い、商い、隔離などの機能の他にリニアなオープン・スペースとして大きな意味を持つ。一般住居地域では街路の両側は住宅の塙と門で形づくられているが、塙に拠って露店商が商いをしたり、リニアなオープン・マーケットになったりする。広い幹線街路の両側は大廈高樓が建並ぶ。近代都市計画の伝播初期には、路線商店街文化をもつ日本人の手を介したせいもあって、ほとんどの広幅員道路は路線商店街を形成した。そもそも広幅員道路沿いには路線商業地域を積極的に指定してきた。

1970年代以降、アメリカ型近代都市計画技術が伝播するにつれて、近隣住区中心やコミュニティ・センターといった計画概念が入ってきて広場型商店街を指向した商業地域の面的指定が増えてきたが、多くの幹線道路沿道住民からは非現実的であると批判されている。現在でも、面的商業地域のうち内部敷地の商業化は遅々として進まないでいる。市街地の骨格が道路型であるため、面的商業地域を指定しても、実際の建築配置にあっては路線型商店街を形成せざるを得ない。建築法その他も、今までの慣行などから、広場型商店街、もっと一般的に言って、広場型建築配置を難しくしている。

広場型建築に誘導するために、1962年の都市計画法では商業地域における建ぺい率を低く押えはじめ、最近では、駐車スペース設置義務、敷地内緑地造成義務など非建ぺい空間拡大方針に基づいた建ぺい率縮小政策が強力に進められたが、広場型建物群は出現せず、代わりにCIAM型の広い敷地内に搭上建築がそびえ立つ街路景観が支配的となりつつある。結果として、隣接敷地

との間に空地を空けざるを得ないため、街路の連続性が断ち切られるという望ましくない現象が現れはじめ、当局の思惑通り、連続して隙間のない路線商店街的景観は止めを刺されたかに見えた。ところが、都市に潜在している路線商業文化は、しばらくすると表に滲み出して、高層建築の間に残された隙間空間に地下出入口あるいはこぢんまりした組立露店などを挿入して、いつの間にか街路の一階景観は昔に似た路線商店街の雰囲気をつくり出してしまった。先にも述べたように、大規模団地のショッピング・センターも道路沿線に立地しており、広場と称する空間をもってはいるが、そのほとんどは道路に接した前庭であるに過ぎない。

5、むすび

以上、韓国への近代都市計画の伝播と受容の過程を、現象の生起としてでなく文化の移転に伴う葛藤の過程として捉えることを試みた。都市が文化的所産であるという前提にたつと、都市を制御操作の対象とする技術である都市計画も、有形無形の文化的属性と背景を伴った技術であるといわねばならないからである。都市計画の科学あるいは工学としての技術的水準は、そうたいした高度なものではないため、産業と経済の水準上昇に伴って、特にその可視的部分の移転はたやすくできるかのように考えられがちである。そして、大まかにいって、二通りの移転方式が考えられる。

一つは、移転強制型で、強者が弱者に、支配的集団が被支配的集団に、支配集団が考える先進化への過程として、あるいは支配強化の手段として移転を強要する場合である。この方式は多くの場合に、弱者が辛うじて命脈を維持している「地」の文化を抹殺しかねない。文化的側面からすれば異文化間の侵入を継承の過程とみられるが、勝者と敗者を生む結果となり、どちらにとっても、長期にわたって後味の悪さを耐えねばならない。二つめは、模倣移転型ともいうべき方式で、内発的動機から異種文化圏での事例を移転受容しようとする場合である。建前としては、和魂洋才、東道西器であって、文化的独自性を維持しながら、技術的効用のみを接木して、独自の「地」文化の自己進化を企てる学習模倣型と、先進技術であるという理由だけで無批判に受容する単純模倣型に分けて考えられる。第二次世界大戦終結後、解放軍として、朝鮮動乱時の友好国として、世界に類をみないくらい、親米的であった韓国におけるアメリカ文化受容はアメリカが現代文明の頂点にたちつづけたこともあって、かなり無批判的に模倣するという局面が多かったことは否めない。しかし、残念ながら、多くの可視的文明技術の裏にひそむ文化的

基層というか、根の部分に対する検討や配慮が欠けていたため、好意的受容の雰囲気があるにもかかわらず、「地」文化の根強い抵抗や滲み上りが随所に現れている。これに較べて、隣国であった日本は、旧植民支配国であったという悪感情と敗戦国、朝鮮動乱で漁夫の利を占めたということに加え、長い国交断絶などのため、日本からの技術移転に関しては厳しい批判的雰囲気があったといわねばならない。植民地時代に伝播、受容した日本的近代都市計画技術は、なべて植民地支配の手段ではなかろうかという疑いがもたれ、韓国の実情に合うかどうか、韓国のためになるのかどうかという厳しい試練を経たといえる。国民感情や韓国文化との兼ね合いについて、国家的統制があったといってもよい。従って、韓国内で通用している日本風近代都市計画技術は厳しい進化の過程をくぐって韓国流に受容されたと考えてもよいのかもしれない。しかし、この場合にも、日本に対する長い交流断絶は、客観的な醒めた眼で日本の文化を理解する機会を持たなくしてしまった。そのため技術と文化の関係を理解するという学習の過程が欠けたため、もっと学び受容すべき多くのものを脱落させてしまった感がある。

文化の伝播と受容をいかにすべきかを語る際に筆者は東洋の塙の文化と技術に注目したい。これは閉鎖、遮断の技術ではなく緩衝と共存の技術であると解釈したい。これから先、外部からの強制移転型は徐々に減っていくであろうが、内部でのサブ・カルチャー間の移転は引続きあり続ける。また、国際化の時代を迎えて、模倣移転方式は益々増え続けるといわねばならない。都市計画技術の移転について、移出側にとっても、移入側にとっても、最も必要な技術は緩衝と共存の都市計画技術である。東洋文化の基層をなす中庸の思想が内と外を二元化するかに見える塙に技術を生み、西欧の二元論思想がその統合を指向するかのようになり、内と外を一体化するような一元的パターンを生んでいることから、可視的な形態や技術の背後に秘む文化への注目を強調したい。

Tokyo ICPH. (第3回都市計画史国際会議)

Workshop; Session II "Transfer of Modern Urban Planning to Asia"

"American influence on post-war Korean planning: The case of Korea, 1945 - at present"

Full paper

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Prologue:

1. Transitional period; 1945-the end of Korean War(1953)
2. American influence - Planning base constructed;1953-1980
3. The recent movement; 1980-at present

Epilogue

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Prologue:

Modern Korean Urban and Regional Planning had started with the open port (開港), 1879 of Pusan(釜山), which had performed the deterministic role on the development of modern planning in Korea.

The open port had succeeded to Mokpo, Jinnampo, Gunsan, and Sungjin after Pusan, and the introduction and planning process of modern urban planning had played the definite role, which formed the base of the modern urban pattern in Korea now seen around us.

The article is consisted of the discussions composed of three period, i.e. 1. Transitional period ; from 1945 to 1953, 2. American influence - planning base constructed ; from 1953 to 1980, and 3. The recent movement ; from 1980 to the present period. Out of the discussions of three period as mentioned above the second discussion, i.e. 2. American influence - planning base constructed ; from 1953 to 1980 is to be elaborated for the purpose of the paper.

Before proceeding into the above discussion we better are to review the planning situation in Korean between the period from 1910, which is the year of annexation between Korean and Japan (韓日合併) to 1945, which is the year of liberation from Japan by the end of 2nd World War.

Since the open port period on, 1879, the modern planning idea for the city had been fermented toward organic and humanistic planning approach, and in planning process toward survey - analysis- plan

process as advocated by Scotland's eminent regional ecological planner, Patrick Gedden for the official town planning. But there was no regulatory measures so far in Korean for urban planning.

As previously mentioned the open port cities were Mokpo(木浦), Jinnampo (鎮南浦), Gunsan(群山), and Sungjin(城津) and common aspect of the open port city planning was that it contained the foreign settlement in the built-up area of each town, e.g. in case of Mokpo, among the foreign settlement, Japan, Russia, United Kingdom and France had occupied the settlement respectively and it could be estimated that they had advanced to Korea for their own purpose, and it could be inferred that their method of town planning was chiefly by the land subdivision (土地區画整理) as we can see with the map of Mokpo Master Plan on Figure 1, where the existing built-up area is shown in irregular pattern with black color, and the new built-up area is shown in grid-iron pattern hatched.

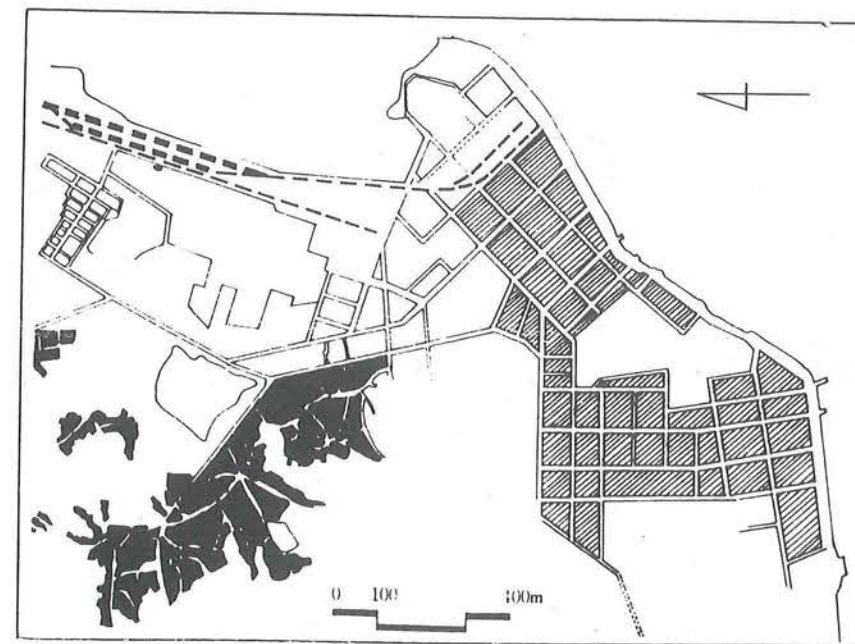


Figure 1. Master Plan of Mokpo

Since the open port until 1920, the main physical facilities planning in the city such as the street widening, paving, alignment, and the drainage and sewage network improvement as the city planning, were involved as a part of the master plan of the city, and zoning(地域地区制), land subdivision(土地区画整理) were adopted as techniques of urban planning after Chosun Built-up Area Planning Act(朝鮮市街地計画法), 1934.

By 1934, the period was the time when the regulatory measure and technical phase of urban planning were the first stage of the fixation on our nation. The above act was proclaimed, which meant the regulation of zoning and land subdivision as urban planning tool.

Just before 1945, urban planning in Korea made a great stride with the rapid urbanization in Korea. The population of Seoul, capital of Korea, was 988,000 inhabitants in 1944, and the diagrammatic plan of Seoul was as shown on Figure 2. on the paper.

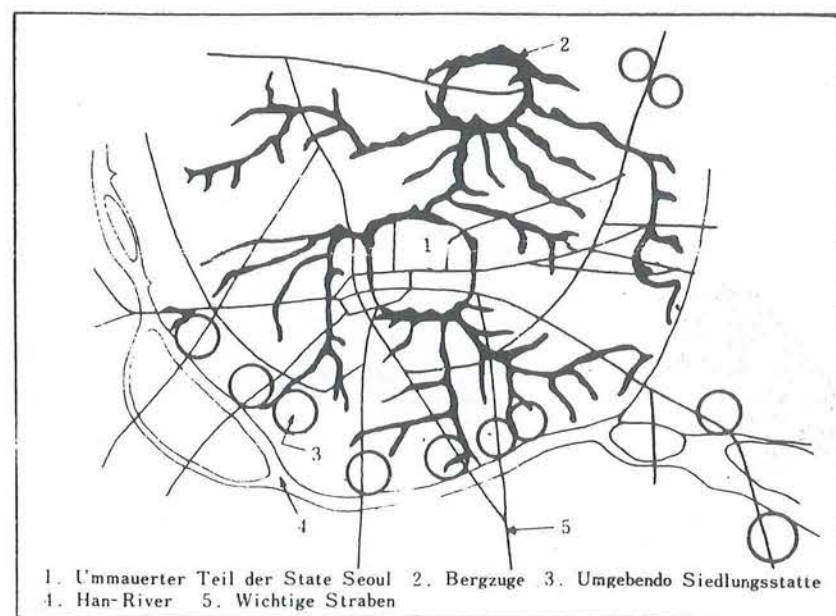


Figure 2. Residential Zone and Street Network, Seoul(1936)

1. Transitional period : 1945 - the end of Korean War(1953)

From 1945 to the end of Korean War, 1953, it is marked as the dark age and the time of chaos in Korean status as a whole.

The aggressive increase of the urban population by the post-2nd World War refugees from the North and the higher birthrate had continued during the period, i.e. the pseudo-urbanization was pervasive in Korea.

The methodology of urban planning continued on after Japanese regime, had been pursued by new Korean Government. After the establishment of Republic of Korea Government, Aug., 1948, the administrative organization is formed with the City Planning Section, Construction Bureau, Ministry of Interior, and then the official city plans were enacted for the small cities such as Pohang and Kimchun on 1951, which were the first case of the city planning by our own government. Since then, Kyungju (the most conservative old town, Shinla Dynasty), Jaeju on 1952 and Anyang, Pyungtak on 1953 had been planned officially and enacted. The main frame of city planning for these cities was the city planning area, street network, square, urban park, green, district of scenic beauty(風致地区), and district of land subdivision(土地区画整理地区), and the use zoning was not designated as Residential zone(住居地域), Commercial zone(商業地域), Industrial zone(工業地域) and rather the action was concentrated on land subdivision project as city planning implementation.

The population of Seoul, at 1945 it was about 1,000,000 people, but after the liberation it had been increased rapidly by 100,000 people annually by the refugees from the North and by the centrality of Seoul, politically, culturally, and economically. At Aug. 13, 1949, the master plan for Seoul was proclaimed with Presidential Ordinance No. 159, and the projected population amounted to 2,000,000 and its planning boundary area was 269km². The transportation network had been planned alongwith the zoning plan of Seoul during the Korean War at Pusan, which was called the temporary capital of Korea, as the Ministry of Interior decree No. 23.

Since 1953, after the rehabilitation of Seoul as a capital from the temporary Pusan, the City planning Commission of Seoul, which was the advisory commission to mayor had been established, and the Interim Master plan of Seoul after the rehabilitation on Pusan had been the motives for the starting point of modern urban planning process of Korea.

2. American influence - Planning base construction, 1953 - 1980

right after Korea War, the urgent need for the construction of urban, regional and national planning as the new technology to the planning, which was regarded as the planning goal, objectives and the planning content, e.g. the master plan of Youngju (榮州), drafted at 1961 had shown the model case of the new planning methodology.

Since the rise to major into, which was the city had S.A.'s tendency such as the school approach, and in college course. At that time, the

references the author has studied, was "City planning and National planning by Eiyo Isikawa ("都市計画及国土計画", 石川榮耀著) and "Planning the modern city" by H. M. Lewis and Nelson P. Lewis.

But the inter-disciplinary approach to planning could not be rejected and the specialist of city planning had sprung up from the economist, the architect as well as from the civil engineers. The establishment of Korea Planners Association (1959), KPA was the sign of opening up the base for the modern urban planning in Korea and the abolishment of Chosun Built-up area Planning Ordinance under Japanese regime, and the enactment of City planning Law (1962) has laid the legal foundation for city planning in Korea. It was just as "A Standard City Planning Enabling Act"(1928), which delegated the power of establishing general plan to each local government, after the "A Standard State Zoning Enabling Act" (1926), which was made to designate zoning ordinance, by U.S. Dept. of Commerce respectively.

Since 1960, the great stride had been trodden in the field of city planning in Korea. The street improvement and land subdivision, which was the main theme of city planning until then, was reviewed with the more comprehensive viewpoint for systematic urban planning, and the guidance of establishing master plan was required such as setting the planning goal, objectives and the planning content, e.g. the master plan of Youngju (榮州), drafted at 1961 had shown the model case of the new planning methodology.

The regional and national planning was also the focus of concern

Subdivision Control, 4)Official Mapping, and 5)Covenant, techniques 1-4 are adopted into Korean urban planning aspects but 5), which is partially seen only in apartment site in the city. But in the zoning, the designation of use zoning in cities is regulated in City Planning Law, but the positive and negative control of building usage permitted in use zones, are separately regulated on Building Code such as in Japan. It is the different System with American Zoning Ordinance.

3. The recent movement, 1980-at present

It is often mentioned that the occidental city has developed as the citizen's urban society and the oriental city as the dynasty center.

If the above statement is true, then the Korean urban centers have grown as the political center of each dynasty until the open port era(開港期), by when the feudalism had ceased to dominate the society and the new industrialized society had begun to govern Korean Peninsula.

After 1980 the promotion of public interest, which is goal of city planning, has been rigorously persuaded in the field of urban planning, whose characteristics were the public sector-oriented, such as the citizen participation and public hearing, to deal with the real estate of citizens in urban centers.

The arousal to the multi-disciplinary character of "planning", the political, social, economic, and geographical phase of planning have been surveyed and planned as well as the more detailed physical

facility study as physical planning along with the study of built-up and natural environment. The study of PIA(Population Impact Assessment), EIA(Environmental Impact Assessment), and TIA (Transportation Impact Assessment) have been performed. On the Building Code, the urban design area is regulated, which will require the over all, and 3-dimensional volume design of an area such as the comprehensive area in United Kingdom.

The concept of PUD(Planned Unit Development), and CUD(Community Unit Development) have been tried with the probational basis.

The social, and economic indices projection are required to establish the general plan with the guidance given by Ministry of Construction, Korean Government to each local government.

The 2nd National Construction Planning was proclaimed, planning period 1982- 1991 and the revised plan was drafted incorporated with the establishment of "Technopolis", and "the Epoch of West Coast Development" in Korea for the trade between China and Korea.

Epilogue:

American influence on post-war Korean planning :The case of Korea, 1945- at present has been roughly scanned through with the period divisions as above.

American influence has meant the internationality and occidental character in urban planning with the special reference to the

"goal-tool" theme (目的手段説), which is self government planning style as insisted by Shun-ichi Watanabe(1985:212). It was started with zoning ordinance by which, use zoning has been divided into Residential Zone, Commercial Zone, and Manufacturing Zone with the detailed classification into each code number such as R-1, R-2, ..., Rn etc.

The goal of planning lies in the promotion of public interest and welfare. By the goal, planning is rather public sector-oriented than private sector-oriented. To be public sector-oriented the regulatory measures are inevitable by this situation; City Planning Law, Urban Renewal Law, Land Subdivision Project Law, and Building Code in Korea are indispensable in the planning implementation with the other relevant legal tools such as Housing Code, National Construction Comprehensive Planning Law (国土建設綜合計画法), and National Land Utilization Administration Law (国土利用管理法) etc.

In the planning philosophy, in contrast to the internationality, the regionalism in Korea should be searched in relevance with urban planning. Traditional site planning and urban planning methodology prevalent in the Oriental Cultural Sphere, e.g. geomancy (fungshui, 風水地理説) has to be researched with the enthusiasm to prod into our peculiar regionalism.

The rational eclecticism of the tradition between Occidental and Korean philosophy and methodology in urban planning has to be found to develop further the foundation of Korean urban planning so far formulated by that of Japanese and America.

The tradition of urban planning of Chang-an (Sian), at Tang Dynasty (唐代, 長安) had been transferred to Kyungju City (慶州) in Shinla Dynasty, Korea and Hujihara Kyo (藤原京), Heijo Kyo (平城京), Heian Kyo (平安京), Japan so that the urban planning of Chang-an had become the prototype of urban planning among three nation, China, Korea and Japan. It is apparent that Confucian regularity and order dictated the form of Chinese cities, e.g. Chang-an, which, Kevin Lynch, MIT has called as the cosmic theory of urban planning, nowadays became as grid-iron pattern of the city as the ancient Greek cities.

The self-government policy in the local municipality is going to be renewed in Korea this year, and it certainly has the significant influence of urban planning in detail, but the delegation of decision making or reviewing power of urban planning from the central government to the local government is foreseen and it surely will contribute to public welfare as a whole. *

SESSION C:
JAPAN AND MODERN URBAN PLANNING

Tokyo
strongly
urban

THE BIRTH AND FORMATION OF THE PLANNING THEORY
ON THE METROPOLITAN FUNCTION AND STRUCTURE OF TOKYO

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INTRODUCTION

This paper reviews the city planning of Tokyo over the past century and deals with the formation of the idea and theory on the metropolitan plans formulated until now. Particularly, this paper tries to make clear 'the logic of the position on the plans' by which the biggest metropolitan region of the world with above thirty million population has been built up while the decentralization policy was constantly advocated under the influence of the West, especially Britain, since 1940. These plans are known to have been the challenge to the huge metropolitan limit.

1. The Formation of the Urban Pattern and the Sprout of the Planning Idea

The modern planning idea on the urban function and structure of Tokyo originated from the proposals of the three Tokyo prefectural governors hundred-odd years ago. Until then, in the great feudal city of Edo, the social and economic base had been lost because of the Meiji Restoration (1867), even though after Edo renamed Tokyo was established as the capital, the industry and population also continued extremely declining. Just then, the city of Tokyo began to be recovered and entered the age in which the systems of administration, education and culture were adjusted and the modern industry emerged. The new international relations also spectacularly sprouted up with the revision of the unequal treaties. But in this period, Tokyo was operated as the modern metropolis through utilizing the remains as road, moat, river and city block left over from the great feudal city of Edo and converting the use of the Yashikimachi districts including the Edo castle, the estates of the Daimyo lord and the use of the districts of the Samurai residence. The above prefectural governors of Tokyo sharply pointed out the irrationality of this operation and strongly advocated getting rid of the inconvenience of old city by urban

redevelopment. Meanwhile, just in this period, the Japanese tried to draw a picture of, not partially, the entire capital. The ideas, insurances and city picture formed in this period were shown in 'the Lecture' (Dec.12, 1879) written by the prefectural governor of Masataka Kusumoto, 'the Issues of the Delimitation of Central Districts' (1888) written by the prefectural governor of Michiyuki Matsuda, who had accepted the idea of Masataka Kusumoto, and 'the Draft of the SHIKU KAISEI' (Nov.14, 1884) suggested to the national government according to synthesizing the governors' proposals of past ages by the prefectural governor of Kensei Yoshikawa. They were also described in the archives of the SHIKU KAISEI Judgment Council (1885) found by the National Government on the proposal of Kensei Yoshikawa and in the archives of the SHIKU KAISEI Council (1888)¹⁾. Now, these proposals have been taken up for the subjects of the Tokyo International Symposium on the Centenary of the TOKYO SHIKU KAISEI JOREI and their significance for present age has been clearly appraised. Most of persons who took part in the discussion of the plan and the planning-making in that period used to have traveled through many cities of the advanced countries of the West, especially had the deep impression of London and Paris. According to the above documents, it can be known for them to have tried to model Tokyo on these cities at that time. Moreover, the theory of the delimitation of urban area in Tokyo and the planning concept about that 'the Future Map' is to be made was emphasized in 'the Lecture', and the idea on which the road, river should be taken for the foundation of the city modernization, i.e. for the urban structure in planning and construction was emphasized in 'the Draft'. However, the direct sources of the information relating to these concepts haven't been found in any literatures.

2. The View of Metropolitan Planning and the Formation of Its System in Modern Age

During the transition period from the TOKYO SHIKU KAISEI JOREI (1918) to the city planning law, the formulation of the new city plan of Tokyo was decided by the Ministry of the Interior for the actual proof of the necessity of planning law and for the model study

of the city planning based on the law. The New Tokyo Plan was published in the architecture journal by Shigeyoshi Fukuda in charge of plan-making in 1918

(Fig.1). This plan afforded the know-how for systematizing the laws of city planning and became the basis of 'the Plan of the Eight Hundred Million Yens' (1921) by Shinpei Goto, the mayor of Tokyo, and the first 'Statutory City Plan of Tokyo' (Dec. 1921)²⁾. This metropolitan plan covered the region from the

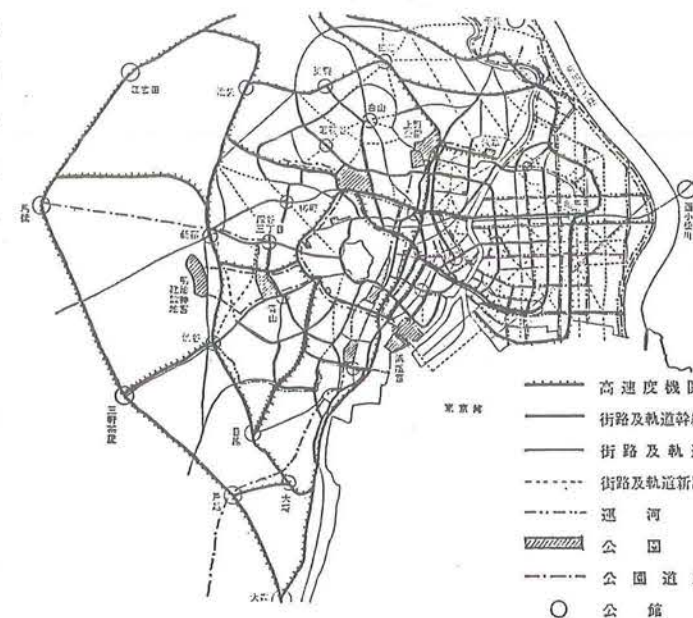


Fig.1 「The New Tokyo Plan」 by Shigeyoshi Fukuda (1917)

the region from the Shitamachi area (down town) to the Yamanote area, suburb outside the city area of Tokyo of those days. In this plan, the system of the comprehensive planning was formulated. This system included the forecast of the population and industrial scale, the calculation of the forecasted necessary facilities by using the investigation and statistics of the planned object area and the proposal with the map for the object area.

During the reconstruction of the Great Kanto Earthquake damage of 1923, the Reconstruction Authority for the earthquake damage, which president was S. Goto, the Minister of the Interior, designed the metropolitan plan for the thoroughgoing reconstruction of Tokyo on the opportunity of the great disaster of 1923. The sketch of the radial or ring urban structure drawn by them is still remained up to now (Fig.2). Because the capital reconstruction for the earthquake damage suffered the opposition from the Reconstruction Council and the Empire Diet, the programme with a try for forming and carrying out the metropolitan plan of the empire capital on the opportunity of the earthquake of 1923 was frustrated. Meanwhile, the improvement of the urban infrastructure, such as roads and canals in the district burned

down, was executed with taking the land readjustment project as the key link. When formulating the Capital Reconstruction Programme, S. Gotoh, the Minister of the Interior, invited Charles A. Beard who, as the brains, had given the advice to S. Goto of the mayor, and accepted his introduction about the former case of

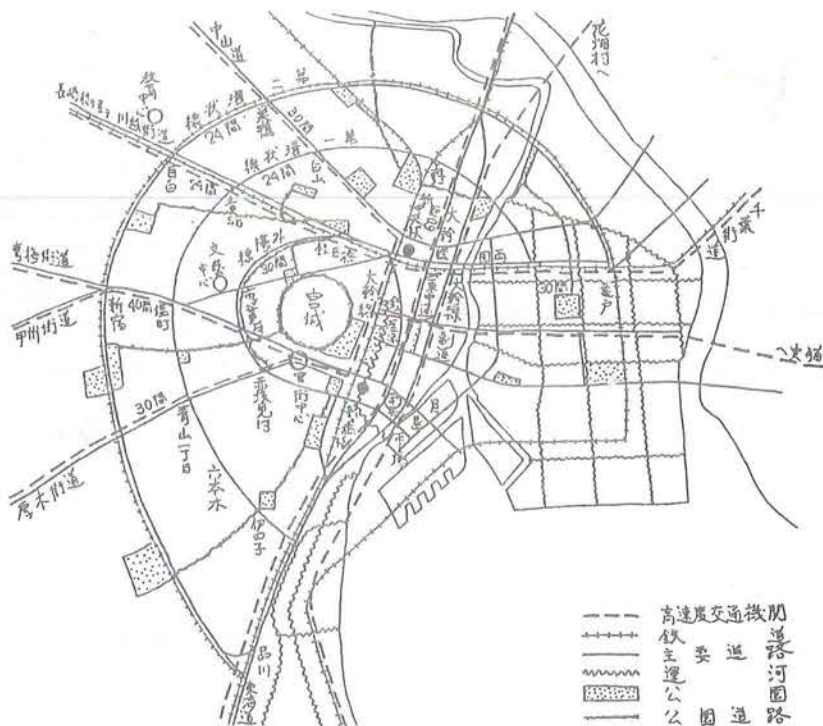


Fig.2 The Sketch Plan of the Earthquake Damage Reconstruction (1923)

the reconstruction of London following the great fire disaster and the new same cases of Chicago and San Francisco besides advising about the basic policy of the reconstruction planning with him³⁾. In that period, the methodology of the land readjustment introduced from Germany had been applied to the improvement of the urban area and the planning institutions of Britain, Germany, France or other countries, which had been continually improved, were also much introduced into Japan by the Reconstruction Authority or the Reconstruction Agency of its successor. But the direct influence upon the Capital Reconstruction Programme was limited only to the technological side, such as the application of the land readjustment project and the section of street⁴⁾.

The common ground between the proposal of S. Fukuda and the sketch of the Reconstruction Plan was known to have the very needy image of the improvement of the suburban residential area in these plans besides including the theory of the suburban area control and the theory of the garden city which were greatly influenced by the West, particularly Britain and Germany. In 1927, at that time the Capital Reconstruction Project was completed and the city plan which object

region was roughly analogous to the present ward area of the Tokyo metropolis was formulated. It is just at that time that the conception of the radial or concentric urban structure of Tokyo extending to the 8th Loop Road of nowadays was shaped. In 1943, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government formulated the Imperial Capital Plan. This metropolitan plan didn't only imagined the imperial capital of the Japanese Empire reigning over the world in the eve of the Second World War, but also definitely formulated the conception of the stratified urban structure consisting of the city center and subcenters and planned to introduce the system of greenbelt for the air defense of those days. In this period, the planning of the metropolitan form, function and structure, the park system planning and the neighborhood planning were affected by the planning conception and methodology of the West introduced from 1920s to 1930s while the literatures and information of Britain and America of the belligerent country couldn't be imported in the period of the War and the sources of the quotation and reference of the Prewar weren't been specified. Particularly, these plans were greatly influenced by the seven principles of the International Symposium for the Metropolitan Issues convened in Amsterdam in 1924. After the defeat, the basic conception of the War Damage Rehabilitation Programme of Tokyo was almost directly accepted as the the foundation of the Imperial Capital Reconstruction Programme except that the share of the military facilities was partly amended. The establishment of the Great London Plan with the anticipation of the Postwar was in 1944, almost the same time as the Imperial Plan, which is known to be very interesting.

3. THE IMPERIAL RECONSTRUCTION PROGRAMME WITH THE COMPREHENSIVE EXPRESSION OF THE PLANNING THEORIES AND METHODOLOGY OF THE PREWAR AND WAR PERIOD

While the Cabinet Conference resolved 'the Basic Policy of the War Damage Rehabilitation Programme' in December 30, 1945, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government formulated 'the Imperial Capital Reconstruction Programme' with the goal of 3.5 million population on the October of 1946. The Plan connected with the metropolitan function and structure was characterized by taking the opinion on the

negation of the overlarge city, which was presented in the Prewar and War period, as the basic concept for itself according to the War damaged experience. That is, according to the Programme, the industries tried to be decentralized and to be located in the waterfront areas of the urban fringe, and the sites of the commercial center and consumer center were also to be decentralized in the fostered subcenters. Meanwhile, 'the KOKAN DISTRICT' (the Office District) as the administrative district was also planned in the area of the Loop Line of the Outer Moat including the Yotsuya and Kanda districts. Generally, the land use planning was regarded with importance as the basic policy of the War Damage Rehabilitation Programme, so that the urban function of the National Capital planned to be appropriately located through executing the use zoning. At that time, in fact, the realizing measures of the city planning was limited to the improvement of the street and block depending on the land readjustment and to the regulatory technique of zoning. Because of the restriction of finances, the conception of the projects on which the arterial road network and the rapid transit network are to be rapidly built up couldn't be considered under the conditions of those days⁵⁾.

4. THE EXTEND OF THE VIEW OF THE CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION TO THE NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION DEVELOPMENT

The National Capital Construction Law of 1950 was aimed at supplementing and rearranging the War Damage Rehabilitation Programme corresponding with the capital of the reborn Japan following the execution of 'the Review of the War Damage Rehabilitation Programme' which accepted the broad retrenchment of the Programme in the Metropolitan Tokyo and other metropolitan cities. Of course, the execution of this Law ran into a lot of problems because there were only several years since the beginning of the astonishing postwar recovery. On the basis of the investigation of 1952, the National Capital Construction Committee offered developing the satellite city, particularly to the Ministry of Construction and requested the Minister of Construction for legalizing the Principle of the Satellite City Development in December 4, 1953, only after three years of the enactment of the Capital Construction Law. As the above

stated, for rationally resolving the issues resulted from that Tokyo was excessively large, the National Capital Construction Committee had early emphasized the necessity of the comprehensive plan, which object area didn't only included the administrative area of Tokyo but also the rather wide area, and the importance of the plan's basis law⁶⁾.

At that time, the Capital Construction Committee was much influenced by the declaration of 'the Symposium for the Issues of the Metropolitan City' of Amsterdam in 1924, especially much directly by the planning concept of the Great London Plan (1944) of Prof. P. Abercrombie. In 1953, the same Committee published 'the Conception of the National Capital Region Plan - The Issues under the Status Quo of the Metropolitan Tokyo' in the Journal of the Capital Construction (1954-1955) of the organ. After then, Committee started analyzing the excessive concentration of population and industry, the disorderly expansion of the urban area, the deterioration of the residential environment and transportation, the lack of the open space, the inadequate of the public facility and the housing problem. Futurely, the conceptive sketch of the National Capital Region Plan consisting of the three rings, which was modeled on the Great London Plan, was published for showing the range of the measures to the above issues (Fig.3).

In the First National Capital Region Master Plan with the Goal of 1975 based on the National Capital Region Development Law of 1956, the view of the metropolitan policy was extended to the metropolitan Tokyo region and suburban area, and also the urban development area were zoned under the conception of the national capital region modeled on the Great London Plan. Meanwhile, the

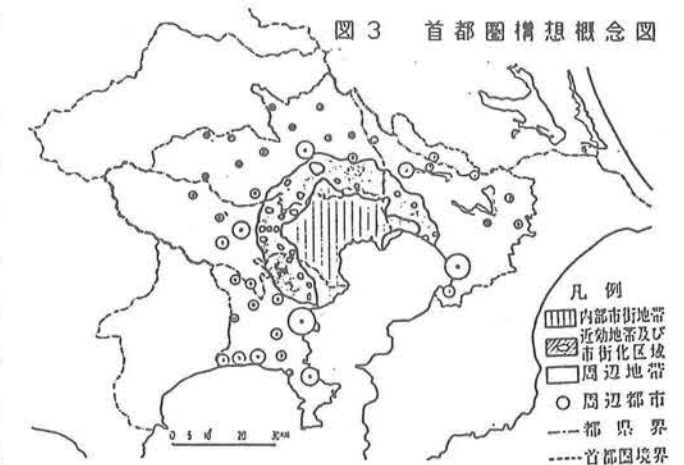


Fig.3 The Conception of the National Capital Region Plan (1954) by the Executive Office of the National Capital Construction Com.

decentralization of the urban functions, the highrising of building of the existing residential area and the intensive use of the building lot were planned. Yet, the highrising programme of the building of the existing residential area was limited in the urban central area, which was different from the Great London Plan. Under this Programme, the central area, subcentral area of city and their marginal region were delimited and the building volume plan was also worked out. Afterwards, this plan resulted in the adoption of the bulk zoning in Tokyo and other Japanese cities. In the master plans of these regions, the goal height and minimum height of the building and the policy of the land use were determined. However, there still was the great problem of the lack of the measure to guide the building activities toward the plans' goals so that it resulted in the extensive agglomeration of the high bulk in the central area in later years.

Under this conception, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government came to basic survey for the development of the three subcenters of Shinjuku, Ikebukuro and Shibuya, and started executing the policy for fostering the subcenter. The First National Capital Region Development Programme carried out the rule of the master plan of the system plan of the rapid transit network and capital expressway network, and the metropolitan Tokyo structure plan including the extension and improvement of the harbors, so the Programme was known to have laid the foundation suitable for the excessive concentration in the metropolitan Tokyo region since the period of the high growth of economy.

5. THE INTRODUCTION OF PROJECTS TOWARD THE HIGH GROWTH OF ECONOMY

1) The Enhancement of the Metropolitan Structure for the Olympics of Tokyo (1964)

Following the execution of the Shinjuku Subcenter Development Programme in 1960, the development of Shibuya and Ikebukuro subcenters started, but the enhancement of the urban structure of the Tokyo urban area originated from the development of the road and subway for the Olympics of Tokyo (1964).

In the Long-term Plan of the Metropolitan Tokyo published in

1963, following the National Capital Region Development Programme, with the aim of the control and decentralization of the excessive agglomeration of the population and industry, the comprehensive measures mainly relating to the subcenter development were advanced. Moreover, in the Master Plan, the admitted optimum population was fixed at the 9.5 millions according to the Building Volume Plan⁷⁾.

2) The Proposal of the Total System for the Metropolitan Redevelopment

The Round-table Conference for the Issues of the Metropolitan Redevelopment (the Advisory Body for the Minister of the Construction, Chairman Issei Inuma) proposed reallocating the city central functions to the Minister of Construction with the simple and clear planning opinion. This proposal carried the opinion on changing the function and structure of the entire metropolitan Tokyo region through promoting the projects of the capital rapid transit network, capital expressway network and Shinjuku subcenter development. The proposal's opinion synthesized various proposals for Tokyo on many occasions in the War and Postwar period with the introduced Prewar model of the metropolitan region of the West on the basis of the status quo of those days. About the rearrangement of the city center, it was proposed to regulate the building volume through rationally allocating the joint development grouped in the optimum scale and formulating the building volume composition plan.

About the development of the city subcenter, the follows were mentioned. That is, "because the business facilities of the offices accounting for most of the city central facilities are expected greatly to increase in future, it is necessary to develop and improve the business district with the new modern composition on the sites separate from the city center for restraining the present disorder and deadlock of the the city center. The same measures also hoped to be executed in the case of the consumption facilities. For shortening the commuting distance, the business districts are to be constructed in the city subcenter in which many systems of the mass transit have been concentrated. Because such city subcenters take the partial charge of the main functions of the city center, the fostering of the subcenter is very effective in changing Tokyo into the multinuclear metropolitan

city." (The above is underlined by writer). The conceptive sketch of the metropolitan structure presented by same Conference hasn't yet lost the guiding significance for the metropolitan policy until now although it was shown by the classical expressive form of the West of ancient times (Fig.4) ⁸⁾. This conception is considered to be the planning theory on which the radial or concentric metropolitan structure is to be extended and enhanced, and its crosspoints are to be also developed toward the subcenter following the clear trend

of the location of the business office facilities as the main factor causing the metropolitan city to be much greatly enlarged. Since these proposals were presented, the above underlined opinions haven't been fully understood yet. These proposals about the infrastructure and mixed urban area of the metropolitan city have been presented as the main subjects of the Symposium of today.

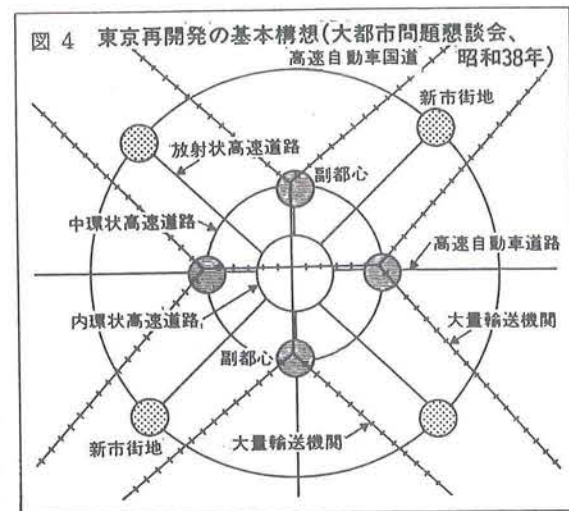


Fig.4 The Conception of the Redevelopment Plan of Tokyo (1963) by the Round-table Conference for the Issues of the Metropolitan Redevelopment

3)The Foresight after Twenty Years under the Experience of the Past Twenty Years

On the January of 1967 when the swift high growth of economy was in the offing, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government published 'the Tokyo toward the Future - the Prospect after Twenty Years'. In the Prospect, the sketch of Tokyo after twenty years was described on grasping the shape of Tokyo as exactly as possible. In the works of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government for the sketch different from the later conceptions and plans, although the future image of the metropolitan Tokyo wasn't originally described, the very interesting forecast was made under the quantitative analysis of the huge urbanization. In the Second Section (the Differentiation of the Urban Functions by Region) of the Fourth Chapter (the Regional Structure of Tokyo), the foresight after twenty years was analyzed by the central

area and subcenter area (the main crosspoint). Particularly, the following explanations merit attention.

"While the conditions of the transportation were expected to grow worse to some extent due to the concentration of the functions in the central area, the functions of the city center are going to be extended to the area with the great convenience of transportation from now. Because the road conditions of the central area, which the road ratio of the central area now is 42 per cent, is known not to be greatly improved in future,

the function of the city center are expected to reach near the area of the Yamanote Loop Line along the developed roads stretching from the central area after twenty years (Fig.5)." In the last several years, just after the twenty years of those days, along the national highway No.246 stretching through Aoyama and Shinjuku from the central area, and the

Yasukuni street stretching to Shinjuku, the situation of the urban function expansion linking the central area with the subcenter area was considered to have been precisely foreseen. In the Sixth Chapter, the future policy tasks about the private sector vitality was explained as follows. "In the next twenty year's time, as the direction, the private sector investment is expected to play the new role. In other words, for largely increasing the funds and qualified personnel, the private sector development is known to be one of the mainstreams of the projects for the future urban policy. The lot of the private sector funds are possible to be drawn into the projects of the district redevelopment by the investment of the public funds as the pump-priming policy." Under the experience of above twenty years after the War, the today after twenty years has been finely forecasted by the Prospect through grasping the trend of the growth and holder of the

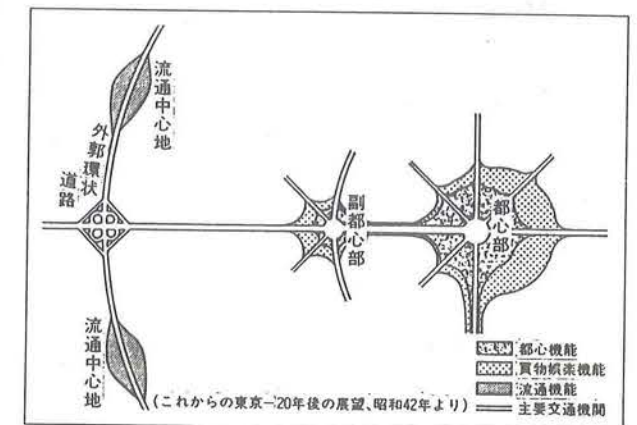


Fig.5 The Expected Structure and Functions of Tokyo (1967) by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government

metropolitan agglomeration in Tokyo.

4) The Planning Concepts of the Multinuclear Metropolitan Structure Theory

In 1971, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government published 'the Conception of Tokyo with the Open Space and Blue Sky'. In this conception, the direction and shape of the decentralization policy of the central area were definitely presented. That is, in spite of the present city center, 'the old city center', forming the core of the industrial axis, the Tama city chain as the center of the extension of the living axis is to be constructed. The present development of the Shinjuku district is to be also directed for the symbol of the two pole structure. In this conception, the direction of the urban function extension foreseen in 1967 is called the 'axis'. The present decision of the removal of the Metropolitan Government and the present policy for forming the multinuclear metropolitan structure of Tokyo, under which the some centers in Tama and the waterfront area are to be constructed, are just rooted in this conception. The continuity of the planning concept, which can be clearly found in 'the Tokyo toward Future', 'the Conception of Tokyo with Open Space and Blue Sky' and 'the Long-term Plan of the Metropolitan Tokyo', was depended on the logical characteristic of the metropolitan function and structure.

6. THE PURSUIT OF THE GREATEST METROPOLITAN STRUCTURE SYSTEM OF THE HISTORY OF MANKIND

1) The Concept of the Huge Multinuclear Urban Complex

In the second half of 1970s, the population of the metropolitan Tokyo region went beyond the thirty millions and the conurbation extended to the area of 50-100 km from the central area. The greatest agglomeration of the population, industry and various other activities just happened in this period. Therefore, at that time, Tokyo was faced with the unprecedented metropolitan problems and couldn't get the model from London, Paris or New York unliking what it was before. The countermeasure to the above problems consists of the two levels including the policy of the decentralization in the range of national land and the rearrangement of the metropolitan Tokyo region

for the rational pattern.

The Third National Capital Master Plan (the National Land Agency, 1976), as the master plan of 1976-1985, proposed recognizing this huge conurbation as the metropolitan region of Tokyo and constructing this area as the huge multinuclear urban complex.

The conception of the huge multinuclear urban complex is as following.

"Along with the gradual revision of the single pole structure relying on the urban center and the balanced development of the region, the continuing sprawl of the urban area should be avoided for forming the regional structure of the high safety from the disaster as earthquake. Also, through fostering the regional nuclear cities, the metropolitan Tokyo region is to be constructed as the huge urban complex with the poly-pole structure consisting of these central cities. For substantiating the function of the main cities as the nuclear city, the flow lines connecting these nuclear cities are to be developed." This conception, including the construction of the nuclear cities and the projects of the effective traffic facilities connecting these cities, is the expansion of 'the Basic Conception of the Tokyo Redevelopment' of 1963.

2) The System of the Transition Projects toward the Multinuclear Urban Structure

In 1982, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government formulated the Long-term Plan in which the construction of the multinuclear urban structure for transforming the single-pole concentration into the multinuclear structure was planned. After four years, the Second Long-term Plan was also formulated corresponding to various clearly foreseen future metropolitan issues resulting from the new continuing internal and international agglomeration in Tokyo following the abruptly change of situation of Tokyo. In this plan, besides that the inner metropolitan areas were classified and various improvement programmes were formulated, the stress was put on the start of the system projects for transforming toward the multinuclear metropolitan structure. Despite that the removal of the metropolitan government to Shinjuku was decided, following the extension and enhancement of the metropolitan structure, the promotion of many related projects of the large scale

redevelopment such as road, bridge, tunnel, subway, new traffic, airport and harbor to form the multinuclear urban structure such as waterfront subcenter, were advanced under the programme including the financial plan.

3) The Tentative Programme of the National Capital Reconstruction (the National Land Agency, 1983) and the Fourth National Capital Region Development Programme (1987)

Since 1979, for the comprehensive improvement of the residential environment and the enrichment of the function of the metropolitan region supporting the social development of Japan, the National Land Agency has advanced the basic survey of the Capital Reconstruction Programme with the aim at the comprehensive and radical conversion of the metropolitan Tokyo.

On the January of 1983, 'the Tentative Programme of the National Capital Reconstruction' was published as the interim report of the basic survey. On the May of the next year, it was adopted as the programme. The basic policy of the capital reconstruction in this programme materialized the conception of the huge multinuclear urban complex presented by the Third National Capital Region Master Plan. According to this programme, the multinuclear and multisphered structure is to be constituted on the basis of the division of the national capital region into the self-contained urban complex. Following this Programme, the Fourth National Capital Region Development Programme with the key words of the business nuclear city, subnuclear city and axial urban area was published as a link of the Fourth Comprehensive National Development Plan in 1987.

Now, the construction of the huge metropolitan regional structure consisting of the Wangan road (the bund and bay road), central connection road of the national capital region, regional arterial road of the nuclear city and rapid railway network, and the nuclear cities is being advanced as the programmes of the development and redevelopment in Chiba, Omiya, Tachikawa, Kawasaki and Yokohama. So the largest agglomeration of the urban functions over the human history becomes possible to process certainly corresponding with the designation of the huge metropolitan Tokyo region (Fig.6).

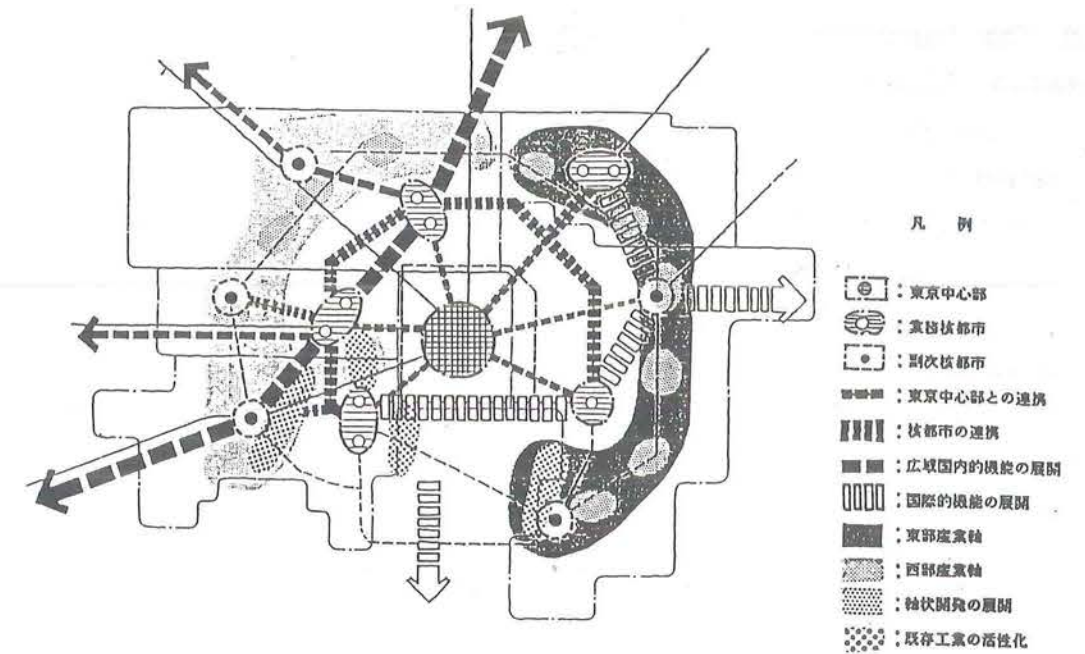


Fig.6 The Conception of the Development of the Greater Tokyo Metropolitan Area (1984) by the National Land Agency

CONCLUSION

Since the open of Japan to foreign intercourse, beginning at the improvement for the magnificent appearance of the imperial capital as the preliminary of the revision of the unequal treaties, the capital improvement has been continually concerned with seeking after the international model. When tracing this process, the several themes pursued over hundred years appear in the mind.

1) The Disaster Prevention Programme

The opportunity for the urban renewal of Tokyo was actually brought about mainly by the great earthquake damage of 1923 and the War damage. While the concern of various city reconstruction plannings of Tokyo was concentrated on the improvement and extension of the network of the urban structure, such as road, railway, river and channel, widening of road, distribution of park and conversion to the incombustible state of the urban area consisting of the wooden buildings have been advanced. Even now, the conversion of the city to preventable state from the disaster, including ensuring the traffic, communication, water and energy supply against the great earthquake disaster, is still one of the main tasks of the city policy.

2) The Improvement of the Urban Structure Including the Road and Railway Network Supporting the Metropolitan Functions

As the above stated, the motive for the Tokyo SHIKU KAISEI resulted from what the remains left over from the feudal city of Edo couldn't sustain the growth of the modern urbanization in the young Tokyo. Since then, in the city planning of Tokyo, as the phrase of "that the road and river are the foundation", all of the key projects had almost related to the extension of the road network.

The initial radial or ring pattern of the urban structure was determined just by the Tokyo SHIKU KAISEI. Since then, through the city planning in the period of the reconstruction for the earthquake damage of 1923, the War damaged rehabilitation and the Olympics of Tokyo (1964), all of the railways, subways and urban expressways have been constructed on the basis of the former road network for forming the radial or ring metropolitan structure centered on the city center along with the main subjects of the metropolitan policy with the aim of the decentralization of the urban functions. But there still is the biggest problem on the metropolitan structure. That is, this metropolitan structure is continuing to be incompletely extended and enhanced while the circumferential arterial roads haven't completed and their projects remains in the unfinished state.

3) The Improvement of the Central Area and the Fostering of the Subcenters

In the Meiji era, because of the SHIKU KAISEI, the inside area of the outer moat of the Imperial Palace was open and began to be transformed into the business district. In the Taisyo era, the main projects of the Reconstruction for the Great Kanto Earthquake Damage were also related to the improvement of the street and block of the city central district from Kanda to Shinbashi. After the War, particularly after 1955, although the decentralization policy of the urban function from the city center and the fostering policy of the subcenters were emphasized, along with the extension of the radial infrastructure, on the contrary, the concentration in the central business district of Tokyo was markedly advanced and enlarged.

Along with the enhancement and extension of the radial or ring

metropolitan structure and the agglomeration of the urban functions in the city center, the subcenters including Shinjuku, Shibuya and Ikebukuro were formed in the crosspoints of the railways and roads. These subcenters and district centers sharing in various urban functions have been widely spreaded over the metropolitan region and much fostered. So while they offer the attractive service to the citizen, the huge agglomeration on the metropolitan Tokyo region and the arrangement of the combined metropolitan region presented in the National Capital Region Development Programme become possible.

4) The Favoritism to the Harbor District

The area of the Sumidagawa River mouth is said to be the birthplace of Tokyo. One of the reasons motivating the Tokyo SHIKU KAISEI was 'HINKAI CHIKUKOU' (building the harbor of Hinkai) in the Shinakawa offing by the Sumidagawa River mouth. After several ten years following that the Tokyo SHIKU KAISEI and HINKAI CHIKUKOU were cut off from the politics and finance of those days in the initial stage, the piers of Takeshiba and Hinode began to be constructed as the modern harbor on the occasion of the reconstruction for the earthquake damage of 1923. Afterwards, because of the land problems of Tokyo and the request for the improvement of the coastal industry and urban facilities, the function of the harbor was enhanced and the reclaimed land was extended. Generally, the harbor is known to be the birthplace of the city. Even though in the present, the end of the twentieth century, the main subject of the metropolitan renewal over the world is still known to be the redevelopment of the waterfront district.

5) The Metropolitan Redevelopment

Along with the high growth of Tokyo and the pursuit of the safe and effective receptor of the great continuing agglomeration, as the matter of course, the strains of the high growth have been left behind in the urban area of Tokyo as follows.

1) The overlapping expansion of the infrastructure has been advanced in succession while various projects weren't completed.

2) Only the development of the main arteries was preceded, but the improvement of the urban infrastructure, such as general street and

open space, was too lagged behind the concentration of the population and industry.

i. As the result, in the gaps among the expanded infrastructure lines from the nearby area of the subcenter to the sprawl area, the troubled districts were built up.

ii. The mixture of the buildings and land uses has generated in the entire urban area.

Therefore, since 1960 when the period of the high growth of economy started, these troubled districts, which widely generated in the metropolitan Tokyo region, have been persistently improved.

Even though the more or less difference appeared in the above main subjects of the metropolitan Tokyo by period, they are known to have had the strong continuity through the past hundred years. This kind of continuity wasn't only related to the continuity of the requested administrative responsibility held by the National Government and Tokyo Metropolitan Government but also resulted from the logic structure possessed inevitably in the metropolitan Tokyo function and structure. Since the Meiji era, the infrastructure of Tokyo has been continually improved to be suitable for the larger continuing agglomeration as the main task for Tokyo with the role of the center of the high growth over the past century.

Until now, the planning idea on which through constructing the system of the huge, capable and rationally functional infrastructure covering the metropolitan region, with the safe, comfortable and effective environment, the huge metropolitan functions are possible to be agglomerated has been formed. Because the policy of decentralization from Tokyo to localities didn't effectively functioned beyond the capital region, the formulation and execution of the big plan for forming the rational system accepting the concentration of the population and industry on the capital region into the metropolitan Tokyo region have always been the large subject unable to be left alone since the period of the high growth of economy. The reason why the effort toward the above object, going beyond the range of the measure to the problem of the overcrowding or the survival policy for Tokyo, resulted in the formation of the circular system increasingly promoting the huge agglomeration to the metropolitan Tokyo region just is the logic structure of the position on the planning of Tokyo.

NOTES

1. 'The Lecture' by Masataka Kusumoto, 'the Issues of the Delimitation of the Central Districts' by Michiyuki Matsuda, 'the Draft of the SHIKU KAISEI' by Kensei Yoshikawa, the documents and archives of the SHIKU KAISEI Judgment Council and the SHIKU KAISEI Council, which all are related to the Tokyo SHIKU KAISEI, are collected in the Archives Library of the Tokyo Metropolis. See 'the Compile of the Tokyo City Plans - the Book of the Meiji and Taisyo' (the whole of 34 volumes) supervised by Terunobu Fujimori, Honnotomo Publishing Firm, 1987-1988.

2. Shigeyoshi Fukuda, 'the New Tokyo', Journal of Architecture (August, 1918). The report including a lot of data and figures was published in the Special Issue of the City Planning Review.

3. Charles A. Beard visited Japan at the invitation of the mayor, Shinpei Goto and gave the advice to S. Goto mainly about the city planning after the energetic activities. See 'the Administration and Politics of Tokyo' (New York, Macmillan Company, 1923) translated by the Investigation Commission of the Tokyo Municipal Administration in 1923.

Right after the earthquake of 1923, C. A. Beard visited Japan again at the invitation of S. Goto of the Minister of the Interior and proposed 'the Advises about the Reconstruction of Tokyo' (Oct. 30, 1923) consisting of the eleven terms. But his proposal couldn't be adopted because it was too comprehensive, principled and basic against the system of the Reconstruction Programme for the Earthquake Damage of 1923 which was severely restricted by the budget in the political struggle and 'the competition with time'.

4. The series of the reconstruction and the investigation report of the Reconstruction Agency published by the Earthquake Damage Reconstruction Authority and the Reconstruction Agency of its successor, and the series of the Imperial Capital Reconstruction by the Tokyo City Government in the period of 1923-1924 promoted theorizing

the reconstruction plan, but had little effect on the projects.

5. See 'Journal of the New Architecture'(No.1, 1947), published by Eiyo Ishikawa. This programme synthesized the planning theories and methodology of the Prewar and War period and became the starting point of the planning of metropolitan Tokyo and capital region in the Postwar period.

6. The above materials relating to the capital region plan are selected from the materials of the capital construction and capital region improvement orderly published by the Capital Construction Committee, the Capital Region Improvement Committee and the Secretariat of the National Land Agency at that time.

7. The above plans formulated by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government are collected in the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and the Kawakami Division of the Department of Urban Engineering, Engineering Faculty, the University of Tokyo.

8. At that time, it was the famous proposal and was reprinted or introduced in various magazines including 'the Shin-Toshi' (No.4, 1963).

東京の大都市機能・構造に関わる計画論の形成

川上 秀光

序 論

過去一世紀にわたる東京の都市計画を振り返り、東京を現在迄に作りあげて来た大都市計画の思想とその論理の形成を考える。欧米、特に英国の影響を受けて1940年代から現在迄、絶えず分散策を唱えながら、今や人口 3,000万人以上の世界最大の都市圏を形成してなお、巨大都市の限界に挑戦するかに見える「計画が置かれた状況の論理」を明らかにする。

1. 都市原型の形成と計画思想の萌芽

東京の都市機能と都市構造に関する近代的な都市計画の構想は、百余年前、当時三代にわたる東京府知事の提案から始まった。大封建都市・江戸が明治維新（1867年）によってその社会、経済的基盤を喪失し、東京奠都後も産業、人口が衰退のどん底にあった時期からようやく立ち直りかけ、行政、教育、文化制度が整い、近代産業の息吹と不平等条約改正に向けて新たな国際関係の萌芽が開いた時期であった。彼等は大封建都市江戸から受け継いだ道路、壕、河川、街区などの遺構を利用しつつ、江戸城はじめ大名、旗本などの屋敷町を転用して東京を近代的大都市として経営していくことの非合理性を強く指摘して、要するに中古都市の不便さから都市再開発によって脱皮することを強く主張したのであった。この時期にあって、ようやく我々日本人は部分ではなく首都の全体像を描こうとしたのであった。この間の思想、主張と都市像は、楠本正隆府知事の「演説書」（明治12年＝1879年 12月12日）、これを受けた松田道之知事の「中央市区劃定之問題」（明治13年＝1880年 11月 2日）芳川顯正知事が歴代の府知事の提言を取りまとめ、政府に建議した市区改正草案（明治17年＝1884年 11月14日）、および芳川顯正の提案を政府が受け入れて設置した市区改正審査会（明治18年＝1885年）、市区改正委員会（明治21年＝1888年～）の記録に示されている（註1）。これらは、今回の東京市区改正条例百年記念シンポジウムにおいて日本側が主題として取り上げ、その現代的意義を既に明らかにしている。当時の議論とプランメーカーに参加した殆どの人が、欧米先進国の諸都市を旅行して、特にロンドン、パリで見聞して来た印象が強烈で、これらの都市像を模倣しようとしていたことはこれらの記録から明らかであるが、「演説書」が強調する東京市街地の区分論、「将

の地図」をつくる「計画論」「草案」が強調する道路、河川を都市近代化の「本」、すなわち都市構造であるとして、その計画と建設を重視する考え方には、直接的な出典は見当たらない。

2. 大都市計画の視野と近代的体系化

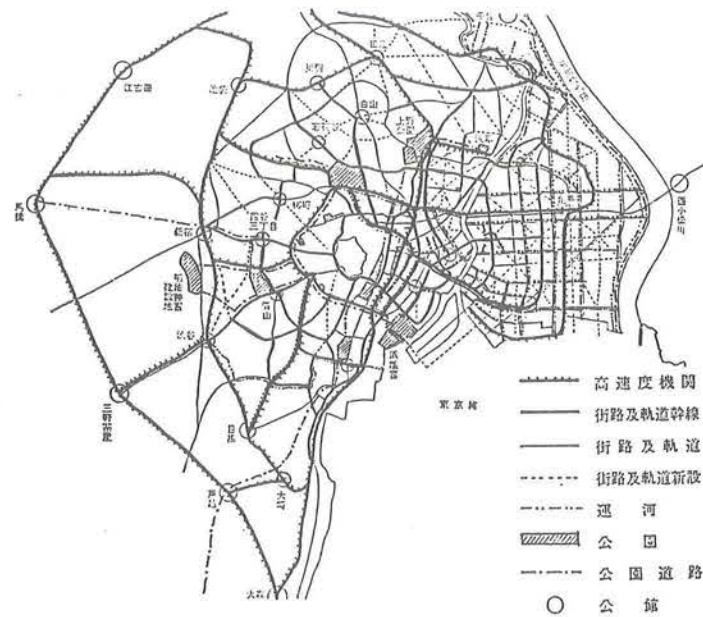
大正7年(1918年)東京市区改正条例から都市計画法への転換期にあたり、当時内務省は、法制定の必要性の実証と法による都市計画のいわばモデル・スタディーとして、東京市に新都市計画の策定を命じたのであった。これを担当した福田重義は大正7年、建築雑誌に新東京計画を発表する(図-1)

福田重義「新東京」案 東京都議会図書館所蔵から作成)。この案は都市計画法の体系化に際してノーハウを提供し、更に後藤新平東京市長の「所謂八億円計画」(大正10年=1921年)や東京市初の法定都市計画(同年12月)のベースとなった(註2)。下町から山の手に至る当時の東京市域外の郊外部までを覆う、大都市計画であった。都市計画の対象区域、人口、

産業規模の予測とそれに基づく施設所要量の計算を調査、統計資料を駆使して行い、計画対象区域に対する図の提案をもつ総合計画の体系をもっていた。

大正12年(1923年)の関東大震災の復興にあたって、後藤新平内相を総裁とする震災復興院は大被害を機会に東京を徹底的に改造しようとする大都市計画を構想した。彼等の放射大環状の都市構造のスケッチが今も残されている(図-2「東京復興のスケッチ」後藤新平記念館蔵から作成。原図はパステルで描かれている。)。しかし、震災復興は当時の復興審議会および帝国議会に反対されて、震災を機会に帝都の大都市計画を策定し実現しようとする構想は挫折したが、区画整理事業を根幹として、焼失区域の道路、運河など市街地基盤整備を実施した。復興計画に際して、後藤内相は、彼が市長時代にブレインとして指導を受けたC. ビアードを呼び、復興計画の基本方針についてアドバイスを求めた他

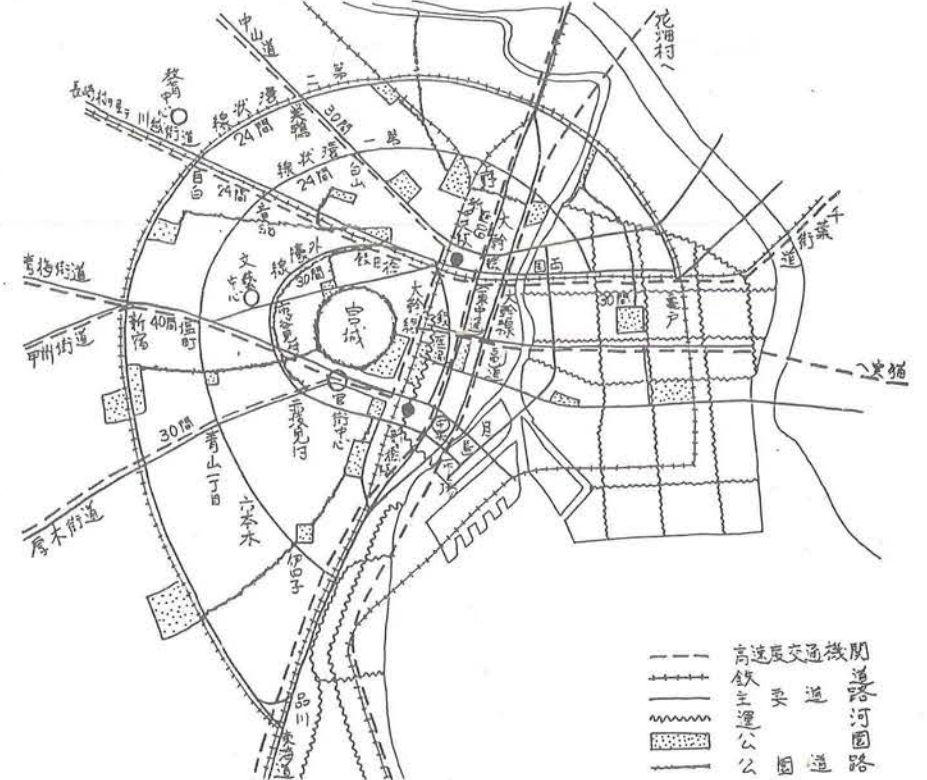
図1 福田重義「新東京」案(建築雑誌都市計画特集大正7年) 東京都議会図書館所蔵から作成



(註3)、古くはロンドン 図2 「東京復興のスケッチ」後藤新平記念館蔵から作成

ン、新しくはシカゴ、サンフランシスコの大火復興の例が紹介され、当時整備されつつあった英、独、仏はじめ各国の都市計画制度が震災復興院およびその後身の復興局によって多く紹介されたが復興計画への直接的な影響は、既にドイツから導入されていた区画整理の手法を市街地の改造に適用した他、街路断面など技術的側面に限られていた(註4)。

福田案と復興院の大構想に共通するのは、欧州、特に英、独の強い影響を受けた郊外地統制論、田園都市論があったにもかかわらず、プランを見る限り、郊外住宅地整備についてのイメージは、放射、環状路の拡張以外は頗る貧困なのであった。復興事業が一段落した昭和2年(1927年)に概ね現在の東京都区部に匹敵する範囲を対象とする都市計画が策定される。現在の環状8号にいたる放射同心円型都市構造の構想が、この時に固まったのである。昭和18年(1943年)、当時の東京都は皇都計画を策定する。これは、戦争完遂の暁には世界に君臨する大日本帝国の皇都を構想した大都市計画であったが、この計画は都心・副都心から構成される都市構造の概念を明確に持っており、また当時の防空の必要性から緑地帯システムを導入した構想を持っていた。戦時中であって、交戦国であった英、米両国の文献・資料の輸入は途絶しており、戦前のものも引用・参考の出典明記はなされていないが、1920~1930年代を通じて欧米諸国の計画概念、手法導入の影響は、大都市の形態、機能・構造の計画から公園系統、更には近隣計画のレベル迄及んでいた。特に1924年、アムステルダムで開かれた大都市圏計画の国際会議の7原則が及ぼした影響は大きかったのである。敗戦後、この皇都計画は軍事施設的な部分の構想を一部修正し、基本的概念は殆ど変わることなく帝都復興計画の下敷として受け継がれたのであった。戦争終了後を見越して大ロンドン計画が樹立されたのが1944年であって、概ね同時期であったのは興味深い。



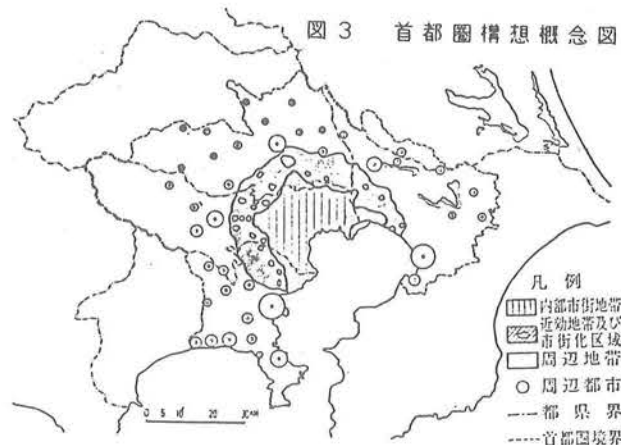
3. 戦前・戦中の計画理論、技術の集大成としての帝都復興計画（昭和21年=1946年 東京都）

昭和20年（1945年）12月30日、国は「戦災地復興計画基本方針」を閣議決定したが、東京都は、これを期に21年（1946年）10月、目標人口 350万人として「帝都復興計画」を策定した。大都市機能と構造に関連する計画の特徴は、戦災による大被害の経験から、戦前・戦中の過大都市否定論が基本概念としてあった。即ち工業の地方分散策と、市内沿岸域への配置、商業中心、消費中心を副都心育成によって分散配置し、行政センターとしての「公館地区」を四谷、神田を含む外濠環状線一帯に形成しようとしていた。一般に、戦災復興計画の基本方針として土地利用計画が重視され、用途地域指定の運用によって、首都機能の適性配置を目論んだのである。都市計画の実現手段は区画整理による街路、街区の整備と地域制による規制手段に事実上限られていた。財源の制約からして幹線道路網や、高速鉄道網を速やかにつくるプロジェクトの概念は当時の状況下では考えられなかったのである（註5）。

4. 「首都建設より首都圏整備へ視野の拡大」（昭和25年～33年=1950～1958年）

昭和25年（1950年）の首都建設法は、特に東京都はじめ大都市に対する戦災復興計画が大幅な縮小と後退を受けた「戦災復興計画の再検討」の実施に対して、戦災復興都市計画を新生日本の首都に相応しく補い、たて直す意図を持っていたが、急速な東京復興の前に数年ならずして当然のこととして幾多の問題に逢着した。首都建設委員会は27年度（1952年度）に行った調査に基づき、28年（1953年）12月4日に各省、特に建設省に衛星都市の建設の整備促進に関する申し入れを行い、さらに衛星都市整備要綱案の法制化を講ずるよう建設大臣に要請したのであった。首都建設法制定よりわずか3年の後のことである。このように、首都建設委員会はすでに早くから首都の過大を合理的に解決するためには、東京都の区域のみを対象とせず、より広域を対象とする総合的な計画とその根拠法の必要性を強調していたのであった（註6）。

1924年のアムステルダム「大都市問題会議」の宣言、更に直接的には1944年、アーバー・クロンビー教授の「大ロンドン計画」



「大ロンドン計画」の計画概念の影響を強く受けていたのである。同委員会は「首都圏の構想—東京都の現況における問題点」を機関誌・首都建設（1954～1955年）に発表した（28年）。人口及び産業の過集中、市街地の無計画膨脹、居住環境の悪化、オープンスペースの欠如、交通条件の悪化、公共施設の不足、住宅問題の分析に始まり、これらの対策を取り上げる範囲について、大ロンドン計画に範をとった3つのリングからなる首都圏構想概念図を発表した（図-3「首都圏構想概念図」出典：「首都建設」1954-1955 首都建設委員会報告書 4）。

昭和31年（1956年）に制定された首都圏整備法に基づく第一次首都圏基本計画（目標昭和50年=1975年）は大ロンドン計画をモデルとして首都圏の概念を持ち、大都市政策の視野を大都市圏に拡大して、近郊地帯、市街地開発区域を設定する一方、都心機能の分散、既成市街地の建築物の高層化、宅地の高度利用等を図るとした。このうち、「既成市街地における建築物高層化計画」はロンドンの計画とは異なり、中心市街地の高密度化計画であった。すなわち、都心地区と副都心地区およびこれらの周辺地区の範囲を画定し、容積計画を策定した。これは後年、東京はじめわが国に都市に容積制が採用される契機となった。これらの地区について、基本計画は建築物の目標高度、最低高度の目標設定、土地利用等の方針について述べている。最大の問題点は、建築活動を、これらの目標に向かって誘導、制御する手段を持たなかったことである。その為、後年、高容積の過大集積を中心市街地にもたらすことになることであった。

東京都はこの構想を受けて新宿、池袋、渋谷の3副都心整備の基礎調査に着手し、副都心育成政策のスタートを切った。第1次首都圏整備計画は、高速鉄道網と首都高速道路網の体系計画と、港湾拡張・整備からなる大都市構造計画のマスタープランとしての役割をも果して、高度成長期から現在に至る東京大都市圏の巨大集積を可能とする基礎を作ったのであった。

5. 経済の高度成長期を迎えてプロジェクト群の導入

1) オリンピック（1964年）に備えた都市構造の強化

新宿副都心整備計画が実施に移され（1960年）、続いて渋谷、池袋副都心の整備が取り上げられたが、この時期において東京市街地の都市構造を強化したのは、昭和39年（1964年）東京オリンピックに備えた道路、地下鉄整備であった。

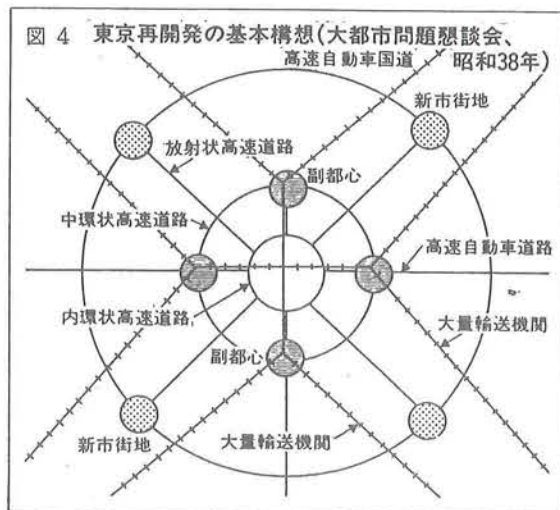
昭和38年（1963年）2月に発表された東京都長期計画においては、人口および産業の過

度集中の抑制ならびに分散を課題とし、首都圏整備計画に沿って、副都心整備を中心とする総合的施策を進めるとしていた。さらに基本計画においては、容積計画に基づく区部適正収容人口を 950万人としたのである(註7)。

2) 大都市再開発のトータルシステムの提案

昭和38年(1963年)3月大都市再開発問題懇談会(建設大臣機関 飯沼一省会長)は、都心機能の再配置を明解な計画論で建設大臣に報告した(註8)。都市高速鉄道網、高速道路網と新宿副都心整備事業の進行に支えられて東京大都市圏全体の機能と構造をつくり変える概念の提案であった。これらは戦前に欧米から導入された大都市圏のモデルに、戦中、戦後を通じて度々繰り返されて来た東京に対する諸提案を重ね、当時の状況に合わせてまとめられたのであった。都心の再編成については適正な規模で集団化させた複合開発の合理的な配置と公共施設と均衡のとれた容積構成計画を定めて建築物容積の規制を提案した。

副都心の開発については、「都心の施設のうち大部分を占めている事務所的業務施設は、今後も大巾な増加が予想されるので、新たに近代的な構成による業務地域を都心から離れた位置に開発整備し、それによって現在の都心の混乱と行きづまりを防止することが必要である。また、消費施設についても、同様の措置をとることが望ましい。業務地域は通勤距離の短縮を図るため、大量輸送機関が多系統集中している副都心において造成すべきである。(中略)このような副都心は、都心にある主要な機能を分担するものであって、これを育成することは東京を多心型の都市に変革するうえできわめて有効であると考えられる。」としている(傍点筆者)。同懇談会が提示した大都市構造の概念図は、欧米諸国には古くからある古典的表現を持っているが、現代に至る迄、東京の大都市政策にとって指導性を失っていない(図-4「東京再開発の基本構想」)(註9)。すなわち、大都市を更に巨大化させる要因としての事務所的業務施設を明確に捉えた上で、放射同心円型の大都市構造を拡大・強化し、その結節点を副都心として整備を図る計画論である。この時に提起されて以来、未だに十分な解が得られないのは、筆者が文中に傍点を附した当時述べられた諸命題である。これらは大都市のインフラストラクチャーと混合市街地など今回の国



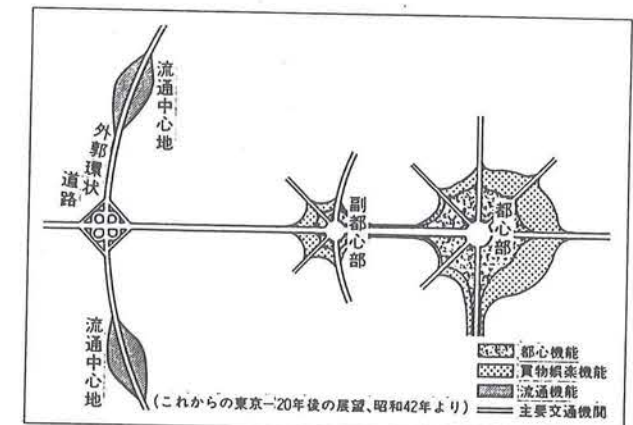
際シンポジウムの主課題として、われわれが挙げたテーマでもある。

3) 20年の経験に基づき、20年後を予見する。

急ピッチの高度成長期に差し掛かった折に、東京都は「これからの東京-20年後の展望-」(昭和42年=1967年1月 東京都)を発表した。「展望」はおよそ20年後、即ち、略、現在の東京の姿を努めて形状的把握を試みつつ描いたものである。都が行った当時の作業は、独自に東京都の将来像を描こうとはしていないが、巨大都市化の数量把握による見通しに立って、極めて興味を持てる予見を行っている。とりわけ都心部については次の叙述があることは注目に値しよう。

「一方、都心部への機能の集中によって交通事情は多少悪化することは予想されるが、都心部の道路事情の改善は多くを望めないで、(都心部道路率42%)今後都心機能は交通の利便性の高い方へ発展し、20年後には都心から伸びる整備された道路沿い、山手環状線付近まで達することになる。」として概念図を描いているのである(図-5「都心・買物娯楽・流通機能図」)。20年経った現

図5 都心・買物娯楽・流通機能図(昭和42年)



在の都心から青山・渋谷を経て伸びる国道246号線沿道、及び新宿に伸びる靖国通りなどの道路沿いに、都心・副都心を繋ぐ都市機能展開の状況を極めて的確に予測しているのである。さらに今後の政策課題において、民間活力について次のような言及がある。「今後20年間の方向として、民間投資に新しい役割を期待したいと思う。すなわち民間開発エネルギーが資金量、人材ともに巨大化するために今後都市政策の諸事業の中で主要な柱の一つとなろう、地区再開発事業等においては公共資金を誘い水として投入することによって、大量の民間資金の参加が可能となろう。」。戦後20年以上にわたる経験は、東京の都市集積の成長の動向と、その担い手を的確に把握し、20年後の現在を見事に予見していた。

4) 多心型都市構造論の計画諸概念

昭和46年(1971年)、東京都は「広場と青空の東京構想」を発表した。これは都心分散策に明確な方向性と形態を示し、「産業軸の中核を形成する現在の都心、すなわち“旧都心”のほかに、生活軸の延長展開の中心となる多摩連環都市...を建設し、この二極構造の象徴として当面の新宿地区整備の方向づけを行う」とした。42年(1967年)に予見した都

市機能の展開方向を「軸」と称して計画概念としたのであった。現在、都庁の移転が決定し、多摩や臨海部はじめ、いくつかの心を育成する、都の多心型都市構造化政策のルーツはここにある。「これからの東京」「広場と青空の東京構想」「東京都長期計画」に明らかに読み取れる計画概念の連続性は、大都市の機能と構造がもつ論理性がもたらしたものである。

6. 人類史上、最大の巨大都市構造システムを求めて

1) 広域多核都市複合体の概念

1970年代後半、東京大都市圏の人口は3,000万を越し、連担市街地は、都心部から50～100kmの範囲に拡大し、人類史上最大の人口、産業等、諸活動の集積をもち、従って、史上例を見ない大都市問題に直面することになった。もはや、ロンドンも、パリも、ニューヨークも、かつてのようにモデルを提供してくれないのである。対策は、国土における分散策と大都市圏内を合理的パターンへ再編しようとする二重レベルからなる。

第3次首都圏基本計画（昭和51年＝1976年 国土庁）は、昭和51～60年度（1976～1985年度）の基本計画として、この巨大な連担市街地を東京大都市地域として認識し、これを広域多核都市複合体として形成することを打ち出した。

広域多核複合体の構想内容は次のとおりである。

「東京都心への一極依存形態を逐次是正し、地域の均衡ある発展を図るとともに、地震等の災害に対して安全性の高い地域構造とするため、市街地の連続的な拡大を避けるとともに、地域の中心性を有する核都市の育成に努め、東京大都市地域をこれらの核都市等から成る多極構造の広域都市複合体として形成する。

（中略）主要な都市を核都市として機能の充実を図るとともに、これら核都市相互間を結ぶ動線の整備に努める」核都市の育成と、これらを結ぶ強力な交通施設建設のプロジェクト群の構想であり、1963年の「東京再開発の基本構想」の拡大・展開であった。

2) 「多心型都市構造への転換」プロジェクトのシステム

東京都は昭和57年（1982年）、長期計画を策定し、21世紀に向けた東京の都市構造を、一点集中型から多心型へと転換する多心型都市構造の建設を打ち出した。4年後、東京の状況が急激に変化し、国内的にも国際的にも、集積の進行が様々な巨大都市問題を引き起こすことが明らかになったことに対応して、第2次長期計画を策定した。この計画は、都内を地域区分し夫々の整備計画を策定したが、重点は多心型都市構造へ転換するシステム

プロジェクトの着手であった。

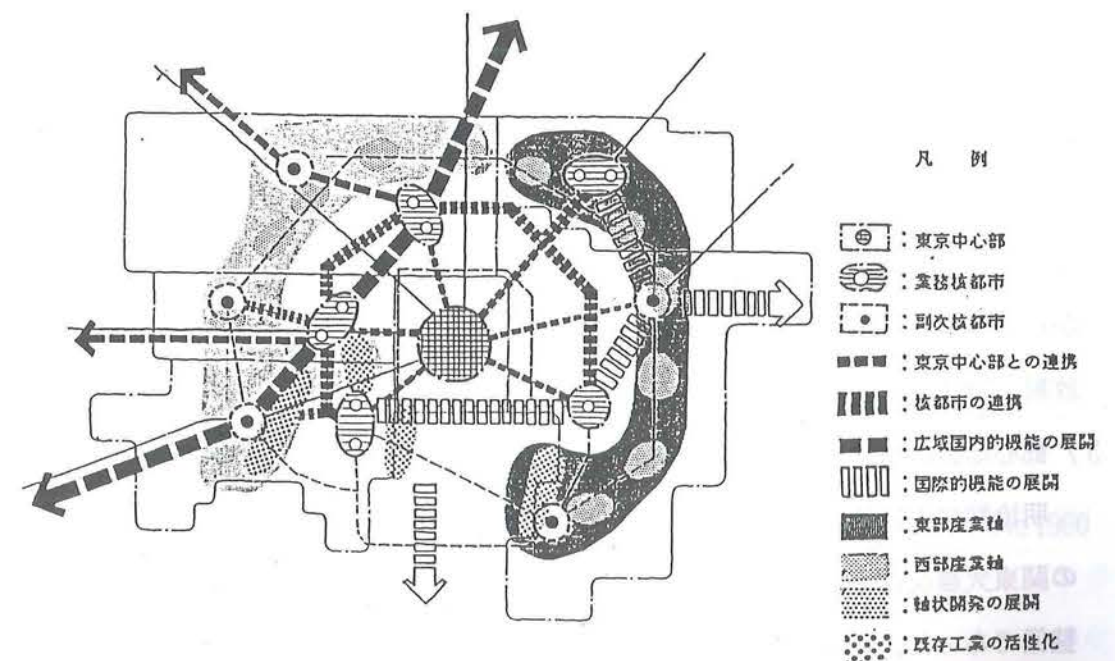
新宿に都庁移転を決定した他、臨海部副都心はじめ多心型都市構造化の為の道路、橋、トンネル、地下鉄、新交通、空港・港など、大都市構造の拡大・強化と、それにとまなう数多の大規模再開発プロジェクトの推進が、財政計画に裏付けられたプログラムに乗って進められたのである。

3) 首都圏改造構想素案（昭和58年＝1983年 国土庁）と第4次首都圏整備計画（昭和62年＝1987年）

昭和54年度（1979年度）から、国土庁は東京大都市圏（東京都心を中心に50～70km圏に当たる地域）について総合的居住環境の整備を図り、我が国社会の発展を支える大都市圏としての機能を充実するため、その総合的・抜本的な改造を行う計画「首都改造計画」の策定調査を進めていた。

昭和58年（1983年）1月、この策定調査の中間的とりまとめとして「首都改造構想素案」を発表し、翌59年（1984年）5月、構想として決定した。即ち、首都改造の基本方針は、第3次基本計画が言う広域多核都市複合体の概念の具体化であった。首都圏を自立都市圏群による分化を基調とした、複数の核と圏域を有する多核多圏型の地域構造を形成し、東京大都市圏を連合都市圏として再構築するとした。こうして、業務核都市、副次核都市、軸状市街地等をキーワードとする第4次首都圏整備計画が、第4次全国総合開発計画の一環として1987年に策定、公示されるに至る。

図6 東京大都市圏諸機能展開図



湾岸道路、首都圏中央連絡道、核都市広域幹線道路に高速鉄道網を加えた巨大都市圏構造、核都市の育成は、千葉、大宮、立川、川崎、横浜等で開発・再開発プログラムとして進行しているが、正に巨大な東京大都市圏構造と呼ぶに相応しく、人類史上最大の都市機能集積を可能とするものである（図-6「東京大都市圏諸機能展開図」 出典：「首都改造計画」国土庁 昭60年 7月）。

終 章

開国後、不平等条約改正の布石としての帝都の偉容を整えることに端を発して以来、首都の整備には国際的なモデルを追究する関心が、現在に至る迄続いている。この経過を辿ってくると、百年以上にわたって追求してきた幾つかのテーマが浮かび上がってくる。

1) 都市の防災化である。現実には、東京の都市改造の大きな契機は大震災、戦災によってもたらされ、夫々復興都市計画の関心は道路、鉄道、河川、水路等の都市構造ネットワークの整備・拡充を主眼としながらも、道路の拡幅、公園の配置と、木造建築からなる市街地の不燃化が進められて来た。現在でも、大震災害に対する交通、通信、水、エネルギー供給を含む都市防災化は、都市政策の主題の1つである。

2) 道路網、鉄道網等、大都市機能を支える都市構造の整備の実現。

市区改正の動機は、既に述べた如く封建都市・江戸から受け継いだ遺構が、幼い東京が近代都市化する成長にすら耐え切れなかったことであった。以来、東京の都市計画は「道路、河川は本なり」の言葉の如く、重点事業の殆どすべてが道路交通網の拡充に捧げられたのである。

市区改正は、初期の放射環状都市構造パターンの形成を決定づけたのであった。以来、震災復興、戦災復興、オリンピック期の都市計画等を通じて、在来の道路網に加えて国鉄、私鉄、地下鉄、都市高速道路のすべてが都市機能の分散を唱える都市政策の主要課題に沿って、都心を起点とする放射環状大都市構造の拡張、強化を造り上げてきたのである。しかしながら、重要な環状幹線道路の一部が、都心から郊外に至る迄未完に残され、完全な放射・環状として機能しない大都市構造に最大の問題がある。

3) 都心地区の整備と副都心の育成である。

明治期に市区改正による宮城外壕内部を開放して業務地区化することに始まり、大正期の関東大震災復興事業における主要課題も、神田から新橋に至る都心地区の街路、街区の整備であった。戦後、とりわけ30年（1955年）以降、都心からの都市機能の分散と副都心

育成策が強調されながらも、放射状のインフラストラクチャーの拡充によって、かえって、中心官庁街をはじめ東京の中央業務街、すなわち都心部には著しく集積が進み、かつ拡大されたであった。

放射環状の大都市構造の強化・拡充の進展と都心における都市機能の集積に伴って、放射環状パターンをもつ大都市構造の要点、すなわち鉄道、道路の集中する結節点に新宿、渋谷、池袋をはじめとする副都心が形成された。様々な都市機能を分担するこれらの副都心、地区センターは、大都市圏内に広く拡散して、数多く育ち、生活者にとっては魅力あるサービスを提供する一方、東京圏に巨大な集積の立地を可能とし、首都圏整備計画の言う、連合都市圏への再編への可能性をつくり出したのである。

4) 臨港地区への執念。

隅田川河口は、いわば東京発祥の地でもあった。市区改正を動機づけた1つは隅田河口品川沖の「品海築港」であった。当時の政治と財政の事情から、東京市区改正と品海築港は初期に切り離されて以来、数十年が経過し、震災の復興を契機に竹芝、日の出棧橋が近代港湾として整備しはじめられたのである。以来、東京の土地問題と臨海工業や都市運営施設整備の要請もあって、港湾は機能を高め、埋立地が拡大したのである。港湾が都市の発祥の地であり、20世紀も終わりに近付いた現在、大都市再生の砦は世界の各都市を通じて港湾地区再開であるとしてされている。東京都が現在、都市計画の視野に港湾地区の整備を取り入れ、急速にその重要性を認識しつつあるのは必然の論理を持っている。

5) 都市再開

東京の高度成長とあくなき大集積の安全、効率的な受皿の造成を追究して来た歴史は、当然のことながら高度成長の歪みを東京の市街地に残している。即ち

- ① インフラストラクチャーの重層的拡充は、夫々が未完成のまま、次々と進行する。
- ② 主要な幹線整備が優先され、一般街路、広場等、市街地基盤の整備は人口、産業の集積に甚だしい遅れをとってしまった。
 - i. この結果、拡充されて来たインフラストラクチャーの狭間に、環境が悪い、改善の至難な市街地が副都心の近傍からスプロール地域にかけて発生してしまった。
 - ii 規模、用途を異にする建築、土地利用混合か、全市街地に発生している。

こうして、問題市街地は東京都市圏に広範に発生してしまい、高度成長期に入った1960年代以来、これらの改善はたゆまずに取り上げられている。

これらの東京都市計画の主要課題は、時代によって夫々に濃淡の差はあったにせよ、百年を通じて強い連続性を持っていたというべきであろう。この連続性は、国や東京都が行政責任として持つべき連続性もさることながら、巨大都市東京の機能と構造が必然的に帯びるに至った論理構造に由来する。すなわち明治以来、一世紀以上にわたるわが国の高度成長の中心的役割を担い続けて来た東京に対して、そのインフラストラクチャーを絶えず、より大きな集積に堪えうるよう整備し続けることが主題であった。

これは道路、鉄道、港湾、空港などからなる都市構造を重ねて、大都市構造、更には大都市圏構造と重層的に拡大・強化し、都市機能を担う諸活動が立地する圏域を拓げるシステムを作れば、安全、快適な環境のもとに巨大な都市機能の集積が可能であるとする思想を形成した。大都市の限界に対する挑戦であると言ってよい。東京から地方への分散策が首都圏域をこえて迄は有効に機能しない為に、首都圏における人口、産業の集積を受け入れる合理的なシステムを東京大都市圏に形成する大計画の策定と実施は、高度成長期以来放置できない大課題となった。この為の努力が、過密の弊害対策、換言すれば、東京の生き残り策の域を越えて、東京都市圏への巨大集積の進行を一層促進する循環システムとなってしまうのが、東京計画がおかれている状況の論理構造である。

註1 明治12年12月12日 東京都公文書館蔵 以下、東京市区改正にかかわる楠本正隆「演説書」、松田道之「東京市区劃定之問題」、芝川顯正「市区改正草案」、市区改正審査会および市区改正委員会等の文書・記録は、「東京都市計画資料集成 明治大正篇」(全34巻 藤森照信監修 本ノ友社刊 1987~1988)に収録されている。

2 「新東京」 福田重義 建築雑誌 大正7年 月；都市計画の特集号に多量のデータ、図表を含む報告を公表している。

3 チャールズ・A・ビアードは後藤市長の招きで来日し、精力的な活動の上、市長に都市計画を中心とした勧告を行った。「東京市政論」(東京市政調査会編 大正12年)にまとめられている。

ビアードは、震災直後に後藤内相の招電により再度来日し、「東京復興に関する意見」(大正12年10月30日)に8項目からなる提案を行った。彼の提案が受け入れられなかったのは、「時間と競争し」、政争の中で予算制約を厳しく受けた復興計画の体制にとって、余りに総合的・原則的・根本的すぎたのである。

4 震災復興院とその後身の復興局は、復興叢書、復興局調査彙報を、東京市は帝都復興叢書を大正12年から13年にかけて発刊し、復興計画の理論化に務めたが、事業に影響は少なかった。

6 「新建築」 昭和21年 号

7 以下、首都圏計画に関する資料は、当時の首都建設委員会、首都圏整備委員会および国土庁の事務局が逐次発刊して来た首都建設、首都圏整備等の資料による。

8 以下、東京都が策定した諸計画は、東京都ならびに東京大学工学部都市工学科川上研究室所蔵

9 当時、有名な提案であって、「新都市」(1963年4月号)はじめ、多くの雑誌に転載、あるいは紹介された。

その主内容は自分がやり残した重要な課題として東京の都市計画を取り上げたのであった。ここにおいて、楠本は東京を山の手と下町に分け、下町を更に運河の便に優れながらも低湿地である本所、深川の地域と神田、日本橋、京橋に拓がる商業地域とに分けて考えていたのであった。演説書は初めて「計画」の用語を使って東京の「将来の地図」をつくること、すなわちプラン・メイキングの必要性を明示したのであった。

$$(30行 \times 12頁 + 14行) \times 40字 = 374行 \times 40字 \\ = 14,960字$$

Historical Review on the Urban Structure in Tokyo Metropolitan Region

Research Institute of Construction and Economy
Executive Director Tokunosuke HASEGAWA

In taking the issue of town planning history, especially change of land use from rural to urban, I would like, at first, to show concretely the historical changes of the relations between urban and rural area in Tokyo, by using maps and statistics. Here, the changes in the urban structure within Tokyo Metropolitan Region will be grasped quantitatively through the changes in population and land use from 1900 for 80 years. The specific aim is to display definite forms of the expansion of urbanized areas and the recedure of rural areas through comparion of changes in populations and land uses of classified areas and distances within Tokyo Metropolitan Region in time series.

Such figures are common to cities of various nations and it seems necessary to make a comparison of such analysis among those cities. I take, herein, the examples of the urban spheres of London and Paris. I hope that materials and date will be collected so that such comparison will be mede with New York or other big cities.

In order to compare the urban development movement since 1850, I would like to grasp the population movements in the three big cities classified by areas and distance. Accurate comparison is difficult due to the differences of time when administrative districts were changed and statistics were made.

It seems necessary to collect and prepare such data in order to grasp the traces of the urban growth historically.

Fig. 1

Fig.1 shows the change of land use and topography in the suburbs of Tokyo. It combines the each half of the topographical maps of 1915 and 1976 at the center to exhibit the change between those two years. This map is of the area from 10 to 16 kms from the center of Tokyo.

In 1915: the area was utterly rural with villages scattered among farming lands. The rail road running from east to west was opened in 1889, though it was not yet a suburban rail road. Roads were mainly farm roads and a loop road was not yet found.

In 1976: the area has been completely urbanized after 60 years. The population density is 250/ha which is the highest in Tokyo. The loop and radial roads has been completed and the radial rail road and subway have also been opened. The area where land readjustment was carried out has become well-regulated urban district, and the other has become of disorderly street lines as the result of sprawl.

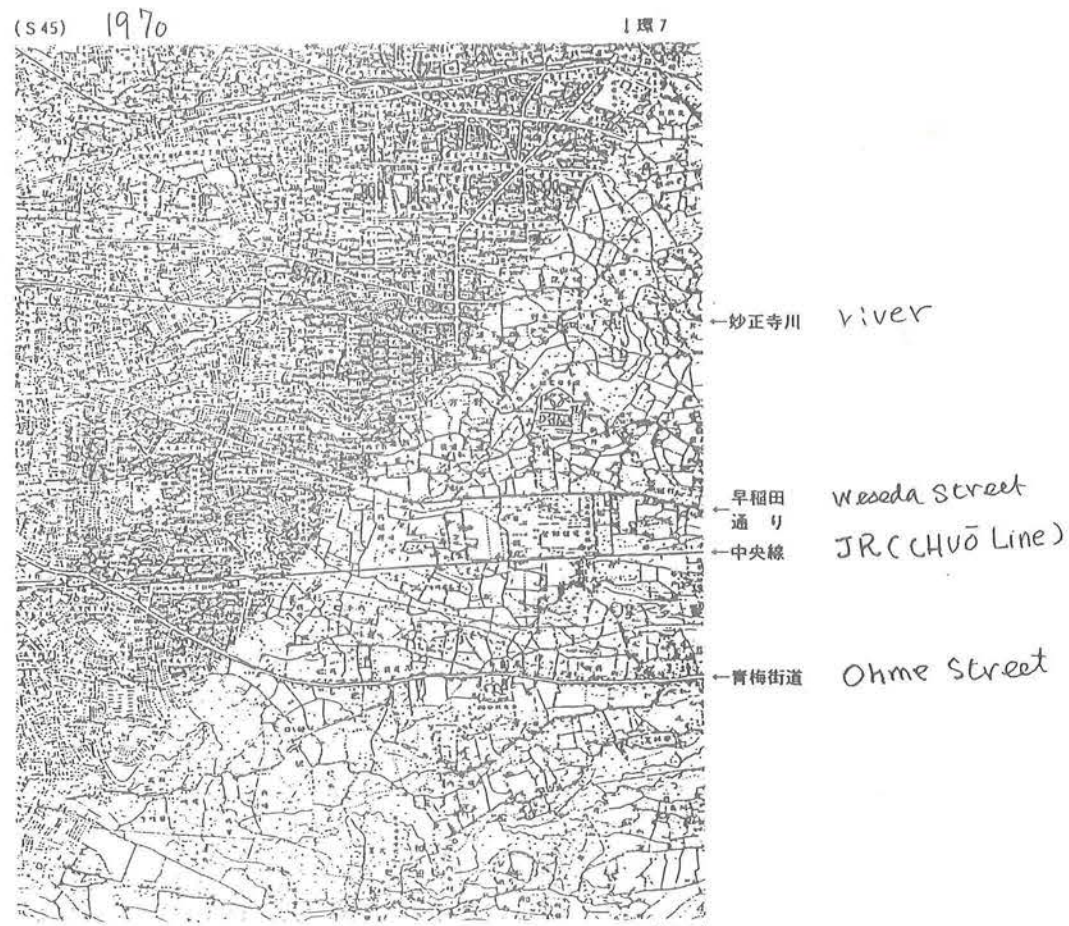


図1 郊外土地利用の変化(中野区、杉並区)

Fig 1 Change of Land use Nakano, Suganami ward.

Fig. 2

It shows the locations and the scale of Tokyo Metropolitan Region, Tokyo Prefecture and the 23 special boroughs of Tokyo. With regard to population shares, Metropolitan Region has one fourth of the national population, while Tokyo Prefecture has one tenth and the 23 special wards have one thirteenth. The 23 boroughs of Tokyo are not-municipal, however, these are assumed here as Tokyo City.

- 1878 15 boroughs of Tokyo Prefecture were established (80 square kms)
- 1889 Tokyo City was established
- 1932 15 boroughs of Tokyo City was expanded to 35 (80 to 592 square kms)
- 1943 Tokyo Metropolis was formed and Tokyo City was repealed
- 1947 35 boroughs of Tokyo Metropolis were reorganized into 23
- 1956 The National Capital Region Redevelopment Plan was decided

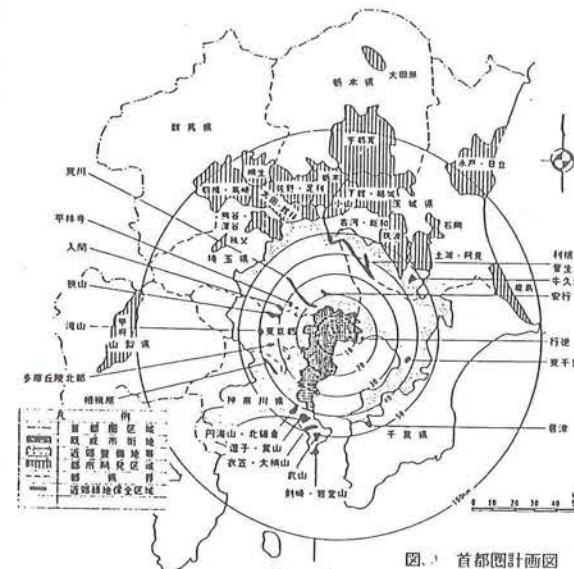


表11 首都圏の範囲と人口

	面積	人口
	km ²	万人
首都圏域 (1区7区)	36,773	3,570
東京大都市圏 (1区3区)	13,497	2,869
50キロ圏 (近郊整備地帯) 既成市街地	8,378	2,834
既成市街地	922	1,148
東京23区部	581	835
東京市田15区*	130	165

Fig 2 Tokyo Metropolitan development planning Tokyo Metropolitan region

50km area from center of Tokyo
Urbanized Area
Tokyo 23 wards
Tokyo City 15 wards



行政区域の変遷(東京都区部)

Change of administrative area of Tokyo City

Fig. 3

The transition of urban district expansion in Tokyo are compared with that in Paris here. Colored areas in Tokyo indicate the DID (Density Inhabited District, over 40/ha) according to censuses. In 1980, there are 2300 sq. kms. of DID in Tokyo Metropolitan Region, 900 sq.kms. in Tokyo Prefecture and 580 sq.kms. in the 23 boroughs of Tokyo.

Fig 3 Urban district expansion

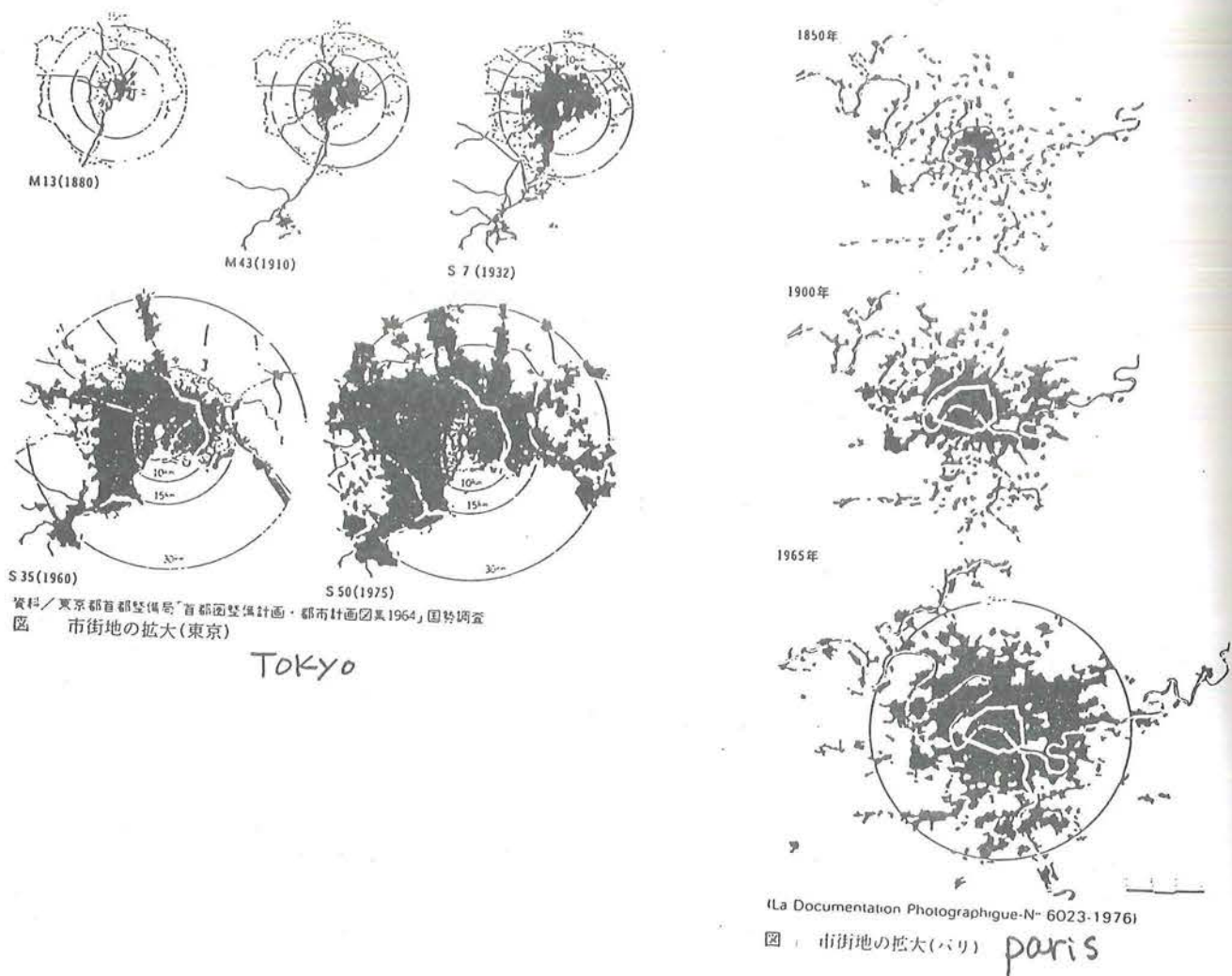


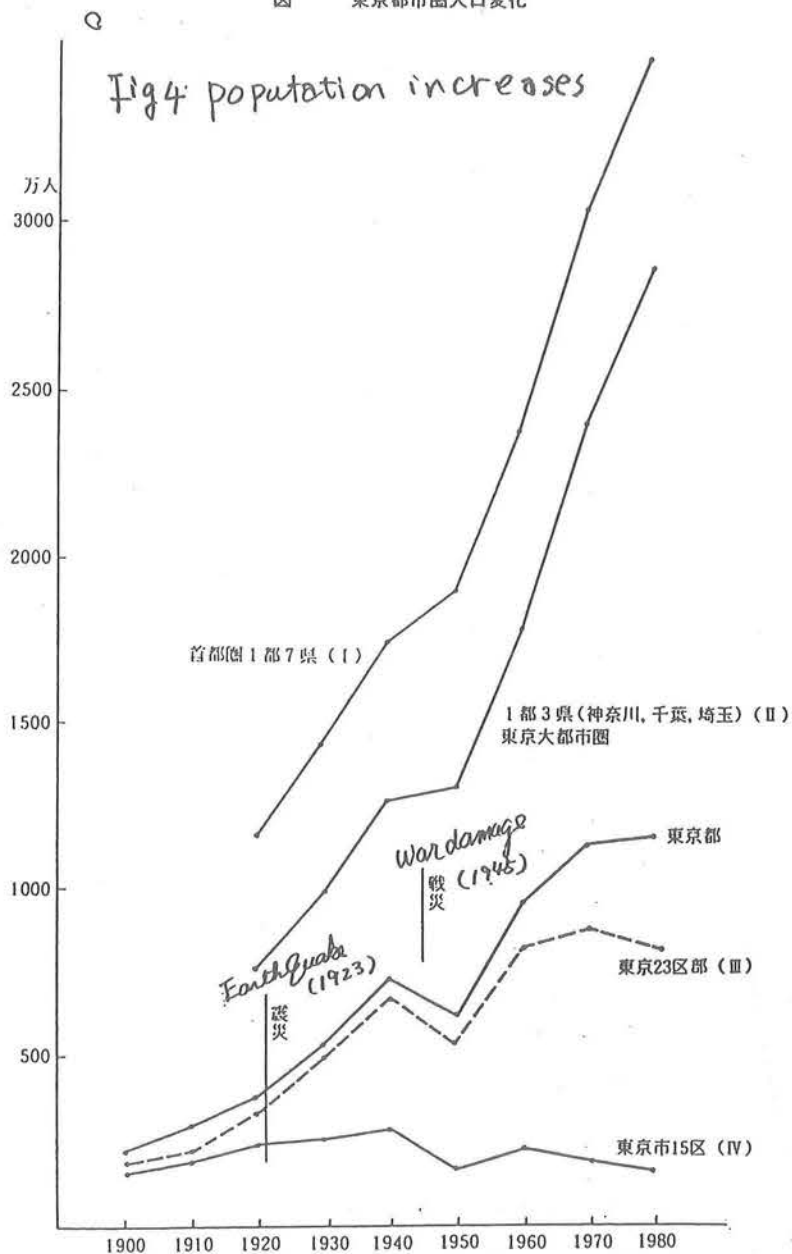
Fig. 4

It shows the population increases and the increasing rates in Tokyo Metropolitan Region (Tokyo Prefecture, Kanagawa Prefecture, Saitama Prefecture and Chiba Prefecture) in and after 1920 (the first census).

The population in Tokyo Metropolitan Region had been increasing within Tokyo Prefecture, especially in the 23 boroughs of Tokyo until 1945. The population in the Metropolitan Region has been expanded after 1960 during the 20 years of high economic growth period in Japan. The obvious phenomenon during that period is that the population in the center part of the Metropolitan Region (Prefecture) has been stagnant or decreasing, while that in the environs has been expanding.

東京都市圏人口変化

Fig 4 population increases



Tokyo Metropolitan Region

TOKYO, Kanagawa, Saitama and Chiba

Tokyo Prefecture

Tokyo city 23 wards

TOKYO City 15 wards

Fig. 6 Chart of the changes of the urban structure (east-west)

Fig. 7 Chart of the changes of the urban structure (north-south)

The population density movements in several wards of certain distances away from the center at 20 years' intervals after 1900 are indicated in order to grasp the changes

of the urban structure in the 23 boroughs!.. In 1900, urban district was compact stretching only 5 kms. each to east and to west. The population density in the center of Tokyo was as extremely high as 500/ha. Following the population diffusion, such urban structure has greatly changed to become the structure in which the population density in the center is under 50/ha and that of environs is over 200/ha in 1980. The urban structure of Tokyo has changed in 80 years from the high-center-low-environs-density form to the opposite form of low-center-high-environs-density. This transformation turns to be the main cause of various urban problems.

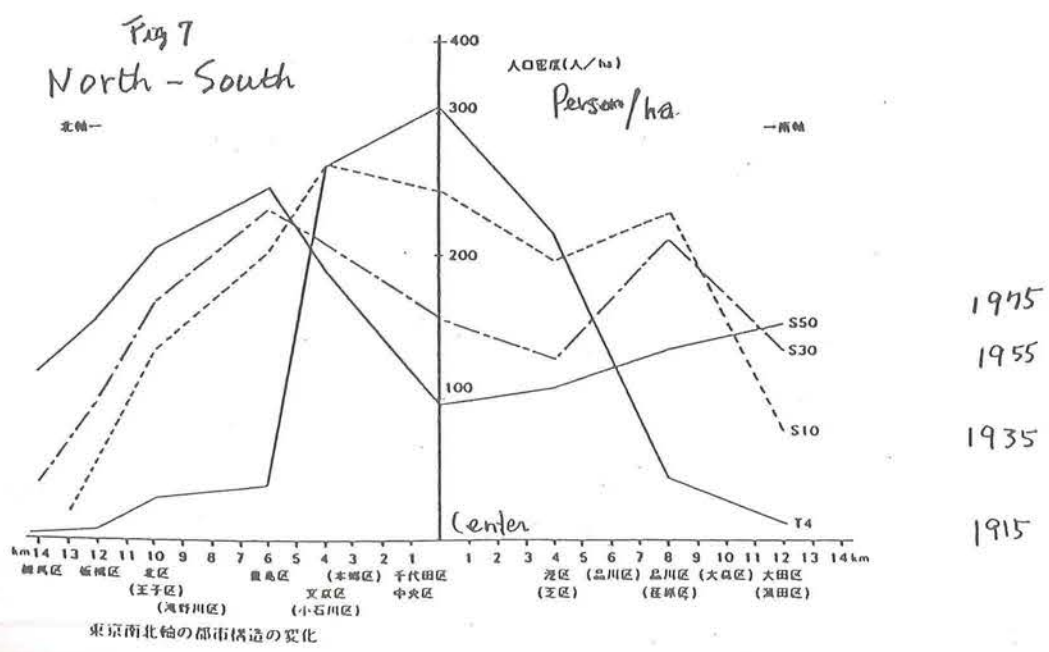
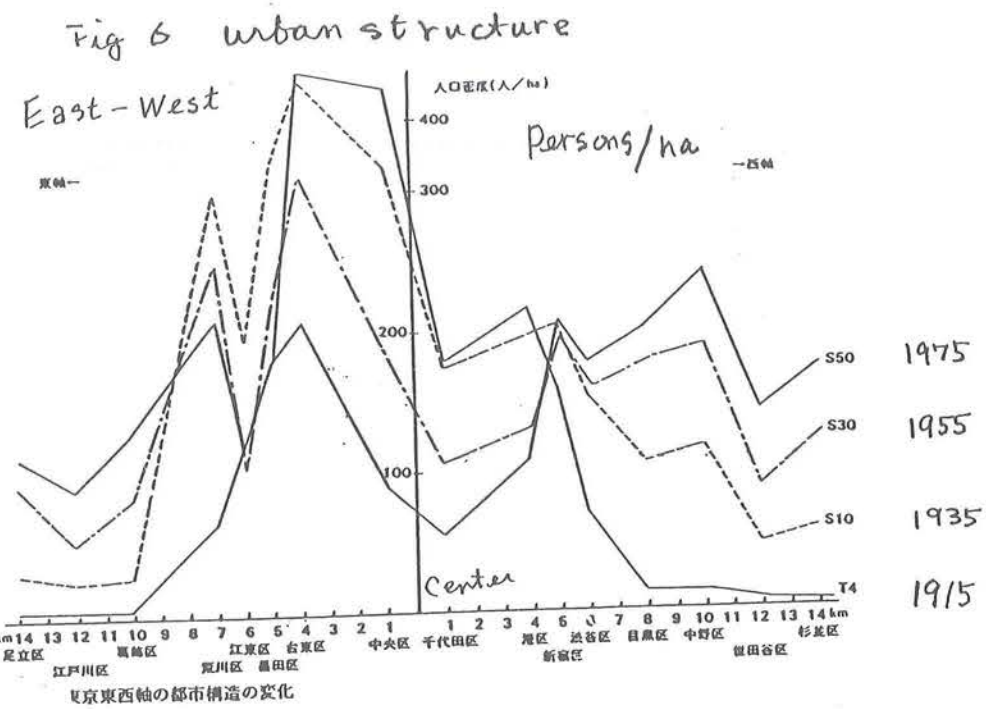
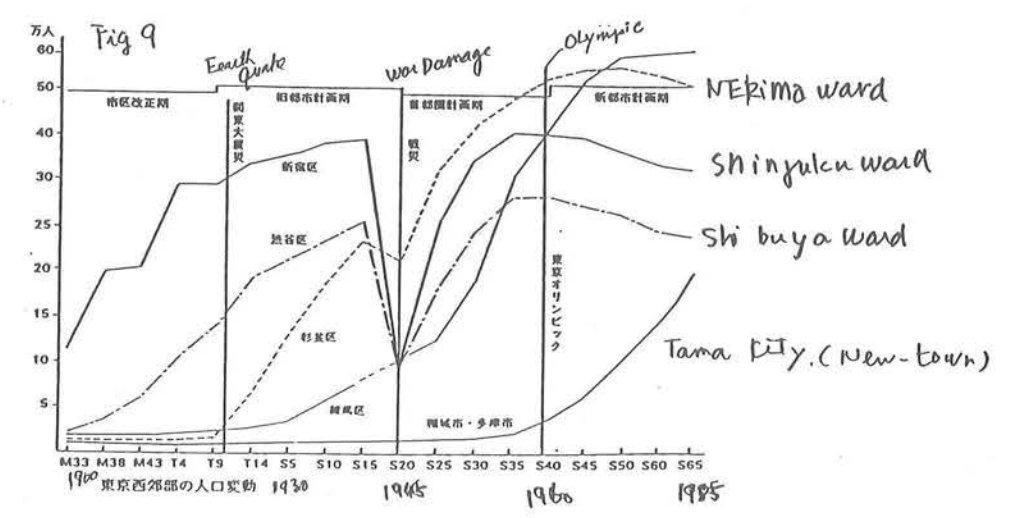
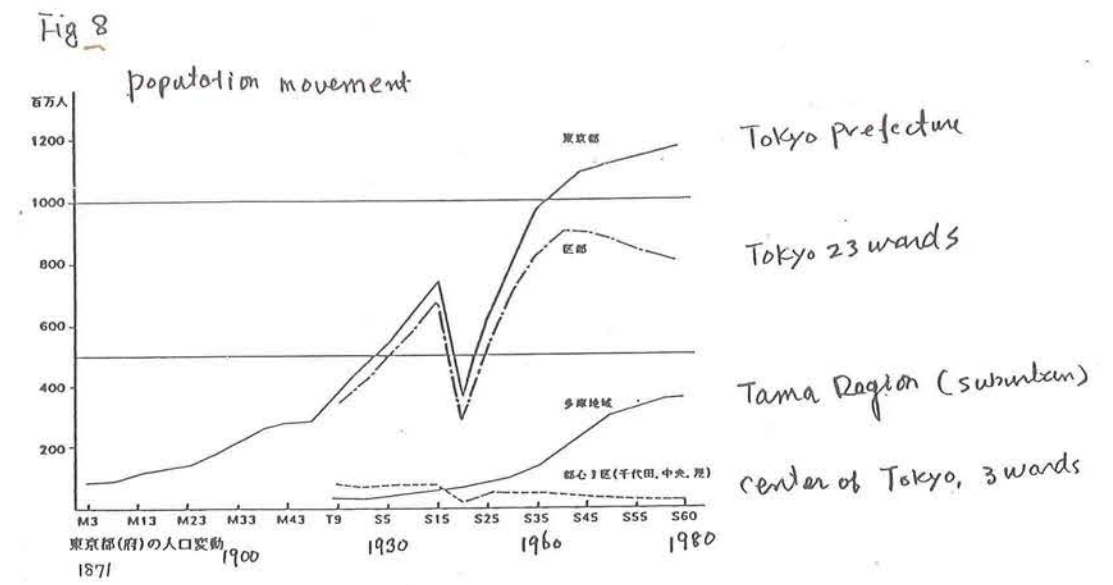


Fig. 8.9

The population movement in the 23 boroughs of Tokyo

The population movement in the 23 boroughs of Tokyo, namely the inner part of Tokyo, is shown in detail. The populations in No-2 district(0 - 3 kms), No-4 district (3 - 5 kms), No-14 district(5 - 10 kms), No-20 district (10 - 16 kms) and the outer district(25 - 30 kms) have expanded in turn with 20 years' lag each. Extension and cavitation appear simultaneously. The serious earthquake disaster in the Kanto district (1923) and the war damage (1945) mark the most essential factors of the population movement.



10.11

Fig. The change of the land use (western part)

The change of the land use in the classified areas is shown quantitatively. According to the land use divisions in privately-owned lands (residential area, field, rice field, woodland and others), the change of the land use is grasped quantitatively through the change of residential land ratio to the entire private lands (residential ratio) in every 10 years. Assuming that an area with a residential ratio of over 50% is defined to be an urban area, it took 50 years to expand the urban districts for about 10 kms. in the western part of Tokyo.

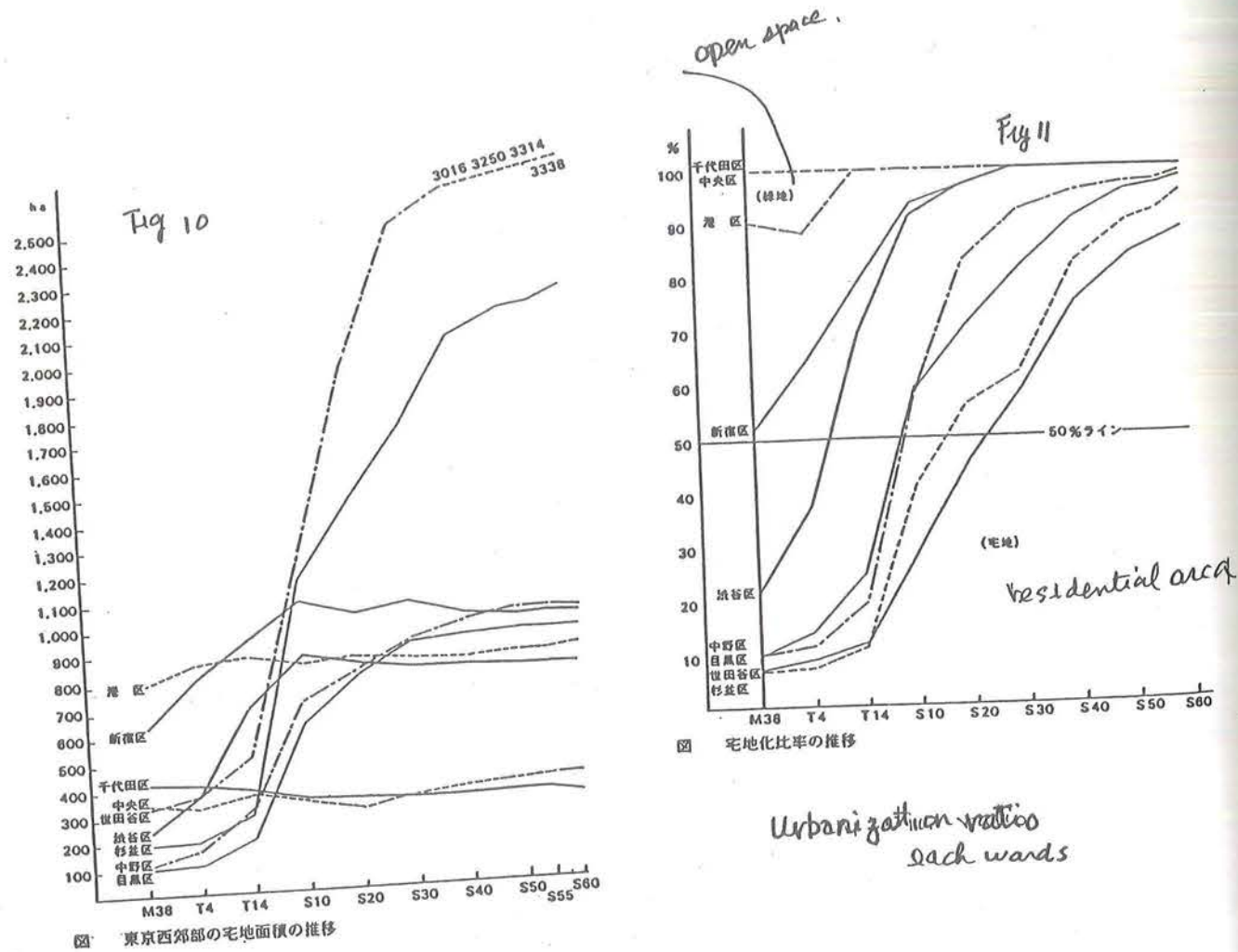
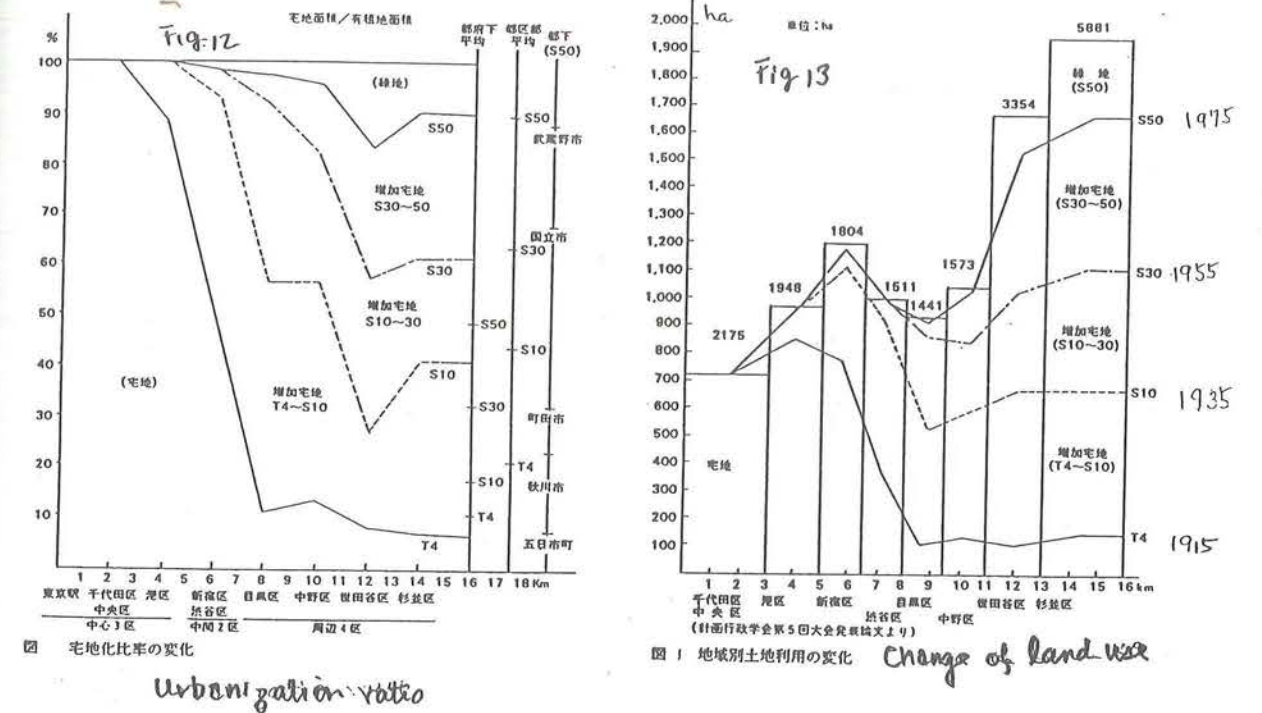


Fig. 12,13 Chart of the change of the land use (B)

The change of the land use is grasped quantitatively. The changed volume of the land use in each district can be indicated through plotting the residential ratios of every 20 years after 1900 in an area of each district classified by distance. It appears that the change of the land use in the western part of Tokyo marks the largest quantity from 1920 to 1940 while that in the eastern part makes its peak from 1960 to 1980.

$$\text{Urbanization ratio} = \frac{\text{Residential area}}{\text{Privately owned lands}}$$



The increased volumes of residential area in each 20 years since 1900 are shown in accordance with each distance from the center.

Fig. 14, 15, 16 Comparison of the urban district expansion among Tokyo, London and Paris

In order to compare the urban development movement since 1850, I would like to grasp the population movements in the three big cities classified by areas and distance. Accurate comparison is difficult due to the differences of time when administrative districts were changed and statistics were made.

It seems necessary to collect and prepare such data in order to grasp the traces of the urban growth historically.

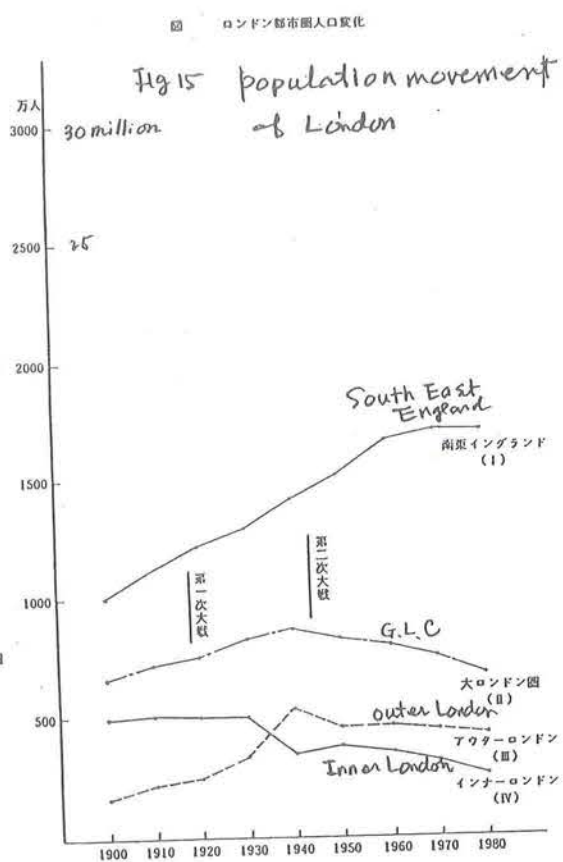
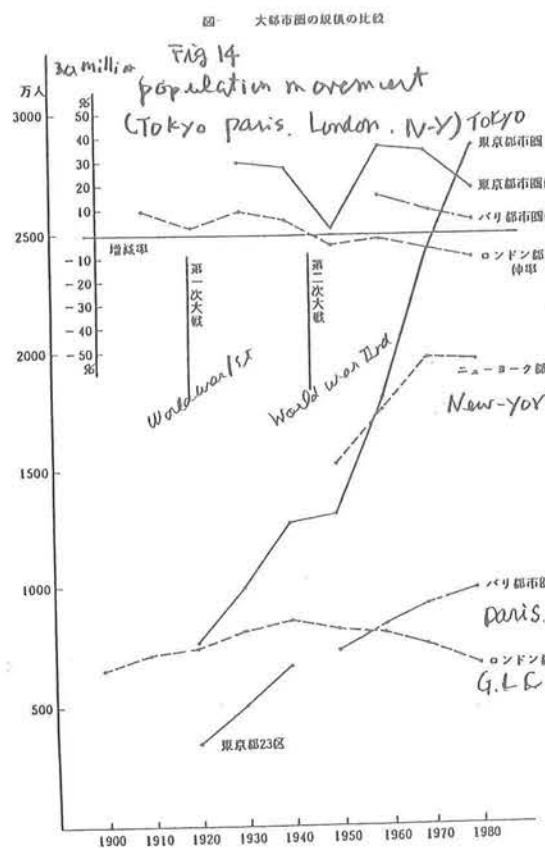
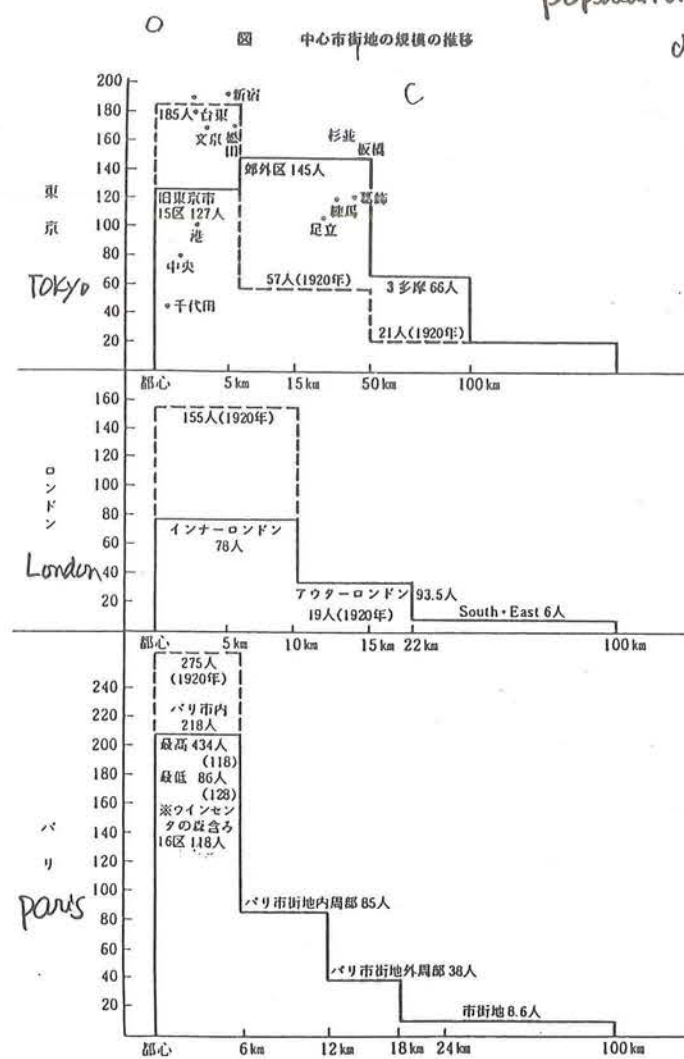


Fig 16 Population density distance from City center



大都市圏の成長の分析

その国際比較、東京の成長の丁度過程

(表) 建設経済研究所

常務理事 長谷川 徳之輔

第1章 東京、ロンドン、ハリ、ニューヨークの比較

P

- ・ 各都市の大都市圏の図数、地図 図-1
- ・ 大都市圏の人口の推移 (1900 ~ 1980) 図-2
- ・ 大都市圏の人口増00年の推移 (1900 ~ 1980) 図-22
- ・ 東京都市圏の人口変化 図-3
- ・ ロンドン都市圏の人口変化 図-4
- ・ ハリ 都市圏の人口変化 図-5
- ・ 大都市圏の都市構造の変化 図-6

第2章 東京都市圏とその中核地域の都市構造の変化
 - 人口, 土地利用, 交通施設, 空地開発等に対する
 都市の成長過程の分析と分析手法 -

(行政区域)

- 行政区域の変遷 図-7

- 都市成長の時代区分と背景 図-8

(人口変動)

- 東京都(都)の人口変動(1870~1985) 図-9

- 東京西郊部(4市・2市)の人口変動(1900~1985) 図-10

(都市構造)

- 東京東西軸の都市構造の変化(1915・1935・1955・1975) 図-11

- 東京南北軸の都市構造の変化 図-12

- 東京都市圏50キロ圏の都市構造の変化 図-13

(空地化)

- 東京西郊部の空地面積の推移 図-14

- 空地化比率の推移 図-15

- 東京西郊部の空地化のメカニズム 図-16

P-

(土地利用の変化)

P-

- 東京西郊部の土地利用の変化 図-17

- 人口1人当りの空地面積の変化 図-18

- 人口1人当りのオアコンスハースの変化 図-19

(鉄道の整備)

- 鉄道開業促進の推移 図-20

- 鉄道整備の変化 図-21

(空地開発)

- 土地区画整理競争の施行の推移 図-22

- 土地区画整理の施行中の比較 図-23

- 都市計画の丁度を理解する為には、その舞台であった都市の成長の過程を計量的に分析し、その発展プロセスを把握しておく必要がある。手紙、このことは、各国の都市の成長を比較考察するときにも、肝要とすべきことである。

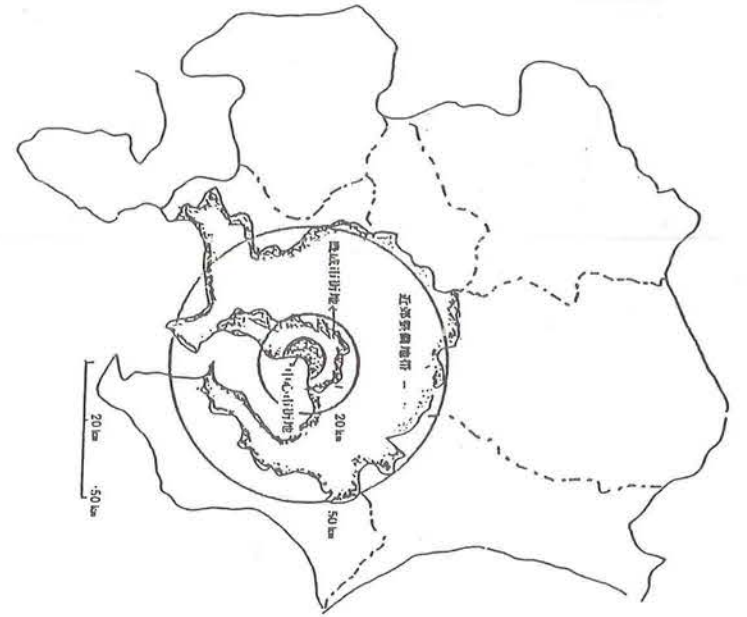
- しかしながら、このような分析には十分な資料が行われていない。従って、統計データの不足を補うべく、都市圏内の行政単位が変化してきていること、都市圏の範囲定義が異なっていること、異なる分析指標が用いられていることなどが原因となっており、

- 本レポートでは、1900年～1985年の東京圏の成長の過程を中心に、人口、土地利用、都市構造、公共施設、宅地開発の動きを、時系列、地域別に計量的に記述し、東京圏の成長のプロセスを客観的に把握できるとともに、その分析の手法の適用を考察しようとするものである。

- さらに、同時期におけるロンドン、パリ、ニューヨークの大都市圏の人口の動きを分析することにより、東京との対比を行い、各都市の成長の特性を把握しようとしている。

- これらの都市分析に当たっては、各都市の統計データを時系列、かつ、地域別に把握することが先決であるが、実際のところその資料を整理するの作業は行われていない。この東京圏に限って、単に資料を集めるのではなく、整理して行いたい。各国の都市計画史の研究は進んでおり、そのための基礎的資料の収集は、その研究の基礎をつくることには必要であると思われる。

図-1 大都市圏の範囲・定義



Year	Population trace	
	N.Y.M	N.Y.C
1860	1,400	814
1870	1,800	942
1880	2,500	1,206
1890	3,450	1,515
1900	4,850	3,437
1910	6,900	4,756
1920	8,450	5,620
1930	10,925	6,980
1940	11,750	7,455
1950	13,100	7,892
1960	15,404	7,782
1970	17,135	7,896
1980	16,573	7,072

- 首都圏域 1都7県 36,773千d
- 東京大都市圏 1都3県 13,497千d
- 50キロ圏 (近郊整備地帯・既成市街地) 8,328千d
- 既成市街地 2,834万人
- 東京23区部 1,148万人
- 東京市旧15区 130千d
- 165万人

図-2 ロンドン都市圏

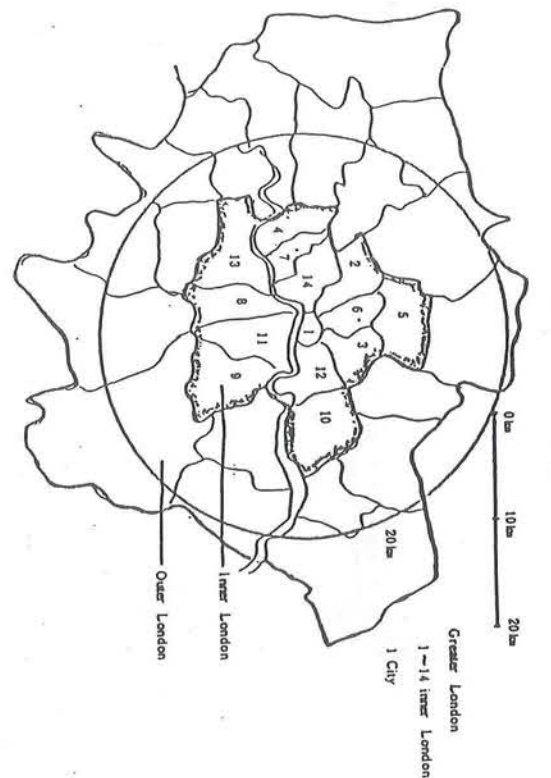


図-3 パリ都市圏

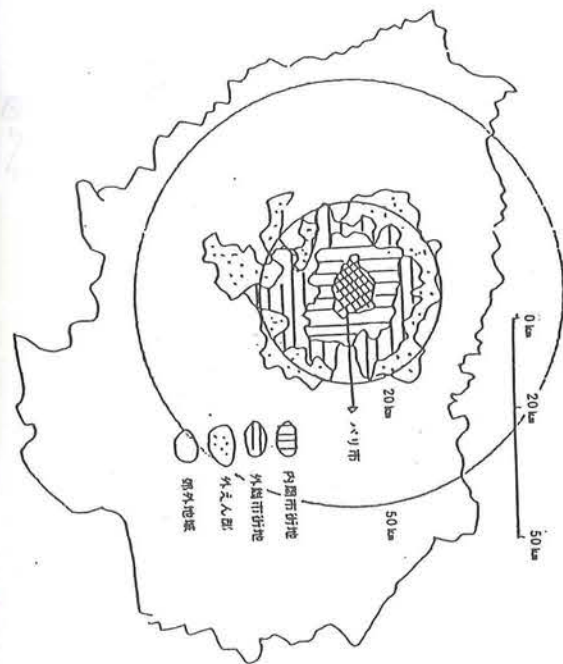
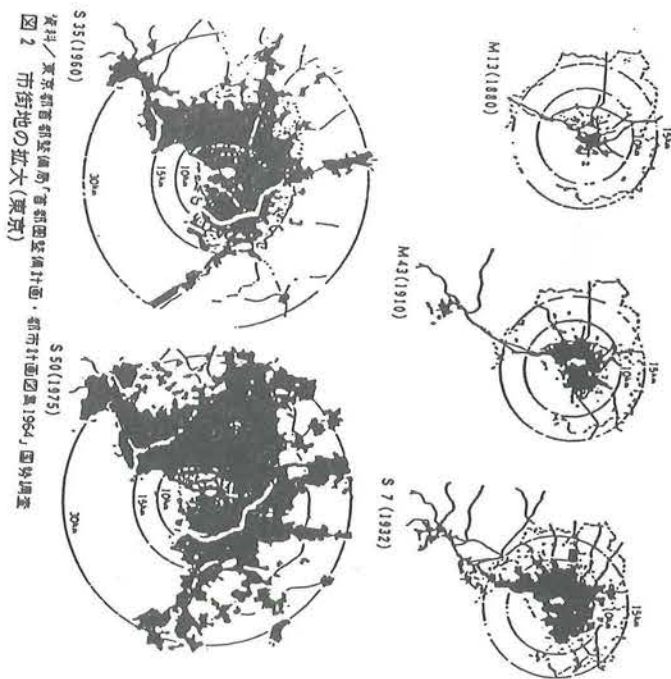
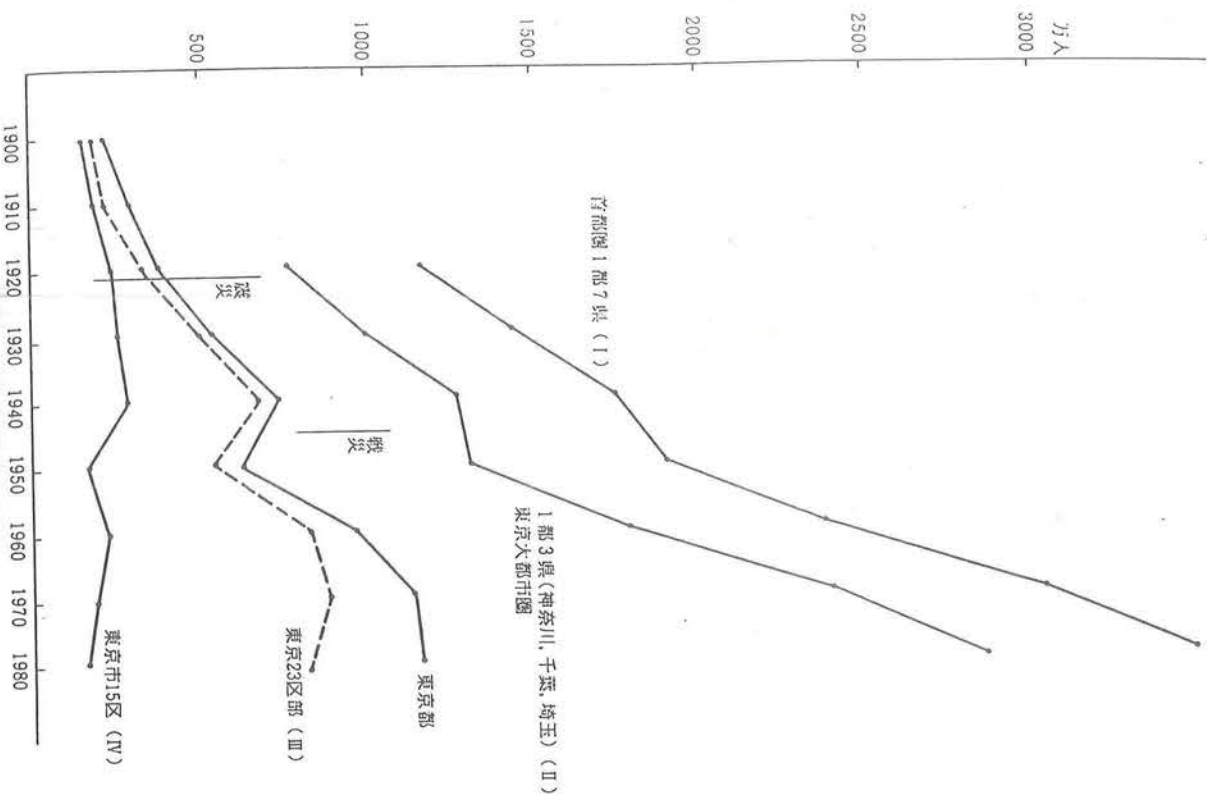


図-1/3 東京都市圏人口変化



資料/東京都建設局「首都圏整備計画・都市計画図集1964」国勢調査
図2 市街地の拡大(東京)

図-2 大都市圏の人口推移比較

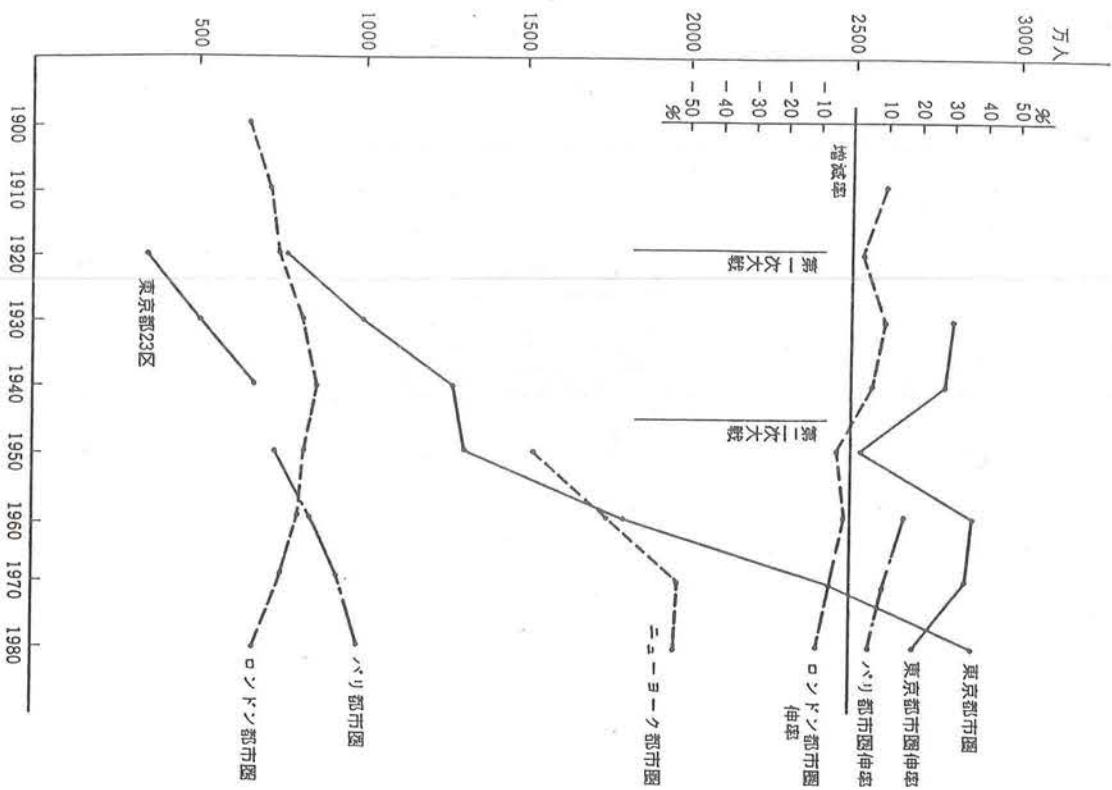
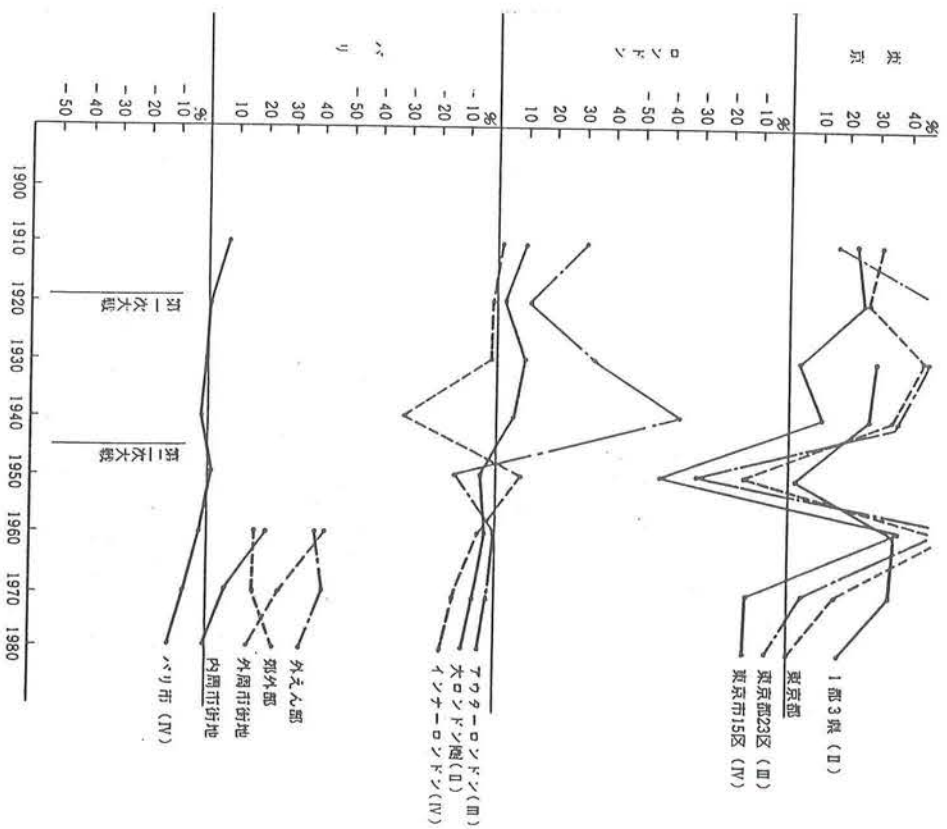


図-8 大都市圏の規模の比較

図2-2 3大都市の人口増加率の推移



図一 5 パリ都市圏人口変化

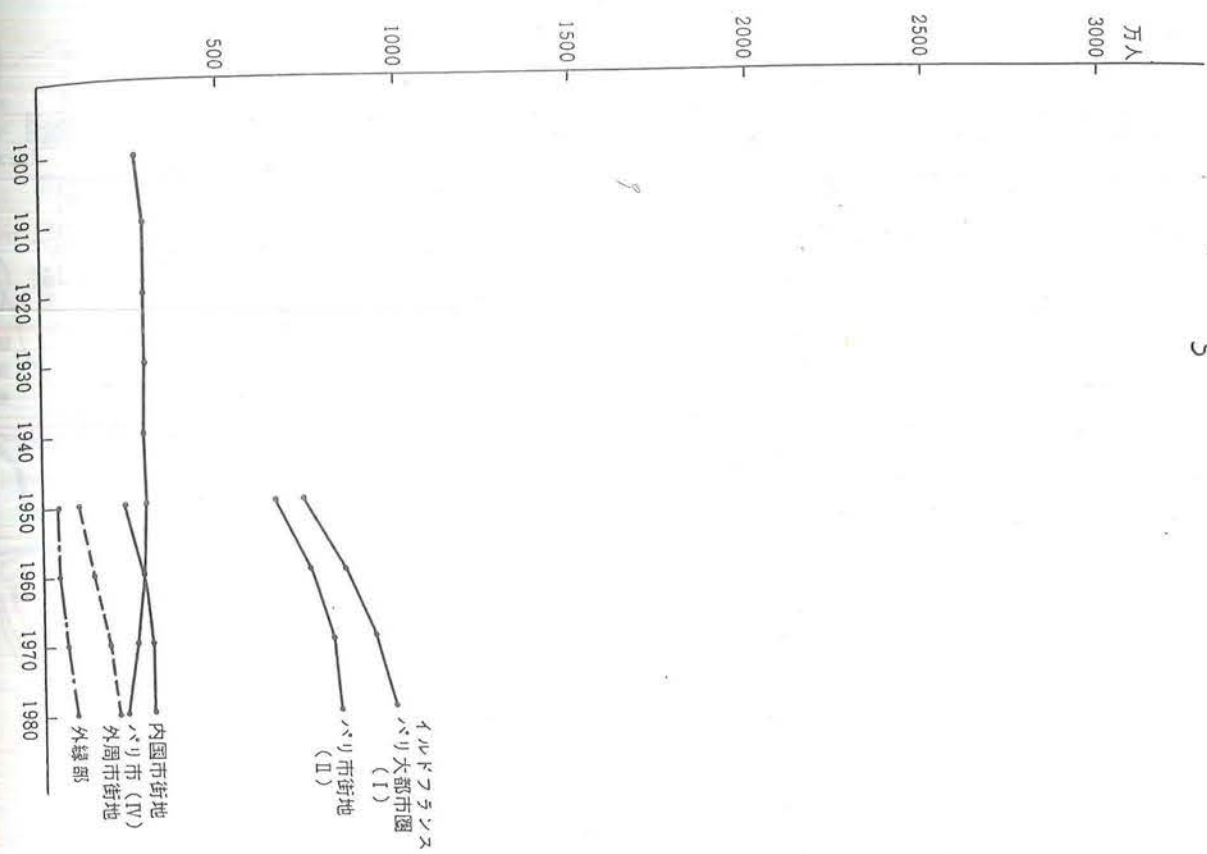


図3 市街地の拡大(パリ)
[La Documentation Photographique-N° 6023-1976]

図一 4 ロンドン都市圏人口変化

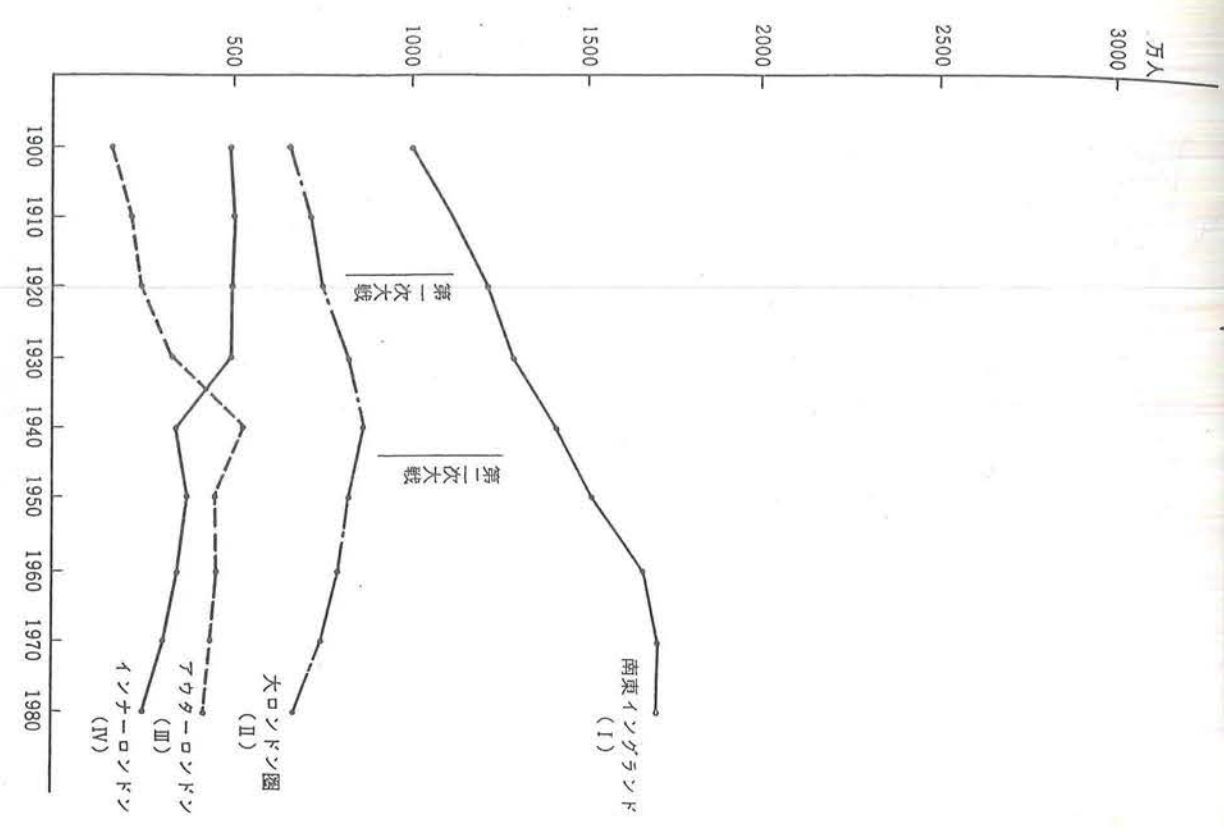


図-7 東京圏の行政区域・人口の変遷

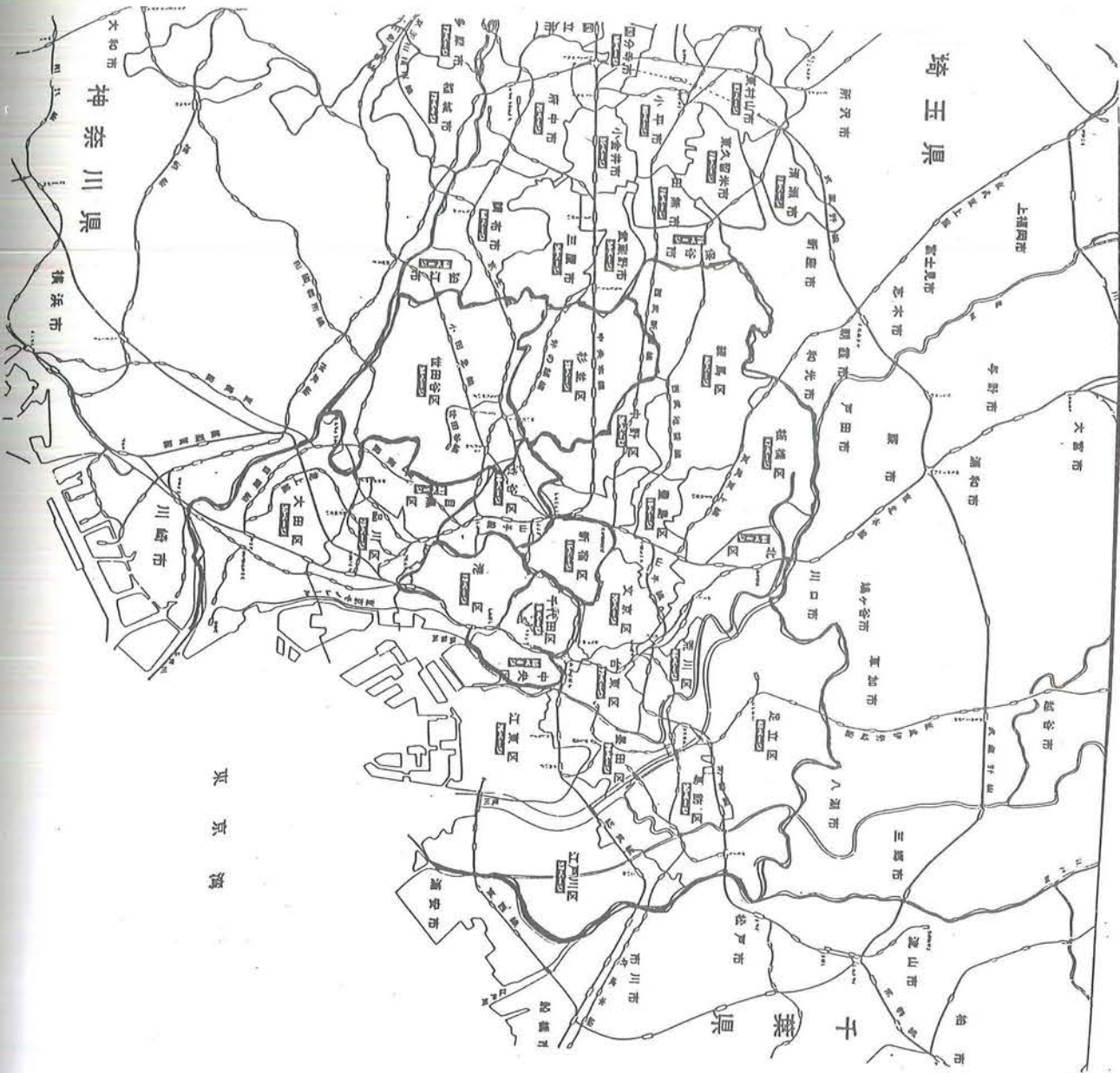


図-4 行政区域の変遷(東京都区部)

図-9 中心市街地の規模の推移

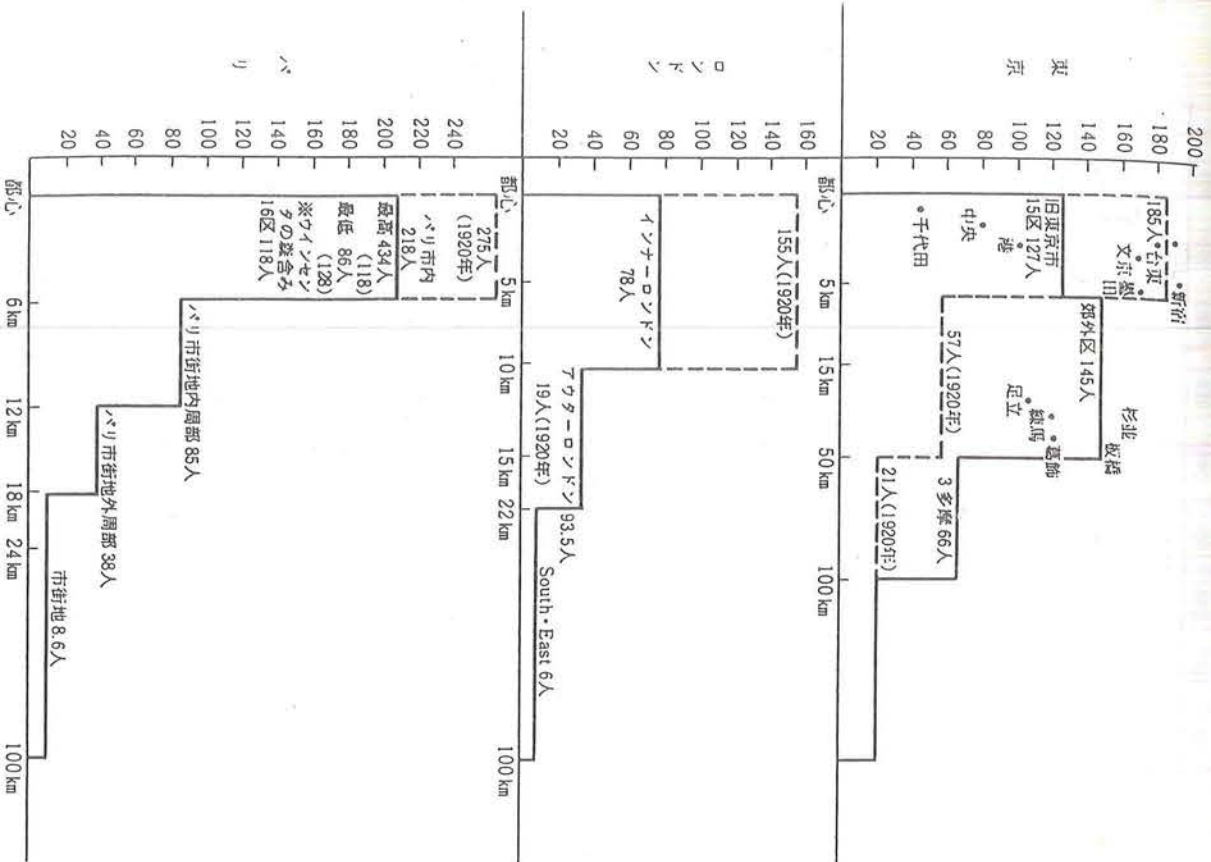
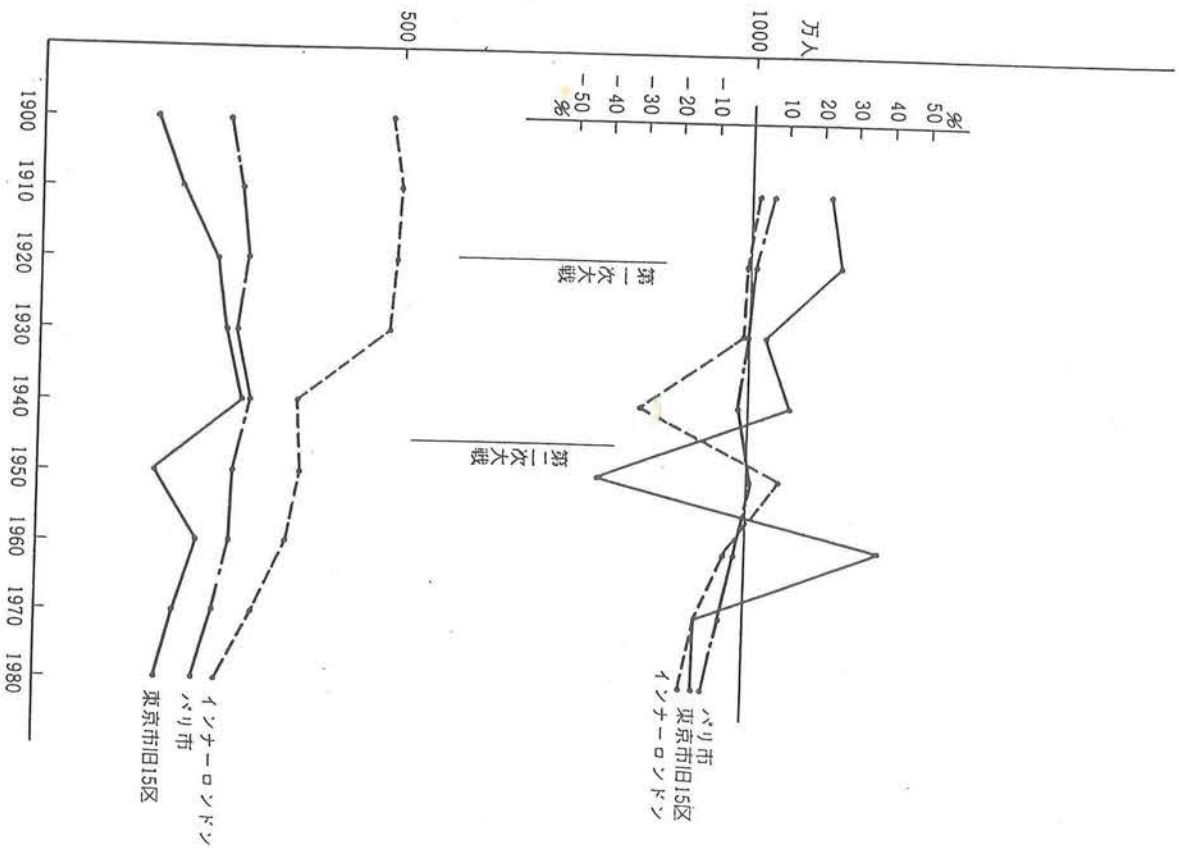


図-10 都市構造の変化



19-8

表1 都市成長の時代区分と背景

時代区分	期間・目標	人口・範囲	時代・背景	中心市街地	事件・イベント	象徴的施設
市区改正期	明治33年 ～大正7年 (約20年間) ●19世紀末のバリエーション	●東京市15区 ●山手線内側 ●人口200万人 ●面積80平方キロ	●経済的テイクオフ ●富国強兵 ●富貴・衛生の東京	●ビジネス 日本橋 ●盛り場 ●教育 本郷・神田 ●西洋館	●日露戦争 ●東京市電開 ●東京駅完成	●東京駅 ●日比谷公園 ●芝罘浄水場
旧都市計画期	大正8年 ～昭和14年 (約30年間) ●20世紀初頭のニュー・ヨーク	●東京35区 ●人口700万人 ●面積570平方キロ	●一等国の帝都 ●好況と不況の交錯 ●震災から復興に ●躍進・プロレタリア ●アート、兵士の東京	●ビジネス 丸の内 ●盛り場 ●銀座・浅草 ●教育 国立・大岡山 ●オフィスビル街	●関東大震災 ●大東京市35区制 ●震災、戦災	●昭和通り ●田園調布 ●築地市場 ●丸ビル
首都圏整備計画期	昭和25年 ～昭和42年 (約20年間) ●真逆するロンドン	●南関東、神奈川圏、埼玉県を含め人口1800万人 ●面積3000平方キロ	●航路からの脱出 ●人口・産業の集中 ●ZDK ●農団就職と団地建設の東京	●ビジネス 丸の内・有明 ●盛り場 ●新街・池袋 ●郊外団地	●自動車激増 ●都電の廃去 ●東京オリンピック	●ひばりが丘 ●日産村山工場 ●高層道路
新都市計画期	昭和43年～ (約20年間) ●目標なき時代	●不明確 ●人口3000万人	●豊かさの中の不安 ●1億総不労産 ●環境アレルギー ●マンション熱と郊外脱出の東京	●ビジネス 新宿・丸の内 ●盛り場 ●新宿・渋谷・吉祥寺 ●八王子 ●超高層ビル	●高度経済成長 ●石油ショック ●東京サミット	●新宿副都心 ●多摩ニュータウン ●高層マンション群

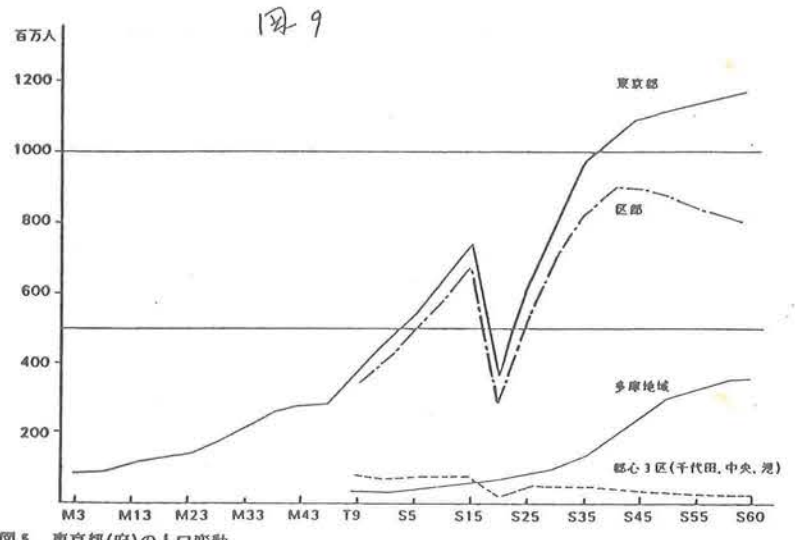


図5 東京部(府)の人口変動

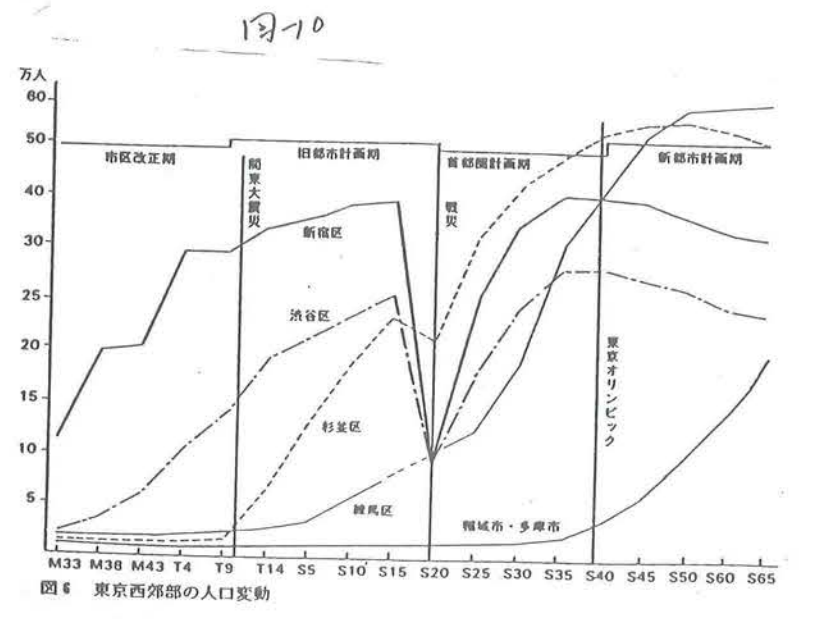


図6 東京西部の人口変動

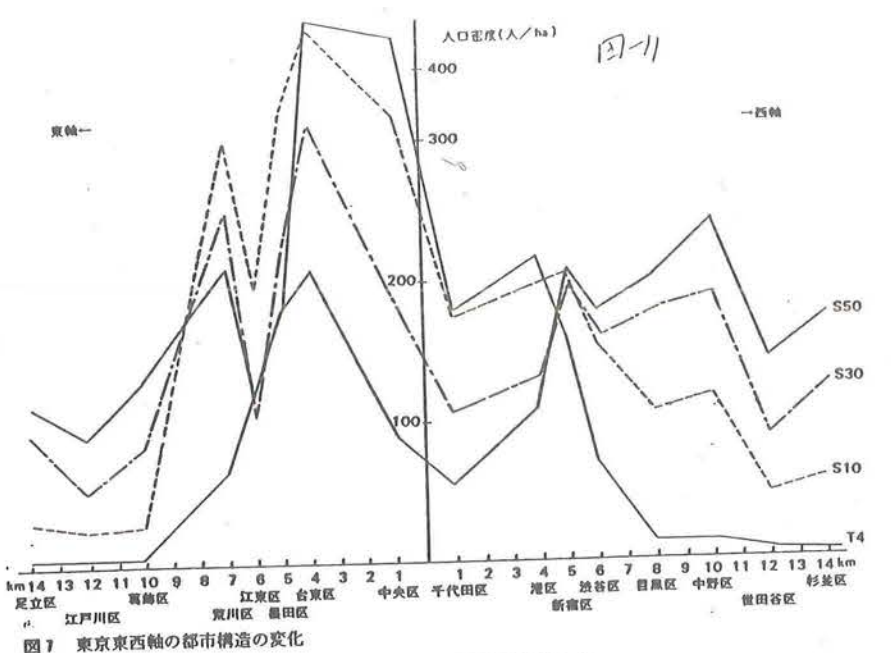


図7 東京東西軸の都市構造の変化

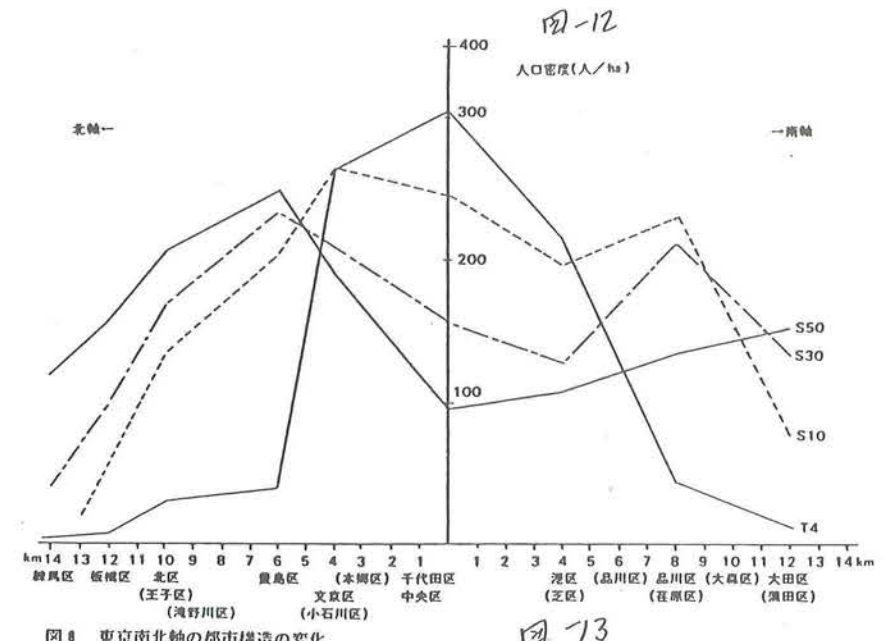


図8 東京南北軸の都市構造の変化

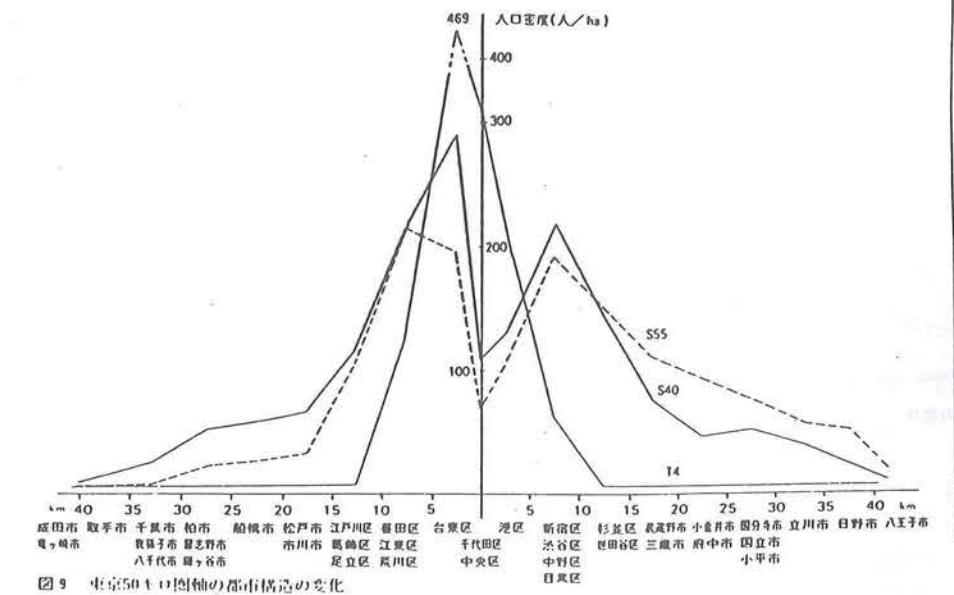


図9 東京50°回軸の都市構造の変化

図-14

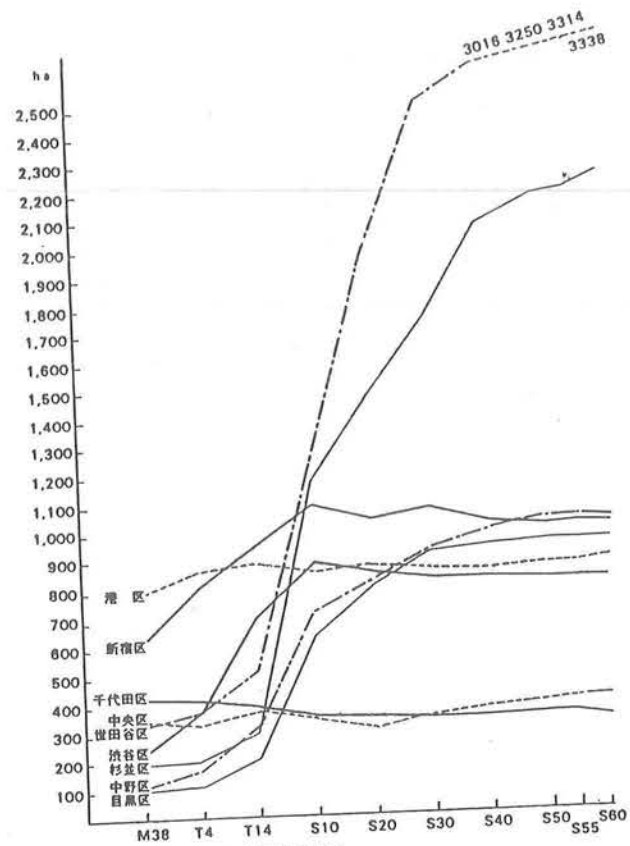


図10 東京西部部の宅地面積の推移

図-17

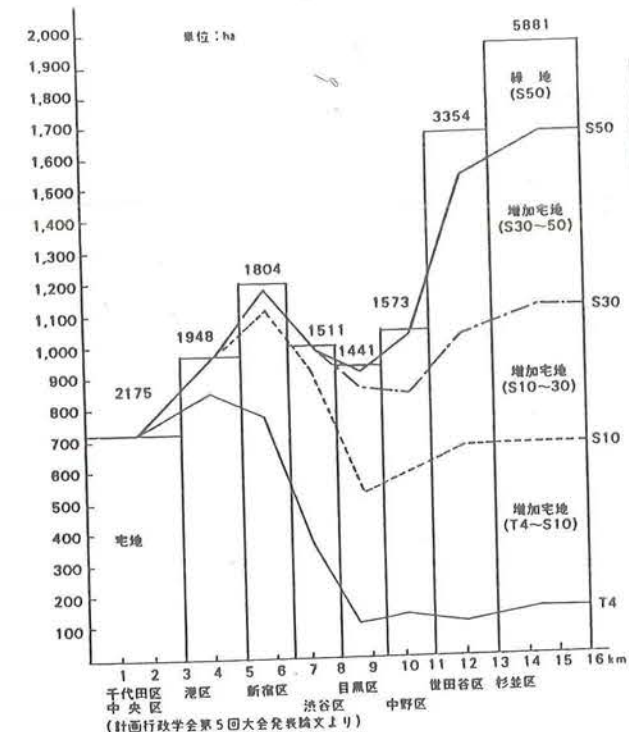


図13 地域別土地利用の変化

図-15

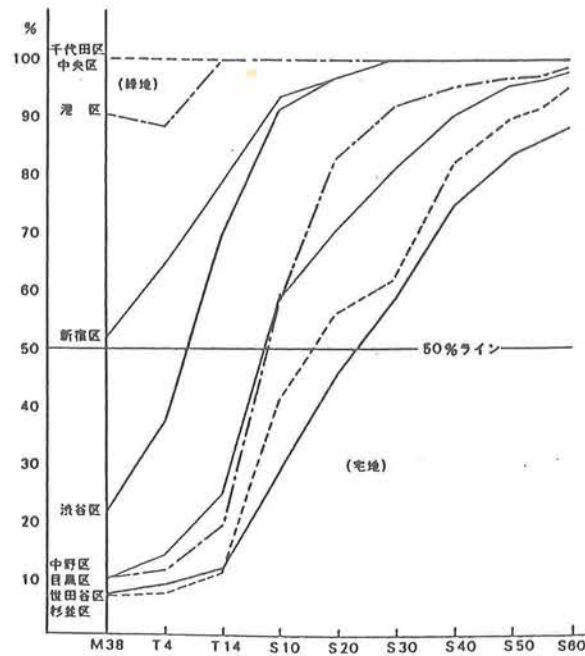


図11 宅地化比率の推移

図-16

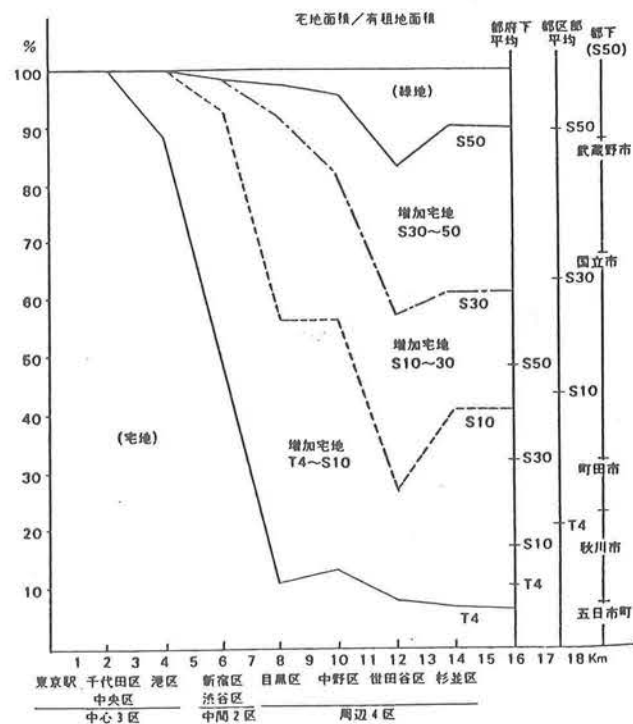


図12 宅地化比率の変化

図-18

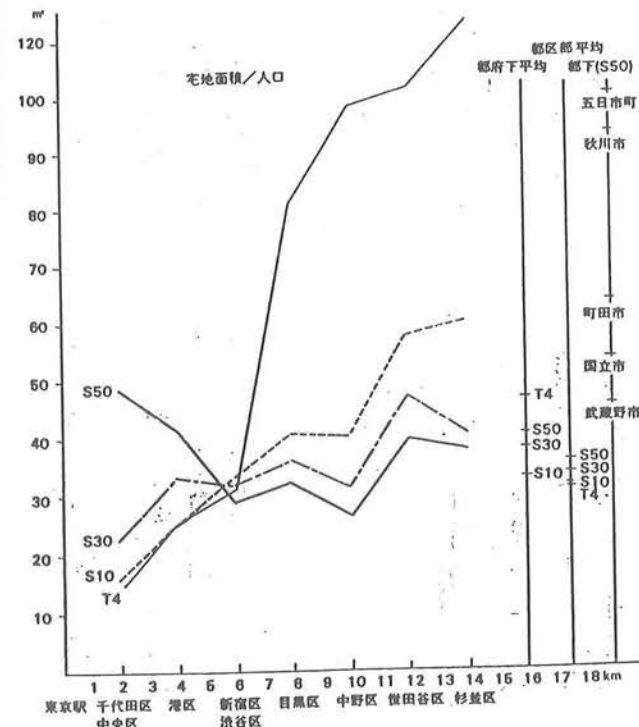


図14 1人当たりの宅地面積の変化

図-19

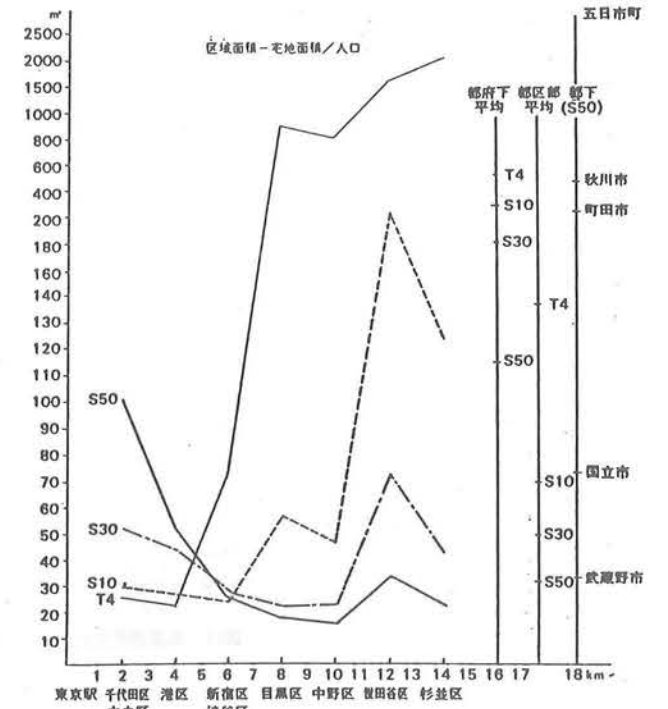


図15 1人当たりのオープンスペースの変化

19-20

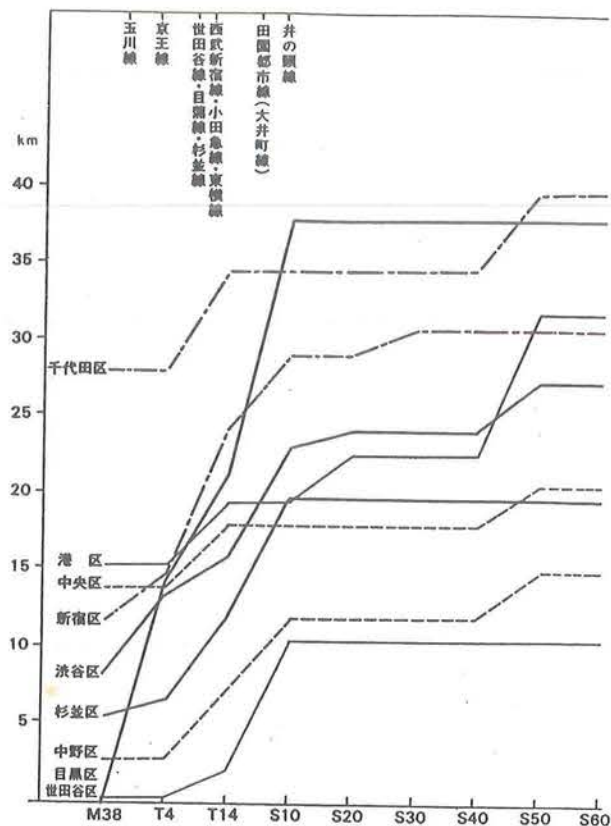


図16 東京西部鉄道開業延長の推移

19-21

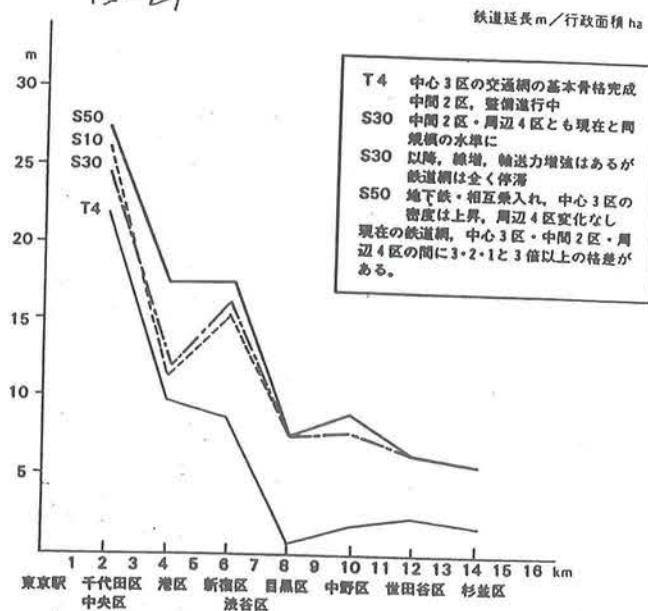


図17 鉄道密度変化図

表4 交通機関の乗客シェア(T10~S5)

	市電	省線	乗合自動車	地下鉄	郊外電車	年間利用乗客数	周辺人口
T10	69.83	19.28	1.90	8.99	6.4	億人	371万人
S5	34.01	33.07	11.11	0.09	20.02	10.6	497万人

『東京日日新聞』S7.10.1

19-22

表5 東京都区部の土地区画整理事業 S60.6.30現在

区分	完了		施行中		計	
	地区数	面積 ha	地区数	面積 ha	地区数	面積 ha
再開発						
震災復興	65	3,117	0	0	65	3,117
戦災復興	38	1,392	1	41	39	1,433
都市改造	12	141	3	84	15	225
小計	115	4,650	4	125	119	4,775
旧法	163	6,053	0	0	163	6,053
新法(組合)	57	1,938	37	1,566	94	3,504
地方公共団体	25	1,777	21	2,307	46	4,084
住宅・都市整備公団	8	1,208	1	77	9	1,285
小計	253	10,976	59	3,950	312	14,926
合計	368	15,626	63	4,075	431	19,701

※宅地整理法準用

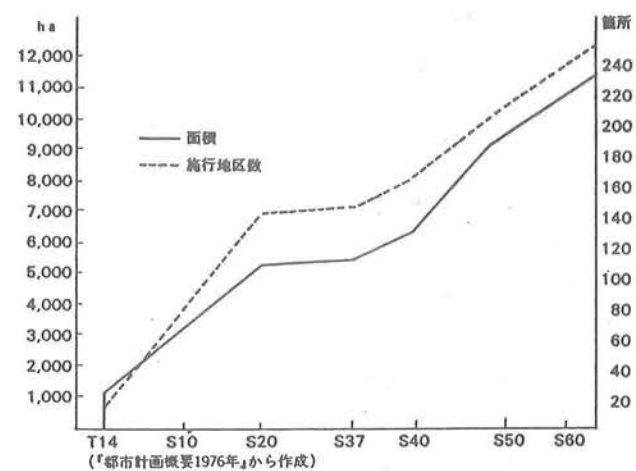
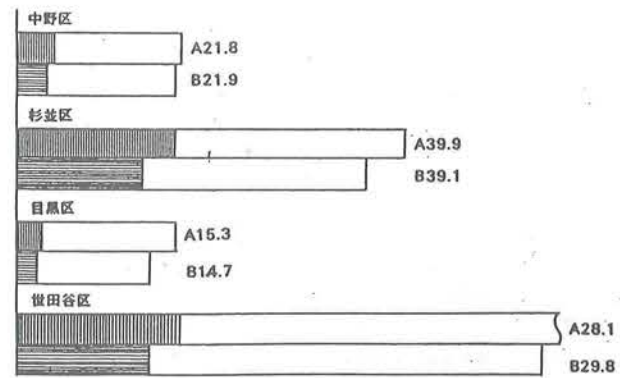


図18 土地区画整理事業の認可地区数と面積の累計

19-23



A 土地区画整理施行率(区画整理面積÷有租地面積)
B 区画整理宅地供給率(区画整理面積×0.8÷有租地面積)

土地区画整理地区累計(T4~S50)
区画整理による宅地供給地区累計(T4~S50)施行面積×0.8
有租地及び供給宅地

図19 東京西部の土地区画整理の施行率

表2 東京西郊部の人口移動 単位:1000人、()内は指数

	M33	M38 M39	T 4	T14	S10	S20	S30	S40	S50	S55	S60
東京都・府	2,168 (18.6)	2,795 (23.9)	3,395 (29.1)	4,485 (38.4)	6,370 (54.6)	3,488 (30.0)	8,039 (68.9)	10,869 (93.1)	11,671 (100.0)	11,618 (99.5)	11,829 (101.0)
都 区 部 (35区-23区)	1,877 (21.7)	2,517 (29.1)	3,057 (35.4)	4,109 (47.5)	5,896 (68.2)	2,777 (32.1)	6,969 (80.6)	8,873 (102.6)	8,644 (100.0)	8,352 (91.6)	8,355 (96.7)
千代田区	196 (321.3)	229 (375.4)	225 (368.9)	185 (303.3)	197 (323.0)	44 (72.1)	123 (201.6)	93 (152.5)	61 (100.0)	55 (90.2)	50 (82.0)
中央区	281 (312.2)	349 (387.8)	313 (347.8)	225 (250.8)	261 (290.8)	76 (84.4)	171 (190.8)	128 (142.2)	90 (100.0)	83 (92.2)	80 (88.9)
港 区	242 (115.8)	315 (150.7)	338 (161.7)	321 (153.6)	337 (161.2)	97 (46.4)	255 (122.0)	242 (115.8)	209 (100.0)	201 (96.2)	195 (93.3)
新宿区	121 (33.0)	212 (57.8)	290 (79.0)	339 (92.4)	376 (102.5)	83 (22.6)	349 (95.1)	414 (112.8)	367 (100.0)	344 (93.0)	333 (90.7)
渋谷区	19 (7.2)	36 (13.7)	105 (39.9)	191 (72.6)	235 (89.4)	84 (31.9)	243 (92.4)	284 (108.0)	263 (100.0)	247 (93.9)	242 (92.0)
中野区	10 (2.7)	12 (3.2)	17 (4.6)	85 (22.8)	178 (47.7)	124 (33.2)	289 (77.5)	377 (101.0)	373 (100.0)	346 (92.8)	336 (90.1)
杉並区	13 (2.8)	14 (2.5)	16 (2.9)	66 (11.8)	190 (33.9)	211 (37.6)	406 (72.4)	537 (95.7)	561 (100.0)	542 (96.6)	540 (96.3)
目黒区	8 (2.8)	10 (3.5)	15 (5.3)	63 (22.1)	152 (53.3)	121 (42.5)	254 (89.1)	299 (104.9)	285 (100.0)	274 (96.1)	269 (94.4)
世田谷区	24 (3.0)	26 (3.2)	36 (4.5)	87 (10.8)	211 (26.2)	276 (34.6)	524 (65.1)	743 (92.3)	805 (100.0)	797 (99.0)	811 (100.7)

東京都・府・市各統計年度

表3 東京西郊部の土地利用の推移 単位:都・府・都区部=km² 各区=ha

	M38 M39	T 4	T14	S10	S20 S25	S30	S40	S50	S55	S60
東京都・府 (高野を除く)	A 1,419 B 1,217 C 106	1,441 1,115 120	1,740 1,080 146	1,743 975 146	1,743 1,061 267	1,745 961 307	1,726 1,045 397	1,742 997 483	1,753 973 499	1,753 667 509
都 区 部 (35区-23区)	A 500 B 455 C 76	504 412 89	548 402 115	573 397 174	573 378 209	569 373 237	577 361 274	531 347 311	592 344 308	598 339 312
千代田区	A 1,100 B 419 C 419	1,265 415 415	1,138 384 384	1,138 347 347	1,131 346 346	1,152 335 335	1,152 342 342	1,152 340 346	1,152 344 344	1,152 353 353
中央区	A 632 B 341 C 341	709 331 331	822 375 375	823 340 340	823 308 308	943 342 342	965 371 371	1,005 379 379	1,005 394 394	1,005 398 398
港 区	A 1,542 B 888 C 797	1,573 981 864	1,720 894 883	1,720 853 851	1,720 877 873	1,973 855 854	1,901 861 848	1,941 877 865	1,948 879 867	1,999 893 882
新宿区	A 1,850 B 1,191 C 611	1,850 1,259 803	1,850 1,206 947	1,851 1,160 1,081	1,851 1,063 1,025	1,871 1,079 1,065	1,804 1,037 1,013	1,804 1,021 997	1,804 1,078 994	1,804 1,017 994
渋谷区	A 1,524 B 1,134 C 232	1,524 1,009 367	1,524 1,006 693	1,524 965 882	1,524 874 850	1,544 833 820	1,511 839 825	1,511 828 812	1,511 830 814	1,511 831 814
中野区	A 1,540 B 1,280 C 122	1,540 1,271 168	1,540 1,271 312	1,541 1,265 720	1,541 1,169 819	1,558 1,142 924	1,573 1,083 978	1,573 1,057 1,010	1,573 1,047 1,009	1,573 1,038 1,006
杉並区	A 3,409 B 2,858 C 192	3,409 2,866 197	3,409 2,848 303	3,410 2,821 1,147	3,410 2,559 1,445	3,374 2,576 1,653	3,354 2,493 2,055	3,354 2,391 2,150	3,354 2,367 2,159	3,354 2,391 2,225
目黒区	A 1,473 B 1,092 C 102	1,473 1,096 123	1,473 1,082 202	1,473 1,091 618	1,473 951 799	1,455 995 920	1,441 978 930	1,441 959 927	1,441 954 927	1,441 946 922
世田谷区	A 6,076 B 4,778 C 338	6,076 4,586 367	6,076 4,569 509	6,076 4,527 1,221	6,076 4,303 1,944	6,204 4,321 2,483	5,881 4,055 3,016	5,881 3,904 3,250	5,881 3,856 3,314	5,881 3,820 3,338

A=区域, B=有租地, C=宅地(住宅、商店、事務所、工場等)
東京都・府・市各統計年度, その他
S20以前は旧市区町村を23区で整理集計

European Influences on the System and Idea of Early City Parks in Japan (summary)

Yozaburo SHIRAHATA

1. Parks as System

It may be correct to say that the history of the system of modern city parks in Japan began in 1873 (Meiji 6). The meaning of "the system of modern city parks" is that Japan modeled after the European system. So "modern" the author wrote here is equal to "European".

The Cabinet (Dajokan) of the Meiji Government which had been born in 1868 declared in 1873 as follows:

"Favorite haunts, beautiful districts from ancient times and old residents of notable person (for example, the grounds of Kinryusan Sensouji-Temple and Toueisan Kan'eiji-Temple in Tokyo, of Yasakasha-Shrine, Kiyomizudera-Temple and Arashiyama in Kyoto, which belong to the grounds of temples and shrines and the governmental places), and the places whose land tax need not to be paid hitherto, in not only three major cities (Kyoto, Tokyo and Osaka) but all Japanese cities are to be places where people enjoy and to be named as "Koen"[public garden or park]. All prefectural governments shall select such places as mentioned above and apply them to the Ministry of Finance with the materials and plans which tell the details of the sites."

After the declaration, five places were declared as public garden in Tokyo. They were named Asakusa-koen, Shiba-koen, Ueno-koen, Fukagawa-koen and Asukayama-koen. Asukayama was the place to go seeing cherry blossoms which Government of Shogun (Edo-Bakufu) let constructed in early 1700s.

period	number of parks	period	number of parks
1873	24	1898-1902	46
1874-1877	43	1903-1907	42
1878-1883	29	1908-1912	54
1884-1888	20	1913-1916	63
1888-1892	18	1917-1921	40
1893-1897	18	1922-1926	47

Source: Summarized from, Account Section of the Ministry of Home Affairs "A List of Parks whose Grounds belong to the Government" (1933). Takahashi, R., Materialization of Dajokan-Koen (Park system by the Cabinet) and its Real Conditions, Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architects, vol. 38 no. 4, 1975; Takahashi, R., Memorial Parks in Japan, Parks and Open Spaces, vol. 31 no. 4, 1970

Table 1: Numbers of parks opened to the Public during Meiji & Taisho (1873-1926)

The other four were the ground of the temples. After that other prefectural governments applied to make parks and about 400 parks were constructed between Meiji Era and Taisho Era.

One of the most important event in the history of city planning about that time was the Tokyo City Improvement. It was also a very important event for the history of city parks and included two aspects which characterized the history of city parks in Japan.

One is that the planning of parks modeled after that of European cities. The other is that it was under the administrative control to plan, design and arrange parks.

First, the author will show the models and how far they influenced the Japanese parks at that time.

The plan of the parks which was offered in the Inspection Committee for the Tokyo City Improvement in 1884 was the model of the plan of the Tokyo City Improvement Ordinance in 1888. In the plan of the parks, London, Paris, Berlin and Wien were regarded as the four major cities in Europe. The rate of the park area to the population and city area, and the number of the parks in these cities were ideal figure for the administrative officials. The average figures of their area and number of the parks in the four cities was one park per 20,000 people and 1.2 km². The population of Tokyo at that time (according to the statistics in 1882) was 880,000 and the city area was 55 km². That means 44 parks had to be built according to the population ($880,000 \div 20,000 = 44$) and 45 parks according to the area ($55 \div 1.2 = 45$).

Of course, the more detailed calculation and inspection were added in each ward according to the population and area. 9 large parks (yuen) and 43 small parks were finally decided to be made. The figures showed that they had modeled the four major cities. Though they did not use the respective names, large parks and small ones, but 49 parks (Koen) in the later planning of the Tokyo City Improvement Ordinance of 1888, they had never changed their attitude to model the European planning of parks.

They did not examine what kind of the parks Japan should construct, but they examined what scale of parks the developed countries had and then decided what scale of parks Japan should make.

Next, I try to show how strong the initiative of the administration to make the parks. The fact mentioned below is one good example. The open spaces which the people had already used in Edo Era, that is the open spaces of the temples and shrines and open spaces for protecting fire, were designated as parks whose number was calculated from that of the European major four cities. It depends upon the administrative designation whether the places would be parks or not. It does not

matter whether they were the places which people made use of or not. The public gardens designed during the city planning were the places which people had already used to gather and then were confirmed as parks. All of them were not built from the beginning under the administrative control. 70% in number and 80% by area of designated parks were the popular amusement places which were drawn in "Edo Meisho Zue" (Pictorial Description of Noted Places in Edo). Some were the former residents of Daimyo which were not drawn in it. That means almost all of the early "parks" depends upon the property left from Edo Era. Ironically saying, the system of modern city parks in Japan narrowed the idea which the common people had as parks. I will point out another example that the administration at that time regarded the European countries as the good model for the Japanese parks. One member of the city planning committee of Tokyo said as below:

"Asakusa-koen and Shiba-koen are to be used for the people taking a walk like Parc Monseau, and Ueno-koen which is handed from the Department of Agriculture to Tokyo Prefectural Government is to be used for the noble like Boix des Boulogne."

I think he may have felt a little ashamed to say so, but he must have had the strong will to make Tokyo quite like as Paris, London or Berlin. Another intention that he said so is to make their plan persuasive by showing the examples of the cities in European developed countries. Several utterances that had the same intention could be found. It shows how great influence the examples of the European developing countries had to decide the city planning at that time. What he appointed was agreed fundamentally with a few reforms.

Thus, the system of the parks, the space which anyone freely used, was established with no doubt according to the examples of the European countries that the government should build and control. They thought it proper course to take. They thought it ideal to decide the system of the parks according to the European examples. Though their ideal plan could not be all completed because of the financial trouble, they did not throw it.

What are the features of the Japanese parks in their qualities, above all, their design? I think it better to take an example of Hibiya-koen (Park) which was planned in about 1884 and opened in 1903.

The first person that planned and decided the site of today's Hibiya-Park was an Englishman Josiah Conder. He was a foreign consultant to the Meiji Government and taught architecture in Technical College (later, Faculty of Technology, Tokyo Imperial University). There were 2 plans for the governmental office center of Tokyo which he drew in 1885. There can be seen a square in the middle of the office

buildings. The plan did not develop itself into the later plan of Hibiya-Park. After Conder researched the ground in this area and found it was soft and not suitable to construct big buildings. But he thought it could be used for the park.

In 1889 it was decided to build Hibiya-koen after establishing the city plan mentioned before, but the first plan of the park was completed in 1893 at last. Before the final plan was agreed in 1901, 9 plans including partly reformed plans had been rejected. The designs of almost of all the rejected plans were not European but Japanese styles. It seemed the reason to be denied. As the details of the progress to the decision of the plan are not left, we cannot correctly say it, but the ideal park at that time seemed to be a European and modern style that was suitable to Tokyo as a modern city.

圖畧計設園公谷比日

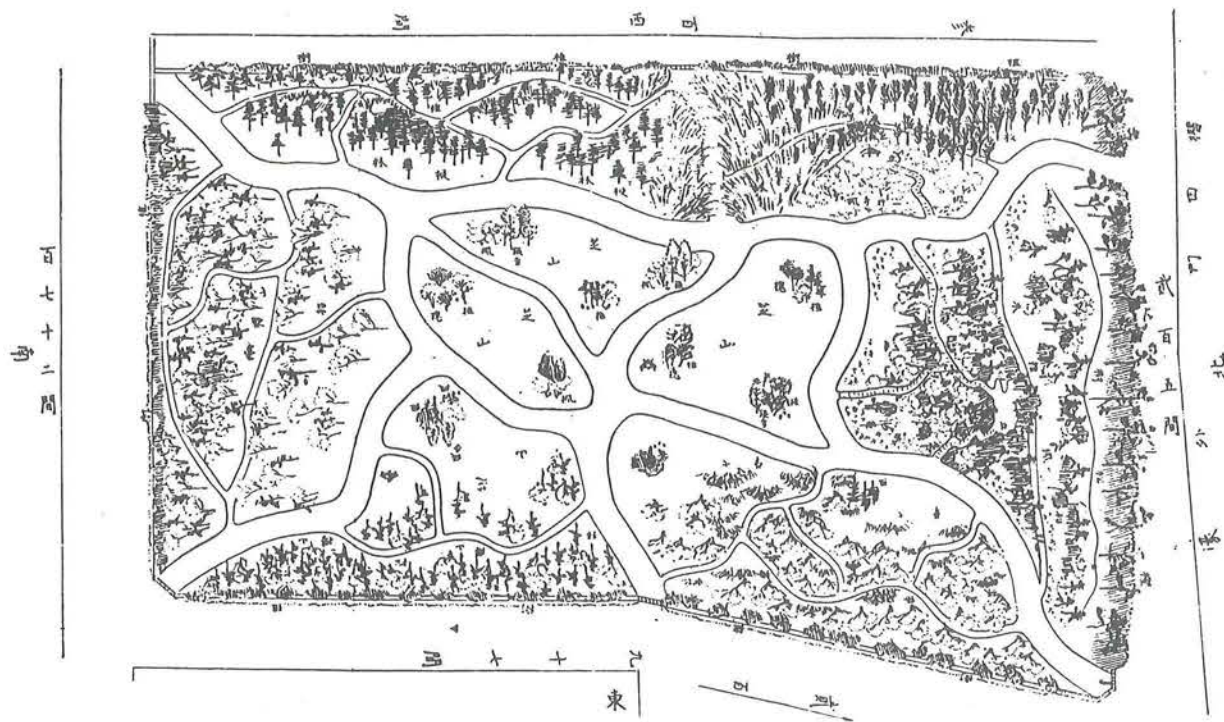


fig.1 One of the plans of Hibiya-Park by the Committee of Investigation for the Park Improvement (i.e. Plan of the City of Tokyo, 1898; Record Office of Parks and open Spaces Tokyo)

The final design of the park that was agreed was drawn by Seiroku Honda. He was a professor at Faculty of Agriculture of Tokyo Imperial University at that time. He had studied mainly forestry in Germany from 1890 to 1893 and deepened also his acknowledge of garden design. The representative plans of the city parks in Europe which he had collected during studying abroad were reference materials for his design of the park.

圖之園公谷比日

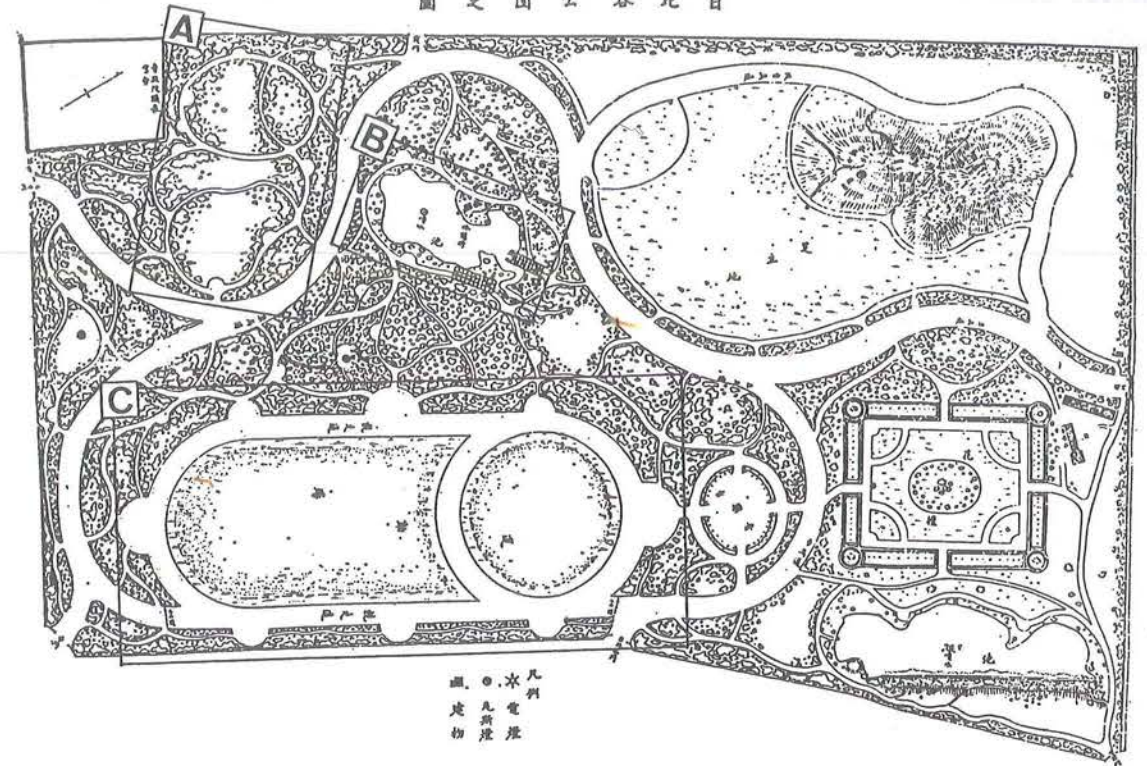


fig.2 The plan of Hibiya-Park, soon after the opening (by Honda, Seiroku; Record Office of Parks and Open Spaces Tokyo)

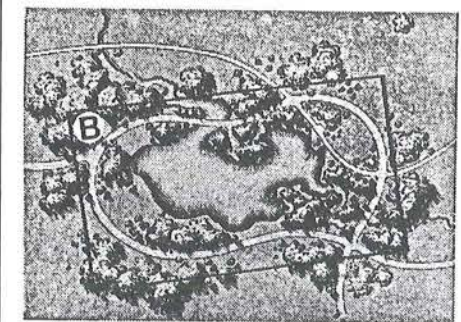
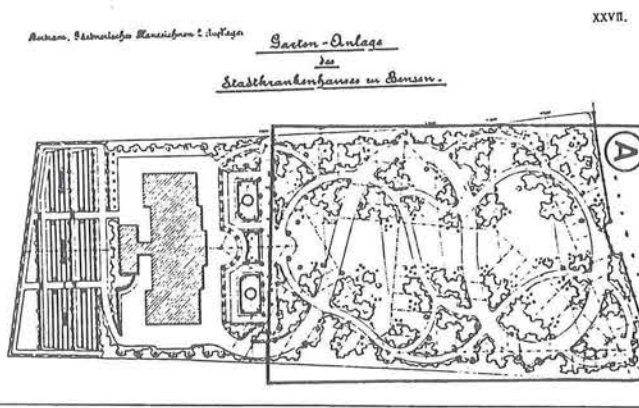
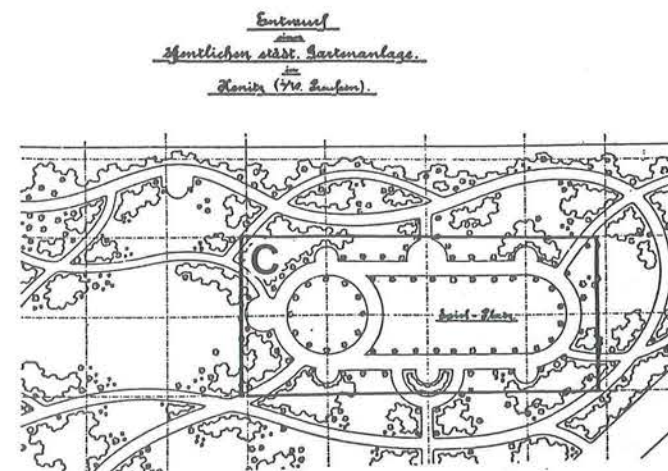


fig.3 | fig.4

fig.5

A, B, C on the fig. 3, 4, 5 are copied by Honda, Seiroku from Gärtnerisches Planzeichnen (Max Bertram, 1891) Each corresponds A, B, C on the fig. 2.



What was uttered in "the proposal on the committee of planning Hibiya-Park" which was established in 1899 to speed up the design of Hibiya-Park made it clear that the park must be an European style.

"In the city planning, the designated sites of the parks are not few, but most of them are the open spaces of temples and shrines. There are very few which are to be called real parks where the common people go to amuse themselves. The European parks have not only beautiful scenery to see and beneficial places to amuse, but also sanitary arrangements."

That concluded the open spaces of temples and shrines are typical Japanese amusement places. But they are not said to be the parks at all, and the amusement places. After the utterance mentioned above he said that it needed to make parks which were modeled after the European parks. In constructing the parks in the early ages the European countries were regarded as such developed ones of the parks that Japan must refer them and the administrative initiative must be strong to make them. In this chapter I referred to the example in Tokyo. As the other prefectural governments modeled the park of Tokyo as the park of Europe, I think the example of Tokyo is the good one. The parks of Tokyo were regarded as sub-destination and sub-ideal.

2. Relation between Japanese traditional parks and European ones

It is easy to point that the contact with the European countries had the great influences on the system of the modern city planning in Japan. Why did the contact with the European countries give birth to the administrative initiative on the parks and did the European parks stimulate the Japanese ones thenceforth? In order to define the reasons I try to describe roughly the history of the Japanese traditional parks. The parks mentioned here means public space which anyone can use. By this definition the beginning of the Japanese parks can go back to rather remote past. Especially in Edo Era, the days of the Japan's feudal government, that is in the middle of 17th century and thenceforth, the places suitable to be called public garden or park were developed in many cities in Japan. Under the rule of the 8th Shogun Yoshimune, Asukayama became the famous place of seeing cherry blossoms. It is one of the first five parks in Tokyo as I mentioned before. Goten-yama in Shinagawa, Mukoujima along the Sumida River etc. were developed as the places of seeing cherry blossoms and the places of popular amusement. They became all popular and many people visited there. In these places there were no limitation to use, so anyone could freely go there. We may call them the Japanese original public parks.

During Edo Era, there were many places like them and they were functioned fully as the recreation center for the common people.

All the European people who visited Japan just after the opening of the country said that Japan had many greens. For example, the Scotch plant hunter and horticulturist Robert Fortune wrote up Edo, one of the most populous city in the world at that time, that she had much greens in the city and was a beautiful and clean city.

Edo came to him as a beautiful city when she was compared with the cities like Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester and London. These cities had already experienced the Industrial Revolution with a number of towering big chimneys that gave great damage to the beautiful scenery. To him, Tokyo (Edo) seemed to be another world which was a beautiful city abundant with greens compared with these cities which were covered with a dense cloud of black smoke. Tokyo at that time looked like an ideal "garden city" for the European people's eyes.

On the other hand, Japanese who visited London, Paris, San Francisco and New York etc. spoke of the splendour of these cities and that they had many beautiful parks. As Fortune was a horticulturist, he paid attention to only much greens in Edo and he did not care whether they were arranged regularly or not. He cared little their disorder of arrangement. He thought it better that greens in Japan were arranged more naturally than that of Europe. Japanese, on the other hand, were impressed by the orderly greens arranged by men which were artificial.

Here we will see the backgrounds of the birth of the European parks. I will take English and German parks for example, as these parks were models for the Japanese modern parks.

It is said that the history of the modern parks in England started from the early 19th century. At that time the Industrial Revolution had covered all over England and the workers crowded in the cities. Their home surroundings were said to become worse. So the administration had to do something to solve it. It is really one motive for the birth of the parks, but another one is also important. It derives from the situation that the common people in England had their own way about recreation. There were various popular recreations in country. Among them were dogfights and bearbaitings which were savage amusements that satisfied people's rude mentality. These amusements were generally called "blood sports". The middle class hated them as their brutality and thought of elegant and gentle sports as better. These sports were regarded as "rational recreation" and praised highly by ideologists. Chattering and recreation on the lawn and boating in the parks were regarded as "respectable" recreation. The recreations in parks are opposed against brutal and

vulgar amusement and they were regarded to make the desirable improvement of the labourer's life and environment.

In Germany at the end of 18th century, the concept of "Volksgarten" (peoples' garden, nation's garden) appeared and it was praised as the suitable place which corresponded to the Enlightenment and good place where the rustic and vulgar people could be enlightened just like the idea in England. That is, taking a walk in the gentle nature and elegant amusements in the parks were suitable to make the uncluttered and vulgar people elegant. Germany at that time was not a unified state but divided into 30 territorial states. Memorial monuments and statues of the patriots in the parks were highly expected by the ruling class to awake patriotic spirit to the people who had no idea that they were the German.

As mentioned above, the parks were not only the places of popular amusement but also the places where the living style and the recreation of ruling class were shown as better one and forced them to the working class in both England and Germany. The parks emphasized what the recreation ought to and should be.

Gardens were private in itself, but the early public gardens were gardens which were public spaces that first appeared as promenades in Europe. On the promenades people walked in their best clothes and showed their behaviors and clothes. They were important places where they identified one another that they belonged to the same class. Therefore, it is natural that lawns and promenades and flower beds and shrubbery were the essential elements to design the parks, as they were the required stage which supported their social lives.

In the former half of 19th century, to make parks was not fashion but the absolute necessity for the upper class who were main residents in the cities in Europe. The parks were important to ornament the cities which were their major active and living places. When Japanese went to Europe after the opening of the country (in 1854) they were highly impressed at the grandeur of the European cities. It was at that time when these cities began to construct such parks. Their surprise proved that the Japanese themselves belonged to the intellectuals and the ruling class who had the same aesthetic sense as the European ruling class. Historical necessity to make parks was that the class needed such facilities. That was the same situation in Japan. The modern parks in Japan were born, as there existed the people who needed such system and facilities. Even though these parks were the places named "park" which had been traditional amusement places and famous gathering places, they should not remain the amusement places and famous gathering places as before. The people who would push to construct the European style parks were those who thought Japan

should take her place in the sisterhood of advanced nations and who thought Japan should have cities that were regarded as modern in point of the city planning. This is the reason why the administration took the initiative in the planning and designs of the parks. From the point of the system of city parks, the middle class of the cities in Europe were equal to the administrative officials in Japan.

3. One interpretation on the history of the early parks in Japan

The early parks in Japan were developed taking European parks as ideal and model. So they endeavored little to reflect cultural features that each region had as its own upon making the parks. It led to neglect its traditional amusement places as vulgar and regard the famous places for cherry blossoms as unsound.

The representative "parks" of Japanese traditional ones are famous places of cherry blossoms. Three factors are necessary to become famous for cherry blossoms. They are 1. cherry blossoms, 2. a jostling crowd and 3. food and drink. Cherry blossoms are suitable to appreciate silently and attract a crowd of people. A crowd of people are an indispensable factor for Japanese to feel enjoyable. Cheerful communication and discussion is difficult without food and drink. When any of the three factors is missing, a place can't become a favorite place for cherry blossoms, that is a park peculiar to Japan. In the early plan of the parks flowers were not denied but noisy gathering of masses was denied as unsuitable to such parks. As drink often means alcoholic drink, SAKE, food and drink was regarded as undesirable and denied. Even so, many traditional amusement places are not shut out from the system of the parks, but as mentioned above, they were appointed as parks in the city planning of Tokyo. The traditional "parks" are kept not positively but to a degree. They were not regarded as ideal parks. The denial of the Japanese factors in designing the parks symbolized the idea of the administrative officials at that time.

The feature of the history of the parks in the latter half of Meiji Era when Hibiya-Park was designed was that the national events offered the foundation in designing the parks. Under the slogan, "higher productivity and inauguration of new industrial enterprises" the parks were built as exhibition grounds and as sites for war rejoicings in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-5) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5). In Taisho and the early period of Showa Era, German theories of regional planning and "green" or open space planning of city were introduced by the Bureau of the City Planning in the Ministry of Interior where the city parks were planned. German standards of the area of parks according to that of city and to the population of

city and new theories on the arrangement of the parks within a city were introduced. The idea of the parks for children which had been born in Germany and received in America was introduced and they planned to make spaces where children living in a city played freely and safely. But all of them were leaded and controled by the administration as before. They never changed their attitude that they introduced German or American theories on the idea of the parks and their arrangements and designs and they followed the models of the European developed countries. In the system of the city parks in Japan, these two attitudes mentioned before had kept main parts from the early period of Meiji Era to the prewar days of Showa Era. Now, the exhibitions, especially the regional exhibitions are held in many regions. Almost of all the regional goverments have the section of parks or the section of green planning which take positive part in such exhibitions. It is ironical that the administrative controls denied once the places of popular amusement as they were not suitable for the modern cities, but now they take positive part in planning such exhibitions that can be said a kind of crowd gathering in amusement places. Certainly they denied folk culture, but now they seem to change their attitude. It never changes to make the parks under the administrative initiative. It cannot be denied that the parks are planned under it, though the citizen participate to their planning. Such system of the parks cannot survive if it does not satisfy the people who need parks. We can understand it from the examples that the middle class in the cities who needed parks created the original systems and designs of the parks which we can see today.

Once from the end of 19th century to 1920s and 1930s in Germany, the parks called "Volkspark" were constructed. The Volksparks were designed to satisfy what all the old, young, men and women wished. Such an idea as making parks which can satisfy all the people has never appeared in our history in all over the world except in Germany and in any period but in this period. Planning the parks, they usually design the parks for children or the sports parks and they design several parks according to different purposes and different users. Designing the parks which could satisfy all the people was too ideal to realise and was not successful. It was only in Germany and in this period that such parks were tried to construct. I would like to say the ideals of the parks which the administration should build today should design and arrange the parks in which all the people can be satisfied with what they wish to experience.

There remains one question whether the upper class are so eager to have the parks as those in 19th century. Is it the administrative work to widen the ideas of the

parks to, for example, water front, historic sites or resort places and to answer the various needs that the people have? I think it helpful to interpret the history of the parks and to know for whom the parks were made and who wished them in order to solve the problems that the system of the parks has today.

Notes

- 1) Documents of The Cabinet. BookII, Vol.105. (1871-1877)
- 2) Notes of Proceedings on the Tokyo City Improvement and Harbor Construction. (1885)
- 3) Tanaka, S., Public Parks in Japan, 1974
- 4) *ibid.* 2)
- 5) Association for the Commemoration of Doctor Conder(ed.), Works of Doctor Conder, 1933
- 6) Shirahata, Y., Public Gardens in the Modernization (The Research Institute for Humanic Studies Kyoto University, The Zinbun Gakuho; Journal of Humanistic Studies, Vol153, 1982)
- 7) Minute Book of the Tokyo Municipal Assembly, No.27 (1899)
- 8) Shirahata, Y., Cherry Blossom Viewing and the City of Edo [Nakamura, K. (ed.), Cities in History, 1986]
- 9) Robert Fortune, Yedo and Peking, 1863. [Translation into Japanese by Miyake, K., 1969] See, for example, Aimé Humbert, Le Japon Illustré, 1870 [translation into Japanese by Takahashi, K., 2vols. 1969]
- 10) see for example; Diaries of the Envoys Sent Abroad [vol.1, 2, 3, 1928-1930]
- 11) Malcomson, R., Popular Recreation in English Society 1700-1850, 1973
Kawashima, A., Rational Recreation in 19th Century [Nakamura, K. (ed.) Social History of the Cities, 1983]
- 12) Hennebo, D., Der Stadtpark [Grote, L. (ed.) Die deutsche Stadt im 19. Jahrhundert, 1975] see also Shirahata, Y., German City Parks -Their Origin and Development (1) (2) [Journal of the Japanese Institute of Landscape Architects, vol.43 no.4, vol.44 no.1, 1979, 1980]
- 13) *ibid.* 8)
- 14) Takahashi, R., Memorial Parks in Japan [Parks and Open Spaces, vol.4, 1970]
- 15) Shirahata, Y., Sekiguchi Eitaro -the Introducer of the Concept of "Volkspark" to Japan [Institute of Landscape Architecture, Kyoto Univ. (ed.) History and Culture of Landscape Architecture, 1986]

白幡 洋三郎

1. 制度としての公園

日本の近代的都市公園制度の歴史は、1873（明治6）年に始まるというより、もっとも、ここで言う近代的都市公園制度とは、西洋の制度をモデルにした、もしくは模範にしたという程度の意味である。したがって近代的とは、西洋的という表現では置き換えられるものである。

1868年に誕生した明治政府のもと、1873年に今の内閣にあたる太政官は、次のような布告を各県に発した。

「三府を始め、人民輻輳の地にして、古来の勝区、名人の旧跡等、是迄群集遊観の場所（東京に於ては金龍山浅草寺、東叡山寛永寺境内の類。京都に於ては八坂社、清水の境内、嵐山の類、総て社寺境内除地或は公有地の類。）従前高外除地に属せる分は、永く万人借楽の地とし、公園と相定め被る可きに付、府県に於て右地所を択ひ、其景況巨細取調、図面相添、大蔵省へ伺出ず可き事」¹⁾

この布告によって、まず東京に五つの公園が誕生した。その五つの公園とは、浅草公園、芝公園、上野公園、深川公園、飛鳥山公園である。飛鳥山は享保（1800年代初期）に江戸幕府が造成した花見の場所であるが、その他4つはいずれも寺社の境内である。以後各県が次々に公園開設の申請を行い、明治、大正年間に全国でおよそ400カ所近くの公園が誕生した。

期 間	開設数	期 間	開設数
明 6	24	明31-35	46
明 7-10	43	明36-40	42
明11-15	29	明41-45	54
明16-20	20	大 2-5	63
明21-25	18	大 6-10	40
明26-30	18	大11-15	47

表1 明治・大正における公園開設数

内務省会計課「地盤国有ニ属スル公園一覧表」（昭和8年）および、高橋理喜男「太政官公園の成立とその実体」（「造園雑誌」第38巻第4号、1975）、同「日本におけるメモリアル・パーク」（「公園緑地」第4号、1970）より作成。

その間都市計画史上の重要な出来事として東京市区改正があるが、都市公園史からみても東京市区改正は、たいへん重要な出来事である。そしてそこには、後の日本都市公園史を特徴づける二つの面が見いだせる。

第一は、計画上の基準を欧米都市を模範として設定したこと。第二は、常に行政が主導して公園を計画し、デザインし、配置したことである。

では、この時期の都市公園にとって、どれほど欧米の都市公園が模範であると思われていたかという第1の特徴についてまず、例を挙げてみよう。

1888年の市区改正案を生み出す母体となった1884年の市区改正審査会の中の公園計画案では、ロンドン・パリ・ベルリン・ウィーンを欧州の4大都市とみなし、これら4都市の人口や市域面積に対する公園数及び公園面積が日本の首都東京の公園が理想とすべき数字の根拠となっていた。4大都市の公園の平均をとって、人口2万人、面積1.2平方キロメートルあたり1公園が目安とされた。そこで、当時の東京市（明治15年=1882年の統計を基として）の人口88万人、面積55平方キロメートルに対し、人口からみて44カ所（ $88 \div 2 = 44$ ）、面積からみて45カ所（ $55 \div 1.2 \approx 45$ ）の公園が必要だと算定されたのである。²⁾

もちろんもっと詳細に、各区の人口や面積を勘案し、細かな検討が加えられていたが、まず決定された大遊園9カ所、小遊園43カ所という数字は、欧州4大都市を模範とする姿勢から出たものに他ならなかった。また、のちの市区改正案のなかでは、大小の区別と遊園の名称をやめ、49カ所の「公園」が計画されたが、西洋に範をとる基本姿勢には、全く変わりがなかった。日本の都市東京にどのような空間が必要とされているかを根拠にするのではなく、先進国ではどれくらい空間があるかということがまず検討され、その結果に基づいて日本の公園のあるべき量が求められたのであった。

第2の特徴である、公園設置への行政の積極的なかわりを述べてみよう。それは、上に述べた欧州4大都市の統計から出てきた数字に見合うよう、江戸時代から庶民に利用されている既存の広場、すなわち寺社の境内、火除地などを拾い出して公園と指定したという事実が、その点を最も明らかにしてくれる。すなわち、公園になるかならないかは、庶民の利用状態を根拠にしたのではなくて、行政が公園と指定するか否かだけにかかっていた。結局、市区改正公園は、既存の庶民の公園の一部をを行政的に追認したものにほかならず、行政が、これまで全くなかった公園を創り出したのではなかったのである。これら東京市区改正時に公園に指定されたもののうち、数にして70パーセント、面積で80パ

一セントもの場所が、江戸名所図会に描かれた庶民の遊覧の地であった³⁾、そのほか江戸名所図会に現れないが元大名邸跡もいくつかあった。つまり、初期の公園のほとんどすべては、結局江戸時代の遺産に依存していたのである。皮肉を込めて言えば、日本における近代都市公園制度とは、従来の庶民の公園の考えを狭めたものに過ぎなかったとも言える。さらに、欧米先進国がいかに模範と思われていたかの例をもう一つ挙げてみよう。市区改正委員会の席上で、1委員が述べた発言のなかに

「浅草、芝の公園は、彼の「パークモンソー」のごとく市民逍遙場と為し、上野公園も農商務省より東京府に譲り受けて彼の「ボードブロンギョ」の如く内外貴顕紳士の会園と為し・・・」⁴⁾

というくだりがある。この発言にはには、ひょっとして少々気恥ずかしさも込められていたかもしれないが、真剣に、パリ、ロンドン、ベルリンに負けない都市東京を創り出したいという気持ちがあったことも窺わせる。またここには、ヨーロッパ先進国の事例を列挙することによって、自分たちの提案により説得力をもたせようとする意図も働いていただろう。これと同じ傾向の発言は他にも随所に見い出せる。つまり、欧米先進国の例は、都市計画上の懸案を方向づける際に大きな力をもったということにはほかならない。その後この意見に対して、若干の修正意見は出されたが、基本的には了承されたのである。

このように、公園という制度、すなわち誰もが自由に利用できる空間を、自治体が造成し、管理するという制度を欧米に倣って確立することは、なんの疑問もなく当然の歴史的な方向性としてまず承認された。そして公園という空間を量的に確保する基準も、欧米なみが妥当であり、理想であると考えられた。もっとも、審査会案にみられる公園の理想は、資金面での障害などでそのまま実現されはしなかったが、それでもその理想は輝きを失わなかった。

では、公園の質的な側面、特にデザインの面で、日本の公園は欧米公園との関わりでどのような特徴をもっているだろうか。これについては、1884年頃から発想され、明治36年(1903)に、ようやく開園した日比谷公園の例を挙げるのがよいだろう。

現在の、日比谷公園の位置に、公園をつくと計画した最初の人物は、明治政府に雇われ、工部大学校(のちの東京帝国大学工学部)で建築を教えたジョサイア・コンドルである。彼が1885年に作成した、首都東京の中央官庁街計画の2枚の図面にあらわれる。⁵⁾しかしこれは、官庁街に取り囲まれた中庭ないしは広場といった趣の空間であり、後の日比谷公園計画には直接つながらない。ただこの地区が地盤軟弱であり、大建築物に

不向きであることがコンドルの予備地質調査で認識され、それが後の公園地としての利用の考えにつながったことは否定できない。

その後、さきに述べた市区改正案の成立によって、明治22(1889)年日比谷公園の造成が決定されたが、実際に公園設計が行われるのは、明治26年が最初である。それから明治34年に最終的な設計図が東京市会で可決決定されるまでに、部分的な改良案も含めて実に9つもの案が作られては否決された。⁶⁾否決された計画案はほとんどが日本風であり、洋風でないという点が批判されたと思われる。これに関する詳しい審議の様子は、記録が残っていないので不明ではあるが、とにかく洋風であること、近代都市としての東京にふさわしい近代的な公園が目標とされた。

日比谷公園設計案の概略図

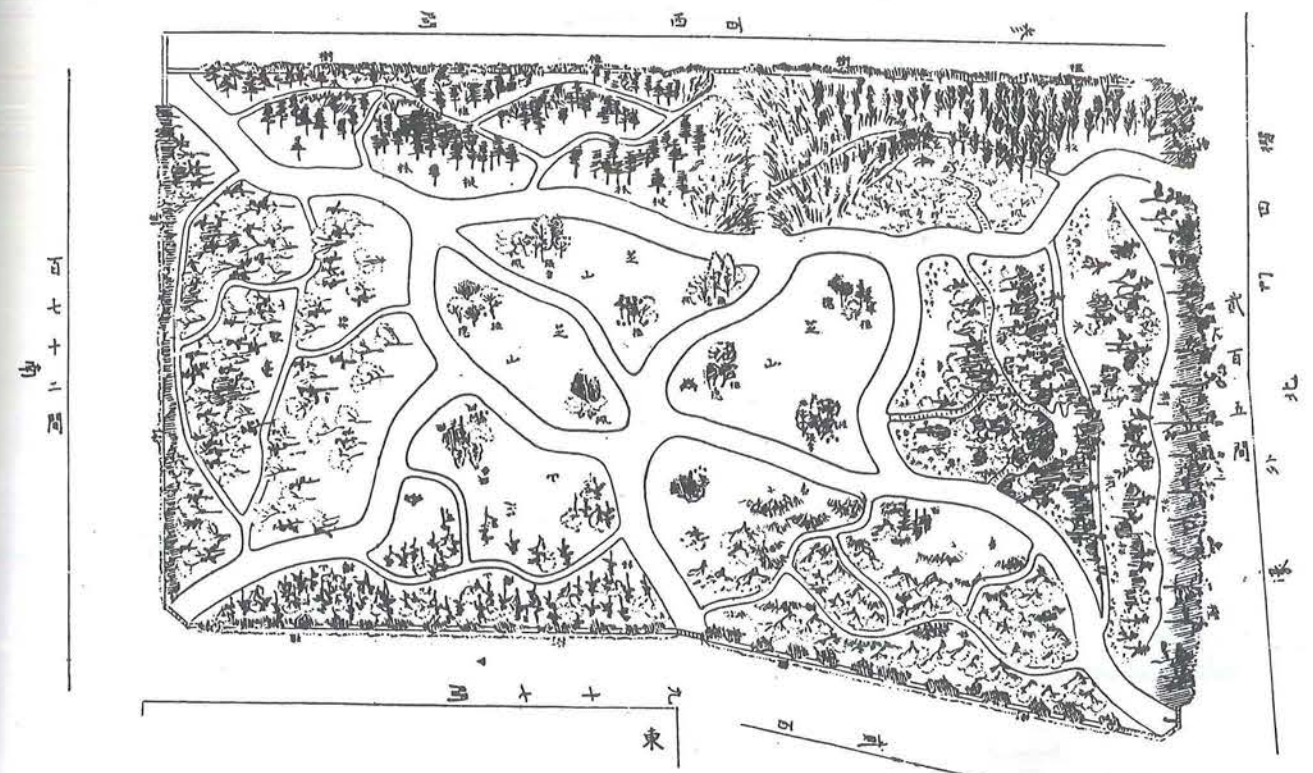


図1 日比谷公園設計案の1例、公園改良取調委員設計案(=東京市案、明治31年、東京都公園資料館蔵)

最終的に東京市会で可決されたのは、当時東京帝国大学農科大学の教授であった本多静六の描いた設計図であった。彼は、明治23年から25年にかけて、主として林学研究のためドイツに留学し、造園に関してもかなりの知識を得ていた。彼の設計図は、留学時に購入して持ち帰っていた、当時の代表的な都市公園設計図を参考にしてできあがったものであった。

日比谷公園の平面図

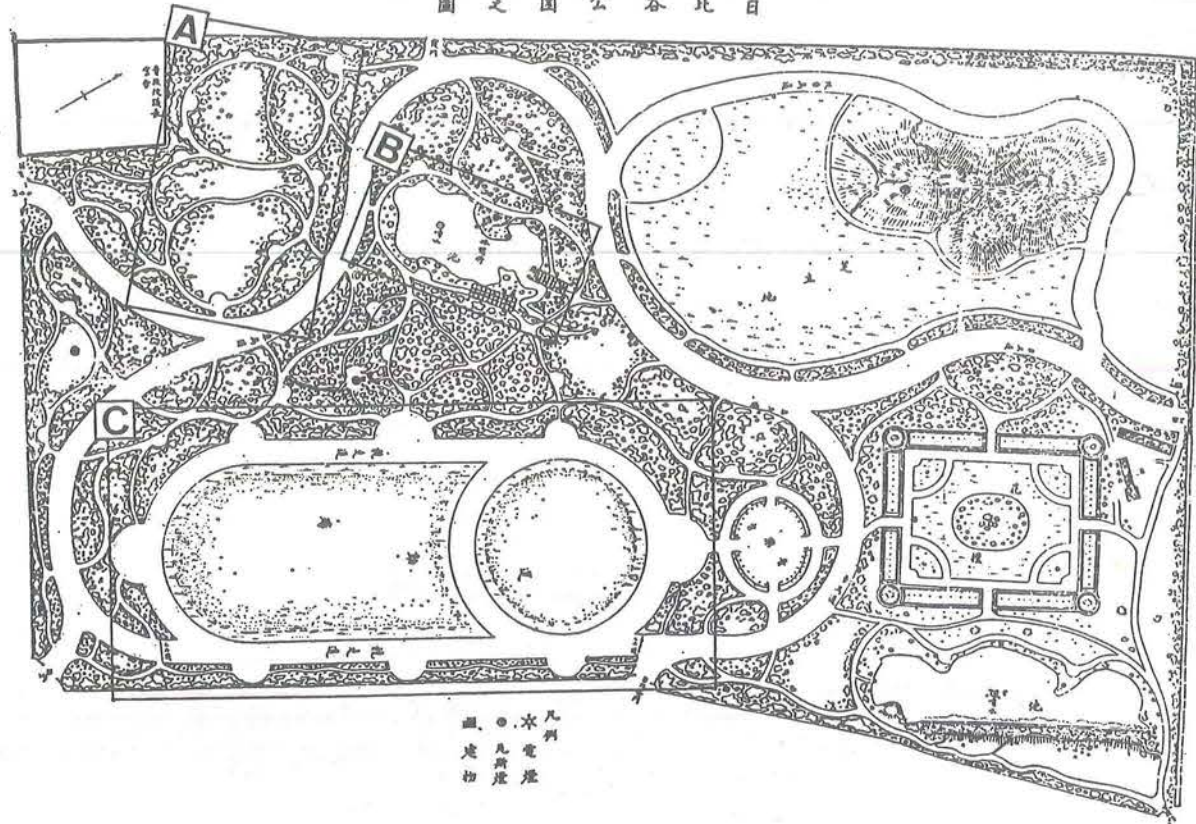


図2 日比谷公園の開園間もない頃の平面図 (本多静六設計、東京都公園資料館蔵)

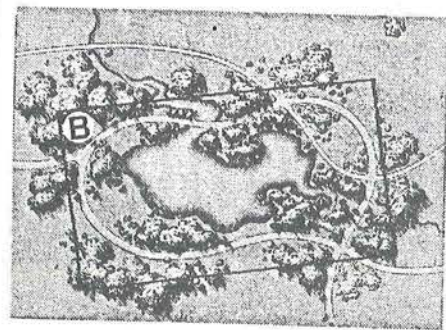
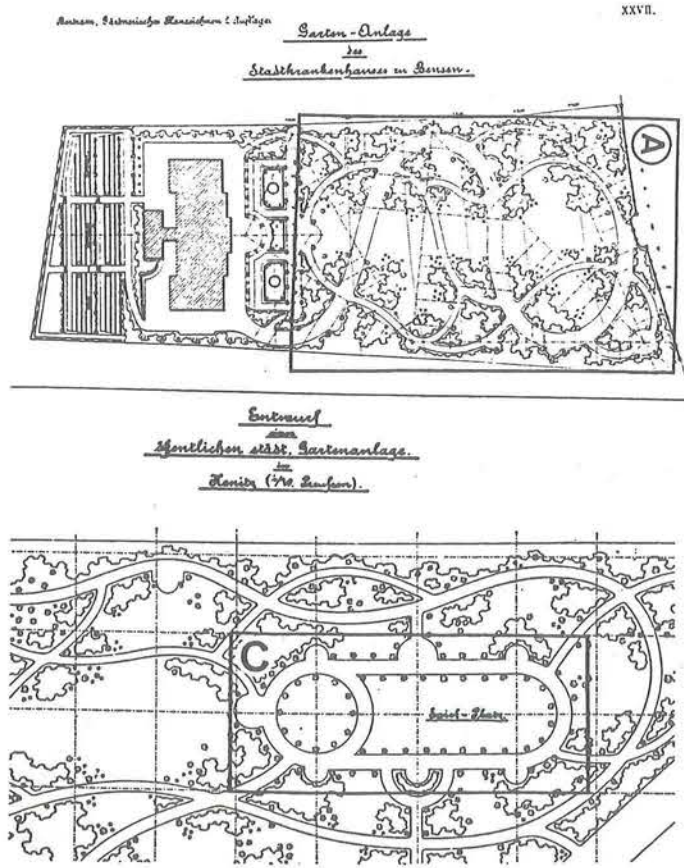


図3 図4 図5

図3、4、5の、A、B、Cは、本多静六がベルトラムの『造園設計図集』から参考にした部分。図2のA、B、C、各部分に対応する。

こうして、洋風、または欧風であるということが、設計された公園の妥当性と価値づけにおおいに影響をもったことは、明治32年に、なかなか日比谷公園設計案ができあがらため、これを促進する目的で出された「日比谷公園設計常設委員設置に関する建議」の中の次のような言葉が明らかにしてくれる。

「市区改正の設計に於て、本市公園地に指定せられたる場所は、其の数少なからずといえども、概ね神社仏閣の境内に過ぎずして、真に公園の体を備へ民衆借楽の地たるものは殆ど稀なり。そもそも欧米諸国の公園は、ただに美観を有し、借楽の便頗る多きのみならず、衛生上の注意亦た殊に深し。(句読点は筆者)」⁷⁾

すなわち、日本の伝統的な盛り場である神社や寺の境内は、公園の体をなしていないし、多数民衆のための娯楽休養施設となっているものはほとんどない、と断定している。さらに上の文章に続けて「欧米諸国を模範とせる公園」が必要だと結んでいる。このように、日本の初期公園制度を振り返ってみると、欧米が公園先進国と見なされ、欧米諸国の公園を模範として行政が強力な公園政策を指導するという体制が鮮やかに見いだせる。ここでは主として、東京での事例を挙げたにすぎないが、東京での事例が欧米に次ぐ模範とされ、これが全国の都市にとって、一種のサブ目標、サブ理想とされたことから、東京を代表例として考えることは十分妥当性がある。

2. 日本における固有の公園と欧米公園との出会い

日本近代都市計画の中の公園制度をふりかえってみると、欧米との接触が大きなきっかけであったことは容易に指摘できる。ではなぜ、欧米との接触が日本の公園行政を生み出し、さらにその後も欧米の公園は日本の公園を刺激しつづけたのであろうか。それを明らかにするために、日本の伝統的な公園の歴史を少々さかのぼってみたい。その際、公園とは、誰もが入れる公共の空間という程度の単純・漠然とした定義にしておきたい。この、漠然とした定義からスタートすると、日本の公園の歴史は、きわめて古くまでさかのぼることができる。特に、江戸時代、幕府の政権が安定する17世紀半ば以降、日本各地の都市で公園と呼ぶべき場所が生まれた。なかでも、八代將軍吉宗の時代には、さきに述べた東京の最初の5つの公園の一つである、飛鳥山が、花見の場所として開発され、その他、品川の御殿山、墨田川沿いの向島など、いずれも日本人の屋外レクリエーションの場として重要な花見の名所として、誕生し、のちに大勢の民衆をひきつける場所となった。⁸⁾これらは、ほとんど利用の制限がなく、誰もが自由に出入りできた空間として、日本固有の

公園といってよい。江戸時代を通じて、日本各地に、このような固有の公園が生まれ、庶民の屋外レクリエーションの場として十分に機能していた。

幕末の開国直後から日本を訪れた欧米人はみな、日本が緑豊かな国であると評した。たとえば、1860-61年に日本を訪れたスコットランド人植物・園芸学者ロバート・フォーチュンは、当時世界で最も人口の多い大都市の一つであった江戸を、緑につつまれた都会と見て、その美しさ、清潔さをほめたたえた。⁹⁾彼の目には、おそらくグラスゴー、バーミンガム、マンチェスター、ロンドンなど、産業革命をすでに体験し、煙突が林立するイギリスの大都市の姿が比較として映っていたのであろう。そのような、黒煙のたなびく産業都市に比べると、東京（江戸）は別世界のように、緑豊かな美しい都市だったろう。その当時東京はすでに、後の欧米人が理想とする公園都市を実現していたことになる。

ところが、おなじころロンドンやパリ、サンフランシスコ、ニューヨークなどを訪れた日本人たちは、ほとんど例外なく、これら欧米の大都市の華麗さと公園の美しさをたたえた。¹⁰⁾フォーチュンは、園芸学者であるから緑の多さに注目し、その美的な配置については、それほど意に介さなかったため、日本の都市の緑の無秩序がほとんど気にならなかったのだろう。そのため、欧米都市の秩序だった緑より、自然に近い江戸の緑を評価したのだとも考えられる。他方、日本人たちは自然に近い放置されたような緑より、人間の手が加わっていることが明らかな、欧米都市の秩序だった緑に感銘を受けたのである。

では、日本人が評価し、賛美した、当時のヨーロッパにおける公園はどのような背景から誕生したものであったかを見ておこう。後に日本がよく参考にしたイギリスとドイツを例にとる。

イギリスにおいて、近代的な公園が作られるようになったのは、19世紀のはじめ頃と言われる。その頃すでに産業革命は深く進行しており、都市に労働者が集中して、住環境の悪化が叫ばれていた。こうした悪い住環境に対して為政者がとにかく何らかの対策を立てざるを得なくなったことは否定できないが、イギリスにおける公園の誕生にはもう一つ、民衆のレクリエーションについての考え方が影響したといわざるを得ない。かつてイギリスでは、農村において、さまざまな民衆レクリエーションがみられたが、それらの中にはたとえば闘犬であったり、熊いじめであったり、人間の粗野な願望を満たす野蛮な遊びがあった。これらは一括して「ブラッド・スポーツ」と呼ばれることが多いが、都市の中流市民たちは、こうした粗暴なレクリエーションを嫌い、エレガントで穏やかなレクリエーションを望ましいと考えた。そのような望ましい娯楽は、イデオログたちによって「合

理的娯楽」とみなされ、称揚されたが、その代表的なものが芝生の上での談笑や憩いであり、ボート遊びなど公園での娯楽であった。こうして、公園での娯楽は、粗野で下品な農村起源の娯楽を否定するべく対置され、推賞されたのであった。¹¹⁾

ドイツにおいては、18世紀の終り頃、啓蒙主義的な考え方とうまく合致して、イギリスと同じように、粗野で下品な大衆を啓蒙するための施設として公園が考えられた。すなわち、おだやかな自然のなかで、散歩などエレガントな動きの娯楽を行うことによって、無教養で粗野な大衆にも、上品な振舞いが身につくと考えられた。しかし当時のドイツは、まだ30を越す領邦があり、統一国家が成立していなかったため、とくに公園のなかに愛国心を喚起するような記念碑や愛国者の銅像などを配置して、ばらばらな意識の民衆に国民としての意識を植え付けることが、支配階級からも大いに期待されたのである。¹²⁾

このように公園はイギリスにおいても、ドイツにおいても、単に民衆のレクリエーションを肯定し、それが行いうる場所を提供するために作られたのではなく、都市の中流に属する階級が、自分たちの生活の流儀、自分たちの娯楽をよいものとして、他の階級にもこれを押し付けようとしたものであった。つまりそれは、娯楽とはこうありたい、こうあるべきだという強烈な主張にほかならない。

庭園とは、本来個人のためのものであったが、初期の公園は公共の空間として現れた庭園としての性格が強く、それはヨーロッパではまずプロムナード、すなわち遊歩道のかたちをとった。遊歩道は、非日常的な服装をして散歩する、自らの振舞いや服装を見せびらかす場であり、それは、階級的な同一性を確認するために重要な社交であった。したがってのちの公園の主要なデザインが、このような社交を支える舞台装置にふさわしい芝生や遊歩道、花壇や植え込みを主たる要素としていたのは、当然のことだったのである。

こうして19世紀前半には、ヨーロッパ各国において公園の設置は流行と言うよりは都市の主人公である中流市民階級の絶対的な使命にまでなったのである。従って彼ら都市中流市民の主要な活動・生活の場である都市を装飾するものとしても公園は重要な役割を担っていた。開国以後に、欧米に出かけた日本人が、欧米大都市の華麗さに感激したのは、ちょうど各都市が公園を備える時期にぶつかったこともあるが、彼らが欧米の都市中流市民と共通する美意識をもった知識人や、指導者階級だったことを、証拠だてることにほかならない。公園が生まれた歴史的必然性は、このような施設をぜひ必要とする階級が存在したからである。日本の近代公園制度もそのような施設と制度をぜひ必要とする人々がいたからこそ生まれた。たとえそれが古くからある盛り場や名所に公園の名をかぶせただけ

のものであったとしても、盛り場や名所そのままではならなかった。公園制度を押し進めた人々はあきらかに、日本を先進国に仲間入りさせる必要があると思っていた人々であり、都市計画からみれば先進国と認められるにふさわしい都市が必要だと考える人々であった。公園の計画並びにその設置やデザインにおいて、わが国がいかに行政主導的な色彩が強いのはこのためである。都市公園制度からみて、欧米諸国の都市中流市民にあたる人々を、わが国でさがすとすれば、それは行政にたずさわる人々すなわち役人たちであった。

3 日本の初期公園史解釈からの1つの意見

日本の初期公園の考えには、欧米先進国の都市公園を、ものさしとして、それを模範とする考えが強くみられる。そのため、地域の特徴である固有の生活文化をデザインのなかに生かす努力が希薄であったといえよう。それがひいては伝統的な盛り場を小品であるとみなして否定したり、花見の名所を健全でないとしてないがしろにする態度につながっている。

日本の伝統的な「公園」の代表的なものは花見の名所である。花見の名所は、3つの要素から成り立っている。その3つとは、花、群集、飲食である。花は、静かな鑑賞にもびったりだが、群集もひきだす。群集は日本の民衆が心地よいと感じる舞台装置、雰囲気づくりに、なくてはならない。そして、飲食がなければ、コミュニケーションは成り立たない。このうちどれが欠けても、日本では花見の名所として、すなわちわが国固有の公園として成り立たない。¹³⁾初期の公園計画は、花こそ否定しなかったものの、騒ぎ群れ集う群集は、公園利用者として不適格であると考えられたし、飲食は、酒を伴うことが多いため、好ましくないとして拒否された。もっとも、だからといって、かつての伝統的な盛り場が公園制度から全く締め出されたのではなく、東京市区改正公園のところで例を挙げたように、多くの名所、盛り場は公園に指定された。つまり、伝統的な固有の文化は、積極的ではないにせよ、ともかくある程度保護されたのである。しかしそれらは理想的な公園であるとは見なされなかった。日比谷公園の設計における和風の拒否は、このような当時の指導者層の信条が顕在化したものであった。

日比谷公園の設計が行われた明治後半期の公園史の特徴は、国家的なイベントが、公園の誕生や、デザインの基礎を提供していたことに現れている。殖産興業をスローガンに、博覧会場が公園としてつくられ、また、日清・日露の戦勝記念の会場として、公園がデザ

インされたり、整備された。¹⁴⁾ について、大正・昭和戦前期には、都市公園の計画や配置を担っていた内務省の都市計画局を中心に、ドイツの地方計画理論や都市緑地理論が大いに紹介・導入された。すなわち、ドイツにおける都市面積に対する公園緑地面積の基準や、都市人口に対する公園面積、ならびにあらたな都市公園の都市域内配置理論が導入された。またドイツの都市で誕生し、アメリカ合衆国に導入された児童公園の考えも導入され、都市に住む子供のための安全な遊び場の提供にも計画の手がのびた。しかし、いずれも、国家・行政主導型という、従来の日本公園史の特徴からはずれないし、また、ドイツやアメリカの都市公園の考え、配置・設計理論の導入という、欧米先進国を模範とする姿勢には変わりがなかった。わが国都市公園制度のなかには、明治初期のみならず、昭和戦前までは一貫して、はじめに挙げた2つの特徴が生き続けたのであった。

いま日本は、博覧会特に地方博と呼ばれるイベントが各地で次々行われている。今は地方博の時代だなどともいわれる。そして、現在のわが国地方公共団体にほとんど洩れなく存在している公園課や緑地課は、この企画に積極的に参加している。かつて、民衆の盛り場を、近代的な都市になじまないとして否定した公園行政が、盛り場づくりとしての博覧会に精を出しているのは皮肉といえなくもない。かつての民衆文化否定の姿勢に方向転換がみられるのは確かだが、しかし公園づくりが、行政主導型であることにはほとんど変わりが無い。また、各地の博覧会で、市民参加が打ち出されているものの、やはり博覧会の企画も、行政主導型であることは否定しがたい。だが、これからの公園制度は、かつて公園を必要とした都市中流市民が、現在にまで続く公園の形や制度の原型を創り出したように、いま公園を必要とする人々の望む形と制度でなければ、長続きしないものとなるだろう。

かつてドイツでは、19世紀後半から20世紀の20-30年代にかけて、フォルクスパルクという公園が作られた。これは老若男女、全ての階層の要求が1つの公園で、満たされるようにと、デザインされたものであった。万人が満足できる公園という発想は、世界中を見渡してみても、歴史上この時期のドイツでしかあらわれたことがない。¹⁵⁾ 公園設計の主流は、一貫して児童公園やスポーツ公園というふうな、利用者別、機能別に作ることで形成されてきた。万人が満足できる公園のデザインは、あまりにも理想主義的であり、結局、十分な成功を収めたとはいいいくいが、この時期のドイツを除いて、考えられたことがないのは確かである。あえていま、公園行政が担うべき理想をいうならば、こうした万人が満足できる公園のデザインを発見・発明することではないだろうか。

もっとも、従来のような公園を望む人々が、今も19世紀の中流市民ほど情熱的で、また多数いるかどうかが問題となろう。公園に対する新しい要望に応え、たとえばウォーカー・フロントや、遺跡公園、あるいは公園概念をもっと広げて、リゾートの整備に至るまで、多様化し、各方面に分散した民衆の要求に、公園行政が応える必要があるのかどうか。現在の公園制度が抱えているこのような諸問題に、公園ならびに公園制度は誰のために生まれ、誰が望んで生まれたかという公園の歴史の思想的解釈が、いまこそ役立つときであろう。

注

- 1) 太政類典第二編第百十五巻。
- 2) 東京市区改正品海築港審査議事筆記。
- 3) 田中正大『日本の公園』昭和49年。
- 4) 上掲2)。
- 5) コンドル博士記念表彰会編『コンドル博士遺作集』昭和8年。
- 6) 白幡「近代化の中の公園」[京都大学人文科学研究所『人文学報』第53号、1982年]。
- 7) 東京市会議事録、第27号、明治32年。
- 8) 白幡「花見と江戸」[中村賢二郎編『歴史のなかの都市』1986年]。
- 9) ロバート・フォーチュン『江戸と北京』[三宅馨訳、1969年]。その他にも、例えばエーメ・アンベール『アンベール幕末日本図絵』(上)(下)[高橋邦太郎訳 1969]など参照。
- 10) たとえば『遣外使節日記纂輯』[第1、2、3、1928-1930年]参照。
- 11) Malcomson, R.: Popular Recreation in English Society 1700-1850. 1973. 及び川島昭夫「19世紀の合理的娯楽」[中村賢二郎編『都市の社会史』1983年]。
- 12) Hennebo, D.: Der Stadtpark. [Grote, L. (ed.): Die deutsche Stadt im 19. Jahrhundert. 1975.] 及び白幡「ドイツ都市公園の成立と展開」(1)(2)[「造園雑誌」第43巻第4号、第44巻第1号、1979、1980年]。
- 13) 上掲8)
- 14) 高橋理喜男「日本におけるメモリアル・パーク」[「公園緑地」第4号、1970年]。
- 15) 白幡「日本へのフォルクスパークの紹介者関口鉄太郎」[京都大学造園学研究室編『造園の歴史と文化』1986年]。

ANALYSIS OF GERMAN CITY PLANNING INFLUENCES UPON JAPAN

by

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1. IN THE BEGINNING

The industrialization which began from the rise of city in medieval times and from modern industrial revolution has been making human society more simplified, connected with productivity and expanded organization system. Cities having similar productive structure have also similar city problems, so are the way of solving problems. As city management is based on the worldwide principle - industry, it has been the tasks of city planning to measure and systematize cities, to manage physically and to support mass production. In other words, city problems have been trying to exclude factors of both originality and variety of nationalization, regionalism and socialization. Until quite recently, as Germany has been an advanced country in the field of city planning, Japan has learned only the agreeable side of city planning system of that country, and accepted it after changing it for its own style. Here, I am going to analyze factors, which Japan has modeled after Germany, then, to make clear of the influence and to suggest the basic way of future city planning. In this study, I would like to start cooperating city planning study between Japan and Germany.

2. METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The most authoritative academic organization in Japan is Japan city planning organization. Among theses issued here, 21 studies about German city planning systems for the past 10 years have been selected. Through comparing subjects, classifying them, and studying about the practical situation, influences toward Japan

are evaluated for either negative or affirmative.

3. GERMAN CITY PLANNING SYSTEMS INTRODUCED IN THE PROCESS OF FORMING JAPANESE SYSTEMS

I am going to make out what systems have been introduced to Japan after analyzing major theses. I can summarize as follows;

1) SYNTHETIC

Preussisches Fluchtliniengesetz is a main task for study. About the way of content understanding, it is supposed to be a road planning method, or aesthetic zoning method, or a land development with fragmentation method depending on the standpoint of the subject. That is, the content has been introduced within the range of interest of a man in charge who need the law. But it is not denied that there was a great influences to the system regulation process upon Japanese city planning, which included mainly prohibiting rules led by the administration initiative.

2) BUILDING LINE (*Fluchtliniengesetz*)

Building code of urban area system which set up in Urban Building Law in 1919 is evidently followed after *Preussisches Fluchtliniengesetz*. About setting the location of road project, "District Development Planning System" in 1980 is followed after.

3) LAND DEVELOPMENT WITH FRAGMENTATION

Arable Land Development with Fragmentation Law in 1988 was decided with reference to German system, and the law in 1909 is succeeded by the 1988 Law, so the influence of Germany is also succeeded. Special city planning law (War Damage Reconstruction) in 1923 is formed with reference to English translated Adickes Law. It contributed to the war damage reconstruction greatly.

4) ROAD AND TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM

As the importance of road adjustment has been well known through *Preussisches Fluchtliniengesetz*, arterial roads were adjusted, On the other hand, other roads were not adjusted. But checkered roads planning method is fixed. As a result, road laws are also greatly influenced by German system.

5) ZONING SYSTEM

Zoning systems in Old City Planning Law and Urban Building Law is influenced by the conception for safty, hygiene, transportation, economy and scenery over urban area, which is regulated by industrial zoning in Germany.

6) REGULATION OF AESTHETIC AND NATURE CONSERVATION ZONING

A street landscape has been known since I got to know *Preussisches Fluchtliniengesetz*, aesthetic zoning regulated after Old City Planning Law, and nature conservation zoning regulated after Urban Building Law. Especially what an aesthetic zoning district has been developed as the integration of the Emperor system, Fasism and recial culture, may be said that it is affected toward city planning by German absolutism and the 3rd Empire.

7) BUILDING HEIGHT REGULATION

Building height regulation (*Staffelbauordnung*) was substancially applied in making architectual ensemble for large width of road and aesthetic zoning district. Marunouchi (Tokyo) district is one of the examples.

8) SOCIAL POLICY

As the importance of social policy toward city and housing has been insisted since the end of Meiji period, hygienic concept and its realization for zoning system regulation were introduced.

9) CITY PLANNING ADMINISTRATION

The city planning and architecture are also regulated by the Ministry of the National Home Office in Japan. These plannings have been ordered one-sidedly by the government office, and it has begun the same city planning system from pre-war till high economic growth times in post-war. After World War II, both countries have newly organized the special administration for city planning.

As stated above, I made it clear German influences toward Japanese city planning systems. But it is only limited in order to enrich and strengthen the country under the government of that times, to maintain the Emperor system, and to govern the absolutism by Fasism. We can see that they tried to get over the modernization

of industry under feudal thought and politics. So was Germany as the same situation, as Waimar Republic was followed after the monarchy of Prussia. With the 3rd Empire in centralization sustained by advanced technology, Japan has concluded triple alliance - Japan, Germany, Italy - and in fact Japan had to be learned. Furthermore, German systems have affected Japanese post-war city planning as well to the pre-war city planning. Because Japan adopted pre-war systems as they are or that of improving ones. Especially restrictive local readjustment - Local Development Plan (*Bebauungsplan*) - of land development with fragmentation and *Bauleitplanung* are mainly studied in order to develop local plan system. But it doesn't seem well known that already in Medieval times, city allotment has been made similar to that of Germany.

4. GERMAN CITY PLANNING SYSTEMS UNABLE TO INTRODUCE

The thought which German city planning was only media in order to realize the whole future image of city government has, not been introduced. Consequently, city planning is considered as national problems, so it is applied as mending means for safety, survey technique of land development, fixing road planning and landuse. Even now city planning as a total policy is not considered rightly.

In Prussian big cities, experts on city planning have been proposing that city planning should be separated from police administration, and be integrated to local government. That is; they insisted city planning should be a method of a independent field. Japan didn't understand at all about this point of view. City planning is only introduced as long as it exercises power by force, and it is studied only the practical, industrial area. As a result, Japan accepted it fragmentarily. We may also say the same about the way of accepting "District Development Planning System".

5. SUMMARY

Japan has never understood city planning essentially until now, because it introduced German city planning system fragmentarily and technically according to the administration policy at that time. Furthermore, it does not understand well that city planning in Germany is constantly trying to develop with the change of society and that it is living media. As the study in Japan emphasizes that of historical aspect or analyzing subjects, it is difficult to evaluate the present situation. In this point of view, I have been trying to supply it through "City Planning" explaining plainly German city planning system since 1977, and practicing it. But we must not forget that of the city planning system, such as pedestrian zone, which gave influence widely to a lot of Japanese cities, even if it has not mentioned in these. But what is more important is we should always receive an example which is good for people, and also we should have the attitude to learn it, even if it looks like imitating temporarily.

ドイツ都市計画制度が日本に及ぼした影響に関する研究

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1. はじめに

古くは中世の都市興隆から近代の産業革命から始まった工業化は、一重に生産性の向上と産業システムの肥大化に結び付いた、人間社会の単純化を助長してきている。産業構造が類似した都市では、都市問題も類似し、それらへの対応ないし決策も比較的類似してきたようである。それは産業という万国共通の経済原則で都市経営が成立していたことから、都市を計量化し、システム化し、フィジカルに取り扱い、マस्पロダクションを支援するのが、都市計画の課題であった。言葉を変えれば、国民性や地域性あるいはまた社会性等の固有ないし多様性等のファクターを排除する役目を都市計画が担っていたといえよう。ドイツは、つい最近まではそうした意味での都市計画先進国であったので、日本は、日本にとって都合の良い面に集中してドイツの都市計画諸制度を学び、自分流の制度に援用してきた経緯があり、日本がドイツに似せてきた側面が認められるので、その内容について分析し、影響のネガティブな面とポジティブな面を明らかにし、今後の都市計画と先進事例への対処の仕方についての根底を提示し、日独の都市計画学研究的相互交流の端緒にしたいと考える。

2. 解析の方法

日本の都市計画に関する最も権威ある学術団体は日本都市計画学会であるので当該学会に発表された論文のうち、ドイツ都市計画等の制度に関する研究を過去10年間を遡り、各発表者の21研究論文の内容比較を行い、ドイツの日本の都市計画制度への影響内容を選別し、その実際への評価を提示する。

3. 日本の主要研究者によるドイツ都市計画研究成果の解析

主として明治後期、大正時代そして戦後復興期に対応するためにドイツ都市計画制度がどのように導入されたかについて、研究者のそれぞれの角度で以下

のような分析結果が得られた。

1) 小林重敬(1978)

土地の用途規制は旧都市計画法と市街地建築物法に用途地域制として初めて本格的な制度化が行われ、市街地建築物法の5つの目的を笠原敏郎の指摘を引用して、保安、衛生、交通、経済、美観を挙げ、それへのドイツの工業地域指定の考え方が強く影響をしていることを指摘している。また、ドイツ都市計画のある部分が建築警察の管轄下であったことを受けて、日本でも建築物規制には警察権が必要であるという当時の主張を挙げている。

2) 今井洋子(1979)

都市の環境衛生は明治10年頃以降のコレラ流行を契期として漸く日本においても、社会の関心を集め始めたものの、衛生家達の市区改正に対する無関心な態度に対して、森林太郎が批判をしたことを指摘している。森は明治17-21年にかけてドイツに留学し、そこで衛生家として西洋諸国の都市の動向を鋭敏に捉え、帰国した明治21-23年にかけて、在野の批評家として、住宅の衛生問題を中心に、衛生上の観点から市区改正について論じ、状況の改善に貢献したことを指摘している。また、森は衛生面から地域制の概念を導入すべきことを主張していたことを明らかにしている。

3) 檜崎俊郎(1979)

大正13年に「ドイツ都市における土地区画整理」が東京施政調査会でまとめられたことを指摘し、その中にハイデルベルクの事例があり、私有地より公有地の減歩率の方が異常に高い事を拾い出して、指摘している。

4) 池田孝之(1979)

旧市街地建築物法に創設された建築線制度は、戦前、地方行政庁(東京は警視庁)によって多面的に運用され、新設建物の壁面を後退させて道路を計画的に確保しようとした。また、これは特に市街化進行地域に適用されたことを指

摘している。

5) 小林重敬、炭崎勉、大場悟(1981)

三宅磐が明治後期に、ベルリン、エッセン等ドイツの土地増価税法あるいは法案を日本に紹介し、池田広が大正7年の都市計画法の審議過程においてこの土地増価税法を都市計画財源としての税目に入れたことを指摘している。しかし、この土地増価税法は棚上げにされて旧都市計画法は成立したものの、ドイツ都市政策は少なからず、日本に影響を与えたことは事実と言えよう。

6) 池田孝之、石田頼房(1981)

プロイセン建築線法における建築線の概念は、①建築自由の制限、②突出制限、③後退建築線、④予定線(街路・広場)の4点に集約できるとし、日本の市街地建築物法では①と②がほぼ共通規定であり、③と④は但し書きによる運用となっているものの、両者の法的性格は類似していることを指摘している。

また、このプロイセン建築線法の概念を日本に紹介したのは1880年の内務省警視局や1887年の内務省警保局等の資料に、詳細に紹介されているのを始め、多様に研究されていたことを明らかにしている。特に、建築法案に規定する建築線はプロシア建築線をそのまま踏襲したことを指摘している。

7) 塩崎賢明(1981)

池田宏、片岡安、渡辺鉄歳、菊池慎らの都市計画と道路との関わりについて分析し、彼らは交通体系、街路と建築線および沿道建築制度、直角又はそれを基盤とする縦横線を用いて、地形に応じた道路、街路景観(風地・美観)、衛生面での道路、防災面での道路の整備を主張していたことを指摘している。また、片岡は広幅員道路を都市の晴れの場として文化の程度を示し、その美観を表現する場として捉えていることを指摘している。さらに、池田はプロシアの都市計画を多く学び、建築線法を高く評価し、イギリス流の都市計画を学ばなかったと、ドイツに傾注していたことを指摘している。

8) 中林 浩(1982)

1930年代は景観や都市美を計画行為を通して積極的に実現しようとした動きが表面化した時期であったことと、旧都市計画法の風地地区指定を本格的に実施されたのもこの時期であったことを指摘している。そして片岡安の風地・都市美論を紹介し、また足立富士夫のそれでは「地域あるいは国民の精神的統一の手段として評価するもの、他人(特に外国人)の眼を意識した『みせるため』の景観整備の必要性をとくもの」との主張を引用し、片岡は『みせるため』の風地・都市美論であったと指摘している。この風地指定は1926年の東京明治神宮外苑であった。

9) 伊藤 孝(1978)

大正4年に旧都市計画法と市街地建築物法が公布され、都市計画法は国家の管理下に置かれ、事業法という性格を帯びていたとしている。しかし用途地域における混乱を規制するために、地域地区制を採用し風地の維持と美観の増進を図る地区を特定した点は、市区改正条例と根本的に異なっているとされている。つまり、旧都市計画法では風地地区、市街地建築物法では美観地区を定めた。この内美観地区は、昭和48年4月に皇居周辺を取り囲む地区293Haを指定したことと、それを受けて警視庁が建築物の高度制限を告示した(昭和9年4月)ことを明らかにしている。そして、その指定の目的は、天皇制の維持・強化のシンボルであり、ファシズムへの思想動員の道具として機能し、美的価値観を絶対的な天皇制に結び付けることによって、国民を文化的、精神的に支配することにあつたと指摘している。

10) 大村謙二郎(1981)

プロイセン建築線法が、影響力の大きい点では、近代ドイツ都市計画法の出発点になったと断言している。その理由としては、それまで建築警察の権限であった道路線と建築線の指定を市町村への移管と道路に関する諸規定を挙げ、道路を中心とした秩序立った空間を形造っていく考えの法的基礎を成したとし

ている。しかし問題点としては、個々の建築規制が建築警察の手であって、統一的な都市計画の執行が困難であったことを挙げている。

11) 堀江興(1982)

大正時代はドイツ都市計画制度が参考になって、区画整理手法が生み出されたる要因となり、震災復興計画に大きく貢献したことを紹介し、第Ⅱ次世界大戦後は、この区画整理事業の実績が戦災復興事業にも大きく貢献したことを指摘している。

12) 大方潤一郎(1984)

近代都市計画の原形を把握しようとするなら、第1に検討しなくてはならないのはドイツ近代都市計画制であるとし、日本に与えた影響の大きさを指摘している。その具体的内容は従来の研究者による成果と同じである。

13) 片倉健雄(1985)

内田祥三の発言を引用し、明治39年に東京市長から建築学会に委嘱をし、6年を費やして策定された「東京市建築条令」が「市街地建築物法」の制定に対して、大いに参考にされた、とうことを紹介している。

14) 渡辺俊一(1985)

片岡安はドイツ語を理解し得ていず、ドイツの都市計画制度をアメリカ人のルイス講演録を通して知り得たものの、英語を誤解していることからドイツ都市計画を誤解した。その影響を受けて、当時、都市拡大へのコントロール手法として、用途地域性の導入が考えられ訳だが、それについての理解を誤り、片岡は郊外を含む都市総体のコントロールには不十分であることを主張した、と指摘している。しかしドイツの都市計画自体には関心を寄せていた。

15) 安食篤志、山川仁(1986)

1919(大正8)年に旧道路法、旧都市計画法および市街地建築物法が公布され、日本の都市計画の法体系がほぼ揃ったと指摘。しかし、道路法は1890年(明治23年)頃から検討が開始されたものの、当時の富国強兵政策の下では海運と鉄道が中心であり、道路の重要性が十分に認識されなかった事から、制定まで30年もの年月を要したことを指摘。しかし、1875年プロシア街路線及び建築線法の内容は1886年に日本に知られておりながら、末端の道路計画までは手がおよばなかったように、日本の道路法の未熟を指摘している。

16) 大方潤一郎(1986)

社会政策学会を拠点とする社会政策学者は、明治末年より西欧先進諸国における都市・住宅政策への正確な理解に基づく都市・住宅論を展開し始め、具体的な内容はほぼドイツに範を求めたのであったと指摘している。

17) 石田頼房、波多野憲男、鈴木栄基(1987)

ドイツ諸都市の耕地整理法が日本の耕地整理法の編成に際し紹介され、バイエルン耕地整理法(1886)が1897年に紹介されていることを指摘。1988年に制定された日本の耕地整理法がドイツの制度を参考にしていることは明らかであるとし、1909年の耕地雄整理法もそれお素にしていることを指摘し、また、アヂケス法がドイツ耕地整理の伝統を受け継いで立案されたことも事実であることを指摘している。1923年の特別都市計画法(戦災復興)は英訳のアヂケス法を参考にして制定されたとことは明らかな、と指摘している。

18) 大方潤一郎(1987)

池田宏の都市計画の概念は、都市全体を対象とする内容であり、当時のドイツのBebauungsplanの実態とまことに良く符号したものであると指摘している。また、1933年土地区画設計標準(内務次官通達)は、地区プランの基準を示したと見ることができ、Bebauungsplanにも似た計画法的な内容を認められ

ることの指摘をしている。

19) 大村謙二郎 (1983)

1891年フランクフルトの建築条例で、既成市街地外周部を住宅、工場、混合の4地域に区分していたこと指摘し、かつては道路と土地と建築は慣習法で採り仕切られていたようなことを示し、都市内道路の維持・管もその利用者である沿道居住者等の責任であったことを紹介している。1982年にベルリン、ブレスラウ、ハンブルクとアルトナにおいて地域別建築条例(ゾーニング)という原則が採用されていたとしている。

20) 池田孝之 (1980)

1980年5月1日公布、1981年4月に施行された都市計画および建築基法の一部改正によって、「地区計画制度」が創設されたことを挙げ、その中で特に「予定道路の位置」(建築基準法68条4項)は、ドイツの指定建築線制度に類する制度であり、この意味においては、指定建築線の実態から得られる教訓と問題点は今日的意義を有している、と指摘している。

21) 石田頼房、藤健夫、池田孝之 (1982)

1981年に制度化された「地区計画制度」は、あらかじめ地区施設の計画を定め、開発行為、道路位置指定、建築行為等に対し、予定道路の位置等の法的手法によって計画意図に適合させることを可能にしたことを紹介し、区画整理を行わずに地区整備計画を定める事により、市街化を既成誘導する重要な手法であるとの認識を示している。この手法に類するものとして、戦前の市街地建築物法による建築線制度の内容と運用および地区計画制度のあることを追認している。

4. 日本の都市計画制度等の形成過程でドイツの都市計画制度の何を導入したか

主要研究論文を分析すると、ドイツ都市計画制度の何が日本に導入されたかが理解できる。それらを項目別にまとめると次のようになる。

①総合的

Preußisches Fluchtliniengesetz (プロイセン建築後退線法)が主要な研究課題になっており、内容理解の仕方についても主体の置き方で道路計画手法にも取れるし、景観整備手法にも理解できるし、土地区画整理手法にも理解できる。つまり、この法を必要として担当者の関心の範囲で内容が紹介されていたことを示しているものの、行政主導による禁止規定に基づく日本の都市計画等の制度形成過程に与えた影響の大きさを示していることには変わらない。

②建築線

1919年の市街地建築物法に創設された建築線制度は、プロイセン建築後退線法をそのまま踏襲したことが明らかである。予定道路の位置指定の点では1980年公布の「地区計画制度」に踏襲されている。

③土地区画整理

1988年耕地整理法はドイツの制度を参考に、そして1909年の耕地整理法は1988年法を継受したことから、ドイツの影響も継承された。1923年公布の特別都市計画法(震災復興)はアチケス法(英訳)を参考にして編成され、戦災復興事業にも大きく貢献した。

④道路と交通体系

道路整備の重要性は、プロイセン建築後退線法を通して知られていたこともあって、幹線道路については整備されたが、末端の道路計画までは及ばなかった。しかし、基盤の目上の道路計画手法は定着した。結果としては、道路法もドイツの影響を強く受けた部分である。

⑤用途地域制

旧都市計画法と市街地建築物法における用途地域制は、ドイツの工業地域

指定の考え方である保安、衛生、交通、経済、美観等への対処の仕方に強い影響を受けている。

⑥風地・美観地区の指定

街路景観はプロイセン建築後退線法に接した段階から知られており、風地地区指定は旧都市計画法に、美観地区指定は市街地建築物法に導入された。特に美観地区は1930年代に天皇制とファシズムと国民文化の統合として展開された点は、まさにドイツ絶対主義や第3帝国の都市計画指向の影響を受けていると言えよう。

⑦建物階数規定

Staffelbauordnung(建物階数規定)が広幅員道路の空間造形や美観地区への適用として実質的に導入された。東京丸ノ内地区はそうした事例である。

⑧社会政策

明治末年頃より都市と住宅政策へに社会政策の重要性が主張された中で、特に衛生上の概念とそれを具体化するための用途地域制の規定が、日本の導入された。

⑨都市計画の主管

日本でも内務省が都市計画と建築物関連を規制する主務官庁となる。都市計画等は中央行政庁の上位下達の政策となり、戦前から戦後の高度経済成長期までの都市計画と同じシステムであった。戦後は共に都市計画等の担当省庁を新設している点も共通している。

以上のようにドイツの都市計画制度等から日本が影響を受けた主要な内容を明らかにしたが、その範囲は時の政権の指導の下での富国強兵と天皇制の維持ならびにファシズム支配による絶対政治のためであり、封建的な政治と思想の下で、工業主体の近代化を乗り切ろうとしたことが窺える。まさにドイツもそうした中にあり、プロイセンの君主制の延長にヴァイマル共和国が生まれ、先進技術に支えられた中央集権の第3帝国とは、日独伊3国同盟が締結されたように、日本はドイツを学ぶ姿勢にあったものと言えよう。

また、戦後の都市計画等に関しては、戦前の延長による制度ないしはそれらの改善策で対応したことから、やはりドイツの諸制度は日本に影響を与えていたことが理解できる。特に土地区画整理やBauleitplanung(建設誘導計画)のうち特に拘束的な地区開発手法であるBebauungsplan(地区開発計画図)に関する集中的な研究がなされ、地区計画制度に生かされているといわれる。

5. ドイツ都市計画制度等から導入できなかったもの

ドイツの都市計画が、市町村自治体の将来像を総合的に具体化するための計画手段であるということが、導入されなかった。その結果、日本では都市計画が国家の課題であるとされ、事業法の視点で、対症療法的な手段として応用され、警察権限下と区画整理への測量技術で捉えられたことや、道路計画や用途地域指定に追われたことなどから、現在においても総合政策としての都市計画の位置付けが薄弱である。また、ドイツ・プロイセン時代においてミュンヘンを始め、大都市では、都市計画を警察権限下から独立させて市町村の権限下の公共的な計画法にすべきであるという運動が都市計画行政官や専門家等から提起され、常に働きかけていたことや、都市計画が単なる技術手法に留まるものではないことから、測量分野から独立させることも大きな運動になり、独自の重要な分野である認識を深める努力をしていたこと等が、全く知られていなかったことが分かる。つまり、強制力を行使する部分に限ってドイツ都市計画制度を導入し、事務的・事業面での研究に偏在しており、結果として極めて断片的に捉えられていたものと言えよう。それは、「地区計画制度」への導入の仕方についても同様のことを指摘できよう。その原因は、法制度の文献分析に集中し過ぎて、現実の適用を十分に研究していないことではないかと、推測するものであり、引いては誤訳・誤解の類も否定できない。

6. まとめ

日本は、時の行政官等の意向に沿ったドイツ都市計画制度の断片的かつ拘束的で技術的側面の導入を一貫して進めたことから、本質的な都市計画を知り得

ないまま今日に至っている。加えて、ドイツ自体の都市計画が社会の変化に積極的に対応しようとしている努力を絶えず具体化しており、それが生きた手段であることが十分に理解されていないことから、日本のドイツ都市計画研究が歴史であったり、文献分析等に主眼が置かれており、実態への評価がされにくい状況にあると言えよう。筆者はこの点、「まちづくり」を通して1977年後半以降ドイツ都市計画制度を平易に解き、実践を通して補完してきたつもりである。また、必ずしも研究者等の文献に登場しなくとも、ミュンヘンの歩行者ゾーンのように、日本の諸都市に広範に影響を与えた都市計画手法もあることを忘れてはなるまい。

しかし、大切なことは、人々への都市計画にとって良いと考えられるものは常に模範とし、それらについて学ぶ姿勢——時には模倣ということにもなる——を持つことである。

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District Planning in Japan and Germany: A Comparative and Historical Analysis

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1. Introduction

In 1980 the district planning system was newly enacted through the revision of town planning act and building standard law. This district planning system is a remarkable system in a history of Japanese town planning, which indicates that Japanese town planning system gets into more detailed planning on district level. In fact this district planning system is more applied than expected in many municipalities since the introduction of this system.

By the way, in 1980 when this district planning system was established it was supposed that Japanese economy got into the stable situation through the twice oil crisis and the enormous housing development and building activity such as that of high economic growth era would never happen. The concern of the citizens concentrated more and more to make the stable and tasteful human settlement and it was supposed that the detailed improvement and formation of housing environment would become more important object of town planning. This supposition at that time did not disappear. There exist also today the inhabitants protest against the deterioration of environment by the construction of main street, citizens' movement to preserve the nature of urban surrounding and preservation movement of traditional town townscape. The concern for better housing environment is still high even now.

But the recent socio-economical change differs remarkably from the situation of the time of enactment of district planning system. In the field of urban development, Tokyo is expected to fulfill the function of world financial center and the land price of Tokyo metropolitan area is in extremely high position. Not only in Tokyo bay area, many big projects are proposed in Tokyo metropolitan area. The ambitious future oriented big projects of 1960s seem to become realistic. In this situation the function and the role of the district planning might change. Anyway every planning system is indeed the products of the era, which will generate and develop corresponding to the conditions surrounding the town planning.

This report presents:

- 1) the background of the birth of the district planning system in Japan,
- 2) the contents of Japanese district planning system,
- 3) the historical development and presence of German Bebauungsplan, which was referred by the introduction of Japanese district planning system,

- 4) the practice situation of Japanese district planning system in the municipalities after 7 years of enactment, and the future scope of Japanese district planning in comparison with German Bebauungsplan.

2. The background of the birth of the district planning system in Japan

The Japanese modern town planning has 100 years history in this year. The starting point of it is Tokyo Urban Improvement Ordinance of 1888, of which application was restricted in the capital city Tokyo. This act was the institution which had the object to make the respectable capital city to catch up western countries and to construct the urban infrastructure for the economic development. Under this act the improvement of inner cities was carried out in a long term scope. The practical implementation of the improvement project did not advance as expected because of the financial limit and the treatment of emergent tasks. Although the construction of streets, water supply system and sewerage system was carried out well, the implementation and the control in the field of public health and housing environment was very limited.

The rapid modernization and industrialization from the latter half of the 19th century brought the concentration of the population in Japanese cities and in the beginning of the 20th century the old Tokyo Urban Improvement Ordinance, which aimed mainly the built up area, could not correspond to the town planning for the expanding urban area. In 1919 the Town Planning Act and Urban Building Act were enacted to treat the nationwide urbanization. Both acts intended to study and introduce the planning instruments and institution of Western Countries at that time.

The main new planning instruments in both acts were: zoning system, which controls and guides the urban development according land uses, land readjustment system, which aim ordered lots allotments and streets construction, and building line, which controls disordered building and secures street space. Although the town planning of those days was implemented under the governmental centralism, each project as for urban construction was carried out in each project field based on each project implementation law. The planned construction and improvement of urban area as a whole was not carried out smoothly. Because of the financial lack in the town planning, the actual town planning had to depend on the loose regulation power.

The tendency that the urban expansion was mainly left to the disordered and independent building activity of private sector, was maintained and developed through the high economic growth era after the Second World War. The high economic growth era, which approximately continued from the late 1950s until the first oil shock in 1973, was the remarkable era which brought the structural change not only in economical condition, but also in life style, social

structure and peoples' choice etc. In the field of the town planning, the change in enormous scale and speed occurred. Those changes are: the change of landscape through the reclamation of sea side and cut down of hill side by the big projects, the sprawled development and disappearance of agricultural and green space through rapid increase of urban population, concentration of commercial business function and its expansion, the change of townscape through the high rise building and urban high way, the deterioration of housing environment through mixed land use, the segregation of household and increase of nuclear family, disorganization of community through the increase of social mobility, the enlargement of living place through motorization and long distance commutation etc.

Within only 20 years the immigration like race move from regional area to metropolitan area occurred. The remarkable point in this era was that the fundamental institution to carry out comprehensive town planning was still the old Town Planning Act of 1919, while the many implementation acts to carry out actual urban development projects were newly enacted. The town planning in this era had a good results in the construction of streets and railways and the improvement of business districts and transportation terminals, which influenced to change urban structure but did not effect well to form a better living place for urban inhabitants.

In 1968 when the economic growth was peak and the deterioration of urban problems were pointed out, the Town Planning Act (1968 Act) was fundamentally revised after 50 years. The main purpose of the revision was to control the disordered urban expansion and to guide well ordered urban formation corresponding the tempo of the construction of urban infrastructure. The establishment of the principle "planning prior to individual building and development" was a great progress in this 1968 Act. The following 5 points are remarkable points of 1968 Act:

- 1) the planning power is transferred from central administration to local administration (prefecture and municipality)
- 2) the possibility of citizens participation is widened
- 3) the urbanization control through the area designation of urbanization promotion area (UPA) and urbanization control area (UCA)
- 4) the development permission system
- 5) the refinement of zoning (in connection with the revision of Building Standard Act of 1970)

Among them the system of UPA and UCA and the development permission are important for the control of urbanization.

The system of UPA and UCA is to divide the urban planning area into two area category: namely 1) UPA, where urban infrastructure will be constructed within

10 years and planned urbanization will be implemented, and 2) UCA, where urbanization will be controlled in the fixed time and the agricultural production will be promoted.

The development permission is to supplement the system of UPA and UCA. In UCA to prohibit the urban development in principle, each building and development activity in this area is examined and the insignificant matter - ex. the house of the second or third son of farmers - is only permitted. In UPA where urban development is expected, to control the disordered development the every development more than 1000 m² is examined and only such developments which pass a certain standards can be permitted. But the new town planning system which started in 1968 showed some problems, although it made good results to some extents.

The first problem is the lack of effective land use planning. The land use planning here mentioned means the fundamental plan for total urban area in future, which fixes the future goal and shows comprehensive instruments and programs to realize the future land use stage. Because of the rapid change of the recent social condition the question is presented about the effectiveness of long-term static master plan. But it does not deny the necessity of comprehensive master plan. It means rather the necessity to input more strategic and dynamic character into the master plan. In Japan it happens often that each project or development is implemented without comprehensive coordination.

The second problem is the lack of planning system on district level to connect the plan on urban level and the individual building activity. The zoning, which covers urban area in connection with density regulation, controls the use and density of each lot irrelevant to its shape and character as general control. Therefore the zoning control dose not effect well to the district or block formed with collection of each lot.

Because of the system defect of 1968 Act the following problems occurred:

The UPA was designated larger than necessary because of the pressure of landowners. The sprawled development spread in agricultural area without adequate supply of urban infrastructure and made low density built up area. To escape the burden by the development permission, the small development smaller than 1000 m² appeared here and there and the cut down of lot size extended dangerous area against disaster.

To solve these problems the planning system to make a good urban environment on district level is needed.

3. The contents of Japanese district planning system

To overcome the weakness of 1968 Act the district planning system was enacted in

1980. By its establishment the German Bebauungsplan (B-plan: German district plan) was referred. Besides the study of the B-plan the town planning practice of advanced municipalities to overcome the weakness of the planning system of 1968 Act also contributed to the establishment of the district planning.

The aim of the district planning is "On the block or neighborhood level where the present town planning act and building standard act do not work well it is needed to make a plan to treat district infrastructure and building totally, ie a planning control to make district with sufficient environment standard, and to control and guide each building and development according this plan." (The second report of Central Architecture Committee in 1979 Nov.) Thus the committee emphasized the necessity* of a comprehensive plan on district level as for land use, infrastructure and building layout.

The characteristic of the district planning system are as follows:

The right to make the district planning belongs to municipalities. Previously the decision of main town planning belonged to the governor of prefecture. From the reason that this district planning deals the inhabitants environment at district level, municipalities as basic governments make district planning. Also since the hearing of the opinions of landowners is needed by the plan making, each municipality make bylaws of process for plan making prior plan making itself.

The district planning consists of two plans: 1) the policy district plan and 2) the detailed district plan. The former district plan indicates the planning goal of the district and the general guideline of land use, public facility, building activity etc. The contents of the policy district plan dose not cover the direct control or restriction for the private person.

The latter detailed district plan, following the policy district plan, specifies more concrete and detailed plan for the whole district or part of the district. The contents of the plan consist selectively from the following 3 components:

1) layout and scale of the infrastructure such as street, park, open space, play lots etc in the district, 2) the kinds and extent of building use in each lot, 3) regulation on land use in the form of conservation of existing trees and green spaces. Since the contents of the detailed district plan had a statutory binding force, anybody who will build or develop has to present a application previously to the municipality which will check his plan and recommend the revision in case of the inadequate activity. In addition, to secure the contents of the detailed district plan there are following institution: 1) to add the requirements by the development permission, 2) to add the regulation on building lot or use in the form of bylaw by the building confirmation, 3) the designation of planned street to guide the street construction. Thus the district planning system is expected to fulfill its aim mainly through the

regulative instruments. Therefore the steady and continuous control for each building or development is very important.

The application place of the district planning system is in principle everywhere in UPA based on the intention of the municipality. But the town planning act suggests the 3 area categories: 1) the area where urban development project such as land readjustment was carried out or to be carried out, 2) the area where urbanization is supposed under the insufficient infrastructure; to prevent sprawled development or substandard small housing development, 3) the area where well ordered district environment exists; to conserve the good environmental condition. The ministry of construction further gave the 14 application types through the circular of Oct. in 1981.¹⁾

The district planning system is located as the 7th town planning in the system of town planning act. Namely in the town planning act besides the 6 contents of town planning such as 1) designation of UPA & UCA with the guideline on improvement, development and conservation, 2) zoning, 3) promotion area for urban redevelopment etc, 4) urban facility, 5) urban development project, 6) proposed area for urban development project "the district planning etc" is added as a content of town planning. This means that the district planning system is applied selectively in parallel with other town planning. There remains a way of building without the control of the district planning. It comes from the character of the district planning as the 7th town planning that the district planning lacks the implementation instrument.

3. The German Bebauungsplan system

The present town planning system in West Germany was established by the Federal Town Planning Act of 1960 (Bundesbaugesetz). This system is still maintained in principle in the new town planning act of 1986 (Baugesetzbuch). Namely the principle is two tiered system of F-plan and B-plan. The two tiered system and especially the archetype of B-plan as the district planning was not formed at once, but was developed from the end of the 19th century till the beginning of the 20th century.

Then the development process of the B-plan is traced at first. German cities which started the industrialization behind England and France had big problems of town planning to remove the city wall and to expand the town orderly against the concentrating and increasing industry and population. In this point the Prussian Street and Building Line Law of 1875 was a milestone for modern German Town Planning. The remarkable point of the law was that municipalities were given authority to specify street and building lines which previously belonged to the building police as a state organ since municipalities were confronted with problems concerning facility maintenance an improvement due to the the

disorderly urbanization. In this law the B-plan was recognized as the plan on district level which consisted mainly of street network plan. Using this B-plan the municipality could have the power to plan and control to form the urban area with ordered street network based its own program.

But the planning elements of this law was limited. What was made was mainly the plan consisting street lines which were usually building lines at the same time. Within the block surrounded by the street lines the building was left to private freedom under the loosed and minimum building regulation. Also, since method for readjustment of building site along the streets was lacking, irregular and inefficient building use occurred. Also building restrictions were used intentionally to reduce municipal obligation to build streets. Since the B-plan under this law was in fact the wide street line plan for large blocks, it resulted in the construction of unhealthy and crowded tenements which was criticized at that time.

To eliminate the law defects and realize orderly urban area, a new planning system was proposed by advanced planners, administrative officials, and engineers from the end of the 19th century until the 20th century began. Adickes strived to realize the land readjustment system in Prussia which provided well shaped building lots with the construction of streets. To resolve the housing problems in the urban surrounding, he devised a social policy for controlling land speculation that occur in the conversion from farm land to urban land, for using development profits to provide building lots and streets as a whole. In 1902 just after 10 years of his proposal in Prussian Parliament in 1892, the land readjustment act = Lex Adickes was enacted with its application restriction to Frankfurt a.M where he was Mayor.

In 1883 Baumeister and Adickes proposed an integrated zoning system. The purpose of this system was to abolish uniform and loosed regulation based in the existing old urban district with high density, and to make a building density regulation corresponding the characteristics of each zone to realize low rise and low density healthy housing in the new urban area. The proposal background was to control suburban land price increase with density regulation.

At the end of the 19th century, many proposals for town planning reform were accepted and systematized in the Sachsen General Building Act of 1900. Although its application was regionally limited, this act was an advanced act in the world. The remarkable point of this act was that the content of the B-plan, which regulates and guides the future district development, made rapid progress. An integrated planning system indicated the goal of land and building use on district level beyond a simple street network plan such as a hierarchical street network layout through the detailed specification of street lines, the specification of building use in blocks with many building lines, the

specification of building way and density through zoning concept etc. Furthermore to realize the B-plan, provisions were provided to prohibit the building activity and the subdivision of land that hindered land readjustment and plan realization. The archetype of the present B-plan in West Germany was established in the beginning of the 20th century. The direction of town planning reform afterwards was to develop the master plan on urban level and its relation with B-plan.

The building line and land readjustment as the important components of B-plan were studied in Japan at that time as planning technology. But the B-plan which systematized these planning technology was not understood well.

The concept of town planning system established by the Federal Building Act of 1960 remains as a stable system in a fundamental structure in spite of some revisions afterwards. The fundamental structure of the present town planning system is as follows.

In West Germany town planning is defined as a proper task of municipalities as basic self-government. This town planning consists of two tiered plans:

- 1) land use plan (Flächennutzungsplan: F-plan) as a master plan, which indicate the future land use of urban facility in 10 or 15 years,
- 2) district plan (Bebauungsplan: B-plan) developed F-plan, which specifies detailed use of land and building on district level.

While in Japan the zoning system as a master plan has not close connection to the district planning system, in West Germany there exists close relationship between F-plan and B-plan.

The content of B-plan has a statutory binding force to the private. Every building activity and development in the area of B-plan must follow the content of B-plan. The components which B-plan can regulate are pointed out in whole area on the use of building and land. But the components themselves are fast similar to the components of Japan.

The big difference is that the B-plan has to have the following minimum components to be qualified: 1) the kinds and grad of building use (building coverage ratio, bulk ratio etc), 2) the possible area to be built (specification through building line), 3) the traffic space of district (street, parking etc). The regulation through minimum three components make it possible to control building use of each lot based the total planning of district environment.

The another difference is that to realize the B-plan such provisions are provided as land readjustment, boundary adjustment, building order and planting order. Also, to prevent the activity which might hinder the realization of B-plan, land deal, change of land shape and quality and building activity are in principle prohibited during the planning of B-plan.

The fundamental difference from the Japanese district planning system is that in

West Germany the principle "no building without planning" is established. While in Japan normal development and building activity are also accepted generally in the area where the district planning does not exist, in West Germany every development and building activity premise generally the existence of B-plan.

In West Germany there are three area category concerning building permission: 1) the area where qualified B-plan exists, 2) the continuously built-up area where qualified B-plan does not exist (built-up area developed before 1960), 3) the so-called outer area where non-urban use like agricultural and forest use is dominant. The building activity in area category 1) is permitted subject to the adaptation to the qualified B-plan. The building activity in the area category 2) is only permitted if it adapts to the existing environment. In other words the building activity different from existing system needs the making of a new B-plan. In the area category 3) only the building activity which adapts to the agricultural land use is permitted. The outer area which is similar to UCA in Japan more restrictive for development than Japan. The sprawled development is controlled through the building regulation corresponding each area category. In West Germany the municipality has in principle the initiative on where and when to develop and built.

4. The practice situation and future scope of Japanese district planning system

The Japanese district planning system is one of the institutions which control and guide the development and building activity in urban area and is, so to speak, a selective institution. It differs from that the German B-plan is a compulsory institution only through which every development and building activity are realized. This comes partly from the history of Japanese town planning. The history of Japanese town planning is paradoxically speaking the history which found and produced the urban problems and expanded the frontier of town planning. By expanding the frontier the foreign town planning system were widely studied and the optimal planning instruments at that time were devised and accumulated. In other words the Japanese town planning system was formed like a grafting in succession. In the result while the form and quality of the urbanized area formed through various kinds of planning institutions lack the totality, on the other hand the vital and attractive urbanized area are formed corresponding the situation change. The Japanese type of district planning different from the stable and systematic German B-plan has such characteristic as flexible and multitype oriented.

Since the establishment of the district planning system in 1980 (the actual application was from next 1981), this planning system has been rapidly and widely applied in many municipalities more than supposed. At the time of

December 1987 there were 279 application cases of district planning system in 121 municipalities. Here 140 cases in Japan are analyzed based on the survey by the ministry of construction in 1985.

There spread nationwide 69 municipalities which apply the district planning, but there is a regional maldistribution of municipalities. There are many cases in Hokkaido, Tokyo, Saitama and Fukuoka. There are few cases in Kei-han-shin metropolitan regions where has many urban environmental problems. In general there are few cases in the western part of Japan.

Among 140 cases 135 case have the detailed district plan and 44 cases make as one of the contents of plan the regulation based on bylaw in connection with the building standard act.

The area size of the district planning spreads from 0.2 ha till 378.2 ha. 65 cases, nearly the half cases, are smaller than 10 ha.

The application location of the district planning in urban area are as follows:

- 1) 83 cases in new urban area outside the DID of 1980; 59.3%,
- 2) 39 cases in urbanizing area where was covered in DID just in 1980; 27.9 %,
- 3) 18 cases in urbanized area where was covered already in DID of 1970; 12.9 %.

For the development of new urban area the district planning is positively applied.

Table 1 cases of district planning after application type in Japan in Dec. 1980

application type	cases
commercial and business group	
urban center development	11
improvement of commercial district	3
business area along street	1
district around new railway station	5
residential area group	
improvement of built up area	2
improvement of mixed land use	1
conservation of good residential area	13
urbanizing area; a) with sufficient infra.	2
urbanizing area; b) with insufficient infra.	27
guidance for mixed land use	1
planned development; a) land readjustment	35
planned development; b) public	9
planned development; c) private	21
industrial area group	
conservation	1
mixed land use; a) with sufficient infra.	1
mixed land use; b) with insufficient infra.	2
planned development	5
total	140

(Source; survey of Ministry of Construction)

The application types after the suggestion of the act are following:

- 1) 109 cases for the development projects such as land readjustment,
- 2) 17 cases for the prevention of sprawled development,
- 3) 14 cases for conservation.

Table 1 shows the further detailed application type according land use. It is obvious that 111 cases for housing land use are dominant at present. Among them there are many types for the development of new urban area in connection with land readjustment. This type of application support in the field of building regulation the land readjustment which treats the basement such as street construction and formation of site.

Although the numbers of cases are limited, there are such types to solve the danger in built up area in case of disaster and the problems caused by the mixture of industry and housing. These are the cases of an old site of Sanshi-shiken-jo in Tokyo and Mano-district in Kobe, which have long history of practice before the establishment of the district planning system. They are useful lessons for the improvement of urban problems especially in built up area.

Another remarkable type is the type for the development of urban center. It is supposed that the activity to make a new urban center through the renewal of the built up area will increase in many municipalities. Here the townscape design is very important. The application of the district planning for the townscape design needs more experiences.

Thus the district planning has been applied smoothly since its enactment and the application types show diversity. Based on the quantitative extent, the further qualitative improvement is needed. One direction for the improvement is to strengthen the instruments to realize the district planning. As mentioned above, the present district planning system consists of mainly the regulative instruments and lacks the instruments to realize the space image set by the district plan. Considering the financial situation of central government, it is difficult to expect financial aid for the construction of district infrastructure. It is rather important to set a original aid system by municipality or to make a rule on the allotment for the construction of district infrastructure between municipality and inhabitants.

It is also necessary that the district planning will coordinate the implementation projects to be planned and guide them. The plan presentation of the district planning until now is insufficient to communicate the image of the future districtscape such as land use, building shape etc. Before making the district plan the future image of the district should be well investigated and be put together into a fine plan presentation.

The district planning system can play an important role in preservation and

arrangement of well established district environment. The regulative type of district planning can effect well. In addition, since it is supposed that many big projects which will influence the change of urban structure will occur in many Japanese cities, another type of district planning system is to be sought, which will respond the dynamic change of situation flexibly. The example for such direction is the redevelopment district planning system enacted in May 1988. The future development direction is to develop various types of district planning adaptable for the various urban area types in Japan, learning the town planning experience of foreign countries.

Note

- 1) The application type of district planning after the circular of MOC
1. construction of subdivison houses with construction of infrastructure
 2. integrated development of surroundings of big development
 3. secure of future street space in big development: planned street line
 4. set up of future guideline for the project propose area
 5. guidance of poor housing area into good housing area
 6. cooperative rebuilding in wooden apartments congested area
 7. improvement of commercial district into functional and attractive one
 8. improvement of street sides with construction of main street
 9. connection of improvement of poor housing area and construction of public open space and/or refuge rout
 10. coexistence of work place and housing place in mixed area
 11. prevention of the sprawled development
 12. control of the subdivison of lot in good residential area
 13. conservation of characteristic townscape
 14. promotion of hedges in good residential area

日本と西ドイツの地区計画制度に関する比較史的検討

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1. はじめに

1980年、都市計画法、建築基準法が改正され、新たに地区計画制度が創設された。この地区計画制度は日本の都市計画制度の歴史の中で一つの画期をなす制度であり、より肌目こまかな地区レベルの環境づくりに日本の都市計画が乗り出したことを示すものである。事実、この制度創設以降、当初思われていた以上のテンポで各地の自治体で地区制度を活用している。

ところで、この地区計画が制度化された1980年当時は、日本の経済が2度の石油危機を経過して安定成長に着地し、高度成長期の時期のような猛烈な勢いで宅地開発、建築活動は起こらないであろうと想定されていた。人々の意識も落ち着いたある定住環境を作っていくことに、より関心が高まり、身近な居住環境の肌目こまかな整備が都市計画の大きな課題となると予想されていた。もちろん、当時想定されたことが消滅したわけではなく、道路建設による居住環境の悪化に対する市民の反対運動、市街地周辺の自然保護の運動、歴史的町並みの保全運動などが持続的に展開され、身近な居住環境に対する関心は今でも高いといえよう。

ところが、ここ2、3年の社会経済状況の変化はめまぐるしいものがあり、地区計画制度制定当時の状況とは大いに異なっている。急速に進む円高、重厚長大産業の地盤沈下と経済のソフト化の進行、公的財政状況の悪化とそれを回避するための民間活力の活用・規制緩和、国際的な貿易摩擦の発生とその対処の面も持つ内需拡大等。都市開発の分野では、最近の東京での地価高騰が示すように、東京の国際金融センターとしての機能が注目されだし、湾岸部を始めとして東京圏の各地で大規模プロジェクトが盛んに打ち上げられている。60年代に盛んに提案された未来指向の大型プロジェクトが現実味を帯びだしてきている。このような状況の中では地区計画制度の機能、役割も変化していくのかもしれない。いずれにせよ、あらゆる計画制度は都市計画を取り巻く状況に対応して生成、発展していくものであり、すぐれて時代的産物といえよう。

本報告では、1) 日本の地区計画制度がどのような背景の下に生まれてきたのかについて述べ、次いで、2) 日本の地区計画制度の内容について、3) 日本の地区計画制度の制度化に当たって参考にした西ドイツのBebauungsplanの歴史と現状について述べ、最後に、4) 制度化以来およそ7年を経過した各自治体での地区計画の実践の状況を踏まえ、西独のとの比較で、今後の日本型地区計画について若干の展望を述べたい。

2. 日本の地区計画制度の成立の背景

日本の近代都市計画の歴史は本年で100年に達する若いものである。その出発点となったのが、首都東京に限定されたものであるが、1888年に制定された東京市区改正条例である。遅れて近代化に乗り出した後発国日本の首都としての体裁を整え、経済的発展の都市基盤を作り上げていくための制度で、これを下に中心市街地部の改造＝市区改正が

長期的に進められた。実際の事業は当時の財政的制約、差し迫った課題の処理などがあり、当初構想通り進まなかったが、道路、上水道建設が精力的に進められた。公衆衛生、居住環境面での事業や規制は極めて限定されたものであった。

19世紀後半からの急速な近代化、工業化は日本の各都市への人口の集中をもたらし、20世紀の初頭においては、既成市街地を対象とする市区改正条例では拡大する市街地の都市計画を処理することが出来なくなった。全国的に展開している都市化の現象に対応しようとして制定されたのが1919年の都市計画法と市街地建築物法である。この両法は当時欧米で展開されていた都市計画諸制度を積極的に学び日本に取り入れようとしたものである。この両法により導入された新しい計画制度としても、将来も含めた市域をその土地利用に分けて規制、誘導していこうとする用途地域制、新市街地を形成していくにあたって、敷地形状を整え、道路等の基盤施設を整備していくための区画整理制度、無秩序な建築活動の展開を規制し道路空間を確保していく建築線制度が主なものであった。この時期の都市計画体制は国の中央集権的な体制の下に進められたものであるが、実際の市街地の建設に関わる個別の事業はそれぞれの事業部門、事業法の下に進められ、都市全体の計画的建設、整備は順調に進捗しなかった。都市計画の財源も限られていたこともあり、都市計画は規制、それも緩やかな規制に頼らざるを得なかった。

市街地の拡張が民間の無秩序な個別的な活動に委ねられる、といった傾向は第2次大戦後の高度成長期を通じて維持、拡大されていった。凡そ1950年代の後半から始まり1973年の第一次オイルショック頃まで続いた高度成長期は、単なる経済の高度成長にとどまらず、生活形態、社会の構成、人々の価値観など様々な分野で構造的変化の起きた時代であった。都市計画の関連する分野でも、かつてない程の規模、スピードで変化が起こった。例示しよう。

国土空間・都市空間の面では、工業開発、湾岸整備等の大規模開発により、海岸線の埋め立て、丘陵地の切り崩し等による、自然環境の改変、国土景観の大幅な変化、都市部への大幅な人口流入の増大に伴う市街地の拡大＝都市周辺部農地への住宅地の蚕食的拡大（スプロール市街地の発生）、都心部の商業・業務地化とその拡大、高層ビル、都市高速道路の出現による都市景観像の大幅な変化、住宅、工場等の土地利用の競合・混合による居住環境の悪化、都市内幹線道路の建設と騒音、排気ガス問題発生などの都市公害の激化等々。

社会的変化の面としては、世帯分離、核家族化の進行（このことが一層の住宅需要を生み出した）、人々の転出・転入の割合＝社会的移動の増大とそれに伴う地縁的結合の解体、モータリゼーションの進展に伴う生活空間の広域化と職住の遠隔化、団地・マンションの出現による戸建接地型居住から高層集住への変化等等。

わずか20年足らずの間に、民族移動といってよい位の地方から大都市圏への人々の移住が進んだ。この時期に注目されることは、都市開発を具体的に進めていく事業法は数多く制定されたのに対し¹⁾、個々の事業を束ね、総合的に都市計画を行っていく基本となる制度は相変わらず戦前に制定された古い都市計画法のままであった。高度成長期の都市計画は、都市の空間構造を大きく変えていく道路、鉄道、商業・業務空間整備、駅前広場整備等には力を注ぎ一定の実績を上げたが、都市住民のための良好な居住空間を作り上げていくことには必ずしも有効に働かなかった。

1968年、ちょうど高度成長の最盛期で、都市問題の激化が言われた時期におよそ50年ぶりに都市計画法が大改正された。その改正の主眼目は、無秩序に拡大する市街化をコントロールし、公共施設整備に対応した形で秩序だった良好な市街地形成をはかろうというものであった。個別建築、開発活動に先行する計画原則の確立という点で大きな進歩、画期をなすもので、次の5点がこの新都市計画法の特色であった。

- ①計画権限の分権化・委譲：従来、都市計画の権限が国（建設大臣）にあったものが都道府県知事、市町村に移された。
- ②計画策定過程への住民の参加規定：公聴会、計画書の縦覧、意見表明の機会が認められる。
- ③都市計画区域内の区域区分制度による市街化コントロール：市街化区域、市街化調整区域のいわゆる線引き
- ④開発許可制度の創設
- ⑤用途地域の細分化（70年の建築基準法の改正と連動）

上記5点のうち特に市街化コントロールにとって重要であったのが線引きと開発許可制度である。

すなわち、線引き制度とは、都市計画行政の行われる区域を、今後10年程度の間には公共施設整備を行って計画的に市街化を図る区域＝市街化区域と、当面の間は市街化を抑制し農業の生産を行っていく区域＝市街化調整区域に二分し、そのため両区域を区分する線を引こうというものであった。

開発許可制度とはこの線引き制度を補完するものである。すなわち調整区域にあっては都市的開発を原則として認めないために、この区域内で行われる建築・開発行為に対して一件づつ審査し、問題のないものに限って一例えば農家の二、三男用の住宅一許可し、一方、開発の進展が予想される市街化区域内にあっては無秩序な開発が起こらないように、一千平方メートル以上の開発に対して審査を行い、ある規準に合致するものに限ってその開発行為を認めようというものであった。しかし、68年に出発した新しい都市計画体系は一定の効果を上げつつもいくつかの問題を露呈してきた。

第一の問題は、実効ある土地利用計画が存在しないことである。ここでいう土地利用計画とは、都市の将来の目標を定めそのときに実現される土地利用の姿とそれを達成するための手段、プログラムの全体系を総合的に提示すべきものであり、将来の都市を作っていく上での根幹となるべき計画である。最近では、社会状況の変化のテンポが早く、長期にわたる静態的なマスタープランの有効性に疑問が呈されてきているが、これは総合的なプランの必要性を否定したものでなく、マスタープランの中に、より戦略性、プログラム性を盛り込むことが必要となってきたといえよう。日本では個々の都市計画道路の建設、下水道整備等の事業が行われるが、それぞれの個別の事業の論理で行われ、事業相互や各種の開発、規制を総合的に調整していくプランに欠けている例が多いのが現状である。

第二の問題は、都市全体の計画と個別の建築活動をつなぎ地区レベルでの市街地整備を行う制度が欠けていることである。住宅団地の開発や再開発などの事業が行われた地区については、一定程度の質を備えた市街地が作られるが、広く一般の市街地では十分な対応ができないのが現状であった。すなわち、市街地全体にわたって、第一種住居専用地域、住居地域、商業地域、工業地域などの土地利用の地域・地区指定がなされ、そこでの用途、

建築密度などの制限が課せられるのだが、この地域・地区性は個別の敷地毎に、しかもその敷地の形状、特性とは無関係に一般的規制としてかかってくるのであって、個別の敷地が集合して作られる街区、地区の整備のための規制としては有効に作用しなかった。

これらの68年体制がもっていた制度的限界の結果、生じていた市街地の問題は例えば次のようなものであった。

市街化区域が、土地所有者の圧力もあり、必要以上に過大に設定され、道路、下水、公園などの公共施設整備の間に合わないままに、農地の中にスプロール状に低密度市街地が形成されていった。

開発許可に際しての負担を逃れるために、一千平米未満のいわゆるミニ開発が、市街地のあちこちに出現し、敷地の細分化を進め、災害時の危険度を高めていった。

このような状況を解決するためにも、地区のレベルでの市街地環境を良好に整備し、担保していく制度が必要とされてきた。

3. 地区計画制度の内容

上記のような、68年都市計画法の有していた弱点を強化するために制定されたのが、1980年の地区計画制度であった。この制度化に際して参照されたのが、西ドイツのBebauungsplanの制度であった。また、これとは別に、地区計画の制度化に大いに影響を与えたのが、68年都市計画法体制の限界を超えて、独自の要綱、条例を通じて地区レベルのまちづくりを行っていた先進自治体の努力であった。

都市をいくつかの地区に区分して、地区毎の環境状況を診断したコミュニティカルテの作成：高知、神戸等、住民の積極的な参加を得ながら、様々な手法を組み合わせる既成市街地の住環境を改善していく試み：豊中庄内地区、神戸真野地区等、道路予定線を引いておき、住区内の区画街路や公園遊び場を整備した試み：茨城県勝田市地区整備計画、大阪府茨木市細街路計画等、市街地を住区に区分して公共施設整備を行った例：札幌市住区基本計画、歴史的町並みの保全・整備：京都産寧坂、金沢、妻籠等、歩行者空間の整備：旭川買物公園、横浜イセザキモール等など、多種多様な地区の計画が展開されていった。

以上の経緯のもとで制定された地区計画制度の狙いは、「現行都市計画法及び建築規準法では十分に対応されていない街区から住区にいたる地区のレベルにおいて、一定水準の環境を備えた市街地の形成を図るための計画規制、すなわち、宅地回りの公共施設の配置と建築物の形態等を一体的、総合的に扱う計画を策定し、この計画に基づいて建築または開発行為に関して必要な誘導及び規制を行う」（建築審議会答申-第2次-1979年11月）といった点にあり、地区レベルでの土地利用、公共施設、建物配置についての総合的プランの必要性を強調していた。

その特色は以下の点である。

地区計画の策定が市町村となった点が特色の一つである。従来、主要な都市計画の決定は都道府県知事が行うこととなっていたが、住民の身近な地区レベルの環境の問題について関わる制度という趣旨から、身近な政府である市町村が計画主体となった。これに合わせて、地区計画の策定に際し、土地所有者などの意向を聞いて作成するよう求められており、地区計画の策定に先立って、各自治体は策定のための手続き条例を策定している。

策定される地区計画は、方針としての地区計画と地区整備計画の2層で構成されている。

前者の方針としての地区計画では、計画の策定される地区の計画目標（何を整備、開発、保全していくかについて基本方向を示す）、土地利用の基本方針、公共施設、一般建築物などの整備方針等が示される。その内容については、一般私人に対しての計画上の制限、拘束はかからない。

後者の地区整備計画は、この方針としての地区計画を受けて、地区全体、場合によっては、地区の一部に、より具体的、詳細な計画を定めようというものである。その計画内容は、1) 地区内の道路、公園、緑地、遊び場等の地区施設の配置及び規模、2) 敷地の規模や敷地に対しての建築物の利用の種類やその程度（建ぺい率、容積立の最高または最低限度、壁面の位置、建物の高さ等）更には、建物の形態、意匠、生け垣等について、3) 現存する樹林、草地などで保全すべきものを指定するなどの土地利用の制限に関する指定、以上3つの分野の事項について選択的に決定していくこととしている。そして、この地区整備計画に定められた内容は、法的拘束力を持つもので、この計画区域内で建築・開発活動を行うものは、事前に市町村に届出を行い、計画不適合については市町村より勧告を受ける制度-届出・勧告制度が設けられている。この他に、地区整備計画の内容を担保する制度としては、開発許可に際して地区整備計画の内容を付加すること、建築物の敷地または用途に関する事項を市町村の条例として定め、建築確認の条件とすること（建築基準法との連動）、地区レベルの道路整備を誘導するための制度（道路位置指定に関する特例、予定道路の指定）がある。このように、地区計画制度は、主として規制的手法を通じて計画内容を実現、担保していくことが想定されており、その意味では個々の建築、開発行為のコントロールの積み重ね、調整の持続が重要である。

地区計画の適用される場所はどこであろうか。原則的には市町村の発意により、市街化区域内のどこでも必要に応じて策定できるわけであるが²⁾、法律（都市計画法第12条の4）では、次の三つの地域を想定している。

- ①市街地開発事業等の事業が行われる又は行われた土地の区域：区画整理、再開発等の事業の内容を担保して市街地を形成しようというものといえよう。
- ②今後市街化する区域で不良な街区の環境が形成される恐れのある土地の区域：スプロール市街地の形成やミニ開発の進行を予防しようとするもの。
- ③現に良好な街区の環境が形成されている土地の区域：良好市街地の保全を意図更に建設省では1981年10月の通達で14の地区計画活用タイプを例示している。³⁾

ところで、この地区計画制度は都市計画法の体系の中では第7番目の都市計画として位置づけられている。すなわち、都市計画法においては①市街化区域、調整区域に区分する区域区分とそれとともに策定される整備・開発・保全の方針を基盤として、②用途地域を始めとする地域地区、③再開発事業等の促進区域、④都市施設、⑤市街地開発事業、⑥市街地開発事業等予定区域を都市計画の内容として決定することになっていたのに加えて「⑦地区計画等」が都市計画内容として付け加わったことになる。このことは、地区計画が他の都市計画と並列的、選択的に活用されることを意味し、地区計画を経由しないで従来の一般規制だけで市街地が出来ていく道が残されていることになる。また、地区計画が規制主体の制度であり、その実現のための事業的手法に欠けることも、この地区計画が7番目の都市計画という性格から由来している。

3. 西独の地区計画制度

これに対し、日本の地区計画の制度化の際に参照された西ドイツのBebauungsplan ほどのようなものであろうか。

西ドイツの現行の都市計画制度の体系は1960年の連邦建設法 (Bundesbaugesetz) によって作られた。この都市計画制度体系は1986年12月に制定された建設法典 (Baugesetzbuch) においても基本的に継承され、後述するようにFプラン、Bプランの2層型の構造となっている。ところでこのような2層型の都市計画の構造は一挙に形成された物でなく、特に本報告で主題とする地区計画の原型は19世紀後半から20世紀初頭にかけて形成されてきたものである。

そこで、まずこのBプランの形成の歴史を見てみよう。イギリス、フランスより遅れて工業化に乗り出したドイツ諸都市では、流入する産業、人口に対して、都市を取り囲んでいた都市壁を撤去し、いかに秩序だてて都市拡張を行うかが都市計画上の大きな課題であった。

この点で、ドイツの近代都市計画法制のマイルストーンとなったのが、当時のドイツの中で最大の強国であったプロイセンの街路線・建築線法であった。この法は、都市周辺部での無秩序な市街化の結果生じた道路整備などの基盤の後追いの整備の問題に悩んでいた市町村に対し、従来は、国の機関である建築警察の権限であった、街路線、建築線の指定の権限を付与したことに大きな特色があった。この法では、ある一定の地区的な広がりの中で、主として道路網で構成された地区レベルでの計画=Bプランが認知された。このBプランを活用することによって、市町村は自己の計画プログラムに基づき秩序立った街路線による市街地を形成していくための計画権限、規制権限を持つことが可能となった。

この法は、街路線で指定された道路用地の収用、収用補償の一定範囲の除外、地方条例に基づく未整備道路沿いで建築の禁止、道路沿道者の負担義務=開発利益の徴収等を規定しており、街路空間を確保した市街地の形成の上で大きな役割を果たした。

しかしこの法の計画要素は限定されており、設定されるのは街路線及びそれと殆ど違わない建築線で構成される計画であり、これらの線によって生み出された街路に囲まれた街区の内側での建築活動は、最低限の建築規制の下で、私人の自由に委ねられていた。また、街路に沿った建築敷地の区画形状を整理する手法にかけ、不整形な建築敷地上の効率の悪い建築利用が発生した。建築禁止も市町村の道路築造の負担を軽減するために、恣意的に使われるなどの問題があった。総じて、この法に基づくBプランは広幅員街路中心の大街区型の街路線計画で、道路基盤を整える点には効果を発揮したが、街区内の建築物の整備には無力で、当時批判の対象となった、高密度で劣悪な居住条件の賃貸集合住宅を生み出す要因となった。

この法の持つ欠陥を取り除き、秩序立った市街地形成のための計画制度の提案が、先進的都市計画家、行政官、技術者達によって19世紀末から20世紀初頭にかけて盛んに行われた。

アディケスは、道路整備とあわせて一体的に区画形態の整った宅地を供給する区画整理の制度をプロイセンで定着させるための努力を行った。彼の考えの背後には、当時の住宅問題を都市周辺で解決するために、農地から住宅地への転換の過程で起こる土地騰貴を抑

え、開発利益を道路および宅地整備にあてようとの社会政策的考えがあった。彼の1892年のプロイセン議会での区画整理法の提案から10年経った1902年に漸く、彼が市長であったフランクフルトに、その適用を限定した形で区画整理法=Lex Adickes が成立した。

1883年、パウマイスター、アディケスはドイツ公衆衛生協会の年次大会で体系的なゾーニング制度の提案を行った。その趣旨は、従来の旧市街地の高い建築密度という現状にあわせて作られていた画一的で、緩やかな建築規制を廃し、新市街地での低層、低密度で衛生的な住宅を生み出すために、各地区=ゾーンの特性に応じた異なる建築密度規制をせよというものであった。提案の背後には、郊外地での地価上昇前に、密度規制で地価上昇を抑え住宅問題の解決を図るとの考えがあった。

19世紀末の様々な都市計画制度改革の提言を受け止め、体系化したのが1900年のザクセン一般建設法である。ドイツの限られた地域での制度といえ、この法は当時の水準からみてもきわめて先進的都市計画法制であった。この法の大きな特色は、将来の地区の開発を規制、誘導するBプランの意味する内容が飛躍的に豊かになったことである。街路線をきめ細かに設定することによる街路網の段階構成、種々の建築線を活用しての街区内の建築利用の設定、ゾーニングの考えを導入しての建築形式、建築密度の指定など、単なる街路線計画を超えた、地区レベルの土地・建物利用の総合的計画制度が提案された。さらに、Bプランを実現するための区画整理の規定、計画実現の妨げになるような建築行為の禁止、土地分割の禁止などの規定も設けられていた。今日の西ドイツのBプラン制度の原型となる考えが20世紀初頭には完成していた。それ以降のドイツの都市計画制度の方向は、都市全体のマスタープランの制度化及びマスタープランとBプランの関係を整えることであった。

また、この時期のドイツのBプランを構成する重要な要素である建築線や区画整理について日本でも、都市計画技術として学ばれていた。但し、これら計画技術を位置づけるBプランについては殆ど理解されていなかった。

さて、戦後を脱した1960年に制定された連邦建設法で体系化された都市計画制度の考え方は、その後もいくつかの側面に変更を加えられたが、基本的構造の面では保持されており、安定したものとなっている。

すなわち、西ドイツの都市計画は基礎的自治体である市町村の仕事と位置付けられており、この都市計画は、市域全体にわたって、凡そ10及至15年先の土地利用、都市施設配置を見通して策定されるマスタープランとしての土地利用計画 (Flächennutzungsplan) と、このFプランを受けて市域の一部の地区の拡がり策定される、土地・建物利用について詳細に規定した Bebauungsplan (地区詳細計画) の2層構造よりなっている。日本の場合、マスタープランに相当する用途地域と地区計画の関係がそれほど密接ではないの比べて、西ドイツの場合は、FプランとBプランの関係はより密接である。

このBプランの計画内容は一般私人に対して法的拘束力を持ち、Bプランの策定されている区域内での開発、建築行為はすべてBプランにしたがわなければならない。Bプランによって規定される内容は土地・建物利用、地区施設配置について詳細な項目が上げられているが、日本の地区計画制度でも規定できる内容は相当多くその点ではそれほどの違いはない。

大きな違いは西ドイツのBプランではそれが適格性を有するために、最低限保持すべき

内容として、①建築的利用の種類と程度（建ぺい率、容積率等）②建築の可能な範囲（建築線等で指定）、③地区の交通用地（道路、駐車場等）の3要素を含むこととしている点である。これによって、地区全体の環境整備を考えた上での個々の敷地に対する建築的利用の規制が可能となっている。

もう一つの大きな違いはBプランにおいては、その計画内容を実現していくための手法として区画整理、境界整理等の事業手法や建築命令、植樹命令等の命令規定をBプランの中に位置付けている点である。また、Bプラン策定中に、Bプランの実現を妨げる行為が発生しないように、土地取引、区画形質変更、建築行為などについて原則的禁止条件を課している。

更に、日本の地区計画制度との基本的な違いは、西ドイツでは「計画なきところに建築なし」の原則が貫徹していることである。日本では地区計画のない所において、通常の開発・建築活動が広く認められているのに対し、西ドイツでは開発・建築活動はBプランの存在を前提にするのが原則となっている。

西ドイツでは、自治体の行政区域内で建築活動の起こる地域として、①適格性を備えたBプランが存在している地域、②適格性を備えたBプランは存在していない連担した既成市街地（60年法以前に形成されていた既成市街地がこれに対応）、③それ以外の地域で、実体的には市街地周辺の農用地、森林などの非都市的土地利用が主体の地域で、外部地域と呼ばれている地域、の3つの地域類型を想定している。①の地域類型における建築行為については、適格性のあるBプランに適合することを条件として、建築行為が許可される。②の連担既成市街地での建築行為については、周辺の環境条件と適合する同様な建築行為に限って許される。すなわち、既存の秩序と異なるような開発、建築活動が認められるためには、新たにそこにBプランが策定されることが必要となる。③の外部地域では、農業的土地利用に適合する建築行為などに限って許可される。この外部地域は日本の市街化調整区域と似通った地域類型であるが、日本に比べて開発許可条件がより厳しくなっている。これらの地域類型に応じた建築行為の規制誘導により、無秩序なスプロール市街地の発生が抑制されるわけである。西ドイツの場合は、どの場所で、いつ開発が行われるかについて、基本的に市町村がイニシアティブを持っているといえよう。

4. 日本型地区計画制度の活用状況と今後の展望

日本の地区計画制度は、市街地内で起こる開発行為、建築行為を規制・誘導していく制度の一つで、いわば、選択的的制度である。西ドイツのように、基本的に開発行為、建築行為は、Bプランを通じてのみ規制・誘導される、必修的制度である点と大きく異なっている。これは、日本の都市計画の歴史にも由来しているといえよう。日本の都市計画の歴史は、逆説的に言えば次々と都市問題を見だし＝作り出し、それに対処する都市計画のフロンティアを拡大してきた歴史といえよう。フロンティアを拡大する際に、広く海外にも参照すべき制度を求め、その時々最適な制度を求め、それを積み重ねてきたといえよう。ある意味では、接ぎ木的に次々と制度が制定されてきた。この結果、一方で種々の計画制度を通じて形成される市街地の形態、質がバラバラで、統一性にかけるといった問題をはらむが、他方で、状況の変化に対応した自由で、活力あふれる面白味のある市街地

が形成されることになった。日本型地区計画も、ドイツのような安定的、体系的Bプランとは異なり、柔軟で、多様な型展開が特色と言えよう。

さて、日本の地区計画が制度化された1980年以降（但しその運用が可能となったのは翌81年）、当初想定された以上の早さで全国各自治体でこの制度が活用され、普及していった。1987年12月末現在で全国の121市町村で地区計画が279件決定されている。但しその詳しい実態は不明なので、ここでは、建設省が1985年末時点でまとめた全国の140の事例調査の結果を基に地区計画の活用状況を見ていこう。

策定都市数は全国で69市町に広がっているが、地域的な偏在がみられる。北海道、東京、埼玉、福岡に策定数が多い。都市環境上の問題を多く抱える京阪神都市圏での策定の事例が少ないし、総体的に西日本での策定の事例が少ないようである。

140地区計画の内、地区整備計画を定めているものが135地区、地区整備計画の内容として建築規準法に基づく条例により制限を定めている事例が44地区ある。

表1. 地区計画活用タイプ別全国事例

類		型	事例数
商業・業務地系	都心形成型		11
	商店街改善型		3
	沿線業務地整序型		1
	新駅周辺整備型		5
住宅地系	既成住宅地改善型		2
	住工混在再整備型		1
	良好住宅地保全型		13
	住宅地整序型	- 1 基盤整備地型	2
		- 2 基盤未整備型	27
	住工混在根在住宅地誘導型		1
	新住宅地計画開発型	- 1 区画整理事業型	35
- 2 公的計画開発型		9	
- 3 民間計画開発型		21	
工業地系	工業地保全型		1
	住公混在工業地	- 1 基盤整備地型	1
		- 2 基盤未整備地型	2
	工業団地計画開発型		5
合 計		140	

(注) 事例はS. 60. 12. 現在のものである。

地区計画の区域面積は、最小0.2ha から最大378.2ha まで広がっているが、10ha未満が65地区と約半数を占めている。

地区計画の策定された場所を都市内の位置で見ると、1980年時点でDIDの外側にある新市街地で83地区(59.3%)、1980年でDIDになった進行市街地で39地区(27.9%)、1970年時点のDID区域内である既成市街地で18地区(12.9%)となっており、新市街地の形成に関与して地区計画が積極的に活用されている。

法が想定した活用タイプ別にみると、1) 区画整理などの開発事業関連地区計画が109地区と最も多く、2) スプロール防止型等地区計画17地区、3) 保全型地区計画が14地区となっている。

更にこれを、土地利用により詳しくみたのが表1である。これをみてわかるように、住宅地系の地区計画が111地区と現在の所、主流を占めている。この中でも区画整理と連動させて市街地を整序していく型が多い。区画整理が道路や敷地の整形化などの基盤整備の成果を挙げるに対し、建物の面で補強するという形で使われているといえよう。

事例としては限られているが、既成市街地での災害危険性の解消、住工混在状況などを解消しようとの意図で地区計画を活用しようとの事例がみられる。東京の蚕糸試験場跡地周辺や神戸の真野地区がそれで、これらは地区計画制度成立以前からの長い計画実践の積み重ねの上に来たものであるが、日本に数多くの問題を抱える既成市街地が山積みしていることを考えるとこれらの事例は貴重な教訓である。

もう一点注目されるのは、都心形成型のタイプの事例である。今後、日本の各都市で既成市街地を再開発して新たな都心を作る動きが活発になると想定される。ここでは、都市の景観を形成していくことも重要な課題であり、景観形成としての地区計画の経験が積み重なっていくことが期待される。

以上みたように、地区計画は制度発足以来順調に活用され、そのタイプも多様となっている。量的な広がりを超えて今後は一層の質的向上を図ることが望まれよう。地区計画の今後の考えるべき方向の一つとして、地区計画を実現していくための手段を整えていくことであろう。既に述べたように、今迄の所、地区計画は規制中心に構成されており、目標とする地区の空間像を実現していく手だてに欠ける所が多かった。地区レベルの施設の整備に対する国への助成の要望が多いが、国の財政状況を考えると、この点に多くを期待するのは困難であろう。むしろ、地方自治体レベルで独自の助成システムを想定したり一東京都では地区施設としての道路に対する助成制度を設けている一、地区市施設整備で受益を受ける住民との間で適正な施設整備の負担のルールを設定していくことが重要であろう。

また、地区計画が地区レベルで展開される諸事業を束ねて、誘導していくといった方向に構成されていくことも必要であろう。

現在まで策定された地区計画の計画図としての表現を見ると、将来の土地利用、建物形態等、地区の空間像を適切にイメージさせる表現としては不十分なものが多いようである。地区計画を立案していくに先だって、地区の将来像を十分に検討し、図面表現として練り上げていくことが重要であろう。

地区計画制度は、出来上がった市街地の環境を守り、整序していくといった面ではその役割を大きく果たせようである。規制型地区計画の効果は大といえよう。これに加えて、

日本の今後の都市空間において都市構造を転換するような大型プロジェクトが多数発生する状況を想定したとき、ダイナミックに変化する状況を的確に捕らえて柔軟に対応する地区計画といったものが求められるようになってこよう。その方向の現れが、1988年の5月に成立した再開発地区計画である。各国で蓄積されている市街地環境づくりの経験に学びながら、日本の多様な市街地に適した多様な型の地区計画を育てていくことが、日本型地区計画の発展の方向と思われる。

注

- 1) この時期の事業法として耐火建築促進法(1952)、土地区画整理法(1954)住宅地区改良法(1960)、防災建築街区造成法(1961)、市街地改造法(1961)、新住宅市街地開発法(1963)流通業務市街地整備法(1966)等がある。
- 2) 1987年6月2日公布の集落地域整備により、市街地調整区域であっても地区計画などの一類型として集落地区計画が策定されることになった。
- 3) 活用タイプとして以下の表のものが示されている。

通達	活用可能なケース例:	整備タイプ
①	基盤整備と併せて分譲住宅等の建設が行われたケース:	上もの規制型
②	面的整備の周辺地域で一体的な整備をはかるケース:	周辺一体整理型
③	大規模宅地について将来の道路等を担保にするケース:	二段階整理型
④	事業予定地域で地区の方針だけ定めるケース:	将来指針型
⑤	不良住宅地を良好な住宅地へと誘導していくケース:	改良誘導型
⑥	木造住宅密集地で共同建て替え等を誘導していくケース:	共同化誘導型
⑦	商店街を機能的で魅力あるものに誘導していくケース:	商店街整備型
⑧	幹線街路整備にあわせて沿道街区を整備していくケース:	沿道整備型
⑨	避難路や公共空地の整備と不良住宅整備を結合するケース:	総合整備型
⑩	中小工場と共同住宅の混在地域で職住近隣を保って整備していくケース:	職住近隣整備型
⑪	スプロール地域で不良街区の形成を防止するケース:	スプロール防止型
⑫	良好住宅地で、細分化等の環境悪化を防止するケース:	環境保全型
⑬	特色のある街なみを形成している地区で景観を保全するケース:	街なみ保全型
⑭	健全な住宅地でいけがきの設置を促進するケース:	生け垣誘導型

Influence of U. S. Rein Government to Okinawa City Planning
and originality of Okinawa in the Postwar

Professor of Ryukyu University Takayuki Ikeda

1. First

At the same time as the completion of the Second World War of August, 1945 Okinawa was separated from Japan. Okinawa entered under the occupation of U.S.. Thereafter, for about 27 years to return (Japanese return) to the Japan proper of May, 1972, Okinawa had a special experience that carries out City Planning under the reign of U.S.. Okinawa City Planning of this time will show the phenomenon that Japanese City Planning and U.S. Reign Planning cross. Or, the interest certain result will be offered as the practice of Occupation City Policy of U.S..

The next 3 points are clarified in this paper.

① As for Okinawa City Planning did it would have received an influence of the policy and Planning System Of U.S. Reign Government among the reign by U.S. in the postwar?

② Simultaneously, as for Okinawa City Planning how did it would have maintained the relation with City planning of Japan?

③ Would have existed Okinawa original City Planning among U.S. and Japan?

By carrying them, It can obviously the character of U.S. Reign Planning after the war in Okinawa and the influence to Okinawa. The originality of Okinawa City Planning will be searched.

It is a characteristic of this paper to put and clarify importance to the above ① especially. It is to answer the City Planning of Okinawa as if U.S. Reign Government was thinking a what.

It needs to study from the next 3 angles for that.

(A) How much interest did U.S. Reign Government would have had to the City Planning of Okinawa (and also Japan)?

(B) How did U.S. Reign Government would have gotten involved to Okinawa City Planning?

(C) Would have existed any concrete case of City Planning (plan, enforcement) of result or the change as the result?

U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands relation document and Ryukyu Government City Planning Committee Data of U.S. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) are analyzed as data in this paper. With this middle, U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands relation document is the voluminous data that reach to about 50~60 thousands. Therefore it is during special and detailed analysis. (Note 1) Accordingly, proclamations, ordinances, commands, laws and 3 research reports of city planning for Okinawa that U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands investigated are handled supplementary.

Also, Ryukyu Government City Planning Committee data is during for detailed analysis of "after the war Okinawa City Planning history" separately. Accordingly, only the data that are related to Naha City and U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands are handled.

It describes to the next order in this paper.

① First of all, the changes and the mechanism of the U.S. reign organization and Okinawa self governing organization are grasped as the reign organization in Okinawa of the postwar.

② Next, the materialization and changes of Okinawa City Planning of the postwar are going to announced every era classification including the relation between U.S. Reign Government and Naha City.

③ The role and effect of practical case that U.S. reign government got involved simultaneously, is searched. And the relation between Okinawa City Planning and Japanese City Planning are contrasted.

④ The interesting of U.S. reign government for Okinawa City Planning is grasped by 3 research reports (city planning, traffic, industrial city) that U.S. Civil Ad-

ministration of the Ryukyu Islands. (Note 2)

⑤ The role that U.S. reign government accomplished for Okinawa City Planning is evaluated by these results. And it studies about the characteristic and the influence that Okinawa City Planning received from U.S. reign government.

2. The Reign Organization of Okinawa after the War

2-1 Reign Organization by U.S.

The Reign Organization of Okinawa by U.S. is divided to 3 of "U.S. Navy Military Government", "U.S. Army Military Government", "U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands" by time. Two governments before were called "U.S. Military Government" and remainder was called "USCAR".

(1) U.S. Military Government

On April 1, 1945 Nimitz of U.S. Pacific Ocean Areas Chief declared the establishment of U.S. Navy Military Government to the inhabitant of Southwest Islands and the adjacent waters under U.S. corps occupation. And he became a military administration director by oneself. (Nimitz proclamation) At this time the reign of Okinawa by U.S. Navy Military Government began more.

There was what time change of right of command of military government by navy and army until July 1, 1946. (Note 3) Most of the corps that get stationed in Okinawa are an army. Therefore at this time Army Military Government materialized more officially. Okinawa entered under the reign.

As for two U.S. Military Government was same the fundamental function with only the difference about the military government director was navy or army whether. Army Military Government was longer about 4 years of reign period then Navys. As for Army Military Government Army Technology Corps supported in respect of design and construction technology. The military government by these U.S. Navy or Army, in the exceptional case that the distinction is required especially below, "U.S. Military Government" it calls.

(2) USCAR

The U.S. Military Government was abolished, on the basis of the command regarding U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands that U.S. Chief of Headquarters Far East Command emitted to U.S. Ryukyus Command Chief on December 15, 1950. Newly U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands was established.

For long term reign of Okinawa that continues hereafter the conventional occupation policy in the cooperation of the inhabitant it is rare. Therefore, a judgment on the side of the such U.S. that needs to move to civil administration from military administration that do formally was in the background. U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands calls like that below, from that was called "USCAR".

By the establishment of USCAR as the representative of Okinawa Reign, U.S. Far East Command Headquarter was called USCAR director and U.S. Ryukyus Command Chief (U.S. Military Government director) was called USCAR subdirector.

USCAR director bore general responsibility of Okinawa Reign. He had the appointing power of the subdirector. Many of the authority caused to the subdirector entrusted exercised. By this entrustment, there was USCAR subdirector duty that military necessity advances the welfare improvement within the range where permits. However, as for USCAR subdirector was having the powerful right like to establishes and to proclaims the ordinance, to corresponds to Ryukyu Government Legislative Organ and the power appoint and dismiss to the administration chief and the subchief.

Furthermore, as for USCAR subdirector the name of "high commissioner" was used with "president administration command" of June 5, 1957. To be Mainland Return (1972) thereafter, it continues.

The organization content of USCAR is shown in the figure. 1. There is the division where is related to construction in 9 division Public Services. The division name is changing to Public Works from the 1957. However, there was not the change in

the content. There was 3 fields of "technology and construction", "public facilities", "communication and traffic". (Note 4)

2-2 Self Governing Organization of Okinawa

From after the war to Japanese return there are 4 self governing organization of Okinawa of "Okinawa Inquiry Committee" (1945), Okinawa Civil Administration (1946), "Okinawa Gunto Government" (1950), "Ryukyu Government" (1952). The outline is explained easily below.

(1) Okinawa Inquiry Committee

On August 20, 1945 U.S. Navy Military Government announced an establishment of Okinawa Inquiry Committee that consists of the inhabitant representative of each accommodation areas in Ishikawa City. Okinawa Inquiry Committee was composed of the member of 15 persons that has the next condition.

- ① Each member has specialized knowledg skill with regard to 14 departments of Commerce and Industry Department, Medical Department, Regal Department.
- ② It is not incline in a part of areas. It is the representative of each social scale.
- ③ It does not have close relation with militaly authorities and the imperialist of Japan.

Thereafter, Okinawa Inquiry Committee worked as the organization that measures U.S. Military Government and the understanding of will between Okinawa People following an interview of U.S. Military Government.

(2) Okinawa Civil Administration

It was established by "the Creation of Central Okinawan Administration" U.S. Navy Military Government command the 156th on April 24, 1946. The function of Okinawa Inquiry Committee to it was taken over. Okinawa Diet was established as the advisory bodyof the governor.

The system Okinawa Civil Administration had the governor, the deputy governor, governor secretariat and, general affairs department, Public Service Department and other 14 departments. However, the governor was appinted from the U.S. Military Government director.

(3) Okinawa Gunto Government

The election of the group of islands governor was done on the basis of the proclamation of U.S. Army Military Government Ordinance the 22nd "The Law Concerning the organization of the Gunto Governments", on August 4, 1950. On November 4 of the same year, Okinawa Gunto Government was inaugurated.

It is inheriting the function of Okinawa Civil Administration of befor. The election administration committee, inspection committee, public safety commission was being added. Accordingly the organization as autonomy was arranged more.

However, it was a preparatory organization and role upon for the inauguration of Ryukyu Government after 2 years.

(4) Ryukyu Government

Ryukyu Government was done Creation by "the establishment of Ryukyu Government" USCAR proclamation the 13th on April 1, 1952. Administration cheif secretariat, administration cheif information office, administrative services and other 1 bunch 13 offices 81 departments and personnel committee, central election committee, central board of education was established at the time of inauguration. The region agency of each the government was put in Amami, Miyako, Yaeyama.

Ryukyu Government could have the full power of the politics in Ryukyu. The condition where complies with the ploclamation of USCAR, the ordiance and command however, was attached. (Same proclamation article 2 of however it writes)

The following was prescribed with the same 7 articles furthermore. USCAR sub-director the implementation of law and regulation that Ryukyu Government and other Local Autonomy or the agency established, when be necessary can suspended or prohibit

and refuse. Ordering the proclamation of law and regulation that the subdirector admits as propriety a part of all or all authorities in Ryukyu are exercised with oneself. (Note 5)

3. Materialization and Changes of Okinawa City Planning and Role of U.S. Reign Government in the Postwar

The characteristic of Okinawa City Planning and the reration of U.S. Reign Government from the end of war to Mainland Return can catch and classify to the next 6 period. (Table. 1)

- ① Unlawful and direct reign period (1945~50)
- ② Regulation City Planning and indirect reign start period (1950~52)
- ③ Statutory City Planning and self governing idea period (1952~56)
- ④ Capital city construction planning and finance reign period (1956~60)
- ⑤ Practical City Planning and long-term planning research period (1960~68)
- ⑥ Japanese assimilation period (1968~72)

1-1 The 1st Period: Unlawful and Direct Reign Period (1945~50)

(1) Direct Reign by U.S. Military Government

In April, 1945 U.S. pacific ocean areas chief Nimitz anounced the following with the Proclamation.

- ① The establishment of U.S. sea military government in Southwest Islands and ad-justment sea are declared. He becomes the military government director.
- ② The exercise of all administrative power of Japanese empire government is suspended.

③ The jurisdiction of Japanese court of justice is suspended.

④ If it does not happen necessity when he exercises his authority, the customs and right of property of the inhabitant are respected. The implementation of the law in force is continued. Accordingly, there is not legislative power, the administrative power. The law of Japan to it was able to use as it is. Old City Planning Law and Urban Area Building Law had the effect.

However, there was the problems on the disision of city planning, operating body of project, body of building control with the old law. Accordingly, those law was not able to use as it is in actual execution. Asthe result, it was the same as unlawful condition.

Thereupon, the city of Okinawa had to get the authorization and aid of U.S. Military Government, in all of the plan, enforcement of projects and back-up of working expenses that are related in the city planning after war rehabilitation and that. The City Planning of Okinawa of the postwar began under direct reign of U.S. Military Government.

(2) Compulsory Transmigration "Land Allotment" System

On October 23, 1945 U.S. Military Government informed "Inhabitant Settlement Plan and Policy" (command the 29th) to each accommodation area captain. The purpose was to transfer the inhabitant of the southern part to theirs original place of residence while end of the war was accommodating it to a north area (12 areas) of Okinawa central and south area. It was scheduled to complete by January, in 1946.

The following was instructed as the policy of the plan.

① Inhabitant Committee is set up. They assign the dwelling and cultivated land of family.

② It takes attention to that the person who was having dwelling in the same area on the occasion of the assignment, come to move in a back.

③ This assignment does not exert the influence on the ownership on the future law.

④ Land that was possessing it from before be assigned to the individual. However, other person may be caused the land resided.

⑤ The inhabitant disperses to whole of residence possible land inside the area.

⑥ The captain of reception area offers temporary house, meal. He enforces the settlement of the inhabitant in accordance with this policy.

The settlement of the inhabitant took about one year. It completed in quite a lot area. However, as for the area of the old Naha City and old Koza City which are occupying a lot, the occupation area of U.S. armed forces was wide. Accordingly, the inhabitant had to live tentatively in the different area furthermore. After that, the release of occupied area was gradually advanced. It was 1950 years that the old inhabitant of the majority of old Naha City returned.

And, the person who are not able to return to original land by the reason of the above and others, the person who did not have land, on the occasion of the settlement of inhabitant, were assigned the lands by the judgment of the captain of area and municipalities chief whichever. It became a cause of the occurrence of the land problem in the after.

The purpose that the plan in this stage causes conversion to the settlement of the inhabitant from the accommodation of the inhabitant is strong. However, there was not the actual consideration to it, even if it pays attention to it to that the original dweller returns after as the policy.

Besides there was the factor of the problem in the method of the allocation that the provisional allocation including then area person, the autonomy of the inhabitant is lacked the disregard, of the landownership. There was not the concept of residence of inhabitant in the plan.

After that, the landowner returned. The landowner requested the evacuation of land of oneself. The trouble between they and Inhabitants of land allotment occurred. Because of this, USCAR which took the place from U.S. Military Government demanded the establishment of the law to Okinawa Gunto Government. Okinawa Gunto Government established temporary processing "Regulations on Okinawa Islands Land Allotment" (Land Allotment Regulation) in September, 1951. Thus using right of allotted lands was replaced to right of loan.

After that furthermore, in June, 1955 Ryukyu Government proclaimed "Land Allotment Law". By this law the right of loan and period of Land Allotment was given legal positioning. It became the lease on the leased land law after the mainland return. It is reaching in today.

However, as for the opposition of the landowner and lease person the root is deep even now. It is the big obstacle when development and improvement of urban area is done and construct.

Namely, Land Allotment System was temporary residential policy by the U.S. Military Government of the postwar. Although that was carried out just as the landowner absence U.S. Military Government did not do fundamental solution. The right of Land Allotment was replaced to the lease. It was fixed in the condition of as it is. The result, city central area of many land bases were formed by this temporary and superficial land adjustment.

(3) Aid in Kind "Standard House"

In October, 1945 U.S. Military Government informed (command the 37th) "building materials of Okinawa person houses". U.S. Military Government instructed that materials of the houses for the inhabitant in the area of Land Allotment are estimated.

The following was instructed as the building plan of in the case.

- ① Framing is a floor space 40 square feet to every 1 person.
- ② Floor tension is 10 square feet to every 1 person.
- ③ Roof makes with sheet metal (10%) and eulalia (90%).

In December of the same year U.S. Military Government informed "Okinawa person housing plan" (command the 72nd). The material of houses for the blueprint of houses and 50 thousands doors for Okinawa person and the construction method were presented.

The residence was built with tent tension and, wall eulalia an of the framing of 2in by 4in that used the lumber of U.S. domestic production. The area of main house was 17.5 m². Total area were 21.9 m². It was a uniform standard. Therefore it was called "Standard House". (Figure.2)

As for Standard House total 73500 houses was constructed in the 3 years from November, 1946. It is gratuitous to the people who lost theirs houses with war damage and was offered.

This Standard House caused to builder of local end constructed preferably. There was an effect of Technology Learning of the first method of 2in by 4in construction in Japan. There were many cases Standard House is built with "Land Allotment". Accordingly, the leased land problem occurred. Even if the house deteriorates reconstruction could not. The lands was narrow. The roads was non construction. The slum district of the law standard was formed with the result, overpopulations.

(4) GROA Aid

In order that U.S. Congress helps people of occupation area from starvation, disease, social unrest to Okinawa, on the occasion of U.S. Army Military Government establishment of July, in 1946, "Government and Relief in Occupied Areas Fund" (GROAF) was decided.

As for this GROA Fund the partition of each year was continued. The Aid in Kind centering around the foods, various kinds materials and military fFamily houses, roads, harbor, electric power, public works of water supply were enforced from 1947 to 1954. Cash was aided to Ryukyu Government from 1955 to 1957. The Aid Amount for a year reached to about 10~50 million dollars. It was such important funds resource that carry out the restoration of the war-ravaged city, city construction.

(5) Naha City Planning for Rehabilitation by U.S. Military Government

In November, 1946 U.S. Military Government subdirector Craig colonel expressed in the following manner.

Naha draws the clear line between the ward the area of government offices, shopping district, residential area as the capital of Okinawa. Modern equipment is performed. So that Naha becomes the East 1 modern city in sanitation, cultural facilities apart from the size, the City Planning is had been ordered to the expert.

The Military Government politics general manager Reiton colonel who received his instructions presented Naha City Program for rehabilitation to Okinawa Civil Administration to here the opinion of Okinawa Civil Administration.

Okinawa Civil Administration saw when this plan is the first tentative plan of U.S. Army Technology Corps. They thought that Engineering Party of U.S. armed forces carries out the construction. Accordingly, they did not show an active correspondence to the plan.

It was the sole Okinawa City Planning Draft that U.S. Military Government got involved directly. However, the plan figure is indistinct. Accordingly the content does not understand. Thereupon, the general characteristic is guessed from the article of the newspaper of that time. The schedule will be following.

① The plan area was 4 towns (Kumoji, Miebashi, Makishi, Wakasa) of old Naha City where surround Naha Port. It was the narrow range including "Uenoya" of suburbs to a part.

② Plan population was 25000 people.

③ A road set up beach promenade where does west beach the excursion. A road of the north and south that meets to the road of east and west and it that face to Naha Port was set up as the Main Street. City roads divided 4 to the line of the checker-board all centering around these.

④ The area of government offices, shopping district were set up to central part. Residential area and factory district were set up in environs.

⑤ Museum and zoological and botanical gardens were arranged to small park, height in large park, several places in 2 places of the north and south.

⑥ Clear water reservoir, power station, city hall, theater, hotel, post office, fire department were arranged. (Note 7)

(6) Building permission of U.S. Military Government

As the U.S. military occupied area of the city is released little by little the buildings activity of the citizen became brisk. To regulate the buildings activity

U.S. Military Government informed "building permit" (command the 3rd) in January, 1949. U.S. Military Government applied the building permission system.

The procedure was the next method.

① Building application attaches permission or non permission and the reason all. It submits it to the general affairs department of Okinawa Civil Administration from each municipalities chief.

② Okinawa Civil Administration gives permission or non permission to this. It submits to the general affairs department of U.S. Military Government.

③ U.S. Military Government gives final permission or non permission to this. After that, the application returns to municipalities chief through the same route all.

④ It bulletins to the place where is easy to see the permitted card of Japanese and english sentence before the buildings start.

Also, the following was shown to permit condition.

① It does not construct within 1 mile from military facility area.

② It does not construct to regular within from magazine area, gasoline and oil pipeline, storage area.

③ It does not construct in keep out of the area where the military government designated.

Penal provisions was set up to the offender other than this. (Note 8)

3-2 The 2nd Period: Regulation City Planning and Indirect Reign Start Period (1950~52)

(1) Authorization of Naha City Planning

On April 13, 1950 U.S. Military Government director Sheets MAJ GEN and military chief executive met with Naha mayor that accompanied it to military office chief Saifer colonel. They examine and authorize Naha City Planning draft that Naha City submitted. There was the restriction that city planning draft receives the authorization of U.S. Military Government. However, it was the first City Planning which was set in Okinawa.

From this before, Okinawa Civil Administration were thinking the city planning of Naha city that oneself should set it. It was believing that the government should perform the city planning of Naha city fruit. Even Naha City was admitting that Okinawa Civil Administration is nucleus the plan. Naha City was preparedness that cooperates laterally. However, it was rejected with a such reason that the schedule that Okinawa Civil Administration prepared does not go along to the intention of the Military Government.

On March 22, 1950 U.S. Military Government sent the next command. Naha City the City Planning of Naha City plans with oneself and should perform fruit. Okinawa Civil Administration be said the referential opinion to the city planning of Naha City. However they can not restrain Naha City.

Naha City organized city planning committee, city planning conference (Note 9) in haste. Naha City summarized the city planning draft in one month. They submitted it to U.S. Military Government. (note 10)

The concrete content of the plan was set about 3 months later. The plan combined with the establishment of the municipal ordinance and was decided. Next the content shows.

① Planning population makes 62000 people at the later time in 5. (In March, 1950 at present 44000 people) 140000 people are made at the later time in 20.

② City planning area is all Naha city and a part of Mawashi village. It is about 486ha except for 85ha of military designated area.

③ Residential area, Commercial area (Seed commerce area, Second commerce area), Industrial area, Government and Municipal Offices District.

④ Main road plan ⑤ Park and green land plan ⑥ Irrigation

⑦ River and drainage channel ⑧ School

⑨ Readjustment of graveyard, Crematory establishment

⑩ Publicly owned water surface reclamation project

⑪ Land readjustment project (Figure. 3)

This City Planning did not change from the mechanism of the City Planning of Japan in prewar days fundamentally. There was it the characteristic with the next point. Main roads network was partial radial roads and the ring-shaped roads. The seed and second seed commerce areas, the government and municipal offices district were set up in the zoning area or district.

To this plan U.S. Military Government director Sheets MAJ GEN evaluated when he is equipped with the next 4 conditions where showed. (Figure. 3)

- ① Retainment of survival buildings ② Exclusion of military designated area
③ Utilization of roads established ④ Setting of main roads

(2) Naha City Planning Regulation and Urban Area Building Control Regulation

Naha City Planning obtained the authorization of U.S. Military Government. However, there was not legal ground as it is. Naha City was not able to announce it to the citizen.

Therefore, Naha City set city planning regulation and urban area building control regulation simultaneously. These regulations gave ground to the notification of city planning decision and to the building control after it.

On August 1, 1950 Naha City decided Naha City Planning, city planning regulation, urban area building control regulation and announced them. (Note. 11)

However, the establishment of City Planning relation regulation only indicated that Naha City is nucleus the enforcement of the plan. Naha City could not implement the plan if there is not the aid for project by U.S. Military Government.

(3) Aid by Ryukyu Restoration Finance Fund

In April, 1950, U.S. Military Government established "Ryukyu Restoration Finance Fund" (Ordinance the 4th) for the purpose of the establishment of long term equipment funds supply organization for the housing and production facility and other restoration of Ryukyu. About 830,000 dollars were issued.

Ryukyu Bank was entrusted the fund. A fund became 24,726,000 dollars finally. This Ryukyu Restoration Finance Fund (RRFF) financed to the houses building of 78024 doors in the 1951~1959. Also, the proportion of the back-up to the flotation of loan of cities, towns and villages even was high. Many of the city planning project cost of Naha City were supplied by RRFF.

(4) Okinawa Islands Building Standard Regulations

In November, 1950 Okinawa Gunto Government was established. In October, 1951 Okinawa Islands Building Standard Regulations were established. The Urban Area Building Control Regulation of Naha City did not work effectively to it. The regulation of building was necessary even for other cities, towns and villages. Therefore, the building standard regulations that reach to whole island were determined.

The content of this regulations were 95 articles. The others that were replacing "Governor" and "Municipalities Chief" as project executor partially almost were the same as 1950 building standard law of Japan.

However, this regulations were the preparation to the building standard law that the next Ryukyu Government establishes like Okinawa Gunto Government. It was not applied actually.

(5) Switching to USCAR

In December, 1950 "U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands" was established. USCAR took over the aid to the housing and city planning project where U.S. Military Government has carried out to it.

From the angle of "civil administration" Ryukyu have come to be reigned over. However, as it expressed before USCAR subdirector was holding actual authority. There was not big change of reign organization. It converted clearly to "indirect reign" of USCAR although, from "direct reign" that the military government has carried out until now.

USCAR entrusted City Planning and also the enforcement nucleus to local autonomy. That they are related limited to technology and funds only indirect aid.

USCAR was the next attitude. Theirs evident intention is done to be related to the U.S. military base. However, they do not have an idea in the area plan of Ryukyu, the way of urban formation. The attitude is the obligation abandonment to the City Planning of Okinawa.

3-3 The 3rd period: Statutory City Planning and Self governing dispute period (1952~56)

(1) Establishment of City Planning Law by Ryukyu Government

Ryukyu Government which had legislative power in April, 1952 was established. Ryukyu Government established the law of the City Planning relation one after another. The road law of September, 1952, the building standard law and the land expropriation law of the same year, the city planning law of August, 1953 next year furthermore. If Ryukyu Government, the name called the administration chairman are eliminated that time of Japan proper of that as these law were the same content entirely.

There was firstly this after the war that the City Planning relation law as "Law" of the government level was established. Naha city planning projects enforced on the basis of Naha City Planning Regulation, and by the aid of U.S. Military Government. However, there was a limit in the enforcement of the projects in a week municipal ordinance of the legal effect. The establishment of the city planning law by Ryukyu Government was necessary to promote the projects smoothly with the new organization of USCAR, Ryukyu Government and Naha City.

3 city planning projects of Naha City that were during implementation at that time, at the same time as the proclamation of this city planning law were considered as authorization was received by this law. (Figure. 4)

- ① Higashi-machi and Thuji-machi and Miebashi districts land readjustment project
- ② Thuji-machi and Wakasa-cho readjustment for graveyard
- ③ Makishi road widening work

(2) Decision of statutory Naha city planning

On the basis of Ryukyu government city planning law, Naha City began the planning work of City Planning newly. Naha City Planning manager received the guidance of Waseda University Professor Dr. Eiyo Ishikawa that was his teacher. (Note. 12)

Naha City examined the merger of 2 city 2 villages of Shuri city, Oroku village, Mawashi village, and the basis plan of Naha City planning. However, Mawashi village reserved their attitude, about the admission to city planning area that made city village merger. Mawashi village was thinking the promotion to a city. Therefore it was not in agreement.

Thereupon, Naha City which was legal City Planning in the position that must decideurgently applied for City Planning where is composed of the city planning area of administration area of city and the land adjustment of Nishisinnachi. Ryukyu Government decided it on June 4, 1954 and announced it. (Figure. 5, 6, 7)

After that, Naha City received the guidance of Eiyo Ishikawa once again. Naha City examined the city planning draft of 3 city 2 villages. Mawashi city and Tomigusuku-son were inserted in city planning area. This time, Tomigusuku son opposed to the admission to the plan area. Therefore, Naha City removed Tomigusuku-son from the area. After all, Naha City decides Naha City planning that made new Naha City (old Naha City, Shuri City, Oroku Village) and Mawashi City to city planning area on March 23, 1956 and announced it. Mawashi City was merged and was absorb to Naha City after that. By the dispute over the merger of city village Naha statutory city planning requires years of the 3 and changed 2 times.

This Naha City planning was the city planning area of 3698ha. 10 after in the future population was 234,000 people. That after the 20 was 326,000 people. (1956 years present 165,000 people)

The content decided the framework of City Planning of the present Naha City. That Naha regulation city planning (1950) and this plan is compared the following understands.

The framework changed to the pattern of the lattice shaped including the land adjustment for reclamation area of the west side from the structure of the ring-shaped

network of roads. It was set up the center of the city main road which extends to the north and south newly. The number 1 line (the present national highway number 58 line) of the west side and it was parallelling. (Figure. 8)

3-4 The 4th Period: Capital City Construction Planning and Finance Reign Period (1956~60)

(1) Promotion of Capital City Construction Planning

In February, 1956 Ryukyu Government establishes and proclaims "Capital Construction Law". It was to promote the City Planning of capital Naha city of Ryukyu.

Capital City Construction Planning is the fundamental plan of the important facility that implements it in Naha city planning area (Article 2). Capital City Construction Planning and the capital construction projects were considered as there is an application of city planning law (Article 16). The actual content was Naha City planning.

The purpose was in the next point. Capital construction committee (administration chief, administration subchief, Naha mayor, member 9 people) adjust the working share of Ryukyu Government and cities towns villages concerned. The committee requests their cooperation to cities towns villages concerned for capital construction. The committee demands the aid of USCAR for capital construction. (Note. 13)

In March, 1959 USCAR proclaimed special account of subsidy (high commissioner ordinance the 22nd) to Naha City projects. USCAR set up the special account of a subsidy to Ryukyu Government for the projects of Naha City that the capital construction committee advised.

Capital city construction planning projects (Naha city planning project) required 3,180 millions yen with the total amount. USCAR backs up the 52%. Naha City shared 42%. Ryukyu Government shared 6%.

Okinawa City Planning in this time became the next organization. As for a plan cities towns villages concerned makes. The capital construction committee of Ryukyu Government advances it. USCAR backs up in respect of finance for that. It is the development to "finance reign" from "plan reign" that depends to USCAR.

(2) Stoppage of Aid to Progressive Mayor

There is the blank of the 3 years in the interval to proclamation (1959) of USCAR back-up from the plan (1956) of Naha City planning and capital city construction planning. Mr. Senaga of the reformist party (people party) who it carries opposite military administration got elected to Naha mayor, USCAR was because it suspended the back-up (RRFF) to it to, (in December, 1956). Because Mr. Senaga resigned Naha mayor after all, the back-up of USCAR was resumed. This blank is showing an effect of the finance reign by USCAR exactry.

In the meantime, USCAR to the aid Naha City and the Capital Construction Committee petitioned. There was not the effect, although tried to obtain the aid from the Japanese Government and interchange with the Metropolitan Area Development Plan Committee of Japan proper.

3-5 The 5th Period: Pratical Development and Improvement of Urban Area and Long-term Planning Research Period (1960~68)

(1) Slum District and Details Street Plan

The city planning project of the major level had been promoted. On the other hand, some sort of correspondence was required even if it corresponds to slum district and non construction of roads serving daily living where are formed to the city.

In March, 1962 Naha City enforced the defective residence actual condition survey". City planning decision of "Defective residential area reconstruction Higawa district land adjustment" was done in January, 1966 the result.

However the back-up from USCAR of this time changed to the character of financing. The frame was narrowed. Therefore, the spare that Naha City finds out new working expenses was nonexistent.

Thereupon, Naha City began land adjustment, road construction with agreement and lease of land of the plan decision and relation landowners. It was optional land

readjustment project.

Because regular land adjustment to change is anxious the trouble with the land-owners occurred. A lot of buildings was constructed in the area. Therefore the project was suspended with the stage that approximate 1/4 of the area is upgraded. (Note. 14)

Naha City which received the demand of road construction from inhabitant of the district in July, 1960 decided the City Planning of "details street plan" of Shurionaka-cho and Sakurazaka. It was the areawide plan of the width personnel 6 meter street network for district.

The guarantee of working expenses even this plan was not obtained similarly. Naha City tried to upgrade road space with building controle of only city planning decision. It was the planning system which resembled then Building Line System of prewar days. Thus roads formation rate stayed to 55%. The remainder the present until plan decision be in the state of. (Note. 15)

Correspondence of Naha City to these development and improvement of urban area are showing the following. The city planning in that time was limited to the upgrading of the basic facility. It was not reaching to development and improvement of urban area that is concerned to citizen life directly. Therefore Naha City had to think the original planning system which can correspond with oneself conversely.

(2) Survey of Okinawa City Planning by USCAR

The consignment survey of then regional and City Planning relation of Okinawa is carried out from the long-term and extensive viewpoint by this time, USCAR.

① "10 year Program to Improve Okinawa Highway Transportation" (1962.6) examined the traffic present of main roads and improvement plan of interchange in Okinawa Main Island. These form of plan had the pattern of various kinds. However, it was many to not fit the road situation of narrow Okinawa of the width personnel, because those are fairly big. (Note. 16)

② "A City and Regional Planning program for Ryukyu Islands" (1964.11) checked the following in detail for the purpose of, that develops such practical program that executes Regional and City Planning in Okinawa Main Island.

Population, Land use, Industry and in the future estimation, Land use planning, Situation of the city planning in the main city of the middle southern part, Characteristic of various plan (land use, urban house, center commerce area, main road traffic, harbor, park, school, urban renewal), Means for plan implementation (executive organization, legislation, zoning system, land readjustment project, aid system).

However, most were staying at the stage of collection and tidying of plan information. The zoning system and land adjustment of Japan and house standard of Taiwan were being checked, in the middle. As for the collecting scope be very widely. However, the preparation and plan of the plan was not seen. (Note. 17)

③ "Industrial Estate and New Town Study Okinawa" (1969.6) is examining plan, harbor development of the ground, selection of industrial estate and the land use and residential section where are suited the development in Okinawa Main Island as the consistency of Okinawa economic development survey.

As for it the plan element is strong more other survey. Modular system, shopping lace, cluster plan are being illustrated as various plan standard with several case study. Also, the example of possibility of free trade zone and Taiwan, Hong Kong be being introduced. The content of this report is very unique. (Note. 18)

It is, why it may investigated and entrust and related it to the plan, when it is changing to finance reign furthermore the change, to indirect reign of USCAR from direct reign of U.S. Military Government. The reason is not obvious in the present analysis stage.

Perhaps, USCAR expected that Okinawa Reign becomes for long time. Thereupon, they by collecting exact information of the area stable of the development plan and the base of the area whole appoint obtain tried to must.

The ground that is suited the plan and development that actually, are handled in planning research of these was not done authorize with Ryukyu Government, cities, towns, villages concerned as it is. The traces that those materialized are almost

nonexistent. A part of the improvement of interchange, Reclamation project of Itoman, the concept of the free port zone only materialized. (Note. 19)

Also, these research reports is fairly thick. It was handmade bookbinding. Officially it was not issued and not be print. The number of the copies was limited. Accordingly, the reports stayed as the inside data of USCAR. The content remained in Okinawa and was not comprehended.

If it was carried out with the stage that these planning research, are setting Okinawa City Planning yet the influence is guessed that it fairly was. It is thought that a few influence are exerted to the area policy of after main land return about the content of a part of reports. However, USCAR was not able to have time when confirms it.

3-6 The 6th Period: Japanese Assimilation Period (1968~72)

The exercise of Mainland Return became brisk every place in this time. The negotiation of the government level was carried out about it. Accordingly, the City Planning relation method have come to be combined to Japan.

"Land Readjustment Law" (July, 1969 Ryukyu Government) and "New City Planning Law" (June, 1970 Ryukyu Government) were proclaimed.

It was summarized although "Mainland and Okinawa Incorporating Research Report" that depends to the Japanese Government unification inquiry commission in July, 1968. It is tidying Okinawa and improvement problem of after incorporated between the mainland and comparison of city development.

In October, 1971 in preparation for ,mainland return, Japan Government Ministry of Construction (housing office, city office) carried out the actual condition survey for the housing demand grasp of Okinawa. It is Japanese assimilation period exactly.

In May, 1972 Okinawa returned to Japan. It became Okinawa prefecture. Ryukyu Government, USCAR were abolished.

4. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to search the next 3 points.

① Influence of U.S. Reign Government ② Relation with Japan ③ Originality of Okinawa City Planning

Next the item that became obvious to these goal is summarized.

(1) Influence of U.S. Reign Government

It confirms from 3 view point furthermore regarding this.

① Extent of the interest to Okinawa ② Method of the involvement to Okinawa City Planning ③ Result of the plan, enforcement

Then interest to Okinawa City Planning of U.S. Reign Governmet was fairly high. The U.S. Military Government, especially Army Military Government of the early period prepared restoration city planning draft of Naha City. Accordingly, the deep contemplation to their Okinawa was fairly strong.

USCAR after that collected detailed and wide plan data regarding Regional and City Planning for Okinawa. Accordingly, thir interest to Okinawa was high. Examined deeply main roads network, harbor facility, housing supply, development be suited to the ground, city planning law and system, that especially attach than.

The method of the involvement to Okinawa City Planning was direct involvement of the compulsory transmigration, thing attendant, road construction, draw up of planning draft by U.S. Military Government at the beginning. However in place of USCAR after, it was switched to indirect involvement of the upgrading and aid system of fund and finance of the relation legislation.

Namely, USCAR was the next attitude. They do only money and substance aid. The plan causes in the area. If there is not the influence to the base and the periphery it entrusts the plan of then area to autonomy. Accordingly, there were stock, technical guidance of various deep contemplation, data. However, those were not reflected directly to the content of City Planning of Okinawa. Only the plan of the autonomy of the area formed the structure of city after that.

If they take up it particularly the construction of facility within the road and

building base by U.S. armed forces brought about the diffusion of the progress and concrete building technology and automobile road traffic in Okinawa. The city shape of Okinawa different from the result, Japan proper was formed.

However, the City Planning by the local autonomy of that time did not consider at all about these. There was big gap between base construction of City Planning and building construction there.

As for the view point of the regional planning that was able to tangle with economic development on the other hand, a part of the regional plan umbilicus of Okinawa of after main land return was inherited.

(2) Relation with Japan

The city Planning of Okinawa was in Japan proper and close relation in the law system face. By the proclamation of Nimitz, the law to it had the effect to some degree. Especially the land adjustment system was used and was apply the agricultural land readjustment law from prewar days. It was done and was watch important as the base construction of the city.

The law that was established with the mainland was proclaimed as the law of Ryukyu Government with the content of as it is with the delay of the 4~5 years.

Remain the technology guidance in planning side and the appear of working expenses was. Eiyo Ishikawa did planning ideal guidance in planning side. He played the big role to the plan of Naha City planning. However, he died halfway. (In September, 1955) Accordingly, his influence did not reach even to the development of Naha City planning after that, plan of other city and plan of all Okinawa.

The aid was obtained fairly from U.S. Military Government and both of USCAR in respect of finance. The aid of the Japanese Government was almost nonexistent. The Japanese Government only offered the information of the legislation.

However, if it sees it from the content of City Planning, the City Planning of Okinawa was conventional planning system of Japan obviously. As for it local municipality planned under the financial aid of U.S.. Local municipality applied it.

(3) Originality of Okinawa City Planning

Okinawa City Planning had originality in the next point the aid of U.S. and Japanese system.

① The City Planning of the extensive view point where was able to tangle with city and village merger and economic development was developed.

② The rare city area base developing that piled up new reclamation project and war restoration land projects was materialized.

③ The street network construction for district and defective residential section upgrading of the area level were attempted with planning control of city planning decision only.

There are these about evaluation it gives can. These city planning method can expect the effect, in the society situation that liquidity is had. Accordingly, it will need to examine and will need to compare including the application in Southeast Asian countries.

Note

(1) Data of USCAR that are stored to the military data division of U.S. National Archives and Records Administration are placed in 3195 boxes. 10~20 data are included in 1 box. It is unpublished at present, because the most are new military affairs data. A listing was acquired by special permission. Sample data was collected. Accordingly, it thinks that the clarification of the discovery and indistinct part of a new fact become possible by future data collection survey and analysis.

(2) 2 of the middle of 3 research reports of these were placed in the listing of USCAR relation document. Other one is included into a sample box. USCAR collects, investigated quite a lot of data. It thinks that fairly there is the research reports of the number in other boxes even if it is nonexistent in the listing accordingly.

(3) What time or the director of the corps who gets stationed in Okinawa trans-

ferred. Because the chief of the army and navy switched at each time of the right of command of the military government took the place.

(4) The public works of USCAR checked Okinawa City Planning through the general affairs department. The adjustment, relation data with the corps facility plan of they it collect and investigate. Then in city planner the traces that there were are not found.

(5) Ryukyu Government was 3 organizations equipped with the self governing system of administration of the legislation, administration and justice. There was not diplomacy authority, even if the government is called. It was not the government which represents the nation on the international law. However, 3 right separate and exercised the jurisdiction. Even the national action was admitted in quite a lot range. Therefore a nature different from the municipality like administrative division of Japan was had.

(6) It is judged that it was around 90m² of about 4 times from scale (21.9m²) and the present site form of Standard House which the land area by Land Allotment expresses to next. However, exact data with regard to it are not found. Also, the plan of Land Allotment were 2 viewpoints that it was a plan or the drawing merely in location there were. There was not the exact plan figure.

(7) The following is comprehended from these description. A plan of Naha restoration City Planning by U.S. military Government arranged a park of the size to main road of cross shaped and city form of lattice shaped. The plan did rough zoning area of residence, government and municipal, commercial, industrial. It was a general plan. Accordingly, there was not the freshness as U.S. City Planning idea. The plan was prepared from a viewpoint of the efficiency and hygienic by the construction responsibility engineers.

(8) This building control was thinking the building activity that increases with city area only from the relation with the U.S. armed forces facility. There were not the building control for the land subdivision and the keeping for the house front yard. It did not have a view point of the building induction for fine city area formation at all.

(9) City Planning Committee was the advisory committee that was established into the municipal office. City Planning Conference was the conference of the citizen that collected the Diet member, 10 several names of each groups representative.

(10) It was a master plan (basis plan) of the city planning that Naha City sets it and that the authorization was obtained from U.S. Military Government. The preparation of the concrete content of the city planning facilities and projects required 3 months after that.

(11) City planning regulation is 20 articles and urban area building control regulation is 21 articles. It was whichever short. City planning regulation prescribed the agricultural land readjustment law application of a decision of city planning area, use district, land adjustment, rightful person burden of working expenses. Urban area building control regulation determined the building line, building coverage control.

(12) Eiyo Ishikawa visited Naha City to 2 times of February 10, in 1953 and August 4, in 1955. He lectured and expressed his idea of city planning, plan idea, various plan method, his thought with regard to extensive area plan, yearly plan and financial resources. The content was published to the newspaper of that time with respect to 15 times. Naha City printed and issued as a booklet. (article 1)

(13) Capital City Construction Law imitated to Capital Construction Law (1950) of Japan in that time and it was established.

(14) The slum area actual condition surveys of Naha City were carried out sometimes and Higawa district was the problem area always. (article 16)

(15) Detail streets plan of Shurioonaka-cho and the effect of construction is being written to article 9 in detail.

(16) The research report has been attached a lot of interesting photograph that shows the situation of the roads and traffic accident of Okinawa in that time.

(17) It shows to succeed the content items. ① Ryukyu of today and the future plan (population, land, economy, government, corps, map). ② Okinawa Islands Planning

(land use, reef, population move, sight seeing plan, supply and treatment facilities).
 ③ City Planning of Ryukyu (present city and new city, design development, planning map, land use planning, urban house standard, CBD, main roads and traffic, harbor, park and school, land readjustment and redevelopment). ④ Implementing method of plan (governing system, legislation, zoning, finance).

(18) It shows to succeed the main content items. ① Reclamation of reef and suitable site for development. ② Industrial estate (location, urban pattern, Asia port project, residence area, development control, land use planning, design concept, new city, case study: Itoman, Nago, Ishikawa, Baten). ③ Harbor development (present condition, plan, design, site plan, port system). ④ Petroleum facility plan of Okinawa and economic effect. ⑤ Free trade zone plan of Okinawa (free port, analysis of Taiwan and Hong Kong). ⑥ Free port plan (Hong Kong free port, case study of Ryukyu free port).

(19) Itoman reclamation project was planned to after Japan main land return. It completed in the former half of 1980. The establishment of the free zone was included in the Okinawa return special law. As for it an area was decided in 1988. It was been to operative. These are the area plan that was able to tangle with economic development. These are receiving the influence of the reseach repots of USCAR to some degree.

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琉球列島米国民政府機構図 (1952年対日平和条約発効直後)

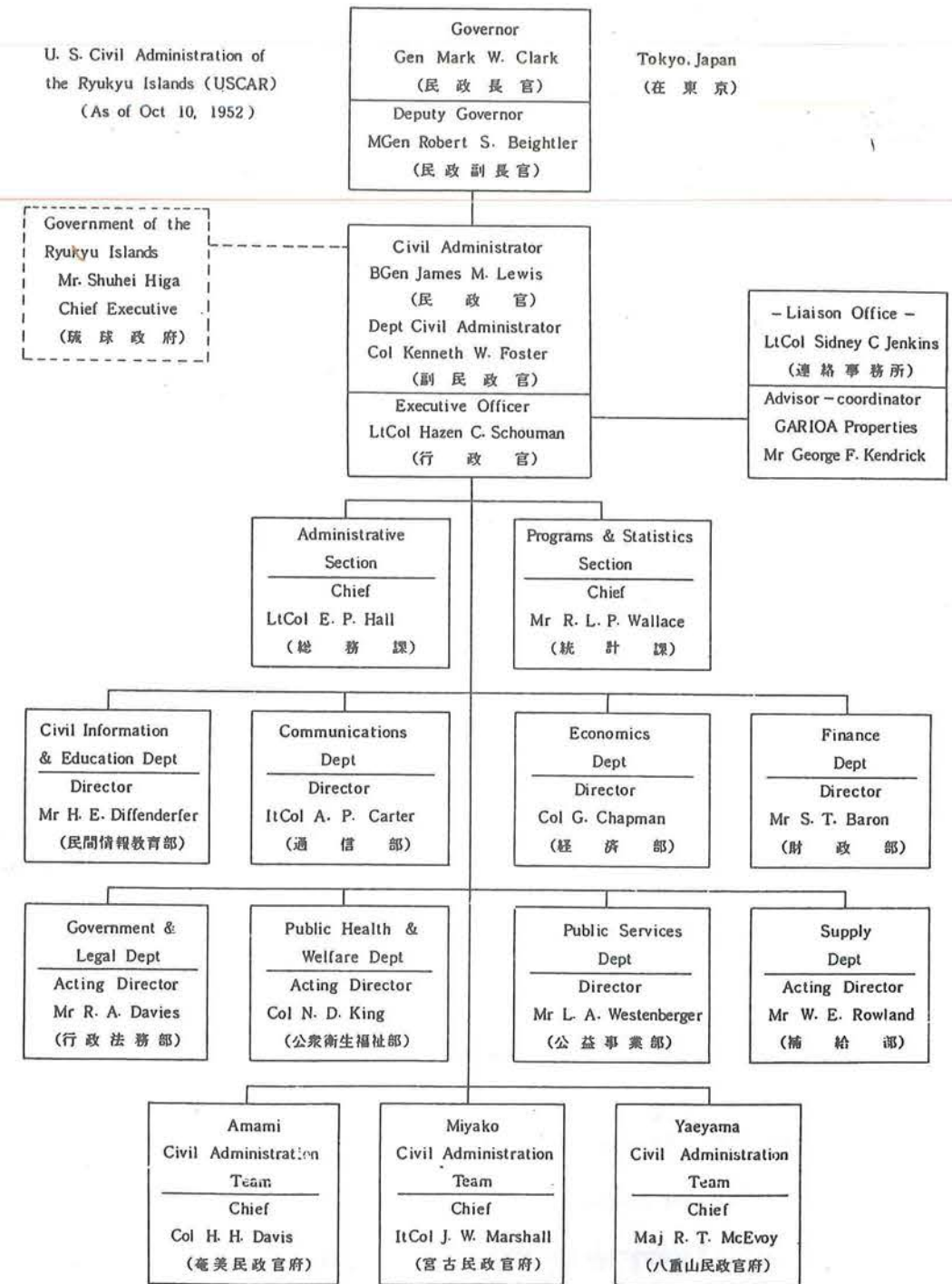
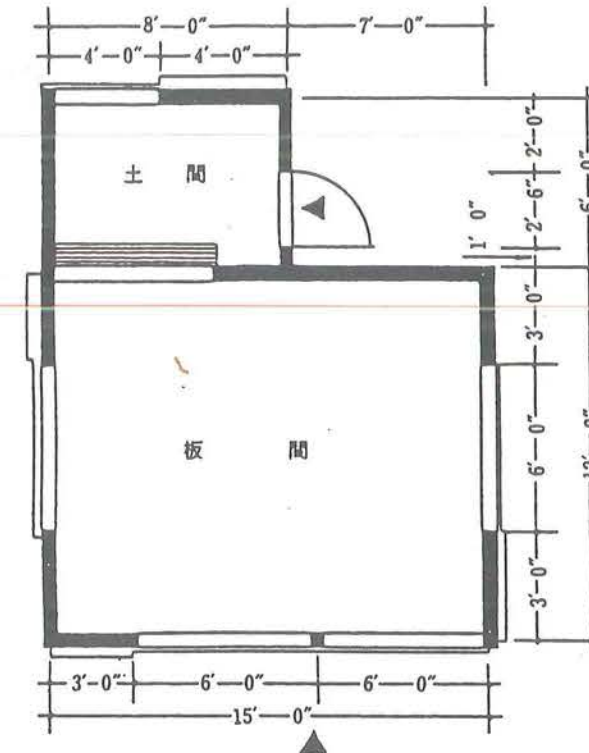


図-1 琉球列島米国民政府機構図 (1952)
 Figure 1. Organization of USCAR, 1952

(1952. 10. 10 現在)

Table 1. Changes of Okinawa City Planning, 1945~1972

Okinawa	Japan
1945. 4 Nimitz Proclamation	
1945. 4 U. S. Navy Military Government	
1945. 8 Okinawa Inquiry Committee (USMG)	
1945.10 Inhabitant Resettlement Plan and Policy (USMG)	
1945.10 Building Materials of Houses for Okinawan People (USMG)	
1945.12 House Buiding plan for OKinawan People (USMG)	
1946. 4 Central Okinawan Administration (USMG)	
1946. 7 U. S. Army Military Government	
1946. 7 GROA Fund (USMG)	
1946.11 Draft of Naha City Planning for Rehabilitation (USMG)	1946.9 Special City Planning Law
1947.10 Acquisition of Land for Public Purposes(USMG)	
1949. 1 Building Permission(USMG)	
1950. 4 Okinawa Housing Corporation (COA)	1950.5 Housing Loan Corporation Law
1950. 4 Permission of Naha City Planning (USMG)	1950.5 Building Standad Law
1950. 4 Ryukyu Restoration Finance Fund (USMG)	1950.6 Capital City Construction Law
1950. 8 Naha City Planning Regulation (NC)	
1950. 8 Naha City Planning (NC)	
1950. 8 Naha Urban Area Building Regulation (NC)	
1950.11 Okinawa Islands Government (USMG)	
1950.12 U. S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR)	
1951. 9 Okinawa Ialands Land Allotment Regulation (OIG)	1951.6 Public Housing Law
1951. 9 Revision of Okinawa Housing Corporation (USCAR)	
1951.10 Okinawa Islands Building Standard Regulation (OIG)	
1952. 2 Lnd Development Association (USCAR)	
1952. 4 Ryukyu Government (USCAR)	
1952. 9 Road Law (RG)	
1952.12 Land Aquisition Law (RG)	
1952.12 Building Standard law (RG)	
1953. 2 Direction of Eiyo Ishikawa	
1953. 8 City Planning Law (RG)	
1953. 9 Naha Defrayment Regulation (NC)	
1954. 6 Naha City Planning (RG)	1954.5 Land Readjustment Law
1955. 6 Land Allotment Law (RG)	1955.7 Japan Housing Corporation Law
1955. 8 Re-Direction of Eiyo Ishikawa	
1956. 2 Capital City Construction Law (RG)	
1956. 3 Naha City Planning (RG)	
1956.12 Stoppage of Aid to Naha Mayor (USCAR)	1957.4 Capital Region Development Law
1958.11 Reopenning of Aid to Naha City Project (USCAR)	
1959. 9 Ryukyu Development Loan Corporation (USCAR)	
	1960.5 Residential Area Redevelopment Law
1961. 8 Public Housing Law (RG)	
1962. 3 Slum Distrect Actual Condition Survey (NC)	
1962. 6 10 Year Program to Improve Okinawa Highway Transportation (USCAR)	
1964.11 A City and Regional Planning Program for Ryukyu Islands (USAED)	
1966. 9 Ryukyu Land and Housing Corporation Law (RG)	1966.6 Housing Construction Improvement Law
1966. Naha City Construction Proguram (NC)	
1968. 5 Revision of Naha City Construction Proguram (NC)	1968.6 New City Planning Law
1969. 6 Industrial Estate and New Town Study Okinawa (USCAR)	1969.6 Urban Redevelopment Law
1969. Law of Loan for House Construction (RG)	
1969. 7 Land Readjustment Law (RG)	
1970. 6 New City Planning Law (RG)	
1971.10 Okinawa Housing Demand Condition Reseach (JMC)	
1972. 5 Okinawa retuned to Japan	



規格住宅平面図

屋根：茅葺
壁：板
床：板及び土間

U.S. NAVAL MILITARY GOVERN.
MENT OKINAWA
PUBLIC WORKS DEPT.
STANDARD NATIVE HOUSE
DRAWN BY H. NAKAZA
TRACED BY H. NAKAZA
Nov. 30. 1945

図-2 規格住宅平面図
Figure 2. Standard House Plan

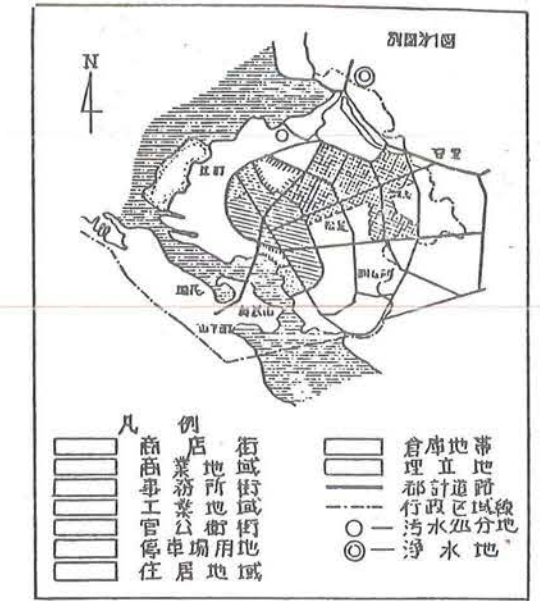


図-3 那覇都市計画 (1950)
Figure 3. Naha City Planning, 1950

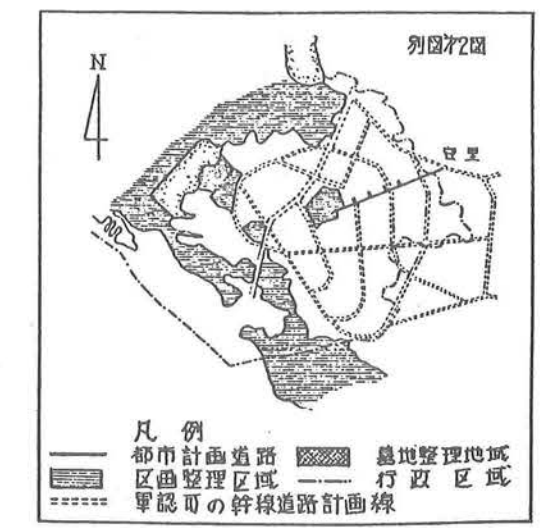


図-4 那覇都市計画事業区域
Figure 4. Naha City Planning Project Area

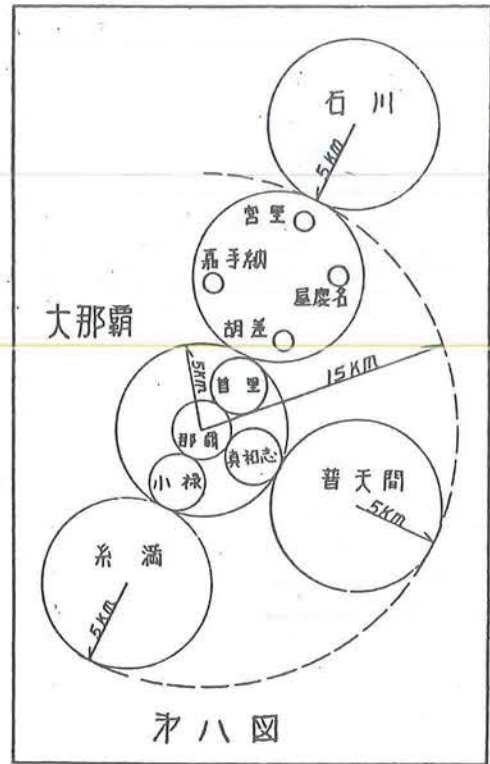


図-5 石川栄耀の大那覇計画概念図
Figure 5. Geater Naha Planning Concept
by Eiyo Ishikawa



図-7 那覇都市計画 (1954)
Figure 7. Naha City Planning, 1954



図-6 石川栄耀の那覇都市計画案
Figure 6. A Draft of Naha City Planning
by Eiyo Ishikawa



図-8 那覇都市計画 (1956)
Figure 8. Naha City Planning, 1956

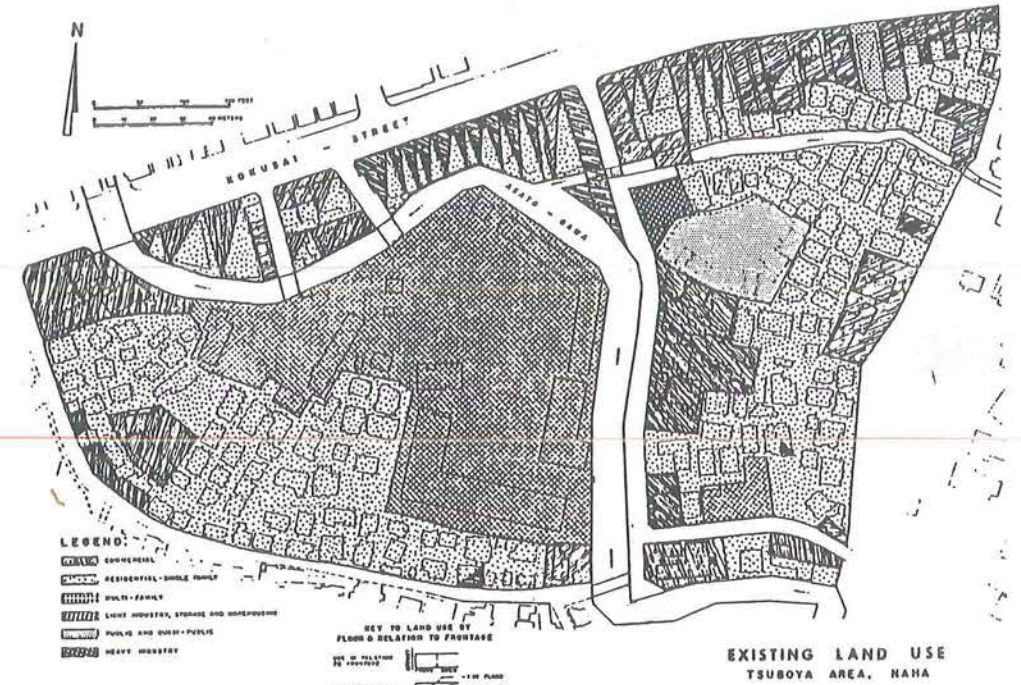


図-9 那覇市内の土地利用現況 (壺屋)
(文献(3)より)
Figure 9. Existing Land Use, tuboya Area, Naha

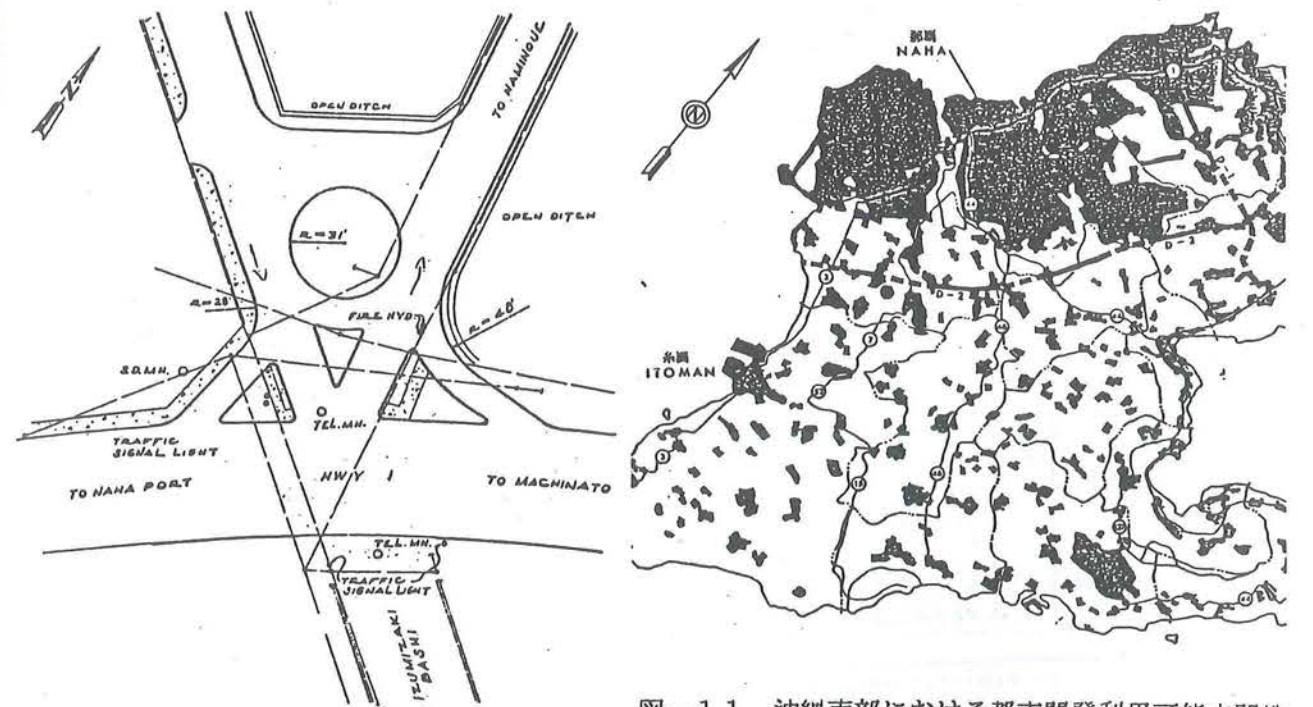


図-10 インターチェンジの改良プラン (波ノ上)
(文献(2)より)
Figure 10. Intersection Plan, Naminoue, Naha
図-11 沖縄南部における都市開発利用可能未開地
Figure 11. Land Area in Southern Okinawa Open for
Urban Development



図-12 モジュラーシステム
Figure 12. Modular System

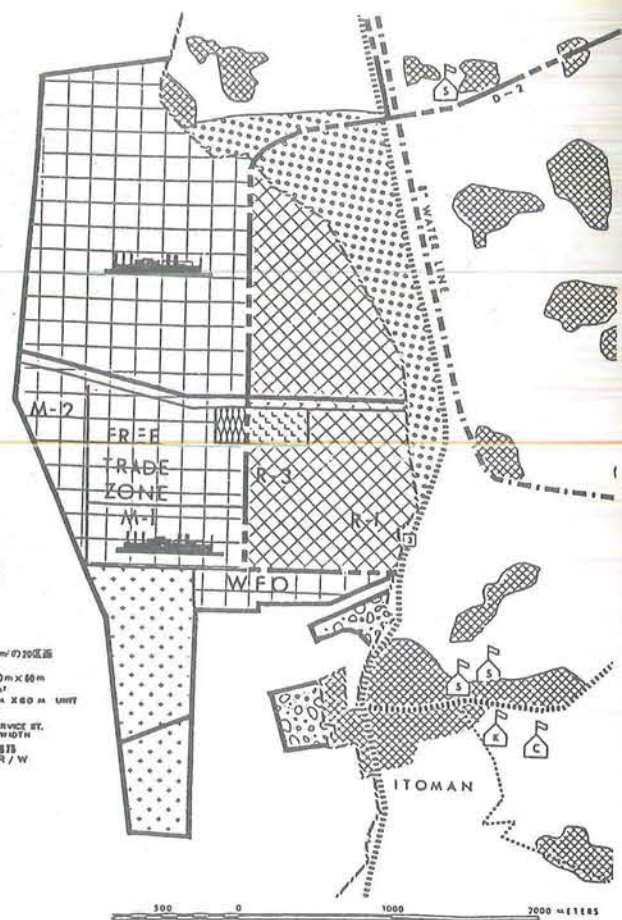
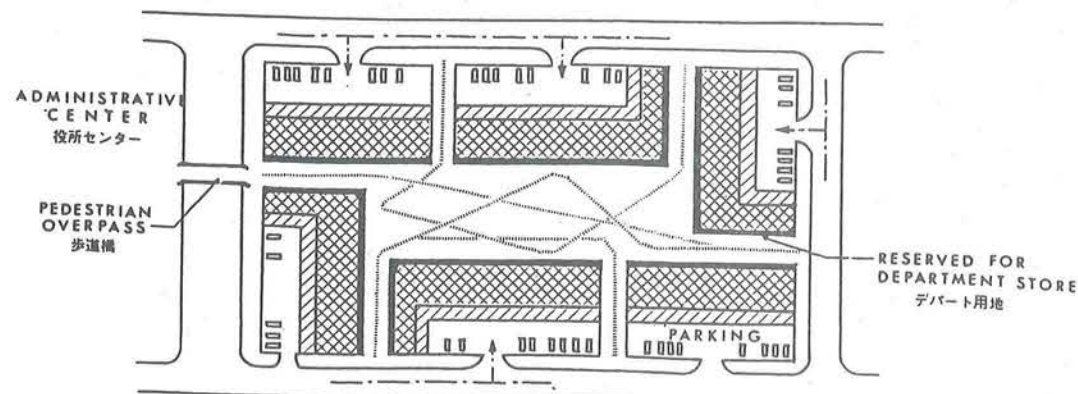


図-13 糸満工業都市計画案
(文献(7)より)
Figure 13. Case Study for Itoman
Industrial City Planning



- 1 - PROVIDES ADEQUATE PARKING ADJACENT TO SHOPPING
 - 2 - SEPARATION OF AUTOMOBILE AND FOOT TRAFFIC
 - 3 - SAFE, ATTRACTIVE
- 1-ショッピングする所の近くに適当な広さのパーキングスペースがある。
2-車禍と歩行者の通行を分離する。
3-安全、見た目に美しい。

図-14 ショッピングモール (糸満新市街)
Figure 14. Shopping Mall, Itoman New City

1. はじめに

1945年8月、第二次世界大戦の終了と同時に沖縄はそれまでの日本領土から切り放され、米国の占領下に入った。以後、1972年5月の日本本土復帰（以下単に本土復帰）までの約27年間、沖縄は日本とはある種の連絡をとりつつも米国の統治の下で都市計画を行っていくという特殊な経験を持つことになった。この時期における沖縄都市計画は、西欧近代都市計画の模倣から日本化へと進んで来た日本都市計画と米国統治計画との交差の現象として、あるいは米国の占領都市政策の実践として興味ある結果を提供してくれよう。

本論文では、①戦後の米国統治の間、沖縄の都市計画には米国統治政府の政策や計画手法の影響があったのか。②同時に、日本の都市計画との関係をどのように保ったのか。③米国と日本との狭間で、沖縄独自といえる都市計画があったのか。これらの3点を解明することを通して、戦後の沖縄における占領政策としての米国統治計画の性格とその影響、それに対する沖縄都市計画の独自性を探る。

この中でも特に上記①に重点をおいて解明することが本論文の特徴となるが、それは「米国は沖縄の都市計画をどうしようと考えていたのか」の疑問に答えることに他ならない。そのためには、(a) 沖縄（及び日本）の都市計画に対する関心の程度。(b) 沖縄の都市計画に対しての関与の仕方。(c) その結果としての都市計画（立案、実施）の成果あるいは変化の具体事例。これら3つの角度から捉えていく必要がある。

この目的のため、本論文では、①米国国立公文書館（NARA）での琉球列島米国民政府（USCAR）関係文書、②琉球政府都市計画審議会資料（議事録含む）、を資料として分析を行う。このうち①の琉球列島米国民政府関係文書については、約5～6万件に及ぶ膨大な資料であり別途詳細に分析中なので⁽¹⁾、今回は布告、布令、指令、命令等の法規に関するものと、琉球列島米国民政府が行った沖縄の都市計画に関する3調査報告書を補足的に取り上げる。また、②の琉球政府都市計画審議会資料についても別途「戦後沖縄都市計画史」のために詳細に分析中であり、那覇市を中心とした琉球列島米国民政府に関わる資料にとどめる。

本論文では、①まず、戦後の沖縄における統治機構として、米国の統治機構と沖縄の自治組織の変遷及びその仕組みについて把握する。②次に、那覇市を中心に、戦後の沖縄都市計画の成立とその変遷を米国統治政府との関わりを含めて時代区分毎に明らかにしていく。③同時にその中で、米国統治政府が関与した具体事例についてその役割と効果の程を探ると共に、日本都市計画との関連も対比して見ていく。④更に、米国統治政府の沖縄都市計画への関心の程度、考え方について、琉球列島米国民政府が行った3調査報告書（都市計画、交通、工業都市）より把握する⁽²⁾。⑤以上から、米国統治政府の沖縄都市計画に果たした役割を評価し、沖縄都市計画が受けた影響と特徴について考察する。

2. 戦後沖縄の統治機構

2-1 米国による統治機構

米国による沖縄の統治機構は、時期によって「米国海軍軍政府」「米国陸軍軍政府」「琉球列島米国民政府」の3つに分かれる。この内の前二者を単に「米軍政府」、残りを「米国民政府」とも呼んでいた。

(1) 米軍政府

1945年4月1日、米国太平洋区域総司令官ニミッツは「米国軍占領下ノ南西諸島及其近海居住民ニ告グ」（いわゆるニミッツ布告）を宣言し、自ら軍政長官となった。この時より米国海軍軍政府による沖縄の統治が始まる。

翌1946年7月1日、それまで何回かの海軍と陸軍による軍政府の指揮権の変更があったが⁽³⁾、沖縄に駐留する部隊のほとんどが陸軍であることから、この時より正式に陸軍軍政府が成立しその統治の下に入る。

二つの米軍政府は、軍政府長官が海軍か陸軍かの違いだけであって、その基本的な機能は異なるものではなかった。陸軍政府の方が統治期間が約4年と長かったことと、陸軍技術部隊が設計・建設技術面で支えとなっていた点がある。以下、これらの米国海軍あるいは陸軍による軍政府を、特別に区別を要する場合以外は、単に「米軍政府」と呼ぶことにする。

(2) 米国民政府

1950年12月15日、米極東軍総司令官が在琉球米軍司令官に対して発した「琉球列島米国民政府に関する指令」に基づき、それまでの米軍政府を廃して新たに琉球列島米国民政府（United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands）を設立した。この後続く沖縄の長期統治のためには、従来の占領政策では住民の協力を得難いことから、たとえ形式的にせよ軍政から民政へと移行することが必要であるとの米国側の判断がその背景にあった。琉球列島米国民政府は、単に「米国民政府」「USCAR」と呼ばれていたことから、以下そのように呼ぶ。

米国民政府の設立により、沖縄統治の責任者も米極東軍司令官が米国民政府長官、在琉球米軍司令官（米軍政府長官）が米国民政府副長官とそれぞれ呼称された。米国民政府長官は沖縄統治の全般的責任を負い、副長官の任命権を持っていたが、その権限の多くは副長官に委任して行使させた。この委任により、米国民政府副長官は軍事的必要の許す範囲内で住民の福祉向上を促進することとされる一方、布告・布令・指令などの制定公布権、後述する琉球政府立法院の可決した法案に対する拒否権、琉球政府の行政主席や副主席の任命権などの強大な権限を有していた。尚、米国民政府副長官は1957年6月5日の「大統領行政命令」で「高等弁務官」の名称が用いられ、以後、本土復帰（1972年）まで続く。

米国民政府の組織内容は図-1に示す。9部門のうち建設に関わる部門としては「公益事業部」（Public Services）が位置づけられている。1957年より部門名が（Public Works）に変わっているが、内容に変わりはなく、「技術・建設」「公共施設」「通信・交通」の3分野からなっていた⁽⁴⁾。

2-2 沖縄の自治組織

戦後から日本本土復帰までにおける沖縄の自治組織は、「沖縄諮詢会」（1945年）、「沖縄民政府」（1946年）、「沖縄群島政府」（1950年）、「琉球政府」（1952年）の4つがある。以下、簡単にその概要を説明する。

(1) 沖縄諮詢会

1945年8月20日、米国海軍軍政府によって石川市に各収容地区の住民代表からなる仮沖縄人諮詢会が召集され、米軍政府側から沖縄諮詢会の設置が発表された。声明で、沖縄諮詢会は15人の委員からなり、①各委員は商工部・衛生部・法務部などの14部についての専門的な知識技能を持ち、②一部の地区に偏ることなく各社会階級の代表者であり、③日本の軍部や帝国主義者と密接な関係を持たないこととされた。以後、沖縄諮詢会は米軍政府の諮問を受け、米軍政府と沖縄住民の意志の疎通を計る機関として機能した。

(2) 沖縄民政府

1946年4月24日、米国海軍軍政府指令第156号「沖縄中央政府の創設」によって設立される。それまでの沖縄諮詢会の職能を引き継ぐほか、知事の諮問機関として沖縄議会が設置された。その機構は知事、副知事、知事官房の他、総務部、公務部などの14の部からなり、知事が統括する。だが、知事は米軍政府長官より任命される仕組みになっていた。

(3) 沖縄群島政府

1950年8月4日、米国陸軍軍政府布令第22号「群島政府組織法」の公布に基づき、群島知事選挙を経て、同年11月4日沖縄群島政府が発足した。先の沖縄民政府の機能を受け継いでいるが、選挙管理委員会、監査委員会、公安委員会を加え、自治体としての体制がより整っている。だが2年後の琉球政府発足へ向けての準備的な組織・役割でしかなかった。

(4) 琉球政府

1952年4月1日、米国民政府布告第13号「琉球政府の設立」（1952年2月29日）に基づき琉球政府が創設された。発足時は、行政主席官房・行政主席情報局・総務局など1房13局81課のほか、人事委員会・中央選挙委員会・中央教育委員会が設置され、奄美・宮古・八重山にそれぞれ同政府の地方庁（後に支庁）が置かれた。

琉球政府の権限は、琉球における政治の全権を行うことが出来るとされていたが、あくまでも「米国民政府の布告、布令及び指令に従う」（同布告2条但し書）という条件が付されていた。更に同7条では、「米国民政府副長官（後の高等弁務官）は、必要な場合には、琉球政府とその他の行政団体またはその代行機関により制定された法令規則の施行を拒否し、禁止または停止し、自ら適当と認める法令規則の公布を命じ及び琉球における全権限の一部または全部を自ら行使する」と規定していた⁽⁵⁾。

3. 戦後沖縄都市計画の成立・変遷と米国統治政府の役割

終戦から本土復帰までの期間における沖縄の都市計画の性格と米国統治政府との関わりの特徴は、①無法・直接統治期（1945～50年）、②条例都市計画・間接統治開始期（1950～52年）、③法定都市計画・自治抗争期（1952～56年）、④首都建設計画・金融統治期（1956～60年）、⑤実際の都市計画・長期的計画調査期（1960～68年）、⑥日本同化期（1968～72年）の6期に区分して捉えることが出来る。（以下表-1を参照）

3-1 第1期：無法・直接統治期（1945～50年）

（1）米軍政府による直接統治

1945年4月の米国太平洋区域総司令官ニミッツの布告「米国軍占領下ノ南西諸島及其ノ近海住民ニ告グ」はその中で、①南西諸島及其近海における米国海軍政府の設立を宣言し、自らその軍政府長官となると共に、②日本帝国政府の全ての行政権の行使の停止、③日本裁判所の司法権の停止を通告した。同時に、④同布告第4条で、「本官ノ職権行使上其必要ヲ生ゼザル限り住民ノ風習並ニ財産権ヲ尊重シ、現行法規ノ施行ヲ持続ス」とした。従って、立法権、行政権は無いものの、それまでの日本の法律はそのまま使えるわけで、旧都市計画法、市街地建築物法等にあっても効力があることになる。しかしながら、従来の法律では、都市計画の決定権者、事業の主体、規制の取締り者等、その実際の執行になるとそのままでは使えず、結果、無法状態と同様であった。

従って、戦災復興及びその後の都市計画に関わる計画から事業の実施並びに事業費の補助までの全てにおいて、米軍政府の認可と援助を仰がなければならないという、まさに米軍政府の直接統治の下で戦後の沖縄の都市計画は始まった。

（2）強制移住「割当土地」制度

1945年10月23日、米軍政府は「住民再定住計画及び方針」（指令第29号）を各収容地区隊長へ出した。その目的は、終戦の前後に沖縄本島の北部地域（12地区）へ収容していた中南部の住民を従前の居住地に移すこと（帰村）であり、翌1946年1月までに完了するという計画であった。

計画の方針として、①住民委員会を設けて、家族の住居及び耕作地の割当をすること、②割当に際しては、同一区域に住居を有していたものが後に移り来ることに留意すること、③この割当をしても、将来の法律上の所有権に影響を与えないこと、④以前に所有してきた土地を個人に割り当て、更に他の者をその土地に住まわせても良い、⑤住民は地区内の居住可能な土地全体に分散させること、⑥受け入れ地区の隊長は、仮小屋・食事の提供をし、この方針にしたがって住民の再定住を実施する、等が指示されている⁽⁶⁾。

この住民の再定住は、約1年をかけてかなりの地域で完了して行くが、その多くを占めている旧那覇市や旧コザ市の地域は米軍の占拠範囲が広いため、住民は更に別の地域で仮居住を余儀なくされた。その後占拠地区の解放が徐々に進められ、旧那覇市の大方の旧住民が戻ったのは1950年である。また、住民の再定住に際して、上記の理由等によって元の土地に帰れないもの、自分の土地が分からないもの、土地を持っていなかった者等は、いずれも地区隊長と市町村長の判断で土地を割り当てられたことから、後の土地問題の発生の原因となった。

この段階での計画は、住民の「収容」から「定住」へと転換させる目的が強いせいもあるが、その方針に見られるごとく、後に元居住者が戻ることを留意しつつもそれに対する実際の記憶はなく、土地所有権の無視、他地区者を含めた暫定的割当、そもそもが住民の主体性を欠いた「割当」という方法、に問題の要因があり、住民の「居住」という概念が計画には無かったと言わざるを得ない。

その後、土地所有者が戻り、所有者による割当土地の明け渡し求められ、割当土地居住者とのトラブルが発生した。このため、米軍政府から変わった米国民政府は新たな沖縄群島政府に要請して、1951年9月「沖縄群島割当土地に関する臨時処理条例」（通称「割

当土地条例」）を制定させた。これによって割当土地使用権は「見なす契約」に基づく貸借権として置き換えられた。その後更に、1955年6月、琉球政府による「沖縄群島割当土地に関する臨時処理条例の廃止に伴う措置に関する立法」（通称「割当土地法」）によって、貸借権及び期間の法的位置付けが与えられた。復帰後は借地上の借地権とされ、今日に至っているが、土地所有者と借地権者との対立は今もって根が深く、再建築、市街地整備をする上での大きな障害となっている。

即ち、「割当土地」制度は、戦後の応急的居住政策としてとられた米軍政府の措置ではあったが、それが土地所有者不在のまま行われたにも拘らず、根本的な整理、解決をせず、単に「借地権」として切り換え固定化してしまっただけのことになる。市街地中心部の多くの土地基盤がこの応急的かつ表面的な土地整理によって形作られたと言えよう。

（3）現物援助「規格住宅」

割当土地制度と同時の1945年10月、米軍政府は「沖縄人住宅の建築資材」（指令第37号）を出し、割当土地の地区における住民のための恒久住宅用の資材の見積を行うことを指示した。その際の建築計画として、①骨組みは一人当たり床面積40平方フィート、②床張りは一人当たり10平方フィートとする、③屋根の10%は板金、90%は茅葺きとする、等を提示した。続いて同年12月、米軍政府は「沖縄人住宅計画」（指令第72号）によって、沖縄人のための住宅設計図と建設予定住宅5万棟（完全家屋25,000棟、部分家屋25,000棟）分の所用資材料及びその建設方法を提示した。

この住宅は、米国産材木を使ったツー・バイ・フォー（2×4インチ）の骨組みと、壁と屋根はテント張りの茅葺きで、面積は母屋5.33坪（17.5㎡）、延べ6.66坪（21.9㎡）の画一的な規格のため「規格住宅」と呼ばれた（図-2）。規格住宅は、1946年11月から3年間にわたって計73,500戸が建設され、戦災で家を失った人々に無償で供与された。

この「規格住宅」は、なるべく地元の建築業者に建設させたことから、日本で最初のツー・バイ・フォー工法の技術を習得すると言う建設技術面での効果はあったが、その応急的必要性から先の「割当土地」で建てられることが多く、結果、土地のトラブルから老朽化しても建て替えが出来ず、土地の狭小さ、道路の未整備と合わさって、過密で低水準の不良住宅地区を形成するに至ったのである。

（4）ガリオア援助

1946年7月の米国陸軍政府設置の際に、米国議会は沖縄に対して、占領地域の人々を飢餓・疾病・社会不安などから救済することを主な目的とする「占領地域統治救済資金」（Government and Relief in Occupied Areas Fund、略してガリオア資金）を決定した。このガリオア資金は、毎年割当が継続され、1947年から54年までは食料・各種資材を中心とする現物援助と軍家族住宅・道路港湾・電力・水道等の公共事業の実施、1955年から57年までは琉球政府への現金援助が主となった。年間の援助額は約1～5千万ドルに及び、戦災都市の復興、都市建設を行う上でも重要な資金源となった。

（5）米軍政府による那覇復興計画案

1946年11月1日、米軍政府副長官クレイグ大佐の言葉「那覇は沖縄の首都として近代的なあらゆる装備を施し、官庁街、商店街、住宅街などに区画し大きさはさておき衛生等文化施設に於いては東洋一の近代都市として面目を一新せしむべく、既に専門家にその都市計画を命じてある」を受け、軍政府政治部長レイトン大佐は那覇復興計画案を沖縄民政府

へ提示し、その意見を聴取しに来た。沖縄民政府側はこの計画を米軍陸軍技術部隊の第一次試案と受け止め、また、その建設は米軍の全面的な支援により工作隊が行うだろうと、それに対する積極的な対応を示さなかった。これは、米軍政府が直接に関与した最初で最後の沖縄都市計画の案である。計画図が不明なため、その具体的な内容は分からないが、当時の新聞（うるま新報）記事からおおよそその特徴を推察することが出来る。

計画案は、①計画区域は、那覇港を囲む旧那覇市の4町（久茂地、美栄橋、牧志、若狭）で、一部郊外として上ノ屋を含むが限定された狭い範囲、②計画人口は2万5千人を対象、③道路は、西海岸を回遊する海岸遊歩道を設け、那覇港へ向かう（東西軸）道路とその中心で直行する（南北軸）の道路をメインストリートとし、市内道路はこれを機軸としてすべて基盤目に4分、④中心部に官庁街・商店街、周辺部に住宅街と工場地帯の、大まかなゾーニング、⑤南北2カ所に大公園、数カ所に小公園、高台に博物館と動植物園を配置、⑥その他、浄水池、発電所、市公会堂、劇場、ホテル、郵便局、消防署などを配置する、といった内容であった⁽⁷⁾。

（6）米軍政府による建築許可等

市内の米軍占拠地区が少しずつ解放されるにつれて、市民の建築活動が盛んとなり、その統制のため米軍政府は1949年1月「建築許可証」（指令第3号）を出し、建築許可制を敷いた。

その手続きは、①建築申請はすべて許可、不許可の副申及びその理由を付して各市町村長より沖縄民政府総務部へ提出、②民政府はこれに許可不許可を与えて米軍政府総務部へ提出、③米軍政府はこれに最終的な許可及び不許可を与えた後申請はすべて同一経路を通して市町村長に返す、④建築開始前に日英両文の許可証を見易いところに掲示する、という方法であった。

また、許可条件として、①軍舎屋地域から1マイル以内でないこと、②弾薬庫地域、ガソリン油送管及び貯蔵地域一帯から一定以内でないこと、③軍政府が立入禁止区域とした地域内でないこと、を提示している。この他、違反者に対して罰則規定を設けている⁽⁸⁾。

3-2 第2期：条例都市計画・間接統治開始期（1950～52年）

（1）那覇都市計画の認可

1950年4月13日、米軍政府長官シーツ少将と軍首脳部は、軍政官府主席セーファー大佐と同行した那覇市長と会見し、先に市が提出した那覇市都市計画案を検討し、その認可をした。米軍政府の認可を受けるという制約のもとではあるが、沖縄で策定された最初の都市計画である。

これより先、沖縄民政府は那覇市の都市計画は自分のところで樹立し、実施すべきだと信じており、那覇市も沖縄民政府が主体で、市は側面的に協力する態勢を取っていた。しかしながら、沖縄民政府が作成した計画案は軍の意図に沿わぬとの理由で却下され、1950年3月22日米軍政府が「那覇市の都市計画は那覇市が主体となって計画し、実施すべきで、沖縄民政府は那覇市の都市計画に対して参考的な意見は言えるが那覇市を拘束することは出来ない」という指令を出したことから、那覇市は急きよ都市計画委員会、都市計画協議会を組織し⁽⁹⁾、市の都市計画案を約1カ月でまとめ米軍政府に提出したのである⁽¹⁰⁾。

計画の具体的な中身は約3カ月後に策定され、市条例の制定と併せて決定されたが、そ

の内容は、①計画人口は、5年後で6万2千人（1950年3月現在4万4千人）、20年後で14万人、②都市計画区域は那覇市全域及び真和志村の一部（約486ha、軍指定地域85.4haを除く）、③住居地域、商業地域（甲種商業地区、乙種商業地区）、工業地域、官公衛地区、からなる地域地区制、④幹線道路計画、⑤公園及び緑地計画、⑥上下水道、⑦河川及び排水路、⑧学校、⑨墓地整理・火葬場設置、⑩公有水面埋立事業、⑪土地区画整理事業からなっていた。（図-3）

この都市計画は、基本的には、戦前における日本の都市計画の仕組みと変わらないが、幹線道路網が一部放射道路と環状道路からなっていること、地域地区の中で甲種・乙種商業地区、官公衛地区を設け、より細かくなっている点において特色がある。この計画に対して米軍政府長官シーツは、自己が示した4条件、①残存恒久建築物の存置、②軍指定地域の除外、③現存道路の活用、④幹線道路の設定、を具備していて最適と評価した。

（2）那覇市都市計画条例・市街地建築物制限条例

那覇市都市計画は米軍政府の認可を得たものの、そのままでは法的な根拠がなく、市民へ告示することも出来ないことから、那覇市は同時に、都市計画条例と市街地建築物制限条例の策定をし、これらの条例に基づいて都市計画決定の告示及びその後の建築制限の根拠を与えた。1950年8月1日那覇市は、那覇市都市計画、都市計画条例及び市街地建築物制限条例を合わせて決定し告示した⁽¹¹⁾。しかしながら、計画と関係条例は作ったが、それは那覇市が計画及びその実施主体であることを明示したに過ぎず、米軍政府の事業費援助をなくしては殆ど実行に移すことが出来なかった。

（3）琉球復興金融基金による援助

1950年4月、米軍政府は琉球の住宅及び諸生産施設などの復興のための長期設備資金供給機関の設置を目的として「琉球復興金融基金」（布令第4号）を設立した。約83万ドルが交付され、琉球銀行が受託を受け、最終的には24,726,000ドルにも登った。この琉球復興金融基金（略して「復金」）によって、1951～59年の間で78,024戸の住宅建設の融資が行われた。また、市町村の起債への補助の割合も高く、那覇市の都市計画事業費の多くは復金によって賄われた。

（4）沖縄群島建築基準条例

1950年11月沖縄群島政府が設置されたことから、翌1951年10月に沖縄群島建築基準条例が制定された。那覇市の市街地建築物法制限条例が有効に機能せず、また他の市町村にとっても建築の取締りが必要なことから全島に及ぶ建築基準条例が定められることになった。この条例の内容は、全95条からなり、所々に「知事」や「市町村長」を決定権者として置き換えている他は、殆ど日本の1950年建築基準法と同じものとなっている。しかしながら、この条例は沖縄群島政府と同様に次の琉球政府が制定する建築基準法への単なる準備に過ぎず、実際に運用されることはなかった。

（5）米国民政府への切り換え

1950年12月の「琉球列島米国民政府」（USCAR）の設立によって、それまで米軍政府が行ってきた住宅や都市計画事業への援助は米国民政府が引き継ぎ、「民政」という角度から琉球の統治を行うことになった。だが、先にも述べたごとく、実際の権限は米国民政府副長官としての米軍政長官が握っていることから、大きな統治体制の変化はない。言えることは、今迄の軍政府が行ってきた「直接的統治」が、米国民政府から「間接的統治」へ

と明確に変質したことである。これは、都市計画からみれば、計画及びその実施主体を地域自治体に任せ、米国民政府は技術や資金などの間接的な関わりにとどまろうと言うことになる。別の観点から言えば、米軍基地に関わることは明確な意志表示をするが、琉球の地域計画、都市形成のあり方には理念を持たない、という責任放棄にも取れるのである。

3-3 第3期：法定都市計画・自治抗争期（1952～56年）

（1）琉球政府による都市計画関連法の整備

1952年4月立法権を持った琉球政府が設立されたことから、都市計画関連の法律が次々と制定されて行った。1952年9月の道路法、同年12月の建築基準法と土地収用法、そして翌年1953年8月の都市計画法である。これらの法律は、琉球政府、行政主席という名称を除けば、当時の日本本土のそれと全く同じ内容であったが、政府レベルの「法」としての都市計画関連法が制定されたのは戦後これが最初と言うことになる。それまで那覇市の都市計画事業は、先的那覇市都市計画条例に基づき、また米軍政府の援助のもとで行ってきたのであるが、法的効力の弱い市条例では事業の実施に限界があり、加えて、新たな「米国民政府-琉球政府-那覇市」という体制のもとで事業を円滑に推進するためには琉球政府による都市計画法の整備が必要とされたのである。

この都市計画法の交付と同時に、当時施行中であった那覇市の3都市計画事業（東町・辻町・美栄橋地区土地区画整理事業、辻町・若狭町墓地整理事業、牧志街道拡幅工事）はこの法律によって認可を受けたものと見なすと言う法的根拠を与えられた。（図-4）

（2）法定那覇都市計画の決定

琉球政府都市計画法に基づいて新たに都市計画の策定作業に入った那覇市は、担当都市計画課長の恩師であった、早稲田大学教授石川栄耀博士の指導を受け⁽¹²⁾、首里市、小祿村、真和志市の2市2村の合併を前提とした那覇都市計画の基本計画を検討した。しかしながら、市村合併を前提とした都市計画区域への編入については、真和志村が自村の市への昇格を考えて態度を保留したため合意には至らなかった。このため法的な都市計画を早急に決定しなければならない立場にあった那覇市は、市の行政区域のみの都市計画区域と西新町外18ヶ町の土地区画整理からなる都市計画を申請し、琉球政府は1954年6月4日これを決定告示した。（図-5、6、7）

その後再び石川栄耀の指導を受け、市となった真和志市に豊見城村を加えて、3市2村からなる都市計画案を検討した。今度は、豊見城村が計画区域編入に反対したことから結局、1956年3月23日、豊見城村を除く新那覇市（旧那覇市、首里市、小祿村が合併）と真和志市を都市計画区域とした那覇都市計画が最終計画として決定告示された（真和志市はその後那覇市へ吸収合併）。市村の合併をめぐる抗争によって法定那覇都市計画は3年の歳月を要し、2回も変転したことになる。

この那覇都市計画は、都市計画区域3698ha、10年後の将来人口23万4千人、20年後32万6千人（1956年現在16万5千人、豊見城村含む）、を設定し、その内容は現在の那覇市の都市計画の骨格を決めるものとなった。先的那覇市条例都市計画（1950年）と較べて、環状道路網の形態から、西側の埋立区画整理拡張区域を含めた格子状のパターンへとその骨格を変えている。また、西側の1号線（現在の国道58号）と平行して、新たに市の中心を南北に延びる幹線道路（現在の国道330号）が設けられた。（図-8）

3-4 第4期：首都建設計画・金融統治期（1956～60年）

（1）首都建設計画の推進

1956年2月、琉球政府は「首都建設法」を制定公布した。これによって、琉球の首都那覇市の都市計画を推進するためである。首都建設計画とは「那覇都市計画区域内において施行せられる重要施設の基本的計画」（第2条）であって、首都建設計画及び首都建設事業は「都市計画法の適用があるものと見なす」（第16条）としているように、その実際の内容は那覇都市計画そのものと言ってもよい。その目的は、首都建設委員会（行政副主席、那覇市長など9人で行政主席が任命）を通して、琉球政府と関係市町村の事業分担、協力依頼、米国民政府への援助要請、等を行うことにある⁽¹³⁾。

1959年3月、米国民政府は「那覇市事業に対する補助金特別会計」（高等弁務官布令第22号）を公布し、「首都建設委員会の勧告した所定の那覇市事業を達成するため、補助金として使用させられる資金について、琉球政府のうちに特別会計を設ける」ことにした。これによって、首都建設計画事業（那覇都市計画事業）は、総額で31億8千万円を必要としたが、その52%は米国民政府が補助し、残りは那覇市が42%、琉球政府が6%負担することになった。この時期の沖縄の都市計画は、計画は関係市町村がつくり、琉球政府が主催する首都建設委員会がそれを促進し、これを米国民政府が財政面で補助する、という体制で行うことが定着したと言える。米国民政府による「計画統治」から「金融統治」への展開である。

（2）革新市長への補助停止

那覇都市計画及び首都建設計画の策定（1956年）から米国民政府補助の公布（1959年）まで3年のブランクがあるのは、反軍政を掲げる革新政党（人民党）の瀬長氏が那覇市長に当選（1956年12月）したことに対して、米国民政府が、琉球政府及び琉球銀行を通してそれまでの補助（復金）を停止したことに始まる。結局、瀬長氏は那覇市長を辞職し次の市長に変わったことを持って、米国民政府の補助は先の新たな特別の内容を加えて再開することになったのである。このブランクは、まさに米国民政府の金融統治の効果を示している。この間、那覇市及び首都建設委員会は、米国民政府への陳情はもとより、日本本土の首都圏整備計画委員会とも交流を持ち、日本政府からの援助を得ようとしたが、その効果はなかった。

3-5 第5期：実際の市街地整備・長期的計画調査期（1960～68年）

（1）不良住宅地区と細部街路計画

幹線レベルの都市計画事業が推進されていく一方、市内に形成されている不良住宅地区や生活道路の未整備に対してもなんらかの対応が必要とされた。1962年3月、那覇市は「不良住宅実態調査」を実施し、結果1966年1月「不良住宅街改造廻川地区土地区画整理」の都市計画決定をした。だがこのころの琉球政府を通じた米国民政府からの補助は融資的な性格に変わり、その枠も狭められて行ったことから、那覇市には新たな事業費をねん出する余裕はなく、計画決定のみの、関係地主からの同意と借地契約で土地整理、道路整備を始めたのである。「任意の土地区画整理」とでも言うべき事業であったが、正規の土地区画整理への切り替えの不安から地主とのトラブル、区域内建築の多発などにより、およそ4分の1を整備した段階で中止となった⁽¹⁴⁾。

1960年7月、地元からの道路整備の要請を受けて、首里大中町及び桜坂一帯等の「細部街路計画」が都市計画決定された。幅員6メートルを中心とする細街路網の面的な計画であったが、この計画も同様に事業費の裏付けが得られず、都市計画決定のみの建築規制で道路空間の整備を行おうとするものであった。戦前の建築線制度に似た計画手法であったが、これによる道路形成率は55%に留まり、残りは現在まで計画決定のまま引きずっている⁽¹⁵⁾。

これらの市街地整備への那覇市の対応は、当時における都市計画が基幹的施設の整備に限定され、市民生活に直接かかわる市街地整備にまで及んでいなかったこと、そのため逆に那覇市が自身で対応出来る独自の計画手法を考えなければならなかったことを示している。

(2) 米国民政府による沖縄都市計画の調査

この時期、米国民政府によって長期的・広域的な観点からの沖縄の地域・都市計画関連の委託調査が行われている。①「沖縄幹線交通改善10ヶ年計画」(10 Year Program to Improve Okinawa Highway Transportation, USCAR, 1962.6)は、沖縄本島における幹線道路の交通現況とインターチェンジの改良プランの検討を行ったもので、そのプランの形状は各種あるものかなり大きく、幅員の狭い道路状況にはそぐわないと思われるものが多い⁽¹⁶⁾。

②「琉球列島の都市・地域計画プログラム」(A City and Regional Planning Program for Ryukyu Islands, U.S Army Engineers District, 1964.11)は、沖縄本島における地域・都市計画を遂行するための実際的なプログラムを開発することを目的として、人口・土地利用・産業等の状況と将来推計、土地利用計画、中南部主要都市の都市計画の状況と各種計画(土地利用、都市住宅、中心商業地区、幹線道路交通、港湾、公園、学校、都市再開発)の特徴、計画実行のための手段(執行機関、法制、地域制、土地区画整理事業、補助制度)について詳細に調べている。だが、ほとんどは計画情報収集・整理の段階にとどまっていて、中には日本本土の地域制・区画整理の状況や台湾の住宅基準など、その収集範囲の広さに感心させられるが、計画の作成や立案は見られない⁽¹⁷⁾。

③「沖縄の工業用地と新都市計画調査」(Industrial Estate and New Town Study Okinawa, USCAR, 1969.6)は、沖縄経済開発調査の一貫として、沖縄本島における開発適地、工業用地の選定と土地利用・住宅地等の計画、港湾開発の検討を行ったものである。他の調査よりは計画要素が強く、いくつかのケーススタディを含めながら、計画方法としての各種の計画基準(敷地組合せのモジュラーシステム、ショッピングモール、クラスタープラン等)を例示している。またフリートレードゾーン(自由貿易地域)の可能性と台湾、香港の例を紹介しているなど、内容としてはユニークなものが多い⁽¹⁸⁾。

米軍政府の直接統治から米国民政府の間接統治へと変わって、更に金融統治へと転換しつつある中で、何故このような計画に関わる委託調査を行ったのか、その理由は、現在の分析段階では、明らかではないが、恐らく、米国民政府の沖縄統治が長期にわたって行く予想のもとで、地域の正確な情報収集とそれに基づく地域全体の開発計画と基地の安定的確補を持つておこうとしたのではないかと思われる。事実、これらの計画調査の中で扱われているプランや開発適地がそのまま琉球政府・関係市町村でオーソライズされたり、実現した形跡はほとんどなく、一部インターチェンジの改良と糸満の埋立事業及びフリー

ポート)ゾーンの概念ぐらいである⁽¹⁹⁾。また、調査結果の報告書はかなりの分量であるものの、手作りの製本で、正式に印刷発行されたものでなく部数が限られていた(従って、米国民政府の内部資料に留まっていた)ことからその影響は少なく、沖縄であまり理解されることがなかったと思われる。もしこれらのような計画調査が、まだ沖縄での都市計画策定の段階で行われていたならば、その影響は相当のものがあつたと推察される。ただ、一部の報告書の内容については、本土復帰後の地域政策へ幾分かの影響を及ぼしたと思われるが、USCARはそれを確認する時間を持てなかった。

3-6 第6期:日本同化期(1968~72年)

この時期になると、各地で日本本土復帰の運動が盛んになり、政府レベルでの交渉も行われていることから、都市計画関連法も本土へ合わせるようになる。「土地区画整理法」(1969年7月、琉球政府)、「新都市計画法」(1970年6月、琉球政府)がそれぞれ公布される。1968年7月には、日本政府一体化調査団(琉球政府が組織)による「本土・沖縄一体化調査報告書」がまとめられ、本土と沖縄との都市整備の比較、一体化後の整備課題等を整理している。1971年10月には、本土復帰に備えて、日本政府建設省(住宅局、都市局)による住宅需要把握のための実態調査も行われた。まさに日本同化期である。1972年5月、沖縄は日本へ復帰し沖縄県となり、琉球政府、米国民政府は廃止された。

4. 結論

本論文の目的は、①米国民政府の影響、②日本との関係、③沖縄都市計画の独自性、を深めることにある。これらの目標に対して明らかになった点についてまとめてみよう。

(1) 米国民政府の影響

これに関しては、更に3つの視点から確認する。①沖縄への関心の程度、②沖縄都市計画への関与の方法、③計画立案・実施等の成果、である。

米国民政府の沖縄都市計画に対する関心はかなり高かったと言える。初期の米軍政府、特に陸軍政府からは、自ら専門家に命じて、那覇市の復興都市計画を作成するなど、その思い入れはかなり強かった。その後の米国民政府にあつても、自身が乗り出すことはなくても、沖縄の地域・都市計画に関する詳細で幅広い計画資料の収集を行っている点において、その関心は高かった。中でも特に、幹線道路網、港湾施設、住宅供給、開発適地、都市計画法制度、についてはより突っ込んだ検討を行っている。

沖縄都市計画に対する関与の仕方は、当初は米軍政府による強制移住、現物供与、道路整備、計画案作成など、直接的関与であった。だが米国民政府に代わってからは、立法権を与えての関連法制の整備、基金・金融による補助制度、等の間接的関与へと切り換えた。即ち、「金銭、物質援助のみで、計画は地域でさせる」「基地及びその周辺へ影響がなければ、基本的には地域の計画は地域に任せる」という姿勢であった。

従って、様々な思い入れ、資料のストック、技術的指導等があつたものの、それらが沖縄の都市計画の内容へと直接反映されることはほとんどなく、地域の自治体の計画のみがその後の都市の形態を形作って行ったのである。強いて取り上げれば、米軍による道路建設、基地内施設の建設などによって、沖縄における自動車道路の発達、コンクリート

建築技術の普及へとつながり、日本本土とは異なる都市形態が形成されたと言える。しかしながら、当時の地域自治体による都市計画はこれらのことを全く念頭には置いていなかったのである。そこには都市計画のベース整備と建物建設との大きなギャップがある。その一方、経済開発とからめた地域計画の視点は、本土復帰後の沖縄の地域計画へ一部受け継がれたと見ることが出来る。

(2) 日本との関係

沖縄の都市計画は、法制度面において日本本土と緊密な関係にあった。ニミツの布告によって、それまでの法律はある程度効力を持ち、特に土地区画整理については戦前から耕地整理法を準用して行っていた（琉球政府都市計画法でもそのことを規定）ことから、都市の基盤整備手法として重要視された。その他、本土で制定された法律は4-5年の遅れでそのままの内容で琉球政府の法律として公布された。残るは計画面での技術指導と事業費の念出であった。計画面では、石川栄耀が、計画理念的な指導ではあったが、那覇都市計画の策定に大きな役割を果たしている。しかし途中で没した（1955年9月）ことから、その後の展開、更に他の都市や沖縄全体の計画には及んでいない。財政面では、米軍政府、米国民政府双方から相当な援助を得たが、日本政府からは殆どなかった。日本政府は法制情報の提供をただけということになる。だが、都市計画の内容から見ればそれは明らかに日本の従来からの計画手法であり、米国の財政援助のもとで、地元が計画、適用したと言えよう。

(3) 沖縄都市計画の独自性

それでは、沖縄都市計画としての独自性はあったのかと言うと、計画的には優れて新しいとは言えないが、米国の援助と日本制度の狭間の中で、様々な工夫がなされている。①市村合併や経済開発とからめた広域的な視点での都市計画を展開したこと、②新しい埋立事業と戦災復興土地区画整理事業とを重ねると言う、希な市街地基盤整備を実現したこと、③都市計画決定だけの計画規制で、地区レベルの細街路網整備や不良住宅地再整備を試みたこと、などにおいて評価を与えることが出来る。これらの都市計画手法は、流動性のある社会状況においては、その効果を期待することが出来、東南アジア諸国での応用を含めて比較検討する必要がある。

注

(1) 米国国立公文書館の軍事資料部門に保管されている米国民政府（USCAR）関係の資料は、3195ボックスに納められ、1ボックス当り10~20件の資料が入っている。そのほとんどは公文書としては新しく、軍事資料であることから、現在未公開となっている。特別許可によりリストを取得し、サンプル資料の収集を行った。従って、今後の資料収集調査・分析によっては、新たな事実の発見や不明部分の解明が可能になると思われる。

(2) この3調査報告書は、USCAR関係文書の中で、2つはリストに載っていたが、他の一つは同じボックスの中にたまたま入っていたものである。USCARはかなりの資料収集と調査を行っていたと聞いていることから、リストにはなくとも、他のボックスの中に相当数の調査報告書があるものと思われる。

(3) 沖縄に駐留する軍の長官が何回か転任し、その都度陸軍と海軍の指揮官が当てられ

たことから、郡政府の指揮権も代わった。

(4) USCARの公益事業部が総務部を通して沖縄の都市計画のチェックをし、軍施設計画との調整、関連資料の収集・調査を行っていたが、その中には都市計画技術者がいた形跡は見あたらない。

(5) 琉球政府は、立法（立法院）・行政（行政主席）・司法（琉球上訴裁判所）の3つの機関を備えた自治機構であるが、政府とは呼ばれても、外交事務権限はなく、国際法上の国家を代表する政府ではなかった。しかし、三権が分立し、司法権を行使していたことなど、国家的作用もかなりの範囲で認められていたため、都道府県のような地方公共団体とも異なった性質を有していた。

(6) 割当土地による土地面積は、この次に述べる規格住宅の規模（21.9㎡）と現在の敷地形状から判断して、その約4倍の90㎡前後であったと思われるが、正確な資料は見あたらない。また、割当土地のプランがあったかについても「現地でただ線を引いただけ」と「図面らしきものがあった」という見方があり、正確な計画図といったものではなかった。

(7) これらの記述から、米軍政府による那覇復興都市計画のプランは、十字形の幹線道路と格子状の市街地形状に大小の公園を配置し、住・官・商・工の大まかなゾーン区分を言う、一般的なものであったことが容易に分かる。従って、米国都市計画理念としての新しさはなく、建設担当技術者による効率性と衛生面の観点から作成されたと見れる。

(8) この建築規制は、都市部で増加する建築活動に対して、米軍施設との関係からのみ考えていて、建築敷地の再分割（サブディビジョン）や前庭確保のための建築後退など、良好な市街地形成のための建築誘導等の視点が全く入っていない。

(9) 都市計画委員会は市役所内に設置された諮問委員会であるが、都市計画協議会は、市議員、各団体代表等十数名を集めた市民との協議会である。

(10) 那覇市が策定し米軍政府の認可を得たのは都市計画のマスタープラン（基本計画）のみで、都市計画施設・事業等の具体的な内容の作成はその後3カ月を要した。

(11) 都市計画条例は20条、市街地建築物制限条例は21条といずれも短い。前者は、都市計画区域の決定、用途地域、土地区画整理の耕地整理法準用、事業費の権利者負担が規定され、後者は、建築線、建ぺい率制限等が定められている。

(12) 石川えい耀は、1953年2月10日と1955年8月4日の2回にわたって那覇市を訪問し、講演会等を通して、都市計画の理念、計画構想の建て方、各種計画の基本、広域計画、年次計画と財源等についての考え方を述べている。その内容は、当時の新聞に15回にわたって掲載され、これを那覇市が冊子としてまとめ、印刷発行している。文献(1)参照。

(13) 首都建設法は、当時の日本の「首都建設法」（1950年6月）に見習って制定したものである。

(14) 那覇市の不良住宅地実態調査については何回も行われており、樋川地区は常に問題地区としてあげられている。文献(13)参照。

(15) 首里大中町の細部街路計画とその整備効果については、文献(9)に詳しい。

(16) 調査報告書には、当時における沖縄の道路及び交通事故の状況を示す写真が多く貼込んであり、興味深い。

(17) 主な目次項目を次ぎに示す。①今日の琉球と将来の計画（人口、土地、経済、政府、軍、地図）、②沖縄の島計画（土地利用、リーフ、人口移動、観光計画、供給処理施設）、

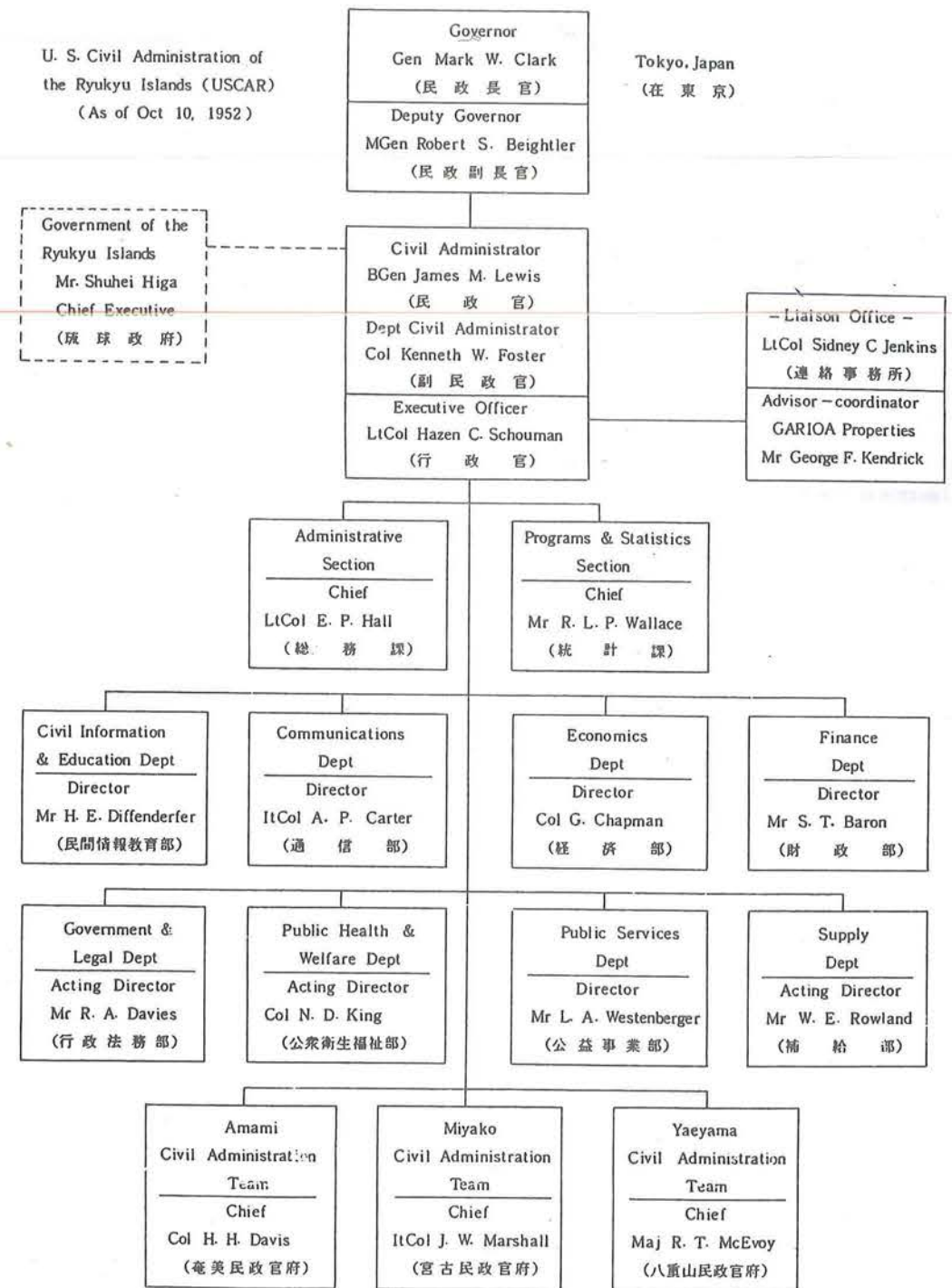
③琉球の都市計画（現行都市と新都市、デザイン開発、計画地図、土地利用計画、都市住宅標準、CBD、幹線道路・交通、港湾、公園・学校、土地区画整理・再開発）、④計画の実現手段（機構と政府、法制とゾーニング、財政）。（18）主な目次項目を次ぎに示す。
 ①開発のためのリーフ埋立と適地、②工業用地（立地、アーバンパターン、アジアポートプロジェクト、居住地区、開発コントロール、土地利用計画、デザインコンセプト、ニューシテイ、ケーススタディ：糸満・名護・石川・馬天）、③港湾開発（現況、計画、デザイン、敷地計画、ポートシステム）、④沖縄の石油施設計画と経済効果、⑤沖縄のフリートレードゾーン計画（台湾・香港のフリーポート、分析）、⑥フリーポート計画（香港のフリーポート、琉球フリーポート・ケーススタディ）。

（19）糸満埋立事業は本土復帰後に計画、1980年代前半に完了しており、また、フリーゾーンの設置は沖縄復帰特別措置法に盛り込まれ、1988年地区決定・操業開始された。これらは経済開発とからめた地域計画であり、USCAR の調査報告書の影響をある程度受けているものと思われる。

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- (10) 「那覇市史資料編：戦後新聞集成2」那覇市、1983.3。
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琉球列島米国民政府機構図（1952年対日平和条約発効直後）

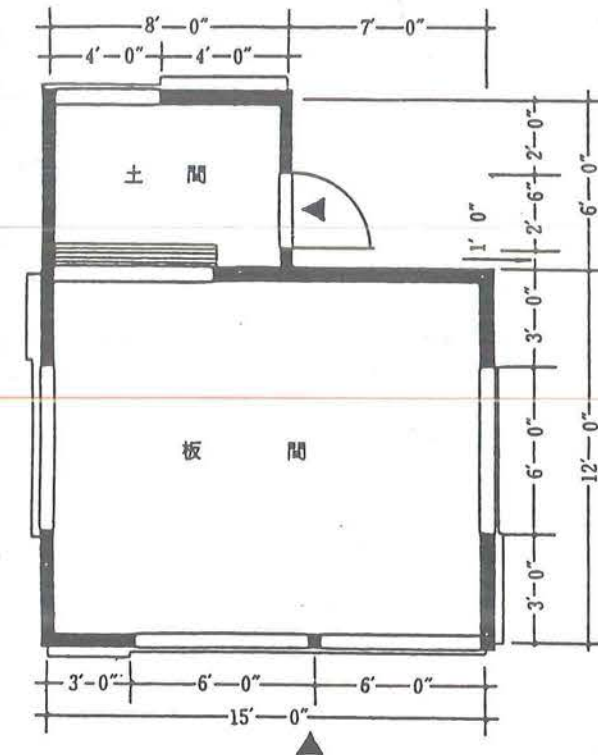


(1952. 10. 10 現在)

図-1 琉球列島米国民政府機構図（1952）
 Figure 1. Organization of USCAR, 1952

表-1 戦後沖縄都市計画の変遷 (1945~1972)

沖縄	日本本土
1945. 4 「米軍占領下ノ南西諸島及び近海居住民二次グ」 (ニミッツ布告)	
1945. 4 「米国海軍軍政府」設置 (米軍政府)	
1945. 8 「沖縄諮詢会」設置 (米軍政府)	
1945.10 「住民再定住計画及び方針」指令 (米軍政府)	
1945.10 「沖縄人住宅の建築資材」指令 (米軍政府)	
1945.12 「沖縄人住宅建築計画」指令 (米軍政府)	
1946. 4 「沖縄民政府」設置 (米軍政府)	
1946. 7 「米国陸軍軍政府」設置 (米軍政府)	
1946. 7 「ガリオア資金」設置 (米軍政府) (占領地域統治救済資金、GROAF)	1946. 9 「特別都市計画法」
1946.11 「那覇復興都市計画案」提示 (米軍政府)	
1947.10 「公共の用に供する土地の取得」布告、指令 (土地収用法、米軍政府)	
1949. 1 「建築許可証」指令 (米軍政府)	
1950. 4 「沖縄住宅営団」設立 (沖縄民政府、米軍政府認可)	1950. 5 「住宅金融公庫法」
1950. 4 「那覇市都市計画」認可 (米軍政府)	1950. 5 「建築基準法」
1950. 4 「琉球復興金融基金」設置 (米軍政府)	1950. 6 「首都建設法」
1950. 8 「那覇市都市計画条例」制定告示	
1950. 8 「那覇市都市計画」決定告示 (那覇市)	
1950. 8 「那覇市市街地建築物制限条例」制定告示	
1950.11 「沖縄群島政府」設置 (米軍政府)	
1950.12 「琉球列島米国民政府」設置 (USCAR)	
1951. 9 「沖縄群島割当土地に関する臨時処理条例」 (割当土地条例、沖縄群島政府)	1951. 6 「公営住宅法」
1951. 9 「沖縄住宅公社」改正 (USCAR)	
1951.10 「沖縄群島建築基準条例」制定 (沖縄群島政府)	
1952. 2 「土地開拓組合」布令 (USCAR)	
1952. 4 「琉球政府」設置 (USCAR)	
1952. 9 「道路法」制定 (琉球政府)	
1952.12 「土地収用法」制定 (琉球政府)	
1952.12 「建築基準法」制定 (琉球政府)	
1953. 2 石川崇輝来島	
1953. 8 「都市計画法」制定 (琉球政府)	
1953. 9 「那覇市分担金徴収条例」制定 (那覇市)	
1954. 6 「那覇市都市計画」決定告示 (琉球政府)	1954. 5 「土地区画整理法」
1955. 6 「沖縄群島割当土地に関する臨時処理条例の廃止に伴う措置に関する立法」 (割当土地法、琉球政府)	1955. 7 「日本住宅公団法」
1955. 8 石川崇輝再来島	
1956. 2 「首都建設法」 (琉球政府署名、米国民政府承認)	
1956. 3 「那覇市都市計画」決定告示 (琉球政府)	
1956.12 瀬長氏那覇市長就任、琉球政府「復金」保留	
1958.11 那覇市都市計画事業補助再開	1957. 4 「首都圏整備法」
1959. 9 「琉球開発金融公社」設立 (高等弁務官布令)	
1961. 8 「公営住宅法」 (琉球政府)	1960. 5 「住宅地区改良法」
1962. 3 「不良住宅実態調査」 (那覇市)	
1962. 6 「10 Year Program to Improve Okinawa Highway Transportation」 (USCAR)	
1964.11 「A City and Regional Planning Program for Ryukyu Islands」 (U.S.Army Engineers district)	
1966. 9 「琉球土地住宅公社法」 (琉球政府)	1966. 6 「住宅建設改良法」
1966. 「那覇市建設計画」 (那覇市)	
1968. 5 「那覇市建設計画」の修正 (那覇市)	1968. 6 「新都市計画法」
1969. 6 「Industrial Estate and New Town Study Okinawa」 (USCAR)	1969. 6 「都市再開発法」
1969. 「住宅建設資金融通法」 (琉球政府)	
1969. 7 「土地区画整理法」 (琉球政府)	
1970. 6 「新都市計画法」 (琉球政府)	
1971.10 「沖縄の住宅需要調査」 (建設省住宅局、都市局)	
1972. 5 「沖縄県」本土復帰	



規格住宅平面図

屋根：茅葺
 壁：板
 床：板及び土間

U.S. NAVAL MILITARY GOVERN.
 MENT OKINAWA
 PUBLIC WORKS DEPT.
 STANDARD NATIVE HOUSE
 DRAWN BY H. NAKAZA
 TRACED BY H. NAKAZA
 Nov. 30. 1945

図-2 規格住宅平面図
Figure 2. Standard House Plan

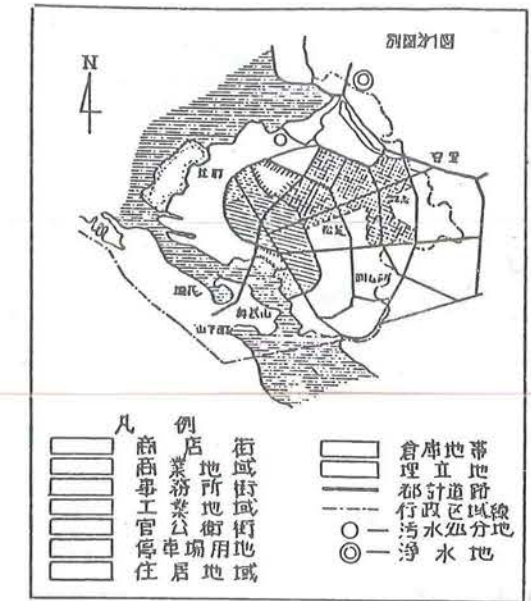


図-3 那覇都市計画 (1950)
Figure 3. Naha City Planning, 1950



図-4 那覇都市計画事業区域
Figure 4. Naha City Planning Project Area

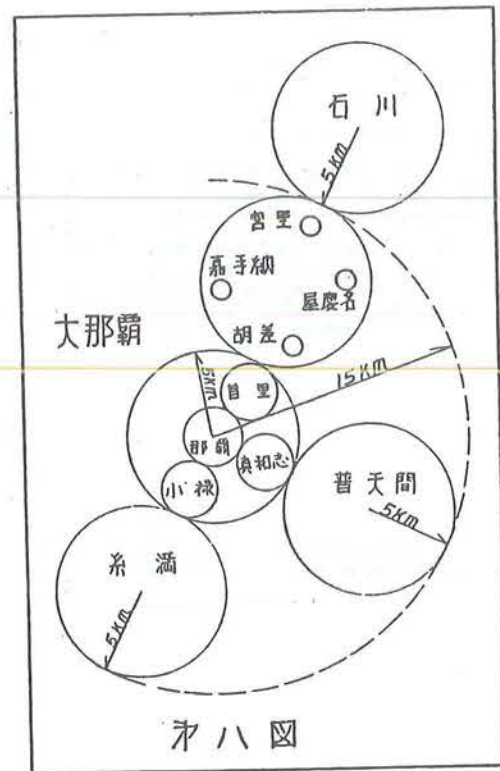


図-5 石川栄耀の大那覇計画概念図
Figure 5. Geater Naha Planning Concept
by Eiyo Ishikawa

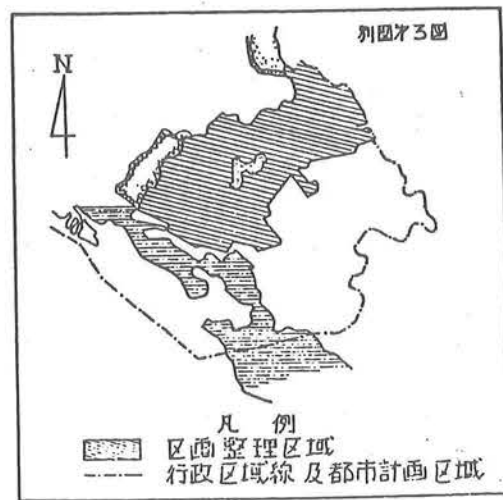


図-7 那覇都市計画 (1954)
Figure 7. Naha City Planning, 1954



図-6 石川栄耀の那覇都市計画案
Figure 6. A Draft of Naha City Planning
by Eiyo Ishikawa



図-8 那覇都市計画 (1956)
Figure 8. Naha City Planning, 1956

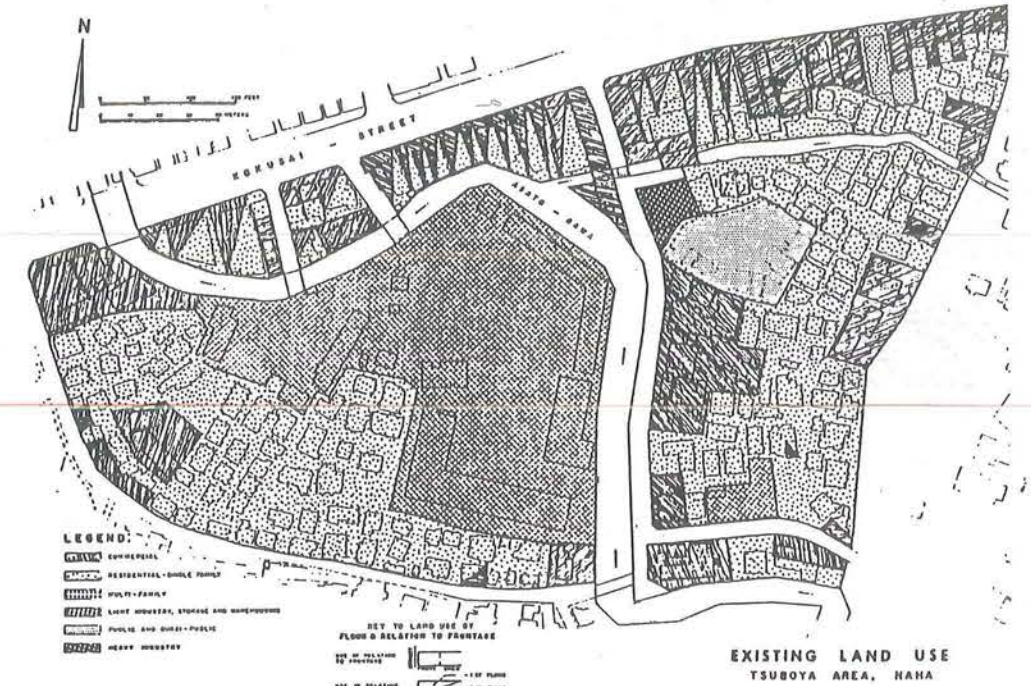


図-9 那覇市内の土地利用現況 (壺屋)
(文献(3)より)
Figure 9. Existing Land Use, tuboya Area, Naha

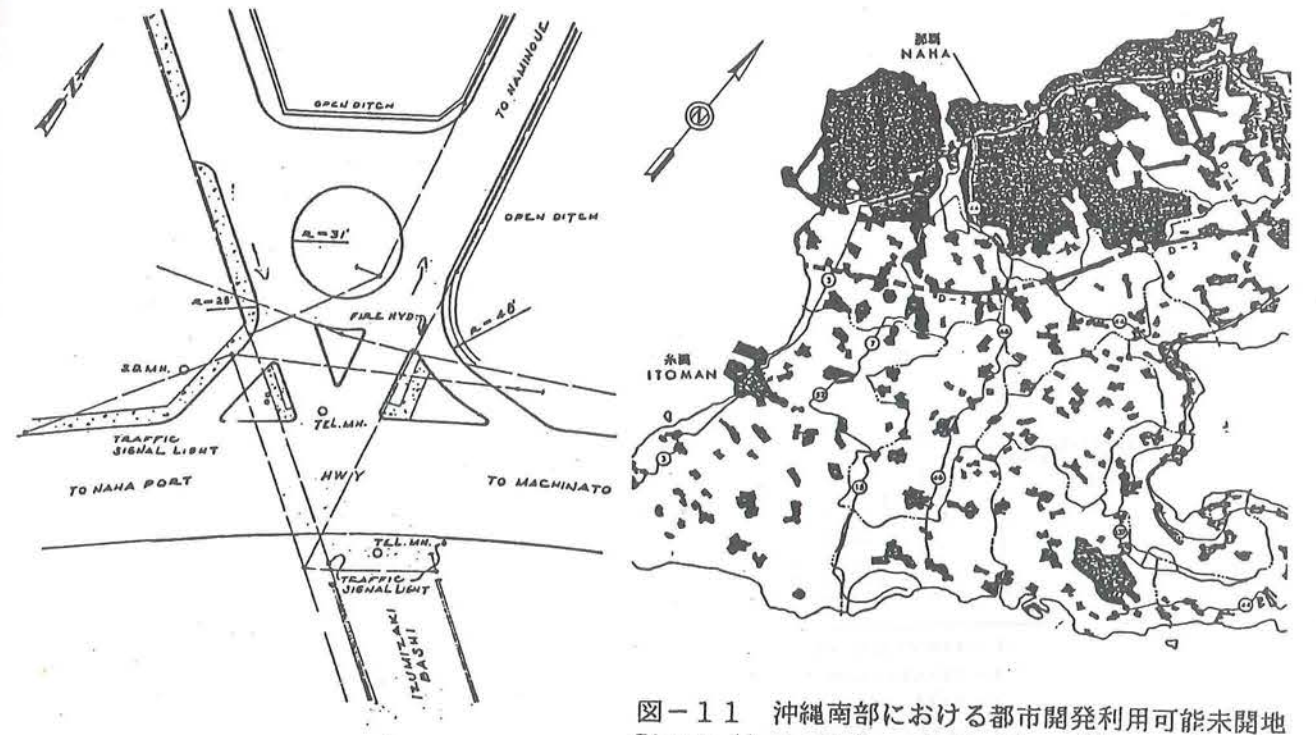


図-10 インターチェンジの改良プラン (波ノ上)
(文献(2)より)
Figure 10. Intersection Plan, Naminoue, Naha

図-11 沖縄南部における都市開発利用可能未開地
Figure 11. Land Area in Southern Okinawa Open for Urban Development

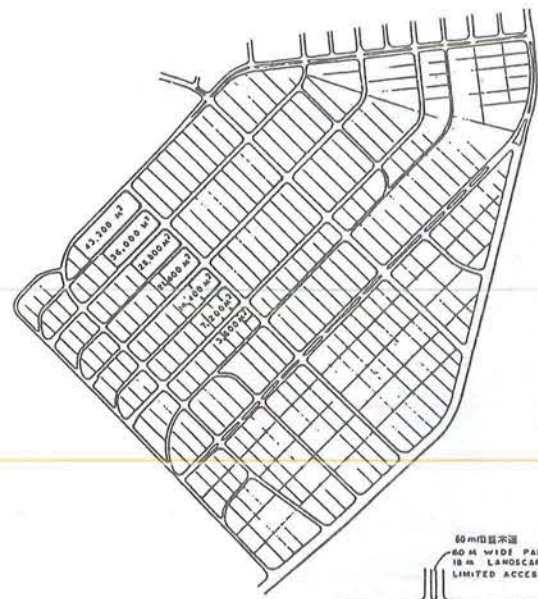


図-12 モジュラーシステム
Figure 12. Modular System

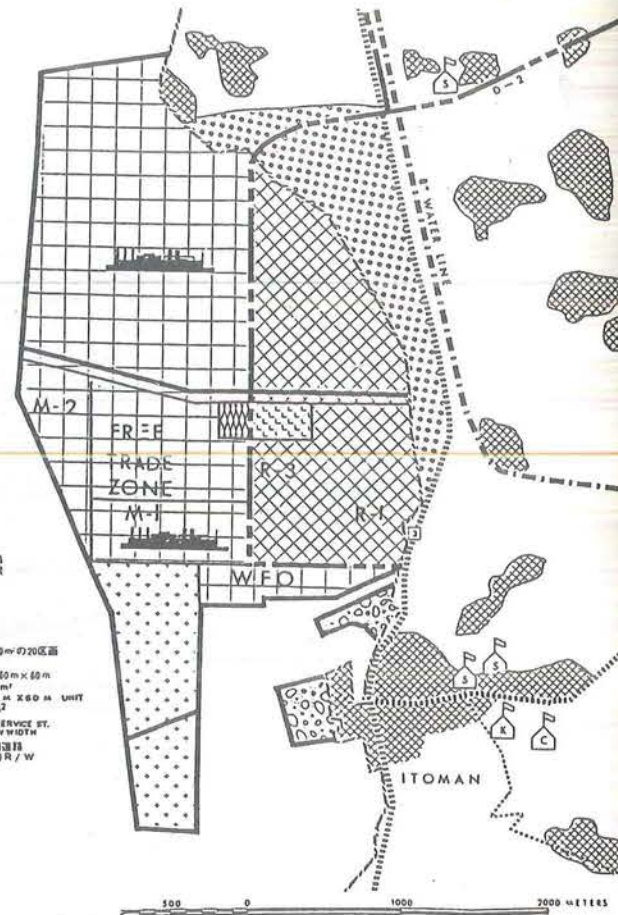
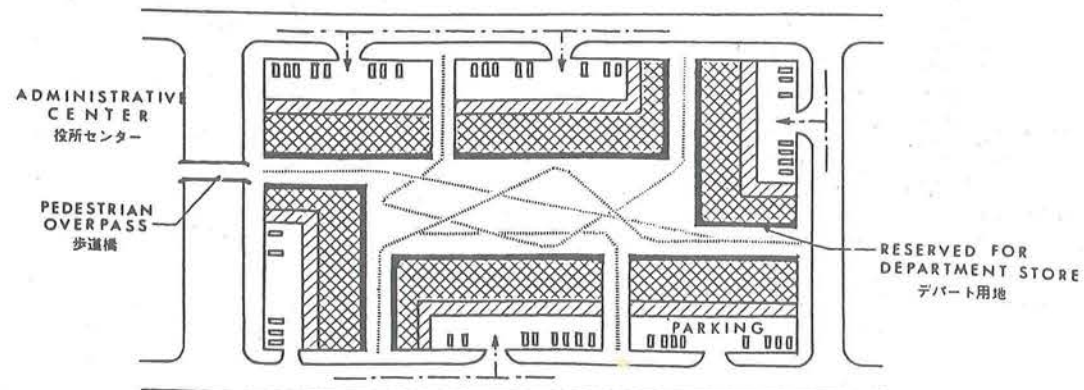


図-13 糸満工業都市計画案
(文献(7)より)
Figure 13. Case Study for Itoman Industrial City Planning



- 1 - PROVIDES ADEQUATE PARKING ADJACENT TO SHOPPING
- 2 - SEPARATION OF AUTOMOBILE AND FOOT TRAFFIC
- 3 - SAFE, ATTRACTIVE
- 1-ショッピングする所の近くに適当な広さのパーキングスペースがある。
- 2-車と歩行者の通行を分離する。
- 3-安全、見た目に美しい。

図-14 ショッピングモール (糸満新市街)
Figure 14. Shopping Mall, Itoman New City

LEGITIMACY and TRANSFERABILITY of PLANNING
SYSTEMS in EUROPE and JAPAN :
A CRITICAL-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

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I. INTRODUCTION

The main aim of this paper is concerned with advancing qualitative comparative planning studies between Europe and Japan through introducing an element which has hitherto been little tackled, namely the concept of "legitimacy" of public intervention in the enjoyment of, and control over private property rights through planning instruments. The definition of Lipset (1959) of legitimacy will be adopted for its technical quality rather than its political orientation. This definition describes legitimacy as the "...capacity of a political system to engender and maintain the belief that existing political institutions are the most appropriate or proper ones for the society."

Within this general framework two main comparative hypotheses are tested, namely:

i) Land readjustment, as a tool of public policy relating to urban planning, has played the most important single role in directing urban development in Japan since the Meiji Restoration in 1869. It is best described with the oft-quoted phrase that "land readjustment is the mother of Japanese town planning". However, land readjustment, or re-groupment, is a tool originated in 19th Century Germany, in the City of Frankfurt-am-Mein situated (after annexation) in the State of Prussia. The hypothesis relates to the assumption that introducing a foreign urban planning tool directly affecting private property rights into a host society, and its application and development with notable success, can be neither possible nor successful unless there exist similar or parallel assumptions as regards the nature

of the State, government and administration and the pattern of inter-relationships arising therefrom in both cultures, in casu, Germany and Japan in the late 19th Century. It is interesting to examine, within this context, the reasons underlying Japan's choice of a German model rather than other European alternatives, since France and Britain did develop mechanisms for dealing with urban problems resulting from urbanisation, and Belgium developed a highly efficient railway network and carried out major re-development works.

ii) The second hypothesis suggests that times of social crises and natural disasters represented optimal "timing" for increasing public control over property rights in Europe and Japan. Adequate timing is a *sin qua non* for acquiring an acceptable level of legitimacy for a new public policy tool. At the same time, these occasions gave rise to unique national "planning cultures" despite relative similarities in circumstances and, sometimes, cultural and technical assumptions. It will, therefore, be argued that land readjustment has evolved into a unique Japanese planning instrument despite its common German (and later European) heritage.

II. THE LOGIC of SOCIAL CRISES, TRANSFERABILITY and LEGITIMACY

The main question that this section will attempt to address is: "Why did Japan NOT adopt French or British planning tools in the second half of the 19th century in her drive to face agricultural land and urbanisation problems?"

The logical answer to this question is one that relates to transferability and legitimacy within the framework of social and

economic crises leading to the introduction of specific town planning legislation and practices. Three main inter-related aspects of town planning, arising from economic growth and urbanisation caused by the coming of the Industrial Revolution, may be considered to be the corner stone of the answer. These aspects are, respectively, the need for and advancement of new modes of transportation demanding land and organisation; attitudes toward compulsory purchase legislation and application; and finally sanitary conditions in towns. It should equally be remembered that these elements can not be discussed outside their civic cultural contexts, i.e., attitudes towards local autonomy and centralisation, the cultural value of land, and political philosophical assumptions underlying the process of decision making and the role of administration.

II.1. TRANSFERABILITY and LEGITIMACY of FRENCH and BRITISH PLANNING

A. FRANCE

There were many general contextual elements which could have recommended French-style planning solutions to Japanese decision makers last century (1). However, two main factors may be said to have hampered the transfer of French experience:

1) The cultural value of land in Japan is very high, and the relationship of possession has a high emotional, as well as material dimension. This is particularly true within the context of the immediate post Meiji Restoration (1869) period, when feudal sentiments were still present by virtue of the time factor, since possession of land is closely related with a feudal

political structure. As will be discussed later, Haussmannian solutions based on large scale compulsory acquisition, and a wide definition of the "public interest" may have severely prevented importing French planning ideas. This statement should be qualified by suggesting that they nonetheless may have appealed to a professional and technocratic administration, such as existed since 1871 in Japan, because Haussmann's basic arguments and assumptions were based on administrative and technical grounds, rather than on political choice per se.

2) France possessed a highly centralised administrative system for a long time since the ancien regime. This was not altered by the French Revolution, nor by Napoleon I. The long period of feudal rule in Japan under the central power of the Shoguns had produced, on the other hand, a mixture of some form of local awareness in a political sense (autonomy), as well as obedience to central authority. In other words, intermediary levels of administration after the Réstoration had a socio-political as well as an administrative meaning, rather than the near pure administrative function of the French departement. This fact was amply demonstrated by the promulgation of the "Local Self Government Act 1888" in Japan, which, incidentally, co-incides with the issue of the first planning ordinance concerning works in Tokyo. This notion is in total contrast to the distrust placed by the French on calls for administrative and territorial decentralisation, the later being considered as a negation of the State-centre (Prof. Maes, p.21, 1985, author's translation). In fact, it was not until the Acts of 1871 and 1874 that French

department and communal councils were elected rather than appointed by Paris.

The legitimacy of compulsory purchase measures, which Haussmann employed in his grands travaux in Paris (1853-1869), came to be acquired through a series of developments starting with transportation and ending with slum clearance. The ancien regime had left France with a good road network, maintained by corvees of local residents. Later, the Revolution abolished that system and the State assumed direct authority over the building and maintenance of roads. Napoleon I built many of the strategic roads at home and in occupied countries. In 1818, the (French) Restoration government drew up a plan for the construction of canals. As appears, the notion of controlling public works from the centre was strong, and this was crowned by the establishment of a Ministry of Public Works in 1831. This Ministry allocated 800 million francs during the following decade for the building of roads and canals (Benevolo, p.87, 1963). Whilst the centralisation of public works was evident in roads and canals, it was railway network development that defined a new context for compulsory acquisition (thus for public control) and awarded it legitimacy in France. The first railway, near St. Etienne, was opened in 1832, and government undertook, by directing the Conseil general des ponts et chaussees in 1833, to propose a comprehensive plan for the whole country, on the basis of granting permissions to private companies to develop the lines. Management needs, however, made central control necessary and, in 1842, an Act was passed awarding major private companies monopolies of the main lines, and specifying that railways were

to become State property after 40 years. At any rate, those evolutionary steps in communication had profound spatial impacts on the tools required for the management of land, despite the fact that they led to the establishment of a separate body of public works legislation, rather than town planning per se. The main impact on town planning was the revision of compulsory acquisition measures, which have hitherto been resorted to only under extreme circumstances, and were considered exceptional. Under circumstances of large scale demand for land, they acquired new legitimacy, and were regulated "...to the ever increasing advantage of the State." (Benevolo, p.88, 1963). The Act of 13 May 1841 crowned the efforts expressed in the Napoleonic Act of 1810 and the Orleanist Act of 1833 to regulate compulsory acquisition and grant it legal legitimacy. State intervention stipulated by the 1841 Act was, however, restricted by a number of requirements. Acquisition of land, according to the Act, had to be authorised by the legislature, and it had to be defined in detail by prefectural decrees. Furthermore, courts of law had to authorise individual acquisitions so that disputes are resolved. Judging by the scale of acquisition that Haussmann later was able to resort to through new legitimising devices (legal, social, political and administrative), the French course of events forms yet another example of the way in which public control over property rights increases in a gradual manner acquiring legitimacy proportionally. The introduction of public control measures has to be gradual and appropriate in terms of the choice of timing. This is particularly true of transferring

the application of the tool of compulsory purchase from public works to "town planning", the legitimising social context being the extremely bad sanitary conditions in towns, demonstrated by the Cholera epidemics after 1830, as a direct consequence of the Industrial Revolution. In fact, it was an epidemic of Cholera, that of 1849, which finally brought a long debate on "planning" legislation (i.e., controlling private ownership rights) between the liberal bourgeoisie on one hand, and the Catholics and Socialists on the other to a conclusive end. The Act of 13 April 1850 was passed, thanks to the relentless efforts of the Catholics, during the Second Republic, spearheaded by Count Armand de Melun who submitted his Bill to the Assembly in 1849. Interestingly enough, although the Socialists were also seeking to reform the system they opposed de Melun's Bill on the grounds that it represented a piecemeal and non-comprehensive solution in a typical dogmatic fashion of the time. Nonetheless, the Act of 13 April 1850 was passed stipulating the establishment of Commissions in localities in which it is deemed necessary to carry out improvement measures, authorising the Municipal Council to designate such localities. The most interesting part of the Act is Article 13. It formed the basis for large scale compulsory acquisition through empowering the Commune to acquire property included within the borders of a designated area. This single Article transformed the tool of compulsory acquisition from one related to public works only into an instrument of urban land management as well in such a manner that affected property rights of a large group of owners gathered in a community, instead of its previous limited use, which often had no final repercussions

on community formations. Legitimising such a profound change must have rested on equally fundamental changes in the socio-economic outlook due to urgent crises, and more basically on civic cultural assumptions related to attitudes towards authority and to the role of the State, as a body, in society. This role is largely exercised by administration, and it was Haussmann, acting as a technical administrator (for he believed that his role was purely technical), who employed this Act in changing the face of Paris utilising a very important Amendment, that of 23 May 1852, which empowered administration to acquire land without resort to courts of law. Legitimacy had finally become the prerogative of administrative discretion acting in the "public interest", and a new area of dispute between the State and citizens opened with the coming of the welfare state and its technical apparatus ready to execute "pragmatic town planning" (as it thinks fit), as opposed to the dogmatic alternatives of the European radical movements during the 19th century. This wide interpretation of the "public interest" in land could have hardly been expected to acquire legitimacy in 19th century Japan. Compulsory purchase was certainly not the tool Japanese administrators were seeking in their drive to tackle town planning and public works problems. Haussmann's alternative may have seemed exceedingly attractive to the Japanese bureaucracy of the time, since he achieved an unification of all public works under central management, he divorced his administrative technical work from political decision making and his works reduced (if not diminished) investment risk. However, his wide interpretation of Article 13

made the tool of compulsory acquisition unfit for application within the Japanese cultural context.

B. BRITAIN

Of course, it could have been the simple accident of history that Japan did not import planning tools from either France or Britain. But it is interesting to speculate on how Japan would have reacted if it were presented with those two alternatives. Whereas the French model might have had certain agreeable aspects, the British alternative, on the other hand, might have seemed slightly odd to Japanese administrators. This is so despite the profound respect for property ownership and private enterprise that English law and administration offered in the last century. There were numerous cases in which Common Law Courts sought to assert the sanctity of ownership against the prerogative of administration, even when statutes empowered public authorities to interfere. Many measures were taken to protect those rights against newly emerging needs and pressures, such as those promulgated in 1840, aiming mainly at providing land for transportation. Moreover, Parliament was largely dominated by the land owning layer of society. Therefore, compulsory acquisition, save for high priority projects, could not be expected to become the main tool of planning because it would not have acquired the level of legitimacy necessary for its functioning effectively. Accordingly, Land acquisition procedures were formally regulated between 1842 and 1845 in a manner that offered substantial protection for land owners. As such, the reasons underlying the unsuitability of the English planning

alternative lie elsewhere outside the context of the cultural value of land ownership:

1) The system of government in England has recognised, for a very long time, the principle of "Local Self Government", thus entrusting local authorities with considerable independence. There has been a centuries long tradition of rights and powers enjoyed and exercised by local authorities. The historical analysis is long, but it is interesting to remark that the aristocracy and landed gentry formed an alliance which guaranteed those wide local rights and powers. Smellie (p.176, 1968) and Sharpe (pp.153-174, 1970) argue that all affairs which are considered to be of local interest (in its widest interpretation) are to be dealt with locally, and, in principal, the State should not intervene. Maes (p.23, 1985, author's translation) argues further that all appointments of administrators as agents of central government are considered contrary to the principle of "Local Self Government". Unsurprisingly, this view contrasts with the French centralised model, where central intervention is the basic assumption rather than the other way around. This aspect is particularly important within the framework of public works. In the Japanese administrative and socio-political context of the post Meiji period, the English organisational alternative must have offered very little to meet the needs of the notion of what may be termed "centralisation with local diversity" which certainly still distinguishes Japan. A strong centre adopting the concept of the State as a coherent whole was at odds with the English loose definition of the "Crown". For public works, this could have had all sorts of repercussions spanning the whole

planning spectrum, from defining priorities, co-ordination, funding etc to political crises. Legitimacy of intervention would have been very difficult to obtain under such a difused power system in 19th century Japan.

2) There existed a wide gap between Japan and Britain in political decision making, and the philosophical assumptions upon which it rested. Bentham's (and Mill's) moral and normative political philosophy contributed substantially to the debate on sanitary conditions in 19th century Britain. Utilitarianism, through Edwin Chadwick (a former assistant of Bentham 1800-1890), who was appointed Inspector of the Poor Law Commission in 1832, formed a major force, politically and practically, in deciding upon the problems of public health and subsequent intervention in private ownership rights. There are two main observations with respect to this episode. The first relates to the nature of Mill's "representative government" and to utilitarian philosophy. The Benthamite concept of légal theory insisted that law and its institutions should serve the general welfare, and nothing else, the general welfare being defined as the sum total of individual utilities. In fact, Bentham wished to limit the activities of government "to the making and enforcing of law, the main function of law being the making of only those restrictions of freedom which are necessary to prevent violation of individual liberty". (Van Gunsteren, 1976). It may be argued that strong community ties and group formations, bound together by a concept of social obligation rather than abstract "rights", existed in Japan in those days when feudal spirit was not entirely dead.

Consequently, such a legal theory would have certainly failed to acquire any form of legitimacy in practice.

The second observation relates to procedural decision making mechanisms, which are closely connected to the way in which the role of administration (and administrators) is conceived. Decision making in England depends very much on the "Government by Committee" principle, which ultimately difuses power and allows Parliament a greater freedom in initiating legislation proposals than was ever conceivable in 19th century Japan. The professional and centralised Meiji bureaucracy had to tackle many problems, relating to both public works and town planning, over a short time span that certainly did not allow for the considerably longer process of political consensus in England.

This is amply demonstrated in the English example of granting legitimacy to public intervention in property rights last century. Although the intervention of the Crown was not initially aimed at land, but at management and control of railway operations (since all firms insisted on managing their own lines causing co-ordination problems), this had nonetheless weakened non-interventionist calls in Parliament, and, by virtue of socio-economic changes, had granted the principle of Crown intervention recognition and legitimacy, albeit to a limited degree. But, as in the French example, once legitimacy for the principle is established, public intervention increased gradually and steadily. However, it should be born in mind that the framework for later intervention in urbanised areas was provided in the Reform Bill 1832. Along with the Poor Law and its Ammendment in 1834, these two attempts at tackling the

deteriorating sanitary conditions in industrial towns formed undeniably the basis for the first true root for town planning legislation, "An Act for Promoting the Public Health 1848", commonly known as the Public Health Act. The way in which the Act was made a reality makes it difficult to conceive of the possibility to transfere it, as a tool, to 19th century Japan. This is so mainly for four main reasons, aside from the basic assumptions underlying decision making and political philosophy:

1) Basically, the terrible conditions that the Act sought to remedy did not exist, on that scale, in Japan. Problem definition was, therefore, different.

2) The Act did not offer a concrete and specific tool, such as compulsory acquisition as technically practiced in France or land readjustment in Germany. The Act was more of a prescriber of an alternative administrative organisation by setting up the General Board of Health, which was to consist of three members appointed by the Sovereign, and was empowered to appoint local Inspectors under certain requirements (2) The Act goes on to specify all sorts of administrative and financial details, but it actually did not produce a readily transferable technical tool of management apart from certain requirements to produce maps etc. It also specified, in detail, the relationship between Board and individuals in the last article.

3) By virtue of it being so, the Act lacked the universal qualities that technical tools usually possess. It was "local" in nature, in the sense that, apart from the principle, it could not be of much immediate practical use to an industriasing nation.

It also reflected the relative weakness of administrative power in comparison to Germany, France and Japan. The London authorities, in 1838, asked the Poor Law Commission to enquire about the origins of an epidemic in Whitechapel (Benevolo, p.91, 1963). From then onwards, the process was persued largely by politicians: The Report made an impact on public opinion, Chadwick, in 1839 was permitted by Lord Russel to extend the enquiry into the whole country and the final Report was submitted in 1842, a House of Commons committee confirmed Chadwick's findings in another report, and finally Peel appointed a Royal Commission on the "State of Large Towns and Populace Districts" which published the findings in 1844 and 1845. These events were bound to produce an Act of the nature described, with consequences of lack of potential for transferability.

The 1848 Act, however, did introduce a most significant principle within the English context, that of direct public intervention in individual property ownership rights employing statutes. Hitherto property rights disputes had been settled through resorting to Common Law principles, mainly relating to nuisance. The concept of administrative controls was indeed vey new, and formed a point of transformation that was not to be contained within the provisions of the 1848 Act.

4) The Act did not actually relate directly, in a technical way, to public works. It specified that parks, sewers etc. were to be provided, but it did not actually tackle public works as such. For 19th century Japan upgrading the infrastructure was probably as important as planning ends, and that aim required a technical tool as well as a pattern of administrative organisation.

Britain and France could not offer, for different reasons, an alternative to Japanese decision makers, although one assumes that the French model must have had a greater appeal. The German solution seemed to fit in with concepts, assumptions and technicalities in a way those two other European systems lacked.

III. GERMAN POLITICAL CONCEPTS, PLANNING ACTIONS and JAPANESE SOCIETY in THE LATE 19th CENTURY.

III.1. Basic Assumptions

This section attempts to introduce the more general reasons underlying the willingness to accept a German tool of social policy in Japan, and its subsequent application, with relative success, to a different cultural context, needs and pattern of land ownership and holding. The analysis will follow two essential lines. The first relates to the State tradition (Staat) and its nature. The second will focus on the characteristics of public administration and administrators, using land readjustment as its main example because of the effect it exerted on Japanese planning, as well as being the only major practically applied import of planning thought and practice from Europe during the past century.

This means that the legitimacy of the concept of the State will be examined particularly with reference to its constabulary and social welfare role. This is a fundamental topic of contemporary and historical comparative planning: the coming of the welfare state has necessitated making rules concerning areas of conflict where citizens meet the State. Planning is the most important of

those areas in terms of legitimising State action, since it infringes on the core element of traditional concepts of civil society and democracy, i.e., property rights, and since it demonstrates practically the degree of legal certainty available to citizens and administrators, legal certainty being the cornerstone of Western democracies, provided either by express administrative law on the Continent (thus giving force of law to land use plans, and adopting Master Planning), or through the wisdom of Common Law judges in England, thus leaving a greater room for flexibility and subsequently adopting non-binding administrative, rather than legal plans (structure plans). These aspects are especially interesting when examining the operation of transferring land readjustment, since this planning instrument infringes on property rights with the specific and concrete aim of furthering the welfare of the social group at large (internalising costs of infrastructure provision) as well as the individuals directly involved (in most cases through betterment); it is also a deliberate action of the administrative system in the belief that part of its duty lies in furthering the welfare of society as it conceives it. The role of administration in the process of land readjustment is a particularly interesting aspect of the way the state views the role of its Apparatus in the field of land use planning in Japan and Europe. In the process of analysis two different tools will be employed, since the issue at stake relates to two different cultural entities. Insofar as Europe is concerned, the development of the concept of the "Staat" or "etat" will be discussed, as this relates organically to the evolution of modern town planning legislation through changes in

the then existing social strata and interests. In the case of Japan, however, an analysis of the then existing "polity" will be undertaken in function of the social and cultural patterns which prevailed at the time, particularly the nature of the patriarchal and hierarchical feudal structures, and subsequent implications for planning administration.

III.2. THE GERMAN PERCEPTION of LEGITIMACY of PLANNING ACTIONS

Legitimacy may be regarded as a function of certainty as defined in a particular era and place. In the Middle Ages, elements of definition included tradition, status and contract. But the 19th century was very different. Certainty was not dependent on belonging to a rigidly defined group, but rather on individual initiative and circumstances (under economic conditions of industrialisation etc), and more, on a new decisive element: the State. In Germany, the bourgeoisie was less powerful than in England, and had to satisfy itself with legal protection of its economic freedom with a liberal constitutional regime through which express rights (life, liberty and property) were protected. This outcome corresponds to the main feature of the German school of thought: that the State is a coherent whole (as opposed to the loose idea of the Crown in Britain) with the dual and combined role of controlling society and improving it at the same time. This is amply demonstrated in the words "Policeystaat", "Wohlfartsstaat" and their ultimate combination "Wohlfartspolizei" (3). Dyson (p.118,1980) defines the Polizeistaat as "...a strongly moral theory of the State, one that sought to use its machinery for the development of society

and the improvement of individuals...Its focus was policy and welfare...Above all, the Polizeistaat lent the continental European tradition the notion of the administration as the 'state in action', as the 'chief organ of state unity'."

These notions of organisation of public affairs had their roots in the intellectual efforts of Cameralism (4). This trend can hardly be separated from the idea of "Selbstverwaltung", advanced by the Fysiocrats in the 18th century, which mainly aimed at reducing central power and was based on local self government. This notion relates greatly to one of the main issues, contemporary and historical, of Continental European planning, namely territorial decentralisation. This may yet prove to be the next major source of inspiration in tackling the Japanese urban problem. Originally, therefore, "'Selbstverwaltung' was the opposite of 'Staatsverwaltung'" (Prof. Maes, p.25, 1985, author's translation). But soon, in 1808, Prussia implemented measures acknowledging the complimentary nature of both "Selbstverwaltung" and "Staatsverwaltung" (5). By the time the first planning concerns started to appear in the mid-19th century, the "Selbstverwaltung" level of administration was considered, especially by legal positivists, as merely an intermediary level between the Staat and the individual, and not as a form of local social organisation. The administrative structure was, therefore, one that established the local level as a separate legal entity entrusted with the duty to execute central policy independently. This was a major landmark since, as Dyson (p.119, 1980) specifies, "the importance of Cameralism lay in its recognition

that Polizei included both the protective or constabular role and the welfare role of the official. His responsibility for the general management of society and the economy in a technically efficient way was indicated by the Prussian conception of Wohlfarspolizei, according to which the official had an inherent duty to prescribe as well prohibit forms of social behaviour"; a duty which naturally included land related problems in those years of economic expansion, as it included problems relating to industrial relations. The dual role of the Staat, paternal and beneficent, was adequately reflected in legislation serving the welfare in a corresponding manner. There was the first Social Insurance Act of Bismarck in 1881, old age and invalidity insurance in 1889, and later, measures that committed the German Staat to a considerable role in housing. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the recognition of the social dimension of property ownership through statutory legal tools of public policy, rather than total reliance on private contracts, had appeared at that time. The most notable example was the "Land Re-groupment Bill" prepared by Franz Adickes, Mayor of Frankfurt elected in 1891. It is also notable that such a recognition sprang from pure pragmatic concerns relating to solving a specific problem rather than ideological dogma. The circumstances under which such a tool was conceived of and adopted will be briefly described, serving as an example of early intervention in Germany.

Frankfurt City witnessed an explosive urbanisation resulting from two related factors:

a) After annexation by Prussia in 1866, and the dissolution of

the Deutsche Bund in the same year, the importance of the Frankfurter Bank and the Stock Exchange was lost to Berlin (Kuppers, p.1,1982). Trade and industry became the main concerns of the city, encouraged by "Mainz Rhine Shipping Act 1831" and the "Mannheim Rhine Shipping Act 1831".

b) As a result of the Franco-Prussian War 1871, France had to pay 5000 million Gold Francs as reparations. This amount formed a decisive element in the final break-through of the Industrial Revolution in Germany.

This growth, over a very short span of time, demanded a growth in building activities. This was greatly hampered by the existing physical pattern of land ownership resulting from the medieval Franconian system of inheritance, whereby lots of equal length and diverse width were distributed to the heirs; thus causing lots to be very long and very narrow. Needless to say that all these conditions have led to soaring land prices, rendering public acquisition of land very difficult. Adickes's first idea was to organise voluntary exchange contracts whereby owners receive new lots in return for land they surrender to the city for purposes of roads and facilities. This approach met with many difficulties, and Adickes submitted his first "Bill on Building Land Re-groupment and Zonal Expropriation" to Parliament (of which he was a member) in 1893. This Bill failed to pass the Lower House, and was subsequently re-introduced by Government, with substantial amendments, and approved by Parliament in Berlin in 1903.

There are three striking observations:

a) The Bill formed the first attempt to introduce PLANNED RE-GROUPMENT of land. There existed agricultural regroupment, and other regroupment experiences (dating as early as the Great Fire of London in 1666). However, none of those attempts was planned re-groupment on administrative basis in the organisational sense of technical administration. The Adickes' technique was one of a physical planning nature relying on the confidence placed in the administration by individuals in a paternal and caring sense.

b) Because of land re-groupment, administration, by logic, did not need to resort to compulsory acquisition as often as other European counterparts. The cultural value of land is, therefore, high, and this corresponds to the value placed on land possession in the Japanese context.

c) One of the reasons underlying the failure of the first Adickes Bill was given to be that such a major piece of legislation should not be introduced by Parliament, but by Government (Kuppers, p.3, 1982). This point illustrates the nature and character of faith placed in administration as prescriber of social behaviour.

It also highlights the conceptions of the role of the state and administration which are vital in understanding the legitimacy and appropriateness of state action through administration. The perception of the administrative system was that the very coherence of society depended on it (Mommsen, Hauriou)(6). Dyson (p.122, 1980) also argues that "the idea of depersonalization, prestige and devotion of state service was reflected in the legal characterization of the German Beamte (higher official) as someone who, by holding an office, entered into a special

relationship with the state and thus stood in a privileged relationship with regard to the private citizen."

The conclusion is evident. Legitimacy of planning actions, as one of the functions relating to the welfare of society, relied to a great extent on the paternalistic social welfare role of the State in which the official had a professional and powerful position in his capacity as the "concierge" of society.

III.3. GERMAN PLANNING, JAPANESE POLITY and LEGITIMACY

There are undoubtedly many parallels in Japanese civic culture and attitudes towards authority and political institutions that facilitated, and perhaps even welcomed the introduction of the tool of land readjustment, in the late 19th century, as a method of administering a very scarce resource in Japan: that of land.

The first parallel relates to the conception of the "state" as a coherent whole (although technically, there was no parallel development of the state as a concept in the European sense). To view circumstances during that period through an observer's eye, Chamberlain's authoritative account, published around the turn of the century will be used as the main source to capture the spirit of the time. "In theory", Chamberlain argues (p.216), "the Mikado...was always the head and fountain of power. It belonged to him by right divine, which none ever dreamt of disputing...A study of Japanese history shows, however, that the Mikado has rarely exercised much of his power in practice. Almost always has it been wielded in his name, often sorely against his will, by the members of some ambitious house which has managed to possess itself of supreme influence over the affairs of state." This

symbolism represented the coherence of the state: The imperial institution is the physical and material embodiment of religious, social and political authority which ensured continuity. The Tokugawa period, which ended with the Meiji Restoration, has witnessed the same phenomenon, coupled with an ever increasing centralisation of power and stratification of society, employing filial piety, caste and hierarchy as tools. Under such families as the Tokugawa "...were numerous families of lesser though still high degree, the Daimyos:- in other words the polity was feudal." (Chamberlain, p.217). This pyramidal stratification fostered not only the conception of the coherent state, but ultimately gave each sub-ordinate "official" the authority to prescribe forms of social behaviour to the populace. The feudal division of land also led to a very high cultural value placed on the association with land possession, and gave rise to a certain degree of local autonomy and pride. When the Emperor Meiji was restored the capital was moved from Kyoto to Edo (Tokyo), where the Shogun had his seat of power, thus making Edo the formal and imperial centre of power. The Restoration also meant that the enlightened elite around the Emperor needed an efficient administration to carry out long over-due reforms. Chamberlain (p.238) mentions that after abolishing feudalism "A centralised beuracracy was set up on its ruins (1871)". He further indicates (p.435) that "the Court...has raised up a new bureaucracy on the ruins of the old feudalism,- a bureaucracy composed partly of men of good birth, partly of men of brains sharpened by the best attainable training, that is, in the proper and original sense of

the word..." There is a number of interesting parallels with the German conception. Bureaucracy is centralised and trained (the University of Tokyo was established mainly to provide dedicated administrators). Historically, it was centralised and authoritarian, the later aspect contributing to legitimising its actions : "Viwed from an Anglo-Saxon point of view, the Japanese are much-governed people, officials being numerous, their authority great, and all sorts of things which with us are left to private enterprise being in the hands of government. But the contrast is less between Japan and the nations of Continental Europe" (Chamberlain, p.218)(7). In fact this trend culminated in modelling the 1889 Constitution along the lines of the Prussian Constitution, and the Codes followed French and German examples (Roman Law).

So far this section has explored parallel attitudes to authority, and parallel assumptions and structures regarding administration and administrators, as well as highlighting the importance of land ownership and local awareness culturally.

The paternalistic and social welfare roles of the state, however, require a different angle of comparative analysis mainly in relation to the understanding of the concept of "rights", naturally including property rights, since it is a core element in determinig the extent of public control. Takeyoshi (p.262, 1967) explains that "... what makes Wa [harmony] differ from the idea of 'human rights' in Western society is that the essential element of the concept of 'human rights' is the emphasis on the notion of 'right' in the sense that every individual is endowed as a human being per se with human 'rights' by which he can

demand that other people, particularly his own government, respect, or refrain from infringement upon, the interests which are vital for his existence as a human being...With respect to some kinds of interests (e.g. land, forest...) the Japanese have for centuries had a notion of 'entitledness'. What is to be emphasised, however, is that there has been no clear and definite notion of 'right' to the effect that the person who has the right is entitled to demand other persons to act in conformity with his interests..." The absence of the Western abstract notion of rights that exist outside the social context (as opposed to the governing framework of social obligations in Japan) is further enhanced by the fact that the Japanese are "...not naturally litigious" (Chamberlain, p. 278, 1898). This is further evidenced by comparing statistics of litigation between European countries and Japan. This notion means that resort to court rulings is not the main machinery used to assert certain patterns of enjoyment of property possession, or the main machine employed to challenge administration. In the context of the immediate post-Restoration period, the combined impact of all these elements meant that the spirit of social cohesion, rather than individual pursuits, formed the main motivation for accepting governmental intervention in the enjoyment of property possession; an element which stemmed from feudal tradition and institutions, comprising paternal and hierarchical attitudes towards authority which included, as in all feudal systems, sub-ordination to that authority, but also, in Japan, the duty placed on those in power to care for the welfare and wellbeing of those whom they have

taken into their "household". The Meiji State, therefore, enjoyed a unique advantage in introducing the Prussian instrument of land readjustment to tackle agricultural land problems, and later increasing demand for land for housing: It benefited from the "welfare" and paternal heritage of the feudal era in legitimising its intervention as the ultimate body responsible for the whole of the Japanese group; at the same time change and reform has brought about a professional, trained and centralised bureaucracy which executed reform as the will of the State. Political conditions and attitudes were ripe for the transplant of land readjustment.

IV. CONCLUSIONS: LEGITIMACY and THE DEVELOPMENT of UNIQUE NATIONAL PLANNING TOOLS: JAPANESE and GERMAN LAND READJUSTMENT

Transferring planning tools often results in creating unique national planning "systems" which greatly differ from their origins, as they are applied, adapted, and modified to suit local needs, assumptions and structures. It is the contention of this paper to argue that land readjustment in Japan at present forms a unique Japanese planning device due to its historical development, resembling its German origin, practically, only in the principle of land re-groupment.

The main question with respect to the main operation of transferring European planning tools to Japan, i.e., that of land readjustment, is: "Why did German land readjustment develop into a mature comprehensive planning 'system', whereas the repeated application of the same device in Japan led only to the establishment of planning "procedures" (as opposed to a system),

having the dual aim of achieving town planning and public works objectives almost within the same legislative and administrative framework; land readjustment being the main corner stone of implementing both public works and town planning? "

A number of reasons may be said to have directed the course of events and controlled the two diverging paths. As a starting point, real and heavy industrialisation in Japan occurred over an incredibly short time span (roughly 40 years). In other words, there was no gradual, and relatively long, transformation of society from an agricultural to an industrial mode of production, nor was there a gradual institutional transformation at industrial and administrative levels. This sudden change must have caused a number of practical and socio-psychological difficulties spanning the range of typical problems of industrialisation: from infrastructure to labour and industrial relations.

In a technical and narrow sense, solving the problem of providing adequate infrastructure for industry and housing, with the suburban expansion that accompanied urbanisation and the increase in the volume of the industrial labour force, in such a short time must have dictated a dual approach, an approach which could combine the implementation of necessary public works with the provision of land for housing, thus shaping settlements functionally and morphologically. Moreover, the scale of the problem and the pressurising time factor must have also necessitated a single-problem-solving approach, i.e., project-based. The association of public works and town planning seems to

have originated in those factual and objective circumstances of coping with urbanisation pressure in a short time. Land readjustment seemed to offer a ready technical tool that could combine public works and town planning objectives. The short time span of industrialisation did not allow for transferring public works legislation originating from new modes of transportation, such as land acquisition techniques, to typical town planning instruments. The concept of "Genbu" (area reduction), which is the core element of Japanese land readjustment, also offered considerable savings for the public purse, and provided an alternative for massive capital investments which would have been otherwise required. In fact, importing land readjustment was preceded by an early attempt at providing land for public use employing purchase methods. Under the "Regulations for Purchase Procedures of Land for Public Use 1875" (Koyo-chi Kaiage Kisoku) roads and parks were provided. But with serious shortcomings, relating to difficulties in purchasing irregular plots and left overs after implementation, or changing positions of prime shops into secondary locations due to alterations in street patterns (Ishida, p.83, 1986), this tool lacked the kind of legitimacy necessary for its functioning effectively.

There was also the administrative technical priority scale. Inoue (p.4, 1982) translated a document representing a primary written suggestion which was included in the 1888 Imperial Ordinance "Tokyo Shiku-kaisei Jyorei", which defines those priorities clearly: "Roads, bridges, and rivers are of major importance, while water works, housing and sewerage are of minor importance. Therefore, roads, which are the foundation of development, shall

be planned at the beginning...." It is evident that under pressure of industrialisation, elements that served economic development were placed as strategic priorities. Road development was clearly stated, and land readjustment served that aim well. Probably, it was at this early stage that German and Japanese land readjustment and planning systems diverged. Industrialisation in Germany had happened gradually allowing for institutional adjustments and changes in attitudes. This is a particularly important observation with regard to industrial relations and the emergence of a "poor" urban class. The concept of "wohlfart" (welfare) was all embracing and mature when the final breakthrough of industrialisation took place in Germany, causing an immense pressure on land for development. Although the Frankfurt land readjustment experience was also of a pragmatic and problem-solving nature, it did not appear in an institutionally isolated context. Social welfare legislation, as mentioned earlier, was taking shape, and public housing was an aim in sight. In other words, social welfare development accompanied industrialisation and economic development, something that lacked in 19th century Japan. Town planning, therefore, was typically to evolve as part of the "welfare state" functions: a central-rational rule approach to public affairs. As such, German land readjustment could not continue to function as a separate tool once the total social welfare system reached a certain degree of maturity. It evolved to become a comprehensive planning system in accordance with requirements of legal certainty and administrative responsibilities, typically represented in the

various "Construction Acts", some of which were translated into Japanese (eg, the Saxon Construction Act 1902). Therefore, whereas land readjustment became only one tool within the total body of the German comprehensive planning system, Japanese land readjustment could not find the overall embracing institutional social welfare framework in which to develop to a planning system, since modern town planning could not have developed outside the context of the historical evolution of the welfare state: When there were only few signs of a welfare state in 19th century Japan, how could a central rational tool of government, such as a comprehensive planning system develop?

This pattern of events was further enhanced by other circumstances, which also affected the legitimacy of Japanese land readjustment. The Great Kanto Earthquake of September 1923 and the devastation of the Second World War, with a time gap of only 20 years, generally enhanced the legitimacy of land readjustment as an effective tool at the same time that it left the planning system little time to mature when it was continuously occupied with immediate and urgent problems. It must be remembered, however, that the legitimacy of land readjustment did not pass unchallenged during the hey period of Japanese constitutional liberalism in the 20s. Land owners argued that a 10% "Genbu" formed a violation of the Meiji Constitution which guaranteed property rights, and their joint efforts produced 48 points which are still regarded as the main objections to land readjustment's legitimacy today (Ishida, p.82, 1986). However, after the close of the Pacific War, this ratio was increased to 15% without compensation, the devastation of the War being a

major legitimising factor as a crisis. The adoption, after the War, of a Zoning model for the management of urban land practically sealed the fate of Japanese land readjustment as a flexible tool which could be applied to different situations, and prevented it from evolving into a system. The tool itself was legally legitimised, for urban use, through the 1954 "Land Readjustment Act", which may also be said to have practically hampered the development of a comprehensive planning system along German (or Dutch and Belgian) lines.

It would seem that whereas European planning tools evolved and developed parallelly with legislation serving more general socio-economic objectives, thus becoming part of the overall welfare function of the state, Japanese planning developed in a more specialised and technical manner, thus allowing tools to thrive rather than evolving into a comprehensive system of land management.

NOTES

1) In fact, the Napoleonic Code served as an example for drafting a Japanese Code, and the latter was virtually drafted by a Frenchman, M. Boissonade de Fontarabie.

2) The Board could also set up special "districts", which, interestingly enough, might or might not co-incide with administrative boundaries. These districts were to have local Boards of Health, which would then appoint Inspectors.

3) The use of the term "Polizeistaat" here relates to its technical and objective meaning, and not to its narrow interpretation given it by Common-law jurists restricting it to its constabulary role, and usually associating it with tyrannies, such as the Third Reich (Dyson, p.121, 1980).

4) These notions of organisation of public affairs had their roots in the intellectual efforts of Cameralism, advanced by J.S.Putter and von Justi in the mid-eighteenth century. Cameralism aimed at creating a professional and centralised civil service which would be able to intervene effectively in society. It reflected the administrative concerns of the Prussian rulers, which culminated in the establishment of the first Chair of Cameralism at Halle in 1727 by Frederick Wilhelm I, in order to provide his professionally trained and dedicated civil service.

5) The most important measure was a Rule is known as "burgerliche Selbstregierung". It organised representative democratic rule for the bourgeoisie, and recognised that the idea of associative construction of the Staat is one that is based on the assumption that local entities existed before the Staat itself. However, it also recognised that the Staat is the entity which organises society as the highest form of community. This is a significant parallel with the idea of the "Japanese Group".

6) Consequently, "the State is not an employer like others. It is an honour and vocation to serve the Nation" (Debre, p.251.1963, translated by Dyson, 1980).

7) Chamberlain (p.158) also mentions that there existed "...an epidemic of what was locally known as 'the German measles' - a mania for imitating all things German, doubtless because...more genuinely monarchial, than...Anglo-Saxondom."

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Some Failures in the Transference of Western Planning Systems to Japan

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Introduction

We can hardly understand fully Japanese modern urban planning history without considering the repeated transfer of western modern urban planning; its concepts, ideas, techniques and systems. From the early years of Meiji, through many contacts, much information about Western urban planning has been transferred and had some influence in Japan. However, not all of the information was adapted successfully and yielded good results in Japanese modern urban planning. There were many failures as successes in transferring western planning systems to Japan.

In this paper the author intends to examine the failures from the early years of Meiji up to now, categorizing them, for example, into misacceptance and misunderstanding of information, failures in legislating procedure following foreign models, and failures in implementation, etc.

They say "Failure teaches success". This perhaps true in urban planning as well. Through the examination of these failures, we should be able to draw good lessons to the international exchange regarding urban planning systems.

Causes of Failures

(1) Lack of awareness of information's importance

In this case, although important information on urban planning systems had been brought to Japan, Japanese planners and planning officials were not aware of their importance and overlooked them. The failures in this category often occurred in the early years of Meiji, when there were few Japanese educated experts on urban planning and no one could understand the importance of the information.

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We find such examples as follows: In 1872, Collin Alexander McVean, chief surveyor at Kōbu-shō (Ministry of Industry), introduced the Building Ordinance of Hongkong of 1856 and proposed a draft of building ordinance for Tokyo. In 1866, Wilhelm Hoehn, a German police lieutenant, gave a lecture on the Prussian Street and Building Line Act of 1875, and the full text of the Act was translated and published in 1888. However, no one attached importance to this document.

(2) Superficial knowledge of foreign systems

It is very difficult to understand foreign planning systems thoroughly, especially in the case of knowledge obtained strictly through publications.

In 1888, Masataka Kusumoto and others amended a bill of the Tokyo Shikū-kaisei Tochi Tatemono Shōbun Kisoku (Regulations on acquisition and alienation of land and buildings in the urban improvement of Tokyo in the Genrō-in (Senate)). Kusumoto's amendment was completed following the French Imperial Edict on Streets in Paris of 1852, but his knowledge of the French system was a superficial one.⁽³⁾

In 1890, Ōgai Mori proposed a supplementary draft for Tokyo's building ordinance, referring to discussions at the assembly of the German Association of Public Health, but his understanding of the German Bebauungsplan system was superficial, so his supplemental draft was insufficient.⁽⁴⁾

(3) Mistakes or misunderstandings in selecting information

From around the beginning of the 20th century, a lot of planning information could be obtained easily, but it was not so easy to select the most appropriate model for the Japanese system from them.

In 1903, the Institute of Japanese Architects collected many building ordinances from various parts of the world as references for their drafting work of Tokyo's building ordinance. There were a few examples including provisions for zoning, however, they did not choose them as their model.

Legislating the Town Planning Act of 1919, the Planning Division of the Ministry of Home Affairs misunderstood a draft of the Lex Adickes of 1893 the same as the text of the Act promulgated in 1902. This did not cause negative results in the Japanese system, however, it is curious that no one has mentioned this mistake until recently.⁽⁶⁾

(4) Inability to implementing western modeled systems

In 1921, the ministerial ordinance on betterment levy to construct and widen planned roads in Osaka was enacted. The ordinance, following advice of C.A. Beard, included provisions for land evaluation, but the provision could not be executed because Osaka had no means of evaluating land prices.⁽⁷⁾

(5) Japanese political and social conditions that obstructed and prevented acceptance of foreign urban planning systems

The first Capital Region Improvement Plan of 1958, especially its Kinkō-chitai (green belt) concept, which was modeled after the Greater London Plan of 1944, was strongly opposed in Tokyo. On the contrary, there was little movement to preserve green tracts or open spaces.

The Japanese district planning system, which was enacted in 1981, is far different from the German Bebauungsplan in that the Japanese system is not an indispensable condition of any development project. This legislative difference was due to the difference of social consent to the limitation of "freedom of building".

(6) Tendency to understand any planning idea or concept apart from its social, political and economical background.

As examples we can mention the cases of E. Howard's garden city, C.A. Perry's neighborhood unit theory.

In the following discussion, using one or two examples in each category, the author will describe in greater detail.

Building Line System in Japan and W. Hoehn's Lecture ⁽⁸⁾

It was thirty years or more after receiving the first full information on the German street and building line system, that the Japanese building line system, following the German model, was provided in the Urban Building Act of 1919.

In 1885 and the following year, Wilhelm Hoehn, a German police official, gave lectures on the Prussian police administration system at Keisatsukan Renshūjo (Inservice Training Institute for Policemen). In February 1886, in the

last part of his lectures, he gave nine days of lectures on the building police system (Baupolizei). Especially on the 15th and 16th of February, 1886, his lecture covered the Prussian Street and Building Line Act of 1875 (Gesetz betreffend die Anlegung und Veränderung von Strassen und Plätzen in Städten und landlichen Ortshäften, vom 2, Juli 1875) and he explained the Act, article by article. A translated transcript of this lecture was published.⁽⁹⁾ We can confirm through the lecture transcript that his lecture covered all articles of the Act and fully explained the German system. He used a textbook for his lecture and this textbook also was translated and published in 1887.⁽¹⁰⁾ The Translation of the Act is complete and good except for its old style. We suppose that the book had a fairly large circulation and not only trained policemen but many officials of the Ministry of Home Affairs got copies as well. For example, a copy which was in the collection of Shinpei Gotoh (a famous statesman and the Home Minister from 1916 to 1918 and from 1923 to 1924), is in the Library of Tokyo Institute for Municipal Research.

Although good, thorough information about the Prussian street line system reached Japan in the early years of Meiji, it was overlooked throughout the Meiji. As previously mentioned, in the Urban Building Act of 1919 the building line system was provided, but compared with the German model, the provisions in this Act were very simple. We have not been able to confirm which reference was used in legislating the Act, however, it is not likely that Hoehn's lecture transcript or textbook were used as reference materials in the legislative work.

In 1923, the Prussian Street and Building Line Act were translated again,⁽¹¹⁾ but this was a secondhand translation from an English book⁽¹²⁾ and was not so good translation. This suggests that the Hoehn's transcript and textbook had been forgotten before 1923, or perhaps before 1919 when the Japanese system was enacted. Translation of the Prussian Act was fully renewed in 1928 by Shinzo Kikuchi, an officer of the Ministry of Home Affairs, and a full commentary and comparative study of the Japanese system was attached.⁽¹³⁾ He said in his book in reference to foreign urban planning system that we should not remain in the superficial state and must understand foreign legislation fully through exact materials and must understand foreign implementation process as well.

in gave lectures on the German street line system, there

seemed to be no social need for introducing the German system to control urban expansion. However, from around 1900 urban expansion became a distinct trend in Japan, so the importance of Hoehn's lecture might have been recognized thereafter.

Superficial Understanding on Excess Condemnation⁽³⁾

In December, 1888, a bill of the Tokyo Shiku-kaisei Tochi Tatemono Shobun Kisoku (Regulations on Acquisition and Alienation of Land and Buildings in Tokyo Urban Improvement Project) was submitted to the Genro-in (Senate).

The deliberation process of the draft was very complicated, and many amendments were made before the bill passed the Genro-in. A noteworthy amendment was proposed by Masataka Kusumoto, former governor of Tokyo, on the expropriation system.⁽³⁾ He proposed provisions for remnants expropriation and excess condemnation which, he said, were proposed following the example of urban improvement in France. In France, as widely known, from 1853 to 1970 G. E. Haussmann enforced drastic renovation projects in Paris, and excess condemnation was Haussmann's powerful means to execute the urban reconstruction projects. Kusumoto's proposal to provide Haussmann's measures in the Tokyo regulation was adopted in the Senate with little discussion. However, these provisions were not used effectively until the regulations were repealed in 1919. The reason why Haussmann's measures did not achieve good results in Japan was perhaps that the Japanese system stipulated no provisions to dispose of disused land at current land price after the project was completed, so implementing bodies of the project could not recover the costs. Tsutomu Sakurai, director of the Geography Division of Home Ministry said at the meeting of the Tokyo Urban Improvement Committee, that to implement an excess condemnation system would require two million yen or more instead of the one million yen to expropriate land of the planned road itself. This showed that their understanding of the excess condemnation method was limited to a superficial level.

Institute of Japanese Architects overlooked Zoning System in 1913

In 1913, the Institute of Japanese Architects (AIJ) submitted a draft of

a building ordinance to the Mayor of Tokyo.⁽¹⁵⁾ Requested by the Mayor in 1906, AIJ spent six years in collecting reference materials and developing the draft. The draft submitted had more than two hundred articles, but had few provisions concerning zoning system. In Europe and America, the ideas of zoning were formulated in the mid 19th century and evolved during the 1880s and 1890s. In Germany, which had always been the model for Japanese legislation, a zoning system was adopted in the building ordinance of Altona in 1884, Frankfurt am Main in 1891 and Berlin's suburb in 1892. AIJ obtained an extensive collection of foreign building ordinances and regulations which was said to number more than two hundred. Although the original collection was scattered and lost, we can see some of them in the form of translated mimeographed copies.⁽¹⁶⁾ Among them, we find building ordinances for Vienna of 1868, Chicago of 1877, London of 1878, Bern of 1878, Berlin of 1887 and 1897, Budapest of 1894, Paris of 1902, Brussels of 1906 etc. AIJ's drafting depend mainly on information from the investigation of ordinance for Berlin and London, both of which had no provisions for a zoning system. We can not guess why there was only the building ordinance for Berlin of 1897 in AIJ's collection and not that of Berlin's suburb ordinance of 1892 which had a zoning system. This information bias might have caused the AIJ's draft to lack a zoning system. In AIJ's collection, there were building ordinances which had zoning or such resembling systems, for example, that for Bern and Budapest. Bern had two ordinances of different content, one for the city proper and another for its suburb; and Budapest's ordinance had three building zones of different regulations. Both of them were translated with mimeographed copies made, however they were not referred for AIJ's drafting, perhaps because the translation was too late.

In 1890, probably the first information on a zoning system was brought to Japan by Ougai Mori, a famous writer and army surgeon, in his article titled "Okusei Shingi" summarizing the 15th assembly of the German Association of Public Health.⁽¹⁴⁾ In same year, Mori submitted the supplementary proposal titled "Eiseijiko Soan" (proposition of hygienic provision) to the Building Ordinance Investigation Committee. There are two versions of Mori's "Eiseijiko Soan". One which bears a note "withdrawn" on its cover, is very interesting, because it has a set of provisions subheaded "kenchiku-ku" or building zone. Under the subheading of "kenchiku-ku", there are two groups of provisions related to a

zoning system. The first group is a provision which provided three type of "kenchiku-ku"; namely, "factory prohibited zone", "factory permitted zone with conditions", and "factory permitted zone without conditions". The second group are provisions related to "areas where no house has been built" where severe building regulations should be applied. The latter nothing but an idea for special building regulations for suburban areas. Unfortunately, Mori's "Eiseijiko Soan" did not obtain the support of the committee. Moreover, the attempt to institute a building ordinance for Tokyo in the 1890s ended in failure.⁽⁴⁾

Hajime Seki attempted Individuality in Osaka

Hajime Seki, the mayor of Osaka from 1923 to 1935 and former professor of the Tokyo College of Commerce, had a deep knowledge of municipal problems and town planning. In 1918, when he was the deputy mayor of Osaka, he drafted a town planning act for Osaka, titled "Osaka Shigai-kairyō Ho Soan" or "Osaka Urban Improvement Bill". A recent paper on the bill said that the draft is a "missing-link" between the Tokyo Urban Improvement Ordinance of 1888 and the Town Planning Act of 1919.⁽¹⁷⁾ We suppose that Seki attempted to establish the individuality of Osaka City by enforcing a peculiar town planning act.

Nevertheless Seki's draft was incorporated into the mutatis-mutandis application of the Tokyo Urban Improvement Ordinance to Osaka and other large cities and in enactment of the Town Planning Act of 1919, he attempted this individuality in executing Osaka's town planning.

The betterment levy system being looked for as a new means to finance town planning projects, was provided by the Town Planning Act of 1919 and a ministerial ordinance stipulating a method to impose the betterment levy on landowners was enacted for every city and every project respectively. The Ministerial Ordinance on the Betterment Levy for Constructing and Widening of Planned Roads in Osaka was promulgated in 1922. The Ministerial Ordinance for Osaka included provisions that prescribed the possibility of executing land evaluation and reassessment of the levy one year after imposition of the levy. No ministerial ordinance other than that of Osaka had such provisions to evaluate land price. We suppose that Deputy Mayor Seki, following knowledge about foreign betterment levy system, particularly on the advice of Charles A. Beard, who gave

a lecture on the betterment levy system and emphasized the importance of land evaluation for the system in 1921, attempted to use individuality in formulating the ordinance. He had to go through difficult negotiations with the Ministry of Home Affairs before establishing this peculiar ordinance.

However, the provisions for land evaluation and reassessment were not implemented until Osaka's ministerial ordinance was revised and these special provisions abolished in 1933. The main reason why the provisions on land evaluation could not be implemented was that in Japan in those days there were few organizations or specialists having the ability and experience to evaluate land prices. So, it was almost impossible for the planning authorities to evaluate land prices and accumulate data on land prices, although, these were fundamental conditions of the betterment levy system.

Related Municipalities and Landowners nipped the Green Belt Idea in the Bud

In 1956, the Capital Region Improvement Act was enacted. The 1st Capital Region Improvement Plan (1958) adopted the mother city / green belt / satellite town structure modeled after the Greater London Plan of 1944. The "Kinkoh-chitai" or suburban zone which was nothing but a green belt, was to be set up around the "Kisei-shigaichi" or built-up urban areas to restrain urban sprawl. In November 1956, only seven months after promulgation of the Capital Region Improvement Act, 16 municipalities in the "Kinkoh-chitai" and landowners, most of whom were farmers, formed a league to oppose the establishment of "Kinkoh-chitai". Radical farmers in Koganei city even subdivided and sold a part of their farm land near Higashi-Koganei Station to prevent designation of the green belt. Moreover, housing development sites purchased by the Japan Housing Corporation (JHC, the present day Housing and Urban Development Corporation) were in the heart of the prospective green belt. The opposition movement and the existence of JHC's development islands nipped the green belt idea in the bud, and areas once planned for the green belt were exposed to violent sprawl without any urban planning measure. In June, 1965, the Capital Region Improvement Act was revised and provisions related to "Kinkoh-chitai" were abolished. This revision was merely an "ex post facto" approval.

It was a contradiction that the citizens' campaigns to preserve green

tracts or open spaces were carried out just after the citizens built their houses in the green belt area. In 1966, the Ancient Capital Preservation Act and the Act for Green Area Preservation in the Capital Region were promulgated, and in 1973, the Urban Green Preservation Act was promulgated as well. It was the citizens' movement that made enactment of these laws possible, however, the enactment was too late to prevent the rapid decrease of green tracts. Further, the idea of these laws, to preserve only "worthy green" was far from that of the actual green belt.

It is curious that farmers choosing development of their farm land rather than a green belt, have been requesting the preservation of their farm land and opposing a normal taxation on their farm land now included in urbanization promotion areas. We suppose that they had no been informed sufficiently about the government's green belt policy and could not decide and respond appropriately.

This example suggests that the ultimate recipients of the planning information were none other than the citizens and landowners in the city, so the information gap between the urban planning experts and citizens or landowners about urban planning, especially in relation to foreign urban planning concepts ended unsuccessfully.

Ideas of the Garden City and the Neighbourhood Unit and Japanese Planners

Dr Shun-ichi Watanabe made clear in his recent papers how Japan understood Sir Ebenezer Howard's Garden City idea. ⁽¹⁹⁾⁽¹⁹⁾ Howard's Garden City idea and achievement had been introduced many times in prewar years to Japan, however, the essential thought or economic and social characteristic of the Garden City idea was scarcely noted. It was virtually ignored that Sir Howard emphasized that the land of the garden city should be owned by the development corporation of each garden city even after the city was completed, in order that the corporation collect and reinvest earnings based on the land value increase for improvement of the garden city. Japanese planners and housing developers were rather interested in the urban pattern and development standard of a garden suburb which had developed from the Garden City idea. For example, a housing density of "twelve houses per acre" was very popular with Japanese planners and we find

it even in an obscure and local pamphlet; "Kyoto Toshikeikaku Shikichi-wari Hokokusho" or "Report on Subdivision Standard" published by the City of Kyoto in 1921.

The neighbourhood unit concept of C. A. Perry was well known in Japan through his books even before the end of World War II.⁽⁵⁾ It had been a most popular foreign planning concept among Japanese planners and was applied to town planning in the Japanese occupied areas for example Changchun in 1936 and Datong in 1938. After the ending of World War II, with the evolution of public housing, many large scale housing estates were planned and constructed applying the neighbourhood unit theory. However, the considerations of the Japanese planners were mainly in the planning technique and scarcely on the points stressed by Perry, such as the formation of communities and management of residential areas by local residents.

Conclusion

In this paper the author has examined the failures in transferring Western urban planning systems to Japan, intending to derive lessons for an international exchange of urban planning systems in the future. Lessons which were derived in the process of the case studies have already been shown respectively.

The international transference procedure of any kind of knowledge and technique, not limited to urban planning, should not be that of pouring and stuffing it into a certain country, but should be that of reception and acceptance by recipient country.

Causes of failure in the transfer of urban planning systems and techniques are no other errors in receiving or interpreting the information. To a certain extent, it was due to inexperience on the part of the information's recipient; however, it also can be said that the information had not been sufficiently processed for the recipient's needs.

Immediate recipients of planning information are urban planner, so to transfer the foreign planning system properly, it is essential that they are well-educated planning experts. As above mentioned, in the Meiji era there were few educated planning experts, so much important information was overlooked or

only superficially understood. As the recipients of urban planning information, planning specialists must have a thorough knowledge of foreign systems but it is even more important to have full knowledge of the actual urban conditions of ones own country and to select, introduce and process foreign urban planning information on the basis of those urban problems of needing to be solved. However excellent the foreign planning systems and technique are in that country, they are not applicable just as they are, and would need to be adapted to the nature, community features and organizations, economic and political climate, etc., of the recipient city. So planning specialists as the planning information recipients, should have the ability to process foreign planning information as it is applicable to their own cities.

The ultimate recipients of foreign planning systems are the cities themselves. If some foreign system is transferred and applied to a given city without consideration of the conditions of the city, it causes a rejective reaction and the transferred system and concept might never take root. The example of the Tokyo's "Kinkoh-chitai" (Green belt) plan showed this plainly. Without effort to acquire the citizens' consent or landowners' understanding, even if the planners regard the applicable foreign planning system as the most appropriate one, it could not achieve good results nor even take root.

In concluding this article the author would like to mention here a good example in which a vernacular planning technique and transferred foreign technique have been combined, in a land readjustment system.^(2c)

In 1917, Hajime Seki, deputy mayor of the City of Osaka, published an article titled "Shigaichi Kukaku-seiri Seido oyobi Chiiki-teki Tochi-Syuyou Seido" or "Urban Land Readjustment System and Zone Condemnation System". In it, Seki, referring to articles by F. Adickes and R. Baumeister, introduced the said systems of Germany and Belgium and discussed transferring these systems to Japan. Seki said in his article that the land readjustment system had produced good results in Germany in controlling urban expansion and in Japan the system would be effective. However, he did not insist on legislating a new Japanese land readjustment act following the German model. He proposed a way to apply the Arable Land Readjustment Act of 1909 to urban land readjustment correspondingly. The arable land readjustment which had been applied also to suburban areas and produced some good results. The Japanese land readjustment system in the Town

Planning Act of 1919 was instituted just as Seki had proposed and produced good results in suburban developments from the 1920s to the 1940s.

The Arable Land Readjustment Act of 1899, the predecessor of 1909 Act, was said to be legislated based on a vernacular land replotting technique called "Denku-kairyo" and also referred some arable land readjustment laws of the German states.

The Japanese land readjustment system, so to speak, has been developing based on Japanese traditions and practices, and referred foreign systems and technique as necessary. We should be able to derive clear and significant lessons for the international exchange of urban planning systems, comparing the examples of land readjustment and the failures which have been discussed in this paper.

Notes and References

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- (3) Eiki Suzuki and Yorifusa Ishida "Tokyo Shiku-kaisei Tochi Tatemono Shobun Kisoku no Seiritsu nitsuite" Kenchiku Gakkai Ronbunshuu No.376 (1987) pp.86-94.
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はじめに

日本近代都市計画の歴史は、欧米都市計画の理念・思想・技術・制度などのくりかえしの移転ときり離しては、十分に理解することは出来ない⁽¹⁾。明治初年以來、多くの接点を通じて、多くの欧米近代都市計画に関する情報が日本にもたらされ、それぞれ、一定の影響を与えて来た⁽²⁾。しかし、それらの総てが上手に受けとめられ、日本近代都市計画の発展に寄与して来たわけではない。そこには、成功例と同じくらいの失敗の例を見出すことができる。

この論文では、明治初年から今日に至るまでの失敗例を、情報の受取め損ないや誤解、外国事例を範としたものの制度化あるいは実施に失敗した例などに分類して分析する。「失敗は成功の母」といわれるように、これらの失敗の分析から、将来の都市計画システムの国際交流に対する貴重な教訓をひき出すことが出来るだろう。

失敗のさまざまな型

(1) 情報の重要性が認識されなかったもの。

この型の事例は、都市計画に関する重要な情報をもたらされていながら、日本の都市計画家・都市計画行政官がその重要性を認識できず、見過してしまつたものである。このような類の失敗は、十分な教育を受けた都市計画専門家がいなかった明治初年に多く見られる。

次のような事例をあげることが出来る。

1872年に、工部省の首席測量官の C.A. McVean が、香港造家令(1856)を紹介し、東京府のための建築規則案をまとめ政府に提案したが、ほとんど顧みられなかった。1886年にはドイツ警察大尉の W. Hoeh が、プロシャ街路線および建築線法(1875)について講義をし、法全文が1887年に翻訳出版されたが、日本における制度化は30数年後のことだった。

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(2) 外国制度の中途半端な理解。

外国計画制度を完全に理解することは、なかなか困難である。特に、出版物を通じてのみ知識を得ている場合にはそうである。

1888年に楠本正隆らは、東京市区改正土地建物処分規則の案を元老院において修正したが、この修正はパリの街路に関する勅令(1852)を手本にしたものであったが、開発利益の吸収を含まぬ中途半端なものであった⁽³⁾。

1890年に森鷗外は、ドイツ公衆衛生協会の総会における議論を参考にして、東京市建築条例案に対する補足的な案を提案した。しかし、森の地区詳細計画(Bebauungsplan)に対する理解は、中途半端なものであったので、補足的提案には不十分さが残った⁽⁴⁾。

(3) 計画情報の選択における誤りや誤解。

20世紀の始めの頃になると都市計画に関する多くの情報が容易に手に入るようになるが、日本の制度に最も適切な情報を選択することは必ずしも容易ではなかった。このことは、しばしば情報の選択のうで誤りをおかさせることになる。

1906年に日本建築学会は、東京市建築条例起草作業のため、世界各地から建築条例の事例を収集した。しかし、残念なことに、その中にはゾーニングに関する条文を持った事例は大変に少なかった。しかも、学会はその貴重な事例に充分な関心を払わなかった。

1919年都市計画法の立案作業に当って、内務省都市計画課は、アヂケス法の1893年案を1902年に成立したものと同日だと誤解した。この誤解は、日本の制度に悪い影響をもたらすはしなかったが、最近まで、この誤解について誰も指摘してこなかったのは奇妙なことである⁽⁵⁾。

(4) 外国制度にならって制度化は行なわれたが、実施体制の不備から実行するにいたらなかったもの。

1921年に大阪都市計画道路新設拡築受益者負担金省令が公布された。この省令には、C.A. Beard の意見もあって、土地の評価に関する条文が含まれていたが、土地評価を行なう体制を欠いていたため、実施ができなかった⁽⁶⁾。

(5) 日本の政治的・社会的条件が外国都市計画制度の導入を阻害した場合。

1958年の第一次首都圏整備計画、特にその近郊地帯(グリーンベルト)計画は、1944年の大ロンドン計画を範として立案された。しかし、当時の東京においては、緑地帯計画に対する強い反対運動が存在する一方で、緑やオープンスペースを守るといった住民運動はほとんどなかった。

1980年に制度化された日本の地区計画制度は、ドイツの Bebauungsplan (地

区詳細計画)とは、日本の制度が開発の必須の条件になっていないという点で大きく異なっている。この立法上の相違は、「建築の自由」の制限に関する社会的意識の相違に原因がある。

(6) 都市計画の思想・コンセプト等を、その政治的・社会的・経済的背景から切り離して計画手法・技術としてのみ理解する傾向。

例えば、E. ハワードの田園都市論、C. A. ペリーの近隣住区論、大都市圏計画の原則などが例としてあげられる。

以下、これらの型の中から、それぞれ一・二の例をとりあげ、やや詳細に見てみよう。

日本における建築線制度とW. ヘーンの講義⁽⁷⁾

ドイツの街路線および建築線制度に関する情報が日本に到達してから、ドイツの制度にならって日本の建築線制度が1919年市街地建築物法に制度化されるまでに30数年が経過した。

1885年から翌1886年にかけて、ドイツ警察大尉のW. ヘーンが警察官練習所においてドイツ行政警察制度について講義を行なった。1886年の2月から3月にかけての彼の講義の最後の部分で、彼は建築警察制度について、延べ9日間の講義を行なっている。特に、2月15日と16日の彼の講義は1875年のプロシヤ街路線及び建築線法(Gesetz betreffend die Anlegung und Veränderung von Strassen und Plätzen in Städten und landlichen Ortshafte, vom 2. Juli 1875)に関するものがあった。講義は翻訳され、講義録として出版されているので、我々は彼の講義がこの法律の全条文にわたっており、ドイツの制度を充分理解することの出来る内容であったことを確認することが出来る。⁽⁴⁾ヘーンは講義にテキストを使用しており、この教科書も翻訳され1887年に印刷出版されている。教科書の中で、この法律は全訳されており、文体が古めかしいことを除けば良い翻訳であった。⁽⁶⁾この本は相当部数発行され、警察官・警察官僚だけでなく、市区改正を担当し、都市計画法を準備した内務省の多くの官僚も入手で来たものと思われる。我々は鉄道大臣・内務大臣などを歴任した後藤新平の蔵書であった一冊を、東京市政調査会の図書館で見ることが出来る。

このようにドイツ街路線制度に関する優れた情報が明治の前半に日本に達していたにもかかわらず、この情報は明治年間を通じて見過されて来た。

前にも述べたように、建築線制度は1919年の市街地建築物法で制度化された

が、条文はドイツのモデルに比較して非常に単純であった。我々はその市街地建築物法の建築線制度がいかなる資料を直接参考にしながら制定されたのかを明らかに出来ていない。しかし、ヘーンの講義録や教科書が、この立法過程の参考資料になったという事実はありそうにない。実は1923年にプロシヤ街路線法が再度翻訳されている⁽¹¹⁾。しかも、この訳は英語の本からの重訳であり⁽¹²⁾、あまり良い訳とはいえない。このことはヘーンの講義録や教科書が、遅くとも1923年、おそらく1919年以前に忘れられてしまったことを示唆している。⁽¹³⁾

ヘーンが講義を行なった1886年という時期においては、市街地の拡張に備えるという役割の街路線制度を導入する社会的要請はなかったかもしれない。しかし、1900年代に入り都市のスプロールが明らかな傾向となって来ていたのであるから、ヘーンの講義の重要性が再認識されても良かったのではないだろうか。

超過収用制度に関する不十分な理解⁽³⁾

1888年12月に、東京市区改正土地建物処分規則の案が元老院(当時の立法審査機関)に提案された。この案の審議過程は複雑なもので、案が通過するまでの間に多くの修正が行なわれた。その中で注目になるものは、元東京府知事の楠本正隆らによって提案されたもので、それは土地収用制度に関するものだった。彼らは、残地収用と超過収用の制度を提案したのであるが、仏国の市区改正にならったものであると自ら述べている。フランスでは、よく知られているように1853年から1870年にかけて、ナポレオン3世とG. E. オスマン(セーヌ県知事)によって、大がかりなパリ改造事業が行なわれた。そして、1852年のパリの街路に関する勅令の中の超過収用制度はオスマンが都市改造を進める強力な道具であった。

楠本正隆らが東京市区改正土地建物処分規則に、オスマンの手法を盛こもうとした修正案は、元老院においてたいした議論もなく通過した。しかし、この制度は、この規則が廃止される1919年までの間、有効な使われ方をすることなく過ぎてしまった。なぜ、オスマンの制度、すなわち超過収用制度が使われなかったかという理由は、おそらく、日本の制度にはオスマンの制度と異なり、事業後に不用になった土地を時価で処分する規定がないことにある。したがって事業の施行主体は事業費をこれによって回収することが出来ないものである。内務省の市区改正の責任者である内務省地理局長桜井勉は、市区改正

委員会の席上で、超過収用制度を実施するには、計画道路用地のみを収用するのに100万円かかるとすれば、200万円以上かかると述べているように、当時の担当者の考えの中には、不用地を時価で処分して開発利益を公共に回収し、事業費をまかなうという考えは全くない。このことは、彼等のオースマンの超過収用に関する理解が中途半端なものであったことを示している。

東京市区改正土地建物処分規則は、東京市区改正条例が廃止され1919年都市計画法が制定されるのにもなって廃止された。しかし、超過収用制度は1919年都市計画法の中に、より明確な形で規定される。「建築敷地造成区画整理」制度である。しかし、それ以後も、日本の都市計画当局は、理論の上ではともかく、実際上は、開発利益の公共への回収ということについて消極的であり、結局日本では超過収用制度（建築敷地造成区画整理）の適用例は一・二の事例しかみることができない。

日本建築学会が地域制を見過したこと

1913年に日本建築学会は、東京市長の依頼に応じて、東京市建築条例の案をまとめ提出した。1906年に起草の依頼を受けてから、日本建築学会は6年の歳月をかけて、参考資料の収集や立案の作業にあたってきた。⁽¹⁴⁾まとまった条例案は、200条以上の条文を持つものであったが、しかし、地域制に関する規定は含まれていなかった。欧米においては地域制の理念は19世紀の半ばに生まれ、1880年代・1890年代を通じて発展して来た。日本の制度が常にその範としてきたドイツにおいても、地域制の考え方は建築条例のなかに次第に取り入れられていた。すなわち、1884年にアルトナで、1891年にフランクフルト・アム・マインでさらに1892年にはベルリン郊外地でなどである。

日本建築学会は、外国建築条例・建築規則に関して膨大な資料を集め、その数は200をこえたといわれる。残念ながら、その資料は散逸してしまっているので、その全容を知ることはできないが、そのうちの一部は翻訳され謄写版などで印刷されているので見る事が出来る。⁽¹⁵⁾その中には、1868年のウィーン、1877年のシカゴ、1878年のロンドン、1878年のベルン、1887年及び1897年のベルリン、1894年のブタペスト、1902年のパリ、1906年のブラッセルなどの例が含まれていた。日本建築学会は主としてイギリス（ロンドン以外の都市含む）とベルリンの条例を詳細に研究しているので、起草作業はこれらを参考にしたものと思われる。ロンドンおよびベルリンの条例には地域制に関する規定は含

まれていなかった。建築学会が収集した資料の中に1897年のベルリン市の建築条例があるのに1892年のベルリン郊外地建築令が何故ないのかはわからない。しかし、この情報のかたよりが、建築学会の起草した東京市建築条例に地域制が入らなかった原因の一つであったことは想像に難くない。建築学会の収集資料の中に地域制あるいはそれに類似した規定をもつ条例が全くなかったわけではない。例えば、ベルンは市街地に適用する条例と郊外地に適用する条例の二つを持っていて、後者の方がより厳しい規制内容になっていた。ブタペストの建築条例は、規制内容が異なる三つの建築区を持っていた。これらは、明らかに地域制の考えである。この二つの都市の条例資料も翻訳され、謄写版のコピーが作られている。しかし、建築学会の起草作業の参考にはされなかったようである。おそらく言葉の関係で翻訳が遅れたのが原因ではなかったろうか。

地域制の概念に関するおそらく最初の情報が日本にもたらされたのは、1890年に森田太郎（鷗外）が「屋制新議」（建築条例に関する最近の議論）のなかでドイツ公衆衛生協会第15回大会を紹介したものであろう。同じ年、森は東京市建築条例取調委員会に「衛生事項草案」という補足的な提案を行なう。「衛生事項草案」には二案あるが、表紙に「廃案」と書かれたものには「建築区」と小見出しのついた一連の条文があって注目される。「建築区」という小見出しのもとに地域制に関連した二つのグループの条文がある。第一のものは、三つの「建築区」すなわち、工業を禁止する建築区、条件つきで立地を認める建築区及び無条件で立地を認める建築区を規定した条文である。第二のグループは、「いまだ建築が行なわれたことのない地域」に、厳しい建築規制を適用するというものである。後者は、郊外地に対して市街地に対するものとは異なる特別な建築条例を適用するという考え方の萌芽といえる。残念なことに、森の「衛生事項草案」が委員会で十分な支持が得られなかっただけでなく、1890年代の東京市建築条例制定の試み自体が、失敗におわるのである。⁽⁴⁾

関一は大阪の受益者負担金制度で独自性を発揮しようとした

関一は、東京高商（現一橋大学）教授で交通政策を専門としていたが、1923年から1935年まで大阪市長をつとめ、都市問題・都市計画に造詣が深かった。1918年、当時大阪市長助役であった関は「大阪市街改良法草案」という名称の、大阪のための独自の都市計画法案をつくりあげた。最近の研究では、この草案は1888年の東京市区改正条例と1919年の都市計画法とをつなぐミッシングリン

クであるといわれている。⁽⁷⁾ 関自身は、そのうえに、大阪に大阪独自の都市計画法を施行することによって、その独自性を強調しようとしていたのではないかと思われる。関の法案は1919年都市計画法の中に吸収され、独自法にはならなかったが、関は大阪の都市計画を進めていく上で、なお独自性を発揮しようと努めた。

受益者負担金制度は、都市計画事業の新たな財源を求めて、1919年都市計画法により制度化されが、土地所有者に負担金を賦課する方法などを定める省令は、各都市・各事業ごとに別々に制定することになっていた。1921年に大阪都市計画道路新設拡築受益者負担金に関する省令が公布された。この省令は、事業終了・負担金賦課後1年で土地評価を行ない、それにもとずいて負担金の更正決定をする条文を持っていた。大阪を除く他の都市のための省令は大同小異で、土地評価の制度を全く持っていなかった。我々は、関助役が、大阪で受益者負担金制度について講演し、受益者負担金制度には土地評価が重要であると強調したC. A. ビアードの考えなども参考にして、この独自の制度をつくったと考える。関の日記によれば、関はこの特別負担金（受益者負担金）の制度の問題でしばしば内務省と交渉しており、独自の制度をつくるのが決して容易なことではなかったことが窺える。しかし、この土地評価と負担金更正決定の仕組は、1933年に大阪の省令が改正され、この独自の制度が削除されるまで使われることはなかった。この規定が使われなかった主な理由は、当時の日本には、土地価格の鑑定評価を行なえるような機関や個人が少なく、常に土地価格を評価していることが困難であったことによると考えられる。

この事例は外国都市計画制度を日本で制度化するには、十分な専門知識を持った者が努力をしなければならぬことを示しているとともに、制度化されたものを実際に施行して行くためには都市計画をめぐる体制が成熟していなければならぬことも併せて示している。

関係自治体・農民の反対で緑地帯計画が挫折

1956年に首都圏整備法が公布された。1958年の第一次首都圏整備計画は、グレートロンドンプラン（1944年）を範として、母都市・緑地帯・衛星都市という大都市圏計画の典型的パターンを採用した。「近郊地帯」はグリーンベルトに他ならないが、既成市街地をとりまいて設定され、市街地の無計画な膨脹を規制するのがねらいであった。

1956年11月、首都圏整備法制定後わずか7か月、実際にグリーンベルトの指定も行なわれていない段階で、予定地区に関係する16自治体と土地所有者・農民（その大部分は北多摩地区にものであったが）は、近郊地帯の設定に反対する連盟を結成し激しい運動を展開する。小金井市の農民たちの一部は東小金井駅に近い彼等の農地の一部を宅地造成して分譲することまでして、グリーンベルトの設定を阻止しようとした。さらに、日本住宅公団（現在の住宅・都市整備公団）が買収した住宅開発予定地が、グリーンベルト予定地の中心部にもあるというような状況があった。結局、激しい反対運動と住宅公団の島状の開発地の存在が、緑地帯の計画を蕾のうちにつみとってしまい、「近郊地帯」は設定されることもなかった。緑地帯として計画された地域は市街化をコントロールする有効な手段もないまま、激しいスプロールにさらされることになったのである。1965年6月に首都圏整備法が改正され「近郊地帯」に関する条文が削除されたが、この改正は事態の事後承認にすぎなかった。

緑地やオープンスペースを保全しようという市民運動が、市民がグリーンベルトの中に住むようになってから後にしか、ということは開発がグリーンベルト地区で或る程度起こってしまってからということになるが、始まらないということは、大きな矛盾である。1966年の首都圏近郊緑地保全法・古都保存法、1973年の都市緑地保全法などは、これらの市民運動に支持されて制定されたものであるが、やや遅きに失したということと、これらの法律の、特に優れた緑地のみを保全するという考え方は、グリーンベルト思想からは、大きく後退しているといえよう。

当時グリーンベルトに反対し、むしろ開発を選んだ筈の農民たちが、区域区分の時に市街化区域を望んだことは当然としても、それらの土地がなお現在でも相当程度農地のままであり、現在、その彼等が農地の保全を要求し宅地並課税に反対しているのも、或る意味では奇妙なことである。この間、特に「近郊地帯」設定当時、外国の都市計画に範をとったグリーンベルト政策に対して、彼等が自主的判断を下すに十分な都市計画に関する情報が与えられていたかどうか問題であろう。

外国都市計画の理念の理解と知識の普及が、都市計画専門家の段階に留まっていた、市民・土地所有者に正しく伝わっていないことが、どういう結果になるかということ、東京グリーンベルト計画は物語っている。1968年都市計画法によって都市計画決定に対する住民参加が保障されている現状においては、なおさらである。都市計画の案を決めるということは、住民・土地建物所有者

が共同の意志として決めるのであって、その主体が都市計画の理念・手法・制度に対して正しい認識をもっていなくて、正しい決定が下される筈がない。ましてやそれが、外国からの技術移転であればなおさらのことである。

田園都市・近隣住区論と日本都市計画家の関心

日本で、E. ハワードなどの田園都市論がどのように理解されたかについては、渡辺俊一の論文で明らかにされている。⁽¹⁷⁾⁽¹⁸⁾ ハワードの田園都市論は戦前にも日本に何回も紹介されているが、その本質的考えや社会・経済的特質については、あまり語られて来なかった。例えば、ハワードの田園都市論が、その計画構想の中心にすえている考え、すなわち田園都市の土地は、その開発主体が都市完成後も持ちつづけ、その開発利益を都市経営を通じて居住者に還元すべきだと主張している点などは、あまり重視されていない。日本の計画家や住宅地開発業者は、むしろ田園都市やそれから派生した田園郊外の形態や開発基準により多くの関心を払った。例えば、現在の東急の前身の一つである田園都市株式会社が1923年に分譲を始めた田園調布は、1919年にレッチワースを始め欧米の住宅地開発を視察したこの会社の創立者の息子の渋沢秀雄が、サンフランシスコの郊外で見た住宅地にヒントを得たという放射状の道路パターンを持っている。

また「エーカー当り12戸」という住宅地密度の基準的数値も、日本の計画家によく知られていた。我々は、その数値が京都市が1921年に発行した「京都市計画敷地割報告書」という、あまり目立たない小さな報告書の中でも言及されているのを見ることが出来る。この報告書は、京都市の郊外で土地区画整理事業により新しい住宅地開発をする場合の敷地分割の基準を導くためのものであるが、その中で当時の京都市の住宅敷地の実態調査から導かれた極めて小さな敷地規模基準とともに、欧米の理想値として「エーカー当り12戸」という数値が突然示される。そこでは、土地区画整理による郊外住宅地開発が地主に土地所有権を残したままであり、土地は地域の需要にあわせて地主が切り売りしていくものであるということと、欧米の田園郊外開発が開発主体が土地を全面的に買収して行なうものであることとの違い、ましてや、ハワードが述べているような開発後も開発主体が土地を持ち続けるという方式との違いなどは、ほとんど意識されていない。⁽⁵⁾

C. A. ペリーの近隣住区論も、彼の著書などを通じて戦前から日本の計画

家たちに良く知られた計画論である。彼が述べた近隣住区計画の6原則は良く知られており、戦前の住宅地計画例、特に日本の植民地・占領地における計画には、その計画論の教科書的適用が見られる。また、この計画論は戦後、特に1960年代以後の公的住宅地の大量供給の中で広く普及した。しかし、その受けとめ方は、多分に計画技術的であって、むしろ、教育施設・集会施設・商業施設・医療施設、公園・緑地などの計画的配置の理論であるかのように理解されていた。ペリーがしばしば強調しており、むしろ近隣住区論の7番目の原則とでもいうべき、地域社会の形成や、住民による地域管理というような点は、忘れられがちであった。

まとめ

この小論においては、欧米都市計画システムの日本への移転過程に見られた失敗の事例を分析し、都市計画技術の国際交流に対する何らかの教訓を得ようとした。事例の検討で得られた教訓については、それぞれのところで述べてきたが、全体として整理して示しておきたい。

都市計画に限ったことではないが、何等かの知識・技術を移転するという事は、決して注ぎ込むことでもなければ、つめ込むことでもない。それは、移転される側で、受けとめられ受入れられなければならない。

都市計画制度・技術の移転における失敗の原因も結局のところ、受けとめ方・受入れ方の失敗と見る事が出来る。それは、見方によれば、都市計画情報を受取る側の未成熟ということが出来るが、同時に、外国の都市計画制度・技術に関する情報が受けとめる側が受けとめ可能な形に整えられていなかったということも出来る。

都市計画技術・制度の直接の受けとめ手は都市計画専門家である。外国都市計画制度・技術を移転するためには、まずもって第一次受けとめ手である専門家が育っていなければならない。日本の経験でも、明治初年は都市計画の専門家と呼び得るような人が、ほとんどいなかったために重要情報が見過されていた。外国都市計画制度・技術を上手に受けとめるためには、単に外国制度・技術の内容を熟知しているだけでは不十分である。自国の都市問題について十分な知識を持ち、いま自国の都市計画の中心課題が何であるかということの基本に、移転すべき技術・制度を充分に見わけることが必要である。さらに、次でも述べるように都市計画制度・技術を実際に受けとめるのは「都市」であり、

外国と異なる自然、社会・経済・政治の仕組みを通して受けとめるのである。したがって、外国でいかに優れた都市計画の制度・技術であっても、それがそのままの形で適用可能ということはない。したがって、情報の直接の受けとめ手である都市計画専門家には、自国の都市のおかれている状況、課題に対処して行く中で、外国からの情報を応用可能なものにしてゆく能力が求められる。

外国都市計画制度・技術に関する情報の本当の受けとめ手は、その国の「都市」そのものである。その都市の都市構造、経済的・社会的状況、そこで生活するひとびとと無関係に移転された制度・技術は、拒絶反応をおこし定着し得ない。日本の失敗例の中の、東京グリーンベルト計画の挫折は、そのことを良く示している。都市の地域住民・土地所有者の理解を受けるための十分な努力を伴わなければ、たとえ都市計画専門家が良かれと思って導入した外国都市計画制度・技術・コンセプトでも、実施に移すことは出来ないのである。

最後に、日本在来の技術の発展と外国都市計画制度・技術の導入とを、比較的上手に結び付けた事例として、土地区画整理手法について簡単に述べて結論としたい。⁽¹⁹⁾1917年に、大阪市助役の関一は「市街地区画整理制度及び地域的土地収用制度」という論文を書いている。これは、アヂケスやバウマイスターの論文に依りながら、ドイツやベルギーの土地区画整理・地帯収用制度について検討し、日本へのこれらの制度の導入を論じたものである。関は、土地区画整理について、ドイツにおいて市街地形成において大きな効果を上げていることとその制度について紹介し、日本でも新市街地形成の計画化に土地区画整理が有効であろうと指摘している。しかし、日本でアヂケス法を参考にした新たな立法を求めるのではなく、既に施行され農業の面では実績を持っていた1909年の耕地整理法を準用した郊外地の区画整理を、この論文で提唱した。それは、大阪郊外などで耕地整理法による耕地整理が、実際にそのような効果を上げているのを知っていたからであろう。関が1918年に提案した「大阪市街改良法草案」はまさに関がこの論文で提唱したような内容になっている。1919年の都市計画法も耕地整理法準用の土地区画整理制度を導入し、戦前において1920年代から1940年代の初めにかけて、新市街地形成の計画化に大きな成果を上げた。もともと、1909耕地整理法の前身である1899耕地整理法は、日本在来の田区改良という耕地改良の技術を基礎に、ドイツ諸邦の耕地整理法を参考に立法されたものである。いわば土地区画整理は日本の伝統を踏まえて、必要な限りで外国制度・技術を参考とし、吸収しつつ発展してきた。勿論、総てにわたって理想的というわけではないが、日本の他の失敗例と対比すると、教訓はより鮮明になってくるであろう。

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Japanese vs Western Urban Images:
Western Influences on the Japanese Architectural
Profession, 1910s-1920s

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0. Introduction

The planning histories of various countries of the world may be viewed individually as reflections of the process of national development. At the same time, planning history in any urban context may also be treated as it reveals the world-wide diffusion of Western modern urban planning. This paper will approach the subject from the latter point of view.

Modern urban planning developed chiefly in Germany, England, and the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It was supported politically by the movement of the rising middle class toward the urban periphery, and was made possible technically by a planning profession with a particular sense of mission and set of values. The city model these planners sought to realize was the ideological result of a combination of widely shared negative sentiment toward the metropolis born in the industrial revolution and a belief in the benefits of suburban life. Urban planning was established as a social technology to control the city as a whole in the direction of this ideal. It was transferred in this form to non-Western countries with very different historical and social backgrounds.

The Tokyo Urban Improvement Ordinance for the remodeling of Japan's capital was enacted in 1888. It was, however, the very process of the world-wide diffusion of, and direct contact with, Western modern urban planning that led to the creation of the nation's first general planning law: the City Planning Act of 1919, or the "Old Act." For the half-century before it was given thorough revision with the "New Act" of 1968, the "Old Act" dominated the Japanese urban planning system. Its influence continues today. Thus, the Old Act stands, in a sense, at the starting point of Japanese modern urban planning. Understanding the influences of European and American planning during this early period is vitally important to the study of Japan's planning history.

In interpreting the nature of influences from abroad, it is important to examine not only examples of principles and plans adopted by Japan, but also examples in which Western concepts could only be adopted after modification, and examples of concepts that were eventually rejected after attempts at adoption. For it is through consideration of these problems that we can form a clear picture of the differences between Western and Japanese urban planning systems and their surrounding social conditions. Rather than merely enumerating the influences on Japanese planning, we must attempt to analyze the mechanisms of adoption, modification and rejection in the context of the contact between Japanese and Western planning concepts.

Japan had contact with Western planning systems in the overall, as well as with individual techniques and concepts. Here, I will focus on the "urban

image"-- the physical and visual image of what the city should be -- that most clearly manifested the distinctions between the Japanese and the Western perspectives. An urban image, as long as it remains merely conceptual, can easily be transferred from one country to another in pure form. It is when this image confronts the realities of planning, and the restraining conditions imposed by society, that the image suffers modification or eventual rejection. In this paper, I will examine this process in greater depth.

Before doing so, I should briefly describe the historical circumstances of the Meiji Period (1868-1912) and the Taisho Period (1912-1926), as the background of the topic of this paper. The leaders of the nation after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 eagerly introduced Western ideas and methods in every area of society. They were profoundly impressed by the European cityscape of broad straight avenues lined by solid and aesthetically pleasing architectural facades..the monumental and symbolic city apotheosized in the Paris of Haussmann. Haussmann's Paris, however, remained only an ideal in Japan; nothing like it was ever realized.

The year 1887 brought a climate of nationalism that rejected the wholesale adoption of European styles. The Japanese Home Ministry discarded the policy of Europeanization and the Haussmann model in favor of a more pragmatic approach. Emphasis was shifted to improvement of the infrastructure of the capital through the construction of bridges and roads. The Urban Improvement Ordinance was the systematization of this late-Meiji approach to planning.¹⁾ In this way, the argument for an urban image was reduced to one of mere aesthetics, and with its rejection the opportunity was lost to make the form of the city as a whole an object of rational consideration.

The architects of the Taisho Period revived the urban tradition that had been lost at the end of the 19th century. They introduced Western modern urban planning to Japan, bringing events closer to the enactment of Japan's own City Planning Act. The First World War brought economic prosperity to Japan, accompanied by rapid industrial development and urbanization. The aim of the Act was to control development of the total urban area with its burgeoning suburbs. Architects began the pursuit of an appropriate urban image.

Below, I will present six instances of members of the architectural profession in Japan during the teens and twenties, and their contact with Western planning. In each case, I will attempt to analyze the background of that contact, the Japanese urban image it inspired, the distinctions between the Japanese image and its source, and the reasons for those differences. In the process of doing so, I would like to draw particular attention to these architects' various images of:

- 1) What the architect believed to be the basic character of the city;
- 2) What concrete image he had each for the urban center, the existing built-up areas and the suburbs; and
- 3) How he envisioned the "unified development" of urban infrastructure and individual buildings.

1. Jun-ichi Tsuchiya: The Encounter with the RIBA Town Planning Conference (1910-1913)²⁾

In April of 1910, the Association of Japanese Architects received a letter from abroad. It was an invitation letter to an international conference on "Town Planning," to be held in London and sponsored by the Royal Institute of British Architects. This was to be Japan's first genuine contact with Western modern planning. But at the time, no one in the Japanese Association actually knew what "town planning" was. Professor Jun-ichi Tsuchiya, a specialist in traditional Japanese temple and shrine architecture who was studying abroad at the time, was called upon to represent Japan.

The Conference was held to commemorate the enactment of the Britain's first planning legislation, "Housing, Town Planning, Ect. Act 1909". It was a significant event, since the field of urban planning was still in its early stages of development, and this was the first attempt to take a broad cross-sectional view of planning in the Western Europe and the North America. Tsuchiya was practically the only non-caucasian among more than 1,300 participants. After the conference, he reported on the proceedings in detail.³⁾ But the best source from which to learn his understanding of town planning is the article "Regarding Town Planning," which he published in the Association's journal after his return to Japan in 1913.⁴⁾ This may well have been the first Japanese article on the subject.

Tsuchiya's view of urban planning is entirely as an art rather than a social technology. "The city is an organized aesthetic expression of society and the public. Citizens should be provided houses which are healthy in every respect, and moreover elegant," he declares. Since the construction of ancient Greek and Roman cities, much attention had been given to the relationship between street space and buildings to realize this urban image. At the peak of this development, Tsuchiya felt, was Haussmann's plan for Paris, which was "indeed, the starting point of modern urban planning."

Tsuchiya did not fully understand that modern urban planning had appeared as the antidote for the many problems of the post-industrial metropolis. As a consequence, he did not envisage the urban image of, nor recognize the necessity for systematic control of, the metropolis as a whole. Whether dealing with the remodeling of the inner city or the development of new suburbs, believed Tsuchiya, we need merely "design the city just as we design architecture, only on a larger scale." "In short, the city as an object of planning was no more than a large-scale architecture," or "a group of architecture" ..no distinction in principle existed between the arts of architectural design and urban planning. It was only a matter of scale.

Town planning was difficult enough for Japanese of the time to grasp, but matters were made more complex by the fact that in addition to, indeed prior to, the concept of town planning, there was the Western notion of the "Garden City." What was the relation between these two? Tsuchiya describes that, "in England, around the periphery of the cities, the development of garden cities is

being planned." It is true that under the planning system of the 1909 Act, planners pursued an urban image of the garden city (to be more precise, "garden suburbs"), but Tsuchiya misunderstood the concept of the garden city to be a method of suburban development. Such acceptance became rather common in the following years.

Professor Sannosuke Ohsawa, who was in England at the same time, later wrote that "the garden city idea was like a small scale version of town planning, with roughly the same aims."⁵⁾ This leaves us with an equation of architecture, town planning and the garden city, which, although different in size, were seen to stand neatly along the same line in substance. This theory of planning as "large-scale architecture" was not limited to Tsuchiya or Ohsawa, but became general among members of the architectural profession in Japan. The difficult question of "unified development," or how to effectively combine construction of urban infrastructure with individual buildings was naively regarded as a simple matter, comparable to the design of hallways in relation to the arrangement of rooms in a building.

In the interpretations of Tsuchiya and his contemporaries, conspicuously lacking is the social aspect of urban planning, manifested in: the plurality of clients, the public nature of decisions, the variety of objects for design, the necessity of individual surveys for each, and the necessity of legal foundations for design ..in short, the many problems of planning that distinguish its practice from that of architectural design. This was probably due to the fact that the architectural profession in Japan at the time was so absorbed in styles and aesthetics, that "architecture as art" limited their field of vision. In larger historical perspective, this lack of awareness of social factors is what finally prevented architects from becoming the principle actors in Japan's modern urban planning.

2. Yasushi Kataoka: Between Nelson P. Lewis and the Urban Improvement Ordinance (1916-1918)⁶⁾

A handful of genuine researchers of Western modern planning appeared in Japan in the mid-teens. The pioneers of this field, Hiroshi Ikeda, Hajime Seki, and Yasushi Kataoka, formed a professional group called "Toshi Kenkyu Kai (Urban Study Group)" in 1918, worked as leading members of the "City Planning Investigation Committee established by the Home Ministry in 1918, and succeeded in putting urban planning principles into law in 1919."

Osaka architect Yasushi Kataoka (1876-1946) obtained reports of the RIBA Conference, and began his research into planning with the conviction that it was the primary task for contemporary architects. In 1916, he published Japan's first book on planning: *A Study of Modern Cities*,⁷⁾ inspired by the record of Nelson P. Lewis's lecture on American urban planning delivered at San Francisco Exposition in 1915.⁸⁾ The book won Kataoka general recognition as the country's authority on the subject. I will briefly investigate his planning theory as it appears in his works of 1916 to 1918.

Underlying Kataoka's theory are his own experience as an architect as well as the urban reality of Osaka at the time. Based upon his practice in design and his information from the West, he focused attention upon the importance of office buildings in the modern city. He translated Lewis's "public building" with a word that included not only buildings with traditional public functions, but hotels and commercial buildings as well.⁹⁾ These buildings, he maintained, must form the core of the city because the character of the modern city was basically a commercial center. Kataoka plainly rejected the Meiji image of the "City of Government" in favor of a "City of Economy." His urban image appears almost as a reflection of Manhattan superimposed on the commercial capital Osaka, which flourished in the world-war era boom.

To Kataoka, streets were the most important element of the transport system that supported the prosperous commercial city. They were also the basis for regulations of the city's buildings. Streets were further essential for construction of a sewage system, and vital to the physical appearance of the city. Kataoka made streets the key link in his unification of "architecture" and the "city."

The City Improvement Ordinance already existed as an approach to street planning. Kataoka saw this ordinance as flawed because of its failure to include building control. At the time, Nihonbashi-dori, the center of Tokyo's commercial district, was lined with two-story, plaster-walled traditional structures. This was not suitable to a modern city, Kataoka felt. He advocated a new street plan, with the rapid construction of streets larger in scale than those to date, to link urban centers and extend along major radial lines. These were to be lined with earthquake and fire-proof "public buildings," that is, modern Western style architecture.

Kataoka's attention was given wholly to the urban center. Put in negative terms, his theory disregarded the dense neighborhoods of low-rise wooden houses that constituted the overwhelming area of the city at the time, as well as the newly forming suburbs. In sharp contrast to the clear picture of the city as commercial center he offers, we are given a deficient image of the existing built-up areas and suburbs.

Kataoka's planning theory is reflected in his opinions of planning abroad. "Germany," he states, "has improved the whole city, and then proceeded to build suburbs. America has followed in imitation of the Germans." He is less impressed with England. "England, on the other hand, has given up, finding urban planning impossible within the existing built-up areas," he says.¹⁰⁾ Kataoka appears to refer to the planning practice in the suburbs under the 1909 Act. In his view of planning, success was measured largely by how effectively the urban center was remodeled.

To Kataoka, urban planning was remodeling of the urban center by combining the Urban Improvement program as means of providing infrastructure and the building code as means of regulating buildings. The architectural profession of the Meiji Period had not regarded the Urban Improvement program as a concern of

theirs. The modern Western-style buildings that would line the avenues after completion of the program were to be their responsibility. They did research for a building code but failed to bring it to enactment.

Kataoka aimed at the "completion" of the Urban Improvement. He recognized Urban Improvement as the task of the architectural profession, and introduced the building code that architects had demanded for so long. But in contrast to the daring modernity of Kataoka's urban image, his method for actually bringing it into being had echoes of Haussmann's Paris.

The building code Kataoka proposed included regulations for building height, coverage ratio and fire-proofing, but lacked a concept of land-use controls. Buildings received different restrictions according to their location, but these restrictions were determined by the width of the adjacent road and distance from the urban center, not on the basis of an overall land-use plan for the city. This building code did not achieve the level of use-zoning; at most it contained the seeds of shape-zoning.

Seen in comparison with more recent planning concepts, which treat management of the city as a whole, Kataoka's theory was "old-school." It was presumably for this reason that in the process of creating the Old Act he lost his status as leading theoretician to Hiroshi Ikeda and others.

3. Shigeyoshi Fukuda: First Master Plan for "The City Efficient" (1918)

At a time when even Kataoka, the most advanced theoretician in the profession, was obsessed only with remodeling of the urban center, the first plan envisioning the entire metropolitan area was proposed by Shigeyoshi Fukuda, an architect for the Tokyo City Government (Figure 1). He first presented it in a lecture entitled "The New Tokyo" delivered before the Association of Japanese Architects in April, 1918,¹¹⁾ three months before the starting of the City Planning Investigation Committee. His plan covered the City of Tokyo and surrounding regions, and was to be carried out over a 50 year period on the basis of a survey of massive proportions.

Fukuda did not indicate any sources of influence for this ambitious plan. But there can be no question that his plan went beyond a mere speculative urban image; it was Japan's first city "master plan" based on Western modern planning ideas.

In addition to such previously omitted ideas as the necessity of surveys and the planning period, Fukuda's proposal included the concept of the planning area, which was determined by a commuting time of one hour from the urban center. This was calculated as 10-kilometer radius, or a total of 6 kilometers for 20-minute riding time on a streetcar system and of 4 kilometers for 40-minute walking! Later, the official planning area of the City under the Old Act was set at a radius of 16 kilometers. This discrepancy of 6 kilometers reflects Fukuda's underestimation of the potential of suburban development.

Fukuda did not outline his urban image as plainly as Kataoka had, but it is evident from the plan that his New Tokyo was to be a commercial-industrial

city. Port construction, which had been an issue since the Meiji Period, was drawn in on a large scale, and commercial and industrial districts were clearly indicated. (Fukuda acknowledged the future necessity of an airport, but did not include one in the plan.) These elements were linked by streets as well as train, streetcar and subway lines running radically, circularly and diagonally. Although the image of this infrastructure was clearly represented, the built environment was vaguely envisioned preventing this plan from presenting an urban image of unified development. There is a bare mention of "street plazas," to be placed at nodes in the street network and surrounded by public buildings. These plazas were obviously taking Haussmann's rond-point as a model. Suburban development by the "Garden City Company Ltd." (to be dealt with later) was indicated on the plan, but elsewhere nothing more was said of them than that such developments are expected.

Fukuda's plan includes a concept of land-use planning not found in the old Urban Improvement program, but it emphasizes the idea that the urban structure is crucially determined by infrastructure. In this respect, Fukuda inherits the functionalism of the Ordinance. Treating the city totally and functionally, his plan aims at a "City Efficient."

4. Nakamura Junpei: the Haussmann Plan for Tokyo's Reconstruction (1924)

While Fukuda created a two-dimensional urban image of the whole of Tokyo, the first person to develop that image in three dimensions was Junpei Nakamura (1887-1977). He happened to be in Paris, studying at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, when the great earthquake of autumn 1923 struck Tokyo. He returned home in January of the following year, and quickly drew up a plan proposal for the reconstruction of the City. (Figure 2).¹²⁾ He was critical of the plans being prepared at the Reconstruction Bureau, but he knew that his own plan had no chance of being adopted. Consequently, not compelled to make practical considerations, he chose instead to put his energy into pure expression of his own ideas. The results of his labor survive in the form of several drawings and a 50-page booklet.¹³⁾

Nakamura had an accurate apprehension of the character of the future metropolis. His vision of Tokyo began with an airport built on landfall in Tokyo Bay. From this airport a massive avenue created an axis extending inland. A new central station stood at the intersection of this avenue and a second perpendicular axis. The post office, newspapers and other key elements to a business district were to be clustered around this central intersection. Re-built Tokyo, in Nakamura's eyes, was to be a distribution and information center. The Diet building and the Imperial Palace, the symbols of Meiji Tokyo, were given secondary positions.

At a glance, Nakamura's plan is nothing other than Haussmann's Paris. Major traffic nodes are all rond-points, and these are linked by a network of wide radial, circular and diagonal avenues with subways beneath them. This also recalls the functionalism of Fukuda's plan, but Nakamura, just back from the

Beaux-Arts, envisioned the city in even stricter terms of the Haussmann order. Nakamura's emphasis upon order has perhaps its roots deep in his philosophy of "architecture as art."¹⁴⁾ It should also be observed that he links it to the efficiency and convenience essential to the distribution and information center aspect of the city.

Fire and earthquake-proof buildings are regularly arranged within blocks and along the wide avenues. Apartment-style urban houses are given concrete expression. Still, Nakamura's interest remains largely with reconstruction in the urban center and the existing inner areas; the urban image of suburban development remains weak.

Nakamura himself must have recognized that it would take the power of another Napoleon III to actually realize a construction project of this scale unifying infrastructure and buildings. But he chose to neglect that point. One is tempted to say that it was precisely because he disregarded this necessary condition that his unique plan came into being.

The actual reconstruction project, however, had to confront a very troublesome reality.¹⁵⁾ The original proposal that the government should buy up all of the disaster land encountered powerful resistance from landholders, and was given up in favor of a more modest plan for a land readjust program. Only by reducing public intervention with the rights of landholders to a minimum, and by further abandoning plans for unified construction of infrastructure and buildings in favor of a strictly infrastructure-oriented approach, could the reconstruction program finally make headway. The result was a land readjustment project of a size unseen elsewhere in the world: 3,600 hectares in 8 fiscal years.

The success of this construction effort was made possible by abandoning the orderly and unified urban image of Nakamura and by divorcing architecture from infrastructure, in pursuit of a plan with more freedom, a plan without character. It was not a completion of Kataoka's ideal for Urban Improvement. But it did represent a realistic accomplishment of the Urban Improvement that had first been proposed in 1888.

5. Kintaro Yabe: The Garden City Company and Japan's Letchworth (1922)¹⁶⁾

The earthquake of 1923 and the subsequent reconstruction erased the last traces of the old castle town of Edo. At the same time, they accelerated the pace of Tokyo's growth as a modern metropolis, particularly the development of new suburbs. The suburbs were opened mostly by individual landholders who broke up their land into lots and also, increasingly, by modern real-estate companies which developed and parceled out lots with some measure of planning. The Den-en Toshi (Garden City) Company Ltd. (1918-1928) is a representative example.

The Company was founded by entrepreneur Eiichi Shibusawa and others just a year before the enactment of the Old Act. The Company declared the purpose of its "garden city" construction as follows:

To take the good people of the middle classes who inhabit the

confining and dusty urban areas of the capital suffering the oppression of the city's ill sanitation and ill morals, and to transfer them to the salubrious air of the suburbs, to ensure their health and well-being, and, moreover, to offer them all of the modern provisions necessary to make their lives convenient.¹⁷⁾

Over a period of about 10 years, the Company bought 150 hectares of land about 10 kilometers southwest of the urban center: in Senzoku, Ookayama, and Tamagawa-dai. They laid private train lines and parceled out property for development.

Among these locations, an 80-hectare site in Tamagawa-dai with a fine view of Mt. Fuji was assigned to architect Kintaro Yabe to design (Figure 3).¹⁸⁾ The western half of the site plan should be noted. The design succeeds in producing a romantic atmosphere as a whole through a distinctive street pattern combining a rond-point at the train station with radial and circular streets, and abundant space for parks and squares. But this idea was not Yabe's original but was largely borrowed from the upper-class suburbs of San Francisco. Shibusawa's son Hideo visited San Francisco in 1919, and, impressed with the area around St Francis Wood, ordered Yabe to design the site plan accordingly.¹⁹⁾

At the time, suburban development by real estate companies was seldom more than a matter of dividing up the land with regularly arrayed streets and distributing the lots in between. Tamagawa-dai went far beyond this, and may reasonably be called the first case in Japan in which the townscape was actually shaped by planning. In addition, when the lots were sold, a "gentlemen's agreement" on land-use controls was imposed on use, fences, building height, coverage ratio and construction costs. It is worth noting that such high-level restrictions made their appearance here outside of the framework of official urban planning. In other words, such a unique development was made possible without the restrictions, or protections of public planning.

This, however, was as far as the Company's involvement went. The Company planned the site and provided the infrastructure, but housing construction was left entirely in the hands of the purchasers. They built their own houses when they wanted to, and in the fashion they wanted, usually leaving the task of design to carpenters. In this respect, the principle behind the project contrasted with that of Britain's garden cities, in which a totally planned environment included the design and construction of houses.

One point of interest in connection with this is made clear by Hideo Shibusawa's record of the Senzoku project. Shibusawa wrote:

When the site plan for Senzoku was complete, we printed copies of it, and began selling the land before the train line had been opened...The planned streets were cut through the fields, and everything else was left as it was. On either side of the streets were fields of wheat and potatoes in flower. Clients walked about this landscape, map in hand, looking for spots that pleased them.²⁰⁾

It is clear that in this context, the urban image that both clients and

planners had in mind was not of a physical environment constructed as a whole, but of something that developed in stages. (This urban image is also in evidence in the sites-and-services planning in presently developing nations.)

In the end, Tamagawa-dai, sold as a "garden city," was not in fact a garden city in Howard's sense of the term. It did not meet the qualifications of physical independence, functional self-sufficiency and common land ownership that formed the basis of the original garden city concept. Tamagawa-dai was rather a garden suburb, and as such had a major role in the development of the Japanese model for middle-class residential suburbs. The Shibusawas and their compatriots did not misinterpret the British garden city concept so much as they made use of a clever reinterpretation of it, and thereby "Japanized" it.

6. Yoshizo Uchida: The Impossible Garden City (1919-22)

Tokyo Imperial University Professor Yoshizo Uchida (1885-1972) first presented his "Garden City Plan" to the Urban Study Group in October of 1919.²¹⁾ Three years later he made it public before the Institute of Japanese Architects (Figure 4).²²⁾ He described the plan as "something entirely hypothetical... that I had thought of when, while walking in the Tokyo suburbs, I came upon a place that looked suitable for the management of a housing estate." What is significant about the plan is that it was proposed in the context of a study for the Housing Company. (Uchida referred to it as a "Building Company.")

This "Garden City" (in fact, a garden suburb) was designed for an area of 156 hectares located about 13 kilometers west of central Tokyo. The site was 3 kilometers from east to west and 1 kilometer north to south. In the design, it was to house 15,000 inhabitants. Of the total of 3,038 houses, 64 percent were "middle-level residential" units with a 130 sq meters house on a 400 sq meters lot. Straight and winding streets were artfully interlaced, and ample-sized park and plaza space as well as station, schools and other community facilities were included. The proposal covered only a small portion of the plan-needed suburbia, but in terms of the facilities offered and the rationality of their arrangement, Uchida's plan displayed the highest level of urban design to be seen in Japan at the time.

Uchida's proposal combined Unwin's elegant design and Howard's meticulous calculations. In it, the Housing Company would buy the land, build infrastructure and houses in a unified way and sell the houses and lots. The cost of building the infrastructure would be met by selling each residential lot for 3.4 times the price at the time of purchase of the site. Houses were to be purchased with an initial payment of 20 percent followed by annual installments at 8 percent interest over a period of 15 years. Uchida asserted that this would serve the interests of both Company and purchaser.

While many Japanese had interpreted (probably wrongly) the garden city theory only as an urban image for suburban development, Uchida was the first to grasp well the problem to which Howard had given much thought: that of return of development profits, or "betterment" that accompanied construction and

management of the city. In his writing, Uchida stated that "the construction of houses in groups like this...(produces what is called) the garden city, the garden suburb, and the garden village." While he ignored the conceptual distinction among these three, he accepted the concepts of unified development as the urban image and common return on development profits as the fiscal method.

Uchida and his collaborators of the Urban Study Group developed a scheme for the Housing Company that would put both of these concepts into action.²³⁾ In 1919, the passage of the Old Act had established a new legal structure for the practice of urban planning, but it had been created almost without any solution regarding financial resources or the organization to carry out development. It was particularly clear that in order to actually proceed with publicly-administrated suburban development, which was one of the central objectives of the Old Act, a very powerful development organization would be necessary.

Confronted with this situation, the members of the Urban Study Group took a hint from the real estate companies of nation's rapidly expanding suburbs, conceiving the creation of the semi-public Housing Company. The scheme was to give the Company compulsory purchasing power, buying the site for the "management of a housing estate" under the Old Act, building upon it and managing it.

In 1921, on the basis of a report by the "Social Works Investigation Committee," a bill was proposed along the lines of the Housing Company proposal, but it was opposed by the Ministry of Finance and was effectively abandoned before it reached the Diet. The main reason for this was the financial difficulty it presented. In terms of investment returns, unified construction of infrastructure and housing was far less profitable than the simple provision of ready house lots. The aim of growing real-estate companies at the time was not the creation of a city with sufficient urban infrastructure either; it was only short-term speculation in land. The middle-class home-buyers had no urban image of unified development, and therefore no demand of that kind for their built environment. At the same time, neither the government nor any private developer had the free capital to invest in such a long-term, low-interest project. In this lay an important difference with the British Garden City Movement.

Supposing for the sake of argument that the capital had been available, would the Housing Company have succeeded? The answer would probably still have to be "no." Land policy at the time was weighted overwhelmingly on the side of the landholder, and they would not have been likely to cooperate with the purchase of the site. More than that, the idea of compulsory purchasing was itself a political impossibility. Uchida's "Garden City" plan became a historical testimony to the impossibility of publicly-supported comprehensive planning.

7. Conclusion

It is clear from the above discussion that at the time of the enactment of the Old Act, members of Japan's architectural profession were influenced by their various contacts with Western modern urban planning, and proposed a variety of images for the Japanese city.

Among sources of foreign influence, Haussmann's Paris and the Garden City were particularly important. Haussmann's plan was seen sometimes as a model for the City Beautiful and sometimes the City Efficient; it was put to use in street-dominated planning by one architect and in unified infrastructure-building planning by another. In short, it was looked upon with admiration and envy, but seen from several conflicting viewpoints. The garden city, on the other hand, almost invariably became a garden suburb in its adoption.

In the introduction of these western planning concepts, a considerable amount of misinterpretation and re-interpretation took place, in accordance with the interests of the individual architect. It seems safe to say in general that contact with western cities themselves, because of the power of visual experience and the freedom of interpretation it permits, had a greater impact than exposure to imported theories.

There were some examples of the adoption of western planning in purer form: plans including the concepts of control of the city as a whole, unified development of urban infrastructure and individual buildings, and return of development profits to the commonweal. But in most of these cases, the concepts remained strictly theoretical, never reaching practical application because of incompatibility with social factors in Japan. Many of them were abandoned. The foremost reason for their rejection was the opposition of the very powerful landholders.

On the whole, Japan learned a lot from Western modern planning urban images that served the "promotion of development," but very little about the "prohibition of development" and the "enforcement of development,"- ideas which were not necessary for the dominating landholders.

In simplifications barely reminiscent of the urban image of Haussmann's Paris and the British garden city, Tokyo's center was built densely with the large modern buildings of major corporations, while the suburbs were developed with privately-owned single family houses. But the existing built-up areas, in the end, were mostly left to the caprices of the market, without developing any positive urban image.

Urban planning was carried out in a context of weak public intervention. The government and people did not try to put the growing metropolis under strong public control but rather tended to let it fully develop its potentials.²⁴⁾ This meant both little possibility and little need of a clear or detailed urban image. The Western notion that the urban image should direct the process of planning did not meet with urban reality in Japan. Born of the rationalism of 19th century Europe, Western modern urban planning was aimed at building the city rationally and purposefully. The fact that this thinking has

been largely absent in Japan reveals the sharp difference in the social factors surrounding urban planning in Japan and the West.

Notes

- 1) Takashi Mikuriya, Shuto Keikaku no Seiji: Keiseiki Meiji Kokka no Jitsuzo (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1984).
- 2) Shun-ichi J. Watanabe, "Obai Kindai Toshi Keikaku tonu Sogu: Tsuchiya Jun-ichi 'Town Planning ni tsuite' Kenchiku Zasshi 1913 Nen 7 Gatsu Go," Kenchiku Zasshi, 101:1254 (December, 1986), pp.60-61.
- 3) Kenchiku Zasshi 24:288 (December, 1910), pp.43-44.
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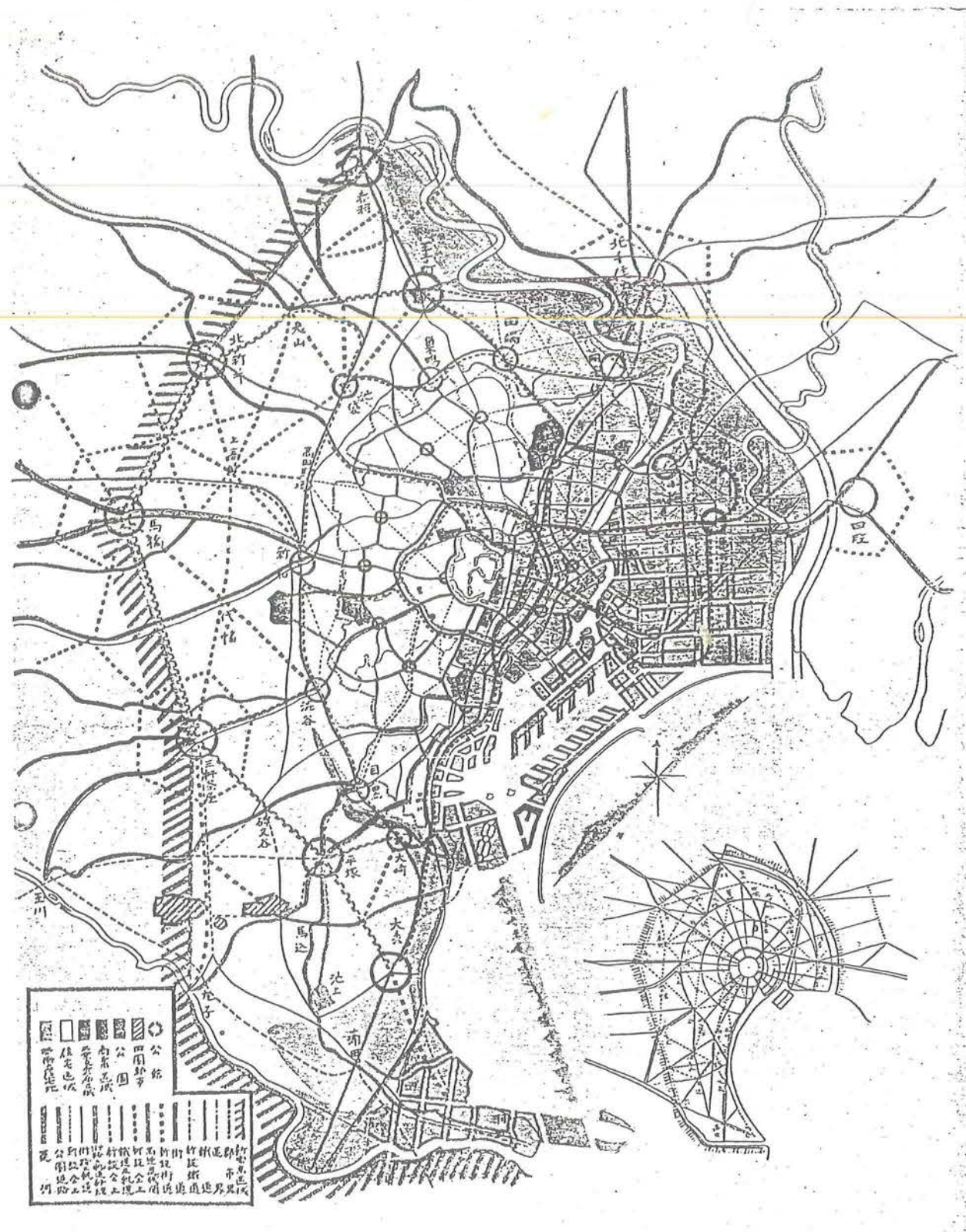


Figure 1: "The New Tokyo" by Shigeyoshi Fukuda (1918)



Figure 2: Reconstruction Plan for Tokyo by Junpei Nakamura (1924)

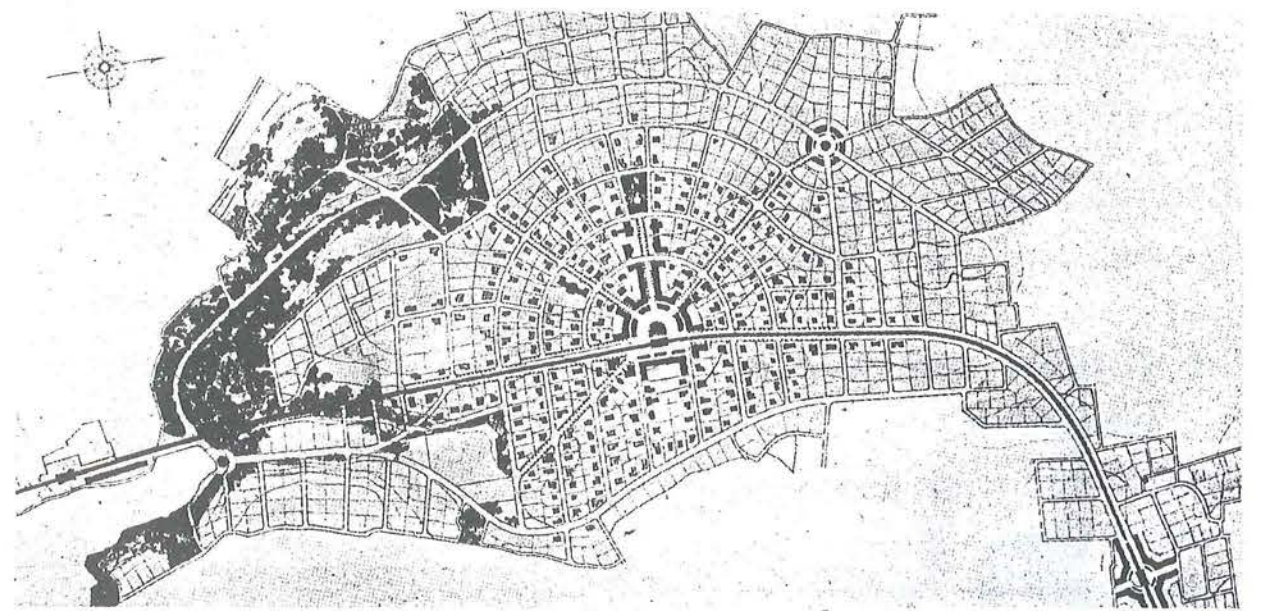


Figure 3: Tamagawa-dai by Kintaro Yabe (1922)

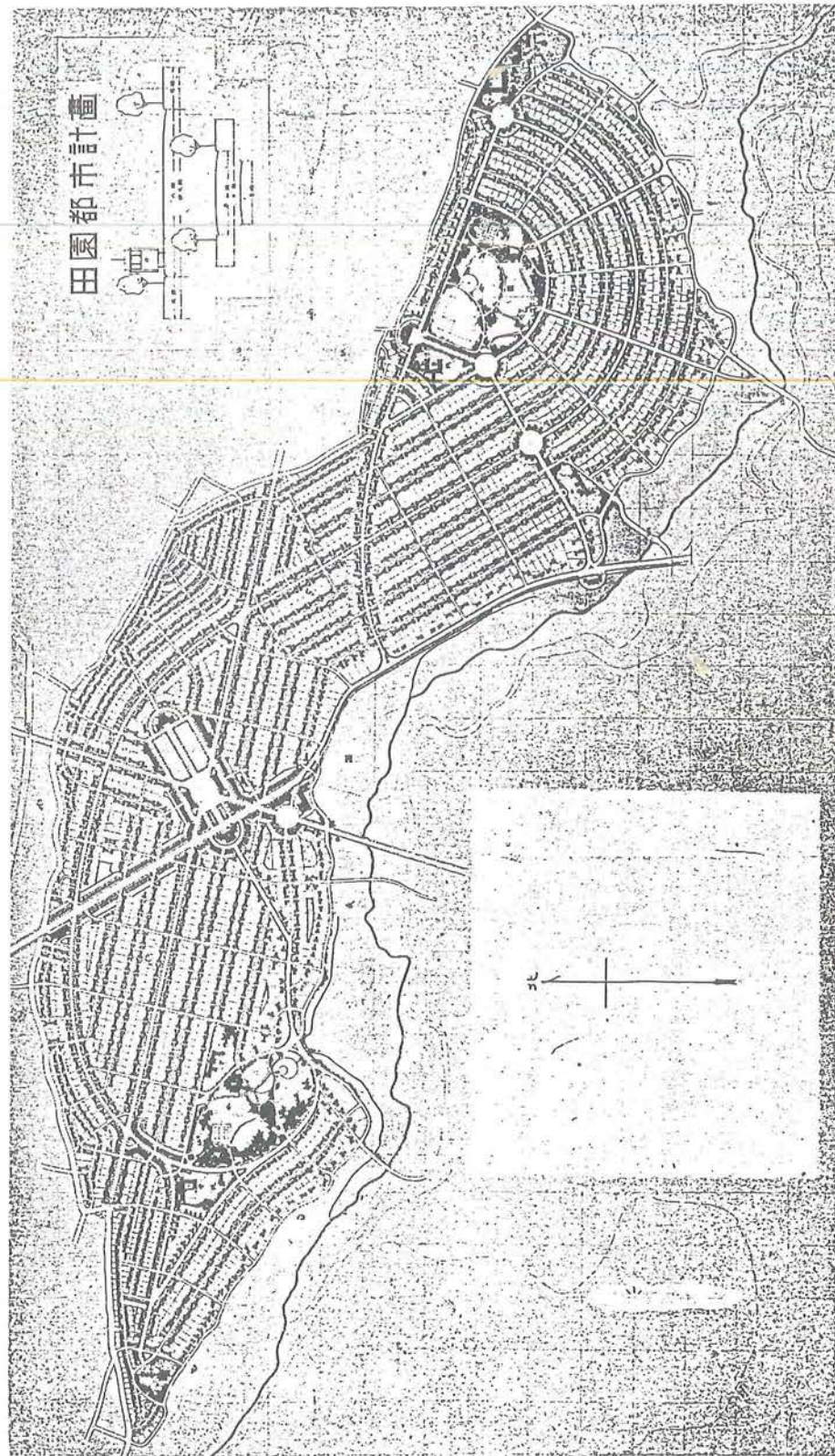


Figure 4: "Garden City Plan" by Yoshizo Uchida (1919-22)

(第3回都市計画史国際会議—東京、1988年11月11—12日)

旧法成立期における欧米都市像の影響

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0. はじめに

世界各国の都市計画史は、それぞれ固有の発展の軌跡と見ることができるが、同時にまた、世界的な欧米近代都市計画の伝播との関連の中で捉えることも可能である。本稿では、後者の観点に立つ。

近代都市計画は、19世紀後半から20世紀初頭にかけて独・英・米等の諸国で成立した。それを政治的に支持したのは、郊外居住を進めつつあった新興中産階級であり、それを技術的に担ったのは、固有の価値観と使命観とをもつ都市計画プロフェッションであった。その目指すべき「望ましい都市像」として、産業革命後の大都市に対する否定的イメージと、郊外居住地に対する積極的イメージとが形成され、幅広い社会的合意を得ていった。近代都市計画は、かかる都市像の実現へ向けて、都市を総体的にコントロールする社会的技術として確立した。そして、歴史的・社会的背景の大きく異なる欧米以外の各国へも伝播していった。

日本も例外ではなかった。日本では1888年、首都・東京の都心改造事業法である「東京市区改正条例」が公布されたが、わが国最初の一般法としての「1919年都市計画法」が成立したのは、このような近代都市計画の伝播と接触の中からである。同法は、1968年の「新法」によって抜本改正されるまで、以後約半世紀にわたり「旧法」としてわが国都市計画を支配し、その影響を今にまで及ぼしている。ゆえに、旧法こそわが国近代都市計画の原点であり、その成立期における欧米近代都市計画からの影響を知ることは、都市計画史の重要な研究課題である。

影響を論ずるにあたって、比較都市計画の観点からみて重要なことは、単に欧米都市計画を日本が受容した事例のみならず、むしろ前者を变形して初めて受容しえた事例や、さらに前者を受容しようとして結局、拒否せざるをえなかった事例にも目配りをするところである。というのは、まさに後2者の場合に、欧米と日本との都市計画（とそれを取り巻く社会的条件）の相違が鮮明に浮かび上がって来るからである。必要なのは、影響の事例の単なる記述ではなく、接触の過程における受容・変形・拒否のメカニズムの分析である。

具体的な接触は、都市計画の制度全体、個別技法、計画観念など各種の側面で起こる。本稿では、特に欧米・日本の対比が顕著に現れると思われる「都市像」、すなわち都市は如何に在るべきかに関する物的・視覚的なイメージの側面に焦点を当てる。都市像は、ある種の観念であるから、一国から他国へ純粋な形で伝播することは易しい。しかし、都市計画の現実に直面すると、各種の社会的制約条件によって、あるいは変形され、あるいは拒否されることになる。そのメカニズムを論じてみたい。

本論に入るに先立って、本稿が取り上げる日本の明治・大正期の時代背景について若干のべよう。明治維新(1868)以後の指導者の心を捉えたのは、オースマンのパリに代表される幅広く真直ぐな街路と、その沿道を埋める堅固・美しい建築物とからなる、記念性・象徴性の強い都市像であった。しかしオースマン・パリは、日本では実現化の方策を見出せず、あくまで理想にとどまった。

一方、1887年頃の国粋主義化のムードの中で、内務省は、むしろ欧化路線、つまりオースマン的な美観路線を捨て、ひたすら都心部の道路・橋梁など都市基盤の建設に専念する实用主義に走ることによって、明治の都市計画たる「市区改正」を制度化した。¹⁾ こうして、都市像の議論は美観論争に矮小化され、その否定とともに都市のあり方をトータルに、合理的な思考の対象とする契機も失われた。

この失われた伝統を回復したのは、大正期の建築家たちであった。彼らは、欧米近代都市計画をわが国へ伝え、旧法の制定へと歴史の歯車を進めた。第1次大戦後、急速な工業化・都市化が進む中で制定された旧法の大きな狙いは、急成長中の郊外を含む市街地の総体コントロールに向けられ、建築家はそのための都市像の追求を始めた。

以下では、1910—20年代における、建築プロフェッションと欧米近代都市計画との接触の代表的な6事例について、その接触の背景、受け止められた都市像、影響元との異同とその理由等を分析する。その際、建築家たちは、都市像としては、

- ①都市の基本的性格をいかなるものとしてイメージしたか、
 - ②都心・内部既成市街地・郊外の各々の具体的イメージは何か、
 - ③都市基盤と建築物等の一体的開発をどうイメージしていたか、
- 等について、特に注意を払いたい。

1. 土屋純一——RIBA都市計画国際会議との遭遇(1910—13年)²⁾

1910年4月、1通の外国郵便が建築学会へ到着した。それは同年、英国王立建築家協会

(RIBA)がロンドンで開催する“town planning”国際会議への招待状であり、これによってわが国が欧米近代都市計画と本格的に接触する端緒が開かれた。学会には“town planning”とは何かについて知る者がいなかったが、古社寺の専門家で当時、留学中の土屋純一教授(1876—1946)に出席を依頼した。

同会議は、イギリス最初の都市計画法である「1909年住宅・都市計法等法」の制定を祝うものであり、当時未だ形成途上にあった欧米近代都市計画の全容を初めて横断的に映し出した画期的な集会であった。1,300名以上の参加者の中、土屋はほぼ唯一の非白人であった。彼は、会議後その模様を詳しく報告しているが、³⁾彼の都市計画の理解内容を知ることができるのは、1913年の帰国後、学会誌に発表した論文「タウンプランニングに就て」の中である。⁴⁾これは多分、わが国建築界における最初の都市計画論文である。

「都市とは何か」について、土屋の見方はあくまでも(社会的ではなく)芸術的である。すなわち「都市は社会公共の組織ある美的表現で、市民は悉く健康的に且優雅なる家屋を有するものでなければならぬ」と言う。ギリシャ・ローマ以来、かかる美的表現としての都市では、建築物と街路との関係に大いに意を用いてきたのであり、その頂点に立つのが「実に輓近都市改造の出発点」であるオースマンのパリ改造計画である。

土屋は、近代都市計画が産業革命後の大都市問題へのアンチテーゼとして出現したことを十分に理解していない。ゆえに彼には、都市総体のイメージも、またそのコントロールの必要性も見えてこない。ただ、都心の改造であれ、郊外の新開発であれ、都市の部分を「建築設計と同様に唯其規模を大にし」て設計すればよい。つまり、設計対象としての都市は「大規模な建築」や「建築の集団」にすぎず、都市計画と建築設計との間には何ら原理上の区別はない。ただ、規模の大小があるにすぎない。

問題をさらに複雑にしたのは、当時の日本人にとって、ただでも分かりにくい“town planning”の他に(しかもそれに先行して)“garden city”なるものが存在した点である。両者の関係は如何? 土屋は「英国に於いては...各都市の発達する辺境に対して庭園市の発達を計」っていると言う。たしかに1909年法によってスタートした制度としての都市計画は、田園都市的な(正確には「田園近郊」の)都市像を追求してはいるが、彼は田園都市を郊外開発の手法として誤解している。このような見解は以後、一般的となる。

ところで、同時期に滞英した大沢三之助教授は「ガーデン・シティーは...トンプランニングの小規模のやうなものであり、目的も略同様である」と言う⁵⁾。とすると、建築→田園都市→都市計画の3者の関係は(量的には異なれ)質的には一直線上に並んでしまう。

このような「大規模建築説」は、土屋や大沢に限らず、当時の建築プロフェッションの一般的理解となっていた。同説では、都市基盤と上物との一体的建設という都市計画上の難題は、建築における廊下と部屋の関係のような単純ものへとナイーブに還元される。

土屋らには、都市計画には建築とは異なる固有の問題、つまりクライアントの多数性、決定の公共性、設計対象の多様性、そのための実態調査・法制整備の必要性、といった「社会性」が見事に欠落していた。その原因は多分、当時の建築界を支配した美観や様式への極度の関心、つまり「建築芸術論」の重みが建築プロフェッションの視野を歪めていたからではないか。このような「社会性」の欠如は、その後のわが国において、建築プロフェッションがついに都市計画の主導的な担い手となりえなかった遠因ではないか。

2. 片岡安——ネルソン・P・ルイスと市区改正の間で (1916-18年)⁶⁾

1910年代中葉に入ると、欧米近代都市計画を本格的に研究する者が現れた。すなわち、池田宏、関一、片岡安といったパイオニア達である。彼らは、1917年「都市研究会」を結成し、1918年、内務省に設置された「都市計画調査会」を主導し、ついに1919年、都市計画の法制化を達成したのである。

このうち、RIBA会議の報告書を入手し、都市計画を建築プロフェッションの課題として受け止め、その研究を始めたのは、大阪の建築家・片岡安(1876-1946)であった。1916年、彼はアメリカの都市計画家、ネルソン・P・ルイスの講義録に触発されて、⁷⁾「現代都市之研究」を公刊した。⁸⁾これは、わが国最初の都市計画の著書であり、片岡は自他ともに認める都市計画の権威となった。以下では、1916-18年頃の著作から彼の都市計画論を調べることにする。

片岡の都市計画論の根底には、彼の建築家としての体験と、大阪の現実とが横たわっている。彼は、自らの設計活動や欧米の文献情報に基づいて、都市におけるオフィスビルの重要性に早くから着目した。彼は、ルイスのいう“public building”を「公館」と訳し、その中には公共建築物はもちろん、ホテル、オフィスビルをも含めた。⁹⁾これら公館こそ都市の中核をなすものであり、現代都市の基本的性格は商業都市である、と主張した。明らかに彼の都市像は、かつての「政治の都市」ではなく、「経済の都市」であった。そこには、第1次大戦後の繁栄する商都・大阪の上にマンハッタンが2重写しされている。

片岡にとって、街路こそは、商業都市の繁栄を支えるための交通上、最重要の施設であり、同時に、彼が重視する建築規制の根拠であった。また街路は、下水道敷設や都市美観

の上からも重要である。つまり、街路への着目により、片岡の「建築」と「都市」とは一体的に結びついたのである。

街路計画といえば、従来の市区改正がある。片岡によれば、市区改正の問題は建築規制を伴わなかった点にある。東京一の(日本一の)商店街である日本橋通りで、広く真直な街路沿いに2階建ての土蔵が軒を連ねているのは、現代都市に相応しくない。片岡のねらいは、都心部・幹線沿道において街路計画の実施により、従来より大規模かつ短期間に街路を整備し、その沿道に耐震耐火の「公館」等の欧風建築物を建設することにあった。

片岡の関心はあくまで都心方向を向いており、これを裏からみれば、当時の市街地の圧倒的多数を占めた低層木造の混合密集地や、新興の郊外住宅地は視野の外であった。商業中心に対する明確な都市像とは対照的に、一般住宅地や郊外のイメージは乏しい。

彼の都市計画論は、欧米各国の都市計画に対する彼の見方の中にも反映している。ドイツは「都市全体を改良し、更に郊外に良き都市を作り」「アメリカが続いてそれを真似して居る」が「イギリスの方は都市計画...は正成(=既成。引用者)の都市にはもう出来ない...と...諦めて居る」と評している。¹⁰⁾後者は、1909年法が郊外を指向していることを指していると思われるが、片岡にとって都市計画の評価は、都心の改造がうまく行っているか否か、が大きな分かれ目となっている。

要するに、彼の都市計画論は、都市基盤の事業手法としての「市区改正」と上物の規制手法としての「建築条例」の組み合わせによる都心改造計画である。明治期の建築プロフェッションは、市区改正じたいではなく、改正後の街路の両側に欧風建築物を建てるのが自分達の仕事であると考え、そのための建築条例の研究を進めが、なかなか法制化されなかった。片岡は、市区改正を建築プロフェッションの課題とした点、長年悲願の建築規制を組み合わせた点で、いわば「市区改正の完成」を目指したのである。片岡の都市像の斬新さとは対照的に、実現手法としては、背後にオースマン・パリが見え隠れしている。

片岡の建築条例は、建築物の高さ、建蔽率、防火構造を対象としたが、土地利用規制の概念は無かった。建築物は立地条件によって異なる規制を受けたが、その根拠は、前面道路の幅員と都心からの距離であって、都市全体の土地利用構造からではなかった。彼の建築条例は、まだ用途地域制とはいえ、せいぜい形態地域制の萌芽といった程度である。

このような片岡の都市計画論は、都市総体をコントロールしようとする「新しい」都市計画論に比べると、「古い」ものであった。ここに彼が、旧法の制定過程において理論面での主導権を、池田宏らに奪われた原因があると思われる。

3. 福田重義——最初のマスター・プラン案「効率の都市」(1918年)

当時、最先端を行く片岡でさえも都心改造問題に囚われていたのとは対照的に、都市全域をイメージしたプランを初めて提案したのは、東京市の建築家・福田重義であった。彼は、都市計画調査会の開催の3ヶ月前、1918年4月、建築学会の講演大会で「新東京」と題する東京計画案を発表した。¹¹⁾ それは、東京市とその周辺部を対象とし、膨大な調査に基づいて立案された50年の長期計画の私案である。このプランの影響元や作成背景について福田は何も語っていないが、紛れもなくこれは単なる都市像の提案の域をこえて、欧米近代都市計画の発想法に基づく、わが国最初のマスター・プラン案である(第1図)。

福田には、調査の必要性や計画期間という新しい発想の他、計画「境界」の概念がある。それは、都心への通勤1時間圏として、半径6kmの路面電車20分圏と4kmの徒歩40分圏!の合計、半径10kmを採用している。後に、旧法下における東京の法定都市計画区域は半径約16kmとされたが、その差6kmは、福田が郊外開発の可能性を十分読み切っていなかったことを示している。

福田は、片岡ほど明示的に自らの都市像を語っていないが、新東京の基本的性格が商工都市であることは、プランからはっきり読み取れる。明治以来の悲願である築港が大きく描かれ、商業・工業の各区域が図示されている。(空港の必要は認めているが、図化されてはいない。) これらを、街路・鉄道・路面電車・地下鉄等が放射・環状・斜状に結び付けている。

都市基盤のイメージが鮮明なのに比べて、建築物や物的環境のそれは漠然としており、一体的な都市像とはなっていない。わずかに、街路網の結節点には「市街広場」を置き、それを取り囲んで「公館」を配置する、という程度である。(前者の影響元は明らかに、オスマン・パリのロン・ボワン(円形広場)である。) また郊外では、田園都市株式会社(後出)による開発地が図示されているが、他所でもそのような開発が単純に期待されているに過ぎない。

新東京には、市区改正にはない「土地利用」の概念があるが、都市の構造を決定的に規定するのは、あくまでも都市基盤である、という考えが強く押し出されており、その点では市区改正の機能主義を受け継いでいる。こうして福田プランは、都市を全体的・機能的に捉えつつ、「効率の都市」を指向している。

4. 中村順平——東京復興のためのオスマン・プラン(1924年)

東京の全体像を2次元的に描いた福田とは対照的に、それを3次元的に初めて描き出したのは、中村順平(1887-1977)であった。1923年秋、折からパリのEcole Supérieure des Beaux-Artsに留学中の彼は、関東大震災の報に接し、翌年1月東京へ戻ると、東京復興の私案を急ぎょ仕上げた(第2図)。¹²⁾ 復興局において公式プランの策定が進行するのを批判的に見ながら、中村は、自らのプランが採用される可能性が全くないことを知り、敢えて現実的配慮を加えることなく、自己の観念を純粋な形で表現することに全力を注いだ。その結果は、数葉のプランと1冊の小冊子となって残っている。¹³⁾

中村は、新時代のあるべき大都市の性格を正確に理解していた。彼の東京のゲートウェイは、東京湾の埋立地に開かれる空港であり、そこから内陸部へ向かって巨大な街路軸が打ち込まれる。これと、もう1つの軸線とが直行する中心に新中央駅が置かれ、それを囲んで郵便局・新聞社等の業務街が形成される。つまり、復興東京は、基本的に流通・情報センターとされ、明治東京のシンボルであった皇居と国会議事堂は脇役に下がっている。

中村プランは、一見して、オスマン・パリ以外の何物でもない。都市内各地の交通結節点はロン・ボワンとなり、それらを結ぶ広幅員の街路(下は地下鉄)が放射・環状・斜状に四通八達している。これはまた、福田プランの機能主義を思い起こさせるが、パリ帰りの中村のプランは、さらにオスマン的な秩序を打ち出している。この秩序化は、たぶん中村の「芸術としての建築」という考えに深い所由来しているが、¹⁴⁾ 同時に、流通・情報都市としての効率性・利便性に結びついている点が注目される。

広幅員の街路沿いと、街区内とは、耐火・耐震の建築物が整然と配置される。アパートメント形式の都市型住宅が具体的なイメージをもって登場して来る。しかし、中村の関心は、まだ都心と内部既成市街地に向けられており、郊外開発のイメージは希薄である。

中村は、このような都市基盤と上物とを統一的・一体的に建設することが可能となるためには、ナポレオン3世の強大な権力を必要とすることを知っていたに違いない。しかし、彼は敢てその点を無視した。いや、そのような必要条件を取り去ったがゆえに、彼のユニークなプランは初めて成立した、と言った方がよい。

しかし、実際の震災復興事業は、まさに上の難題を解かなければならなかった。¹⁵⁾ 当初の「焼土全部買上げ案」は地主側の強い反対にあって取り止めとなり、代わって区画整理手法によることとなった。つまり、地主の土地権利に対する公共介入を最小にすることによって、しかも都市基盤の建設を先行させ上物の一体的建設を断念することによって、

初めて震災復興事業は進み始めたのである。結果は、8会計年度にわたり、約3,600haという世界にも類を見ない区画整理事業となったのである。

このような事業的成功は、中村プランの統一的・秩序的な都市像を捨て、都市基盤と上物とを切り離して、自由度のある、つまり無性格な、都市像を追求したが故である。またそれは、片岡の「理念としての市区改正」ではなく、「現実の市区改正」が目指した都市像でもあった訳で、その意味では、もう1つの「市区改正の完成」であったとも言える。

5. 矢部金太郎——田園都市株式会社による日本型レッチワース (1922年)¹⁶⁾

関東震災とそれに続く復興事業は、一方では城下町・江戸の消滅をもたらしたが、他方では近代大都市・東京、特にその郊外の出現を加速した。郊外化を支えたのは、多くは地主の土地の切り売りであったが、徐々に大小の不動産企業による多少とも計画的な宅地分譲が増えつつあった。その中で最も代表的な例が、田園都市株式会社(1918-28)である。

同社は1918年、つまり旧法公布の前年、渋沢栄一らによって設立された。その設立趣意書は、同社が「田園都市」を建設するのは「紅塵万丈なる帝都の巷に棲息して生計上衛生上風紀上の各方面より圧迫を蒙りつつある中流階級の人士を空気清澄なる郊外の域に移して以て健康を保全し、且つ諸般の設備を整へて生活上の便利を得せしめんとする」ためである、と宣言している。¹⁷⁾ 田園都市株式会社は、約10年間にわたり、都心から南西約10kmの市域外で、洗足、大岡山、多摩川台の土地約150haを買収し、郊外電鉄を敷設して、土地分譲を行った。

なかでも、富士山を望む景勝の地・多摩川台(約80ha)は、1922年、建築家・矢部金太郎にそのサイト・プランの設計が依頼された(第3図)。¹⁸⁾ 注目すべきは、その西半分である。駅前のロン・ポワンを中心とする放射・環状のユニークな街路形態と、全体にゆったりと配置された街路・広場・公園等の存在のために、全体としてロマンチックな雰囲気醸し出すのに成功している。しかし、そのユニークな都市像のアイデア源は、矢部ではなく、渋沢栄一の息子・秀雄が海外調査旅行(1919年)で深い印象を受けたサンフランシスコ郊外のセント・フランシス・ウッド周辺の高級住宅地であり、彼の注文で矢部が設計したものである。¹⁹⁾

当時、不動産企業による郊外開発は、単に土地を整形の街路・敷地に分割して分譲するのがせいぜいであった。しかし、多摩川台はこれを遥かに超えて、街並み自体を形成したわが国最初の事例といってよい。しかも、分譲時に「紳士協定」の形で、用途、障壁、建

築物高さ、建蔽率、建築費に関する土地利用規制を行っている。これら高度の開発・規制水準が法定都市計画の枠の外で、つまり都市計画の制約も保護も受けることなく行われたことは、特筆に値する。

しかし、会社による介入もそこまでであった。会社は、都市基盤の整備はしたが、住宅の建設は全く購入者の手に任せた。彼らは、望みの時に望みの方法で(ほとんど大工によって)自分たちの住宅を建設した。この点は、住宅をも含めた環境全体の一体的建設を原則とするイギリス田園都市論とは、対照的である。

ここで興味深いのは、最初に分譲地・洗足での経験である。渋沢秀雄は、こう記している。「洗足のサイト・プランが出来あがると図面を印刷し、電車開通前に売り出した。...畑の土を掘って計画通りの道筋だけをつけた。だから道筋以外には青麦がはえ、馬鈴薯の花が咲いていた。そこをお客さんたちは図面を手にして、気に入った場所を物色して歩いたのである。」²⁰⁾ つまり、人びとの脳裏にあった都市像は、一体的に建設される物的環境ではなく、むしろ段階的に建設されるものであった。(これは、現在の開発途上国のサイト・アンド・サービスにも共通する都市像ではないか。)

結局のところ、「田園都市」の名のもとに売り出された多摩川台は、ハワード流の田園都市ではなかった。それは、①形態的独立性、②機能的自己完結性、③土地共有性という田園都市論の基本的要件を満たしていなかった。多摩川台は、むしろ田園近郊であり、日本型の中流向け郊外住宅地のイメージを広く普及する役目を担っていった。渋沢らは、イギリス田園都市論を「誤解」したというよりは、むしろそのイメージを巧みに捉えて「利用」しつつ、その「日本化」を果たした、というべきであろう。

6. 内田祥三——不可能の田園都市 (1919-22年)

時は前後するが、1919年10月、都市研究会で東京帝国大学教授・内田祥三(1885-1972)は「田園都市に関する設計図案」を発表した。²¹⁾ 内田が、これを公にしたのは、3年後の建築学会の席上であった。(第4図)²²⁾ 同案について彼は、他の2名の建築家と「東京の郊外を歩いてこんな所に一団の住宅経営をやったらよかろうと思った...所の全く仮想的なもの」と言っているが、重要な点は、それがまさに「住宅会社」(後出。内田では「建築会社」)の研究の中で提案されたことであった。

この「田園都市」(実際は「田園近郊」)は、都心の西方約13kmから東西約3km、南北約1kmの土地156haに、約1.5万人の郊外住宅地として設計されている。計画では3,038

戸の住宅のうち64%を占めるのが、400㎡の敷地に130㎡の住宅が建つ「中住宅向け」である。この住宅地には、十分な広さの広場・公園・駅・学校等が整然と配置され、直線と曲線を巧みに交えた街路網が全体を被っている。それは、1つの郊外住宅地という限られた空間ではあったが、公共施設の水準の高さといい、各種用途の配置の適切さといい、当時の日本における都市設計の最高水準を示していた。

内田の提案は、アンウィンの巧みな設計と、ハウードの綿密な計算とを組み合わせたものであった。それによると、住宅会社は、用地を買収し、一体的建設により都市基盤を整備し、建売住宅を建設・分譲する。住宅敷地については用地買収時の3.4倍で分譲するため、都市基盤の整備費は回収できる。また住宅については、頭金20%、残金は金利8%で15年払いとするため、購入者・住宅会社の双方にとって益である、という。

田園都市論を（多分に誤って）郊外住宅地の都市像の問題としてのみ受け取った者の多い中であって、内田は、まさにハウードが最も意を用いた都市の建設・経営に伴う開発利益の還元問題を理解し、受け入れた最初の日本人であった。彼は「斯の如く集团的に住宅を建築する方法は、...ガーデン・シチー、ガーデン・サバーク、ガーデン・ビレーズ等」であると言っており、これら3者間の概念的相違は無視しつつ、その一体的建設という都市像の側面と、開発利益の共同還元という財政の側面との両者を受け入れたのである。

この2側面を同時に可能とするために、内田ら都市研究会のメンバーは住宅会社の構想を打ち出した。²³⁾ そもそも、1919年、旧法の制定によって都市計画の新しい法制は確立したが、実際の運用面では、財源と実施主体の問題がほぼ解かれることなく、次なる課題となった。特に旧法が大きく狙いとした、公共主導による郊外開発を可能にするためには、極めて強力な開発主体を必要とすることが、明らかであった。

このような中で、都市研究会のメンバーたちは当時、急増中の郊外の不動産企業にヒントを得て、半官半民のデベロッパーである「住宅会社」の設立を構想した。それは、旧法における「一団地の住宅経営」として用地買収、上物の建設・経営を行うものとし、そのために用地の強制収用権を与えようと言うものであった。

住宅会社の構想は、1921年、社会事業調査会の答申により、住宅会社法案の形にまで煮詰められたが結局、大蔵省の反対にあい議会へ提出されることなく事実上、廃案となった。その原因は、基本的には、財政難にあった。投資効率の点では、都市基盤と上物との一体的建設は、単なる宅地分譲よりも遥かに劣っていた。当時、盛んな不動産企業のねらいも結局は、都市基盤を完備した都市への投資ではなく、短期的な土地への投機が中心であっ

た。購入者である中流階級が、そもそも一体的な都市像をもたず、そのような物的環境を需要もしなかった。と同時に、財政的には、かかる低利・長期の余裕資金が政府にも、民間にも存在しなかった。この点は、イギリス田園都市運動が、低利・長期の資金の投資によって支えられた点と対照的であった。

しかし、もし仮に、財政的に余裕があったとしたら、住宅会社は成功したか？ 答えは多分、否定的である。当時の土地所有における力関係は、地主側に圧倒的に有利になっており、彼らは用地の買収に応じてくれなかったであろう。まして、強制収用などということは、政治的に全く不可能であった。かくて、内田の「田園都市」案は、自らの不可能性を証明した貴重な史的遺産となったのである。

7. まとめ

以上の考察から、旧法制定期におけるわが国建築プロフェッションは、欧米近代都市計画との接触により影響を受け、様々の都市像を提示したことが明らかとなった。

なかでも、オースマン・パリと田園都市との影響は大きかった。オースマン・パリは、ときには「美しい都市」のモデル、ときには「効率の都市」のモデルとされ、また、時には街路重視の都市像、時には基盤・上物の一体的建設の都市像とされる等、各種のしばしば矛盾する観点から羨望の的とされた。一方、田園都市は、ほぼ常に「田園近郊」として受け入れられた。これらの受容にあたっては、こちら側の関心によってかなりの「誤解」や「変形」が行われた。一般に、都市像の影響においては、具体的な実物は、その可視性と、解釈づけの自由さとのゆえに、抽象的な理論よりもインパクトが大きいと言えよう。

他方、かなり純粋な形で受容されたものとしては、都市の総体コントロール、都市基盤と上物との一体的建設、開発利益の共同還元等の事例があった。しかし、これらは多くの場合、あくまでも観念レベルでの受容に止まり、現実レベルでは社会に受け入れられず、拒否されたものが多い。その最大の原因は、強大な力をもつ土地所有者の反対であった。

概して、わが国は欧米近代都市計画から「開発のための都市像」は学んだが、「開発の禁止」や「開発の強制」の都市像は学んでいない。土地所有者の優勢のもとでは、その必要性が少なかったからである。

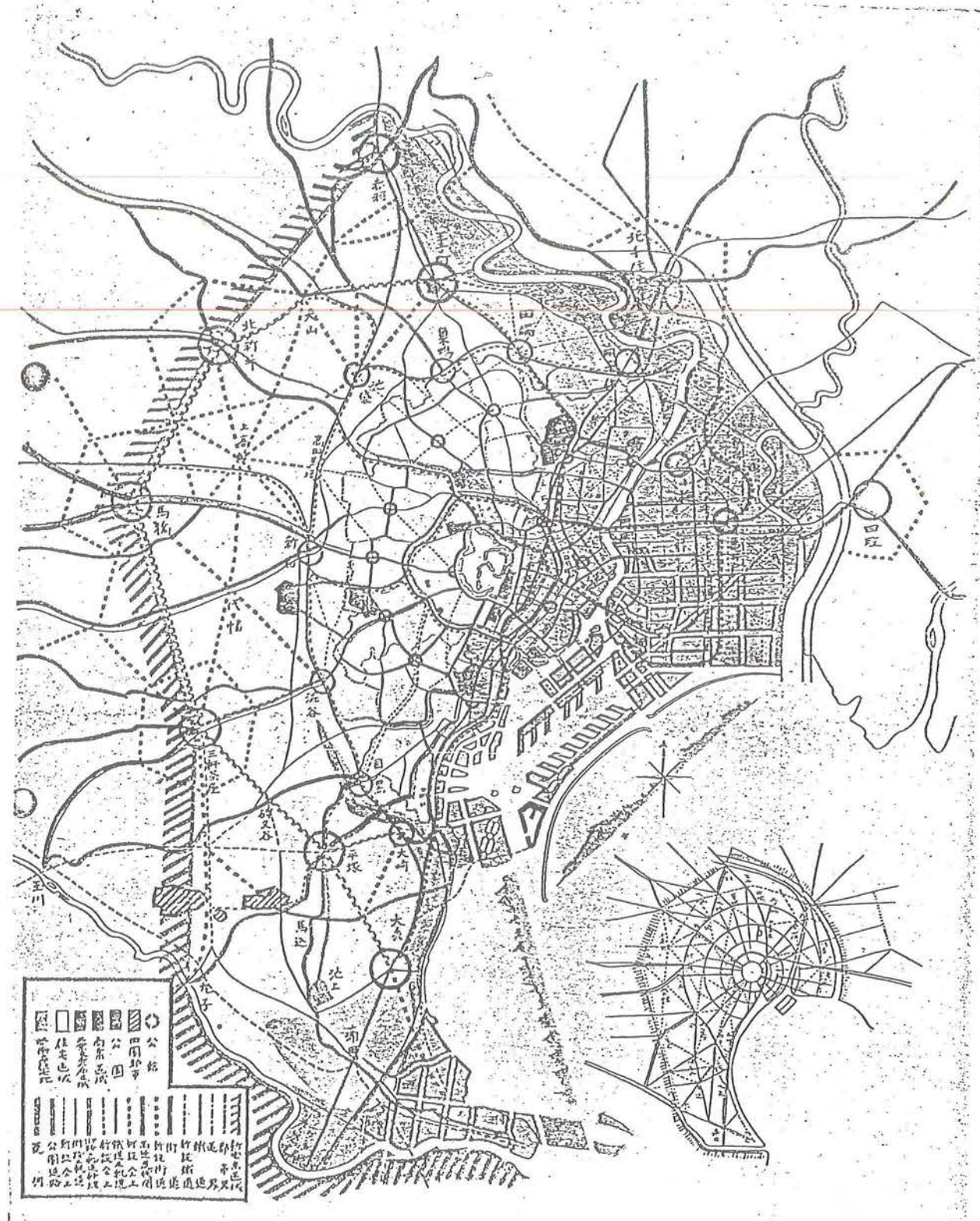
わずかに、オースマン・パリと田園都市の矮小版として、都心では、企業の近代建築の林立する都市像が漠然としてイメージされ、郊外では、個人の持家としての戸建て住宅地が受け入れられた。しかし、その中間地帯としての既成市街地については、ついに積極的

な都市像は提示されないまま放置され、市場の決定に任された。

こうして、都市計画は、弱い公共介入を前提として行われた。政府も国民も、大都市の成長を強力な公共コントロールの下に置こうとはせず、むしろその潜在力を十分に発揮させる方向を目指した。²⁴⁾ そこでは、詳細かつ鮮明な都市像を作り出すことは出来ず、またその必要性も乏しかった。欧米型の「都市像が都市計画を導く」という発想は、必ずしも現実的ではなかった。この点は、19世紀の合理主義に基づいて、都市を合理的・意志的に作り上げて行こうとする欧米近代都市計画とは、かなり対象的な社会的条件の違いというべきであろう。

注)

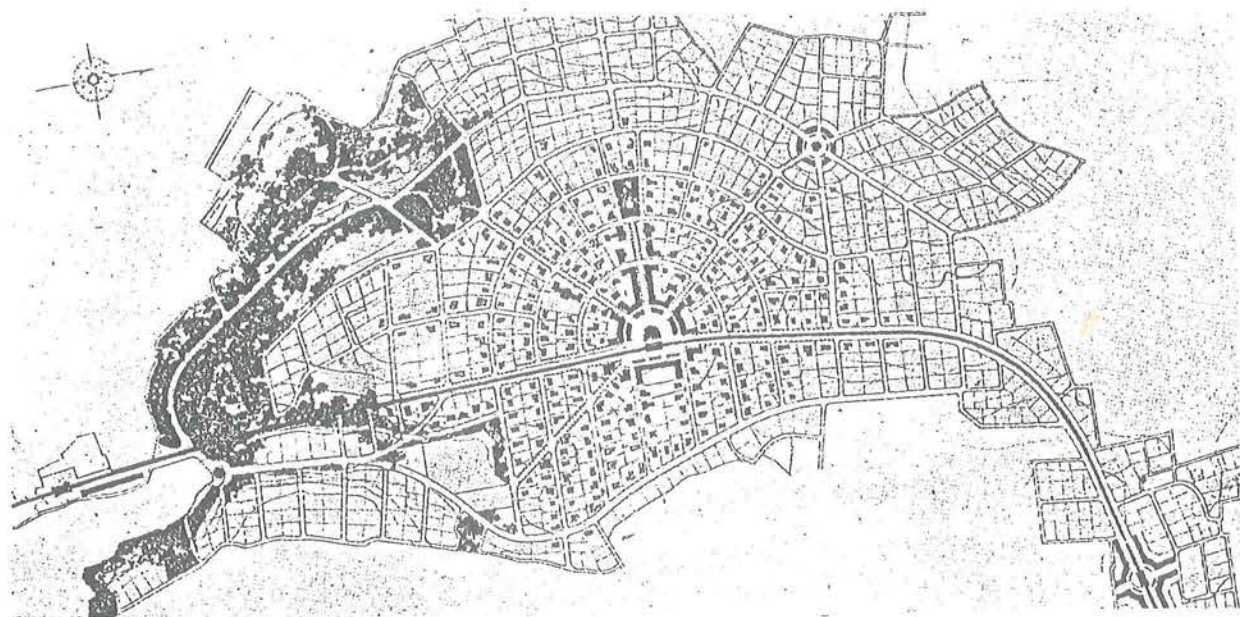
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- 2) 渡辺俊一「欧米近代都市計画との遭遇：土屋純一「タウンプランニングに就て」建築雑誌 1913年7月号」『建築雑誌』101:1254（昭和61年12月）pp.60-61.
- 3) 『建築雑誌』24:288（明治43年12月）pp.43-44.
- 4) 土屋純一「タウンプランニングに就て」『建築雑誌』27:319（大正2年7月）pp.362-371.
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- 7) Nelson P. Lewis, "City Planning," *Transactions of the International Engineering Congress, 1915* (San Francisco: 1915) *Municipal Engineering, Paper No.50*, 90pp.
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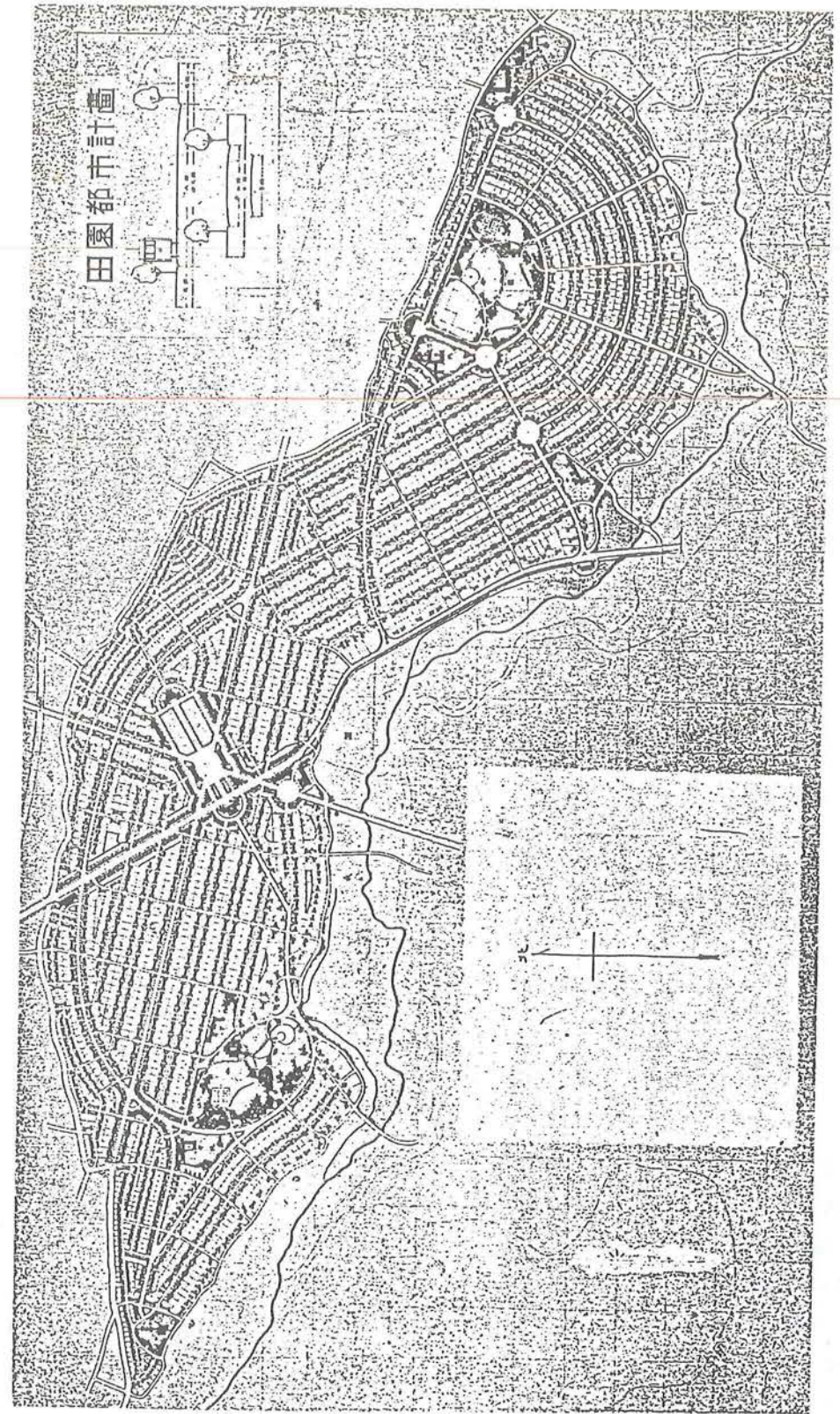
第1図：福田重義の「新東京」（1918年）



第2図：中村順平の東京復興計画（1924年）



第3図：矢部金太郎の多摩川台（1922年）



第4図：内田祥三の「田園都市計画」
（1919-22年）

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL REFORM IN URBAN PLANNING:
SOME COMPARISONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE WEST

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The modern planning tradition in the West is in many ways fundamentally tied to the notion of social improvement and social reform. This is doubtless due in large part to the economic dislocations and social ills of the industrial revolution, and the coincidence of modern urban planning with various reform movements designed to contend with the problems of the industrial city. Plans that simply promise to rationalize existing spatial patterns, improve the efficiency of traffic flow, or prevent disease are thus not usually included in the pantheon of "great plans," and tend to be regarded by planning historians as mundane or associated with social control, bureaucratic manipulation, and even political repression.

The American planner Daniel Burnham's oft-quoted urging to "make no little plans" is repeated to the extent of a cliché, but it does capture the sense that plans of small scope and limited purpose are meager and less worthwhile. I think it also suggests the superiority of plans with a broader theoretical framework and coherent vision of social transformation. At the same time, of course, many in the West, and especially the United States, have been very suspicious of broad-based plans and especially those that challenged, or seemed to challenge, the prevailing social and economic system. This is, perhaps, precisely the same irony that pervades the career of social reform in America.

Japanese planning has evidenced a more practical focus. Urban planning is more accurately translated as urban "engineering"--the task of design, construction, adjustment, problem-solving, and rationalization. Reforming society has never been very high on the list of expectations for urban planners, just as new social visions are not characteristic of at least traditional Japanese literature and art--which has focused largely on aesthetic values, spiritual themes and exploring subtle patterns of human relationship. For planners, the main task has been to provide adequate utilities and other services to crowded urban populations, and to improve the functioning of cities and their transportation systems and other elements of infrastructure. Changing the character of residential areas or improving public morals

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through better housing design has not generally been part of the planners' responsibility. Much of the difference here, I think, is obviously cultural--and it is just such a difference I would like to speculate about in this trans-cultural meeting. It also gives us an opportunity to ponder, in more general terms, the role of social reform in urban planning in Europe and the United States.

I must declare at the outset that I have very little knowledge of Japanese planning and have never done major research on Japanese urban development or urban design. I have lived and taught in Japan for a year, but I do not read or speak Japanese. I also realize completely that this brief discussion of such an important theme as social reform in urban planning is quite inadequate to even list all the possible dimensions of the subject. And I have made no attempt to document the paper or survey the relevant literature. This essay is not intended, however, to be comprehensive or a reporting of research results. I have simply tried to select an important dimension of planning and the ways in which it might be used to explore differences and similarities across cultures. As such, it is offered as a stimulant for discussion.

Many urban plans in the West since the seventeenth century were motivated largely by aesthetic considerations, and offered as backdrops to architecture or as reflections of the appeal of certain shapes, like the line, circle, and rectangle. The most ambitious urban plans in the baroque vein were implemented partly, if not largely, because they underlined the grandeur and legitimacy of imperial regimes as well as fulfilled certain expectations for "art." The direction of population movement and trading flows--and, of course, the requirements of military defense--were also common justifications for "planning" and urban design in the West. In fact, all plans had some "larger" purpose, though prior to the 19th century such purposes tended to be more purely utilitarian. But even utilitarian goals could, of course, have a larger "political" dimension--in that any efforts to improve the functioning of the existing system tend to deter efforts to change the social and political structure in any fundamental way. The theme of "social control" would, in fact, resound throughout the history of modern planning, pointing up the degree to which it could be enlisted, logically enough, in the service of established economic and political interests.

The notion of planning for social improvement, which primarily concerns us here, gained tremendous momentum from the industrial revolution, simply because urban conditions became far less tolerable for the masses of people and social order more threatened. Reform emerged as a social and political movement, and it was perhaps only natural that planning--as it took its modern shape--would be similarly affected. Clean, healthy, liveable cities assumed almost religious proportions in the minds of most social reformers, especially as larger cities actually became even dirtier and more crowded and pestilential.

Social improvement was indeed at least a stated goal of virtually every significant American city plan in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and much the same thing could be said for Great Britain. (The emphasis in North America was perhaps a bit more on transportation and sanitation and that in Britain on housing.) The idea was that the physical arrangement and rearrangement of space, and the design and layout of buildings, would affirm, carry out, and even insure new and more desirable patterns of living and social interaction--as well as more abstract goals like "cooperation" and "justice." In America, particularly, much social reform--and thus many plans--were inspired by the need to contend with social and ethnic diversity and the disorder it often generated. The coincidence of immigration and rapid economic change placed urban society under substantial strains that threatened to tear the social fabric and undermine American ideals and--perhaps more importantly--major economic interests.

Utopian novelists in the mid- and late-nineteenth century painted portraits of ideal communities--with particular attention to decent (often communitarian) living and working environments. Though not specific plans in themselves, these imaginative portrayals influenced many erstwhile planners and reformers, and gave even further support to the idea that human environments directly influence human behavior. In other words, if decent cities could be designed, built, and maintained, most other serious social problems--especially labor violence--could be avoided. The most radical utopian vision of this era is arguably that of communism, but its proponents had little shrift for most planners who were attempting to reform through design. As Frederick Engels observed in his essays in *The Housing Question* (1872), any efforts to solve urban problems and plan better cities prior to the revolution were premature and merely another brace for capitalism. More common were the movements in England and North America for housing reform--the striving for decent dwellings for poor

workers at a cost they could afford--even though the difficulties of achieving this goal seemed to support Engle's position.

In the twentieth century, other utopian visions of urban transformation fundamentally shaped our idea of modern planning, at least in its dimensions. Robert Fishman, in his excellent book, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century* (1977) details the proposals set forth by Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier. He also deals directly with the dilemma of urban plans which call for significant social reform. "The ideal city," he wrote, "is the genre of the outsider who travels at one leap from complete powerlessness to imaginary omnipotence." (p. 18) The result is likely to be a compelling vision with few roots in reality or prospect. "To appeal to everyone on the basis of universal principles is to appeal to no one in particular. The more glorious of the plans are in theory, the more remote they are from the concrete issues that actually motivate action. With each elaboration and clarification, the ideal cities move closer to pure fantasy. Can imagination alone change the world?" (pp. 18-19)

History suggests otherwise. But it also suggests that grandiose schemes that contain enough compelling features, especially features that can be incorporated into the established order or prevailing trends, can attain a significant measure of acceptance and "success", though not by the standards of their progenitors. The classic example of this is the "garden city," initially put forth by Ebenezer Howard at the turn of the century. Howard "originally conceived the Garden City," according to Fishman, "as a means of superseding capitalism and creating a civilization based on cooperation." (p. 24) But this idea of self-contained and socially balanced communities actually devolved into affluent suburbs of large metropolises or any of a number of variations on "new town" schemes advanced by government bureaucracies. Rather than challenging the existing order, the "garden city" was incorporated into it. Was the idea, then, "successful"?

Certainly, it enhanced the amenity of urban living for many people, and it was sustained by many deeply-rooted cultural persuasions in the various countries in which it appeared--especially the agrarian biases of Great Britain and the United States and the "back to nature" appeal of the "middle landscape" which it seemed to embody. (Howard did not share this "anti-urbanism," but was primarily concerned with the economic and political injustice that became concentrated and focused in the larger cities.) But basically, as Fishman notes, the "Garden City movement . . . gradually lost its commitment to social change and became a city planning

movement in the narrow sense." (p. 80) It ceased to be revolutionary and came under the purview of technocrats in Britain and many Commonwealth countries and of real estate entrepreneurs in the United States (and even Japan, as Shunichi Watanabe's work on Den-en Chofu outside of Tokyo so perceptively reveals).

But it must be said that the prevalence throughout the world of smaller satellite cities surrounding a larger metropolis, closer to "nature," more liveable and less polluted, which can be traced to the "garden city" idea, suggests that the initial idealism and utopian goals held by Howard did not interfere significantly with its partial adoption in many different forms. The commitment to social change was simply ignored in favor of certain features that were popular and could be easily adapted to established practices and patterns of land ownership and social control. We also cannot ignore either the cultural proclivities for urban decentralization or the social and economic implications embodied in suburbanization in assessing why the concept of the "garden city" was so compelling, albeit stripped of its "political" connotations. Certainly, no demographic phenomenon is more important in the twentieth-century United States.

Le Corbusier presents us with a somewhat different case, but there are distinct parallels as well. Like Frank Lloyd Wright and other utopians, he also believed--again drawing upon Fishman's assessment--"that industrialization had produced the conditions for a new era of justice, harmony, and beauty; that this era would commence with the replacement of all existing cities by new forms of community suited to the new age; and that this physical restructuring of society would be the fundamental revolutionary act separating the past from the future." (p. 163) But Le Corbusier's notions of the "Contemporary City" and subsequent "Radiant City"--perhaps the grandest and most unrelieved modern conception of the centralized metropolis--has been almost totally rejected, certainly as far as its philosophical premises are concerned.

His rigidly symmetrical city, shaped by great superhighways and other transportation modes, and punctuated by glass and steel skyscrapers at the center, was far too redolent of centralized control and congestion, even though Le Corbusier saw this design as achieving an ideal balance between urbanity and nature, centralization and open space. His Plan Voisin for Paris in 1925 shocked most contemporaries with its suggestion that the crowded Right Bank business district be razed in favor of new skyscrapers. The later Radiant City reflected his discontent with capitalism, and posed a powerful central political force that inevitably was equated with

totalitarianism. The scope of his ideas and their political associations were enough to arouse significant skepticism--especially given the influence of such articulate and determined critics as Lewis Mumford.

Whether Le Corbusier's notions are "right" or "wrong," accurately perceived or rudely mistaken, is not the point. Rather, was the central focus of these plans--major social reform and urban redesign to render cities more appropriate for the Machine Age--generally accepted, and if not, to what degree were certain features of these plans accepted and implemented? Unlike the "Garden City," Le Corbusier's "Contemporary" and "Radiant" Cities were far less attractive to real estate developers, planner/bureaucrats, and middle-class homeowners. The vision was much more dramatic, and proposed change more drastic. And the resistance thus much more pronounced.

But like Howard's, Le Corbusier's influence is apparent all around us. Steel and glass office buildings and apartments arrayed symmetrically around a large park is a typical "modern" scene in many large European cities and new planned communities, along the beltways around major American cities, and even in futuristic novels. While they cannot be ascribed solely to Le Corbusier, multi-level superhighways sketching the framework of the urban fabric is all too familiar. Many of his architectural designs and features of his urban plans have, in other words, been easily adapted in circumstances very different from those that comprised his utopian vision.

It would seem apparent, then, that specific proposals, almost like specific technologies, have a certain life of their own, and can be easily stripped away from any initial purpose or larger context that led to their creation. The critical factor in such acceptance, again very much like technological innovations, is whether or not a specific feature or proposal meets a need as defined both by prevailing cultural imperatives and by the dominant economic and political groups who must fund and authorize new plans. Thus, the features of the "Garden City" and the "Contemporary City" that met these criteria have had widespread "success"; the features that were less acceptable or practical (e.g., restrictions on the size of new towns or rigorous controls on inner-city land use) have not.

The social reform dimension of planning is not, of course, unique or confined to planning. Planning is just one additional vehicle through which an impulse for social transformation,

of whatever political persuasion, is expressed. Therefore, the strength of the social reform element in planning has tended to rise and fall with the tides of social reform in the larger society. These currents were obviously much stronger around the turn of the century, in response to the evils of industrialism. They were much less so in other periods, such as the 1920s and 1950s in the United States, when urban plans tended basically to rationalize and undergird the existing system and prepare urban space for the maximum impact of new technologies and optimum commercial advantage.

In the study of planning, consequently, we might envision plans as having at least two principal dimensions--(1) the specific features and other design elements, and (2) the theoretical or ideological goals and premises. This approach does considerable violence to the conception of plans as seamless garments, carefully woven, with specific patterns and colors a perfect expression of the overall idea. While it does not preclude us from assessing plans as intellectual constructs--using the same approach as the intellectual historian--it does force us to accept that specific recommendations can be readily accepted while the philosophical underpinnings are ignored. Which obviously suggests that the philosophy is simply not as important as most planning historians might be inclined to believe.

We are also aware, of course, of the inevitable tension--whether in plans or in public policies generally--between goals and means. The possible consequences of any proposed plan are usually immediately evident to those most likely to be affected, though these consequences can easily be misinterpreted or overemphasized. It is also possible that very good ideas are relatively ignored or at least delayed because they are part of a larger "package" that is far less popular. But we would have to conclude that, on balance, the specific plans and features are more important than the larger "package" of which they are a part, at least in the long run.

Let us now return to our initial concern about comparing Japan and the West. In Japan and elsewhere in Asia plans were sometimes based on pure geometric forms and also employed to prepare for military defense, to reflect the grandeur and power of imperial regimes, and to fix prevailing social imperatives in space. Traditional urban designs of Chinese and Japanese cities, for example, were based on certain rectangular shapes, with the palace of the ruling authority in the center. Also, basic notions of social order were preserved and extended in city

designs: in Japan, this meant the separation in different zones of merchants from samurai, etc. But what about the role of social reform in Japanese urban planning?

As I noted at the outset, Japanese planning is as much a reflection of its culture and social and political tradition as that in the West. It is thus not surprising that Japanese planning should be more utilitarian and far less questioning of the propriety of existing social arrangements. Perhaps the essentially unified character of Japanese society is largely responsible for the rather practical and narrow focus of Japanese urban planning. Certainly when compared with the United States, Japan is secure in its cultural identity and free of the ethnic and racial tension and disorder that has plagued U.S. cities--and concerned American planners--for generations. Japan did experience a variant of the industrial revolution, of course, and in many ways it was more wrenching and dramatic than anything which occurred in the West. Conditions in Japanese cities were also hardly ideal. But the problems of Japanese society were simply not perceived as much in the realm of architectural design and spatial arrangement. The extent to which these elements did play a role in the dramatic changes Japan has experienced since the Meiji Era will, hopefully, be the subject of some further discussion.

This is certainly not to say that Japanese city planning is not successful or, in its own way, ambitious: actually, Japan has done a remarkable job of providing essential infrastructure and basic services to densely crowded metropolises and making widely available the benefits of modern technologies. But Japanese plans do not hold up an image of a "brave new world." Neither are they intended to solve grievous social problems--such as the elimination of poverty or the establishment of new patterns of social relations among city dwellers. The critical element in Japan is the decision-making process leading to the adoption and implementation of urban plans, namely the need to reach a broad consensus or at least complete an array of obligatory consultations. When the process is followed, very ambitious projects and complex plans can be completed. When it fails, for whatever reason, the specific plans seem far less important than that they lack "legitimacy."

This cultural comparison, which is only advanced here in the most tentative and incomplete way, does suggest certain paths for future exploration. How have Japanese perceptions about the role of planning changed over the past century, and how have these been related to changing ideas of the city and "modernity"? In what periods was the impulse for reform most

apparent in Japanese planning? Do other divisions in Japanese society (occupation, family background, etc.) play the same role as racial and ethnic divisions do in the West? If not, what role do they play as far as urban planning is concerned? And how can certain ideas, like the "garden city," which cross cultures and national boundaries, help us to assess those cultural differences? Do the philosophical underpinnings travel as well as certain specific plans? And, returning to our broader theme, has the relative absence of social reform considerations in Japanese planning rendered it quite different from its Western counterparts? Or has the historical ability of Western societies to strip unwanted ideologies and notions away from specific proposals rendered this basically a mute point?

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