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The post-war rebirth of Yokohama: the planner Akira Tamura's contributions to municipal reform

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ABSTRACT

Akira Tamura (1926–2010) was a Japanese expert in city management and planning during the post-war period. He was awarded the Grand Prize of the Architectural Institute of Japan in 2000. Tamura conceived citizen-oriented theories of city management and planning and put them into practice in Yokohama city from 1968 to 1978. After Mayor Ichio Asukata requested that Tamura to join the city government and execute his previous proposals, Tamura set up the Planning and Coordination Department with young multidisciplinary professionals. They worked as a collaborative team to negotiate and coordinate among multiple stakeholders, including local communities, public authorities, national ministries, and business sectors. Asukata and Tamura shared the aim of reforming the local government machinery into an independent, responsible entity, avoiding unnecessary interference from national ministries and politicians. Although Tamura laid out a framework for the city's future evolution, his management philosophy of planning and coordination has not been well transmitted. With the objective of conducting empirical research to investigate and share Tamura and his colleagues' work, this non-profit organization was established in 2015 by people with concerns about local government initiatives.

KEYWORDS

Akira Tamura; city management and planning; local government initiatives; citizen-oriented municipal reform; Planning and Coordination Department

Introduction

Akira Tamura¹ (1926–2010) was a Japanese expert in city management and planning who, in the 1960s and 1970s, conceived citizen-oriented planning theories and comprehensively put them into practise in the local government of Yokohama (Figure 1). At the time, the standing of citizens and local governments was low under the highly centralized governmental system, but this was gradually changed thanks to Tamura and his collaborators's efforts. Tamura accomplished the task assigned to him as the chief planner of the City Administration over a relatively short period of time from 1968 until 1978. Thereafter, he was awarded the Grand Prize of the Architectural Institute of Japan, that was founded in 1886, for his work 'The formulation of theories and methods of innovative town planning and their practice' in 2000. As a result, Tamura is recognized as a renowned planner by the Japanese academic community.

Needless to say, the big projects and management policies in Yokohama could not have been implemented by Tamura alone. Multiple stakeholders needed to participate in solving urban

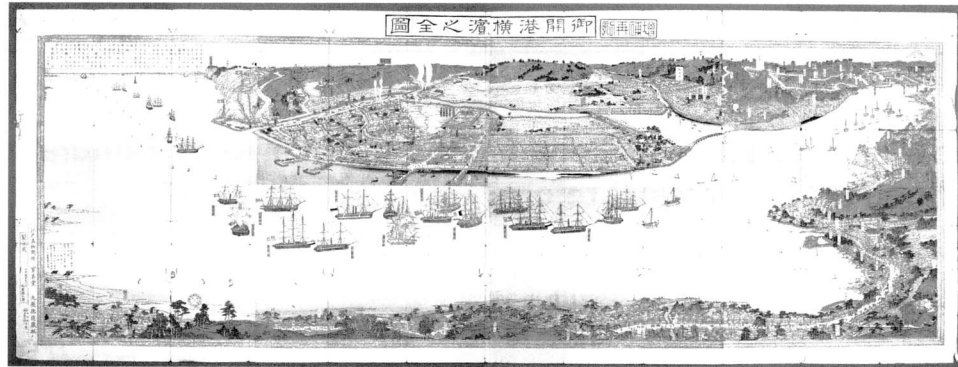


Figure 1. Yokohama has thrived into a modern city from the international port opened to the West in 1859, depicted on an old Ukiyoe in 1866, colour wood print from the Edo period. Courtesy of Yokohama Archives of History.

problems, and the resolutions were the fruits of their collaboration. Tamura, however, was a key person in the planning and coordination of stakeholders and actions in each of these resolutions.

The post-war rebirth of Yokohama spanned the period from the late 1950s to the 1970s, when Japan began to recover from its devastation during the Pacific War (1941–1945) phase of World War Two. Soon after the war, a democratic constitution and the Local Autonomy Law came into force. However, revived conservative politicians attempted to establish a framework for national industrial development using industrial capital. The driving force behind this was the state bureaucracy. Although local governments were autonomous administrative entities under the constitution and the Autonomy Law, they became subordinates of state bureaucracy. As a result, they tended to follow national industrial development policies. After graduating from university, Tamura worked for the Ministry of Transport from 1950. In the late 1960s, this situation was aggravated by high economic growth.

Ichio Asukita,² an MP for the Japan Socialist Party, was elected mayor of Yokohama in 1963 when the uncontrolled expansion of the metropolis of Tokyo almost swallowed Yokohama. Therefore, he introduced the idea of ‘direct democracy’ to enhance citizens’s participation in city management as a means of avoiding the old local politics. Asukata prioritized the regional values of Yokohama as a countermeasure opposing national values.

The ‘Six Spine Projects’ (1964), which Tamura proposed at Asuka’s request, was a message to citizens to rebuild Yokohama based on regional values. Tamura intended to strengthen the identity of Yokohama; his style of urban planning was characterized by the integrated management of concerned projects and the effective use of investment funds from the private sector and public bodies. This was unusual at the time. He guaranteed decent profits for private companies in return for their public contributions. These measures were carried out in a flexible manner that either maximized national legal systems or utilized limited municipal planning powers. Tamura also believed that citizens’s power should collaborate with the administration and he was active in helping to produce vast areas of citizens’s forests and urban farmland. To achieve these objectives, Tamura demanded that local officials forge an independent and disciplined stance. In what follows, therefore, the work of Tamura and his colleagues is scrutinized from the viewpoint of regional and national values.

²Asukata, *Seiseiryuten* [Asukata’s Reminiscences].

Tamura established an urban science laboratory in the Planning and Coordination Department, which regularly conducted a series of surveys and research on the actual living conditions of citizens. However, there were situations where 'regional values' came into conflict with the 'civic values' of the local community. There were campaigns against the Yokohama New Freight Railway (1966), the pollution problem along national highway No. 16 (1970), and opposition to the reclamation of the last natural coast (1973). All these were related to Tamura's vision of the Six Spine Projects. It is presumed that Tamura's theory of urban planning remained in the early stage of citizen-oriented, which would evolve into citizen-centred. In later years, Tamura argued in his book titled 'A Theory of Citizen's Government' (2006) that 'conscious citizens' should make up the local government. I would like to discuss the pros and cons of this citizen theory in another article.

Although Tamura authored over 40 books, the information that may be gleaned from them is limited, because the processes of planning and coordination were neither recorded in detail, nor made open to the public. Tamura was not originally a theorist of town planning, but instead crafted his own town-making theory ('Machi-zukuri' in Japanese) by responding to the needs and circumstances of Yokohama city and its citizens. It was Tamura who originated the familiar term Machi-zukuri and circulated it among conscious citizens. The essence of his approach must thus be understood by focusing on his and his collaborators's activities.

Our non-profit organization, Akira Tamura Memorial – A Town Planning Research Initiative NPO, was founded in 2015 after Tamura's death by people interested in his work. The aim of our organization is to establish freely accessible online archives regarding historical facts and objective data about Tamura and his collaborators's activities, found and formulated through our empirical research activities. Our intention is not to exalt Tamura, but to re-evaluate him and his contributions by verifying his work in an objective and scientific manner. Until now, no previous research papers on Tamura exist, except those of the author.³ In modern contemporary research on the history of town planning, the study of planners in particular ends with those near the defeat of Japan in 1945. This may be because the concerned figures of the post-war era were still active in the following years, and a further study needs time.

The historical background of Japanese town planning

To understand Japanese town planning histories, it is necessary to start with the history of the Japanese administrative system. The latter was, and still is, an issue of the relationship between the central government and local municipalities. Regarding the planning system, the 'Tokyo Local Planning Ordinance 1888', which marked the beginning of modern town planning in Japan, was the first national law in the Meiji period (1857–1929); however, it was concerned only with water supply and road construction. At the time of its enactment, there was debate as to whether town planning should be a national project or an autonomous municipal task. As a result, the town planning authority was limited to the Ministry of Interior, the main entity within the centralized national system. In the following decades, the central government adopted advanced town planning techniques from the West, but the decentralization and democratization of town planning was sealed for decades to come.

World War I (1914–1918) led to a dramatic increase in heavy industrialization, particularly in the munitions industry. This led to the need for a town planning system to guide the planned expansion of urban areas. The Ministry of Interior drew up a plan, and in 1919 the Town Planning

³Taguchi, "The Adoption and Abolition of the Local Development Exaction System."

Law and the Urban Building Law were passed by the National Assembly and promulgated. The local governmental system remained in a centralized position, with all prefectural governors appointed by the central government and the mayors of major cities approved by the Minister of Interior.

The Great Kanto Earthquake (1 September 1923) impacted Tokyo and Yokohama and destroyed entirely the old structures of the Meiji Period (Figure 2). The reconstruction of Tokyo was largely completed seven years later in 1930 (1935 in Yokohama), thanks to the leadership of the Interior Minister, the eminent politician Shinpei Goto (1857–1929), and owing to the work of Interior Ministry bureaucrats and engineers. The project was a great success in the modern transformation of the city structures of Tokyo and Yokohama (Figure 3), though residents never had the chance to express their opinions. Notably, the land readjustment project made significant changes to the city's overall layout, which had remained basically unchanged since the feudal Edo and Meiji periods, transforming it into a modern city. Nevertheless, it was destroyed again by the US military's air raids (Figure 4) in the Pacific War (1941–1945).

In 1947, Japan's first democratic constitution was promulgated by the Emperor Hirohito, who became a symbol of the nation rather than the ruler. In the same year, the Local Autonomy Law was enacted, providing for local autonomy for the first time, and the Ministry of Interior, a pre-war remnant of old ministries, was dismantled and its powers decentralized among the newly created Ministries. Meanwhile, Tokyo's reconstruction efforts after the war were limited, with only a partial re-construction of the damaged districts. Public measures to prevent the uncontrolled expansion of Tokyo's urban areas were drawn up by the central government but remained in a conceptual stage.

In the 1960s, Japan entered an era of economically driven national development. As a result, air and water pollution increased in the petrochemical and steel industrial complexes of the Pacific coastline belt and, with the excessive concentration of the population, capital and production intensified urban problems. Citizens demanded of local governments to solve the pollution problems in

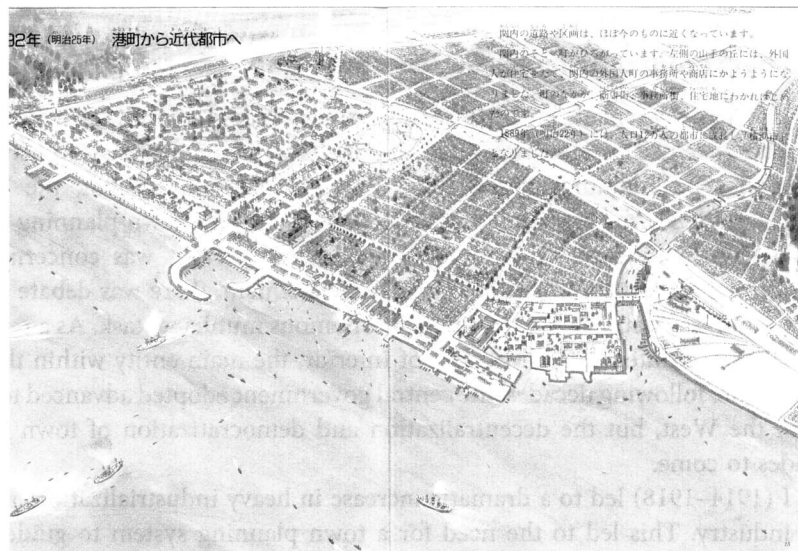


Figure 2. Yokohama in 1892 when an old structure of harbour was still used, but a railway had already been in use for 20 years. Source: Kitazawa, History of a City-Yokohama 330th year (1656–1986).

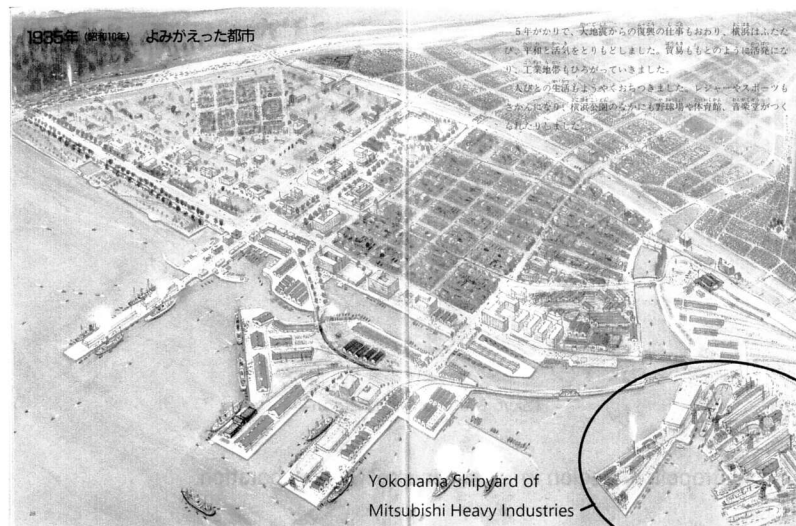


Figure 3. Yokohama in 1935, and as it was reborn after the devastation by the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923. Source: Kitazawa, History of a City-Yokohama 330th year (1656–1986).



Figure 4. Yokohama in 1945 when the American bombing raids completely destroyed the central part of Yokohama again. Source: Kitazawa, History of a City-Yokohama 330th year (1656–1986).

those areas, but local governments had neither the legal authority to compel the companies nor the financial resources to improve the environment.

The inception of Mayor Ichio Asukata’s municipal reform

As previously stated, after the war, a democratic governmental system, which was free from interference from army generals, was born for the first time in Japan. The administrative structure is 3-



Figure 5. The Tokyo Metropolitan Region in Japan. Source: Own elaboration.

tiered: the national government (state or central government), the 47 prefectures (regional governments), and the 1741 municipalities (local governments), as of 31 December 2020. Each municipality has an executive head and a legislature. The head of the municipality is directly elected by the citizens and the councillors of the legislature are also elected by the citizens.

However, as time passed, conservative politicians and bureaucrats of the pre-war era gradually returned to the forefront and started to promote sharp economic growth at a high annual rate of over 10% by establishing a highly centralized governmental system. Local governments were relegated to subordinate positions under national ministries and agencies and were required to abide by legislations and subsidization systems. This structure, which was referred to as 'vertically-divided local governments', was almost beyond the local mayor's chain of command. The municipality's main sources of revenue were and are the citizens' tax (both resident and corporate) and property tax, though more than half of the revenue was subsidized by the national government as it was impossible to provide local services with these taxes alone.

Given this social background, Yokohama emerged as the nucleus of a paradigm shift in the socio-political field of the 1960s. Yokohama is now the second largest city in Japan, with a population of 3.78 million, and spanning 437 square kilometres in the Tokyo Metropolitan Region (Figures 5 and 6). It is a port city that was first opened to foreign countries in 1859 at the end of the feudal Samurai era. Since then, Yokohama has developed as an industrial and housing city, neighbouring the bustling national centre of Tokyo. Among the cities in the Tokyo Region, Yokohama seems to possess a cosmopolitan character, transmitted from its early era, while conserving its natural and urban landscapes (Figure 7).

In 1963, Ichio Asukata (1915–1990, mayoralty term 1963–1978), an attorney and member of the National Parliament of the Japanese Socialist Party, narrowly won the election against his conservative counterparts to become the mayor of the Yokohama City Government. He proclaimed the idea of direct democracy by citizens and was determined to create a citizen-centred local administration, which was later named the 'Liberal Local Governmental Movement'.⁴ Asukata intended to hinder the central government from interfering with local administration without consent. The challenges initiated by Yokohama, followed by other liberal local governments, would ultimately

⁴Okada, *Kakusin Jichitai* [The Liberal Local Governments].

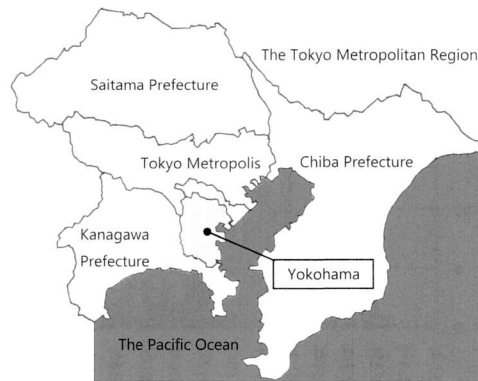


Figure 6. Yokohama in the Tokyo Metropolitan Region. Source: Own elaboration.



Figure 7. Aerial photo of Yokohama City with Mt. Fuji in the background. Photo Courtesy of the Port Authority, City of Yokohama.

reform the centralized governmental system due to their initiatives. The first term of the Asukata Administration was an era of sprawl from Tokyo caused by population expansion (1.5 million in 1963 and 2.7 million in 1978), with an annual population increase of 100,000 every year due to high economic growth. The air was polluted by exhaust fumes from factories and cars, and the water was contaminated by factory effluent and domestic sewage. The huge population expansion demanded new municipal schools which required a big investment in terms of building costs and site acquisition (Figure 8). The previous city administrations did not respond to these effectively. The participation of citizens and the involvement of local governments were seen as indispensable in tackling these issues. Therefore, in addition to the political slogans, Asukata needed to establish a system to make the city administration move forward.

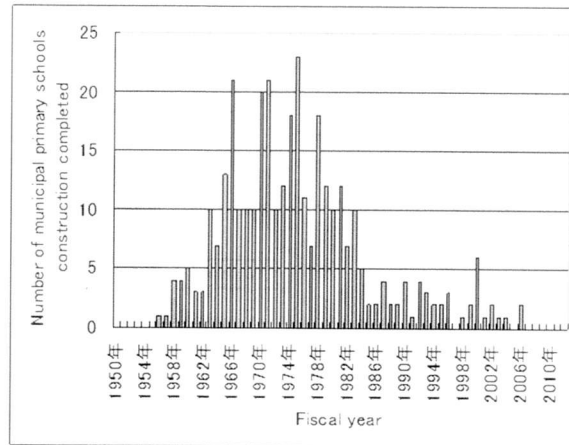


Figure 8. Chart of number of municipal primary schools construction completed annually (fiscal year basis). This shows the severe increase of school construction rate during Mayor Asukata's term from 1963 until 1978. Data Source: White paper of management of public buildings by the City of Yokohama 2013 and drawn by the author.

Training

Tamura was born in Tokyo in 1926, the third of four boys, and his parents were both Christians. His youth, plagued by fears of air raids by the American bombers and hunger from a lack of food, ended following his attendance at an old high school in the countryside.

Tamura returned to Tokyo to study architecture, law, and politics at the University of Tokyo; in 1950, he joined the Tourism Department of the Ministry of Transport as an elite young bureaucrat where his job was to develop policies to attract foreign tourists to Japan. He left the ministry after one year and then briefly worked in other ministries. However, he became doubtful about the state bureaucracy, which put the interests of the ministry ahead of national interest. In 1954, he entered the real estate business under Nippon Life Insurance in Osaka. As Japan entered a period of rapid economic growth, life insurance companies sought to invest assets in their custody. Tamura became a professional in real estate management and development and was in charge of large-scale housing development in the suburbs of Osaka. This experience proved invaluable when he later joined local government administration.

Tamura began to question the idea of spending his life as a member of a large workforce. He moved back to Tokyo in 1963 at the age of 36 and joined a planning consultant firm named the 'Environmental Development Centre', which was newly established by Takashi Asada (1921–1990), a visionary of the Japanese planning community and the father of the Metabolism Group, which only had three members in the company. At the time of the World Design Conference held in Tokyo in 1960, young innovative architects and designers formed a group called the 'Metabolism Group' that explicitly demonstrated a new movement of architecture and design. The members were Kisho Kurokawa, Kiyonori Kikutake, Masato Otaka, Fumihiko Maki, Kenji Ekuan, Noboru Kawazoye, Kenzo Tange and Takashi Asada who had persuaded young designers and initiated the movement. Tamura enjoyed a friendly relationship with these people and they later worked together on several projects.

Planning practices

In December 1964, Asada and Tamura proposed to Mayor Asukata the long-term projects to strengthen the overall urban structure of the city.⁵ This was later called the 'Six Spine Projects' (Figure 9). During the preparation of the proposal, Tamura recognized Asukata's friendly personality and shared his citizen-oriented philosophy. The proposal was met with deep scepticism by all city councillors and bureaucrats. Even though the city government received Tamura's proposal, it had neither the personnel nor the organization to execute the proposal. Thereafter, Tamura, who was 41 years old at the time, accepted Asukata's request to join the Yokohama City Administration in 1968. Asukata appointed Tamura (Figure 10) the de facto chief planner and, following his advice, set up the Planning and Coordination Department (PCD) for him. In 1971, Tamura became the Executive Director of the PCD, then in 1972 he became the Director General of the expanded PCD, which doubled in its personnel size until 1978.

Within the city centre, where much of the area was still under US military occupation, reconstruction was very slow. Conversely, sprawling development from Tokyo began in the suburbs, and uncontrolled housing projects, which were enormous in size and lacked public utilities, were underway. The spine projects introduced the Minato Mirai Project ('Future of Port' in Japanese) as a new central business district development by relocating its old shipyard and rail freight yard to create business and commercial functions for citizens; the Kohoku New Town which created a new town in the suburbs close to Tokyo as a new model development against the sprawl and combined urban agriculture with greenery residential development; the Kanazawa Reclamation Project which aimed to relocate and consolidate small factories in the inland areas to a reclaimed site to create a pollution-free, advanced industrial park with eco-conscious housing for the workers; a subway network to connect the whole city area to the city centre; and urban motorway networks to connect the whole city area with the national road network. While considering the limitations of municipal legal and financial powers, Tamura envisaged utilizing other resources, such as private investment and national and/or public organization budgets. The major task of the city administration was to plan the entire scheme and coordinate its implementation among the concerned bodies. The councillors saw it as an unfeasible 'Tamurian tall story'.

Tamura's PCD at its inception was a small unit composed of 20 young officials with different administrative backgrounds. In the middle of their small office was a large drawing board, around which Tamura and all his staff, regardless of their rank, sat and freely discussed issues for long hours. It was not an easy task to coordinate various departments and sections by these unexperienced and young people; however, Tamura always told his members to take a wider perspective and to think as if they were the mayor. As time passed, newcomers with different academic backgrounds, such as political activists from prestigious universities, young scholars, and graduate returnees from overseas colleges joined the unit hoping to do something new and meaningful for society.

As a newcomer, Tamura needed to make desperate efforts to gain confidence from other departments within the city administration and their workers. Hence, it was unprecedented and seen as a turning point that he had managed to accomplish the first complex task in 1969, after a year-long negotiation with the concerned national ministries, to establish to underground the elevated motorway scheme decided by the ministry (Figures 11 and 12).⁶ Tamura recognized the

⁵Yokohama City Government, *Yokohama, Portrait of a City from its Port Opening*.

⁶Taguchi, "The Role of the Local Government's Planning and Coordination Section."

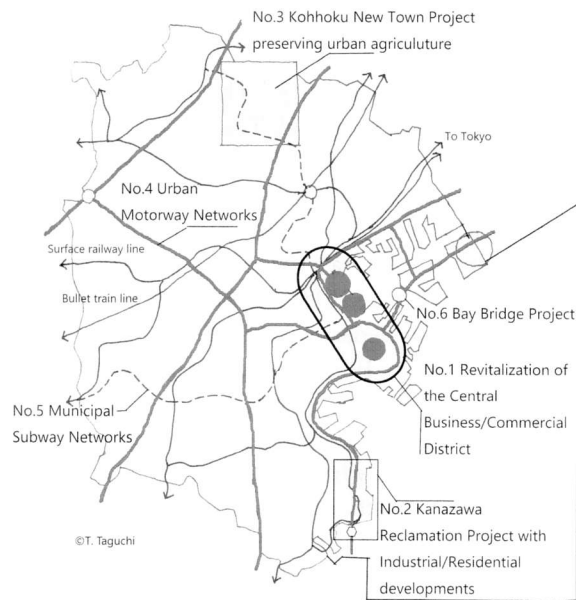


Figure 9. The Six Spine Projects. Source: Own elaboration.



Figure 10. Akira Tamura during his years in the city administration © Chihiro Tamura.

importance of preserving the communities along the planned route and the city's townscape. Although Tamura changed the route from the city centre toward its peripheral district, there was another community along the newly settled route that would suffer environmental nuisance for decades to come. Planners sometimes need to make agonizing decisions. Since then, Tamura and his unit were treated as a reliable body for coordination among the city administration.

Functions of the Planning and Coordination Department

At the firm, he devised an idea of creating a new administrative system of planning and coordination as a tool to integrate the vertically divided local administration into a unified body and developed it for a while (Figure 13). Yukio Noguchi, Professor Emeritus of Hitotsubashi University, wrote an article in the Yomiuri Newspaper on 8 August 2021 suggesting that the reason for Japan's



Figure 11. Elevated motorway proposal in March 1968 in the city centre of Yokohama before coordination by Tamura. Source: Own elaboration.

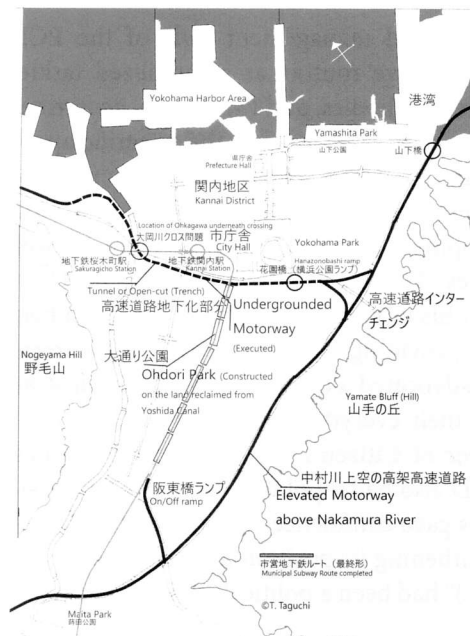


Figure 12. Motorway networks in the city centre of Yokohama agreed upon after coordination by Tamura. Source: Own elaboration.

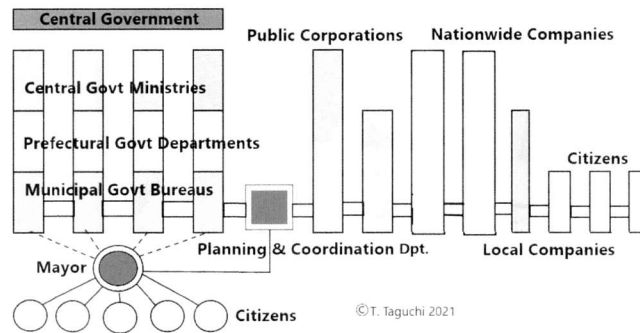


Figure 13. The conceptual framework of Planning and Coordination perceived by Tamura. Source: Own elaboration.

lack of advanced digitalization provisions in response to the Covid 19 Pandemic was due to the ‘closed, vertically-divided structure’ of government ministries and agencies.

Since the public measures demanded by citizens have cross-departmental elements of not only physical but also non-physical aspects, the city administration has to be integrated as one entity for the citizens. According to Tamura, the role of the Planning and Coordination Department (PCD) was to act as a leading vehicle for the local government to take initiatives in formulating and implementing comprehensive and creative policies from the citizens’ perspective. For that purpose, it needed to fully mobilize the organization of the local government. When practising coordination efforts, Tamura wanted the PCD to actively intervene in other departments, since specialized administrative departments worked according to their own rules, with little respect for citizens. For this reason, it was necessary to venture into the stronghold of the authorities, and expect strong opposition from them.

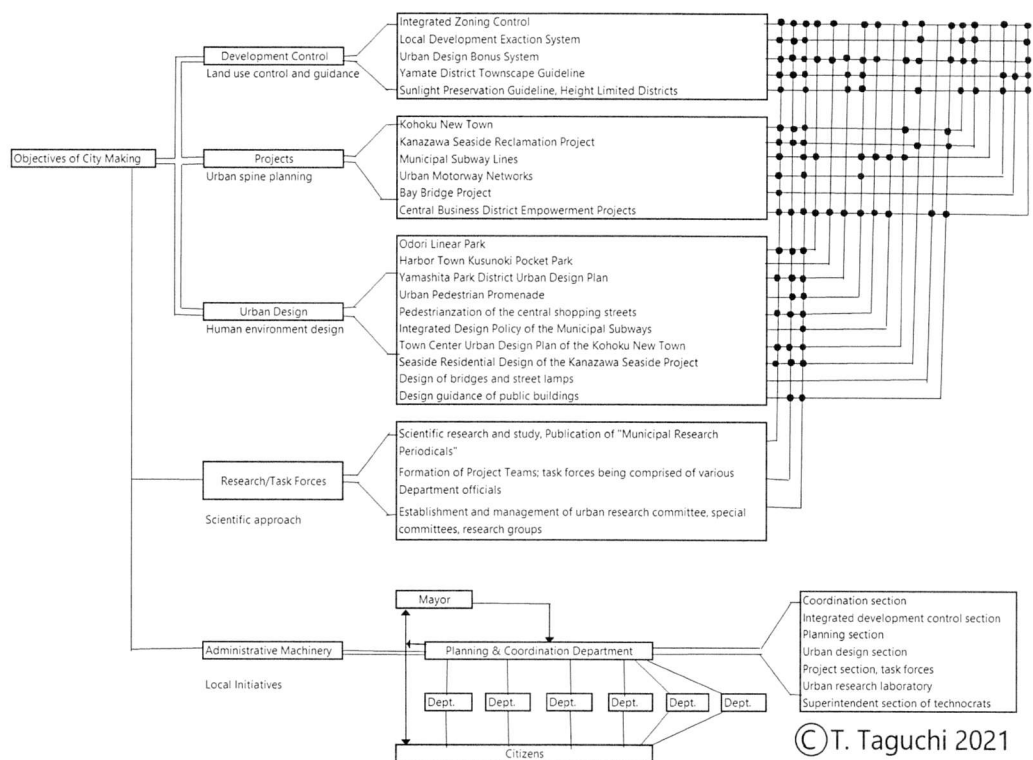
The organizational structure and management style of the PCD is characterized by three elements: (1) no fixed administrative routine as a mobilized taskforce, (2) policy formulation and coordination among concerned bodies, and (3) a multi-departmental approach towards complex issues. Since Tamura had a deep concern over the scientific approach to urban problems, the PCD had within its organization an urban science laboratory for comprehensive and continuous research. The PCD issued a regular research journal to which the staff in charge contributed on issues related to urban development and urban management, as well as comprehensive surveys and research on citizens’s lives. Tokuzo Matsumoto (1915–1981)⁷ was a liberal journalist with the Asahi Newspaper and after his retirement at Asukata’s request became in charge of the laboratory as the head of the section, providing many opportunities for young workers to learn aspects of the ordinary citizen’s life. He advocated a citizen-oriented administration that required a comprehensive study of citizens and their everyday needs; publications of the yearly census of citizen’s opinions, and the White Paper of Citizen’s life that became the basic data for formulating the city’s long-term plan. The PCD also had a political advisor who assisted Mayor Asukata. The citizen-oriented political activities gave confidence to municipal officials by developing an innovative political movement and strengthening its position as an independent municipality in the country. Masayasu Narumi (1931–2021)⁸ had been a political advisor to Mayor Asukata since Asukata’s first

⁷Matsumoto, *Meni Utsurumonoga Makotoni Utsukushiikara* [Everything is Beautiful in My Eyes].

⁸Narumi, *Jichitai Kaikaku no Ayumi* [Achievements of the Municipal Reform].

election in 1963 and enjoyed a close relationship with him. Narumi had the experience of working at the Metropolitan Political Institute, a socialist research group set up by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Workers Union, before joining the Yokohama City Administration. All political activities and events during the Asukata Administration were formulated by Narumi, with the strong intention to boost local government initiatives. When the new mayor came, Narumi left the city and became a university professor maintaining his strong stance of independent local governance.

Apart from the Six Spine Projects, Tamura simultaneously tackled land-use control that had never been successfully implemented in the previous Japanese town planning context. Regarding urban design practice, Yokohama was the first to set up its own urban design team within the PCD. Although Tamura was seen as a physical planner, he paid great respect to social research and community planning by sharing citizens's perspectives (Figure 14). In 1973, the Department formulated the 'Yokohama City Comprehensive Plan for 1985', which marked a major shift in the city's social welfare policy from public institutionalization to a new concept of community care – the establishment of a comprehensive human and material support system to enable beneficiaries to live fulfilling lives in the community. Rather than having the local government provide everything, Tamura aimed for permanence by using the power of local volunteer organizations as well as private enterprises. He also studied the nature of the urban community in large cities and scrutinized its housing problems, especially for migrant workers and their households. Every year, the urban science laboratory conducted an opinion survey of citizens' lives. In due



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Figure 14. Organizational Chart of the Planning and Coordination Department conceptualized by Tamura. Source: own elaboration.

course, it published a White Paper on Citizens' Life, which monitored citizens' perceptions of all the problems they faced, regardless of administrative jurisdiction differences, and the government's responses to them. This had become the basis for the city's long-term planning and implementation.

Tamura's PCD lasted for only 10 years, from 1968 to 1978, when Asukata suddenly resigned as mayor in 1978 to become Chairman of the Japan Socialist Party. Michikazu Saigo (1915–1990), a former vice-minister of the Ministry of Home Affairs, was elected mayor, and Tamura relinquished his post as the Director General of the PCD, becoming a Technical Superintendent. It can be said that Tamura's PCD had grappled with various urban issues, and attained many achievements in the field of municipal development and management, but detailed empirical research on its actual operation and functioning is yet to be conducted.

Minato Mirai

The Minato Mirai Project (Figure 15) is a redevelopment of Yokohama's central waterfront area which aimed to create an integrated central business district (CBD) spanning a total area of 186 hectares (110 hectares of existing land and 76 hectares of reclaimed land). This new CBD was designed to connect two existing CBDs: the old Kannai district and the new Yokohama station district (Figure 16). The project on-site implementation started in 1983, and as of November 2020, 90% of the city blocks were built. This contains the headquarters of the global company Nissan Motors and the municipal convention centre. Minato Mirai has created many employment opportunities for citizens and has become a popular destination in the Tokyo metropolitan region.

Originally, the major part of the project site was a shipyard (20 hectares) founded in 1891 (Figure 3), which in the 1960s, was one of the leading shipping industries in Japan owned by Mitsubishi Heavy Industries.⁹ First, Asukata and Tamura offered the company a piece of newly reclaimed land within the city to relocate the shipyard. Mitsubishi Heavy Industries was one of Japan's largest companies, and the city of Yokohama had no power to compel them to move. However, they were free to draw plans for a new CBD. After a chain of negotiations over the relocation, they reached a preliminary agreement to move, but necessary decisions about the timing to move and the volume to construct in the new site stalled for years. In 1976, a tentative contract to relocate to the Kanazawa reclamation land was signed. Afterwards, the Asukata administration consistently tried to accelerate the relocation, but this was deferred for another two years. As far as the Kanazawa reclamation project finance was concerned, about half of the cost spent on the Kanazawa reclamation project was financed by issuing Deutsche Mark bonds by the City with relatively low long-term interest rates. The funds were recovered by selling the reclaimed land for industrial and residential use. Within the industrial zone are groups of small factories relocated from the inland. The sites of old factories were sold to housing developers or acquired by the city for public use. Companies could maintain the sites only for pollution-free purposes. For the new factory complexes, the city has set up a liaison council to support factories and facilitate their reform in terms of technical progress. Tamura believed that the promotion of local industry is important rather than attracting big companies from outside.

In addition to the shipyard, there was a large freight yard under the National Railway Authority, that operated the country's major railway networks. Although they demanded an alternative site, they soon lost the market against truck freight services. Former site of the relocated shipyard

⁹Taguchi, "The Chronological Study Regarding the Planning Process."



Figure 15. Aerial photo of the Minato Mirai Project area on the harbour with the whole of Yokohama City behind. Photo Courtesy of the Port Authority, City of Yokohama.

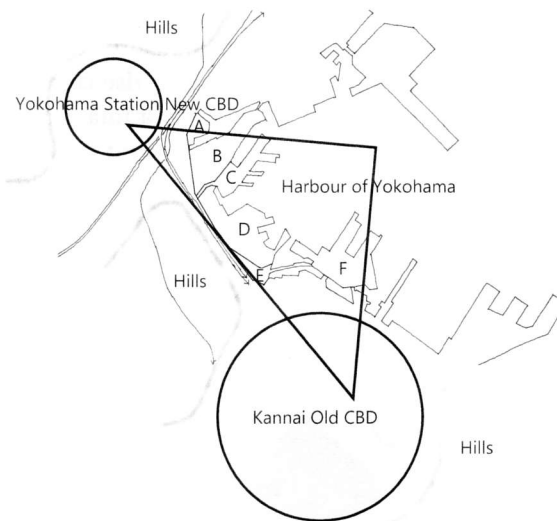


Figure 16. Conceptual map of the role of the Minato Mirai Project integrating two existing central business districts. Source: Own elaboration.

was purchased by Mitsubishi Estate, an affiliated company of the Mitsubishi Conglomerate, and this included the cost of relocating the factories. The waterfront of the shipyard, railway freight yard, and old public pier were reclaimed to connect these existing areas. The volume of the reclamation project by the city was initially small, since Tamura intended to avoid large investments by the city budget. Reclamation is a public task vested by the legal provisions allowing the port authority concerned to have the right to fill its harbour area. The newly reclaimed land becomes public

possession that can be sold to private companies and/or public entities in order to recover its initial investment. Tamura's initial vision was that the major developments of the site were to be executed mainly by the private sector, not by the public sector.

In 1978, Asukata left the city and Tamura had to relinquish his post to the new mayor Michikazu Saigo. Saigo was a bureaucrat of the Ministry of Interior before the war, and after the war he became the assistant minister of the Ministry of Home Affairs. After his retirement from the national government, Saigo worked as the president of the Yokohama Station Area Redevelopment Corporation, a subsidiary of the Yokohama city government. It is said that Saigo and Tamura could not maintain a friendly relationship during that period before his election to the mayor's office. The Minato Mirai Project lost two important people; however, senior staff who transmitted Tamura's concept successively persuaded the new mayor to restart the project. However, Saigo chose to invest more in the project (Figure 17). Eventually, the total cost of the reclamation project amounted to 240 billion yen (2.4 billion US dollars). Tamura's initial concept of the development plan was to combine this new development with the two separated business/commercial centres into one big, unified district. Although this was much larger in scale than the original concept, Tamura's main concept was respected by successive city planners who maintained the size of offices at 190,000 workers and the size of housing at 10,000 residents. Considering the uncertain trend of the economy in its long-term implementation since 1983, decision-makers were likely to opt for a shift toward easier outcomes of housing investments. However, they have never done so.

It was based on Tamura's strategy that the city made plans and coordinated concerned projects, but the main investment responsibility would be vested in the private sector. Following his strategy, the Landmark Tower (Figures 18 and 19), a 300-meter high-rise commercial, business, and hotel complex was built and operated by Mitsubishi Estate with a total investment of 270 billion yen (2.7 billion US dollars). Apart from the Mitsubishi development, it was very late for the National Railway Authority to decide on discarding their freight yard in 1995, which was subsequently purchased by the city as a part of the Minato Mirai development site. Since Tamura's original publication, it took nearly 60 years to develop the bustling Minato Mirai district as it is today. We recognize that city making is the result of the consistent efforts by the chain of planners for future citizens.

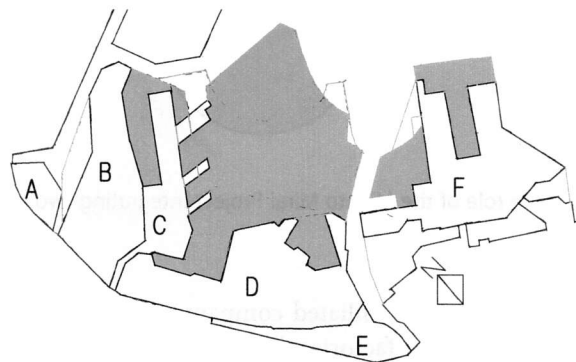


Figure 17. Location of the reclamation area and its existing sites of Minato Mirai Project: A: Yokohama railway station east side, B: Freight Yard of the National Railway Authority, C: Public Liner Piers owned by the Yokohama Port Authority, D: Shipyard of Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, E: Freight Yard of the National Railway Authority, F: Public Wharf owned by the National Transport Ministry. Source: Own elaboration.

Imaginative land use control measures and development of urban agriculture

In Japan, land use control has recently begun. The 1958 Metropolitan Development Plan (MDP), which envisioned a Green Belt modelled after the Greater London Plan, was formulated after the war. However, the MDP was strongly opposed by landowners who did not want to be constrained in their free use of the land and remained in its planning stage, never to be implemented. The Town Planning Act 1919 was finally revised in 1968, and a new land use control measure was first introduced in Japan. The town planning areas were divided into two categories: an urbanization area and an urbanization-restricted area. The urbanization area was defined as an area which already formed the urban area and its vicinity, which would be urbanized preferentially and systematically within the next decade. The urbanization-restricted area was defined as an area where natural land use should be preserved, and new urbanization should be restricted for a period, not specified exact length of time in the Law.

Under the revised Town Planning Act of 1968, development permission was granted for areas of 0.1 hectares or more in size. The technical standard regarding the safety of the development site was used as the only criterion for approval, despite the circumvention of necessary public exaction for building the urban infrastructure and public facilities by developers. The construction of connecting roads from development sites to nearby main roads, drainage channels to rivers, and the provision of public facilities such as schools and nurseries were considered the responsibility of the local government according to the applicable laws. This could have bankrupted the local governmental budget. Therefore, Tamura suggested that the municipality would set the standards for the installation of infrastructures and public facilities required in residential developments in advance, and accordingly 'ask' developers to meet them. In 1968, the 'Local Development Exaction System'¹⁰ was enacted as a request from the authorities. It was neither a law nor a municipal



Figure 18. The Landmark Tower in the Minato Mirai District. Source: Own elaboration.

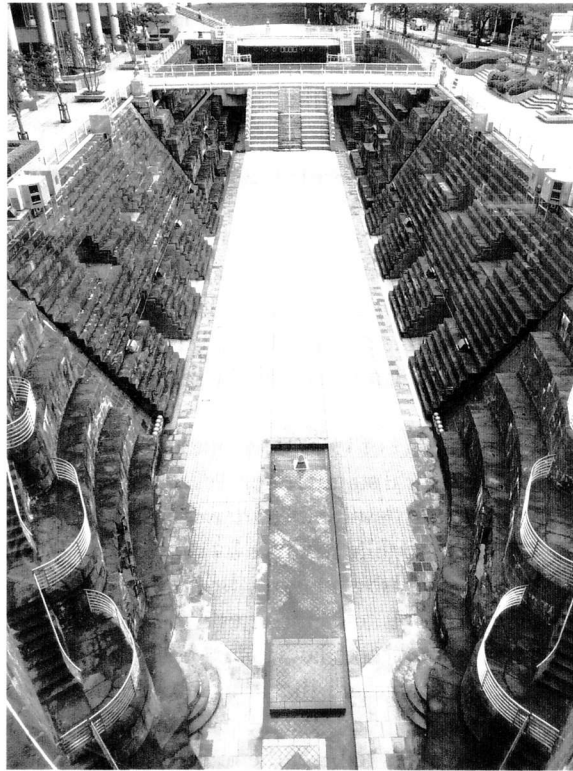


Figure 19. Dried Dock of the old shipyard conserved on the foot of the Landmark Tower. Source: Own elaboration.

ordinance, but a request which was introduced in Yokohama as well as in other municipalities throughout Japan and used for nearly 40 years afterwards.

By the end of the 1993 fiscal year, the total amount of land exacted for community facilities was 307 hectares since the inception of the LDE system in 1968, of which 210 hectares had been used for municipal primary and secondary schools. It had provided the sites for 150 schools, which accounted for 60% of the 258 total municipal schools opened in Yokohama since 1968. This shows how important the LDE system was to the provision of educational facilities in Yokohama city. A further 65 hectares of exacted land was used for other community facilities: nursery schools, local fire stations, and citizen-use facilities, which complied with the original objectives set by the LDE system. However, the remaining 30 hectares was used for resettlement caused by public infrastructure projects which had nothing to do with the original development and its exaction, which posed a problem from a viewpoint of having no direct nexus between the development exaction and the eventual use the land was put to. The value of land acquired to build community facilities from the inception of the LDE system had amounted to 384.6 billion yen, 3.8 billion US dollars, by the end of 1993.

When formulating land-use control measures, the issue of how to balance urban development and the preservation of agricultural land within the highly urbanized metropolitan region arose. In the past, Japanese cities were small; therefore, once you were in the suburbs, you could find

¹⁰Taguchi, "The Adoption and Abolition of the Local Development Exaction System."

farmlands, hills, forests, and brooks. Although there some took the view that the remaining farmland in the cities should be reserved for housing developments, some farmers tried to find a way to continue to earn their living by farming. Farmland located close to cities, where there are consumers of agricultural products, is ideally located, and many farmers are highly motivated to produce. This is the concept employed in 'Urban Agriculture' proposed by Asukata and Tamura, where locally grown products are consumed locally. According to the National Census by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fishery, the number of farmhouses for product sales/farmland (ha)/evaluation of crop product sales (USD) in Yokohama are as follows: 4549/not available/157 million USD in 1985, 3493/2502 ha/137 million USD in 1995, 2655/2006 ha/99 million USD in 2005, 2029/1639 ha/134 million USD in 2015. Such data demonstrates that the efficiency of Yokohama farming has increased despite the decrease in farmers or farmland.

Tamura has designated a quarter of the Yokohama City area as an urbanization-restricted area (Figure 20), even though the Ministry of Construction considered it entirely as an urbanization area and the city planning department and prefecture government alike recommended smaller urbanization-restricted areas. There were two planned categories in the urbanization-restricted concept visualized by Tamura: a nature conservation area to foster urban agriculture, and a tentative control area to guide future planned development. The designation policy was largely due to the decades-long accumulation of data and information on farmers and their farming conditions by the city's agricultural department. The use of this type of information was unlikely within a vertically divided administration. Nevertheless, Tamura did. Besides agricultural land, the city created the 'Citizen's Forest' system to preserve farmers' forests for citizens' use by exempting it from municipal tax. As of 2020, the number of 'Urban Agriculture Designated Areas (UADA)', collective farming covering more than 20 hectares in one area, has reached 28, with 1071 hectares in lot space. When a UADA is designated by the city, farmers could receive such special treatment as a full subsidy from the city budget for its expenses of lot adjustment and farming facilities. UADA is a model type of sustainable farming within the highly urbanized environment of Yokohama. The number of 'Citizen's Forests' (CF) has reached 47, with 550 hectares in space. CF is, and was, a farmer's forest, protecting their farmland from winds as well as producing water, firewood and humus from its twigs. The city designates forests covering more than two hectares as CF and makes a contract with concerned farmers to use it as an open and recreational forest for citizens by exempting land tax and providing basic facilities and maintenance work by the city. Farmers are required to establish a support group with citizens living around the forest to maintain its safety and cleanliness.

It is also notable that Tamura made an unprecedented decision to revoke the status of the once-designated urbanization areas because their planned housing developments, as permitted by the city government, had not commenced owing to the developers's bankruptcy. Tamura then designated them as new urbanization-restricted areas. This was one of the powerful tactics employed by Tamura that could never be implemented in other municipalities since reinforcing the restriction is usually much more difficult and not welcomed by landowners and developers alike than relaxing it. The act of designating the area classification is called 'demarcation', and the act of transitioning from an urbanization-restricted area to an urbanization area is called 'reverse demarcation'. Usually, the landowners tend to welcome the greater freedom of land use as the expected benefit. Conversely, some uses, such as farming, are protected by being in an urbanization-restricted area, and reverse demarcation is difficult but not impossible. However, the drawings of a reverse demarcation for the 'urbanisation restricted area' in a limited scale have often been implemented. These examples of reverse demarcation for Moto-Ishikawa-cho, of 27.5 hectares and Shinano-cho, of 97.18 hectares, took place in March 1977. Since then, there have been some

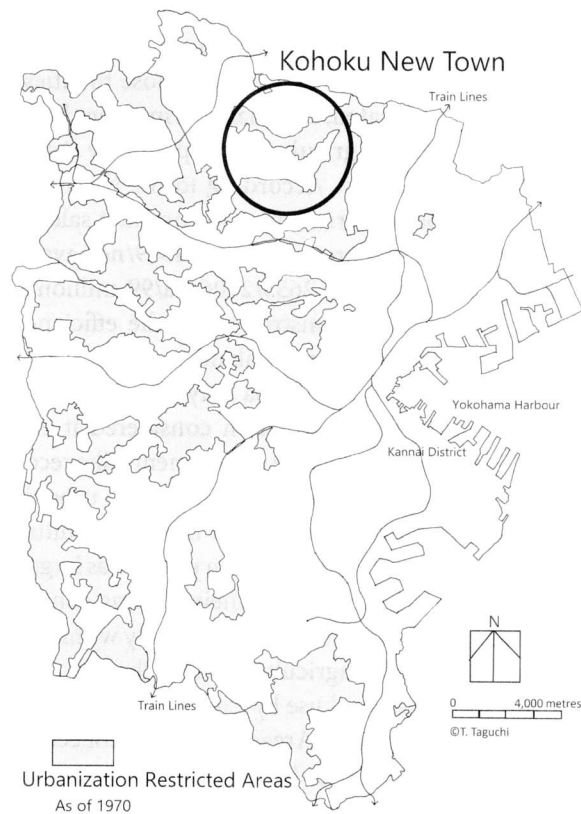


Figure 20. Demarcation of urbanization-restricted area. Source: Own elaboration.

minor cases of reverse demarcation in Yokohama City, but none on such a large scale. This was a brave attempt in the Tamura era.

Land use control is a measure covering the entire Yokohama, and Kohoku New Town (Figure 21), in the northern part of Yokohama near Tokyo, is a model community coupled with housing and urban agriculture (Figures 22 and 23). In the 1960s, when urban sprawl from Tokyo spilled into Yokohama, the Kohoku area was soon afraid of experiencing uncontrolled housing developments. Thereafter, Kohoku New Town, as a countermeasure to unplanned housing developments, was planned in 1964 with a targeted population of 220,000 and a total development area of 2530 hectares, including a 230-hectare farmland dedicated to urban agriculture in its surroundings. Nearly 95% of the previous area was covered mostly by farmlands or forests. Among the housing developments is the Green Matrix, which comprises a network of parks and footpaths throughout the development area. The resident council, composed of local farmers and residents, was established as publicly led body in 1967 as a liaison between the city administration, the Japan Housing Corporation as the developer of land readjustment scheme, and residents since the inception of the project. Although the planning area was designated in 1968, its formal planning decision was delayed until 1974. The actual work the site began in 1979, and it was 1983 when the first residents could start living in a newly built housing complex. As far as infrastructure was concerned, the municipal subway opened in 1993. Because of its complexity, a long delay occurred unexpectedly

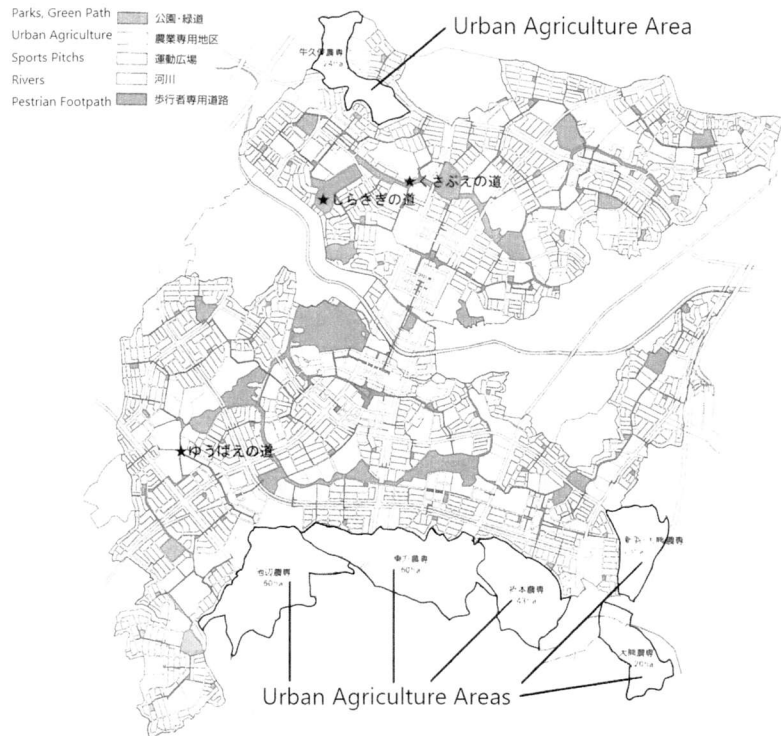


Figure 21. Green matrix and urban agriculture areas of Kohoku New Town. Source: Own elaboration of urban agriculture areas on a base map of the city administration’s leaflet.

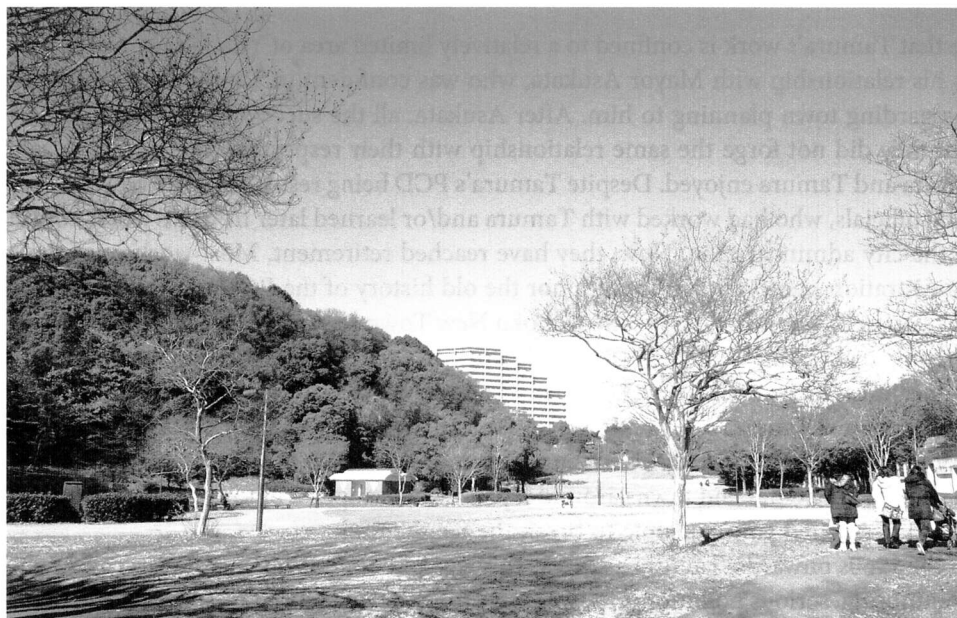


Figure 22. Neighbourhood park in Kohoku New Town. Source: Own elaboration.

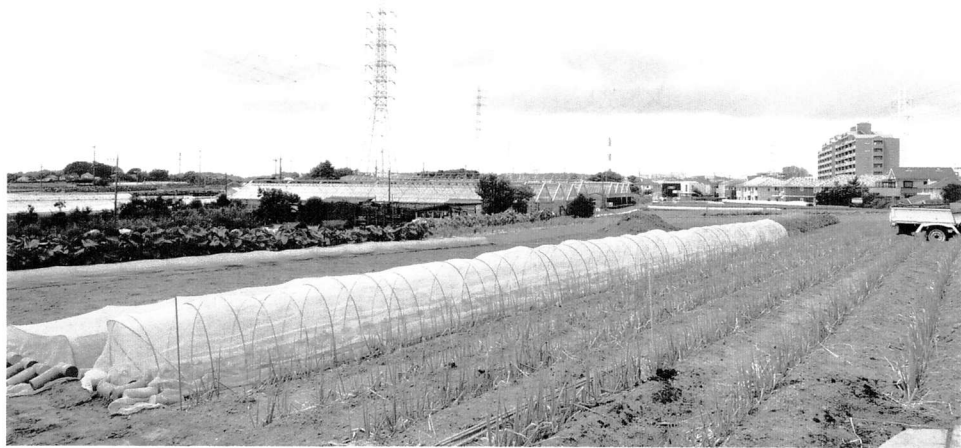


Figure 23. Urban agriculture area in Kohoku New Town. Source: Own elaboration.

in development progress. This caused exceptional anxiety among farmers, who organized a large rally to demand the acceleration of development to the city administration. At first, Tamura had the idea of making another model new town somewhere in the south of Yokohama; however, the urbanization of other areas was too fast to plan. Since then, sixty years have passed, and the project has been successfully completed.

Conclusion

It is true that Tamura's work is confined to a relatively limited area of Yokohama, and his success is owed to his relationship with Mayor Asukata, who was confident in Tamura and relegated all the powers regarding town planning to him. After Asukata, all the successive mayors tried to imitate PCD, but they did not forge the same relationship with their respective chief planners as the one that Asukata and Tamura enjoyed. Despite Tamura's PCD being resolved by the new mayor, proactive young officials, who had worked with Tamura and/or learned later from his work, continued to work in the city administration. Now, they have reached retirement. Most workers of the current city administration know neither Tamura nor the old history of the PCD, such as how the Minato Mirai development was initiated, or why Kohoku New Town has urban agriculture areas besides its housing complexes. Some people see Tamura's work as a special case of Yokohama, not applicable in other localities. It seems that the PCD has disappeared from everybody's memory.

After Yokohama, Tamura went on to set up the 'Japan Society of Local Governmental Studies', a voluntary organization for local government officials and scholars to meet and study on their own. Tamura kept visiting cities and towns around Japan as an evangelist of town-making until his death in 2010 and persuaded young people to break the ice themselves.

From the 1960s onwards, Tamura's era was the 'Age of Urban Problems'. Overcrowded housing, tough commuting, serious pollution, etc., were all problems that local governments had to deal with to protect citizens, without the necessary authority or financial resources. Therefore, local governments had to play a comprehensive role under the leadership of the mayor. The 2020s is an

unpredictable but looming ‘Age of Global Environmental Problems’, and the question is, how to find a relationship between global communities and local citizens to act on these difficult to grasp global issues. In 2000, the comprehensive legislation for the decentralization of state powers to local governments finally started, but in recent years decentralization reform has suffered a setback in reverse centralization. In this context, the role of local governments as regional coordinators will once again be required.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributor

Toshio Taguchi is an independent scholar at a non-profit institution that studies the planning history of the city of Yokohama in Japan, and focusing on the 1960s and the 1970s when the urban environment became over stressed because of population expansion. Taguchi worked at Yokohama city administration as an urban designer after mayor, Ichio Asukata, and the planner, Akira Tamura left the city. He was a friend of Tamura until the latter’s death in 2010. Although Taguchi learned from Tamura, empirical research has not been conducted to study the achievements of Tamura and his colleagues. Therefore, Taguchi and other peer scholars have set up an institution and conducted research activities, in a scientific and objective manner, to re-evaluate the planning history of Yokohama during that period.

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