



©T.Taguchi 2020

CHAPTER 5

CITIZEN-ORIENTED CITY PLANNING

Opening of the Port of Yokohama and Kannai

Every city has its own unique history. Yokohama played a significant role in Japan's modernization in its 120-year history, which might be relatively short for a major city.

The best way to create a unique and attractive city is to incorporate its unique history and climate in city planning. A monotonous city without a sense of the eras and history is superficial and dull, no matter how well it is developed. It is like a person without memory or a uniform mechanical human being without feelings.

The Kannai district had originally been a small village with only 102 households making a living by farming and fishing. As the name "Yokohama" (yoko means "horizontal" and hama means "beach") suggests, there was a long stretch of sandspit beach, and this was the village of Yokohama in Kuraki County, Musashi Province. The long and narrow sand reef was called Shukan no Minato, and there was a Benten shrine at the tip of the sand bar. There was a bell-shaped cove surrounded by the sand bar, which was gradually reclaimed for paddy fields. The current triangular city center area of Yokohama comprises the sand bar and the land reclaimed from the bell-shaped cove.

Compared with Kanagawa which had thrived as one of the main post stations along Tokaido (one of the Five Routes of the Edo period,) Yokohama was a detached area like an island inconveniently located across the sea from the main land. The hustle and bustle of Tokaido was hardly heard in this area. Yokohama suddenly took center stage in Japan's history when Commodore Perry sailed into Edo Bay in 1853 with his four Black Ships. It was at this time that Japan's representatives finally received a formal letter of intent from the President of the U.S. in Kurihama, but Perry arrived again by ship in 1854, ahead of the promised date. He demanded that the Japanese government set up a venue for negotiation at a quieter place closer to Edo, and not in a place like Kurihama where it is surrounded by rough waters. The village of Yokohama was chosen, not only because of its close proximity to Edo and Tokaido but also because it was separated by the sea.

In March 1854, the Japan and U.S. Treaty of Peace and Amity was signed in the village of Yokohama and Japan finally opened up its heavy isolationist doors to the world.

Opening of the Port of Yokohama and Westernization of Japan

Through the Treaty of Peace and Amity, it was decided that the United States Consulate would be established, and Townsend Harris arrived as the first Consul General to Japan. While Harris was stationed in Shimoda, a town far away from Edo, he went to Edo Castle, and after a negotiation with the Tokugawa Shogunate, he settled himself on the USS Pawhatan and the Treaty of Amity and Commerce Between the United States and the Empire of Japan was concluded on the ship in 1858. Japan's closed door policy was brought to an end completely by this treaty. It is a well-known fact that the movement to overthrow the Shogunate arose amid a conflict concerning the imperial sanction of the treaty.

The Treaty of Amity and Commerce was later signed with the Netherlands, Russia, United Kingdom, and France successively. It was decided that Japan would open ports for foreign trade under the treaty, and the first port opened in Yokohama, a strategic point close to Edo. It was originally stated in the treaty that the port would be opened in Kanagawa which was a post station as well as a port along Tokaido, but the Tokugawa Shogunate hastily decided to open a port in Yokohama, away from Tokaido, out of fear that foreigners and anti-foreign factions may come into confrontation with each other along the main road. While Kanagawa and Yokohama, separated by the sea, were actually different precincts, but the village of Yokohama was forced to become part of Kanagawa.

The construction was carried out day and night, and the Port of Yokohama opened in June 1859, a year after the conclusion of the treaty. The town was built on a land reclaimed from the sand bank. The customs office was placed in the center, the foreign settlement was placed on the east side, and a Japanese town was placed on the west side. The Japanese town was developed by hastily recruiting traders engaged in trade through an open call or coercion by the government. This town is detached like an island and can only be

accessed by land via a bridge. Sekisho (the checkpoint) was located at the foot of the Yoshida Bridge serving as the main entrance. As mentioned earlier, this is why the area inside this island was called Kannai (inside the checkpoint.) Later, the town expanded beyond "Kannai" in its narrow sense, or the boundary of the island, and this area served as the center of Japan's westernization before and after the Meiji Restoration as well as the gateway to the world and foreign civilizations.

In terms of city planning, the first western urban facilities in Japan, including railways, telegraph facilities, modernized western-style water and sewage system, modernized port and harbor facilities, gas lights, western-style park, iron bridges, western-style theater, western-style race field, Nihon Odori serving as a firebreak belt, promenades and more were all built in Yokohama. In addition, Yokohama had unique characteristics as a stylish and exotic city which distinguished itself from Tokyo.

Unfortunately, however, due to repeated earthquakes, war, and confiscation of properties, much of the city was lost. Even the residences of foreign settlers like the ones in Kobe disappeared early on.

Strategic City Planning Incorporating Historic Heritage

Considering these circumstances, it would not be easy to incorporate Yokohama's historic heritage in city planning. Instead of taking individual approaches, we decided to implement a comprehensive strategy to incorporate the historic heritage of Yokohama and create its unique characteristics through various measures. We focused on main measures including the following:

- (1) Preserving existing historic heritage assets as much as possible
- (2) Preserving and making good use of historic heritage assets while making partial changes
- (3) Repairing and restoring historic heritage assets
- (4) Introducing historic heritage assets, or actively creating things worth preserving as heritage assets

(5) Establishing a system to research, record, and promote historic heritage assets.

(6) Respecting historic sites and maintaining unique atmospheres of the surroundings.

(7) Incorporating unique topographic features of Yokohama that contributed to shaping its history

Historic heritage assets would not be effectively incorporated in city planning if we focus solely on preserving them. It is necessary to consciously use various measures such as these in implementing strategic projects, land use control, and urban design methods as much as possible. Historic heritage assets should be incorporated in our efforts to create a lively city.

Red Brick Warehouse

The measure (1) regarding preserving existing historic heritage assets was the most challenging among the above-mentioned measures. One of the most challenging and memorable projects among many projects I had worked on at the Yokohama city office was the preservation project of the Red Brick Warehouse located at the port, because it was a modest and low-profile project to which little support was given.

There is an old pier called the Shinko Pier. While "shinko" means a "new port," it is actually the oldest fully functional modern port facility in Yokohama. The port initially only had a 750-m long iron pier (Osanbashi,) and the Shinko Pier built in 1899 was the first mooring quay constructed in Japan. It allowed large ships to directly come alongside the quay instead of docking at a pier. This was the first modern quay where onshore facilities were equipped with sheds, warehouses, cranes, roads, and railways.

Two large warehouses made of bricks called "Red Brick Warehouse" were built here. They were 22-m wide and 148-m long three-story buildings. One of them had been half-destroyed by the Great Kanto Earthquake. The construction of the No.2 warehouse, which was kept intact, started in November 1907 and was completed in May 1911. It was designed by the Temporary Architecture

Department at the Ministry of Finance (Head of Department: Yorinaka Tsumaki.)

While this warehouse is located inside the bonded area at the port and is not visible to the public, the 150-m long structure is reinforced with steel frames using the latest technology. One can say it is one of the symbols of Japan's modern technology, and it is also a symbol of Minato. In addition, it represents a story of Yokohama's westernization period. A considerable number of impressive brick buildings had existed in Yokohama during the Meiji period, including the Yokohama District Court, Yokohama Post and Telegraph Office, Yokohama Customs Office, Sacred Heart Cathedral Yokohama (Yamate Church,) Yokohama City Hall (the second building,) Yokohama Station (the second building) among others. They were all destroyed by the Great Kanto Earthquake, and the Red Brick Warehouse is valuable building that survived to this day and still tells us a little bit of the story of its era.



Red Brick Warehouse

However, a rapid revolution in port and harbor technologies began to take place around the mid-1950's and containerization, or a transport system using shipping containers, started. The new system required huge gantry cranes installed behind the quay wall, as well as

a vast container yard where containers are temporarily stored, and old-fashioned warehouses with low ceilings became obsolete. The Shinko Pier became the oldest pier, and a plan to expand the area by filling the sea and convert it into a container pier, as well as a plan to demolish the brick warehouses and replace them with a container yard, was underway from early on.

The Shinko Pier is an important hub for the urban redevelopment project or the "clamp" plan in the Six Spine Project, because this is where the urban axis stretching from the original town including Isezakicho and Bashamichi extends straight out into the port and becomes a point of contact. Even if the port area is developed, there will be a difference in character of the place between having the Red Brick Warehouse sit on the site and not having the Red Brick Warehouse. Without the warehouses, it would be the same as any other newly reclaimed land, but the presence of the Red Brick Warehouse would help create an overall image for the entire new city.

Preservation of the Red Brick House was not just about preserving the buildings. Considering the aspect of time in city planning as well as the aspect of space, preservation of historic heritage assets would be the key to promoting new city planning in the port redevelopment area, which was to be implemented as a core project for the city center regeneration.

With the major work on the undergrounding of the expressway completed, the outline of the housing development project almost on track and having just finished the major work of regulating pollution from Nippon Kokan's reclamation of Ohgishima Island, we realized that the Red Brick Warehouse was at the mercy of the containerization wave. Even the Mayor asked me, "Do you really intend to preserve the building?" The port was treated semi-independently from the rest of the city, and under the strong influence of the Port and Harbor Bureau of the Ministry of Transport. The Ministry of Transport already had a blueprint to demolish the brick warehouses and expand the Shinko Port, and the demolition of the brick warehouses would have been carried out unnoticed. Particularly worrying was the fact that the Ministry of Transport would subsidize the demolition of the brick warehouses. Once the subsidy is in place, the demolition would be forcibly implemented, because they would not be able to return it. It would be carried out in any given minute, because the demolition would not cost much.

We thought of a way to take up not only the Red Brick Warehouse but also the urban redevelopment project including the expansion plan of the Shinko Pier into discussion, while focusing on the warehouse. Port development plans up until this point had been decided solely by the Port and Harbor Bureau of the Ministry of Transport and the Port and Harbor Bureau of the Yokohama city office. In other cities in general, port and harbor bureaus dealt exclusively with port areas and rejected interference by other bureaus of city offices. There is a law called the Port and Harbor Act under which each port has its own administrator, and the port and harbor administrator in the city of Yokohama is the Mayor of Yokohama. It should be noted, however, that the Mayor of Yokohama as the port and harbor administrator and the Mayor of Yokohama in general terms are legally entirely separate entities. Therefore, official letters issued by the Mayor of Yokohama in general terms are sent to the Mayor of Yokohama as the port and harbor administrator within the city office, which may be confusing and difficult to comprehend for citizens. Considering the fact that the Port and Harbor Bureau is very independent, it was natural that they strictly adhered to the "vertically-divided" system.

However, it would be unacceptable for us to separate the port area from the rest of the city when it comes to urban development for the port city of Yokohama. Port areas should be naturally included in the comprehensive administration. But because the city failed to do so, the containerization of the port preceded before construction of the roads to access container yards and the city was at a loss as to what to do with the public roads overflowing with large container trucks.

We should not let the Port and Harbor Bureau handle plans for the expansion and containerization of the port alone. The Shinko Pier, located next to the city center, especially would have significant impact on city areas, and we also have to think about the plan in relation to the city center regeneration project in the Six Spine Projects. The Planning and Coordination Bureau presented these ideas to the Port and Harbor Bureau, and managed to put the port development project on the agenda for the meeting with other bureaus involved.

The Road and Highway Bureau and the City Planning Bureau of the city office, both of which were forced to deal only with road construction associated with containerization, agreed with our ideas. While these two bureaus previously argued with the Planning and

Coordination Bureau regarding the issue of the underground expressway construction, they decided to collaborate with us this time to discuss with the Port and Harbor Bureau at meetings in the city office. Once this issue was taken up in the meetings, we were able to check the status of containerization and the Red Brick Warehouse would be kept as it was until the plan was finalized.

In fact, there were many things to do before the meetings took place, because the Port and Harbor Bureau might make an arbitrary decision to demolish the Red Brick Warehouse any time. Before we had meetings with the Port and Harbor Bureau, the Planning and Coordination Bureau made constant efforts to negotiate with them. Every time a new Director of the Planning Department was appointed, I would say to him/her, "Please keep in mind that the status of the Red Brick Warehouse at the Shinko Pier determines the future of Yokohama's city center development, and it should be prioritized over other matters. Your biggest task as the Director of the Planning Department is to stay in contact with the Port and Harbor Bureau and make sure they do not make arbitrary decisions." The Director of the Planning Department might have been surprised to hear this. Nobody would have imagined that the old warehouses would be a matter of such significance. In addition, he/she might have thought that the Planning Department had more noteworthy matters to deal with.

If the center of this city was to be converted into a container pier, the urban structure of Yokohama would have been destroyed. The issue of the Red Brick Warehouse was not only about historic heritage, but would simultaneously involve various aspects including urban structure, city center redevelopment, and road structure. This was exactly why it was a strategic location. If we were to lose part of this strategic base, it would be tantamount to losing the whole thing, and we had to protect it somehow.

In the course of our efforts, things started to move in different direction. It turned out that it was difficult to convert the Shinko Pier into a container terminal, and the city center redevelopment gradually started. Furthermore, Japanese society began to acknowledge the significance of historic heritage assets.

The Red Brick Warehouse had been actually used until the year before, and it still stood intact. It was pretty much guaranteed that the warehouse would be preserved and put to new use as part of the redevelopment plan of the port area in the new city center. People in

general may take it for granted that the warehouse will continue to remain as it is now, but for me, I honestly appreciate the fact we managed to preserve it somehow, considering the dynamics of the power struggle back then. If it had been demolished, it would have been lost forever. We would never be able to restore it to its original state. It takes much more energy, intelligence, and hard work to preserve something as it is than making something new in city planning. City planning cannot be successfully achieved without such efforts.

Stone-built Docks

The former shipyard of Mitsubishi Heavy Industries is located at the center of the port redevelopment project site. As we proceeded with the project, we discovered two magnificent stone-built docks, namely No.1 Dock and No.2 Dock, at the site. They were another leading example of Japan's modern technology during the Meiji period, built few years before the Red Brick Warehouse. There is no other stone structure as impressive as these in Japan. They were known to few people because they were located inside the factory and the stone structures were submerged underwater. But they were actually a physical heritage asset of great significance in the history of Japan's modern building technology that aptly embodies the history of Yokohama.

The stone walls, exposed after draining out the water, were spectacular. The dock walls were stepped like stairs and looked like an ancient colosseum. They were reminiscent of ancient Mayan or Inca architecture, and the fact that they had been used until today made them look even more impressive.

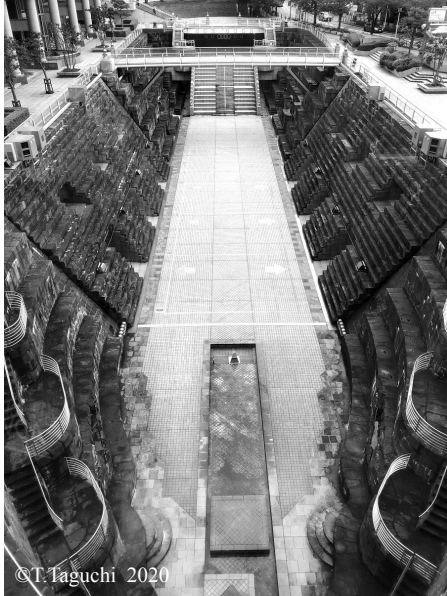
We decided to preserve them in the port redevelopment project as well. If the Red Brick Warehouse is a "protruding" element, the stone-built docks are a "recessed" element. The former is made of brick, and the latter is made of stone. Both of them represent the essence of Japan's modern technology during the Meiji period. They are authentic. The authentic technological artifacts were custom-built with the utmost care and attention, which can be appreciated as works of art beyond the realm of technology. If these two elements would be preserved and put to good use, and if we plan the

surrounding areas accordingly, we would be able to successfully communicate the history of Yokohama and create a unique and attractive city for the port area redevelopment project.

The aforementioned seven approaches of incorporating historic heritage assets have been already implemented on various occasions. The adoption of historical heritage as stipulated in (2) will be an important issue for the brick warehouses and the stone docks in the future.

I have already mentioned that we successfully preserved part of Nanabankan in front of Yamashita Park through administrative guidance, although the building was much smaller in scale than these elements and was largely modified from the original state. It exerts a small but meaningful presence and creates a distinct atmosphere for the port city of Yokohama on Kaigan Dori.

In addition, part of the former Sonoda residence was relocated to the Yamate Jubankan site, and thanks to the efforts of the late Masamichi Honda, the former owner of the Jubankan, it became the privately-owned Yamate Shiriyokan which was made open to the public with its valuable archival materials.



Stone-built dock

Yokohama Archives of History and Jiro Osaragi Memorial Museum

Another example using the historic heritage asset was Yokohama's Kaiko Shiryokan (Yokohama Archives of History) which opened in June 1981. The former British Consulate built in 1929, relatively new but an important historic heritage asset today, was preserved and an annex was newly added. This was a typical example of combining preservation, expansion and utilization.

Times have passed, and the French Consulate withdrew in the 1970's. The city of Yokohama negotiated with the French government and purchased France-yama (French Hill), or the site of the former French Consulate, and converted the site into a park open to the public. The city also purchased the former official residence of the British Consul next to France-yama when it was about to fall into the hands of a real estate developer after the withdrawal of the British Consulate. While the exterior was not changed, the interior was somewhat remodeled and was opened to the public under the name "British House" which citizens can use for small gatherings and concerts. This was also an example of combining preservation and utilization, and together with the adjacent Harbor View Park, it creates a distinctive atmosphere unique to Yokohama.

The former British Consulate on Nihon Odori turned out to be more challenging. The building is located at a strategic point across from the Kanagawa Prefectural Government Main Building, at the corner of Kaigan Dori and Nihon Odori connecting to Yamashita Park and at the entrance to Osanbashi Pier. This is a monumental place in Japan's modern history where Commodore Perry landed and signed the Japan and U.S. Treaty of Peace and Amity, and we wanted to preserve the former British Consulate here as a fitting tribute. For this reason, the Mayor requested cooperation from the Prefectural Governor to take the initiative in negotiating with the British government and for the prefecture to bear part of the costs. The negotiation with the British government started. The land belongs to Japan, while the building was owned by the British government. We had to think about how we should evaluate the land leasehold, as well as how we should negotiate with both the British government and the Ministry of Finance which is in charge of managing national properties.

As for the negotiation with the Ministry of Finance, the city managed to avoid covering expenses by exchanging a city-owned land with a land leased to the country. Negotiation with the British government took a long time, because they had to wait for instructions from the home country each time. The negotiation started around 1970 or 1971, and it took nearly ten years to open the Kaiko Shiryokan. City planning projects are not simply a matter of spending a lot of money. Even a small project like this took ten years to finish, because we needed to take into account its overall significance and negotiate in such a way that we would minimize the cost and prioritize citizens' needs and satisfaction.

Around this time, the famous writer Jiro Osaragi died and his book collection was donated to the city of Yokohama in May 1973. The Mayor decided that the city would use the former British Consulate to store the book collection. It was a brilliant idea, because the city had not decided what the former British Consulate would be used for, even though they had decided to preserve the building. While continuing the negotiation with the British government, we requested architect Shizutaro Urabe, who was well-known for his excellent renovation work of old buildings including Ivy Square in Kurashiki, to renovate the British Consulate into Jiro Osaragi Memorial Museum.

Before long, we were faced with a problem. While Jiro Osaragi was known as a writer of popular novels including *Kurama Tengu*, a popular samurai novel at that time, he was a refined person with an extensive knowledge of French culture and history and wrote a novel called *Pari moyu* (Paris Burning) focusing on the Paris Commune. The British Consulate, on the other hand, was too British and rigid, and not suitable for Osaragi's style. Moreover, this building is the only historical place that commemorates the conclusion of the Japan and U.S. Treaty of Peace and Amity with Commodore Perry which marked the beginning of Japan's modernization. We felt that it would not be appropriate to convert this building into a private memorial museum for an individual even if the individual was a well-known writer.

The Document Division of the General Affairs Bureau was in charge of this plan, and they had already presented it to the city council. However, this was an important issue, and should not be simply pushed along an existing idea. It was especially important to preserve the historic site of the signing of the Japan and U.S. Treaty

of Peace and Amity. Therefore, we thought of a way to change the plan. Coincidentally, there was a land purchased by the city in front of the sunken garden at the Harbor View Park in Yamate. The land was left as it was for several years while the city was unable to decide its use. The British House, as mentioned previously, had opened next to this site. We would be able to transform this whole area into an international zone by building the Jiro Osaragi Memorial Museum that evokes a French style atmosphere, which would bring out the unique characteristics of Yokohama. It would also spatially create a perfect balance with the sunken garden.

However, the city office strongly opposes any changes after a decision have been made. The General Affairs Bureau did not want to change the plan, because they already presented this matter to the city council.

Even if they had already presented the plan, it would be a thousand times better to replace it with a better plan than to regret it after completion. The important point is which plan would better satisfy the citizens.

We tried to persuade the reluctant General Affairs Bureau, but they said they didn't want to cause any trouble. We taught them how to negotiate by having them explain the idea as follows: "Negotiations with the British government hit a deadlock and there is no progress. It has been more than three years since we received Osaragi's book collection, and we cannot afford to have the matter take its own course any longer. Our idea is to relocate the site of the Jiro Osaragi Memorial Museum to the plot in Yamate which the city had been contemplating its use for a while. In addition, the former British Consulate is a historical site where the Japan and U.S. Treaty of Peace and Amity was signed, as well as a key point for the city of Yokohama. We will continue negotiations with the British government, and when we succeed in obtaining the building, we will convert it into a historical archive museum specializing in the history of the opening of Japan or the opening of the Port of Yokohama." In the end, they have succeeded in explaining the idea with confidence with this.

The City Council approved the new plan and the new Jiro Osaragi Memorial Museum was designed by Shizutaro Urabe who had been involved in this project from an early stage and was built on a site in Harbor View Park. The building resembles an elegant Provence style architecture, and there is a statue of a Persian cat at the entrance,

suitable for Osaragi who loved cats. New materials were added to Osaragi's reference materials on the Paris Commune, and the museum now has the most extensive collection of materials on this topic in Japan. There is also a stylish cafe named "Muteki" (Foghorn) in the museum previously owned by Mrs. Osaragi who passed away last year. They serve superb coffee that evokes the exotic feel of the port city of Yokohama, and the café is always crowded with young people.

The museum has a distinct atmosphere in which the architect Shizutaro Urabe suggested that they could even create a legend that Osaragi used to write his masterpieces including Kurama Tengu, Pari Moyu (Paris Burning), and Tenno no Seiki (Emperor's Century) here in this building. Since he started working on the renovation of the former British Consulate, he would stay in the same room at the Hotel New Grand where Osaragi used to stay regularly, eat the same meal, drink the same cognac, and think about the design while thoroughly reading his books. They were his efforts to create a new historical heritage asset in Yokohama. The Memorial Museum, standing there as if it has existed there for a long time, is a popular place for people visiting Yokohama.



Jiro Osaragi Memorial Museum

Later, a private entity built a fashion museum at the former site of the western-style theater "Gaieteza" on the Yamate hill near the Osaragi museum. The city requested them to create a new historical heritage asset that preserves the unique characteristics of Gaieteza, and the new building was built after long negotiations.

On the other hand, the former British Consulate built the square-shaped Perry Square centered around a historical Tamagusu tree (*Machilus thunbergii*) where Perry signed the Japan and U.S. Treaty of Peace and Amity and surrounded by the newly added part of the building and the old Consulate building. Valuable materials on the opening of Japan and the opening of the Port of Yokohama were extensively collected for this museum. In addition, the museum employs researchers specializing in this field to conduct research and studies, publish materials, and hold lectures. The Kaiko Square is under development at the site next to this square. Historical artefacts including sewage pipes paved with egg-shaped bricks and manholes were discovered, and measures to preserve them have been made.

Restoration of Yoshida Bridge

In places like Yokohama where historic heritage assets were destroyed, it is sometimes necessary to restore them. As mentioned earlier, the name "Kannai" comes from the fact that a checkpoint was located there. The bridge connecting the checkpoint and Kannai is called Yoshida Bridge. It was originally a wooden bridge, and rebuilt as the first iron bridge in Japan in 1869. At that time, all the components were manufactured in and shipped from the United Kingdom. The name of the bridge was written in Chinese characters as the "Iron Bridge" but pronounced as the "money bridge" in Japanese, because they made it a toll bridge. Colored woodblock prints made around this time vividly illustrate the splendid bridge. The bridge was rebuilt again at the end of the Meiji period, and later rebuilt multiple times after being destroyed by disasters including the Great Kanto Earthquake, the World War II and so on.

Originally, an elevated expressway had been planned to run over the historical bridge as I mentioned in the previous chapter, and the bridge was planned to be completely filled in and covered by the expressway. Instead of an elevated expressway, however, a sunken or

half-underground expressway was built like a river, and the Yoshida Bridge continued to function as a bridge. In the past, cargo barges passed under the bridge, and now cargo trucks pass under the bridge. Despite the difference between the different eras, it is still a bridge. It is completely different from the situation at Nihonbashi Bridge, a historic symbol of Edo (the former name of Tokyo), where an elevated expressway was built over the historical bridge bearing the Kilometer Zero mark at the center.

Since this time, I had an idea of recreating the iron bridge that I had seen in colored woodblock prints illustrating the city of Yokohama. The bridge was planned as a two-level structure comprising a ground level and underground level, flanked by a plaza with a waterfall on the underground level. The idea was to make the ground level in the style of the iron bridge. We figured out dimensions from colored woodblock prints and photographs from the Meiji period and successfully recreated a solid cast iron bridge with handrails of the same height and shape with the original bridge in the Meiji period while the length of the bridge was different.

Handrails of recently built bridges seem somewhat too lightweight and lacking in character. This one is a pitch-black truss bridge that is striking at first glance. Another unique symbol of Yokohama came back to life.

This bridge serves as an entrance to both the Isezakicho and Bashamichi shopping districts. While the bridge is meant to be a monument to commemorate the construction of the underground expressway, it also serves as a symbol to indicate the entrance to both shopping districts. We asked those concerned with both shopping districts to bear part of the construction cost, and they gladly agreed to do so. This goes to show that the city administration should collaborate accordingly with residents in order to successfully carry out city planning instead of simply using tax money for everything.

Cast-iron Frames of Les Halles in Paris

In December 1980, something strange was built on part of the flat ground at France-yama, the former site of the French Consulate which was purchased by the city and converted into a natural park. It

is a skeleton structure composed of cast iron frames painted in light blue. There are eight units composed of a hexagonal bridge and diagonally intersecting beams. They are skeleton frames without roofs and do not keep out the rain. They are simply a kind of art object and not designed for a particular purpose.

These iron frames are actually steel components that were part of the underground part of the famous central market or Les Halles in Paris. Les Halles was located at the center of the city and had been frequented by the citizens of Paris. After a long dispute about whether to preserve or relocate the market, it was relocated to a vast plot in a suburb located south of Paris. The city of Yokohama obtained the cast-iron frames of the old market, and the idea was proposed by architect Ren Suzuki who had lived in Paris for a long time. A formal letter from the Mayor was entrusted to Suzuki around 1972 and the cast-iron frames were given to the city of Yokohama for free. The city of Yokohama paid for the transportation costs and they arrived in Yokohama around 1973. After that, they discussed about where to install them and examined them for durability, and it eventually took nearly ten years to finally install the frames.

The cast-iron frames represent the latest technology in the mid-nineteen century around the same time as the opening of the Port of Yokohama, and we can learn about what the world was like at around the time of the opening of the Port of Yokohama through them. Unlike steel frames used today, the cast-iron frames have a solid presence, and the curves of the beams are not mechanical but are more humane and truly beautiful.

Yokohama already has historical heritage assets including the Red Brick Warehouse and the stone-built docks at the former Mitsubishi Heavy Industries site. And the artifact representing France's latest cast-iron technology was now added to France-yama, which was clearly the most appropriate site for it. These structures are respectively made of brick, stone, and cast-iron. They represent the unique characteristics of the city of Yokohama which was a leader in the era of the opening of ports and westernization in Japan. In addition, the object makes France-yama, which means French Mountain, literally look like a "mountain" without any buildings around.

The unique characteristics of Yokohama cannot be created solely by carrying out city planning in a mechanical and practical manner. It

requires the spirit and a method of making the most of the city's detailed history to create the history of the future.



Cast-iron frames of the former Les Halles in Paris



©T.Taguchi 2020

CHAPTER 6

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AND CITIZENS' FOREST

Citizen Participation and Citizens' Forest

Citizen Participation and City Planning

City planning should basically be carried out by a large number of citizens. But random actions by individual citizens would only create confusion. Citizens should therefore cooperate and establish a local authority, establish and carry out common rules, and have the local authority administration carry out joint ventures and public services which cannot be carried out by individuals.

The first chapter of the current constitution in particular focuses on local autonomy, and defines the local authority not as a local branch of the central government as was the case before World War II, but as a community based on participation by the citizens. In reality, it unfortunately did not materialize as expected, but people started suggesting the need for citizen participation and autonomy of local authorities from the mid-1960's. It started with Yokohama Mayor Asukata's suggestion in 1964. His suggestion on "direct democracy" and the "ten-thousand citizens' assembly" stirred a big controversy. Furthermore, new methods of citizen participation including the "resident assembly," "letters to the Mayor," "consultation room for citizens," and "citizen conference" were created one after another. Twenty years later, these methods are commonly used in many local authorities and the idea of "citizen participation" is taken for granted today.

The concept of citizen participation theory and citizen participation methods were fairly significant at this stage, but it seems that the actual citizen participation is still in the development stage. In order to go beyond the conceptual stage and proceed realistically step by step, it should be implemented in the practice of city planning.

When it comes to specific issues in city planning, methods such as a "go-between" type of citizen participation where the authorities will do whatever the citizens demand, or a "request-through-petition" type of citizen participation where citizens make requests to the authorities, would be no longer sufficient. Although it is important to

connect citizens with local government and for citizens to have a sense of trust in it, it is not possible to satisfy all of the citizens' demands as they are, and the demands of citizens may be in conflict with each other. Moreover, we need to consider the long-term perspective, not just short-term demands that prioritize immediate benefits. In dealing with specific issues in city planning, it would be impossible to avoid selecting which demands to look into, solving and adjusting contradictions and conflicts, establishing rules, and introducing long-term and overall perspectives. Therefore, citizen participation in urban development will shift from conceptual and abstract approaches to more specific and practical approaches.

At the stage of actual implementation, things do not turn out the way one would expect in the concept-based citizen participation and they would not be able to achieve an ideal goal. However, a realistic goal for citizens' autonomy can be established if citizens observe and overcome existing contradictions and difficulties and make efforts to realize new ideas.

In my view, citizen participation in city planning should be carried out in nine steps as follows: (1) Becoming interested, (2) Gaining deep knowledge, (3) Submitting opinions, (4) Exchanging opinions, (5) Deliberation among citizens, (6) Discussion among citizens, (7) Development of plans by citizens, (8) Decision made by citizens, and (9) Implementation and management by citizens. I will not go into details, but citizen participation starts in a simple form and becomes advanced incrementally, and eventually citizens gain autonomy and become an implementing body. This naturally does not apply to all local authorities, but it depends on the situation. In any case, I expect that citizens' autonomy will be increasingly needed in the future. This also means that citizens are expected to bear responsibility for their own actions. Highly systematic citizen participation methods have been carried out at Kohoku New Town for the last ten-plus years. This is a unique case where citizen participation has been carried out systematically for a long time. I would like to hereby introduce an actual case where citizen participation has been autonomously implemented through close collaboration between citizens and the local authority.

Citizens' Forest

Securing green space is an important issue in city planning. Humans cannot survive in an environment built solely of steel and concrete. Lush greenery and sufficient open space are essential conditions for a humane life in the city.

Large parks and forests have been maintained in cities in the United States and Europe, including Central Park in New York, Hyde Park in London, and the Bois de Boulogne in Paris. Cities in Germany maintain large city forests called "stadtwald" where citizens take a walk all day on holidays. Many cities maintain a city park surface area per person of about 30 m², not to mention Stockholm which maintains a city park surface area as large as 80 m². On the other hand, however, cities in Japan maintain a city park surface area as small as 3 or 4 m², amounting to one tenth of average surface areas in cities in the United States and Europe. In Tokyo and Yokohama, a city park surface area per person is as small as 2 m², due to the drastic population growth.

Some of the reasons include abnormally high land prices in Japanese cities, local authorities' lack of financial resources and dependence on national subsidies in addition to the lack of autonomy, and the extremely limited national subsidies for public green space which is much smaller than subsidies for road construction.

The City of Yokohama has not only built standardized city parks but also made efforts to provide green spaces and open spaces in a broad sense through various efforts including the construction of Odori Park and the Green axis, designation of control zones by delineation, expansion of scenic areas, establishment of legal obligations to build parks by setting residential land development guidelines, designation of agricultural zones for urban agriculture, establishment of the city area environment design system, establishment of the Yamate Landscape Preservation Guidelines among others. Moreover, the city established the Ordinance to Create and Foster Green Environment in an effort to create green areas in factories and public facilities and has achieved successful results.

Securing green spaces would naturally involve land issues. Fundamental land measures by the central government would obviously be necessary, but we cannot wait until then. But the city

didn't have enough financial resources to buy green spaces. Thinking from a different angle, the City of Yokohama decided to collaborate with its citizens in order to secure green spaces and forests. The city reached an agreement with the landowners of a large expanse of forest to open it up for public use, while landowners maintain the ownership of the land. The city will build promenades and furniture including benches so that citizens can enjoy walking in a quiet forest. Landowners receive a considerable amount of incentives through deductions of real estate taxes among other things for their lands, and they are managed and operated by both the landowners and local citizens. They organize an operating committee and receive management and operation service fees from the city.

While the city sets out basic principles of this system, it was also created with the cooperation of citizens and autonomous management by civic organizations. In this sense, we can say that the forest was created and nurtured by the initiatives of the citizens. The forest covers an area of 352 hectare as of 1980, which amounts to nearly 70% of the total city park area of 531 hectare and makes up for the lack of city parks in Yokohama.

Those at the Park Section of the city office, who managed parks with small amount of fixed subsidies under instructions from the Ministry of Construction, had never come up with ideas like this, because their views were limited based solely on laws and budgets. In 1971, however, the City of Yokohama launched the Greenery Administration Bureau, the first of its kind in Japan, and they started developing new ideas one after another.

The Greenery Administration Bureau was established by first moving the Park Section from the City Planning Bureau to the Agricultural Administration Bureau, which had been under pressure to downsize and modify itself, and then merging and modifying the two bureaus while giving new roles and significance. It was created based on a new idea that the bureau should cover everything related to greenery, including farmland, green land, mountains and forests, and parks among others, and provide sufficient green spaces and open spaces needed in the city based on a broader perspective. While this bureau's range of duties included taking care of conventional city parks, they obviously constituted only a limited part of the city's greenery administration, and the bureau also created policies beyond the range of duties. They were not an old-fashioned administration which did not do or think about anything without given budgets, but

they were willing to create new measures by using their wisdom and making efforts from the citizens' viewpoints, without spending much money.

The urban agriculture mentioned previously was also promoted by the Green Administration Bureau. These types of policies were promoted in close association with the comprehensive land use planning among other measures. It should be noted, more than anything else, that the Citizens' Forest would not have materialized without a relationship of trust and collaboration between landowners and the city authorities. Local government administration should not depend only on ineffective rigid and fixed laws, but it should be based on active human relationships.

The Citizens' Forest was established based on a ten-year agreement, and although there were some issues in the renewal process, a majority of the agreements was renewed smoothly. Although this method was created as a countermeasure against the central government's incompetence and lack of resources by drawing on the wisdom of the local authority and citizens, the central government still does not comprehend the need for tax measures. We hope that more substantial green policies will be implemented while they continue to sustain the environment through the wisdom and efforts of the local authority and citizens. On the other hand, it is unfortunate that benevolent-minded landowners are lamenting the bad manners of some of the citizens visiting the forest.

The Citizens' Forest was developed in conjunction with other measures including the designation of green land preservation areas, preservation of historic trees, preparation of children's farm, Kotobuki flowerbed, and citizen's vegetable garden, green measures for open spaces in city areas, measures for growing saplings and so on. Many of these measures are designed to create green areas, vegetable gardens, and flowerbeds using privately-owned land, which was a complete change of direction from the existing administrative methods. It is similar to the case of the "Kids' Square" project which Yokohama city had started in 1963 and eventually spread nationwide. It also used privately-owned vacant lots and offered places for children.

While some of these experimental attempts were not necessarily successful, the Citizens' Forest was a fruitful result of the local authority's shift towards new approaches and citizens' cooperation.

The Road to Civil Law and City Law

One of the ways in which citizens can work together to build a city is through the building agreements stipulated in the Building Standards Act. Various matters including prohibition of minimum lots and subdivision of lands, prohibition of secondary land development, setback distance of a building from the site boundary, building height, building coverage ratio, restriction on site boundary walls, building design, and outdoor advertising matters are all defined by the agreements. It should be noted, however, that this method is difficult in practice, because it requires consent of all parties involved.

Yokohama city provided a guidance on a so-called "individual agreement" requiring developers to conclude an agreement at the beginning of new residential land development, and successfully concluded building agreements in many residential areas. While the individual agreement cannot be regarded as a form of citizen participation, it provides a basis for citizens to think for themselves about their immediate environment, and provides opportunities for citizens to see how their own initiatives can be reflected on urban planning when the agreement is up for renewal.

City planning agreements are not limited to agreements stipulated in the Building Standards Act. In some of the small areas, it would be possible for local citizens to establish agreements and rules in various forms that are valid only in these areas. That is exactly what "civil law" and "city law" are all about. City laws in medieval European cities were originally established in the form of agreement among citizens. Even today, we should not be bound by any existing system, but should voluntarily establish laws that suits the unique characteristics of each area.

Bashamichi Shopping Avenue and Isezaki Shopping Avenue

Bashamichi Shopping Avenue

Development of the Bashamichi Shopping Arcade is a model of citizen-driven city planning based on civil law. With the aim of revitalizing the declining shopping avenue, the city designated Bashamichi as a model shopping district in 1973 in anticipation of the opening of Kannai subway station there in 1976. Although only a small amount of research fee is spent on a designated model shopping arcade which is actually not such a big deal, this opportunity sparked motivation of those involved with the shopping district development. The energetic efforts of its chairman, Hidekazu Rokukawa, especially made a large contribution by bringing local businesses together.

Bashamichi was built after the great fire in 1866 as a new key junction to provide a direct route between Yoshida Bridge (Iron Bridge) at the entrance of Kannai and the port. Two-horse carriages carrying foreign passengers must have appeared quite exotic to the eyes of the townspeople. The headquarter of Yokohama Specie Bank, which served as the center of Japan's international finance, was located on this street. Its grand Renaissance-style building with stone walls and a dome was restored after World War II and is currently a home to the Kanagawa Prefectural Museum.

Designation as a model shopping avenue generated new movements in Bashamichi, which had remained stagnant until then. The period of designation as a model shopping avenue was three years, and those involved with the shopping avenue embarked on the remodeling of the street on its own initiative. They removed covered arcades that had blocked natural light on the street, increased the width of the sidewalks by one meter, planted trees and installed benches, flower planters, and telephone booths in the enlarged zone. The sidewalks were paved with brick tiles. In addition, they designated a 2.5-meter wall setback line on the side of a privately-owned land in case of future reconstruction. Once these are completed, sidewalks would be widened by 1 meter on the street side

and 2.5 meters on the privately-owned land side, which would be 3.5 meters in total. They would be much wider than the existing sidewalks, and they are much more spacious and comfortable after the oppressive covered arcades had been removed. As for the four buildings on corner sites that were scheduled for renovation, there was a plan to give them a more spacious corner lot. While the building owners were businesses such as banks and insurance companies among others that were difficult to negotiate with, the local businesses and the city administration strongly insisted that the local agreements would be prioritized over the Building Standards Act, and the bank agreed to setback the wall line (including the wall of the second floor) by 8 meters in the end.

The idea was not to impose a plan proposal on them, but to create a mood for the reconstruction of the town, and for that purpose, the people of Bashamichi Shopping Avenue created an agreement called the "Town Development Charter" to unify their intentions. The agreement was concluded in April 1975, and the first basic direction is summarized as follows: "Bashamichi is a place embracing tradition and history of the opening of Yokohama Port," "The community should be maintained and preserved in such a way that rich culture is reflected in the community development," and "The street should prioritize people and should be planned with the aim of creating pedestrian space with lush greenery and sufficient natural light."



Bashamichi Shopping Avenue

This type of agreement was incorporated in the design of specific proposals which eventually led to the installation of sidewalk trees and street lights as mentioned previously. The first priority was the confirmation of mutual and voluntary consensus, and the physical design was conceived later as means to materialize the agreed ideas. Otherwise, it would have been impossible to implement the proposed demolition of the existing covered arcades at this time when the installation of covered arcades was a trend among many shopping avenues.

The agreement includes a variety of contents ranging from building setback line, open space for public use, height, commoditization, building color, shape, size and position of billboard, to things such as the width and finish of sidewalk, restriction on vehicle types, time and place of merchandise delivery, street furniture, in addition to things which would be impossible to include in the building agreement stipulated by the law, such as the elimination of vulgar

objects and objects bearing names of sponsors written in very large letters, disaster prevention, cleaning, ground-surface water sprinkling, events and festivals. Some of the agreements include matters concerning city administration and police administration. Lack of direct authority does not necessarily mean that an agreement cannot be made. It is possible to make agreements by approaching the organizations concerned based on the set policy. Citizens can incorporate all that is necessary if they voluntarily make mutual agreements. In particular, the method of voluntarily setting back the wall to create more pedestrian space is highly regarded as the citizens' independent approach to city planning through active cooperation in creating public spaces, instead of only making demands.

The success of Bashamichi can be attributed to the facts that they took a long time to build a consensus, that local citizens joined forces under the leadership of Mr. Rokukawa, that they started by creating basic agreements for city planning, and so on.

Mr. Rokukawa would always say, "The success of Bashamichi is attributed to the facts that local citizens and the city administration worked together and that it was implemented based on the relationship of mutual trust without the intervention of city council members and politicians." We often hear about mutual mistrust between local businesses on shopping avenues and local authorities in other cities. It is highly possible to build cooperative relationships between local businesses on shopping avenues and local authorities if people are involved and development methods are formulated.

The restoration of the Bashamichi Shopping Avenue was completed in November 1976 and a horse carriage parade was held, reminiscent of Japan's westernization period, at the opening reception. Even at that point, the police still made unreasonable demand that the benches on sidewalks should be removed, but the citizens' unwavering resilience against all odds helped to recreate the street evoking the Meiji era today. Unfortunately however, Mr. Rokukawa, who had done a great deal of work in persuading various parties involved, bringing local communities together, and eliminating obstacles, collapsed due to coronary artery rupture and passed away after a miraculous temporary recovery.

Isezaki Shopping Avenue

While Isezakicho had been the main shopping thoroughfare in Yokohama for a long time, it remained stagnant for many years after the war, and dramatically declined especially after Diamond Underground Shopping Avenue and department stores were built around Yokohama Station.

On November 11, 1978, the Isezaki Shopping Mall was completed to break the slump. Since then, there has been no end to the number of visitors to the mall, including local government officials, town planning officials and people in the shopping district.

As mentioned previously, one of the countermeasures against the motorized society is to secure as many pedestrian-friendly spaces as possible where people can walk around safely. In Asahikawa city, the citizens and the local authority worked together to create a "shopping park." The citizens' power successfully overcame many difficulties imposed by the legal system.

In the case of Isezakicho, they had prohibited the entry of vehicles to the street and created a pedestrian-friendly shopping avenue, which meant that it was already under favorable conditions. However, some of the people involved with the shopping avenue had resisted the idea of embarking on a crucial city transformation out of concern for the ongoing land subsidence. For this reason, the transformation was limited to minor changes including the installation of color pavements.

On the other hand, underground shopping avenues on a larger scale were under construction and major department stores were expected to open soon in the Yokohama Station area. In addition, the Bashamichi Shopping Avenue right in front of Isezakicho introduced a new style of shopping mall without covered arcades. At the entrance to Bashamichi, the street was reduced to two lanes from four lanes and Bashamichi Square was created. Yokohama Marinerd Underground Mall was also built under Isezakicho Shopping Avenue and Bashamichi Shopping Avenue. The square attached to the underground mall is located above the underground expressway. While it is located underground, it has windows open to the outside which brings in sufficient natural daylight inside. There is even an artificial waterfall above the expressway, and one can go up to Isezakicho via the underground square.

Now, all conditions were met and their motivation was boosted. "Isezakicho 1-chome and 2-chome District Promotion Association" focusing on the promotion of the existing shopping and redevelopment of the community was established and Mr. Taisuke Matsunobu, a highly trusted local businessman was appointed as the leader. This was the key to success for this project. The first thing they decided to do was to build a major open-air shopping mall. The idea was to remove the banal covered arcades that can be found in any town and create a town where one can enjoy the greeneries and sunshine under the blue sky, while feeling the sea breeze. Needless to say, the level difference between sidewalks and the roadway would be eliminated so that the entire street would be a pedestrian-friendly place. All of the electric poles would be removed and electric cables would be buried underground, and as many as seventy trees would be planted. Sculptures, telephone booths, and amusing street furniture would be installed on the street. These were the types of ideas that were conceived. The street would be boldly embellished with colorful wave-patterned tiles. The roof-shaped gate to the mall would be installed, with two large Japanese zelkova trees standing gently on both sides.

However, there were various obstacles in the way of materializing these fun ideas. First and foremost was an issue among those who worked along the shopping arcade which was the removal of covered arcades. They were concerned that it might affect their businesses on rainy days. Day by day, young members, led by a leader, tried to persuade their fathers running their stores to agree on having the arcade roof removed. While a few shops still resisted the idea until the end, they went ahead and removed arcade roof under Mr. Matsunobu's leadership. Instead, motorized retractable awnings that can be extended two meters were attached to each building. This was only possible because Mr. Matsunobu, who was engaged in business there just like the other business owners on the street, and not local authority officials, made efforts to persuade them.

Secondly, there were various obstacles imposed by the city administration. The Road Law had been amended accordingly so that the construction of pedestrian streets would be permitted. This was the most proper way to achieve the goal. However, it turned out that the construction of pedestrian streets would be permitted only when new roads would be constructed, and it would not be permitted on existing roads. After repetitious and meaningless discussions on legal

formality, they decided to follow the method of restricting vehicle access as stipulated by the Road Traffic Law. But then, the police said that there should be a level difference between the sidewalk and roadway because this solution was based on the premise that cars might enter the street, even if a vehicle access would be temporarily prohibited due to the traffic restriction. If this logic was to be followed, the building of a new shopping mall would be totally meaningless. Furthermore, the police said that benches and water features would not be allowed and gave specific instructions how to plant trees. Every single issue like these had to be solved.

The Development Division at the Urban Development Bureau was in charge of dealing with these issues. Respective bureaus serve as specific points of contact concerning city planning issues as mentioned previously. The Planning and Coordination Bureau serve the role of executive producer and determine directions, provide assistance where needed, provide support, and ask others to cooperate, while overseeing the overall situation. The Development Division was established with the aim of implementing urban redevelopment but it is not limited to what is stipulated by the law. It is necessary to provide a consultation service from a multifaceted viewpoint, and for this reason, the Development Division should be reinforced.

On the occasion of reforming the administrative system in 1971, I made a decision to appoint four persons as the new Deputy Chief that would be equivalent to the position of the Section Director. My intention was to form an organization where these people would work together with local citizens in key areas and work with local citizens to think about urban regeneration in a broader sense, without limiting themselves to what is stipulated by the law. In the beginning, things did not proceed as expected due to personnel issues, but this organization led by the Development Division gradually gained strength through exchanges with the Planning and Coordination Bureau and developed abilities to lead citizen-oriented city planning through citizen participation in collaboration with local citizens. Isezakicho Shopping Mall was their major achievement as a result.

The people of Isezakicho proudly say, "This shopping avenue was not built under the initiative of the government authorities by no means. This was achieved through citizen-driven city planning processes." It was certainly difficult to bring together 140 shops and break through restrictions imposed by the authorities. The local

businesses bore most of the project expenses. The local residents established an executive committee by themselves. It was definitely a great example of citizen-driven city planning. One should note, however, that the active and citizen-oriented support and guidance of the city administration was indispensable in achieving the goal.

Yokohama Stadium

Baseball Stadium for a Professional Team and Yokohama

The newly built Yokohama Stadium opened with the game between the Yokohama Taiyo Whales and the Yomiuri Giants on April 7, 1973. Mr. Ichio Asukata, a retired Mayor of Yokohama, threw the first ball at the ceremonial opening pitch. Unfortunately, it was raining for the opening game. Nevertheless, it marked the beginning of the professional baseball stadium that the citizens of Yokohama had waited for a long time.

Mayor Asukata had been enthusiastic about building a professional baseball stadium ever since I joined the Yokohama city office. He wanted to demolish the Heiwa Ball Park, an old municipal baseball park in Yokohama Park devastated by war, and build a professional baseball stadium in its place.

It is true that Yokohama Park is the birthplace of baseball in Japan. The first U.S.– Japan baseball game was held there in 1896, and the first night game was held here after World War II. Moreover, Kenkichi Nakabe, the owner of the Taiyo Whales (the team's home stadium was in Kawasaki at that time) had unsurpassed passion for baseball. With an ambition to move to Yokohama, he had been trying to persuade the Mayor to fully renovate the Heiwa Ball Park into a professional baseball stadium. In addition to these conditions, those involved in local amateur baseball activities including Mr. Kyuzo Yamaguchi submitted a request for the full renovation of the deteriorated ball park in November 1972, and as many as 187,000 people participated in collecting signatures and petitions led by

Takashi Rinoie. Furthermore, the Mayor also hoped to attract people to the old city center by inviting the professional baseball team and to revitalize the declining shopping districts of Kannai and Isezakicho.

However, it was not so easy. In terms of the concept of the plan, there was a question of whether it would be appropriate to build a large-scale baseball stadium in Yokohama Park, located in the designated zone in the "Green Axis" plan connecting Nihon Odori, Yokohama Park, and Odori Park. Furthermore, there is a legal problem where the size of the facilities in the park is restricted by the City Park Law which makes it difficult to build a large-scale baseball stadium. Another problem is that the park land was nationally-owned and the city was merely a land administrator borrowing the land, which meant that it was difficult to gain approval for the construction of the facility for a professional team from the central government.



Yokohama Stadium and the City Hall

There were still many more problems. While a large amount of money was required to implement the project, it was uncertain whether the city was capable of bearing the cost considering the financial difficulties due to the rapid population growth. It was also uncertain whether it was appropriate to use the citizens' tax money for a project that is not essential. Moreover, if the baseball stadium site were to be expanded, it would encompass the Chapel Center on the land requisitioned by the U.S. military as well as the prefectural martial arts hall, which means that these buildings would have to be relocated. Other specific problems include the issue of a nearby hospital, traffic congestion control, car parking and more, and it was difficult to solve all these problems.

For several years, the Mayor alone supported this project under such situation. I was among those who took a cautious stance on this project, and so were many of the top-rank officials at the city office. The Mayor would cast a sidelong glance at me and say in front of public, "I would do anything to build a professional baseball stadium for all children in Yokohama although there are many opponents—including this one here."

But even if he repeatedly claimed that he will "get it built," it would not go anywhere unless the ideas are organized and conditions must be created to some extent to make it practically possible to do so. I had overcome many challenges in the past, but a professional baseball stadium was not the sort of issues the city had to overcome by all means. There were too many problems under the present circumstances. I was thinking it would be better to build a modest amateur baseball stadium on another site while keeping the existing site as part of the city park with lush greenery.

This is not to say that I was against the idea of having a professional baseball stadium. When I was working at a private company in Osaka, I was in charge of a project in which a company-owned baseball stadium was expanded and renovated into a professional baseball stadium for the Pacific League. On another note, it was inevitably difficult to foster a spirit of unity among the citizens of Yokohama, considering the fact that the population grew drastically due to a large influx of people moving into Yokohama rapidly from other places and that the majority of people are commuters to Tokyo. In addition, many of the citizens were not familiar with the port area due to the expansion of city areas. The port alone was not enough to serve as the symbol of the citizens'

spirit of unity, and it was necessary to create something that would help generate the citizens' spirit of unity and bring them together. A local professional baseball team may stimulate citizens' interests and help create the spirit of unity among disconnected citizens. It would be especially beneficial for children. Of course, we should not rely solely on professional baseball for solidarity of civic consciousness, but for a city of three-million people, there are many ways to do this, and professional baseball could be one of them.

Therefore, we decided to search for a suitable site other than Yokohama Park. Several candidate sites that were physically large enough to accommodate a professional baseball stadium were selected. But various studies showed that there is no perfect site for this project because there are not enough roads in the vicinity, the access is inconvenient due to the long distance from the railway station, there are possible impacts on surrounding residential areas, and so on. In addition, it was difficult to raise enough money to buy the land. The land value was too high. In comparison to these conditions, Yokohama Park had accommodated a ball park, even if small, for a long time, and the site was surrounded with green spaces and open spaces and was located in close proximity to the Japan National Railway Kannai Station. Lighting for night games would be less likely to cause problems because there were almost no residences around the site. In addition, it was also difficult to find an appropriate site for an amateur baseball stadium. Then, as I suspected, the idea of building a new baseball stadium in Yokohama Park seemed better, but we could not move forward with it due to the aforementioned difficulties and the Mayor was trying to move it forward by himself.

Start of the Yokohama Stadium Project

Things started moving forward again in the spring of 1976. A strong interest in the construction of a professional baseball stadium in Yokohama Park was expressed from a completely unexpected party. In regards to the limitations on the buildable area of the facilities in the park which has been the most difficult problem, there was a possibility of being able to meet the requirements if the design method was taken to minimize the area taken up as much as possible.

In terms of financial resources, a proposal to establish a private corporation and procure money as a private company was submitted. This method would not impose a burden on the city's finance, and the Mayor was ready to proceed in this direction. If we come this far, we had a 70% chance to succeed. Considering the Mayor's enthusiasm and the slim chance of finding another appropriate site, we figured we could take the plunge. We had to meet the need for an amateur baseball stadium anyway and more importantly, it would be significant to build a baseball stadium in Yokohama Park because this was the birthplace of Japan's baseball. Taking into consideration of those who are opposed to having a baseball stadium here, it would be possible to make it a multi-purpose stadium not limited to baseball.

However, officials at the city office were furious. "We thought you were against the idea of building a baseball stadium. Since when did you become the Mayor's supporter?" "The city has nothing to do with professional baseball, and we don't want the Mayor to get involved in it." "We are afraid that outside business entities might take control while Yokohama city might lose its autonomy." We were met with many oppositions from many people. I even had to quarrel loudly with some of the top-rank officials who were usually friendly with me.

To begin with, I had not been totally against the idea, but I was thinking holistically among all other possibilities what the best possible option would be. We had no choice but to carry out the project here, because there were no better options. We also could not ignore the Mayor's avid enthusiasm, and as mentioned earlier, professional baseball had gained wide popularity in today's mass society. Whether or not Yokohama City might lose its autonomy would depend on the way the city would respond to the matter from now on. As exemplified by various achievements in the past, Yokohama City would not lose its autonomy if they would fully use their collective strength. Based on this idea, we made efforts to convince those who opposed us. In short, Yokohama City should autonomously lead the project in a strategic way, and not in an incompetent way. For this reason, I had to take on even more responsibilities in starting the project. Anyway, we decided to give it a try.

Establishment of Yokohama Stadium Co., Ltd.

The first and foremost was how to secure funding. It was necessary to secure funding locally in Yokohama in order to avoid being controlled by other capital funds. Initially, it was estimated that two billion yen would be needed. Such large amount of money could never be raised from companies investing only modest amounts, with no prospect for profit. Considering other cases, the largest possible amount that could be raised under Yokohama's severe economic situation would be no more than one or two hundred million yen. As I was already well aware of the actual situation, I could not easily trust some people's comments such as "we can raise enough money if all of us join forces." But we had to collect enough money somehow.

We came up with the idea of raising money from a wide range of investors by providing a semi-permanent "professional baseball owner's seat" to each of those who invested 2.5 million yen (500-yen stock ×5000 stocks.) By using this method, investors would be able to receive benefits in exchange for their investments without receiving dividends, and they would feel a sense of ownership and be proud to take part in it. It should be noted, however, that the baseball team holds the promotional rights of professional baseball games and the stadium is nothing but a seat rental business. Providing 800 seats for those who invested 2.5 million yen would sum up to be a total amount of 2 billion yen, and this would mean that the baseball team would receive no sales revenue for these 800 seats. It was absolutely necessary to obtain consent from the baseball team by all means regarding this matter.

We proposed this idea to Mr. Nakabe, the owner of the Taiyo Whales. Mr. Nakabe gladly accepted our idea, because the team had difficulties in attracting a large enough audience at Kawasaki Baseball Stadium, their home stadium at that time, and he was strongly hoping to move the team to Yokohama. He gave us his consent on the spot. In fact, the number of audiences doubled simply by moving their home stadium. Mr. Nakabe's decision had also brought success in terms of baseball team management.

We requested Mr. Nakabe to make another promise as a precondition to Yokohama City's involvement in the project. We made a request to change the team's name from "Taiyo Whales" to

"Yokohama Taiyo Whales." In fact, we had originally opted for "Yokohama Whales" but decided that "Taiyo" could not be left out in the end. It would be more favorable to change the impression of professional baseball from business-based to community-based, and expand the team's fan base. Hiroshima Carp is one of such examples. It would also effectively help to raise civic awareness for the new citizens, and they would regard the team as "our team" and "our hometown team." While it was a pity that they did not become "Yokohama Whales", they promised to make the name "Yokohama Taiyo Whales" anyhow.

Thus, a plan was developed to completely rebuild Heiwa Stadium and build a multipurpose stadium with a seating capacity of more than 30,000 people at a cost of 4 billion yen by a newly established joint-stock company, in return for which the city would receive donations and give the exclusive right for use, including professional games, to the corporation in return. Since artificial turf will be used, the stadium would be used to the fullest extent for non-professional baseball, and amateur baseball teams which had been playing at the old ball park would be able to use the stadium under the same or even better conditions. One of the stadium's unique features is the movable seating system: the fan-shaped seating plan for baseball games is transformed into an almost rectangular seating plan used for sports including American Football by moving the arc-shaped seating blocks on both sides (accommodating 6000 seats in total) by 36 meters. The pitcher's mound can be automatically moved up and down, and it can be made flat by lowering it and putting a lid on top.

The stadium has a perfectly circular plan to accommodate the movable seating system, and the seating is set at the highest level on the backstop side, sloping down towards the outfield. Because the outfield is on the north side, the building height was kept as low as 11 meters in order to prevent blocking the sunlight falling on the park and alleviate the overwhelming impression.

Once the basic idea was approved at the City Council All Members Conference, we took up the biggest challenge of raising funds to establish a joint-stock company. While we had expected that enough money would be successfully raised by selling the seats at 2.5 million yen per seat, we had to give it a try and see how it would turn out. But we also had to have a backup plan just in case. A meeting of promoters for the founding of the joint-stock company was held and a preparatory office was established. But it was a hodgepodge of

parties involved including a local bank, newspaper company, television station among others and we were not sure how capable they were. We had to support them somehow, but we were told that it was legally impossible to transfer a government employee to a joint-stock company unless he or she would resign from the city office. This was out of the question. We came up with an idea of establishing a voluntary organization called "Yokohama Stadium Construction Cooperation Group" and placing their office next to the preparatory office for establishing the company. Then, we would send city office employees there and they would cooperate in making necessary preparations to establish the company.

Seven employees, aptly named "The Seven Samurais," were chosen to be transferred to this group. Compared with routine tasks at the city office, it must have been an astounding task for them. One would have to run around frantically to raise money. It has now become a legend, but the story has it that the "seven warriors," upon receiving transfer orders, went to buy two pairs of shoes for themselves. They figured they could probably fulfill the mission if they walk around until these shoes wear out.

On the other hand, we decided to ask the Japan Junior Chamber for help. Baseball was a simple enough matter to handle and it was a perfect theme for community planning. In addition, their youthful energy and tireless zeal would be helpful, as their aim was to gather many small investments this time, instead of going after big businesses.

In the end, it turned out that many people, much more than we expected, liked the idea. Eight hundred seats, which would make two billion yen in total, were sold out ahead of the deadline, and many people were turned down after submitting applications. We were overwhelmed and delighted by the great response. Yokohama Stadium Corporation was established on February 15, 1977 and Kyuzo Yamaguchi was appointed the President. However, there were only thirteen months left until the start of next season at the end of March 1978. Although enough funds were raised, no preparations needed for the stadium construction were made at this point.

Breaking Through Accumulated Problems

First of all, there were no design drawings. The project was still being designed and so the contractor was not selected at this point. The release of requisitions by the U.S. Army was yet to start, and the removal and relocation of the prefectural martial arts hall must also be negotiated with the prefecture. At the same time, the prefectural assembly was debating over a petition against the relocation. But the biggest problem was that the Ministry of Finance, the land owner, was making difficult demands and it was not certain when the permit for land use will be issued. We cannot start the construction without the permit. We had to demolish the Heiwa Ball Park. Kawasaki City, located next to Yokohama, as well as the city's citizen organization opposed the relocation of the Taiyo Whales' home stadium to Yokohama and were rushing to Yokohama to protest. Negotiations with the Pacific League regarding the use of the stadium had to be made.

Although we had only thirteen months to go, the old ball park still existed and we felt as if we were walking across multiple tightropes at the same time. We were in a desperate situation where everything would fail if one person fell off. To make matters worse, it turned out that the construction costs were estimated to be nearly double the amount of the initial budget when the design work was finally completed at the end of March. We could never ask the investors to increase the amount to 5 million from 2.5 million, considering the fact that citizens made efforts to gather funds from fellow citizens. We were desperate.

We had to take all possible means to adjust the budget so that it will come close enough to the initial budget. We also had to get rid of as much unnecessary things as possible. The contractor was a joint venture of eleven large construction companies and it was difficult to bring them together. After using various means to negotiate, the construction budget was successfully reduced to 4.4 billion yen, a 10% increase from the initial budget. We were relieved. In the end, the construction costs turned out to be 5.1 billion yen, but we were able to overcome the problem somehow by reducing the amount to 4.4 billion yen first. We also had other problems including surrounding roads, construction in the remaining area in the park

besides the stadium, access guidance from the Japan National Railway Kannai station, police-related matters and so on.

Most suitable persons were assigned to negotiate with relevant parties, and the corporation and the city bureaus split the task to deal with various problems. The Planning and Coordination Bureau would monitor the ongoing progress, detect and focus on critical situations, and delegate tasks to suitable persons. We also dealt with problems other sections cannot handle. Negotiations regarding construction costs should be originally conducted by the corporation who was the contractee, but the Planning and Coordination Bureau actually took on the task, because it was crucial to overcome the biggest problem at that stage in order to move the project forward. It was literally a short war to be fought using our collective strength. This process itself would be good enough to fill a book. The problem was solved thanks to the enthusiasm and efforts of those involved in the task, and owing largely to the fact that Yokohama City had already established a system where the city's collective strength could be fully utilized. It would have been impossible to complete a comprehensive task within a set period of time and the city would have lost its autonomy, if it had been carried out as part of the bureaucratic routine in the old "vertically-divided" way.

Unique Characteristics of the Yokohama Stadium Method

As shown here, it was the city that played an active role in writing a scenario for the construction of Yokohama Stadium, giving directions, setting up a joint stock company to mobilize the citizens' power, and set the conditions for the stadium and its surrounding area to be free of difficulties. But the star of the show was the citizens of Yokohama who were the main investors for the project. This stadium was created by the citizens of Yokohama, and in the true sense of the word, it is literally a citizens' stadium.

If the city had carried out the construction by itself, the construction would have been carried out with bonds or debt. Regardless, many people might still be delighted to see the completed stadium, as it would look the same on the surface. The completed stadium would look the same regardless of who carried

out the project, be it the city or the corporation. For city officials, it would be a much easier task if the city took charge. They would not need to gather stock investors, and the budget can be allocated as required. However in this case, the citizens can't afford to be just delighted to see the stadium get built: all of them, including those who hate baseball, would have to bear the debt and pay it back.

There are joint stock companies in which the city invests the majority of the capital, but these companies are just a formality. On the other hand, the method of establishing a joint stock company funded by a large number of citizens, as they had done here, would be much more challenging than adopting the method of casually borrowing money to carry out a construction. But the citizen-funded joint stock company would be worth the efforts, as it would achieve a much more beneficial result for citizens and also would be more effective in terms of the stadium operation for the following reasons:

(1) It helped reduce the city's financial burden by bearing the construction costs which amounted to over 5 billion yen. The city was able to spend the same amount of money on other tasks.

(2) Necessary measures for maintenance, management, and services can be smoothly carried out without submitting to the city council, because it is a joint stock company.

(3) Stockholders respectively feel a sense of attachment to and take pride in their own stadium.

(4) City office employees previously in charge of managing the old ball park had been transferred to other sections. Citizens hardly bear any costs of the stadium operation, as fifty employees currently working there are paid by the joint stock company.

(5) It has been used by amateur baseball teams more actively than the old baseball park. Details of their operation are monitored by the city's management committee.

(6) The stadium pays a total of 140 million yen combining business tax and prefectural tax to the prefecture and 40 million yen as corporate municipal tax to the city. If it was a municipal stadium, neither the prefecture nor the city would have been paid any money.

(7) The accountability system is clear and straight forward.

There are many cases like this in the local government administration. The bureaucratic administration that simply follow the conventional methods without using their wisdom or taking on

new challenges, and waste taxpayers' money behind their backs is almost regarded as a normal practice in the bureaucratic administration. But citizens should not only demand more effective ways to use the limited budgets but also take a sober look at the consequences of being a taxpayer. The conventional administrative practice of thoughtlessly spending money would be easy to do for anyone. But the citizens need to evaluate the attitude and capabilities of local governments to see if they have the wisdom and overall ability to make effective use of limited funds and carry out city planning in collaboration with the citizens.

The city will not be disadvantaged by the joint stock company because basic agreements have been concluded between the city and the joint stock company and the joint stock company is not allowed to engage in any activities which would be inappropriate for the stadium situated in the city park. As exemplified in this case, the citizens are the agent of city planning. However, the ability to draw on that power and guide it is what will be important in the future for the management skills of local government administration.



©T.Taguchi 2020

EPILOGUE

VARIOUS PRACTICES OF CITY PLANNING

Various Practices of City Planning

During the first year at the Planning and Coordination Bureau, I focused mainly on two tasks which were the underground expressway construction and the establishment and operation of the Residential Land Development Guidelines. I continued to work only on these two tasks day after day. In fact, I was working on another mid-term project, but this was left to the person in charge and I was hardly able to lay my hand on it. The success of these two specific tasks was the key to materializing my idea of the practice-oriented planning section, and I had to concentrate on the two tasks because they were the most challenging. Some people said, "the planning section should think only about good things." But such an approach would be far from practice-oriented. One cannot build an underground expressway by repeatedly suggesting that "the expressway should be built underground." One would be able to materialize his/her idea for the first time by breaking away from old conventions and persuading the parties involved using all possible means.

If I had concentrated only on the mid-term project, I might have been able to write something slightly better. If that had been the case, however, the actual situations in Yokohama City would not have changed at all, and it would have been impossible to carry out the practice-oriented city planning later on. While it may appear paradoxical, we successfully proved that the new Planning and Coordination Bureau was capable of carrying out specific practices by achieving success in two specific cases during the first year, while putting aside the mid-term project. By doing so, we were able to add more practical possibilities in making comprehensive plans and mid-term plans, instead of merely presenting an abstract theory.

Things became much easier from the second year, and some of the team members gradually developed their skills and became full-fledged after three or four years. Thanks to their high competence, we were able to carry out many new approaches and practices that I could have never achieved by myself. We were able to develop and accumulate enough strength to carry out as many as twenty to thirty projects per year later by concentrating only on few challenging projects in the beginning.

All projects mainly carried out by the Planning and Coordination Bureau involved new issues, which meant that it was necessary to invent new methods. What I introduced here were only a select few. Other methods include the following:

(1) Establishing basic concepts for the city. Long-term comprehensive plans and mid-term implementation plans. Long-term plans and long-term strategies including the proposal of "five major wars" (measures against environmental problems and pollution in the city, measures for waste disposal in the city, traffic control measures, countermeasures for water shortage, and securing of land for public use.)

(2) Promoting Six Spine Projects. Projects associated with the Kanazawa area reclamation work including the residential land plan, industrial zone relocation plan, Marine Park plan and more.

(3) Various area-based urban development projects including the Yokohama east exit area development (including underground shopping street, Yokohama Station, and Dejima development,) Yokohama west exit area development, Shin-honmoku area development, Totsuka Station area redevelopment and more.

(4) Projects associated with the reclamation work of the former site of Nippon Kokan (a major steel company) at Ohgishima including the waterfront area development plan, innovative pollution measures, measures associated with the use of the former factory site, long-term prospective research on the Keihin Industrial Zone, establishment of urban environmental zone and more.

(5) Coordination of large-scale development projects carried out by the public corporations and private companies.

(6) Shin Yokohama Station area development plan based on the Yokohama method, insolation control based on the Yokohama method

(7) Comprehensive transportation measures, arterial road traffic plan, new transportation system, STOL airport and more.

(8) Measures for environmental issues including urban wastes, greenery, pollution and more.

(9) School design, design direction of public facilities, design of streetlights, pedestrian bridges, signs and more.

(10) Welfare City Planning Guidelines for the socially vulnerable.

(11) Promotion of cultural administration.

Among these projects, pollution measures associated with the relocation of Nihon Kokan to Ohgishima had significant impact on the entire steel industry by achieving extremely high environmental standards that had been deemed impossible at that time. In addition, the Yokohama Station area development is a major project still ongoing after many years. We had overcome many unforgettable challenges while working on both of these projects.

In addition to city-related matters, we put forward suggestions for planning encompassing the metropolitan area. I also served as a manager for local chief executive conferences of the government ordinance-designated cities and prefectures, including the seven-local chief executive conferences (Tokyo, Kawasaki, Yokohama, Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe) as well as four- and three- local chief executive conferences. Among these conferences, we served as permanent manager for the seven local chief executive conference. The issue of vehicle emissions control was addressed at the conference. Instead of simply presenting our ideas as requests from the seven- local chief executive conference, we sought ways to enhance the effectiveness of our ideas by conducting a scientific research. Therefore, we proposed the establishment of a team of academics to investigate the problem of vehicle emissions control in the seven major cities, and they achieved successful results. In addition, for the meetings of designated city planners, a white paper on metropolitan cities was compiled as a joint effort, and an urban planning council was organized with more small and medium-sized cities.

City planning involves infinite number of problems. Those who adhere to the conventional method of passively responding to matters simply hope there would be no problem, and in case any problem arises, they would only take tentative measures in order to avoid interferences from the city council. While the problem appears to have been solved, it is actually quite the contrary. City planning involves never-ending issues and current issues potentially connote issues in the next era and future. An active city planning approach is to discover such issues, pose questions, come up with measures to direct things in the desirable direction as much as possible, and move them forward. While there are many challenges along the way, our job is to turn these challenges into opportunities and successes, which is what makes our works joyful and full of dreams.

People and System Creating a City

Developing Human Resources

In order for local governments to take initiatives in building new cities, to confront them comprehensively and creatively, and to work civically and practically, the following three things are most important: (1) human resources, (2) a system to make the best use of the human resources and (3) leadership to give direction.

My primary focus was not on individual results, but rather on developing human resources capable of dealing with city planning and establishing a system to make the best use of the human resources. We should be able to achieve the best result possible no matter what change or challenge we might face under the current circumstances.

Then, how do we develop human resources? We cannot develop human resources for new city planning simply by feeding them knowledge and giving them lectures. First of all, those engaged in city planning develop their own competencies and skills through hands-on work experiences. It is therefore important to give them as many opportunities as possible. It would be difficult to develop human resources in workplaces devoid of proactive attitudes and strong leadership, because there would be few worthwhile tasks. It would be better to give them challenging and hands-on tasks. But instead of simply imposing challenges on them, necessary communication must take place and new directions and goals must be identified. It is also important that accurate information is always available to them.

Secondly, people grow up through interaction with others. City planning practice involves not only thinking, but it is also done through interactions with people, through which they develop their competencies and skills. They can interact with many people if they are highly motivated and open-minded. The Planning and Coordination Bureau welcomed new members specializing in urban design and planning, a new type of people not found in traditional government offices. Their interaction with people who grew within

the government office helped both of them to grow. Instead of staying within the closed circle of their own types of people and those in the same field, people grow up more by interacting with people with different expertise, background, and status. In this sense, the Planning and Coordination Bureau was a "melting pot" of the city office where various types of people interacted with one another.

Thirdly, a person grows up not in their own little shell, but by opening themselves up. To open up one's mind is to always approach things with a fresh and unaffected attitude, express oneself in straightforward ways, and accept criticism and others' ideas. It is not about surrendering oneself to others. On the contrary, people can discover much more potential within themselves by opening up their small minds.

The Planning and Coordination Bureau always strived to proactively take on challenging tasks in lively and enjoyable ways. In order to facilitate our efforts, we came up with experimental methods including the large-table approach, plenary sessions, goal-setting meeting among others. Instead of controlling and holding down staff members, we tried to motivate them, find ways for them to cooperate with each other, and give them solid objectives and specific goals.

In the beginning, it was difficult for us to find new staff members. But after our achievements started to speak for themselves, it became easier. After Yokohama's new city planning approaches became widely known, people who would have never taken interest in working for a local authority until then started working with us. As a result, our team became even more diversified. People brought in more people, and the network of people expanded further through our work. In addition, we actively promoted personnel exchanges among the Planning and Coordination Bureau and other bureaus and sections. It would be difficult to engage the entire city office if city planning specialists are concentrated only in the Planning and Coordination Bureau. It is necessary to distribute city planning specialists in respective bureaus.

Citizens and Experts

Considering that citizens are the agent of city planning, it is important to find human resources for city planning among citizens. As mentioned earlier, Bashamichi Shopping Avenue was built thanks to the dedicated efforts of Mr. Rokukawa, and Isezakicho Mall was built under the strong leadership of Mr. Matsuhobu. Besides these men, there were of course a number of other talented and dedicated people involved. City planning cannot be successfully carried out without strong leadership and cooperation of many people on the citizens' side. The success of these works is due to the work of many such people.

There are a large number of people among the citizens, much more than the number of people working in the local government administration. The problem is that it is difficult to find the right persons or places, or things don't work out due to poor teamwork because they don't have the right mix of people. One of the local government administration's important tasks is to find the right people and make the best use of their skills. In addition, the local government administration also needs employees who can communicate freely with citizens.

We also worked with many outside experts. In particular, the City Planning Advisory Board which was organized by the Planning and Coordination Bureau when it was established, invited four professors, Eika Takayama, Yoshinosuke Yasoshima, Takashi Asada, and Shoichi Kawai, to discuss various issues in a free and frank atmosphere unlike conventional and bureaucratic-style councils and committees organized by the city.

City Planning System

No matter how great a system is established, it would not function without people. On the other hand, people's abilities cannot be used efficiently without a system that utilizes their abilities, and the lack of system may deprive people of all possibilities and hinder the development of abilities of the next generation.

The system mentioned here is not limited to the organizational system on a piece of paper. Of course, organizational system is

necessary, but what is important is an actively functioning system that allows people to take robust action. An organizational system may even cause a negative effect to such robust action if it is not run right. What we need is "unconventional and creative" energy that basically eliminate stereotypes.

In order to carry out city planning comprehensively, we must first of all change the highly specialized "vertically divided system." This fabric called "city" cannot be woven only with warp threads. Therefore, the Planning and Coordination Bureau, which serves as a link between the entire city, should serve as weft threads for the warp threads of each bureau in the city office.

Moreover, we also have to serve as weft threads connecting other government offices, public corporations, businesses, and citizens, all of which act independently like warp threads in today's city planning. The city fabric is created only when warp threads are woven with weft threads. When weft threads work effectively and add unique characteristics to a fabric made of the same warp threads, each city becomes an attractive fabric with unique characteristics.

As mentioned earlier, we, as a "weft" system, have connected comprehensive plans, various strategic projects, survey and research while engaging in various efforts including strategic projects, land use and development control, and urban design focusing on urban spaces. These weft threads have connected not only various parties in the city office but also connected other government offices, citizens, public corporations, and businesses and involved them in city planning as we have seen in aforementioned examples.

Planning bureaus in some of the other local governments have "vertically divided" task-assigning system in which each person deals with respective bureaus. But this system will make it difficult to serve as new weft threads connecting all parties including the citizens. On another note, if a planning bureau works in the same way as other bureaus dealing with specific operations, it would function like another warp system, and not at all like a weft system. I call them "other plans" bureaus. These "other plans" bureaus are likely to end up being "miscellaneous affairs" bureaus, because local governments have to deal with so many miscellaneous matters.

Collaborative efforts and joint work

So far, I have mainly introduced various city planning projects carried out by the Planning and Coordination Bureau, but it should be noted that city planning can never be carried out by a few persons or a single bureau. As I have already mentioned, they have been carried out in collaboration with respective bureaus in the city office, other government offices, public corporations, businesses, and citizens.

City planning is a joint work created through long-term collaborative efforts by many parties involved. Different parties constantly come in and go, while the creative process of the work continues. The quality of the work depends on how people involved respectively look at the whole thing and add what they can. The local government acts as a facilitator connecting all parties, and the Planning and Coordination Bureau acts as a facilitator connecting respective bureaus in the local government office. The key to successful city planning is to determine how to involve many parties in city planning.

People often say that local governments have only "thirty-percent autonomy" or "ten-percent autonomy," and they seem powerless as the names suggest. But they can be unexpectedly strong once they start moving together towards a certain direction, as aptly exemplified by the construction of the Yokohama Stadium. While different powers are usually dispersed and used individually with no clear purposes, directions should be given under the proper leadership, and the Planning and Coordination Bureau's job is to connect them in specific ways.

The Planning and Coordination Bureau always work together with other bureaus. On the other hand, our involvement was based on the principle that the projects are under the jurisdiction of respective bureaus and not under our jurisdiction. This is why the Planning and Coordination Bureau's budget was extremely small. From a bureaucratic point of view, it is convenient for a bureau to be able to spend its own budget to carry out operations at its own will without constraints. However, this would mean establishing another bureau in a vertically divided system called "planning." It would be meaningless. The actual "comprehensive" approach in city planning is not about literally claiming that "it is comprehensive." The

practice-oriented comprehensive approach in city planning is about always being involved with other bureaus and citizens.

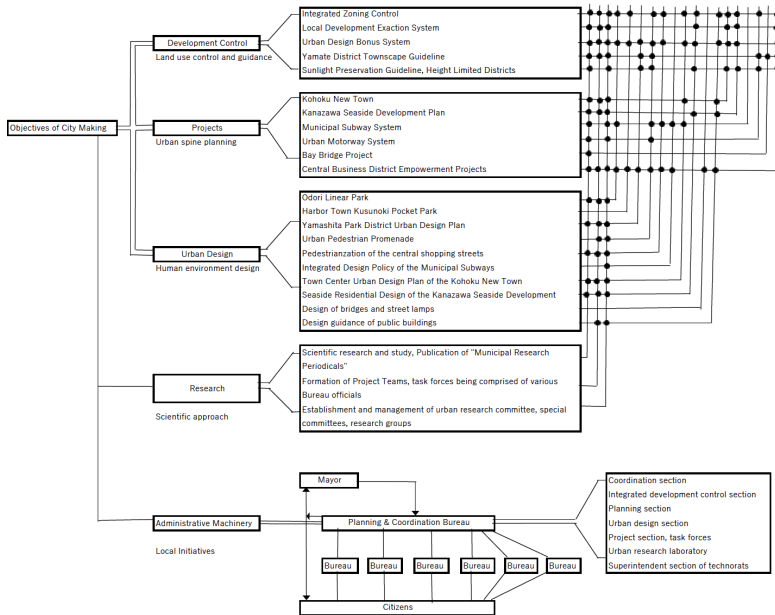
In order to take a hands-on approach without taking charge of any specific operation, we should be involved with budgetary matters and tasks of other bureaus and look at budgets of respective bureaus from a citywide perspective. The construction of the Kusunoki Square was a collaborative project with many bureaus, while it was financed by the Transportation Bureau's budget for original restoration as mentioned previously. As for the urban design around Yamashita Park, while we offered knowledge and made efforts to realize the project, the project was financed by respective parties involved. Yokohama Stadium was also built thanks to the citizens' collective support. The lack of an operating budget allows us to take a citywide stance and figure out how to better use the funds.

City Planning and Finance

City planning costs large amount of money. Those engaged in planning conceive ideas that costs a lot of money. For this reason, it is often said that those engaged in planning often come into conflict with those engaged in finance. But a cooperative relationship was established between planning personnel and finance personnel at the Yokohama city office. The Financial Bureau's job is to prepare a basic scheme under the current system, and the Planning and Coordination Bureau's job is to further enhance the scheme based on the local government's proactive policies. Both parties work closely together like the two wheels of a cart and complement each other. The Planning and Coordination Bureau's job is to make the best use of money. A planner's job is to make good use of money. But instead of using money, the Planning and Coordination Bureau worked in ways that the Finance Bureau would not have been able to do, including using administrative guidelines and generating financial benefits as a result, and cutting back on unnecessary jobs and overlapping jobs.

The Finance Bureau under the current system is bound by laws and strict regulations from the central government. Administration processes are complicated and they are always swamped by work. In this sense, there is a clear difference in the roles of the Finance

Bureau, which inherits this trait, and the Planning and Coordination Bureau, which tries to retain its independence, comprehensiveness, and creativity of the local government from the citizens' viewpoint. Only when the two exist separately and there is a tense and cooperative relationship between them, can the management of a local government avoid falling prey to ideology or being driven by pragmatism alone. And most important of all, it would clearly establish the autonomy of the local government.



City planning diagram

Invisible City Planning

City planning looks glamorous at first glance, especially when large roads, bridges, and railways are built or when a large-scale buildings and redevelopment projects are completed. But they are only a fraction of all city planning efforts and it is not just about carrying out spectacular and highly visible projects.

City planning is a long-term work requiring slower and steady efforts. When the outcome becomes visible, various challenges have already been resolved. We have to tackle challenges when it is still invisible.

City planning has a beginning, but no end. Its beneficial effects materialize only after going through long and continuous processes. It cannot be achieved overnight. Although it is easy to talk about great ideas like shooting rocket fireworks, it is extremely difficult to embody ideas, solve various problems in accordance with the original purpose of the project and carry them out in collaboration with many people.

Some of the examples introduced here were carried out under various conditions at that time in Yokohama in the hope of achieving new city planning. It is common knowledge that city planning, even when carrying out a simple project, normally takes ten years from the initial conceptual stage to completion. While it took ten years to build Odori Park, the Green Axis plan, in which the idea of Odori Park originates, is still underway. The relocation of Mitsubishi Heavy Industries took ten years, and it will probably take several decades to develop the entire site into an ideal city center for Yokohama. We need to think about this project in a long time frame spanning nearly half a century.

While people tend to make judgements based on what they see, it is only after overcoming many difficulties through continuous efforts that the long-term city planning projects like these become visible. What is in progress is not yet visible to the eye. Moreover, it is also difficult to see the basic ideas and concepts of city planning, human resource development and system development methods among others, and it is impossible to visualize the citizens' consciousness in its original form. However, these invisible and hard to see things actually form the essential basis of city planning. Huge foundation structures are hidden underneath large buildings, and just as the

iceberg hides beneath the ocean several times the mass of what is visible at the top, the work of creating invisible cities is the work of creating truly ideal cities. While utilizing specific and visible city planning methods such as the Six Spine projects and urban design projects, my aim was to create human resources, ideas, and systems that would become the foundation for urban development that cannot be seen, and that is all we need to create a sustainable and lively city at any time.

Fortunately, the city planning I have been involved in in Yokohama has had some visible results, as I have described here. But I do not wish to popularize features such as red bricks, picture tiles, and malls in a superficial way. It would only end up generating new standardization.

More important than that, each city should start building its own unique city for the future throughout Japan, taking into account its own situations. The cities and regions should stimulate and improve each other.

In order to do so, we need to go beyond creating a visible city and focus on creating an invisible city. We need to develop the citizens' interest in city planning, develop human resources capable of carrying out city planning, and establish a system. It will take time, but the successful outcome of the "visible city" will certainly materialize through such efforts.

City planning always exists for the future. Let us envision an endless dream. Future will be surely realized step by step with our hands and our future generations.

Book Design : Atsuhiro Aoki

Akira Tamura Memorial - A Town Planning Research Initiative NPO
NPO法人 田村明記念・まちづくり研究会

www.machi-initiative.com

**YOKOHAMA:
THE MAKING OF A CITY**

A K I R A T A M U R A