East-West: US-Japan exchange and its effects on community development: An interactive case study of Jamaica Plain and Zushi

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East-West: US-Japan exchange and its effects on community development

An interactive case study of Jamaica Plain and Zushi

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Dr Shoshkes is an architect and planner based in Portland, Oregon, where she is Adjunct Associate Professor of urban planning at Portland State University. She is currently undertaking archival research and conducting oral histories regarding Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (1905-1983), the town planner, editor, and educator, as the beginning phase of "Hidden Voice: the Contribution of Jaqueline Tyrwhitt to the Origins and Evolution of Urban Design in America, 1945-1976." This paper is based on her previous work concerning Tyrwhitt in context of an inquiry into the larger topic of the impact of the creative dialogue between East and West on the field of community development.

Introduction

The interaction between the civilizations of the East and West is a significant creative force in world history, widely acknowledged as generative in the Renaissance and the emergence of modernism in the West (for which the influence of Japanese art, or "Japanism" is considered a "midwife"). The encounter between East and West has triggered such waves of cultural creativity in part by stimulating the utopian imagination – inspiring new perspectives on humans, society and nature; in short, new images of the ideal community and how to achieve it. This paper examines the broad theme of the creative interaction between Eastern and Western culture as a generative force in utopian planning by examining the networks that supported this exchange and connecting two particularly progressive places where this process plays out: the Jamaica Plain section of Boston and Zushi City, in the Tokyo-Yokohama metropolitan region.[1]

In the mid-1990s I had observed citizen activists in both places were motivated by a similar image of an improved community – inspired by their attachment to the locality's sense of place, its unique identity. To achieve this aim both were attempting to change local planning and politics: in Jamaica Plain, in the direction of fostering more cooperative and group-oriented organization (i.e. Japanese-style collective responsibility) and in Zushi, in the direction of fostering a new sense of individual citizenship (i.e. American-style pluralism). In other words both were moving toward a shared set of assumptions about participatory democracy, motivated by a shared vision of the ideal community and how to achieve it, but from opposite positions. Did this indicate convergence? Is globalization the cause?

Research quickly revealed that since Zushi and Jamaica Plain are similarly situated in the global urban system they have become enmeshed in a thick web of overlapping networks formed by commercial, cultural, social and military exchanges, dating back to the early 17th century. By then, a similar set of ideals – an image of the ideal decentralized community, with deep roots in both the East and West – had become deeply embedded in the settlement pattern of each region, embodied in the New England township and Tokugawa village and urban ward system. These utopian civic cultures evolved along separate paths that became increasingly interactive with the rise of the current global system in the mid-19th century. Theoretically we can explain the convergent pattern in part as the result of interactive cross-cultural learning taking place through these networks linking progressive social activists.

It turns out that a key agent in this process of cross-cultural exchange was the formation of networks of planning and design experts, which became transnational soon after they were established in the 19th century, and organized as scholarly communities. Scholarly communities are one of the principle agents of the intense level of cultural exchange and interaction linking Boston, which has the highest concentration of higher academic institutions in the US, and Tokyo-Yokohama. As a result, the new social knowledge about urban planning and design generated through networks of cosmopolitan progressive linking Tokyo and Boston, not only inspired social innovations in those two city regions, but also informed the evolving "postmodern" global consciousness: a dynamic merger of Eastern and Western images of the ideal decentralized community, based on cooperation and in harmony with nature.

The development of this syncretic body of thought coincides with a major current in the history of planning, aligned with the anarchist utopian socialist ideas of Patrick Geddes – that people should participate in the conception and building of their own homes and neighborhoods – which, Peter Hall (1988) reports:

... forms a powerful ... ingredient of Frank Lloyd Wright's

> thinking in the 1930s .... provide[s] a major ... ideology of planning in third-world cities through the work of John Turner... in the 1960s ... provides a crucial element in the intellectual evolution of ... Christopher Alexander, in that and the following decade ... [and continues] in the community-design movement ... in the 1970s and 1980s.

This evolution of these ideas is an on-going process which culminates today in the global consensus on the idea of sustainable development and the healthy cities concept. Significantly, many of the leading figures involved in shaping this collective vision are directly tied to the interchange of ideas that plays out in Jamaica Plain and Zushi – notably Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, one of the first members of the World Society for Ekistics (WSE).

Tracing Jaqueline Tyrwhitt's transnational networks

Tyrwhitt became interested in planning and inspired by the ideas of Patrick Geddes in London in the 1930s. It was at this time that European modernism began to influence British architects and planners, with the arrival of émigré Bauhaus teachers and their students, fleeing the rise of the Nazis. Tyrwhitt first came into her own as a keeper of Geddes' legacy and an active voice in the transnational discourse on planning a better urban future in 1940, when she set up the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction (APRR) to develop practical applications of Geddes' principles, notably in correspondence courses for Allied soldiers. At this time she also joined the MARS group, the British chapter of CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) and soon became a member of the CIAM inner circle. After the war, Tyrwhitt joined the trans-Atlantic migration of European intellectuals, for several years working on CIAM affairs with José Luis Sert in New York, Walter Gropius in Boston, Le Corbusier in Paris and Sigfried Giedion on both continents.

When Sert succeeded Gropius as Dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Design (GSD) in 1954, Tyrwhitt was one of the first people he hired, to continue introducing modernist principles into the curriculum. One of their first projects was to find a way of applying the Bauhaus approach to the problems of inner cities by launching a series of annual conferences (1959-72) which paved the way for Harvard to establish the first urban design program in 1959. Jane Jacobs, the speaker at the first urban design conference, set the tone for this project, which would influence the community based redevelopment initiatives taking place in Boston neighborhoods such as Jamaica Plain, and which would also be influenced by the re-establishment of the Boston city region's strong ties to Japan in general and the Tokyo-Yokohama city region in particular, which had been interrupted by the Second World War.

Gropius, who traveled to Japan in 1954 after he retired from Harvard, helped reconstruct the scholarly community bridge connecting the Boston and Tokyo city regions. Gropius said he found in traditional Japanese architecture "perfect examples" of the "balance achieved between individual initiative and subordination under a common principle." It was Gropius who encouraged Japanese architect Kenzo Tange, a professor at Tokyo University, to investigate the meaning of the Katsura Villa, "for contemporary as well as future architects." And Gropius was instrumental in Tange's appointment as a visiting professor at MIT in 1959.

The growing role of the UN in the field of human settlements was an important factor in stimulating East-West exchange generally, along with the renewal of intensive exchanges along networks linking Boston and Tokyo-Yokohama. One of the first tasks undertaken by the UN was to form a commission to investigate the reconstruction of the Japanese cities destroyed by war. Members of that commission in 1946 included political scientist Martin Meyerson, one of the leaders of the "progressive wing" of planners concerned with social action, and Eichii Isomura, representing the Tokyo Metropolitan Government and later one of Japan's leading sociologists and rector of Toyo University. In 1959 Isomura was a visiting scholar at the newly established Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard, where Meyerson was director and Tyrwhitt, now Assistant Professor of Urban Planning, also had an office. The three colleagues formed an enduring professional and social bond, cemented by their participation in the Delos Symposia, which Tyrwhitt helped C.A. Doxiadis organize from 1963 to 1974, and as founding members of the WSE in 1964. Isomura also founded the Japanese Society for Ekistics.

Tyrwhitt had met Doxiadis for the first time in 1953, in New Delhi, when she served as the director of the first UN Seminar on Housing and Community Planning, before assuming her position at Harvard. She soon agreed to produce a newsletter for his staff as well as for UN planning experts in developing countries. This birthed the journal on the new science of human settlements Doxiadis later christened "ekistics." The journal *Ekistics*, which was associated with Tyrwhitt throughout her life, provided a channel not only for the dissemination of Western planning ideas to the East but also from the East at a time when the chaotic growth of Asian cities created significant room for urban innovation and during a period of intense theorization in the field marked by a central dialogue between East and West.

By 1960 the eyes of the world design community were on Japan, and top architects and designers converged on Tokyo for the World Design Conference, chaired by Tange that year. Tange had returned to Japan with news of the dissolution of CIAM and the formation of a new group, Team X. This inspired a group of young Japanese designers to clarify their own ideas, which they presented at the conference in their manifesto Metabolism 1960: Proposals for a New Urbanism. Japan had entered an era of double-digit growth; the majority of Japanese accepted uncontrolled urban development as a necessary sacrifice for economic recovery. In contrast, the Metabolists envisioned a more holistic "collective form" – a futuristic ideal decentralized community grounded in the concrete realities of the postwar megalopolis.

Fumhiko Maki, one of the group's founders and a former student of Tange's who, after studying architecture in Japan and at Cranbrook Academy of Arts, continued his investigation of the collective form in the urban design studio he taught with Tyrwhitt at Harvard GSD from 1962 to 1965. At this time, Tyrwhitt was beginning to devote more time in Athens helping Doxiadis establish the new discipline of human settlements, ekistics, both as editor of the Journal *Ekistics*, and advisor to the Athens Center for Ekistics, a graduate school. One Harvard GSD graduate, Koichi Nagashima, went in 1964 to study at the Athens Center for Ekistics. The following summer he married Tyrwhitt's niece, Catharine Huws, who worked for Doxiadis in Athens. The couple settled in Zushi, and Koichi Nagashima worked in Maki's office as an architect and urban designer for several years, before he and Catharine opened their own consulting firm AUR Consultants. The Nagashimas remained active in the Ekistics movement, thinking globally and active locally in Zushi, as citizens' groups throughout Japan began to address local quality of life concerns in the late 1960s and 1970s.

Zushi

Zushi, which is located in Kanagawa Prefecture, where the level of citizen activism was already high due to the large number of US military bases in the area, was one of the first places where citizens began to protest the deterioration of the environment due to unchecked development. In the early 1960s, the construction of a highway to facilitate access to the location of the sailing venue for the 1965 Tokyo Olympics, had brought more weekend and holiday traffic to the Shonan area. The tide of growth emanating from Tokyo was reaching out as far as Zushi and beyond. Over the next decade Zushi became more and more of a bedroom community for Tokyo, and its stations served commuters from other towns along the West coast of the Miura peninsula. At the same time local governments began building up their own planning expertise. The City of Yokohama in particular had begun to develop strong planning skills, under Mayor Asukata, a progressive elected in 1963. A change in the city planning law in 1968 transferred planning authority to the municipality and required citizen participation (in theory). Asukata convinced a prominent architect-planner, Tamura Akira, to head up the Planning and Coordination Department he set up directly under his own (the mayor's) jurisdiction. Within this department, Tamura established an Urban Design Section in 1971 – the first such team in Japan – hired bright young people, including a Japanese Harvard-educated urban designer. This team blended what they borrowed into something new – *machizukuri* – Japanese-style "place making" or community design.

Jamaica Plain

Another line of influence leads from Tyrwhitt at Harvard to activists in Jamaica Plain through Richard Hatch. As an undergraduate at Harvard in 1959, Tyrwhitt had awakened Hatch's interest in urban design, which he studied as a graduate student at Penn under Louis Kahn (who was a great admirer of Japanese design in general and Maki in particular). In 1965 Hatch helped start the first community design center in the US, ARCH, in Harlem as a way of contributing to the Civil Rights movement and the War on Poverty. Hatch taught an urban design studio at Columbia, based on his work at ARCH, which inspired one student in particular, Mossek Hacobian, to follow in his footsteps. After graduation Hacobian, a conscientious objector to the Vietnam War, moved to Boston to serve his alternative service as a community organizer. In 1978 Hacobian joined Urban Edge, one of the first community development corporations (CDC) in Boston. Located in the Egleston Square section of Jamaica Plain, which had suffered from the devastation wrought by redevelopment in the 1950s and 1960s, Urban Edge had its origins in citizen action in the late 1960s organized to protest the planned construction of a highway through the area. After winning that battle, a group of churches decided to continue to work together to address broader concerns. One of their first initiatives was a housing program to prevent further disinvestment. In the mid-1970s this program was spun off as Urban Edge.

Learning from Japan

Meanwhile, while the urban design programs at Harvard and elsewhere had helped inspire and support such citizen activism, by the 1970s these programs were in decline, populated mainly by international students – such as the designers from Yokohama. This was largely due to the disciplinary division between architecture and planning in the academy and the growing split among practitioners who saw architecture as art rather than a field for the socially committed, and socially oriented planners who saw designers as the "enemy" rather than collaborators. As a result, the Tokyo-Yokohama region would become an incubator for community based design innovations exported from urban design programs at Harvard, MIT and Berkeley.

Tyrwhitt ran a series of articles in *Ekistics* in the late 1960s that called attention to the innovative urban planning and design projects underway in Asia generally, but in Japan in particular. For example, Richard L. Meier (1967) reported that he had discovered the "Foundation for a New Urbanism in Japan." John Friedmann (1969) argued "Innovative planners must learn to practice ... the Tao of Planning." Tyrwhitt's translation of Giedion's (1967, xxxviii) canonical *Space Time and Architecture* noted in a special Introduction: "The civilization in the making [in Japan] may lead to a cross fertilization of West and East ... Their secret is a close contact with the living past and an eagerness to reach out into the future."

At the same time Delos Symposia, which concluded in 1973, had helped build the support and interest the UN needed to move forward with its Environment program that led to a consensus on the concept of sustainable development, which integrates both Eastern and Western ideals. By the 1970s, many eminent humanistic scholars were promoting this perspective. Kenneth Boulding (1970) cited Japan as "the first twenty-first century country" in *A Primer on Social Dynamics* a popular introductory sociology text. The philosopher Huston Smith called attention to the connection between Taoism and ecology in his many lectures on college campuses. E.F. Schumacher (1973) celebrated *Buddhist Economics*.

The resurgence of Japanism in the 1970s was particularly strong in Boston, as preparations for celebrations of the bicentennial in 1975 heightened public awareness of the contributions of Japanese art to the city's cultural heritage. Notably, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (BMFA) launched a series of exhibits featuring the Asian art collected by the 18th century mercantile elite and the American arts and crafts it influenced, and in 1976 the Boston Children's Museum formed an association with Harvard's East Asian Outreach Program. Boston and Kyoto had been sister cities since the mid-1950s (one of the first) and in 1979 the city of Kyoto donated a full scale model of a *machiya* (wooden townhouse) and traditional dolls to the Boston Children's museum.

By the 1980s Japan's economic success prompted sparked calls from many sectors to "learn from Japan." The US-Japan Foundation was established in 1980 to network joint activities in the two countries, and the reinvigoration of the security relationship during the Reagan (1981-88) and Nakasone (1982-87) era facilitated exchange. However there were also deepening trade tensions, as Japan "seemed poised to become the leading economy of the 21st century" (LINCOLN, 1999). Concerns about American competitiveness called particular attention to the area of management and education. Notably, William Ouchi (1981) recommended a hybrid of American and Japanese management styles. Best selling books such as Alvin Toffler's *The Third Wave* (1980), and John Naisbitt's *Megatrends* (1982), were peppered with praise for Japanese investment in social capital and participatory, non-hierarchical network organizations. Some of the earliest experiments in industrial networking in the US took place in Massachusetts where Governor Dukakis promoted collaborative approaches to linked, economic and community development during his first term (1974-78).

Interest in Japan remained strong in the Boston city region, thanks to programs at Harvard, academic home of noted Japanologists such as Edwin Reischauer and Ezra Vogel, and MIT, which started its Japan Program in cooperation with the University of Tokyo in 1981. The Japan Society helped Boston public schools run Japanese language programs in the early 1980s, and junior high schools from inner city districts engaged in an exchange program with schools in Kyoto, Boston's sister city. One of the first schools in the state to participate in both programs was the Muriel Snowden International School in Roxbury. Muriel Snowden and her husband Otto, who were leaders of the Black community, also ran a social policy center, Freedom House. One of the Board members of Freedom House was Jessica Lipnack, who with her husband Jeffrey Stamps opened the Networking Institute in Newton in 1982, the same year they published *Networking: The First Report and Directory*. The publication of their book in Japan in 1984 had a direct impact on the citizens' movement in Zushi.

The Ikego Housing Project

The catalyst for civic activism in Zushi came in 1982, when residents learned that Japan Defense Agency's (DFAA) had decided to build 1,500 units of housing for the US military in the Ikego Forest, which makes up one sixth of the city's total area. The hilly Ikego Forest was practically pristine – a rarity in the Tokyo metropolitan region – since it had been used by the Imperial Navy as an ammunition depot, and then controlled by the US military throughout the US Occupation of Japan (1945-52). (The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) requisitioned the Yokosuka Naval Station, the Yokohama port area, and the ammunition depot in the Ikego Forest. The hotels and beaches in Zushi, Hakone and Kamakura were restricted for US personnel.) Even after the Occupation, the US military retained use of Yokosuka as a naval base, facilities in Yokohama, and the Ikego ammo depot. (This intense US military presence sparked pacifist sentiments among residents and opposition to the US-Japan Security Treaty of 1951, based on fears that Japan would become a US military base.) In 1973, at the end of the Vietnam War, when the US military no longer needed to store ammunition at the depot in Ikego, the land reverted to the Japanese. However, the relocation of the USS Midway from its base in the Philippines, which closed, to the Yokosuka base, and a revision in regulations that allowed dependents to accompany seamen abroad, increased demand for housing for US military personnel at Yokosuka. In 1982 preparations began to build the housing at the Ikego depot site.

A group of housewives were the first to organize to prevent this project. Soon, a loose coalition of groups formed around them to protect the forest. The most significant of these was the Citizens' Association for the Protection of Nature and Children (*Mamoru Kai*). Another group, consisting of local scholars and experts, led by Kiichiro Tomino, an astronomer who ran his father's factory in Zushi, formed the Ikego Green Operation Center, a "think tank."

In June, 1983 three housewives from *Mamoru Kai*, led by Mrs. Eiko Kawanishi, collected 46,700 signatures and money to travel to Washington to present this petition to the Pentagon, lobby lawmakers and meet with environmental groups. In Washington they were told that the decision was up to the Japanese government. Now the citizens' movement faced the challenge of trying to get accurate information from the various authorities involved, such as the Director General of the Japanese Defense Facilities Administration Agency, the Governor of Kanagawa Prefecture, the Mayor of Zushi, the Commander of the Yokosuka Base, and US Embassy officials. The Ikego Housing conflict was inherently tied up with this related issue – the lack of transparency in Japanese government and the citizens' "right to know."

Turning to political action, the citizens in Zushi submitted a petition for the resignation of the Mayor (who had done turnabout, and agreed to support the Ikego housing plan), formed a political arm, the Citizens Association for Protection of Green and Children (known as *Shimin no Kai* to distinguish it from the nonpolitical *Mamoru Kai*), and following a successful recall election, elected Kiichiro Tomino as Mayor. Mayor Tomino immediately froze all development until the city council passed an environmental protection ordinance. News of Tomino's election made headlines in Japan and abroad. Six months later, a group of professors from Yokohama National University, who had studied the Ikego problem and come up with eight alternative plans, traveled to the US to meet with citizen groups, further publicizing the Zushi case.

Networking

Then in 1984, the publication of the Japanese translation of *Networking* by Lipnack and Stamps – who hailed networks as "appropriate sociology, the human equivalent of appropriate technology," immediately inspired the formation of the Networking Studying Group in Japan. "They could have been writing it about me" recalled Izumi Aizu, one of the founders. With support from the Toyota Foundation, the Study Group created the Networking Forum, "to discuss the concept of networking and the possibility of developing it in a Japanese social context." They used the term "networking" to refer to "citizen activities" in which the goal is "to create a caring, communal society through the use of a new 'software of exchange;' based on freedom and independence. Networking ... enables citizens to offer alternative ideas and processes for the creation of a postindustrial society." Aizu, (Secretary of the Networking Forum from 1987 to 1992), had the opportunity to engage in such networking, to help his aunt, Mrs. Kawanishi, and the growing citizens' movement in Zushi.

Thanks to Aizu, Zushi citizens were among the first to use computer conferencing to contact a global electronic community in support of environmental concerns. Through the Source, a computer Bulletin Board Services (BBS), Aizu, on a trip to the US in 1984, met Lisa Carlson and Frank Burns, who had just started the Meta Network, a DC-based virtual community and computer networking consulting firm. They immediately became friends and collaborators. Back in Japan, Aizu set up a computer and communications software in Mayor Tomino's living room, to connect to the Meta Network. The letter writing campaign was Mrs. Kawanishi's idea, to generate an outpouring of public opinion to stop the Ikego project. Volunteers prepared a template, which they transmitted to the Meta Network, and "porters" posted on other networks, including the New England Commons, which Lipnack and Stamps started in Boston. More than a thousand replies came in, from over 50 countries. In December, 1985, Aizu also wrote an article on this campaign for *Netweaver,* a pioneering electronic publication distributed by the Meta Network. Carlson recalled: "We were not just doing Azumi a favor, but raising awareness. Losing one forest anywhere in the globe is a global not a local issue." At the same time Catharine Nagashima (1985b) included her article on Zushi: "Local Autonomy in the Tokaido Metropolis: A citizens' movement to protect a rare tract of forested hills," as part of a special issue of *Ekistics* (1985a) which she had edited in memoriam to Jaqueline Tyrwhitt, who had died in 1983 (fig. 1).

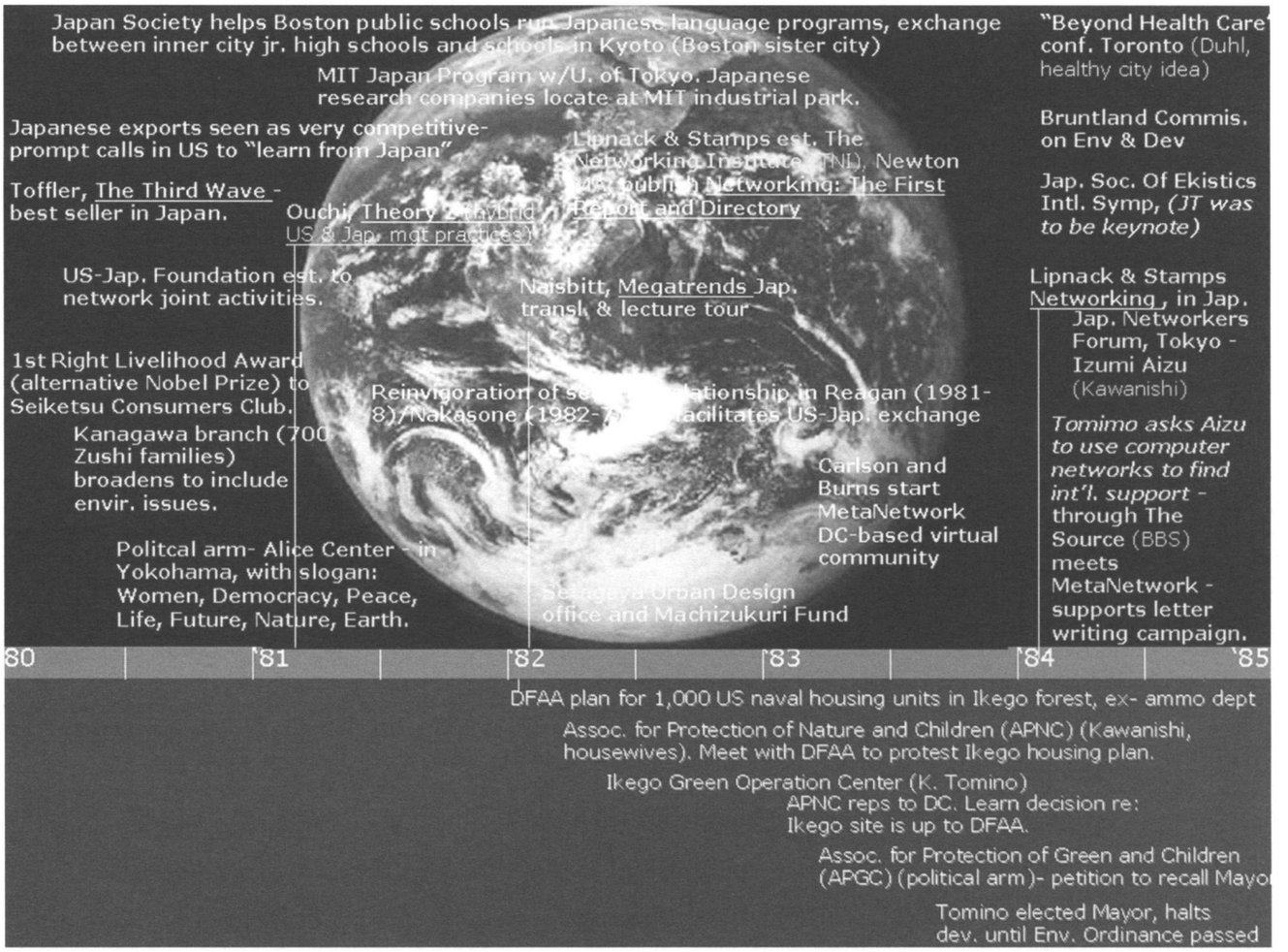

Fig. 1: Timeline 1980-1985.

Community and economic development networks for US-Japan Exchange

The concept of collaborative, network-based approaches to community development was also becoming established in Massachusetts by the mid-1980s, particularly in and around Boston. Under Hacobian's leadership, in the early 1980s, Urban Edge had joined with other local groups to identify and address the broader issues facing Egleston Square. These groups began to take on more complex projects, with the help of a growing network of public and private organizations, such as the funding consortium, the Neighborhood Development Support Collaborative (NDSC), which facilitated organizational development and encouraged mutual self-help through networking among community based groups.

Community and economic development networks were closely linked if not integrated in Massachusetts under Governor Dukakis, who now in his second and third terms (1982-89), was able to leverage the economic boom of the mid to late 1980s to foster "a good climate for high-tech industry, retraining workers, investing in research and development and creating jobs" (PACKARD, 1988:98). The Dukakis administration also promoted trade with Japan. At this same time *endaka* – the rising value of the yen in the mid-1980s – spurred growth in Japanese direct foreign investment. In 1985 alone, six Japanese government agencies spent more than $134 million dollars on biotechnology research in Massachusetts. Moreover, Japanese firms targeted Boston as one of the four major American cities, along with New York, Los Angeles, and Washington, DC, in which to invest in real estate in the 1980s. By 1990, there were over a hundred Japanese firms and affiliates in the state, and 52 in the Boston area. These included the Showa Women's Institute, which established a campus in Jamaica Plain in 1987. By the early 1990s, Japan was the second biggest market for exports from Massachusetts.

Boston Mayor Raymond Flynn (1983-91) visited Japan in 1986, as part of a delegation to promote trade, which included Steve Coyle, chief of the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA), signaling how trade linkages between knowledge-based industries were entwined with networks linking community development professionals in the Boston and Tokyo-Yokohama-Nagoya-Osaka conurbation. Flynn's visit attracted more than 500 Japanese visitors to Boston from more than 350 Japanese corporations and trade organizations in 1987. These visitors were not just representatives of corporate giants. A Kansai-based group interested in community-based development visited the BRA. Terry MacDougall, an expert on citizens movements in Japan, then teaching at Harvard, and who on occasion consulted with the BRA.

Meanwhile in Zushi, citizens had refused, in 1987, to accept a compromise plan for the Ikego site proposed by

Kanagawa Governor Nagasu (perhaps under pressure due to the Reagan Nakasone summit meeting that year). To take such a stand was unheard of, Koichi Nagashima explained: "Those who speak out against the government are labeled as communist, or survivors of the red army." Frustrated with the city's inability to stop the Ikego project, Mayor Tomino decided that Zushi citizens should take whatever steps necessary, including the creation of new municipal mechanisms. Tomino recalled: "The goal was to establish local government in Japan. To be a local government we must have a charter and a locally initiated general land use plan." Tomino invited Koichi Nagashima, Yasuyoshi Hayashi, a prominent leader of the *machizukuri* movement, and others experienced in citizen participation consultancy, to work with the citizens on the idea of a "Grand Design" for Zushi, incorporating a physical plan, and a social and welfare plan, approved by a citizens' charter (shimin kensho). "In Japan the word 'plan' has the image of being solid/fixed, finished, and short term," Tomino explained. "But we needed at least 50 years as a time frame, and so we chose the word 'design'."

Cross-cultural networks of faith and ideas

Concurrently, in 1988, Mrs Mitsuyo Sawa, a Zushi housewife activist, who had been elected as a member of the City Council, organized a delegation of 70 local residents to make a direct appeal to US policy makers and citizens. They wanted to explain that they were not anti-American, just against destruction of a precious forest preserve for housing, and to ask for help, knowing that the decision lay with the Japanese government. In doing so the Zushi citizens may have made the first grass roots effort to employ a well known tactic in Japan, known as *gaiatsu*, which involves mobilizing foreign public opinion to influence domestic policy decision making. This group of highly educated, well-traveled individuals understood that while land use policy in Japan might be stuck in "gridlock," there were "sweeping changes" underway at the global level. The report of the Brundtland Commission on Environment and Development (1987) marked a "watershed" event, signaling the global dimension of environmental issues. Furthermore, the *Brundtland Report* established criteria for sustainable development including "a political system that secures effective citizen participation in decision making" and "decentralizing the management of resources upon which local communities depend, and giving these communities an effective say over the use of these resources."

Zushi citizens were well informed about these global trends not only because the Nagashimas were active in the Ekistics movement, but also because several environmental groups – the Sierra Club, the World Wildlife Foundation, National Resources Defense Council, Friends of the Earth and the National Audubon Society – advised them on strategy, helped plan the visit to the US, and helped hatch a plan to preserve the forest as a life science park. Mrs Sawa and Mayor Tomino were part of one group who went to Boston, after lobbying in Washington, to study Harvard's Arnold Arboretum – the now 265 acre park in Jamaica Plain designed by Olmsted in 1872 – as a model. Mayors of Boston and Cambridge met with the Zushi delegation, both City Councils passed ordinances calling for preservation of the Ikego Forest, and community groups welcomed them. Tomino recalled: "The style of the citizens' movement in Zushi was very similar to Boston's movement! We were called American-style in Japan. But when we went to Boston we recognized our own style – creative, open, light."

To orchestrate this trip, Mrs Sawa reported that she not only used her connections with environmental groups but also her Catholic connections to gain introductions and facilitate appointments with citizens and peace groups. It is not surprising that these connections led to heavily-Catholic Boston, where Christian linkages to the Tokyo-Yokohama city region had been evolving in tandem with social reform networks for over a century. In *The Networking Book* (1986) Lipnack and Stamps, who also did some "networking" to help the Zushi delegation in Boston described this thickening web of faith and ideas as "the Invisible Planet ... a network of networks ... entered by taking another look at what is going on around us and recognizing the connections and nascent links among all the little islands of hope."

Lipnack and Stamps traveled to Japan in November 1989, and took part in a National Conference to Save Ikego sponsored by several citizen groups in Zushi, where the struggle had heated up after site work began on the project. Lipnack and Stamps also spoke at the First Networkers Forum, in Tokyo, on "A Vision of the Alternative Society Described by Networking." A report on the Forum explains that it aimed "to define a direction for networking in Japan." The participants "discovered that the Japanese approach to networking differs from that of Americans ... We stressed the need for Japanese to break away from their closed groupism. Lipnack and Stamps, on the other hand, emphasized the importance of transcending Western-style individualism." The report concludes: "We must search for ways to build a new civilization that will move beyond contemporary civilization, which has reached an impasse. One task of networking in Japan will be to create the software to link the civilizations of the Occident, the Orient, and other regions through universal values."

Significantly, Lipnack and Stamps now began incorporating this insight in their own work. In February 1990 they wrote the passage cited earlier: "East and West are moving to network organizations from complementary directions" – citing this as a lesson learned in Japan. They concluded: "Networking is a global philosophy. It has roots in the changing human condition, growing from opposing needs in East and West to a dynamic merger in the future."

The idea of civilizational transformation inspired by a vision of an ideal society, incorporating the best of East and West, was popular in the late 1980s, as it had been in the late 1880s, an early peak of Japanism fueled in part by the efforts of the group known as the Boston Orientalists, who built the foundations of the scholarly community bridge connecting the US and Japan, through the Boston and Tokyo-Yokohama city regions. By this time, however, Japanism was recognized and studied as a worldwide phenomenon, involving various aspects of cultural diffusion. Significantly, Boston-based scholarly communities continued to play a key role in disseminating these ideas and explaining the importance of exchange between the US and Japan when relations were strained by the huge trade deficit between them. Notably, Harvard Professor Edwin O. Reischauer chaired a conference at Rutgers University in 1989 on the Japanese influence on America (*Perspectives on Japonisme: The Japanese Influence on America)* where David Halberstam (1988, p. 49) commented on the mutuality of cultural influence, with a warning:

We are learning from the Japanese, finally, as they learned from us. If we are lucky, they will be an alarm clock, like Sputnik was an alarm clock ... The synergy of the two nations, if we find our way together, is extraordinary, and the dangers if we don't could be terrifying.

Back in Zushi, spurred by the success of the National Conference to Save Ikego, in 1990 the citizens' movement

won a majority on the city council and Mayor Tomino was able to implement many reforms, such as devising a neighborhood (district) based planning system incorporating citizen input; mapping out an ambitious welfare component of that plan, aimed at a "Spiritually Rich, Symbiotic Society," also with citizen input; and enacting an environmental assessment ordinance, based on a Geddesian survey. This ordinance had no statutory authority, but created a framework for negotiations between the city and developers. Moreover, the City Council approved what Tomino called "one of the most radical pieces of freedom of information legislation in Japan, including a provision for an ombudsman system." Zushi also became the first city in Japan to install a public computer network right in City Hall. These reforms must all be understood in the context of the Grand Design initiative (fig. 2).

and emerged, in part, in response to the "invasion" of Japan by Western architects, eager to take advantage of a frenzied building boom. Just as the Metabolists had used the platform of the World Design Conference in Tokyo in 1960, to articulate a vision of urban design – then a brand new term – based on Japanese aesthetics, so did the "next wave" of Japanese architects who emerged in the 1970s, notably Koichi Nagashima, Maki's disciple. Nagashima and his colleagues used a series of design conferences sponsored by the City of Yokohama from 1988 to 1992, to develop consensus on "a precise definition for urban design" going beyond "superficial beautification" toward "greater consideration of the quality of the environment as a whole." In this regard they were also expanding the project begun by Tyrwhitt and Sert at Harvard in the late 1950s and 1960s.

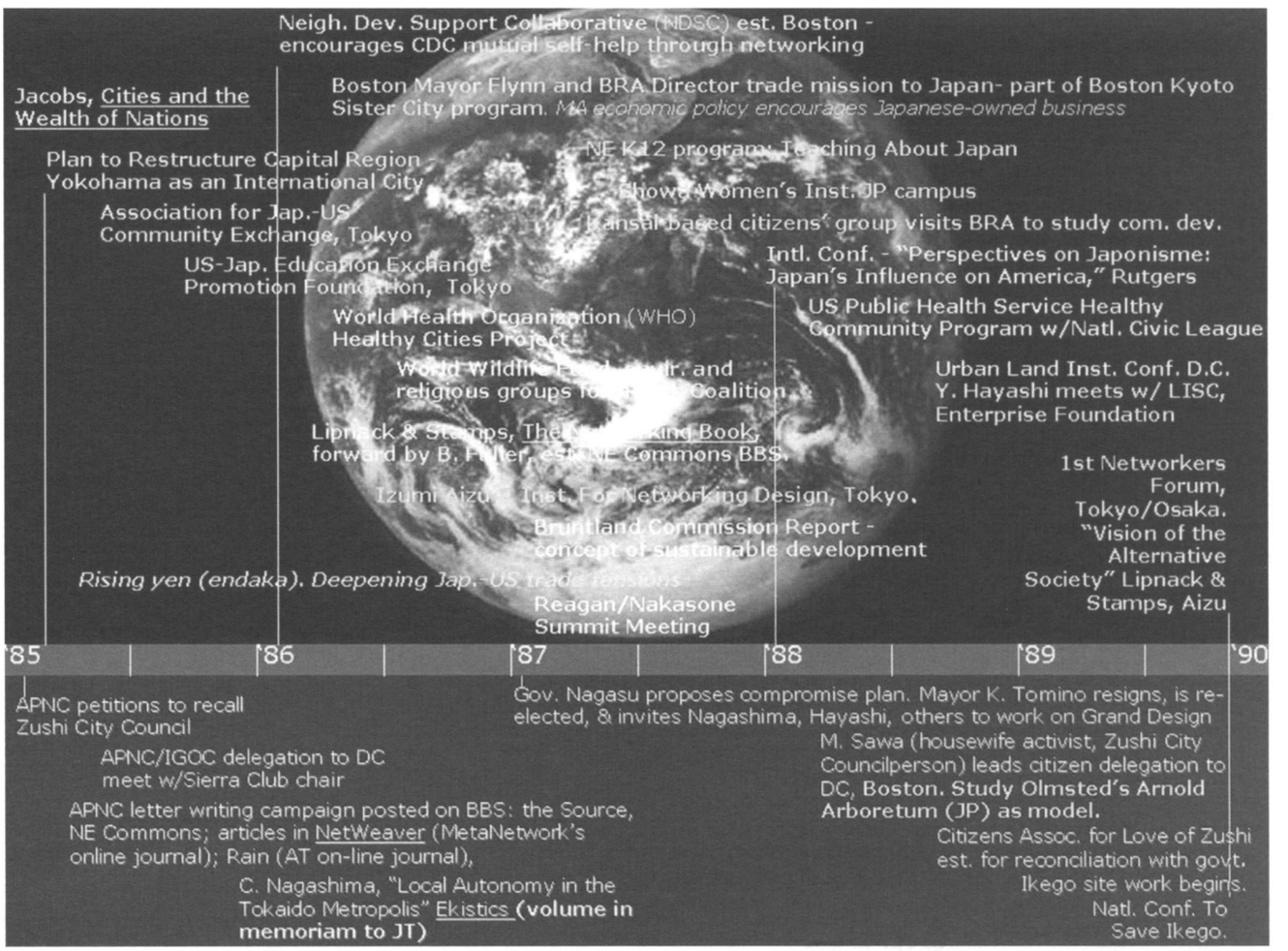

Fig. 2: Timeline 1985-1990.

The Grand Design and healthy Boston

The idea for the Grand Design may be credited to Tomino, but it certainly reflects the thinking of Koichi and Catharine Nagashima, who were leaders of a movement to define urban design theory and practice for post-industrial Japanese cities. This movement centered on Yokohama,

The City of Yokohama used the urban design conferences to announce its "Design City related fields." This move reflected the growing awareness in Japan "among businesses, citizens and local authorities that a favorable urban environment is both for the public good, and an obligation." Yokohama's experience with citizen participation in urban design began with experimental workshops conducted in the mid-1980s, concurrently with similar experiments in

Setagaya ward in Tokyo. The Nagashimas' firm AUR Consultants was one of the first to be involved in the Yokohama experiments, while Yasuyoshi Hayashi was breaking new ground in Setagaya. These projects were adopted as models for citizen participation by many Japanese cities, including Zushi. Thus we can see how the Grand Design initiative both shaped and was shaped by an evolving synthesis of Eastern and Western holistic community design ideas.

The UN continued to play an important role in facilitating both the globalization of these ideas as well as their local adaptation. Notably, in 1990, the International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI) was established at the World Congress of Local Governments for a Sustainable Future at the UN (the same year the UN launched its Sustainable Cities Program). Zushi, Kanagawa and Yokohama all immediately joined ICLEI. In 1990 and 1991, the Environmental Committee of the Kanagawa Network of the Seiketsu Consumer Club visited ICLEI's North American headquarters in Toronto, in search of the best environmental practices. This visit helped the Kanagawa Seikatsu Club develop the model for its own ecology program, which aims at "developing a community in which the individual, society and nature are in harmony" and "encourage cooperation at the community level, with other coops in Japan and among coops around the world."

Both Zushi's Grand Design initiative and the Seiketsu Consumer Club's ecology program exemplify the holistic approach – inspired by an image of the ideal, decentralized community based on cooperation and in harmony with nature – currently subsumed under the umbrella of the Healthy Cities approach. The seeds of the Healthy City idea were planted by Delian Leonard Duhl and others in the Ford Foundation Grey Areas program in the late 1950s, and were cultivated in the Model Cities program and UN sponsored community development programs in the 1960s, and debated and refined in the context of the Delos Symposia and pages of *Ekistics* and the Harvard Urban Design conferences, and helped frame the agenda for the UN Conference on the Environment in 1972. Duhl reintroduced this idea at a conference in Toronto in 1984 entitled "Beyond Health Care," where it was picked up by the WHO's European office and launched as the "Healthy Cities Project" in 1986. In 1988 the US Public Health Service launched a Healthy Community program in partnership with the National Civic League. In 1991 Boston became one of the first major US cities to initiate a Healthy Cities project.

In 1991 Boston sponsored the "Building Health Through Community" conference to introduce the Healthy Boston Initiative. The first round of Healthy Boston coalitions were funded in 1992, and Urban Edge participated in two: one focused on the revitalization of Egleston Square, the other one aimed at bringing together the entire Jamaica Plain community. Lipnack and Stamps helped facilitate networking in support of the Healthy Boston initiative. While members of Healthy Boston coalitions such as Urban Edge and others did not self-consciously tap the creative energy generated by the interaction of Eastern and Western visions of the ideal, decentralized community that was giving rise to a "dynamic merger" in the collaborative healthy community model, as networkers in Zushi did, with increasing economic interdependence between the US and Japan generally, and between the Boston and Tokyo-Yokohama city regions in particular, there was increasing interaction at the local level. For example, in 1992, the Boston Children's Museum presented an exhibit on Teen Tokyo, timed to coincide with the Second Annual Japanese American Grass Roots Summit held in Boston, which focused on "volunteerism, philanthropy, the environment, women's leadership, world health problems, sister cities, biotech industries, and Japanese cultural and language exchange." Surely it is only a matter of time before people who live in Boston appreciate Japan's cultural influence there since the mid-19th century.

METROPLEX

Meanwhile, reflecting this new trend in cross-cultural exchange, the US-Japan Foundation and the Japan Foundation's Center for Global Partnership sponsored the METROPLEX conference, a three-year program to promote "reciprocal analysis" by development professionals in the New York and Tokyo regions of "common problems of chaotic growth, traffic paralysis, aggravated environment and sluggish reaction to needed changes." The exchange format focused on case studies, and on the Japanese side Koichi Nagashima led the case study group concerned with urban design. That group convened in Yokohama in July 1992, just after the conclusion of the series of international urban design conferences begun in 1988, considering "what urban design ideally should be." Keynote speeches, by Maki and Ernest Gellner, symbolized the connection between the aesthetic and social components of that ideal. Koichi Nagashima, who convened the session on the context of urban design and conducted the sessions in English, in which the Japanese participants were fluent, concluded his summary of their discussion with this declaration: "The goal of urban design is the creation of a civic society." Shigenori Kobyashi, a Professor at Yokohama National University, who was active in the Zushi citizens' movement and convened the session on community design, reported: "Community design … is not the designing of a community. Instead, it is a way of bringing people together through community development."

The case study on citizen participation in urban design as an integral component of redevelopment strategy in Yokohama provided the American participants with these materials and more in English. But this first-time visitor found the Japanese urban environment overwhelming – there was too much to absorb all at once, even the boundary of the case study problem was hard to recognize. The following year, the urban design case study team convened in Hoboken, NJ, where a citizens' movement had won a battle with a powerful regional authority to protect the waterfront and won. Koichi Nagashima saw the connection and decided to study Zushi the following year. That is where this study started.

By the time the METROPLEX case study team convened in Zushi in July 1993, Mrs Sawa had succeeded Tomino, becoming only the second woman mayor in Japan. She continued Tomino's agenda, including the Grand Design, but by then Japan's bubble economy had burst, sharply reducing the funding available to local governments for such projects. Primed to find a connection between citizen participation in urban design in Zushi and Hoboken, the pattern became recognizable and an even clearer connection with events underway in Jamaica Plain became evident. But the forces that shaped the pattern of transformative, holistic community design in Jamaica Plain and Zushi were set in motion centuries ago, if not millennia. The larger drama of the interaction between East and West in the evolution of human civilization has played out in a pattern of interpersonal relationships that has bound communities such as Jamaica Plain and Zushi, among others, in a dynamic interaction from generation to generation (fig. 3).

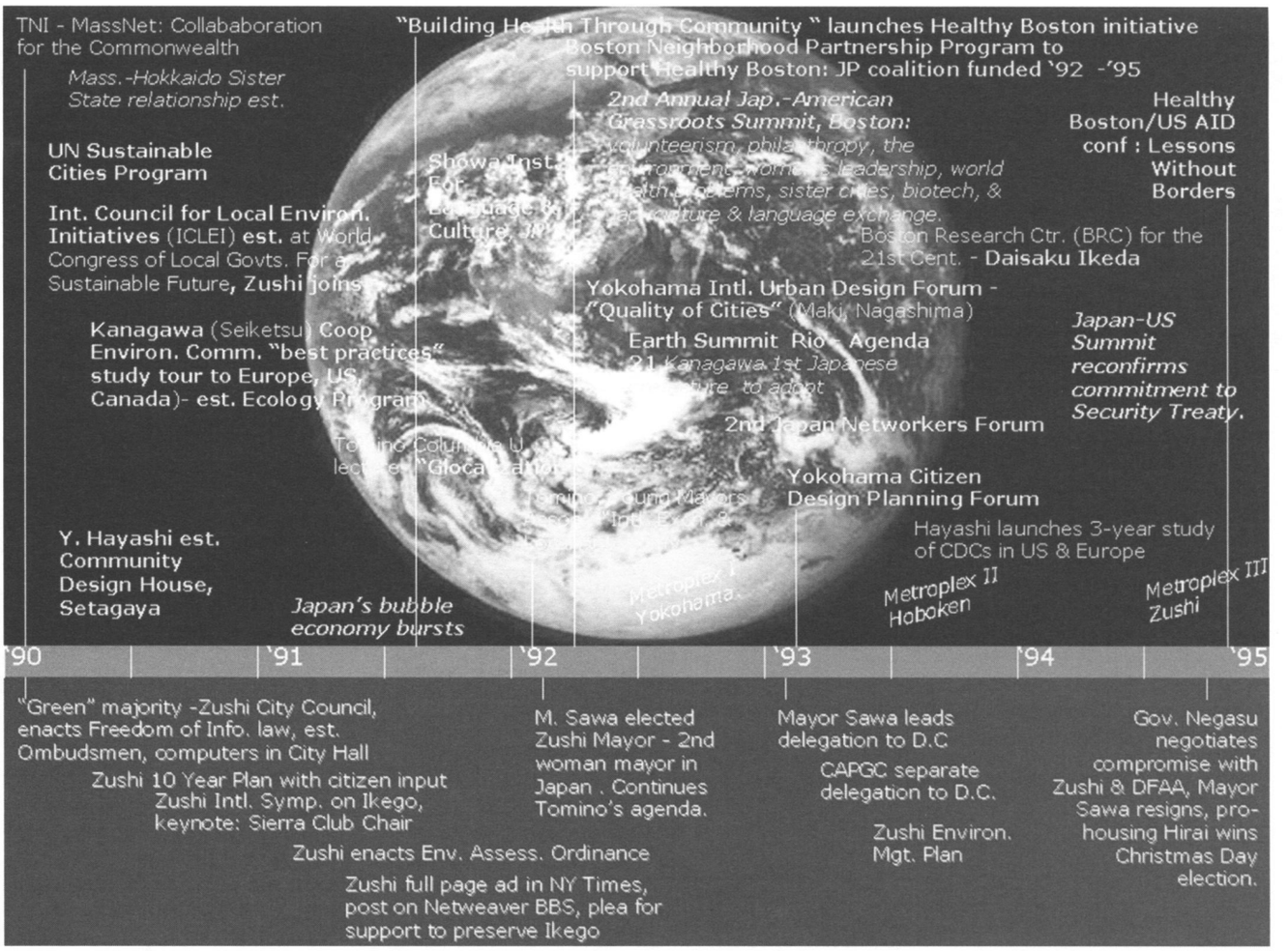

Fig. 3: Timeline 1990-1995.

Note

1. This paper is based on my dissertation – Shoshkes, E. (2000), *East-West: Interactions Between the US and Japan and Their Effects on Community Development,* Bloustein School of Planning and Policy Development (New Brunswick, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey) – and subsequent publications including: E. Shoshkes (2004), "East-West: Interactions between the United States and Japan and Their Effect on Utopian Realism," *Journal of Planning History* **3**(3): 215-240.; E. Shoshkes (2006), "Jaqueline Tyrwhitt: a founding mother of modern urban design," *Planning Perspectives* **21**: 179-97; and S. Adler and E. Shoshkes, "Planning for Healthy People/Healthy Places: Lessons from mid-20th Century Global Discourse," *Planning Perspectives*, forthcoming. I am indebted to Catharine Nagashima for the wealth of information she compiled in the double issue of *Ekistics* **52** (314/315) dedicated in memoriam to Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (1985a).

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