KURENAI

Kyoto University Research Information Repository

KYOTO UNIVERSITY

Title	Territorial Prospective Visions for Japan's High Growth: The Role of Local Urban Development
Author(s)	Flores Urushima, Andrea
Citation	Nature and Culture (2015), 10(1): 12-35
Issue Date	2015-02-01
URL	http://hdl.handle.net/2433/200218
Right	This is an accepted manuscript version of the article.; The full-text file will be made open to the public on 1 February 2016 in accordance with publisher's 'Terms and Conditions for Self-Archiving'.
Type	Journal Article
Textversion	author

Kyoto University

論文題：「日本の高度成長に向けての国土の将来象：地方都市開発の役割」

筆者：アンドレア・フロレス・ウルシマ（京都大学地域研究統合情報センター・研究員）

論文要旨：この論文の中では、人と自然との長期的過程において形作られた地域に対して、どのように新たに介入するかというテーマについて論じた、20世紀半ばの議論を分析する。この分析に使った資料は国立公文書館と国立国会図書館などから入手したものである。1967年12月、時の佐藤栄作内閣官房が大都市、中・小規模都市、地方への将来の提案を含む、国土開発の為の未来像を募集したところから、この議論は始まった。後に中央政府は、明治維新100周年を祝う為に、1970年の大阪万博の日本館で募集結果を展示した。この議論は8800万円以上の公的資金が投入され、1972年の国際会議での総括討論で締めくくられた。さらに、大来佐武郎・丹下健三・磯村栄一・高山英華など、影響力のある政治家や社会学者や都市計画家などの卓抜した人脈を動員した。

この議論は国内で大規模な人の移動が起きている時期に行われた。その移動は、都市の内外で、これまで予想されなかった空間変容をもたらした。例えば、地方の衰退、郊外のスプロール現象、移動に支障が出るほどに人口が過密した都市中心部の出現、そして、環境破壊などである。その問題に対する様々な意見が、計画のなかで提起されていた。1972年の田中角栄による日本列島改造論や、1969年の下河辺淳による新全国総合開発計画などである。そして、この議論は各省庁長官レベルの意見の相違を超えて、内閣総理大臣の諮問機関の役割を担った。

議論中で作ったレポートは、環境の悪化と一箇所集中的な都市化への対策として、ムラや地方都市の現状に沿った生活様式の価値を再評価している。けれども、この議論では、伝統的な生活様式を維持することと、開発を調和させることの必要性が浮き彫りになっている。田の神への追憶:

> *その舞いは、田を搔く南部駒の記憶、暗く、貧しく、雪に閉じ込められた生活への恨み山背の吹く冷たい夏への呪い飢饉の時人肉を食べた業界をたどってゆく。それは、下北の恐山に集まった日本の怨霊の声でもある（萬新報：やぶ入り版、21世紀研究会ー磯村・高山グループ、1971）*

この議論の参加者のほとんどが、近代化の不可避性を信じており、現代の便利さを誰もが享受できるべきだと強調していた。同時に彼らは、ムラと地方都市における生活様式を尊重しながらそこに介入することが、自然環境にとって有益な結果をもたらすことを認めた。一般的に提案のほとんどが、異なるヴィジョンのなかで、保全と開発のバランスを取ることを試みていた。コンパクト・シティという節度のあるヴィジョンから、歴史への考慮を伴った都市構造の形成まで、幅ひろい解決策が提起された。

Territorial Prospective Visions for Japan's High Growth:

The Role of Local Urban Development

Andrea Flores Urushima

(Researcher, Center for Integrated Area Studies, Kyoto University)

ABSTRACT
The 1960s period witnessed the most important internal migration of Japan's population since the modern period with the definitive shift from a rural to an urban-based society. This unprecedented transformation led the Japanese central government to request visions for the prospective development of the national territory in an open competition. Responding to this call, a wide range of reports were produced and debated between 1967 and 1972, mobilizing a vast network of influential representatives in city making, such as sociologists, economists, urban planners, and architects. This article analyzes these reports on the theme of the conservation of natural and historical heritage. To support a sustainable development that was adjustable to economic and social change, the reports emphasized the aesthetic and environmental value of natural landscapes and traditional lifestyles. The reports also proclaimed the rise of an information society and stressed the growing importance of leisure and tourism activities, nowadays one of the most profi table industries worldwide. Apart from their value as interdisciplinary refl ections on problems related to urban expansion with visionary qualities, the reports were also highly relevant because they infl uenced later policies on urban planning and heritage preservation.
KEYWORDS
heritage, land development, landscape preservation, tourism, urbanization, urban planning

This article analyzes the contents of a debate initiated by the Japanese Prime Minister's Cabinet about future visions for the national land development between 1967 and 1972.[1] This debate largely consumed public funds and mobilized an outstanding network of influential politicians, sociologists, economists, urban planners and architects, among others, including practitioners and academics from public and private institutions. The debate emphasized the environmental, cultural, and social richness of landscapes shaped through interactions between man and nature in existing small and medium cities, rural areas, and villages. One unanimous acknowledgement is that the areas unrelated to the metropolitan expansion casually became valuable repositories of combined nature and traditional culture. The debate was relevant because it gathered an interdisciplinary reflection about the impact of town and rural decadence during one critical period of urban expansion in the history of Japan. Moreover, the debate informed, above ministerial divergence, a large scope of policies, including urban and regional planning, environmental management, and heritage preservation. Despite being a

---

1 I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the reviewers of this article, from which precious comments have permitted a much higher level of readability and density of content.

large and publicly funded project, it lacks a systematic analysis within foreign and Japanese written literature.

This article breaks ground for the analysis of these new documental sources, which are rich sources for the understanding of the political and planning culture of the period. The article treats in detail primary sources that include official documents available in Japan's National Archives, and the National Diet Library's collection; other materials, such as proceedings of the Japan Center for Area Development Research (JCADR); and secondary sources that support the understanding of the planning context and the huge urban and regional transformations of the period. Further investigation of these sources will also serve to clarify the impact of this type of multidisciplinary and large project on later policies. Finally, the contents of this debate were visionary and are updated to nowadays discussions, some forty years later.

Among the significant themes in the debate stands the appreciation of traditional and natural landscapes outside metropolitan areas for potential use in activities of leisure and tourism. This view has fully been incorporated into recent political agendas. By revising the entire old Tourism Basic Act (1963) and renaming it as the Tourism Nation Promotion Basic Law in 2012, the actual government has positioned tourism as one of the pillars of the national policy. This policy emphasizes at a national level the protection, cultivation, and development of tourism resources, such as historic landscapes, excellent natural scenic sites, good landscapes, and the promotion of historical town development (Japan Tourism Agency 2012, 43-4, 82). Since landscapes in varied forms have obtained a central role in the recent national agenda, it is meaningful to discuss how the concepts behind the protection, cultivation, and development of landscapes have emerged..

This article responds to this interest, whilst at the same time exposing Japan's mid-twentieth century experience of a country undergoing rapid urbanization. In Asiatic countries with time-honored urban traditions, the phenomenon of challenging new haphazard urban development that encroaches upon heritage of historical and natural relevance has gained momentum. Intervention in areas that have historically developed as an outgrowth of a collective process of everyday appropriation of spaces is a decidedly troublesome topic. Generally, the living population and governments in such areas tend to prioritize the improvement of existing physical structures towards contemporary lifestyles. The emerging

3

importance of landscapes for development makes it meaningful to inquire about ways in which to conciliate contemporary interventions with existing historical and natural features.

The article focuses on one mid-twentieth century discussion about how to intervene in areas that were a result of historical man-nature interaction, especially in rural and town areas. The debate exposed an appreciation of these landscapes for their aesthetical or environmental aspects, rather than for their productive value. This demonstrates an important historical change of perception. The sociologist Sonoda Hidehiro (1947-2007) has analyzed the change in the socio-cultural perception of spaces after the emergence of urbanity in Japan. He acknowledges that urbanity has intimately been associated with cultural refinement. This understanding has led to different socio-cultural perceptions of spaces, where urban spaces have been perceived of as centers of culture, followed by different perceptions of a near and a distant nature. During this process, the natural spaces in urban peripheries—the stage for leisure and the source of cultural inspiration—have maintained a higher socio-cultural value than that of agricultural fields or the places of labor (Sonoda 2003: 119-124).

The author demonstrates that this perception already existed in descriptions of the urban peripheries of the ancient capital in 1870 (Ibid.: 123), and in the mapping of agricultural lands and greenbelt areas in Kyoto maps of 1691, 1696, and 1831 (Ibid.:133). A shift occurred during the process of modern nation state formation and the Japanese national identity discussion when the rural and popular lifestyle attracted attention. During the pre-war period, the celebration of the rural identity of "rice planters" served as an intellectual counterpoint to the massive modernization since the Meiji revolution (Edwards 1991: 14-15). Among others, it is important to cite the documentation of popular lifestyles by Yanagita Kunio (1875-1962), as well as the work of the sociologist Ariga Kizaemon (1897-1979). Their documentation efforts took place in the context of the origin of the emergence of "folkloric studies" *(minzokugaku),* and the subsequent apparition of the discipline of ethnology in Japan. However, the recognition of the value of rural traditions reflected in the work of the pioneering ethnologists remained distant from the concrete preservation of landscapes in town and rural areas. Effectively, in contrast to the natural landscapes in temples or imperial properties preserved by law since 1919, the preservation of traditional landscapes in rural areas and small towns gained attention only after the 1960s, and became a recurrent object of specific actions from as late as the 1990s.. This process culminated with the creation of the law for the preservation of cultural landscapes in 2005.

This institutional change was translated into a new international preservation notion based on the integrated approach of "*linking contemporary architecture, sustainable urban development and landscape integrity*" (UNESCO 2005: 2). The following definition of the historic urban landscape was adopted:

The historic urban landscape refers to ensembles of any group of buildings, structures and open spaces, in their natural and ecological context, constituting human settlements in an urban environment over a relevant period of time… It is composed of character-defining elements that include land uses and patterns, spatial organization, visual relationships, topography and soils, vegetation, and all elements of the technical infrastructure…(Ibid.).

This new notion includes "*a broader interpretation leading to recognition of human coexistence with the land and human beings in society, that requires new approaches to and methodologies for urban conservation and development in a territorial context* (Ibid.)." This new approach envisages the cooperation and engagement with the local community. It also relies on the interdisciplinary interaction of institutions and specialists in fields that include natural heritage, architecture, urban and regional planning, landscape planning, and anthropology, among others (UNESCO 2005: 2; ICOMOS 2005: 4). What is fundamental in this new orientation is that cultural landscapes are situated at the interface of nature and culture. Also, an integrated planning is fundamental to the creation of landscapes as resources for sustainable development.

This article demonstrates that this integrated notion of the historic urban landscape started to be formulated in Japan from as early as the 1960s. "Resource" was a term first used around 1918 in the context of the mobilization of war efforts. During that period, the recognition of a scarcity of natural resources led politicians to emphasize the value of human resources instead (Satō 2011: 68, 75). The reconstruction period witnessed the institutionalization of an integrated planning of resource governance during the immediate postwar period. This institutionalization occurred under the rule of the allied occupation and under the lead of the geographer Edward Ackerman (1911-1973) (Satō 2007: 153; Satō 2011: 83). It is interesting to remark that Ackerman's ideas greatly influenced the former Japanese Foreign Minister Ōkita Saburō (1914-1993) while the latter served as the head of the survey section of the Economic Stabilization Agency in 1947 (Satō 2011: 83). During the 1960s, Ōkita actively participated in the debate analyzed in this article. Later, he became head of the Japanese government advisory group that suggested the creation of the Brundtland

Commission in 1987. This commission published one of the most representative international statements on the concept of sustainable development up until now (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987).

Ackerman's integrated planning approach probably influenced later reflections on sustainable development. However, at that early stage, an appreciation of landscapes as resources of aesthetic value was probably absent. This is because, during the 1930s and 1940s, Ackerman openly acknowledged his distrust of the concept of morphology presented in the text "The Morphology of Landscape" of the geographer Carl Sauer (Ackerman 1963). Sauer's text is a major reference to the recent elaboration of the concept of cultural landscapes. Landscapes viewed as resources of aesthetic and economic value for sustainable development brings back morphology to the forefront of integrated planning discussions that appeared in embryonic form in the debate analyzed here.

A Debate about Future Land Development in Japan

In December 1967, the Central Government promoted a competition that aimed at selecting plans for concrete future interventions in metropolitan areas, medium and small sized cities, and rural districts. The competition also aimed at celebrating the anniversary of the emergence of Japan as a modern state at the centenary of the Meiji Restoration (1968). Just before that, in 1966, the Prime Minister's cabinet had promoted a project entitled "Twenty-first Century Japan" with a call to citizens and high school students to participate through dissertations on the theme of Japan's future. National mass media institutions (NHK, NBA, and NSK) enthusiastically supported the project. The project's organizing committee suggested to extend the call to specialists from public and private research agencies. The first guidelines of the specialists' call emphasized the rising importance of individual freedom and creativity under the postwar democratic system by recalling the hundred years since the Meiji Revolution as a period of endeavoring trial. The government planned to exhibit the results of the competition in the Japanese Pavilion of the 1970 Osaka Expo (Naikaku kanbō 1967). From a total of nineteen applications, nine groups were selected. Thenceforth, each selected group received a financial support of 9.780 thousands of yens to develop proposals during a period of three years with a total public stipend of more than 88 millions of yens. In the spring of 1971, a

special commission of the Prime Minister's Cabinet Office published the final reports in a twenty-volume compilation, entitled "Japan of the Twenty First Century: A Future Vision of the National Land and Citizen's Life" (Naikaku kanbō naikaku shingishitsuhen 1971). The reports were produced from 1967 to 1970, published in 1971, and their conclusions were discussed in a conference in 1972. This five-year period witnessed an integrated and interdisciplinary relevant debate about the future of cities and regions in Japan.

The reports offer a wide collaborative opinion from both governmental and non-governmental groups networked through their main representatives: Suzuki Masatsugu (1889-1987), civil engineer and emeritus professor at Nihon University; Matsui Tatsuo (1917-1980), civil engineer, urban planner and professor at Waseda University; Tange Kenzō (1913-2005), architect, urban planner and professor at the University of Tokyo; Sakai Shōbei (1901-1981), economist and professor at Nanzan University; Rōyama Masamichi (1895-1980), political scientist and president of Ochanomizu University; Isomura Eiichi (1903-1997), sociologist and president of Tōyō University; Takayama Eika (1910-1999), urban planner and professor at the University of Tokyo; Ōkita Saburō (1914-1993), economist and board chairman founder of the Japan Center for Economic Research (JCER); Tōhata Shirō (1908-1980), bureaucrat of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry and founder of the actual Institute of Developing Economies-Japan External Trade Organization (IDE-JETRO).

In 1972, in Tokyo, representatives of each group gathered at the Fourth International Symposium on Regional Development, organized by the JCADR Japan Center for Area Development Research *(chiiki kaihatsu sentā)* (Nihon chiiki kaihatsu sentāhen 1972; JCADR 1972). The vice-president of the JCADR and former president of the University of Tokyo, Kaya Seiji (1898-1988) opened this Ford Foundation sponsored symposium. Fifteen international scholars participated, among which the French Geographer and director of the school of geography of the University of Oxford, Jean Gottmann (1915-1994); the American planner Jacquelin Robertson, from the New York City Office of Mid-Town Planning and Development; and the American planner William L. C. Wheaton (1913-1978), one participant of the 1958 Conference on Urban Design Criticism.

The Relevance of the National Debate in the 1960s and 1970s Context of Change

The debate occurred during a period of fast economic growth and urbanization. It was a period of transportation networks expansion, national large-scale plans and projects promotion, and urban development innovations. Examples include the implementation of the new city planning system *(shin toshikeikakuhō)* in 1968, the second comprehensive national development plan *(shinzenkoku sōgō kaihatsu keikaku)* in 1969, and the promotion of the first Asiatic international exposition at Osaka in 1970. The centenary of Japanese modernization coincided with the awareness of the dependent and fragile relationship between economic growth, industrialization, urbanization, concentration of population in metropolitan areas, and environmental degradation.

The accelerated economic growth of the postwar era *(kōdo keizai seichōki)* resulted in immense physical and social changes. The expansion of cities caused by internal migration pressed urban development at the expense of natural environments and historically developed settlements (Takeuchi 2001: 193; Okata and Murayama 2010: 15; Ōta 1982: 287). The definitive shift from a rural to an urban-based society occurred during the 1960s period, when the most important internal migration since the modern period took place. According to Flores Urushima (2012: 131), until 1950, rural based activities sustained the economy of the country. From 1960 onwards, the numbers of the economically active population in urban-related activities suddenly doubled. In 1970, cities supported the Japanese economy, which employed 80,5% of the total active population, parallel to a permanent decrease in the importance of rural activities. Within the general urban population growth from 11% in 1898 to 78% in 2000, the most relevant and sudden change in the rate between total population and those living in cities occurred in 1960. The following diagrams are based on the numerical information presented in Flores Urushima 2012:131.

*[1] AFF: Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries. [2] Others: Industry, construction, commerce, finance, transportation, communications, services.

This abrupt shift reflects the increasing importance of cities all over the world, but especially in Asia (Flores Urushima 2011a). Today, the global impact of urbanization is recognized as an irreversible process. During the early modern period, however, less than 5% of the world's population lived in cities. In 2008, for the first time in history, the rate has reached 50%, with a continued increase that is expected to reach 72% of an estimated 6.3 billion in 2050 (UN-DESA 2012). The most recent report on world population lacks specific urban population analysis focusing on fertility rates. According to this report, the world

population has already reached more than 7 billion in 2013; a total population of 9.6 billion people is estimated for 2050 (UN-DESA 2013).

The mid-twentieth century was a crucial period for the establishment of Japan's urban structure. It was the period during which there was an increment in the use of strategic mechanisms of urban development; the role of developers gained more importance, and mega-events were enthusiastically promoted (Flores Urushima 2011 and 2007). Planning theory and planners then had to respond to a rapid urbanization concentrated in metropolitan areas. Their planning concepts greatly determined the form of contemporary cities. A main characteristic of the period was the notable concentration of people in large cities alongside the Pacific coast, including Tokyo and the Tokaido megalopolis urban conurbation. The previously cited Jean Gottman coined the term "megalopolis" in 1961. The term is now commonly used to describe a region of multinuclear characteristics constituted of several distinct and well-integrated urban systems, located inside a network of transportation and communication, and with a minimum population of 25 million inhabitants. The Tokaido megalopolis or Pacific Belt was the result of an intensive urbanization of the area surrounding the ancient Tokaido road main route of travel to Edo during the medieval period. At present, it extends over more than one thousand kilometers from Mito city in Ibaraki Prefecture to Fukuoka city in the south. In opposition to the shrinking of towns and villages in isolated rural areas, metropolitan areas were affected by suburban sprawl, central districts congestion, and environmental degradation. Among the serious environmental accidents of this period were mercury poisoning in the city of Minamata, air pollution in Yokkaichi, and cadmium poisoning in Niigata, among others. This pattern of development faced a negative reaction from local governments outside the Pacific Belt and from civil society at large.
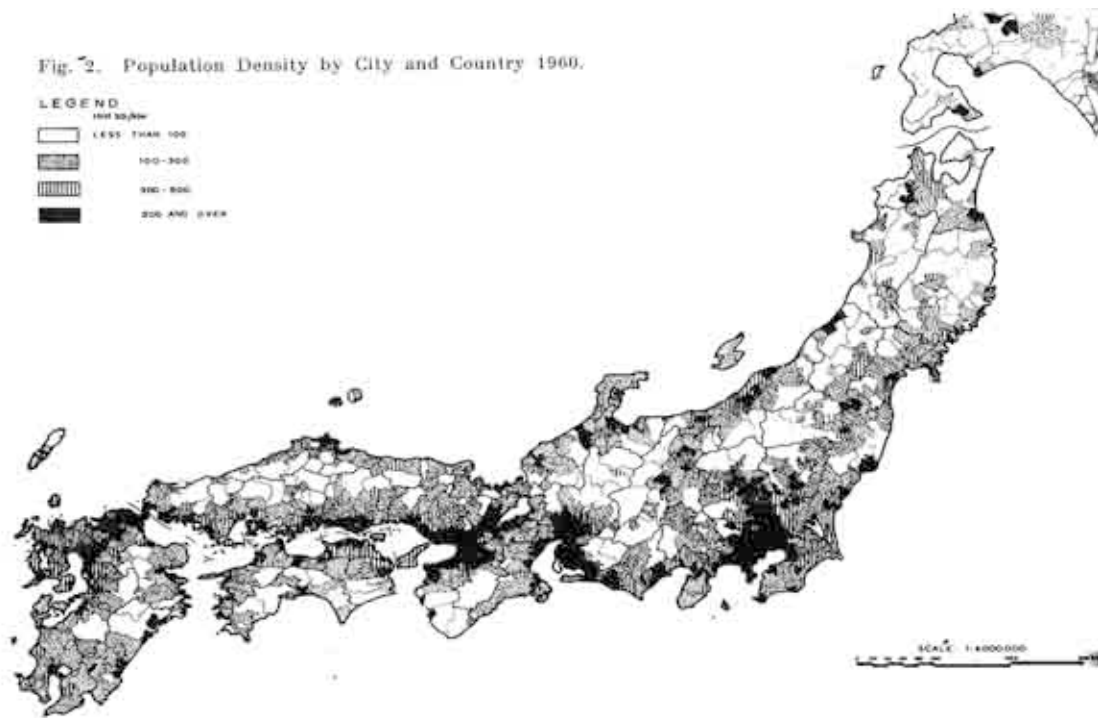
Fig. 1 – High concentration of population alongside the Pacific coast in 1960. (Nagashima 1967: 8)

Fig. 2 – The Pacific coast megalopolis pattern of urban expansion. (Nagashima 1974: 166)

During the 1970s and 1980s, large numbers of measures to prevent pollution and to support the environment were adopted under both civil and international pressure (Schreurs 2002: 252). Part of this success was the result of the transfer of environmentally damaging activities to countries in Asia (see Ozawa 1979; for Thailand, see Lehmann 1987: 183; for Malaysia, see Furuoka and Lo 2005; for South Korea, see Minami 2011: 177; for the Philippines, see Ando 2013: 126; for Indonesia, see Nicholson 2009: 158). One major characteristic of the environmental politics of the period was the emphasis on innovation and the development of new mechanisms to support sustainable development. However, the actions that had a potential to limit economic development were left behind, as for example, studies of environmental impact. As a consequence, in order to attract the tourism and leisure industry, several developmental projects resulted in damaging natural and historical surroundings. Nuclear accidents in 1995 and 1997, oil leakage to the Japan Sea in 1997, the dike construction and land reclamation in Isahaya Bay in 1997, among others, led to new environmental conservation measures and the passage of the Nonprofit Organizations (NPO) Law in 1998. According to Schreurs (2002: 253), the attempts of the last forty years to harmonize development and environmental conservation brought about important legislative and institutional transformations, although the practical results remain insufficient.

The national debate analyzed in this article occurred just before the creation of the Environment Agency (*kankyōchō)* [2] in July 1971, and before the adoption of the Natural Conservation Law (*shizen kankyō hozenhō)* in June 1972. The debate also contained a revaluation of town lifestyle preservation and its surrounding environments. This notion was present in the 1975 revision of the Cultural Assets Protection Law (*bunkazai hogohō)*[3], the first national legal instrument of commoner districts' preservation. This new law empowered the Ministry of Education's Agency for Cultural Affairs (*monbushō, bunkachō)* to execute the program of "Preservation Districts for Groups of Traditional Buildings" (*dentōtekina kenzō butsugun hozon chiku*). According to Bunkachō (2001)*, the revision aimed at the preservation of a group of traditional structures that conformed to and were integrated into their surrounding environment—a formal unity of historical elegance and high value. Groups of traditional structures are, for example, post towns (*shukuba)*, towns surrounding temples or

---

2 A small sub-cabinet agency during the time of its creation in 1971, it submitted to the powerful interests of other Ministries, such as the MITI. Only recently, in 2001, did it become the Ministry of Environment (kankyōshō).

3 According to the introduction of Bunkachō 2001, cultural assets are those indispensable for the understanding of the cultural tradition and history of Japan. Simultaneously, cultural assets play a major role as references to the creation and the development of a new culture in the future.

shrines (*monzenchō)*, castle towns (*jōkamachi)*, or groups of Western-style structures of the Meiji period (Ibid.: 45). This revision changed the orientation from the preservation of punctual sites as objects towards the preservation of the surface of entire districts. Under this concept, groups of structures that formed harmonic unities with their surrounding environments were preserved, even if individual structures lacked any special attribute. In order to be preserved, the group of structures must demonstrate physical characteristics that developed as the result of the living of people during a large span of time. Finally, the preservation of one such area should not be obstructive to the continuity of everyday activities of its living population (Fujita and Koga 1999: 200).

Intertwined relationships between the debate and governmental policies

Fig.3 - Photo taken at the Prime Minister's official residence in 23 April 1971. In the front row: Tange Kenzō (Tange group), Yoshizaka Takamasa (Waseda group), Hori Shigeru (Chief Cabinet Secretary), Satō Eisaku (Prime Minister), Nakayama Ichirō (Head of the review committee), Hashimoto Tomisaburō (Former Chief Cabinet Secretary), Rōyama Masamichi (Metropolitan plan group). In the back row: Miwa Hiroshi (Kansai group), Isomura Eiichi (Isomura-Takayama group), Ōkita Saburō (JCER group), Suzuki Masatsugu (Suzuki

group), Sakai Shōbei (CREC group), Kagiyama Satoru (Japan Research Center group). (Naikaku sōri daijin kanbō kōhōshitsu 1971: 1)

The debate discussed here influenced the creation of new mechanisms of environmental protection and the revision of the law for protection of cultural assets cited above. On 22 January 1971, Prime Minister Satō Eisaku (1901-1975) gave a long speech in which he emphasized his future visions for Japan's national territory before the House of Representatives in the morning of that day, and before the House of the Councillors in the afternoon of the same day. In this speech, he stated that the establishment of an Environment Agency was one of his priorities to tackle the problems of environmental hazards and pollution. (Shūgiin, 22 January 1971; Sangiin, 22 January 1971). He also emphasized the importance of expanding the infrastructure at a national scale, with special attention being paid to communications, the expansion of the fast train (*shinkansen)* network, and the construction of Narita airport. His important speech reflects several of the main concerns that were expressed in the debate.

Based on the records of the meetings of the two Houses between 1965 and 1975, it was in May 1971 that the Minister of State, Yamanaka Sadanori (1921-2004), first proposed a revision of the Cultural Assets Protection Law (Sangiin, 21 May 1971). He proposed this revision as part of a larger new orientation for the national land development. His discourse strongly suggests an awareness of the contents of the report that was compiled in relation to the debate. He proposed a revision of the law aiming at the comprehensive protection of surrounding environments of individual structures of cultural value.

The reports' compilation involved urban and regional planning-related experts in a huge collaborative undertaking that is valid for substantiating essential opinions about city-making of that period. The housing specialist and professor of the architecture department of Kyoto University, Nishiyama Uzō (1911-1994) headed the Kansai group. This group contained a planning team of twelve members, and a multi-disciplinary supporting team of more than 160 researchers from the Kansai Region, including Osaka, Kyoto, and Kobe cities. Among the members of the planning team was the architect Ueda Atsushi (b.1930), a former bureaucrat serving in the Ministry of Construction. Ueda's resignation from the bureaucracy and the commencement of his career at Kyoto University occurred in special circumstances intimately connected to the planning of the grand national project of the Osaka Expo 1970 (see Flores Urushima 2011:.641).

For the debate's production, the central government organized the funding and the selection of authors. Moreover, Tokyo-based institutions and people well-related to government institutions played a central role in most of the discussions. This national debate has certainly served as a forum to inform the Prime Minister's Cabinet beyond the divergent opinions at the ministerial level. The divergent political orientation of different governmental institutions reflected the difficulty in dealing with unprecedented urban problems not only at a planning level, but also within other decision-making areas, such as in the definition of laws. One relevant example that illustrates this affirmation is apparent in the revision process of the City Planning Act (*toshikeikakuhō*) first enacted in 1919. Although the 1919 City Planning Act would expectedly be revised after the end of WW II, this revision had to wait until 1968, when economic growth led to an unforeseen rapid urbanization. Among the several revisions present in the 1968 City Planning Law (*shin toshikeikakuhō*), the empowerment of local governments stands as a relevant change. However, controversy emerged when the first revised draft circulated among the different ministries before its final submission to the Diet in 1967 (Hasegawa 2010). The divergent opinions from the Ministry of Welfare (*kōseishō*) and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry MITI (*tsūsanshō*) led the Ministry of Construction (*kensetsushō*) to hesitate with regard to strengthening the zoning control over the heavily polluting industries at the benefit of citizens living nearby (Hasegawa 2010: 98-101). As a matter of fact, the MITI maintained a stronghold over official decisions during most of the economic growth period.

Parallel to the discussions included in this debate, other plans and reports of the period attempted to address the several problems of the unprecedented urban transformations. Among known propositions of the time stands «Building a New Japan; A Plan for Remodelling the Japanese Archipelago" (*nippon rettō kaizōro*), written in 1972 by Tanaka Kakuei (1918-1993). Within official policy, there was the first CNDP or "Comprehensive National Development Plan" (*kokudo sōgō kaihatsu keikaku*) of 1962. The first CNDP came out in reaction to the governmental policy from 1961 to 1970 of the National Income Doubling Plan (*kokumin shotoku baizō keikaku*), formulated inside a larger proposal for the creation of a Pacific Coastal Belt (*taiheiyō beruto chitai kōsō*). Although the metropolitan concentration has historical origins (Ito, Nagashima et Hons 1980: 234), the Pacific Belt policy reinforced this tendency. Local governments outside the Pacific Coast received this policy with negative reaction. In 1969, the first CNDP was revised into the second CNDP or "New Comprehensive

National Development Plan" (*shin zenkoku sōgō kaihatsu keikaku*), prepared by the group led by Shimokōbe Atsushi (b.1923) inside the Economic Planning Agency (*keizai kikakuchō*). Shimokōbe was the Vice-Minister of the National Land Agency (*kokudochō*). He completed his first degree and postgraduate education, respectively, under the supervision of the above cited planners Takayama Eika and Tange Kenzō. It is interesting to note that Shimokōbe's team prepared the second CNDP, while Takayama and Tange's teams prepared the reports for the competition analyzed in this article. The successive plans and reports with similar themes show a difficulty in reaching consensus and express the contradictions and different opinions of the intellectuals and politicians of the period (Toyokawa 2011). The plans headed by powerful politicians such as Tanaka or Shimokōbe express one particular point of view with regard to that period's urban problems. In contrast, the collection of reports offers a more comprehensive opinion of specialists and politicians from varied backgrounds.

Exposing the Debate's Content: Interactive Landscapes of Man and Nature

The urban and regional problems of the period were similar to most large cities' expansion worldwide: increased urbanization followed economic growth, expensive living in central overcrowded districts, suburban sprawl, environmental degradation, and rural areas decay. Most reports dramatically exposed these problems: the Rōyama group asserted that the ills of overcrowding had generated a suburban sprawl prone to the creation of new slums; the Isomura-Takayama group asserted that the development of central business districts was a miserable and highly expensive phenomenon producing spaces of inferior standards; the Nishiyama group described the process of rural decay as below:

Agriculture, forestry, and fishing in these (rural low-density) areas is stagnant, and continued decline of population engaged in these pursuits is in the offing. Often, not even the eldest son, who traditionally carried on after his father, remains, and throughout the land, ghost villages are left behind as all the people migrate to the cities. Even if a village is not abandoned to the winds, many natural areas are becoming underpopulated and desolate. Consequently, the collapse of the environmental management system that had become established in the area and that had been supported by local tradition, is imminent. (The Twenty First Century Kansai Group 1973: 91)

The Ōkita group asserted the features of urban growth in Japan were a model for the destruction of the world's environment:

Even though the Japanese Islands are populated by 100 million (a little less than 3% of the world's population) and occupy only 0.27% of the world's total land area, economic activities here produce a little less than 7% of the world's production. Consequently, continuing such energetic economic activities within this limited geographical area will create a situation that can be regarded as a model for the destruction of the world's environment. (JCADR 1972: 125)

Environmental conservation was a unanimous prescription that came about in parallel with a revaluation of the historically produced spaces in rural and town areas. Most presentations reinforced that the organization of large cities had reached an insurmountable complexity. Consequently, small and medium sized cities were prone to become preservation centers due to the maintenance of their particular historical and natural features. Thus, several propositions recommended control over the expansion of small and medium cities, together with measures to stimulate the permanent residence of populations in rural areas.

As an example, the Tōhata group directed policy towards the realization of a *skhole* society[4] leisure-oriented system of values, marked with "*[t]he traditional stoic values of the Orient in which the meaning of life is found in creative activities, such as the pursuit of art, literature or philosophy, carried on in a quiet natural environment, combined with certain hedonistic values of the Western world…*" (of which) "*[l]ocal medium cities such as Sapporo, Sendai, Hiroshima, and Fukuoka, with the fair preservation of their traditions and natural environments, will develop as bases of information for political, economic and cultural activities*". This was the case with the "*[m]edium city of Fukuoka, favored by nature and tradition*":

Favored by such natural surroundings as the Sea Park, the Mountain Park from Mt. Aburayama to the Seturi Mountains, and the clear streams of the Nakagawa, the Maromigawa, and the Tataragawa, and by such

---

[4] According to the report of the Japan Research Center (*Nihon Risāchi Sōgō Kenkyūjō*),the Greek word *skhole* corresponds to the Latin word *schola*, in the origins of the modern word "school".The term *skhole* was synonymous to leisure in ancient Greece. Leisure for the Greek represented a place that allowed the acquisition of knowledge and happiness, a place of study, and a place to search for the "aim of life". Leisure for the Greek was associated to "philosophy" and "art" in a concept that was far from the modern understanding of leisure. Emphasizing the Greek original concept of the term, the report proposes the creation of places to support the apparition of a *skhole* society, interested in promoting knowledge and well being.(JCADR 1972: 161)

historical remains as Dazaifu-Tofuro[5], as well as by such traditional arts as Dontaku, Hakata, Niwaka, Hakata-bushi, and Hakata figurines[6]. Fukuoka City has all the qualifications as a skhole city. " (JCADR 1972: 162, 167, 171)

In order to cope with environmental degradation, to decentralize urbanization, and to stimulate people's permanence in small and medium sized cities, most reports advocated the re-evaluation of everyday lifestyles in rural and town areas. Moreover, to limit the rural exodus, many reports suggested a general expansion of the main advantages and comforts of a metropolitan lifestyle to all regions. To support a development flexible to economic and social change, the reports emphasized the value of natural landscapes and a traditional lifestyle for their aesthetic and environmental qualities. However, the debate emphasized that natural and historical preservation should coexist with industrialization and modernization on a national scale.

The theme of the preservation of natural areas and the areas intimately linked with everyday life in historically developed human settlements came out in an embryonic form, charged with nuances and ambiguity. On the one hand, the discussions exposed the consentient realization that owing to isolation, some enduring local features had remained in areas of difficult access, including settlements in mountainous or cold regions. On the other hand, the great majority of participants praised the achievements of modern industrial development, defended the improvement of accessibility to all areas, and avoided defending mechanisms of preclusion to urban development in the name of preservation. Regarding this question, Robertson observed that mobility tended to kill diversity and advocated that preservation should necessarily encompass the idea of isolation. This statement showed the complexity of coming to terms with finding a balance between preservation as an ideal and inevitable modernization. Nevertheless, the Japanese participants believed in the inevitability of modernization and unanimously advocated universal access to modern conveniences, such as education and health services. Without any exception, the reports advocated the expansion of transportation and information networks. In addition, the discussion demonstrated that the preservation of the memory of a place was desirable as long as the inconveniences of living in old districts and rural areas could be overcome.

---

5 Dazaifu was the name of the government office that governed the whole Kyushu region between the 7th and 12th century. It was a main diplomatic and trade base of Japan with continental Asia. During the 8th century, it became a center of political, economic, and cultural power paired with that of the government in the capital. The remains of the Dazaifu headquarters are seen today at Tofuro and are one of the three noted historical sites of Japan alongside with the Heijo-kyō in Nara and the Taga Castle in Miyagi.

6 These are traditional forms of arts that historically developed in Hakata, the name of Fukuoka city before the 19th century. They include the Hakata-bushi folk songs, the figurines known as Hakata ningyō clay dolls and the Niwaka type of comic performance. The Hakata dontaku was a parade initiated by merchants during the Edo period that nowadays is one of the most important festivals of the region.

The following passage from the Takayama/Isomura group argues for the general provision of modern amenities. There still existed a fresh memory of the past arduous conditions of human life. This passage describes "nature" in terms of both "beauty" and "cruelty", and separates it distinctively from a human way of life. It suggests that the toughness of a popular rural lifestyle is appreciated only as a memory within a modern comfortable lifestyle:

Shimokita area in Aomori Prefecture, which will be turned into a large-scale industrial complex in the beginning of the twenty-first century, was once a poor, snowbound agricultural area. The history of this area records the curse and bitter memories of having eaten human flesh in time of famine. In this area, folkloric dances with the plough and other agricultural implements have been practiced since the Edo period. At a time when affluence and leisure have led to easy-going ways of life, such legends and folklore which contrast the cruel beauty of nature with the human way of life, will touch the souls of those who listen. (JCADR 1972: 120) .

In the discussion about modernization balanced with the preservation of local features, some groups defended the diagnosis of local needs and specificities of existing settlements as a basis for a moderate modernization, exemplified in the reports of the Takayama/Isomura or Nishiyama group. The Nishiyama and Sakai groups also emphasized the need to strengthen local government, while the Nishiyama group asserted that the quest for regional diversity was less of a task to planners than to autonomous regions. Other groups advocated more radical solutions, as exemplified in the reports of the Matsui or Tange group, which also suggested the creation of new models of man-nature environments.

図3.2.2.N 教育施設より見た近世庶民文化の地域的傾向

凡　　　例

藩 学	▲	藩 学
	■	藩学の延長としての郷学
	□	庶民教育機関としての郷学

心 学
△ 1　△ 2　藩主も修業し民間へも奨励するもの
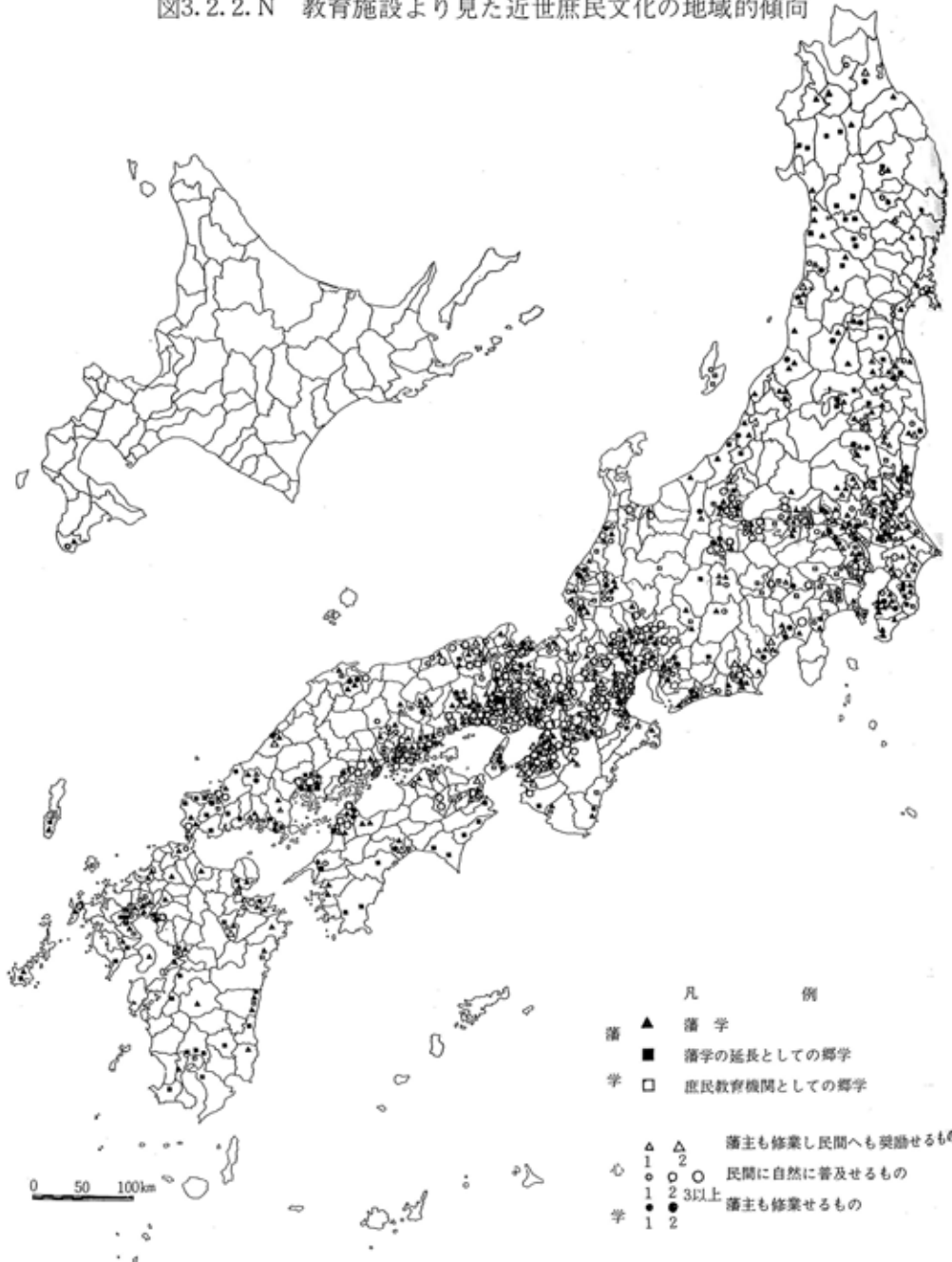○ 1　○ 2　○ 3以上　民間に自然に普及せるもの
● 1　● 2　藩主も修業せるもの

0　50　100km

Fig.4 - Regionalization of early modern popular culture seen from the viewpoint of educational facilities.. Educational facilities are divided into schools for samurais and the facilities dedicated to Edo-period popularized blend of Buddhist, Shinto and Confucian teachings. The map shows the diversity of community organizations outside the feudal lord educational systems, from Nishiyama's report. (Nijūichiseiki Kansai Gurupu 1971: 72)

The Takayama/Isomura group considered that most of the cities and towns of that period would be affected by slow and continuous change. Instead of proposing new towns, new transportation systems, and new large-scale industrial developments, the report advocated the need to improve urban form from within, with deep consideration for existing features of settlements. In the section "Sing the Mino Festivals of the Twenty-first Century", the regional

climate and culture were exalted; this was accompanied by a detailed analysis of the spatial organization of Mino town in Gifu prefecture. According to the report, this town's physical organization was deeply connected to the natural features of the site. The report contained a series of maps that evidenced the intimate relationships between the shape of the town's main circulation paths and the placement of the existing rivers, mountains, temple and shrine locations, traditional festivals routes, and everyday life activities.

The peculiarity of this region is the clear cut-off between the plains and the mountainous land, the division between the living place and the natural frame is structured and cleverly tied up to the shape of the river flows. This kind of special composition deeply carves the appearance of the town in people's minds, like an individual town face. Author's translation. (Nijūichiseiki kenkyūkai – Isomura Takayama Gurupu 197: 32)

Similar to the Sakai and Nishiyama group, the Takayama/Isomura group addressed the question of the regeneration of local cities based on a detailed analysis of the peculiarities of existing settlements. They proposed new compact cities models, as well as the renovation of institutional and governmental mechanisms:

Upon further reflection, the most special mention about changes in city and region is the claim that town improvement should certainly be necessary for the conservation of natural environments, and a new type of compact city should be created for that. Author's translation. (Ibid.)

On the one hand, the Matsui group similarly admitted the importance of topography, geography, and climate to the historical formation of regional diversity: "*Japan's islands are topographically complicated. Steep mountains occupy 70% of the total land area; inhabitable plains or plateaus are usually small in size and are scattered. This is why Japanese settlements have acquired their independent histories and are rich in distinctive features.*" (JCADR 1972, p.35)

On the other hand, the group voiced a radical opinion against the megalopolis formation trend. They proposed to return Tokyo's low land to underwater, to convert several of its inner city areas into greenery, to transfer the capital function to Kitakami in Iwate prefecture, and to stimulate development of northern regions of the archipelago.

The report of the Tange group differed from the above by approaching the question of cultural and historical preservation through the creation of a "free-time cities" system. This was proposed alongside other three main systems behind the future national land organization

of energy and communication. The "free-time cities" system forecasted the establishment of a network of towns of natural and historical relevance, in order to provide infrastructure for recreational objectives on a massive scale, suited for a post-industrial matured society interested in knowledge and leisure. The expected increase in mobility and free time would allow common people's appreciation of the scenery, history, sports, and cultural opportunities of varied locations of the national territory. The 1960 Tokyo plan centralized the national communications system, while historical preservation was mostly assigned to medium and small cities outside the metropolitan axis. Skopje[7], Kyoto, Bologna, and Bandai Iwanashiro were examples of concrete propositions for the creation of free-time cities. The common solution in those examples was the creation of new business district centers nearby existing historical and natural areas in order to provide accessibility and modern conveniences. These newly created centers should concentrate transportation, schools, hospitals and modern forms of commerce, and connect the preserved historical settlements or natural areas to the rest of the country. The report affirmed that the difficulty to preserve the historical Japanese townscape came out of the contrasting material features of traditional Japanese culture and contemporary civilization.

---
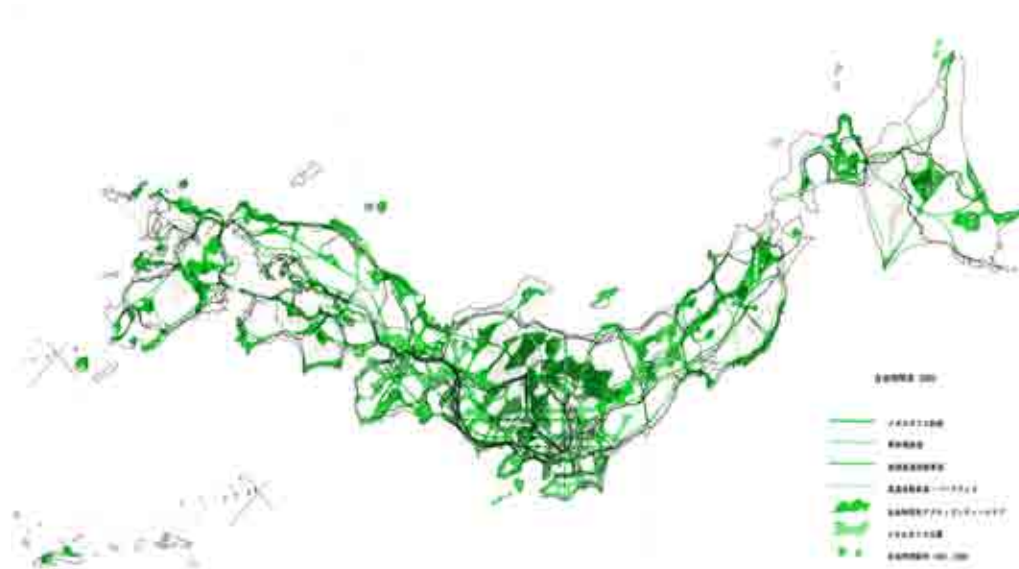
7 The plan for the reconstruction of Skopje synthesized elements of historical relevance in a modernist form, updated to include the latest discussions about the need to renovate modernist principles of spatial conception, which are on the base of the dissolution of the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne CIAM). A detailed analysis of this plan appears in Flores Urushima and Jacquet (2008).

Fig.5- The free time national territory system of the Tange group contains large open green areas, connected by fast train and roads. Free time cities are indicated in green bullets. (Naikaku sōri daijin kanbō kōhōshitsu 1971: 39)

Tange himself wrote the introduction of the second section of the report, as follows:

It is necessary to point out that compared with Europe and the United States, there is a considerable special peculiarity in the tradition of urban environments in Japan. One is the barracks' characteristic of the living installations in Japan. Most of the traditional installations are made of wood, paper and bamboo, which have neither the solidity nor the durability of materials such as bricks and stones. Therefore, the tradition has never been inherited as a material substance; it has been inherited as a form or idea that exists in its background. Compared with this, the contemporary civilization is one that while excessively compromised with intense growth and change, is one mainly constituted of the substance of the iron and the concrete. It might be that the difficulty of the coexistence of the traditional Japanese culture and the modern civilization is a result of this. Translated from the original document by the author. (Nijūichiseiki seiki no Nihon kenkyūkai -Tange Gurupu 1971: 178)

Throughout the development of his career, Tange defended the recognition of the fundamental structure behind historical settlements. This should serve as a reference for new contemporary interventions, which is a concept that incorporates important changes in the architectural and urban planning disciplines of that time.[8] However, the "free time" system proposition shows similarity to the concept of greenways used in the classical planning of land use. It indiscriminately includes water, green and low occupied areas, with little concern to topography, among others. At the same time, the above cited medium cities' propositions tended to consider the existing historical areas as fixed unities, whereas transformation and modernization took place in newly created cores outside historical and natural areas. It is interesting to note that even though Tange maintained a close relationship with Takayama, their visions had developed into radically distinctive paths.

Generally, the urgent need to balance preservation and modernization was evident. Alternatively, some groups viewed the question of ecological balance as a matter for global discussion, as exemplified in the words of the Ōkita group:

To the present, scientific technology has generally been what can be termed an anti-ecological technology, one that has caused destruction of the ecological system of nature. The progress of technology in the future should have harmony with the various ecological systems and human activity as its objective; the whole globe should be

---

8 Tange began to replace the modern functionalist thinking with a structural approach that considered the importance of symbolic representation during the 1960s. This theme has been treated in the above cited Flores Urushima and Jacquet (2008).

regarded as a closed system…It is no longer significant to design a future for the Japanese Islands with a narrow vision focusing only on 370,000 square kilometers of national land and 100 million people as main object…The plan that we have selected for the beginning of the twenty first century was designed with a vision of all mankind in mind – a global vision. (JCADR 1972: 126)

Conclusion

The visions for the urban growth of twenty-first century Japan prepared after the Japanese Central Government request have left a long list of publications during the 1970s. These visions from varied disciplines and on a diversified range of topics continue to inspire publications with a visionary strand. Each participating group published results in the form of books and series, and promoted discussions in seminars and workshops. Moreover, the twenty-first century theme has recently inspired others, as for example Nihon Shakai Jigyōdaigaku (2003), Mizuno (1998), and Enjiniaringu Shinkōkai (1987). This visionary scheme also served as a basis for the elaboration of later visions that emphasize the value of nature and culture, such as the "National Concept for Garden Cities" (*Den'en toshi kokka Nihon no kōsō,* 1980). On one hand, this competition followed similar patterns of prior large-scale nationalist projects. It mobilized vast national funds to celebrate the Meiji centenary by showcasing the future of the national territory inside the Japanese pavilion of the first Asiatic International Exhibition. On the other hand, it also demonstrated an effort to open up the discussion beyond governmental spheres in a moment of indecision on how to deal with the problems related to rapid urbanization. The preparation, publication, and discussion of the reports in the JCADR Symposium mobilized a huge network of the most important Japanese intellectuals, specialists, and policy makers into a debate about the future development of the national land from 1967 until 1972. The reports serve as a reference for the discussion about the embryonic theoretical revaluation of the local historical development, which appears in the 1975 revision of the cultural protection system. Moreover, the emphasis in detailed diagnosis of existing settlements' features, the urge for institutional and legislative adaptation to continuous social change, and the emphasis on local empowerment in the Takayama-Isomura, Suzuki, Sakai, and Nishiyama propositions remain closer to the actual debates on preservation and urban planning in Japan and internationally.

The national concern with the question of historic and natural preservation came out directly as a countermeasure to the unforeseen effects of rapid urbanization. There are included the population concentration in the Pacific Belt metropolitan areas, suburban sprawl,

rural decay, and environmental degradation. The reports supported the need for the revaluation of rural and town lifestyles, in order to decentralize urbanization and to contribute to stabilizing people in existing settlements against the attraction of the modern metropolis. In this context, an embryonic notion of harmonizing modernization with the preservation of local natural and historical features was present. While there was a unanimous orientation towards the spread of basic health-education, transportation and information infrastructure, the question of natural and historical preservation tended to be treated in terms of regional diversity promotion in rural areas and small-medium cities. The solutions ranged from a moderate vision of compact cities to the creation of new urban models modeled after historical references. The project that initiated the debate originally aimed at the celebration of the centennial of the Meiji aperture. Thus, this national debate demonstrates that cities, planning and urban policy gained relevance worth to stand as one of the most important achievements of the modern period in Japan.

References

Ackerman, Edward A. 1963. "Where is a Research Frontier?" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 53: 429-440.

Andō Takemasa. 2013. *Japan's New Left Movements: Legacies for Civil Society*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.

Bunkachō [The Agency for Cultural Affairs]. 2001. *Bunkazai hogohō gojūnenshi* [Fifty Years of the History of the Cultural Assets Protection Law]. Tokyo: Gyōsei.

Edwards, Walter. 1991. "Buried Discourse: The Toro Archaeological Site and Japanese National Identity in the Early Postwar Period." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 17 (1) (January): 1-23.

Enjiniaringu shinkōkai [Engineering Advancement Association of Japan]. 1987. *21 seiki no Nihon to Tōkyōwan no shōrai kōsō* [A Future Plan of the Tokyo Bay and the 21st Century Japan]. Tokyo : Enjiniaringu shinkōkai, 1987

Flores Urushima, Andrea. 2007. "Genesis and Culmination of Uzô Nishiyama's Proposal of a 'Model Core of a Future City' for the Expo 70 Site (1960‑73)." *Planning Perspectives* 22 (4): 391-416, 10.1080/02665430701553399.

Flores Urushima, Andrea. 2011. "The 1970 Osaka Expo: Local Planners, National Planning Processes and Mega Events." *Planning Perspectives* 26 (4): 635-647, 10.1080/02665433.2011.599933.

Flores Urushima, Andrea. 2011a. "Trends Towards Urbanization in Asia and Oceania. Sidebar: Jakarta (Batavia)." in *World History Encyclopedia*, ed. Alfred J. Andrea, Vol 18/19. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Flores Urushima, Andrea. 2012. "Réévaluation des modes de vie rural et citadin face à la dégradation de l'environnement : un débat national au Japon, 1967-1972 ". *Revue des sciences sociales* 47: 130-138.

Flores Urushima, Andrea, and Benoit Jacquet. 2008. "Urban Modernization from Far East to Eastern Europe: Tange Kenzō and the Reconstruction Scheme for the Centre of Skopje." in *Actes du colloque IXe Conférence internationale d'histoire urbaine: Histoire comparative des villes européennes – EAUH*. Lyon: EAUH.

Fujii Keisuke. 2009. "New Urban Strategy for Provincial Cities in Japan," in *Stock Management for Sustainable Urban Regeneration*, ed. Fujino Yōzō, and Takafumi Noguchi, pp. 67-80. Tokyo: Springer, 10.1007/978-4-431-74093-3_5.

Fujita Masaya and Koga Shūsaku. 1999. *Nihon kenchikushi* [Architectural History of Japan]. Kyoto: Shōwado.

Furuoka Fumitaka, and May Chiun Lo. 2005. "Japanese Multinational Corporations and the Export of Pollution: The Case of Bukit Merah." *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies*. 25April.

http://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/articles/2005/FuruokaandChiun.html (accessed 28 January 2014).

Gibson, Lisanne, and John Pendlebury. 2009. *Valuing Historic Environments*. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate.

Gottmann, Jean. 1964. *Megalopolis*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.

Hasegawa, Jun-Ichi. 2010. "Toshikeikakuhô no seitei ni kansuru ikkōsatsu (5) [The Enactment of the City Planning Law, 1968 (5)]." *Mita Gakkai Zasshi* [Mita Journal of Economics] 103 (1): 91-115.

ICOMOS. 2005. Xi'an Declaration on the Conservation of the Setting of Heritage Structures, Sites and Areas. Xi'an: ICOMOS

Ishida, Yorifusa. 2004. *Nihon kingendai toshi keikaku no tenkai: 1868-2003* [The Development of City Planning in Japan in the Modern and Contemporary Periods, 1868-2003]. Tokyo: Jichitai kenkyūsha.

Ito, T., C. Nagashima, e B.A. Hons. 1980. "Tokaido? Megalopolis of Japan". *GeoJournal* 4: 231-246.

JCADR. ed. 1972. *The Papers and Proceedings of the International Symposium on Regional Development*. Tokyo: Japan Center for Area Development Research.

Lehmann, JeanPierre. 1987. "Variations on a Pan-Asianist Theme: The 'Special' Relationship between Japan and Thailand," in *Japan and World Depression: Essays in*

Memory of E. F. Penrose, ed. Ronald Dore and Radha Sinha, pp. 178-201. Basingstoke, Hampshire : Palgrave Macmillan.

Minami Shinjirō. 2011. "Asbestos Industry Transplants from Japan to South Korea." in *Asbestos Disaster: Lessons from Japan's Experience*, ed. Miyamoto Ken'ichi, Morinaga Kenji, and Mori Hiroyuki, pp. 151-83. Tokyo: Springer.

Japan Tourism Agency. 2012. *Tourism Nation Promotion Basic Plan*. Tokyo: Ministry of Land, Transport and Tourism (MLIT).

Muramatsu Shin. 2009. "Why and How We Should Inherit Urban Environmental Cultural Resources: Identifying, Listing, Evaluating, and Making Good Use of Urban Environmental Cultural Resources in Asia." in *Stock Management for Sustainable Urban Regeneration*, ed. Fujino Yōzō, and Takafumi Noguchi, pp.57-65. Tokyo: Springer, 10.1007/978-4-431-74093-3_4.

Nicholson, David. 2009. *Environmental Dispute Resolution in Indonesia*. Leiden: KITLV Press.

Nijūichiseiki Kansai Gurupu [Twenty First Century Kansai Group]. 1971. *Nijūichiseiki ni mukau kokudo to toshi no sekkei – kōsōhen* [Conceptual Compilation of the Territorial and Urban Plan for the Twenty-first Century]. Tokyo: Naikaku kanbō naikaku shingishitsu [Deliberation Room of the Cabinet Secretariat].

Nagashima, Catherine. 1967. "Megalopolis in Japan". *Ekistics Reviews on the Problems and Science of Human Settlements* 24 (140): 6-14.

Nagashima, Catherine. 1974. "Some Definitions of Megalopolis in Japan". *Ekistics Reviews on the Problems and Science of Human Settlements* 38 (226): 163-169.

Nakasugi Osami, and Mizuno Kōichi. eds. 1998. *21 seiki no shigen to kankyō* [The Environment and Resources of the 21st Century]. Tokyo: Dainippon tosho.

Naikaku kanbō [Cabinet Secretariat]. 1967. *Nijūichiseiki nihon ni kansuru 'Nihon kokudo kokumin seikatsu no miraizō no sekkei' boshū ni tsuite* [The 21st Century Japan Related Call 'A Plan for the National Territory and a Future Vision for Citizen's Life']. Tokyo: Kokuritsu kōbunshokan dijitaru ākaibu [National Archives of Japan], Ref. Honkan-3A-015-00, Hei11 Sō01510100.

Naikaku kanbō naikaku shingishitsu [Deliberation Room of the Cabinet Secretariat]. ed. 1971. *Nijūisseiki no Nihon: Kokudo to kokumin seikatsu no miraizō no sekkei* [The Future Vision of the National Land and People's Life in the 21st Century], Vol.1-20. Tokyo: Naikaku kanbō naikaku shingishitsu

Naikaku sōri daijin hosakan shitsu [Prime Minister Cabinet]. ed. 1980. *Den'en toshi kokka no kōsō: den'en toshi kōsō kenkyū gurupu* [National Concept for Garden Cities]. Tokyo: Ōkurashō insatsu kyoku [Ministry of Finance Printing Bureau].

Naikaku sōri daijin kanbō kōhōshitsu (Public Relations Room of the Prime Minister's Secretariat). 1971. *Nijūisseiki no Nihon: Kokudo to kokumin seikatsu no miraizō no sekkei (Gaiyō)* [Summary of The Future Vision of the National Land and People's Life in the 21st Century]. Tokyo: Ōkurashō insatsu kyoku [Ministry of Finance Printing Bureau].

Nihon chiiki kaihatsu sentāhen [Japan Center for Area Development Research]. 1972. *Dai 4kai chiiki kaihatsu kokusai shinpojiumu hōkokusho* [Papers and Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Regional Development]. Tokyo: Nihon chiiki kaihatsu sentā.

Nihon Shakai Jigyōdaigaku [Japan College of Social Work]. 2003. *21 Seiki Shakai Fukushigaku no Shōraizō* [A Vision of the Future of Social Welfare Learning in the 21st Century]. Tokyo: Chūōhō.

Nihon tōkei kyōkai [Japan Statistical Association]. ed. 2006. *Nihon chōki tōkei sōran* [Japan Historical Statistics], Vol. 1-5. Tokyo: Nihon tōkei kyōkai.

Okata Jun'ichiro, and Akito Murayama. 2011. "Tokyo's Urban Growth, Urban Form and Sustainability." in *Megacities: Urban Form, Governance, and Sustainability,* Andre Sorensen, and Okata Jun'ichiro, pp. 15-43. Tokyo et. al.: Springer.

Ōta Hirotarō. 1982. "Rekishiteki fūdo hozon no gendankai – machinami hozon wo chūshin toshite [Present State of the Preservation of Historical Landscapes focused on the Preservation of Townscapes]" in *Nihon no toshi to machi: sono rekishi to genjō* [Japanese Cities and Neighbourhoods: Their History and Present Condition], ed. Chihōshi kenkyū kyōgikai [Local History Research Council], pp. 284-301. Tokyo: Yuzankaku Shuppan.

Ozawa Terumoto. 1979. *Multinationalism Japanese-style: The Political Economy of Outward Dependency*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Owens, Susan, and Richard Cowell. 2010. *Land and Limits: Interpreting Sustainability in the Planning Process*. Hoboken: Routledge

Pendlebury, John. 2008. *Conservation and the Age of Consensus*. London: Routledge.

Sangiin [House of Councillors]. 1971. *Dai 65 kai sangiin, honkaigi dai 2 gō* [65th Session of the Diet, Minutes of Proceedings of the Plenary Session], no. 2, p. 11-13 (22 January).

Sangiin [House of Councillors]. 1971. *Dai 65 kai sangiin, naikaku iinkai, kōgaitaisaku tokubetsu iinkai, rengō shinsakai* [65th Session of the Diet, Minutes of Proceedings of the Combined Deliberative Council of the Committee on Cabinet and the Special Committee on Anti-Pollution Measures], no. 1, p. 3 (21 May).

Satō Jin. 2007. "Formation of the Resource Concept in Japan: Pre-war and Post-war Efforts in Knowledge Integration." *Sustainability Science*: 2 (2), 151-8, 10.1007/s11625-007-0033-x.

Satō Jin. 2011. *Motazaru kuni no shigenron: jizokukanōna kokudo womeguru mō hitotsu no chi* [Resource Thinking of the 'Have-Nots': Sustainability of Land and Alternative Vision in Japan]. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.

Schreurs, Miranda A. 2002. *Environmental Politics in Japan, Germany, and the United States*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Shūgiin [House of Representatives]. 1971. *Dai 65 kai shūgiin honkaigi dai 2 gō* [65th Session of the Diet, Minutes of Proceedings of the Plenary Session], no. 2, p. 1-2 (22 January).

Sonoda, Hidehiro. 2003. *The Transfiguration of Miyako and the Emergence of Urbanity in Japan*. Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies.

Sugimura, Ken. 1993. "Evaluations of Forest Functions by Local People: Development of a Research Method." in *Advancement in Forest Inventory and Forest Management Sciences*. Proceedings of the IUFRO Seoul Conference, September 20-25, pp. 555-66. Seoul: Forestry Research Institute of the Republic of Korea

Takeuchi Kazuhiko. 2001. "Nature Conservation Strategies for the 'Satoyama' and 'Satochi', Habitats for Secondary Nature in Japan" *Global Environmental Research*: 5, 193-8

Takeuchi, Kazuhiko, et. al. 2003. *Satoyama: The Traditional Rural Landscape of Japan*. Springer.

The Twenty-first Century Kansai Group. 1973. Concepts for the Urban and Regional Development for the Beginning of the Twenty First Century. Documents n. 74852 in the archives of the Uzo Nishiyama Memorial Library

Toyokawa Saikaku. 2011. "Tange Kenzō to Shimokōbe Atsushi no kankei kara [From the relationship between Kenzō Tange and Atsushi Shimokōbe]". *Art and Architectural Review Web Magazine* (March), http://aar.art-it.asia/u/admin_edit1/0WCYM2PzqQ8fyae91oGT (accessed 1 july 2013).

UN-DESA. 2012. *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2011 Revision*. New York: United Nations

UN-DESA. 2013. *World Population Prospects: The 2012 Revision*. New York: United Nations.

UNESCO. 2005. Vienna Memorandum on "World Heritage and Contemporary Architecture - Managing the Historic Urban Landscape" and Decision 29 COM 5D. Paris.

Wheeler, Stephen M. 2013. *Planning for Sustainability: Creating Liveable, Equitable and Ecological Communities*. Second Edition. Milton Park, Oxon: Routledge

World Commission on Environment and Development. 1987. *Our Common Future*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.