Full paper for the panel “public realm”

Title: New Public, the Machizukuri House and its network have developed

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The community-based non-profit organizations, called “machizukuri houses”, a kind of community development corporations, have developed their working fields and networks through the activities focusing on participatory small projects. The working period of younger organizations is about five years, and of experienced organizations is ten years or more. The activity to develop the fields and the networks has been at the same time the activity to create the concept of “new public”, and it has brought abundant social capital to communities.

In this article, I would like to take up Setagaya district, an established residential area in western Tokyo, and discuss the “significance of Machizukuri” in neighborhood, focusing on the social capital, that the activity of community based non-profit organizations have brought about after 1990s.

The article will be constructed with two parts and each part will consist three subjects as follows:
1. Machizukuri in Japan: situation after 1990s
   1) Spread of Machizukuri and remarkable change of social circumstance
   2) Enactment of NPO Law, Reformation of social systems, and other various trials that have diffused Machizukuri
   3) Features of Machizukuri in Japan: comparison with neighboring countries, Taiwan and Korea
   1) Formation of Machizukuri fields and its change in quality in Setagaya district after 1990s
   2) Case in southeast area in Setagaya: development and accumulation of activity of Machizukuri House for 15 years
   3. The results of Machizukuri: accumulation of social capital and asset in the community as a result of activity.

1. Machizukuri in Japan: Situation after 1990s
   1) Spread of Machizukuri and remarkable change of social circumstance
   (1) History of Machizukuri activity that made its leap in 1990s
   (2) Spread of concept of Machizukuri by nationwide workshop meeting
   (3) “Machizukuri” is now a word pointing various citizen activities that re-bind the
bond inside community

2) Enactment of NPO Law, Reformation of social systems, and other various trials that made Machizukuri activity spread nationwide
(1) “Opportunity” of Machizukuri has widen its realm by enactment of NPO Law and Reformation of social systems
(2) Reformation of social systems aiming small government: a movement of collaboration between NPOs and administration
(3) Subsidy programs of foundations and private companies to Machizukuri activity

3) Features of Machizukuri in Japan: comparison with neighboring countries, Taiwan and Korea
In Japan, there existed citizen’s will first, and they started their effort of Machizukuri activity with their own will. The beginning was not based on law system. Today, various systems and policy of governments begin to support Machizukuri activity. Comparing such Machizukuri to legal city planning, Professor Yukio Nishimura describes¹:

(Table 1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Machizukuri</th>
<th>vs</th>
<th>legal city planning in Japan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>governance by residents</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>governance by law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>community-based</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>atom-like individuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human : inherently good</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>inherently evil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>majority : non-experts</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>majority : experts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horizontal, priority to community</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>vertical, priority to professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bottom-up</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>top-down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>example and agreement</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>regulation an compulsion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>common law</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>written law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gradualism</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>structuralism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>originality and device</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>follow precedent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transparent and discretion</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>fair and equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>individualistic and flexible</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>standardized and stiffing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open and frank</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>closed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aiming the highest</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>securing the lowest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>integrative approach</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>analytical approach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>function to make a chance</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>function at changing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>residents’ initiative</td>
<td>vs</td>
<td>residents participated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see the difference from Table 1 clearly. In addition, we can see not only the difference but also the complemental relation here, also see significance of original
activities of citizen. 

Next, let us compare Machizukuri to citizens’ activity in Taiwan and Korea to consider the characteristic of Machizukuri.

1) Characteristic of Machizukuri from the Korean expert’s point of view

Mr. Park, Won Soon², a famous NGO leader in Korea, describes Machizukuri as follows. “above all, citizens’ activity in Japan does not have any nationwide network, and looks even shabby. (omitted) They exist so separatedly, that I judged it would be difficult for them to send strong political influence. Furthermore, I could not find out any advocacy organization as PSPD (‘People’s Solidarity for Participatory Democracy’) that I have belonged. But, when I entered into individual area, found the citizen activists extended various activities in each community, and I could confirm the depth and health of Japanese civil society. Especially, ‘the Cooporative Society’ was impressive. (omitted) There is no large scaled organization in Japan, but they have made small groups and have been practicing various activity and experiments though the effect is rather modest. I think Korean citizen movements should study and make a research these characteristic.” Observation and comment of Mr. Park is correct, and he perceives well the characteristic of citizens’ activity in Japan.

2) Characteristic of Machizukuri from Taiwanese expert’s point of view

Professor Liang-Chun Chen³ studied in Japan and had experienced Machizukuri for a long time while he had stayed in Japan. After he returned to Taiwan, worked for “Shen Chiu Yng Jzaw” from its starting years and offered much contribution for its development. “Shen Chiu” means community, “Yng Jzaw” means management and building, that is, the subject of the activity is spread to both software and hardware sector in Taiwan.

Professor Chen explains the difference of Machizukuri and “Shen Chiu Yng Jzaw” introducing 5 aspects, several Taiwanese experts have already pointed out, arguing against the comment that “Shen Chiu Yng Jzaw” seems to be a copy of Machizukuri.

・”Shen Chiu Yng Jzaw” in Taiwan was introduced as a government policy in 1994 advocated by Mr. Chen Chyi Nan, assistant chief of the Culture Construction Committee of the Central Government, and other several scholars. It is a clear distinction from Machizukuri that had started as residents’ movement.
・ At early stage “Shen Chiu Yng Jzaw” was promoted by administration and experts. It is also the different point from Machizukuri.
・ As the Culture Construction Committee advocated and promoted, the activity subject at early stage were naturally apt to improvement of culture activities, culture facilities and spaces, while Machizukuri aimed at first the improvement of residential environment and community revitalization.
・ “Shen Chiu Yng Jzaw” from the early stage, emphasized the total concordance, and called the activity “community management as a whole”. Activities of Machizukuri have been separated to individual subjects and issues.
・ Residents easily participate to the process of “Shen Chiu Yng Jzaw” and they positively submit their opinion and proposal. The atmosphere at the working site is vigorous, and it makes participants excited and moved.
We see common observation from both experts of Korea and Taiwan, that Machizukuri was developed from residents’ movements and the contents have much variation, and layer of participants are abundant. Comparing to it, in Taiwan, the Central Government worked with experts at the early stage. In Korea, NGO sector and the political citizen movement prevailing nationwide have much power, and the nationwide network formation is still progressing.

Based on above mentioned characteristic of Machizukuri from its birth to development, I would like to discuss the new challenging subject for Machizukuri, introducing concrete examples in Japan.

2. Development and its significance of Machizukuri in Setagaya district after 1990s

Today, Tokyo metropolitan has a population of about 30millions. Setagaya city I discuss about in this article, located in west-southern area 10 km from the center of Tokyo, with population of 800 thousands. The west-southern area of Setagaya is a good residential area, with mainly middle income class of middle to old aged households. The east-northern area, is said with high risk at earthquake or fire, is densely populated with rental-collective houses with residents of young white collar and university students. In this area, from 1960s, various citizen activities appeared, and practiced the history of Machizukuri. In 1980s, the Local government of Setagaya established ‘Machizukuri Ordinance’, founded ‘City Design Section’ inside the government. The system adopted various workshop and participation method, worked for participatory design of small park and community street projects, and they accumulated experiences and methods of Machizukuri.

1) Setagaya area in 1990s: Formation of Machizukuri field and its feature

(1) Start of ‘Machizukuri Center’ and ‘Machizukuri Fund’
In 1992, the Local government of Setagaya realized ‘Machizukuri Center Plan’ that they had continued the participatory planning from the later 1980s. They set up ‘Machizukuri Center’ to support participatory planning, and ‘Machizukuri Fund’ to subsidy to Machizukuri activities, and Steering Committee. ‘Machizukuri Center’ was to managed mainly by the experts studied and practiced urban design and participation in Germany and the US. The Center offered many opportunities for the residents to study the method of workshop and to experience participatory design project of community facilities.

(2) Management of ‘proposal-open competition method’ and its result
The Center managed new ‘proposal-solicitation program’ that utilize the ‘Machizukuri Fund’ to stimulate the citizen groups in the City, and succeeded to encourage citizens’ activity. The ‘proposal-open competition method’ has since diffused nationwide as a model and opened the window of opportunity for citizens of proposal and practice based on their own will. Subsidy system of this program, is comprehensive one out of vertical frame of administrations. It is important and reasonable, for Machizukuri is genuinely comprehensive activity.
(3) Formation of Machizukuri Field
Number of subsidizing each year is about 20 cases, and one can be subsidized for three years. Usually a half of the subsidized organizations continue activity after the subsidy is finished. Now about 180 organizations have continued their activity. The distribution map is made in 2000. (Fig 1) It shows Machizukuri activity is extended to all over Setagaya. These activities develop numerous social network inside and out of the area. In addition, there is network of participated project of administration including the Center has developed. Combining these networks, we see various network of many layers has set up in Setagaya area.

(Fig. 1) Emerging of Machizukuri Field in Setagaya
by various support system

I express the situation as ‘Machizukuri Field is formed’. There, numerous networks extended among people, between people and organizations, and in social activity. Among them, there are many networks to combine reliance relation and mutual benefit relation. So we can regard these networks as social capital. It is the issue discussed later to clarify the characteristic of ‘Machizukuri Field’, keeping eyes on the stretching of the networks and their density and feature.

As an example of the phenomenon, let us pay attention to a community based Non-profit organization in south area in Setagaya.

2) An example in south area in Setagaya: development and accumulation of activity for 15 years
The example is (NPO) Tamagawa Machizukuri House.

Tamagawa Machizukuri House was founded in 1991 spring, by three experts of residents in Tamagawa area in south of Setagaya. They have restricted their activity inside their neighborhood of 900 households. As a result of their activity for 15 years, they have produced directly or indirectly, new citizen activities and organizations, new networks, public facilities in community, base of citizen activity inside the public facility, and new activity base by private body. (Fig 2)

(Fig.2) Tamagawa Machizukuri House and its activity in 15 years

The creation of activities, organizations, and activity base are at the same time the creation of social capital, and creation of asset in the area. These products in turn create newer networks, reliance relation, mutual benefit relation, that is, social capital.

3. The results of Machizukuri: accumulation of social capital and asset in the district as a result of activity.

1) Network and asset is extending backward of small result

Machizukuri is an activity to utilize close resource of citizen to highten amenity of everyday life, and to resolve problems of everyday life level. The concrete result will become an asset of the area. For example, design of small park that stimulate the children’s creativity, or creation of voluntary will that a house owner offer a part of his house to community use.

The disclosure of the process of these small projects in turn create new network in the area. It can be said this network itself is an important result.
2) Sharing the social proposal and realization process will create bond of mutual trust.
The newly created network in the area has a possibility to be power for people with various intention begin to create social proposal and realization.
People who participate to creation of social proposal and realization and share the process will make bonds of mutual trust. When the bond is open to the society, the bond will be an accumulation shared in the community.

3) The various bonds tied by people’s will, will heighten the possibility of creative collaboration
The richer the open accumulation in community become, the higher the possibility of collaboration supported by mutual trust become. The bond of people having different kind of expertise and resources will heighten the amenity, that we can not expect in usual community. The various network and mutual trust that Machizukuri Fund created various results, that is, asset in the area. For example, Machizukuri Center succeeded to utilize the resource of private house (of 200 years ago) by establishing a ‘wisdom and practice team’ for utilization and conservation. Tamagawa Machizukuri House will realize the idea ‘commons of garden tree’. The program is to create a method to make garden trees loved by residents to be a property of the community with consent of the owner.

4) The most important issue: development of ‘power of community’, development of the expression of the results, and sending method
Let us call the whole body of networks in the area, bonds, and asset in the area, ‘power of community’. Bodies that create ‘power of community’ will be various bodies of new public, so the ‘power of community’ that these bodies create will be ‘common property’.
Expressing and conveying the ‘power of community’ to society has a significance as follows: First, people can share the recognition and concept of ‘power of community’ accumulated in community or in Machizukuri Field. Second, accumulation and utilization of ‘power of community’will be a clue for ‘various bodies of new public’ to develop method and collaboration at the active site of community, and to practice and evaluate.

Developing the expression and sending method of the concept of ‘power of community’ is the most important issue for Machizukuri of Japan today.
1  Yukio Nishimura et al., “Cities as Public Spaces”, Chapter 1, Iwanami Publishing Co, (2005) pp20, Fig 1

2  Director General, Hope Institute
This phrase is a summary of his preface to the Japanese version of his book,

3  Professor, National Taiwan University, a key person of Community Development in Taiwan
This phrase is a quotation from his article on “Development of General Community Planning in Taiwan”, Disaster Reduction and Human Renovation Institution (2004), and a summary of discussion with Yasuyoshi Hayashi.