

Think Space to Manage Space with Local Community

A case study of Shutoku District, Kyoto

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1. Introduction

Planners, developers, landowners, and residents all think about their space to make a place. But who, among those interested, can implement the idea and manage the palce? In what way they think a space to make a "better" place? About a half century ago, several important books on the neighbourhoods were published. Among them, Jane Jacobs identified the potentials of urban communities by observing the fact that the local people improved the once deprived area of Boston.

It is the 1990s that neighbourhood management became a governmental tool in Americam, Europe and Japan. Indeed, in Japan, neighbourhood management had been an important urban policy during the wartime periods. It is, although once abandoned by the US, still an effective force behind the safe and sustainable cities of Japan. In Section 2, the policies and practices of neighbourhood management will be briefly reviewed.

In section 3, the purpose of neighbourhood management, in the discussions of urban science and urban design, will be discussed. Neighbourhood, by nature, requires a different methodology of management than other forms of organisations. In the following Sections 4 and 5, The management system and the roles of managers in it will be discussed.

In Section 6, the recent practices of community involvement in Shutoku district in Kyoto, Japan, takes a different approach from European practices and many other Japanese practices, in that the area is not a deprived or gentrified area, which will be reviewed as a case study in the paper. In 2001, the city made the district plan for Shutoku district under City Planning Law, which is the first distict plan in the city prepared in cooperation with local community, city council and planning consultant. They also planned and designed community facilities for local and elderly people and a park in a way to meet the local needs. The communities have established an organisation to manage the facilities.

The case study is considered successful, however it also raised several questions and issues. Is local management sustainable, or if not, what would happen? Is the case study applicable to other cities, given that the city has a long history of community governace? Are other communities, especially in the areas of weakening communities, capable of participating like Shutoku? The paper discusses the neighbourhood management experience from the viewpoints of the universality and sustainability of urban communities in section 6.

2. Neighbourhood Management Policies and Practices

Neighbourhood Management in US and Europe

Neighbourhood management is becoming an important method to the urban issues in the developed world since 1990s. However, in most countries and regions, it is still at the begining stage of programmes. This is probably because neighbourhood management, as most planning projects do, require several decades to show the real effects.

In US, although there are some attempts such as RUDAT (Ruran/Urban Design Assistance Board) after the 1967-1969 riots in American cities, it is 1990s that participatory planning, and thus neighbourhood management, became an important tool of urban design under the New Urbanism.

In Europe, European Union identified economic and social cohesion as an important urban issue, and have started the projects such as Urban Pilot Projects Phase I (1989-1993, 33 areas) and Phase II (1995-1999, 26 areas), URBAN I (1994-1999) and II (2000-2006). These are under the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) for sustainable development in the troubled urban districts of the European Union. Problems addressed include: social and economic deprivation; poor land use planning; neglected historic centres; poor links between research and development activities and small and medium-sized enterprises; and derelict industrial wasteland.

In France, Contrat de Ville was launched in 1991, which consists of several programmes such as Loi d'Orientation pour la Ville for housing and Dotation de Solidarité Urbaine for funding (Hall and Hickman 2002). In Germany, Federal Länder Programme "Districts With Special Development Needs - The Socially Integrative City" was launched in 1999 (Franke and Löhr 2001).

Compared to US and European practices, UK has paid intensive efforts on this emerging approach to neighbourhood programmes. Japan, although the backgrounds, purposes and methods are different, also has a long tradition of neighbourhood management. The policies and practices of these nations will be reviewed in this section.

UK

In UK, during the late 1990s, neighbourhood management became one of the government-supported approaches to overcoming social exclusion and neighbourhood renewal (Power 2004). The objectives of the neighbourhood management policies and programmes have been, like EU, to promote social inclusion and neighbourhood renewal. National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal (NSNR) was set in 1999, followed by the establishments of Social Exclusion Unit and Neighbourhood Renewal Unit in Office for Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM).

The 20 Round 1 Pathfinders were announced in 2001 and entered the programmes implementation phase in 2002, followed by 15 Round 2 Pathfinders in 2003. Round 1 Pathfinders receive funding averaging £200,000 per year for 7 years, covering their management and administration costs. They also receive funding of up to £2.1 million for interventions - projects to improve their neighbourhoods, public services and quality of life. Similarly, Round 2 pathfinders are eligible for up to £200,000 to commence recruitment of key staff, establish the partnership and operational systems, and to develop the delivery plan. Once they are fully operational, they will receive an average of £350,000 per year for seven years.

In 2003, ODPM started Community Chest and Community Funding. Since 2006, the ODPM has become the Department of Local Communities and Governments.

Japan

In Japan, Urban Regeneration Unit (*Toshi Saisei Honbu*) was established in the Cabinet Secretary in 2002. The objectives are to regenerate the cities from environmental, international, and seismic perspectives, but its background is more economic and thus different from urban regeneration programmes in Europe. Moreover, the decisions of the areas which shall be funded were determined by the proposals from the area organisations, rather than the problems they contain, resulting in that the already established communities tend to win the fundings. Urban Regeneration Model Research (2003-) have adopted 171 (2003), 162 (2004), 156 (2005) and 159 (2006) areas.

On the other hand, the neighbourhood management programmes more comparable to those in Europe have been promoted by the local governments. In Japan, neighbourhood management was an important urban policy during the wartime periods, and still is, although once abandoned by the US, an effective force behind the safe and sustainable cities of Japan (Sorensen forthcoming). The general characteristics of neighbourhood management in Japan is significantly different, and in many respect, far advanced.

First, many neighbourhoods are financially secure. Almost all the neighbourhoods in Japan collect the membership fees from the member residents and businesses in the area. The annual income of a large, such as the case study, neighbourhood could reach as much as ¥500,000 yen (approximately £20,000). Besides, the neighbourhoods are indirectly funded

by the local governments through many programmes such as Shisei Kyoryoku, Bouhan, Jishu Bousan or Sport Promotion programmes.

Second, the neighbourhoods are usually managed by the volunteering residents and landowners. Although some volunteers may be paid, the amount is usually far lower to cover all the expenses, such as phone calls and documentation, they make.

This, of course, does not mean that the neighbourhoods are always successful. It was, indeed, not strategically structured, at least after the war. As Sorensen (forthcoming) mentions, it was largely because there is no law to support voluntary groups and NPOs in Japan, and the projects and programmes that require local involvement all had to go to the neighbourhoods.

Comparison Chart

Table 1. Funding for Neighbourhood Management

	funding	duration	note
United Kingdom			
Pathfinder Round 1	£200,000	beginning	plus up to £2.1 million for interventions - projects to improve their neighbourhoods, public services and quality of life
	£200,000	7 years	
Pathfinder Round 2	£200,000	beginning	
	£350,000	7 years	
Japan			
Urban Regeneration Model Research	¥6 million (approx. £200,000)	1 year	

Table 2. Size of Neighbourhood Management Size

	Population	Households	Notes
Powers (2004)			
Ideal	6,000	1,000-2,000	
Community House Trust Hackney		1,044	
Regional Company Tower Hamlets		4,579	
Waltham Forest		862 (to 1,500)	
Birmingham		716	
Haringey		1,063	
Manchester		648	
West Midlands		city-wide	
Pathfinder Programme			
Wolverhampton		965 (28,000 in 29 neighbourhoods)	
Shutoku (2004)			
2005		1732	
1960-2000	2,000-4,000	1,000-2,000	

3. Neighbourhood Management and Urbanity

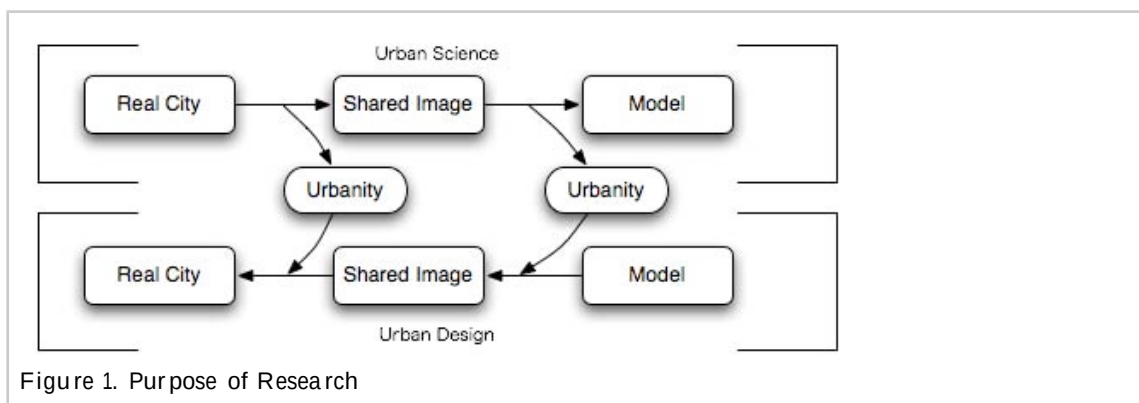
Urban Science and Urban Design since 1960s

In the history of planning theories, urban scientists have followed the methods of natural science. This was remarkable during, and around, 1950s and 1960s. This has helped planners, policy makers and others to understand the fundamental mechanism of the cities, however they have largely omitted the important aspects of urbanity.

Christopher Alexander is one of the earliest urban scientists who discussed that the neighbourhood are by nature a complex set. He developed the pattern language based on his observations of the cities. Interestingly, his idea is more widely accepted the new industry of computer programming, while the architects and urban designers have, instead, took more scientific approaches to progress the ideas further to understand the urban phenomena. Kevin Lynch developed the methodology of identifying the essences of urbanity by collecting the images local people have and omit the residues. The model makers have focused on certain elements of urbanity to understand how they work. During these processes, they have omitted the richness or 'fine grain' of urbanity.

City is a complex object, and as Christopher Alexander discussed, can be composed of several layers of patterns. However, these layers are not independent from each other but interact with each other. Lynch, on the other hand, is a successor of urban science tradition, believed that "each city *model* corresponds roughly to a specific city *theory*" (Shane 2005 p. 31).

However, Kevin Lynch's panoptic vision, based on Christopher Alexander's "pattern language", of city models, city growth, and city transformation was not shared by most designers (Shane 2005). Instead, most designers, but not all, have concentrated on the conceptual dimension of the city



Christian Nonberg-Schultz discussed that, for individual and public worlds, "personal", "spatial" and "communal" knowledges are not exclusively independent, but for scientific world, they are separated for clarity (Shane 2005). In semilattice (network) model, the management is an issue to be solved. Unlike the top-down tree diagram, in which the managers deliver orders in a cascade, it is sometimes not clear who are the managers and how the management is done. In Taylor's (2007) research, indeed, a questionee of a community said "the community is never a real partner because we don't come equipped with real estate or bank loans." What keeps the neighbourhoods united is nothing but the motivations of the members in the neighbourhood.

Influence of Urban Science to Other Disciplines

Interestingly, computer programmers have adopted many ideas of architecture and planning, including pattern language developed by Christopher Alexander. Programming is one of the best examples of how the communities can make one thing together. In the internet, the programmers discuss and develop (or commit to, in more geekish terminology) new programs, day by day, minute by minute, or even second by second. The coolest ideas, and thus programs, are shared by all as a form of source codes, classes, libraries or design patterns.

Linus Torvalds, the developer of Linux, the free operating system, wrote a book titled "Just for Fun". The title well describes the spirits of the communities. Linux was once a students

exercise to make an interesting program, and was not intended to change the world. After several years of continuous development, the project have attracted hundreds of voluntary contributions. Now, the big companies like IBM adopt the system.

Relinking Urban Science and Urban Design

In this paper, I would like to discuss semilattice, open city diagram. That is, most of what is called "urbanity" is not in the city *models*, but in the residues of the city *models*, which has become rather minority after Kevin Lynch as so-called "scientific" urbanism emerged.

In semilattice (network) model, the management is an issue to be discussed. Unlike the top-down tree diagram, in which the managers deliver orders from top to down in a cascade, in bottom-up semilattice diagram, it is not always clear who are the managers and how the management is done. Indeed, in network structures, the management is usually mutual and does not always require a manager. However, in practice, the networks use some nodes as manager to make things work, especially dealing with high traffic and emergency situations.

The sense of place is composed of the urbanity patches created by the neighbourhoods. Neighbourhood is, compared to governmental administration or city theory, better described as a semilattice structure. When discussing neighbourhood management, therefore, it is necessary to take account of the nature the structure holds.

4. Neighbourhood and Management

Levels of Neighbourhood Involvement

While living in a neighbourhood, you are in one of the four levels of neighbourhood involvement: None; Enjoy; Participation and Management (Table 3).

In cities, it is possible and normal that someone lives in the area and do not interact with other residents. He, however, receives basic infrastructure, go daily shop and, in the case of emergency, gets assistance. At this level, he is not involved in the neighbourhood.

At the next level, people enjoy the local services, including local facilities, local pubs, local festivals and other events. Some people may interested in the local history and join the history society, or join a sport club organised by the local people. Of course, for neighbourhood management, it is not always fun, but it sometimes has hard times. However, it is still very important to note that enjoying the management process is an essential part of the urbanity. This is particularly true for loosely organised groups like neighbourhood. Indeed, the local communities are very unreliable.

People who enjoy the services for longer periods or with spare time may support the management. This is a next level of neighbourhood involvement. The "street watecher", as Jacobs coined, is a good example of the neighbourhood participation.

When the local residents provide the social and other services, this is called neighbourhood management.

Table 3. Levels of Neighbourhood Involvement

Not Involved	Receive Minimum Services Only
Participating	Receive Services Participate in Favourite Services such as Local Festivals etc.
Supporting	Participation Support Management e.g. "Street Watcher" (Jane Jacobs)
Management Team	Responsible for Management

5. Neighbourhood and Manager

As has been discussed in the previous section, the network management, especially in a good condition, does not necessarily require a manager. However, in the case of

neighbourhood management, it is practically necessary, even for a good neighbourhood, to have a good manager.

The role of manager, however, is different depending on the nature of the neighbourhood. It may even change for the same neighbourhood at different time. Manager is not a leader.

Manager usually considers the balances in the neighbourhood.

Manager takes responsibility.

Managing team should represent the may consist of old and new members.

Table 4. Comparison of Structures

	Tree Structure	Semilattice Structure
	simple tree pyramid	complex semi-lattice network
motivation	solve problems	for fun
management	top-down	bottom-up
primary developer	governments, landlords, private	residents, users

6. Learning From Model Neighbourhood: A case study of Shutoku District, Kyoto

Shutoku at Glance

Shutoku is a district in the central area of Kyoto, consisting of some 30 member neighbourhoods. The district now has some 1,700 households. It is one of the original 66 school districts defined during the Meiji Restoration in 1860s. According to Fukuzawa, the then political theorist and founder of the Keio University, this is an adoption of British School District System. However, it is also based on the longer tradition of neighbourhood management in the city. Located between the commerce centre and Higashi Honganji Temple and Kyoto Station, the area is consisted of a mixture of business, traditional industries related to the temple and wooden houses and high-rise housings.

Kyoto is one of the cities which developed neighbourhood management system in Japan. The history of neighbourhood management dates back to as early as 16th century, when the local communities had to protect their lands and lives against the civil war. After the Meiji Restoration, each district had its own primary school and office and serverd administrative tasks such as family registry and land registry. They also offered services such as police, and fire-fighting. These roles were enforced by the local volunteers and had continued until the city and ward councils were established. Even after that, because the councils had far fewer staffs, the districts supported the councils in various ways.

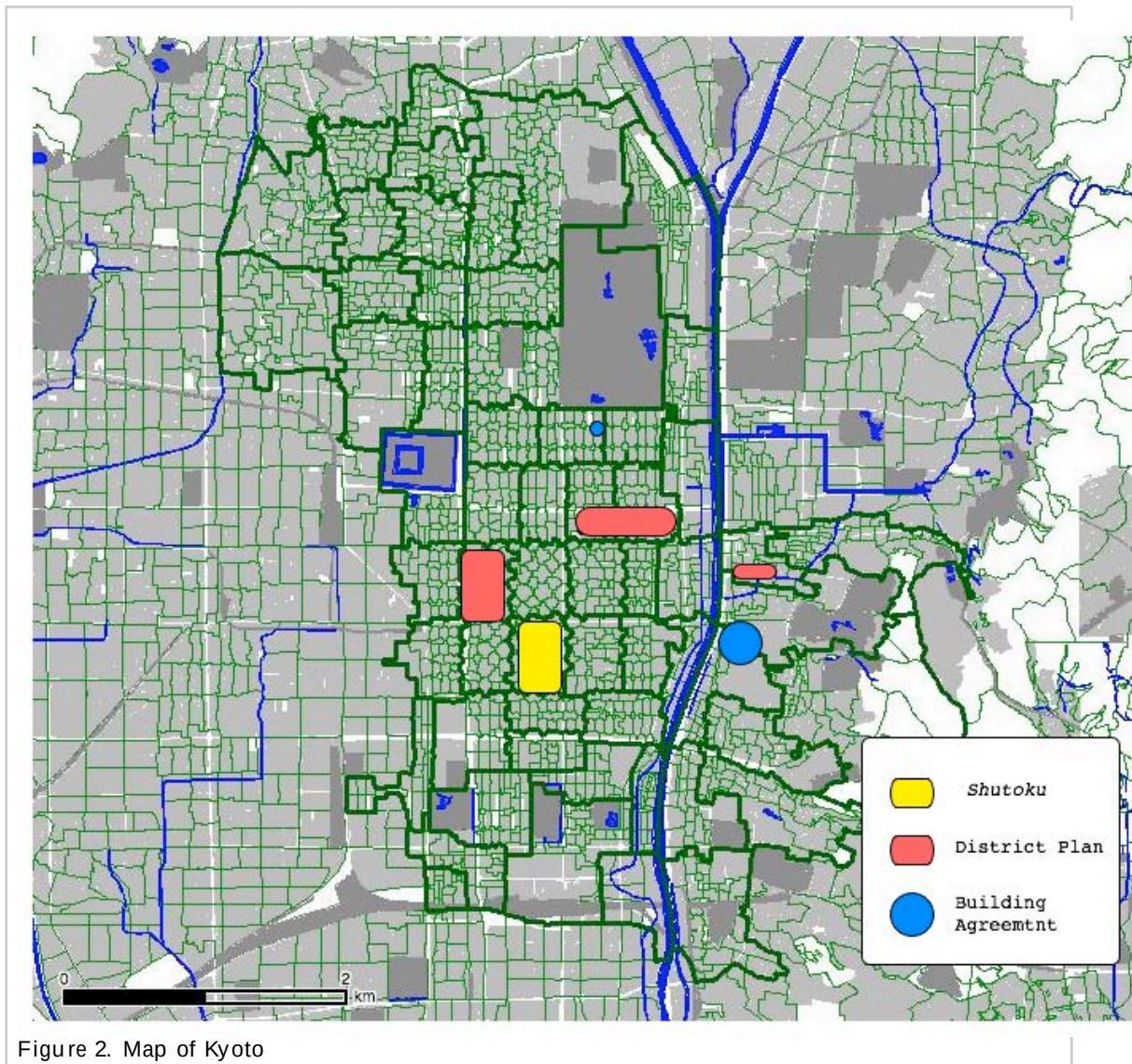


Figure 2. Map of Kyoto

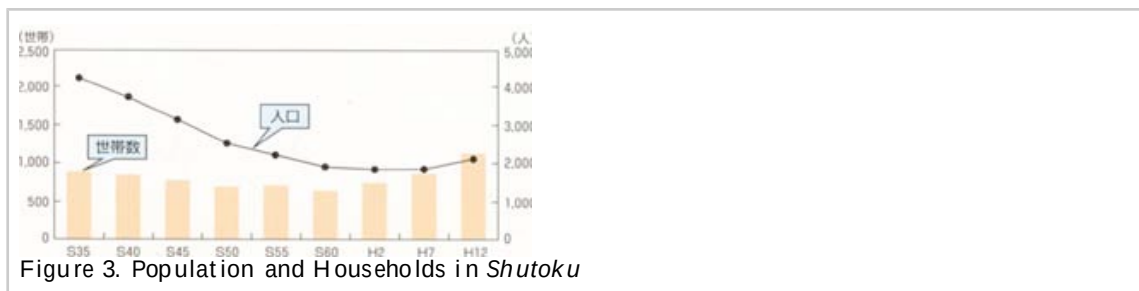
Old and New Residents: Conflict or Inclusion?

Mainly because the area is located in the city centre and the bubble economy attracted investments, the number of the residents decreased rapidly during 1980s. In 1988, the city made a decision to close the Shutoku primary school. In 1991, the city and the local residents in the district formed the committee to discuss how to use the former school site.

During the periods, the population has once dropped from 4,000 to 2,000, the households from 2,000 to 1,000. They are both back to 1960s level (Figure). This means, currently approximately half of the population is "Old Resident" and the rest is relatively "New Resident", and such situation causes some sort of segregation.

The situations are common in central areas of Japanese cities, however, are different from many other cities in US and Europe. These "New Residents" may include foreigners, but generally very few ethnic minorities, few asylum seekers or few with low income. This phenomenon is not gentrification either. The average income of "New Residents" may be lower, but this may be because they are mostly younger generation. One noticeable difference is housing type and ownership. Most of "Old Resident" tend to own and live in a detached house while "New Resident" co-own a condominium or rent an apartment room.

Another issue, found as the research progresses, is that, although "Old Residents" can be seen as a community, each "New Resident" are still independent from the community. Some of the "Old Residents" try to include the "New Resident" while other not. This caused



Soon after the discussions started, the local residents had to think not only the site but also the whole area. One of the members said "the issue of the former school site is not only how to use it, but how to sublimate this activity to machizukuri including the site as a centre of human bondage of district residents." The committee took a good eight years to make the decision. During the periods, the committee organised enquiries to local residents, study groups, workshops, town trails and set up machizukuri (town making) committee. The committees published newsletters about three times a year to inform the progresses of the discussions.

Local Cooperation-Model District Plan

District plan is a system under City Planning Law, introduced in 1980, enabling the plan to reflect the local needs. **ADD**

A district plan consists of the Policy statement and Development Plan. The committee and the city council discussed for one year, and the district plan (Policy statement) was approved by the city's City Planning and Zoning Commission in 2001

Designing Process of Shutoku Park

The design of the new Shutoku Park was made in collaboration of Shutoku residents, Kyoto City and Kyoto University. Among them, during the esquisse making process, Shutoku residents made a large part without aid from the academics and beaurocrats.

In the esquisse making, the residents were divided into four groups: Parents, Elderly, Adjacent Neighbourhoods and the Others. This was held in March and April, 2000. In August of the same year, the district organised three workshops for the local residents to makde the final plan. In October, the plan was made.

The local managing team, during this period, have discovered the rational planning. Edward Banfield, in his rational planning theory drawn from rational choice theory in economics and the study of decision making, identified three dimensions of rational choice central to the model of planning (Dant and Francis 1998):

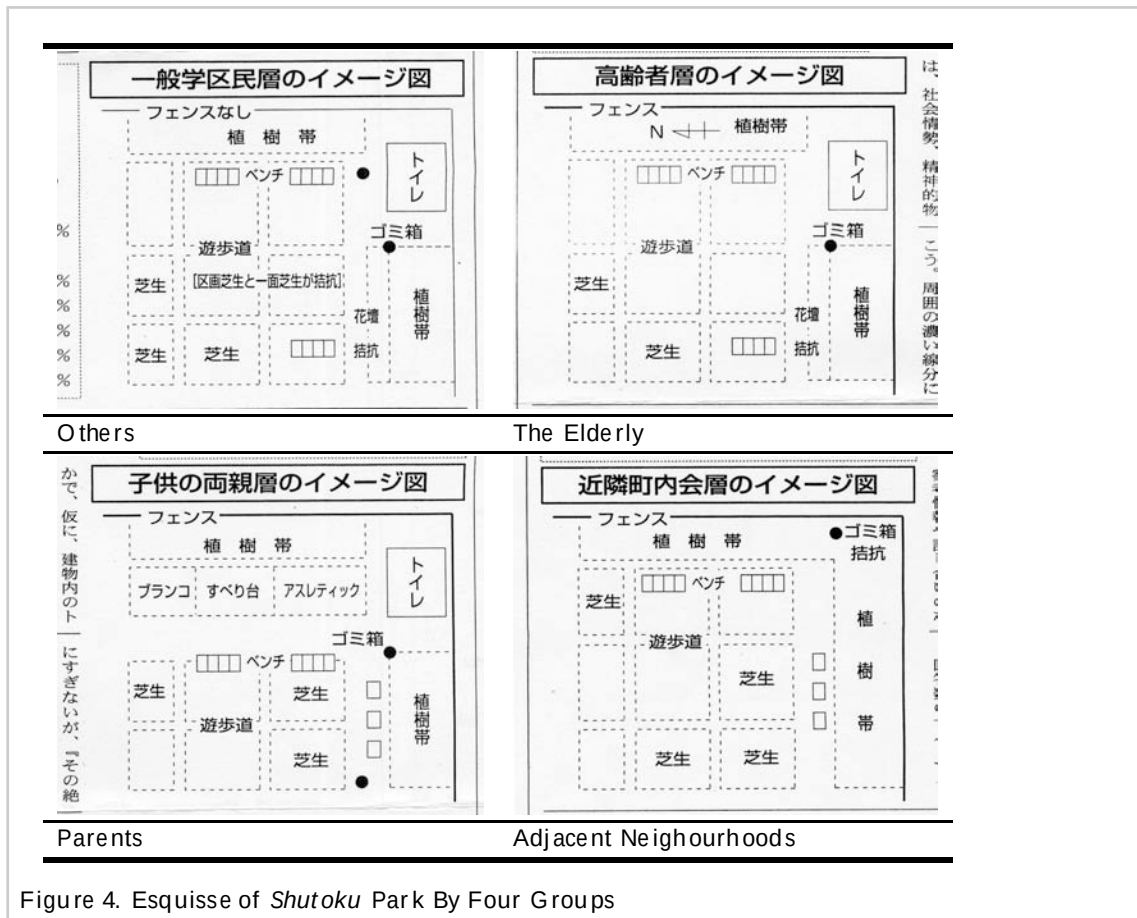
1. the decision makers list all the opportunities for action open to them;
2. they identify all the consequences which would follow from the adoption of each of the possible actions; and
3. they select the action which would be followed by the preferred set of consequences.

First, the decision makers list all the opportunities for action open to them. The district leaders split the local residents into four groups. This resulted in four alternatives: Parents, Elderly, Adjacent Neighbourhoods and the Others. The first groups were selected because the children are the main users of the park; and the park is located near in the same premise of a facility for the elderly. The third group is a typical group to oppose the ideas that would attract noises and other nuisances. The fourth, although the largest majority, were summed into one group.

Second, they identified all the consequences which would follow from the adoption of each of the possible actions. The district leaders evaluated all the ideas carefully. The district leaders studied the cases in other areas and identified what is manageable by themselves and what is not. The ideas which was determined as non-manageable, even supported by the majority in the beginning, was not adopted unless someone became responsible for the idea. For example, in the beginning, all the groups opted for trashboxes in some areas of the park. However, the managing team studied that unmaintained trashbox would lead to

unsanity, resulting the park in an unfavourable condition.

During the esquisse making and more detailed desining processes, all the discussions were published in their newsletter which was published threee times a year for over ten years. By so doing, the local people, who were not involved in the discussions, had the opportunities to know the progress, and had the sense to be involved.



7. Discussions: Sustaining Urban Neighbourhoods?

Can any neighbourhood manage themselves? The management as in a good model may be difficult to achieve. Once failed, it would be even more difficult to rebuild the neighbourhood. In the case study neighbourhood were the long tradition of neighbourhood management and the potential managers with good management skills. This is not the case in many deprived areas.

Is local management sustainable? After the neighbourhood renewal programmes have finished, what would happen? In the case study neighbourhood, they are trying to solve this problem by recruiting the volunteers from the former "neighbourhood involvement" level. The neighbourhood organise several events to attract not-involved resident to enjoy the services, and talk to participating residents to support the management team.

8. Conclusions

Neighbourhood management is becoming an important approach to social inclusion and neighbourhood renewal in US, Europe, UK and Japan. The policies and practices in the last decade should be studied, but at the same time, the theories developed in 1960s are to be reevaluated.

Neighbourhood is complexly structured, and its management is bottom-up and networked. Therefore, we need to understand the differences of the neighbourhood management and the conventional organisational management to develop the methods for neighbourhood management.

In particular, neighbourhood, and neighbourhood management, are rather volatile, and thus a special attention is to be paid to sustainability of neighbourhood management.

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