

The Shift of Valuation and Management in ‘Denken
Chiku’ Protected Townscapes in Japan
Comparative Analysis with Contemporary Western Protection Policies

日本の重要伝統的建造物群保存地区の評価方法と地
域マネジメントの変遷について
西洋近代における地域保存政策との比較研究から

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1. INTRODUCTION

Background of this research

The acknowledgement of cultural townscapes as cultural artefacts is closely linked with the enlargement of the concept of monument after World War II, in its typological, chronological and geographical aspects¹. Regarding typology, there is a significant difference between the memorial function of the intentional monuments built pre-modern times, as described by Riegl², and the modern concept of historical monument, which includes any human creation that contains any information from the past. The former concept is limited to creations requested by a socio-political elite to remind future generations about events regarding a common past. The latter, as defined by Choay³, is defined by the knowledge, rather than memory or identity. Consequently, any creation with a value of material culture is susceptible of being acknowledged as a monument, which means that new typologies outside the intentional monuments, such as popular architecture, vernacular architecture, groups of buildings, to mention some, can be historical monuments. Regarding chronological and geographical aspects, the periods and geographic zones to be valued as material culture have constantly been growing.

The process of preservation, of cultural assets with memorial function have been used as a means to manipulate the memory and identity of people during all history, but the processes of substitution or destruction have been used more often. Both actions, substitution and destruction, come at the cost of losing some part of the common memory of the communities around them. The conscious valuation and preservation of historical heritage appeared only in modern era, as a result of a massive process of substitution and destruction. Between 18th and 19th centuries, the construction of a modern, national consciousness and the risk of disappearance of major architectural works due to destructions or substitutions caused the first wave of valuation of major monuments. The revolution in France, the industrial revolution in England or the Meiji revolution in Japan are three examples of a similar process: the construction of a modern national identity along with the trauma of the disappearance of the common past, replaced by the new modernity. However, almost all of these processes have one common trait: **they happened in Europe. When preservation of cultural properties started being common in modern countries in 19th century, Japan was the only non-European exception.**

Japan and Europe had similarities in the practice of preservation of cultural properties. Japan built its own discipline of history of architecture in early 20th century, adopting methodologies similar to those used in European countries. As in Europe, Japan experienced a progressive enlargement of the concept of historical monuments, from singular monuments such as temples and castles to minor or vernacular architecture. However, the valuation of the townscapes as architectural heritage did not become mainstream until the end of World War II, either in Japan or European countries. The fast economic and urban development in the 1950s and 1960s caused further damage to old townscapes, which were replaced by modern urban structures as architecture had been replaced in past times. Consequently, the valuation of the town as a spatial container of the monuments was added to the Venice Charter in 1964. At the same time, several countries were publishing new laws and charters to assure the protection of historical towns: Malraux Law (1962) in France, Carta del Restauro (1972) in Italy, or the

¹ CHOAY, Françoise. *Alegoría del patrimonio*. Gustavo Gili, Barcelona, 2016. In the introduction, the typological, chronological and geographical growth of the concept of historical monument is described (p.8-10).

² RIEGL, Alois. *El culto moderno a los monumentos*. Editorial Antonio Machado, Madrid, 2008.

³ CHOAY, Françoise. *op. cit.* 2016.

amendment of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Assets (1975) in Japan, were examples of this tendency. In the Japanese case, as a result of the 1975 law amendment, they defined a national network for townscape protection, called *jūyō dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku* (lit. 'preservation districts of important groups of structures', usually abbreviated into *denken chiku*). This network has been managed at a national level by the Agency of Cultural Affairs (from now on, ACA), which is the same organ in charge of management of other categories of cultural properties. Thus, *denken chiku* is the national network to preserve cultural townscapes from their valuation as cultural properties. It is not the only national program to preserve townscapes, but it was the first, and the one that focused on the valuation as cultural properties, equally to monuments or important artworks. Thus, the *denken chiku* system would be close to the cultural valuation applied to Europe after the expansion of the philosophy of Malraux Law.

In this context, it would seem that the processes in both Japan and European countries have been the same, in both preservation of cultural properties in general, and preservation of cultural townscapes. In fact, Japan experienced a strong cultural influence from western countries between Meiji and early Showa periods, and they developed their modern discipline of architectural preservation by mixing their own culture of carpentry and a study on western history as a discipline, with concepts such as chronological time.

However, Europe maintained for a long time the concept of preservation as limited to Europe⁴. The first internationally relevant researches on Japanese preservation were conducted by Paul Philippot, director general of ICCROM, in the 1970s⁵. However, his research focused in the technical skills and the specific philosophy in the practice by Japanese carpenters. This philosophy, focused on the maintenance of the original shape by replacing damaged materials and even rebuilding entire structures, was at the time contrary to the philosophy of Venice Charter, thus it was seen as unacceptable by most European professionals. The international acknowledgement of Japanese heritage preservation would increase in the 1990s, as a result of the activity of UNESCO, ICCROM and ICOMOS, and the most detailed studies of Japanese preservation from a European approach were conducted at this decade. However, most of the studies were focused on the defence of the Japanese concept of authenticity, which was different from the authenticity defined in Venice Charter^{6 7}, or on the techniques for preservation of timber structures in the specific conditions of Japan⁸. These studies, which served widely as a basis for the UNESCO Nara Document on Authenticity in 1994, were focused on individual, timber structures, while there was no specific study about townscape preservation.

The first mentions to Japanese townscape preservation in foreign literature are also from the 1990s, and focused on the Japanese *denken chiku* system. First, the doctoral dissertation at the MIT by Cherie Wendelken-Mortensen⁹, in 1994, which focused on the concept of authenticity applied in the preservation of Tsumago, designated *denken chiku* in 1976. Second, the research on Japanese preservation by the German-Japanese Intergovernmental Committee for Scientific and Technical Co-operation, with the collaboration of Tokyo National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (*Tōbunken*) and the Association of State Conservation Officers of the Federal Republic of Germany. The results of this research, conducted between 1992 and

⁴ CHOAY, Françoise. *op. cit.* 2016

⁵ PHILIPPOT, Paul. 'Conservation and Tradition of Craft', in *International Symposium on the Conservation of Cultural Property, Conservation of Eastern Art Objects*, November 1979. Tokyo, 1980.

⁶ JOKILEHTO, Jukka. 'Considerations on authenticity and integrity in World Heritage context', in *City & Time* vol.2 n.1, 2006, p.1-16.

⁷ LARSEN, Knut Einar. 'A note on the authenticity of historic timber buildings with particular reference to Japan'. *ICOMOS International Wood Committee (IIWC): 8th international symposium*. Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur, Nepal, 23-25.11.1992

⁸ LARSEN, Knut Einar. *Architectural preservation in Japan*. ICOMOS International Wood Committee, Paris; Tapir, Trondheim, 1994

⁹ WENDELKEN-MORTENSEN, Cherie. *Living with the past: preservation and development in Japanese architecture and town planning*. PhD dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1994.

1997, were recompiled in a book by several authors¹⁰. This book, focused in the reconstruction works on Heijōkyō in Nara and Kongōbu-ji temple in Koyasan, and again, explained the concept of authenticity in Japan through the explanation of the concept of *fukugen* (lit. 'return to the origin'). However, the book also included a chapter about the urban preservation of Kyoto, another about the preservation of Imai-chō (designated *denken chiku*), and a third one, by Uta Hohn, explaining the *denken chiku* system and its workflow. Surprisingly, Uta Hohn and its chapter were the only part of the book which was not mentioned in the preface, which could mean that he was not part of the original project. The previous year, the same author published a more detailed journal paper explaining the history of the Japanese townscape preservation, not limited to *denken chiku*¹¹. The study by Hohn focused on the activity by Japanese central governmental agencies such as the Agency of Cultural Affairs, as well as their budgets, policies and goals. Hohn explained how the budget for the *denken chiku* had increased in the 1990s, how the Japanese government expected to increase the *denken chiku* to at least 100, having at least one in each prefecture, and as a result how the townscape protection system had entered on a full-development stage in the 1990s. However, generally speaking, the past researches were limited to the 1990s, and in them, townscape preservation was rarely the focus point. Thus, **for the last twenty years, there has not been any research explaining the results of what Hohn defined the period of full development of Japanese townscape preservation through *denken chiku* system. This is the first open question that this research aims to explain.**

Second, townscape preservation has the particularity of being more conditioned by the laws in each country than any other. Since urban soil has been object of its own legislation and also its own economic activities (including speculative activity), townscape preservation responds to the regulation of cultural assets, but also to the urban planning policies of each country. In 2005, Yamasaki Masafumi explained the specificities of urban policies in the General Assembly of UNESCO¹². In Europe, most governments have a strong regulation power over private property, and urban planning and management is regulated considering this power. But as explained by Yamasaki, Japanese legislation confers a great power to private owners, thus the regulation mechanisms that central and local governments can introduce in urban planning are limited when comparing to Europe. In Europe, urban development is divided into **planning (a creation of a regulatory framework for urban development) and management (the application of the regulatory framework into specific works on site, such as including urbanization works, restructuration of private properties, edification, or any action of communication with citizens)**. In addition, as for any cultural property, a previous valuation is needed to define the values to preserve.

After Nara Document, UNESCO admits that valuation is conducted differently in each country according to the values that this country aims at preserving. And the urban planning and management depend on each country legislation. **Given that Japan has a different set of values and a different legislation, the second open question that this research aims at explaining is how a research on Japanese *denken chiku* system of townscape preservation, seen from a European approach, would provide an overall image of the processes in Japan equivalent to European valuation, planning and management.**

¹⁰ ENDERS, Siegfried RCT, GUTSCHOW, Niels. 'Preface' in ENDERS, Siegfried RCT, GUTSCHOW, Niels (Ed.). *Hozon: Architectural and urban conservation in Japan*. Edition Axel Menges, Stuttgart/London 1998.

¹¹ HOHN, Uta. 'Townscape Preservation in Japanese Urban Planning', in *The Town Planning Review*, n.68.2, 1997.4.

¹² YAMASAKI, Masafumi: 'Control Tools for Conservation of Historic Townscape with Citizens' Strong Property Right: Experience of Kyoto', in *ICOMOS 15th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium*, 2005.

Last, for the twenty years that passed from the research by Hohn, both European and Japanese theoretic frameworks on preservation have evolved, and the circumstances and challenges that preservation must face also evolved. As a reaction to Nara Document, which acknowledged the concept of authenticity existing in every country (with a special emphasis in Japan), the Charter of Krakow was published as a European-only charter in 2000¹³. The Charter of Krakow continued on the line of protecting the historicity as a value, thus excluding reconstructions from the list of operations in preservation. Regarding townscape preservation, the Charter of Krakow mentioned the necessity of a **transdisciplinary work and an integrated management, which included the study of town structures along with immaterial values, as well the social and economic impact of such interventions.**

The goal of integrated management was to make historic towns to be prepared to anticipate the future changes. About the future changes, the concept of cultural property experienced a great expansion, of which the effects have been particularly visible over the last twenty years. The culture is now more accessible to general public than ever, but also it has become an indicator of personal status, through the modern leisure industry. This process, often called 'democratization of the culture' by Malraux, affects all the varieties of the cultural heritage, and even the concept of culture itself. This process implies some contradictions:

- **Economic valuation and exploitation of the culture:** when culture and knowledge became publicly offered, they also became products. As products, an industry was developed around them. This industry searched for potential audiences and adapted cultural assets to the interests of these audiences. As a product, culture became a sign of social status: activities such as tourism, owning a house in a historical quarter, re-using old structures for corporate goals, among others, became the ultimate goal of many cultural products. Nowadays, a cultural asset such as a patrimonial building is both 'cultural' and 'asset', thus economic.
- **Shift to an anthropologic concept of culture:** the democratization of the culture brought the need of taking the elitist concept of culture away. That was obtained by taking the anthropologic concept of culture as anything human-made. The human, not their work was put in the focus point. Since any activity centred on any human was cultural, the culture shifted, among the general public, towards the entertainment of people at their leisure time. This implies, according to Choay¹⁴, a rather narcissistic vision of the culture.
- **Disappearance of the concept of culture as knowledge:** different societies started a modern cult to the culture, instead of the modern cult to the monuments defined by Riegl. As in Riegl, the cult to the monuments meant a cult to the will of art and a cult of the pursue of knowledge. After the democratization, culture moved away from the individual study to the musealisation of every cultural artefact. Since all people in every generation must value what it is cultural heritage for them, divulgation is considered a key activity for that valuation to occur. That often meant taking away the need of a pursue of knowledge, since knowledge had been simplified for everyone.

Thus, the last open question that this research aims at **comparing the evolution of Japanese theoretic framework applied to townscape preservation in *denken chiku* system,**

¹³ INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CONSERVATION KRAKOW 2000. CULTURAL HERITAGE AS THE FOUNDATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CIVILISATION. *Charter of Krakow*. Krakow, 2000.

¹⁴ CHOAY, Françoise. *op. cit.* 2016.

when comparing to European evolution, to point out the strong and weak points resulting of this evolution.

To sum up, is there a comprehensive way to understand what is the meaning of Japanese townscape protection, considering the equivalent of European concepts of valuation, definition of elements to preserve and management of the life in the preserved districts? Could it be inferred by the study of the historical evolution of the *denken chiku* system?

Objectives and theoretical framework

For the reasons above mentioned, this research has three goals. The first goal of this research is to **define the values** specific to the Japanese townscape protection applied in *denken chiku* system, as well as the evolution of these values through time. For that purpose, the research focuses in the historical evolution of the *denken chiku* system. The second goal is to describe **the specific research and planning (creation of regulations) activity associated to the values**, how they have evolved, and whether they have effectively evolved into a comprehensive approach of the urban heritage or not. The third goal of the research is to describe the **management models and agents that have participated in the application of the planning (application of regulations defined in the previous planning), as well as the consequences of the management in the present condition of the towns**. By doing so, the research will enumerate the virtues and problems of the Japanese vision of urban heritage and its practice. This research explains all these questions from the comprehensive point of view explained in the Charter of Krakow. This comprehensive point of view is especially important in townscapes, due to the characteristics of the townscape among other categories of cultural assets.

The first characteristic is the **town as a complex system of different scales and complex forces interacting**. This is common to any urban complex, not necessarily limited to historical ones. First, there are the scales of **functions and life needs**. The difference between historical and industrialised urban systems is that the industrialization enlarged the scales of production and living space, the modern transportation enlarged the scale of the area in which humans live and circulate, and the modern urban planning conceived production, living and circulation independent, thus enlarging them as independent elements. This phenomenon made Giovannoni describe the incompatibility of old and new urban structures. In particular, old towns are not suitable for the big-scale functions of new towns, but yet, they are more suitable for the small, domestic scale activities than modern towns¹⁵. Second, there is the **environmental** scale. Historic towns were built according to the characteristics of the local geography, adapted to the local needs and possibilities of development, and limited to the resources of the local environment, while industrialised town planning can rely on external means to survive. Third, there is the **economic and social scale**. Historical town is prepared to reproduce local social patterns and also local economic activities. Modern town planning can rely on long-distance trade and new activities, and enlarge also the social relations included in a town. This includes the new economic exploitation of culture through tourism. As a result of the evolution of these three scales, the historic town worked as any **living organism with an organic town structure**, where the small scale of a particular solution of roofing is closely related to the territorial scale where the conditions for living and the resources are defined.

¹⁵ GIOVANNONI, Gustavo. *op. cit.* 1998. The introduction, by CHOAY, Françoise, explains how old and new cities must be, according to Giovannoni's thought, separated still connected.

By being related to all the forces that built it, urban heritage has functional, environmental and socio-economic implications that no other type of cultural asset has. If considered the preservation theories from post-war period to the present time, they mention the historical and aesthetic values of the heritage as the reasons to preserve them. By contrast, urban heritage cannot be limited to these two values. **But then, why is urban heritage valued?**

The second characteristic is that **urban heritage could be at the same time material and immaterial cultural assets, which have been created or evolved by several generations of the same community**. When talking about preserving a town, where a single building not necessarily has any exceptional value by itself, what are we talking about? It could be the buildings themselves, the urban space, the land structure, the community and its way of living, the techniques. Moreover, these buildings, spaces, land structures, techniques, usually include different historical periods, and the contribution of each period is not necessarily uniform, meaning that some periods might have contributed more significantly than others.

In Europe, despite efforts by some professionals like Giovannoni, to recognise the inherent value of the built environment, that is, towns and minor architecture as a whole¹⁶, the post-war emergency state caused warring countries to give preference to the recovery of singular monuments and their locations. In 1964, the Venice Charter, in its Article 6, reintroduced the concept of the built environment, for singular monuments. Thus, the urban fabric was considered valuable provided that it was related to monuments, but it was not valued as a whole, like it had been in the initial definition by Giovannoni. The start point was not the buildings, but the urban spaces around the buildings, while buildings were just inscribed in this urban space while defining its borders. Eventually, urban spaces with no monuments would also acquire the category of urban heritage, but the focus point seemed to be always in the space, rather than in the structures. The problem about this approach is the same as in architectural design: to define spaces, structures are to be defined. When considering how to approach these structures as necessary to define spaces, very different research lines have been developed, even in the same country.

For example, Ranellucci claimed a need for a method of multiple analytics, as a coordinated methodology which would include the methods developed independently in the last decades¹⁷. He was specifically talking about the manuals called *manuali di recupero*, often centred in building types, their development and their reproducibility. This approach would cover neither all the scales present in an urban structure, nor all the historical periods. Other approaches concentrated in cataloguing technical solutions in buildings, as if the techniques themselves would help determining the structure that defined the urban space, but they had the same problems of scale and historical periods. Thus, a comprehensive method would be needed to determine what is protected when a town is protected.

As for Japan, when in 1975, the Cultural Properties Protection Law *bunkazai hogohō* was modified, the protection of Important Groups of Traditional Buildings (*jūyō dentōteki kenzōbutsugun*, also abbreviated as *denken chiku*) was introduced. Prior to that, and especially after 1950, Japanese studies had focused on two lines: study and protection of the landscape, and study and protection of the *minka* and *machiya* traditional houses. After making the first list of *minka* houses to protect in the 1960s, the next step was to protect the existing *minka* groups at their places. This was possible because *minka* or *machiya* housing groups were considered valuable in themselves, regardless of whether any monument in particular existed within the

¹⁶ CARBONARA, Giovanni. Avvicinamento al restauro. Teoria, storia, monumenti. Liguori Editore, Naples, 1997.

¹⁷ RANELLUCCI, Sandro. *Il restauro urbano. Teoria e prassi*. UTET Libreria, Torino, 2003. p.126.

group, or the historical periods the structures had gone through. Thus, when it comes to what Japan considered town preservation, it seems quite clear that it was centred on the structures and their study. In fact, the term *kenzobutsugun* means 'groups of built structures', thus putting the structures at the focus point of the preservation, rather than the spaces. But at the same time, Japan have been developing their protection policies for landscapes and historic sites since the 1920s, while the protected landscapes often include urban areas as large as Kyoto and sites with a historical significance. **Thus, could it be that the question 'what to protect' had also different responses in Japan?**

The last characteristic is the **townscape as a life environment**. Since 19th century, most of cultural asset types are given a different status, installed in definitively in the past. In fact, different objects have been defined as heritage as they were installed in a temporal layer other than the present. In architecture, industrial buildings have been recently included in the types considered heritage, while they were not valued like that at their own era. Heritage is seen as a container of historical information, which does not belong to the present. As a container, if the logic of democratization is followed, it can be showed or exposed in a museum, or as a museum, in case of architectural heritage. In fact, Pane already defined the historical discontinuity between ancient and modern town structures, in a comparable way that in the 19th century had been defined for architecture¹⁸. This allowed other professionals such as Ranellucci advocate for a museum-like approach as the most adequate to preserve urban heritage¹⁹. This approach is related to the expansion of the concept of culture as it caused that experts from different fields, especially archaeology, gained interest on the study of the city. Since the museum-like treatment had been already used in several archaeological excavation sites²⁰, and several cities had this kind of sites integrated in their structures, the same treatment have been intended to be applied to historic towns by the same professionals. The museum is described not as a product, thus denying the economic value or its use as a tourism asset as a priority, but instead, as an object to study²¹. Ranellucci stated that the same valuation could be applied to historic towns²². Thus, the value of the town as a cultural asset is in its function as historical document.

By contrast, the first attempts to create a discipline for town preservation were based on the double nature of the town as an unconscious historical object and a living structure. As an unconscious structure, it is the result of several isolated actions to build the present, not a past. The past does not exist by itself, but as a support element of the present, in form of pre-existences. Urban and architectural shapes remain, even if unconsciously, and sometimes, some developments in urban structure cannot be explained as if it were not a result of pre-existences.

¹⁸ PANE, Roberto. 'Gli architetti moderni e l'incontro fra l'antico e nuovo', in *Convegno di Venezia, 23-24-25 aprile 1964*. Collegio Architetti Bergamo, Bergamo, 1965.

¹⁹ RANELLUCCI, Sandro. *op.cit.* 2003. The whole book advocates for the museum-like approach. The use as museum must be prioritized as other uses, such as cultural purposes, can be introduced if they are compatible with the character of the monument as a historic document. Yet, these uses do not guarantee by themselves a 'cultured' solution. 'La destinazione ad attività culturale di edifici appartenenti al centro storico non basta infatti di per sé a determinare una soluzione 'colta'. [...] Ad un restauro urbano che non trascuri presupposti di carattere museologico è corretto che si riservi la opportunità di mantenere una fruibilità in virtù dei caratteri che del documento sono sempre stati propri' (p.61).

²⁰ MINISSI, Franco. 'Museografia e siti archeologici', in *I siti archeologici. Un problema di musealizzazione all'aperto*. Multigrafica, Roma, 1988, p. 118-124. Minissi stated that for the scholar value of the cultural object being preserved, it must be preserved in its context, thus bringing the museum to the object, instead of bringing the object to the museum: 'Il fatto che si parli di 'musealizzazione all'aperto' [...] è un po' il contrario di quello che normalmente accade, non più le preesistenze che vanno al museo, ma è il museo che va alla preesistenza, in maniera particolare ai siti archeologici'.

²¹ ARGAN, Giulio Carlo. *Rapporto tra museo e allestimento*, in *Il pubblico dell'arte*, Firenze, 1982, p.11-20.

²² RANELLUCCI, Sandro. *op. cit.* p.93- 94.

This was the case of the design of some apparently new urban shapes in the reconstruction of Hiroshima in post-war period, as explained by Nakatani²³.

Regarding the living structure aspect, a town is, unlike other cultural assets, a permanently unfinished organism, which mutates as the local life evolves. This means that the local life determines the city, thus, if local life disappears, the cultural value of the town as a historic living space will disappear too. Urban structures are valuable as they are lived. This makes a difference, since the musealisation of heritage assets is not directly applicable to the towns without further thought. Whilst other cultural assets can be transported into museums, cultural townscapes located in remote, hardly accessible areas cannot. But then, **for what, and for whom, is urban heritage preserved, provided that it is not -or at least, not only- for the diffusion among the general public? Furthermore, for what, and for whom, is urban heritage preserved, in cases that exploitation as a tourism asset is not even possible?**

For the purpose of relating values with protected elements in the most objective way possible, this research establishes a basic theoretical framework to classify the values. The framework is based in the works by Millennium Village Project research group. This group studies the Japanese communities which lasted a millennium in the same place, according to documental evidence from Heian period (794-1185)²⁴. To learn from these communities and their value as common, still long-life communities, the group defined the town structure (*shūroku kōzō*) as resulting from the interaction between three variables: environment (*kankyō*), transport (*kōtsū*) and local management (*chiiki keiei*)²⁵. The group studied how there are main trends in all three variables in the millennium villages of all Japan. By doing so, they reached to define a 'basic survival unit'²⁶, defining the territory occupation model in a minimum village (extension, location, relation between dwelling units, production units, transportation units and resources for the survival). This kind of research have been around for some decades in Japan, which had researched on the territorial implications of their own existing traditional settlements²⁷. Still, the village defined as 'basic survival unit' refers to those villages built in ancient times and continued as self-sustaining settlements.

However, it is necessary to make some adjustments to adapt the Millennium Village framework to the *denken chiku* system. As opposed to ancient and medieval structures, most *denken chiku* districts are typically developed in modern ages, and the origin of the towns is not necessarily agricultural, or related with first sector economies, but many were relevant places for political, religious, strategic, productive or market interests. They were created as more complex than minimum survival units. In addition, their survival through generations to come will depend on a model more complex than that of a basic survival unit. This is because they mainly work as interdependent structures inside a territorial frame, instead of working as an

²³ NAKATANI, Norihito. 'Patterns of forgotten spaces. On the trail of 'Pre-Existence', an unconscious continuity of the city', in BALLAL, Amirtha (ed.), *Bhopal 2011, landscapes of memory*. SpaceMatters /Norwegian University of Science and Technology, New Delhi, 2011. In the planning of Hiroshima, a new diagonal Avenue, called Ekimae-Yoshijima line, was included in the border of the Edo period Hiroshima structure. Even if the street had not existed in the past, the border had survived without anyone noticing it.

²⁴ For that purpose, they used the Wamyō Ruijushō, a proto-encyclopedia with all Japanese words in kanji characters used at the 10th century, and organized on categories in a thesaurus format. Thus, they could identify old words such as toponymies belonging to a vocabulary used in 10th century Japan.

²⁵ MILLENNIUM VILLAGE PROJECT PAGE. *Millennium Village Certification Standard*. http://mille-vill.org/千年村認証基準/_/Millennium_Village_Certification_Standard (last access 2017-5-29).

²⁶ MILLENNIUM VILLAGE PROJECT PAGE. *Millennium Village Charter*. http://mille-vill.org/千年村憲章/_/Millennium_Village_Charter (last access 2017-5-29). In similar publications, they refer to this unit as 'minimum survival unit'.

²⁷ KŌJIRO, Junichirō; Meiji University Kōjiro Lab. *Nihon no komyuniti*. Kagoshima Shuppankai, Tokyo, 1975. By relating the sizes of communities, both in built area and population, to the sizes of the territory effectively used by the community, Kōjiro defined the size of the ecological limit (*seitaiken*, written 生態圏) of a single community: an agricultural community with 1000 inhabitants would typically need a 1800x1800m area to live, while occupying the central 400x400m area for dwelling.

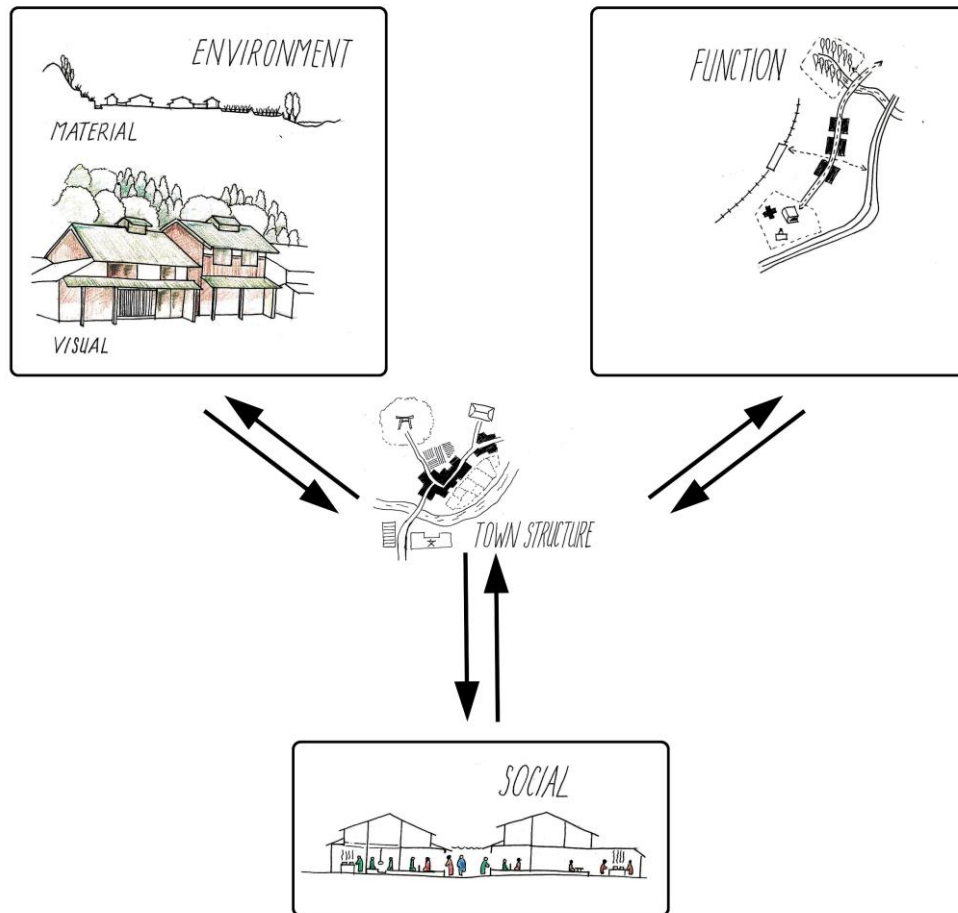


Fig.1.1. Diagram of the four factors contained in the research framework: environment, functional system, social system and town structure.



Fig.1.2. Example of synchronic aspect of environment. 'Dandanbatake' cultural landscape in Uwajima (2015). Created as a potato field in post-war poverty period, the next generation transformed it completely to raise citrus trees. When the market of citrus fruits became saturated, the field was abandoned, and wild forest replaced agricultural activity. Currently, original fields are being recovered and valued as a cultural asset, and potato production was restarted. Some citrus trees remain in parts which have not been restored, but the current activity replaced both citrus and forest trees in the majority of the landscape.

autonomous survival cell. Settlements dating from modern ages are characterised by more specialized local economies, which become interdependent, thus linked by trade activities, and Japan is no exception to that. Thus, the research framework must be also adapted to more complex urban and social structures. This framework considers four factors, described below (Fig.1.1).

1- *Environment*: The word environment explains both the link of the town with the location, but also the location that the town produces²⁸. The concept, being wide, has been used with different meanings. The most basic meaning is visual, the environment defined as a space as it is perceived. The environment, as it has been defined by Venice Charter, is defined

²⁸ PARKER PEARSON, Michael; RICHARDS, Colin (Ed.). *Architecture and order. Approaches to social space*. Routledge, London, 1994. 'People everywhere act on their environment and are aware of that environment, practically and discursively [...] Environments are thought before they are built. Equally, we build in order to think and act' (p.2).

from this approach: spaces defined by volumes, which are themselves defined by materials and colours. As an example, colour plans have been around, with different theoretical approaches, since the late 1970s²⁹. By contrast, there is a more comprehensive definition for the term 'environment', often used in territory, agricultural or landscape studies: environment as a source for materials, which conditions human activity in a certain location, and at the same time, is affected by this human activity. As a whole, environment would mean material and spatial conditions for a settlement. Thus, the settlement at a certain moment responds in synchrony to the environment at the same moment (*Fig.1.2*).

In this research, both definitions of environment are included: the environment is the local materials used to build a settlement and support its activity, but also the spatial result of the use of these materials. Notwithstanding, it is not necessarily true that all *denken chiku* considered both definitions of environment in their surveys and plans. Thus, this study assumes as a hypothesis that different *denken chiku* probably obtained different results because they applied different definitions of 'environment' in their activity.

2- Functional system: In the framework that this study took as a reference, there was not any reference to functional systems except for the traffic. Traffic has been a main structural element in Japanese history from Heian period. However, the functional system of a settlement from Heian period is significantly different from a settlement from modern period, not to tell present time. This is mainly due to two reasons. First, the road network in Edo period (1603-1868) was very different from the network in Heian period, and responded to a different social and economic structure. Roads in ancient times were built based on a territorial-scale viewpoint, thus connecting entire regions through trunk roads. These trunk roads used to take the shortest and safest path, along highlands, thus avoiding urban zones and settlement. By contrast, roads in Edo period ran along valleys and lowlands, thus connecting settlements, which used to trade with each other. Trade was more common, and settlements were more interdependent economically, and many new settlements were created in strategic points of the road network³⁰. Thus, the Edo period road network, which most of *denken chiku* share, is linked to a more complex and interdependent functional system, which include not only traffic, but also trade, political relations and public functions. The second reason is linked to modern urban and regional planning. The definition of a place as a modern urban system includes the access to private uses (dwelling, trading, business, services) and public services (education, health, social protection, green spaces).

Currently, any citizen expects to have access to these functions within their living environment. Regarding public services, the management by local government determines the viability of a town as habitable. As for private uses, the variety and constant adaptation to inhabitants' needs is quite relevant in Japan, since the town typologies are often defined as monofunctional (port towns, post towns, castle towns, merchant towns...). Thus, function is a key point for their survival, since a monofunctional town has extra difficulties to survive once the function disappeared, such as in *denken chiku* in mining towns or post towns. Consequently, the functional system of a town must integrate three elements: access to transportation (public

²⁹ CARBONARA, Giovanni. *op. cit.* 1997. It explains how colour plans have been evolving, from that of Turin, in 1979, which based its intervention of a document research of an original state of the city, to other approaches in 1980s and 1990s, which concentrated less in the original material and colour and more in its historical evolution (p.523 ff.).

³⁰ TAKEBE, Kenichi: 'Nihon kansen dōromō no shiteki hensen to tokushitsu', in *Proceedings of the Japan Society of Civil Engineers*, n.359, 1985. In this work, the author compares the territorial links produced by Heian period trunk roads and the interurban links produced by Edo period trunk roads, and proves how modern infrastructures are very similarly established. Train network, established from 19th century, replaced the interurban network of Edo period roads, while modern highways go through the same territories that Heian period roads used to go through.



Fig.1.3. Example of covered and borrowed space, around Itsukushima shrine, Hiroshima prefecture (2015). By domesticating space, covering it and borrowing some external space for shops, the border between public and private is diluted, thus it does not correspond to the border between collective space and restricted space.

and private, including vehicle parking), access to public facilities (education, health, culture, social, open spaces) and use of private land not only for dwelling, but also for productive and trading activities necessary for everyday life.

3- *Social system*: Millennium Village framework conferred a high importance to the management of social matters in local community. This is, what kind of organisational structures a community built to manage local matters, and what kind of ritualization (traditions, religious festivals) they followed to reproduce their social organization from one generation to the next. Society builds a town as a space for their social patterns to be produced³¹, and posterior generations will continue and evolve their social patterns by using the social space they inherited as a start point. In Japan, spatial continuities and discontinuities often describe social structures. Tange and Urban Design Lab³²

described these formal resources to describe social structure at an urban scale, such as interruption of urban axes to establish a separation between activity groups, definition of different horizontal levels for different social groups, coverage of urban spaces to domesticate them, or borrowing spaces to diffuse the border between the private and the public space. The former two build separation between social groups, while the latter two diffuse borders, thus inviting visitors to enter private space (Fig.1.3). Likewise, in Japanese houses it is common to distinguish and name each room depending on the people that use them, instead of their use itself. It is also common to exist several accesses to the house, for different social groups such as the family, guests or workers. Consequently, Japanese architecture and urban space is very context-sensitive when it comes to adapting for different social groups.

In this research, the town as a social system is valued as the composition of the society that *denken chiku* describe in their plans: local community, government and visitors-tourists. Some *denken chiku* are popular as tourism spots, and they included tourism as an economically viable activity to guarantee the future of the district. Still, towns are not museums, and they have interest as long as they do not become museums. Thus, tourism cannot replace local community completely, provided that it is a necessary condition for the town to survive. This study assumes as a hypothesis that different *denken chiku* developed different thoughts regarding the balance between locals and visitors, and these thoughts resulted in different results, given the context-sensitive nature of Japanese architecture and urban spaces.

4- *Town structure*: The town structure is the townscape as it is built, as a result of a diachronic superposition of different periods, which had different environments, functional systems and social systems. Each generation developed its town structure on the pre-existences of the previous ones. As a result, they developed the existing housing structures and typologies, as well as their relations to the street. The town structure is continuously redefining itself from pre-

³¹ PARKER PEARSON, Michael; RICHARDS, Colin (Ed.). *op.cit.* London, 1994. 'Structures are both the medium and the outcome of social practices' (p.3).

³² TANGE, Kenzō; URBAN DESIGN LAB. *Nihon no toshi kūkan*. Shōkokusha, Tokyo, 1963.

existences, as it shapes the circumstances in which next generations will built their environment, functional and social structures. Thus, it is at the same time result and originator of the other three factors (Fig.1.4). However, the analysis of temporal expressions of each stage can be conducted by different degrees of complexity. The most immediate and simplistic would be the definition of an 'original period' of the town, and thus bring all structures back to that period. Another approach would be to define one or several 'characteristic periods', then define typologies belonging to each, and use typologies as a model for interventions on structures. The most complex approach would be to study all temporal superposition in each structure, thus performing each intervention individually. All three have obvious problems. If a period of reference is defined, which period should it be? Should it be the foundational period, or the most prosperous period of the town, or another period? What would happen to structures superposed to this period?³³ As for typologies, the structure could evolve to a state in which had not existed in the past, nor would exist in the future, so it is a problematical approach, either in terms of historical accuracy or in terms of future well-being of the inhabitants. The case-per-case approach is problematic in terms of management. Japan also has cases in which this temporal-structural approach can completely change the planning. For example, Fukiya town exists from Heian period, but had two prosperous periods in modern times: in 17th century, copper mines were opened as a resource, due to the insufficiency of agricultural production; in 18th century, *bengara* (red earth pigment) production started. Currently, *bengara* pigmentation covers most of houses in Fukiya, but which would be the 'correct' interpretation of the temporal superposition? If considered the 17th century origins, before *bengara* was produced, it would

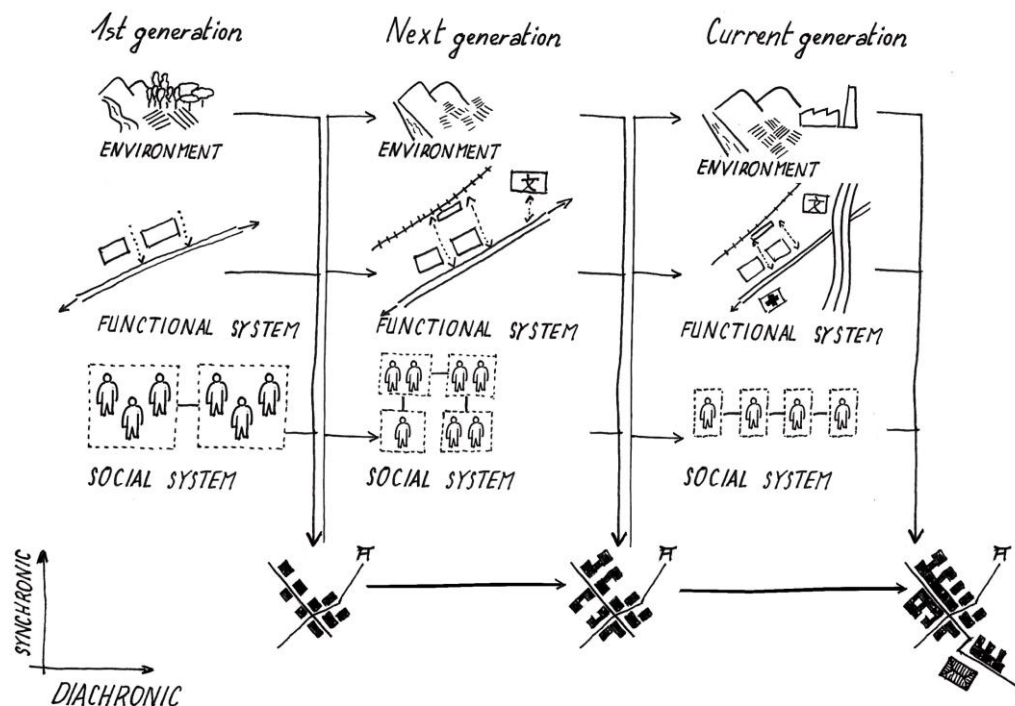


Fig.1.4. Town structure as a superposition of pre-existences.

³³ CARBONARA, Giovanni. *op. cit.* 1997. The author expressed in similar terms when defining the 'original colours' of any architectural or urban structure: 'Qual è, ad esempio, il colore originale d'un edificio nato in diverse fasi costruttive, per parti, con un travaglio di decenni, se non di secoli? Forse quello del momento in cui se n'è completato il primo pezzo secondo il progetto d'origine, o quello di ogni successiva aggiunta e modifica, magari in base a progetti ormai differenti, o quello in cui la fabbrica ha raggiunto la conformazione definitiva? Una Piazza che ha visto sorgere in tempi diversi gli edifici che la delineano, a quale momento far risalire il suo aspetto originale?' (p.523).

seem legit to remove bengara from the houses; if taken the typological approach, it would seem legit to remove bengara from the houses corresponding to typologies older than 18th century. That is the reason it is important to consider the temporal valuation in each planning: town structure as a temporal construction is a result of superposition of many environment-spatial states from the past, but also it is the start point for the environment-spatial states in the future.

Thesis structure: parts of the research and methodology applied in each part

As the goals are three, namely to define the valuation, the planning and the management, consequently the body of the thesis will be divided in three parts, with each part covering one of the three topics mentioned. As described below, each topic has its specific research methodology.

The valuation. The why, the for what. The values defined in townscape designation.

Denken chiku system was the first initiative to protect townscapes nationwide and preserve their cultural values. As stated above, it was implemented in 1975 by the Agency of Cultural Affairs, currently integrated in the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. While Japanese townscape protection is not limited to *denken chiku* system, it was the first nationwide network to protect townscapes for cultural reasons. Other initiatives to develop traditional townscapes are ruled by the central government or municipalities, to improve certain aspects such as life environment or landscape, but *denken chiku* system is the system that was created as a result of the amendment of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties in 1975. This amendment acknowledged towns as cultural properties for the first time in Japan.

As stated above, each country developed its particularities when valuing cultural townscapes. In addition, the valuation itself evolved inside each country, sometimes by independent research lines. Depending on the values considered, the cultural townscapes that are susceptible to be designated are different. The values in a complex system such as a townscape can include its environmental, functional and socio-economic values, and also the result of these three values as a product of material culture. Thus, this research describes the Japanese system of valuation in terms of the particularities of Japanese approach and in terms of the evolution of the valuation criteria applied to *denken chiku* designations. In 2016, *denken chiku* system reached 40 years since the first district was designated. The designated districts were 109 by the end of the previous year. Most of the designated districts were already known when the system started, but only a few were designated in the following years. Thus, a discrimination criterion might have existed to give priority to the districts designated in each period, based on the values that were important by the time of each designation. These values could include the four exposed above, namely the economic value (including the cultural tourism value), the environmental value, the value as a space lived by a community, and the historical-cultural value.

This study considers all 109 protected districts in terms of year of designation, location, typology, urban or rural nature and accessibility to transportation infrastructures, to describe the evolution of the values that designation process took. If economic (including tourism) value is prioritized over the living environment of the community, the designated towns would be in different locations, belong to different typologies, and have different degree of accessibility than

if the priorities were the contrary. Thus, when defining the goals of the designation (**why** is a townscape designated, **what** is a townscape designated **for**), the importance of local communities (which maintains the town) and other users such as tourism (which enjoys the town as a product) in the valuation process is a key point. By considering the evolution of these valuation criteria, Chapter 2 describes the various periods through which the *denken chiku* system went.

For the purpose of the research on historical evolution of the townscape valuation inside *denken chiku* system, the methodology included a general document research about the overall growth of the *denken chiku* system in Japan. Consequently, this research process includes an examination of the earlier documentary evidence (laws, publications by authorities), a detailed documentary study (surveys and ordinances by municipalities) and an in-place survey in the *denken chiku*. For the purpose of studying the valuation of *denken chiku* as tourist assets, the research process focuses on accessibility to tourists: consultation of the 'Chiriin chizu' map database³⁴ (<https://maps.gsi.go.jp>) and visits to *denken chiku* by means of public transportation.

The planning. The what, the how. The focus point and methodology of the study and planning

The focus point of cultural townscape protection changes depending on what a cultural townscape is considered to be. The starting point in Japan was defined by the word *kenzōbutsugun*, referring to groups of built structures. Yet, any evolution in the values to designate cultural townscapes should be reflected in the successive studies and plans of every *denken chiku*. Provided that the valuation evolved, the focus point of the research and protection works in *denken chiku* districts would include the material elements and structures that gave shape to these valuation criteria. Thus, depending on **why** is a townscape protected, the decision of **what** elements are studied and protected also change. Likewise, depending on **what** is a townscape preserved **for**, the decision of **how** elements are studied and protected also change.

The most recently designated *denken chiku* should already include these changes in valuation, but the *denken chiku* designated during the first years of implementation of the system could either evolve according to the definition of new values, or evolve independently. This evolution is described in Chapter 3, which exposes a case study of planning in *denken chiku*. Since the goal of this chapter is to determine whether the trends in locally studying, planning and regulating protected districts evolved consequently with the national criteria for valuation, the case study had to include cases from different periods. The second criterion was to study areas with similar locations, in rural areas which at the time of the designation were hard to access for tourism. Thus, the study can compare the valuation of socio-economic aspects, environmental aspects, community life aspects and cultural aspects in different periods but in similar conditions of low viability for massive tourism. After an extensive survey of protected districts in rural Japan, and a general documental review of three rural areas in Japan (San'In area, Seto Naikai area and Wakasa bay area), the detailed case study was reduced to three cases: Yōkaichi Gokoku, in Uchiko, Ehime; Utsubuki Tamagawa, in Kurayoshi, Tottori; and Ine Ura, in Ine, Kyoto. All three are located in remote rural areas and hardly accessible for tourism activities. This research compares the contents and values of each case, through a study of original and revised plans of the three *denken chiku*.

³⁴ GEOSPATIAL INFORMATION AUTHORITY OF JAPAN. 'Chiriin Chizu', map database (<https://maps.gsi.go.jp>. accessed 2016.1.15).

The main hypothesis of Chapter 3 is that both the nationwide development of the *denken chiku* system and the local government activity evolved consequently. Thus, the elements studied and valued for preservation at a local level were coherent with the values considered for designation at a national level, and they evolved along with the valuation process. For that purpose, the study includes a detailed documental research and an on-site survey to check the elements preserved. The detailed document research included all the plans and surveys related to the designation and protection of the three studied cases, but also to other programs to improve aspects related to the *denken chiku*, such as tourism activity or liveability for the local communities. The on-site surveys were conducted between August 2015 and September 2016.

This research describes how the valuation of the four aspects of the theoretical framework (environment, functional system, social system and town structure) has been evolving, from simple preservation plans based typological studies of dwellings to more complex frameworks including relations between land structure, buildings and external spaces.

The management and its consequences. The who, the for whom.

The management includes all the activities oriented to the implementation of the preservation plan, such as preservation works in structures, subsequent use of intervened structures, or activities to revitalise the town. The management activity will have consequences on the shape of the town, but also in the overall liveability of the district by locals or the possibilities for enjoyment by visitors. Thus, how the management model includes agents such as local community and visitors into management organisation will compromise the future results of the preservation works, as well as the viability of the district in the future. At this point, the definition of the agents (**who** participates in the protection of *denken chiku*) and the receptors (**for whom** the protection is appealing) is important. Whether government or local community are active agents, and whether the protection management is focused on local community or tourism, will define the influence of the protection policies in social and economic structure of the district, and it also will define the possible ways to ensure its future. In addition, the agents and receptors should evolve consequently while the values evolved, and thus conferred different importance to local community and its activities, or tourism and its activities. The management models, their evolution and their results are described in Chapter 4.

First, the study presents the management models in districts in the same rural areas as Chapter 3 (San'In area, Seto Naikai area and Wakasa bay area). The research process included interviews to local governments and community associations of eight *denken chiku* in these three areas. These *denken chiku* include those in the case study, and add five more cases, designated in different periods inside the timespan of the *denken chiku* system.

After defining the overview of the management process in different periods from 1975 until present day, Chapter 4 presents a study of the consequences of each management model, in each one of the four aspects of the defined theoretical framework:

- Environmental approach: the material outcome of each case, and the influence of the definition of environment in each case on the whole town.
- Functional approach: degree of adaptation of each *denken chiku* to the functional needs of modern inhabitants, considering use of private land and planned public facilities.

- Social approach: current condition of the local inhabitants, and influence by external visitors and locals in the current condition of the town.
- Structural approach: changes on the living space as a consequence of the definition of either temporal typologies and temporal limits between traditional and non-traditional, or on the contrary, definition of more refined preservation policies to include different periods on the present time.

With these points in mind, this research describes the comprehensive vision of the Japanese activity in protection of cultural townscapes, and the degree of unity or disaggregation that the methods to study townscapes and operate on them have in Japan, according to the terms described by Ranellucci. Is there something called 'Japanese approach to townscape protection'? What are its particularities, its virtues and its problems? How did it evolve, when comparing to European and international sphere? This analysis is developed in the end of Chapter 4. Finally, the open questions to address to ensure the future of the *denken chiku* are presented, along with the conclusions, in the last Chapter.

2. EVOLUTION OF JAPANESE TOWNSCAPE VALUATION

Introduction

The figure of *denken chiku* (abbreviation of *jūyō dentōteki kenzōbutsugun chiku*, lit. 'District of Important Groups of Traditional Buildings') was introduced in the 1975 amendment of the *bunkazai hogohō* (lit. 'Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties'). This amendment established that the Agency of Cultural Affairs (ACA) could designate whole districts as a single cultural property. That same year, the European Council had called European Year of Architectural Heritage, and the Congress of European Architectural Heritage signed the Declaration of Amsterdam³⁵. The following year, the ACA designated the first seven *denken chiku*, but some municipalities had been working on their own valuation and protection of townscape since the 1960s. Likewise, French minister André Malraux published the first law ever for the protection of townscapes in the same decade, while Italy worked its own research commissions and pilot experiences as well. Other European countries, such as Spain, joined the tendency dictated by the Declaration of Amsterdam in the late 1970 and created their own law corpora³⁶ and pilot experiences³⁷. Being that the case, the starting dates of Japanese townscape conservation are quite similar to those of European countries. Notwithstanding, the origin of Japanese townscape conservation is unique when compared to western countries. These differences have been studied by from an European approach since the 1970s, and described as a consequence of three factors: the Japanese traditional conception of time as cyclic, which caused the custom of periodically rebuild structures³⁸; the non-perennial nature of Japanese construction materials³⁹; and the continuation by Japanese artisans of restoration works through exact reproduction of original models and techniques, avoiding the European, 'historicist' approach of treating old models as belonging at the past, and thus, irreproducible⁴⁰.

In this context, the first goal of this chapter is to locate the Japanese approach to the valuation of cultural townscape at its origins, compared to western tendencies. This goal includes the definition of cultural properties to preserve, and the definition of the category of cultural townscapes in Japanese case, so that it resulted in the definition of *denken chiku* system based on a distinct, Japanese philosophy.

³⁵ ICOMOS. *Declaration of Amsterdam*. Congress of European Architectural Heritage, 21-25.10.1975. <http://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/169-the-declaration-of-amsterdam> (last access 2016.11.17).

³⁶ MINISTERIO DE LA VIVIENDA (MINISTRY OF HOUSING, SPAIN). *Real Decreto 1346/1976, Ley sobre Régimen del Suelo y Ordenación Urbana (Royal Decree 1346/1976 Law of Land Regime and Urban Ordinance)*. Madrid, 1976. The text, in its Art.73.2., left an opening so that urban preservation criteria could be introduced in urban planning, when it referred to the preservation of the 'harmony' in those places where 'historical, artistic, typical or traditional urban settlements' offer a picturesque perspective. 'En los lugares de paisaje abierto y natural, sea rural o marítimo, o en las perspectivas que ofrezcan los conjuntos urbanos de características histórico-artísticas, típicos o tradicionales y en las inmediaciones de las carreteras y caminos de trayecto pintoresco, no se permitirá que la situación masa, altura de los edificios, muros y cierres o la instalación de otros elementos, limite el campo visual para contemplar las bellezas naturales, romper la armonía del paisaje o desfigurar la perspectiva propia del mismo.'

³⁷ MOPU, MINISTERIO DE OBRAS PÚBLICAS Y URBANISMO. *Rehabilitación urbana. Programa de operaciones piloto de actuación conjunta en áreas urbanas y asentamientos rurales*. Dirección General de Acción Territorial y Urbanismo, Madrid, 1981. The Spanish national strategy focused in a group of decayed urban areas to use them as a benchmark, including Salamanca, Vitoria, Pamplona, Santiago, Girona, Valencia and Palma de Mallorca.

³⁸ The example of the reconstruction of the Sanctuary of Ise every 20 years is the most repeated example in European essays, as seen in CARBONARA, Giovanni. *Avvicinamento al restauro. Teoria, storia, monumenti*. Liguori Editore, Naples, 1997.

³⁹ Especially in timber structures in a country with violent climate changes during the year, as explained in LARSEN, Knut Einar. 'A note on the authenticity of historic timber buildings with particular reference to Japan'. *ICOMOS International Wood Committee (IIWC): 8th international symposium*. Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur, Nepal, 23-25.11.1992

⁴⁰ PHILIPPOT, Paul. 'Conservation and Tradition of Craft', in *International Symposium on the Conservation of Cultural Property, Conservation of Eastern Art Objects, November 1979*. Tokyo, 1980.

The second goal is to explain, how protected townscape designations evolved along with the rise of new theoretical lines and new policies. The main hypothesis is that the shift was linked to the economic development in Japan, and the economic development through tourism has driven the *denken chiku* designation system in the period of bubble economy until 1990. By contrast, after the bubble burst and the decline of tourism activity, townscape preservation centred on a local, community based development model, in which tourism is not seen as the goal itself but, at the most, as a booster for local life. For this purpose, a comprehensive documentation research has been conducted. Starting from laws related to cultural protection and economic growth, every townscape designated *denken chiku* has been analysed in terms of townscape typology, designation year, and urban or rural nature.

The third goal is to explain how this social and economic aspects considered by *denken chiku* system evolved, allowing some townscapes to enter *denken chiku* designation, while it would have been unlikely for them to have entered in 1975. Being the main hypothesis that the goal for townscape designation shifted from a development model based on cultural tourism to a development model based in local community, districts with a good location and accessibility would be good candidates in the beginning while remote areas with better preserved community would fit better in later times. For that purpose, a document and in-place research were conducted, including the valuation of each designated *denken chiku* in terms of location and accessibility to traffic infrastructures developed over the last 40 years.

The origins and evolution of the Japanese approach from Meiji revolution to the definition of *denken chiku* in 1975, and its specific traits comparing to European approach

From Meiji revolution to World War II (1868-1945): the common origins of preservation in Japan and Europe

Japan led a preservation activity of which the approach had largely been described as different from so-called international standards. In 1998, Enders and Gutschow were still reminding their readers that the western experts, typically based on the standards dictated by Venice Charter of 1964, denounced the Japanese technique of dismantling whole edifications as an unacceptable practice⁴¹. The same authors denied Eurocentric viewpoints to be internationally valid, when talking about Japanese restoration works based in dismantling and reassembling monuments. European conservationists were said to give more priority to scientific interest over the emotional side of heritage -that, is, to the material culture, even in cases when material remains are scarce and fragile. In Japan, reassembly had worked as a means for preserving the traditional techniques -that is, some other kind of heritage through knowledge⁴². Thus, the image, the immaterial aspects such as knowledge, and in the end, the emotional bond between society and its heritage seem to be the key point to understand the

⁴¹ ENDERS, Siegfried RCT, GUTSCHOW, Niels (Ed.). *Hozon: Architectural and urban conservation in Japan*. Edition Axel Menges, Stuttgart/London 1998. Preface, p.6-7.

⁴² ENDERS, Siegfried RCT, GUTSCHOW, Niels (Ed.). *op. cit.* 'To put it polemically, the European procedure could be seen as "material fetishism". Even the most fragile remaining part of a building is kept in place, to "bear testimony" to alterations. European conservationists increasingly cling to objects, because they give priority to scientific interest over the emotional side of the complex relationship to a particular building. [...] in Japan, building is almost a ritual of renewal. [...] Reassembling helps to preserve traditional techniques.' (p.7).

basic headlines of Japanese preservation. Moreover, it is about the concept of authenticity, which has largely been discussed whether it lays on the materials or on the original ideas^{43 44}.

However, the circumstances in Japan and Europe in the origins of preservation of cultural properties were very similar, and in fact, Japanese preservation from its origins to World War II was closer to European countries than it is usually described. These similarities were caused by three factors: the loss of specific function of several historic buildings due to institutional modernization; the adoption by Japan of ideas coming from European culture, especially at an academic level; and finally, the rapid industrialization processes, which affected all cultural properties, but especially landscape and urban settlements. The last factor would be a key point, in both Japan and Europe, to define the townscape as a cultural property to preserve by itself, independent to other monumental works.

As for the **loss of specific function of several historic buildings due to institutional modernization**, as a consequence of Meiji revolution, temples lost their functions as educational centres and census registries. In a country which always had preserved its monuments through its continuous use, that was a new situation⁴⁵, since the use was what placed ancient buildings in the present, instead of in a distant past. There was also a political interest in reflecting temples as structures from the past, when their lands and possessions were confiscated in 1871, to build the modern Japan centralised on Emperor's power. But the confiscation, and the placement of temples in the past, would bring the problem of their preservation, since the preservation through use was not possible anymore.

Regarding the **adoption by Japan of ideas coming from European culture, especially at an academic level**, Japan started, in late 19th century, its own policy on cataloguing and preserving temples as objects from the past, thus approaching the European concept of a linear history, which represented a rather huge change of mindset⁴⁶. Japan developed their own History of the Architecture as a discipline in early 20th century, which caused Japan to be methodologically closer to international sphere. Thus, the so-considered founder of the Japanese History of Architecture as a discipline, Itō Chūta, introduced the chronological time as criteria and the compared analysis as a method. He did so by its research on Hōryūji temple in Nara. He valued the temple as the oldest existing wooden structure in Japan, but he also located it in an international chronology, while pointing the Chinese and Indian influences in the construction and decoration of the temple. This meant to move away from the cyclic conception of time that had traditionally ruled over the maintenance of old structures in Japan. However, the way renovations were carried in temples did not change, since he artisans in Japan continued applying the knowledge transmitted by *kiwari* method⁴⁷, while using *kiku-jutsu* techniques. *Kiwari* was a method for designing and dimensioning timber structures, spread in manuals

⁴³ JOKILEHTO, Jukka. 'Considerations on authenticity and integrity in World Heritage context', in *City & Time* vol.2 n.1, 2006, p.1-16. The concept of the idea being the carrier of the authenticity has been around, not only in Asia, but also in Europe, since Plato to 20th century scholars such as Martin Heidegger, Cesare Brandi or Paul Philippot.

⁴⁴ LARSEN, Knut Einar. 'A note on the authenticity of historic timber buildings with particular reference to Japan'. *ICOMOS International Wood Committee (IIBC): 8th international symposium*. Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur, Nepal, 23-25.11.1992. Japan is said to have an extraordinarily well documented architectural history, which facilitates the maintenance of the building as it was conceived, while knowing the exact moment when reparation works should be conducted.

⁴⁵ LARSEN, Knut Einar. *Architectural Preservation in Japan*. ICOMOS International Wood Committee, Paris; Tapir Publishers, Trondheim, 1994

⁴⁶ ABE, Yoshio. 'Les débuts de la conservation au Japon moderne: idéologie et historicité', in LAVIN, Irving. *World Art, Themes of Unity in Diversity, Acts of the XXVth Congress of the History of Art (1980)*, vol.III. The Pennsylvania University Press, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1989, p.855-859.

⁴⁷ ŌTA, Hirotarō. *Kenchikushi no sendatsutachi*. Shōkokusha, Tokyo, 1983. The author stated that *kiwari* had been the way to teach architectural history in Japan until early 20th century, before Itō Chūta's work.



Fig.2.1. Example of material recycling and continuity in Japanese preservation. Kyūmakitake house, Kurayoshi, Tottori. The old pillars have been either maintained or replaced by distinguishable pieces, depending on its state in the present time.

written by carpenter guilds since Kamakura period⁴⁸, and the study of variations between different manuals was an important part to understand the orders and types in Japanese architecture. Likewise, *kiku-jutsu*, a set of rules for implementation of structural geometries by means of a rule-and-square technique, continued in use and evolved in Meiji period⁴⁹. Thus, Japanese artisans continued restoration works as they belonged to the present, while academia turned towards the concepts of historical past and linear time. It does not mean that Japanese artisans did not appreciate old structures, if purely as a material, but instead, the material of these structures was considered part of the present (Fig.2.1).

Last, the **rapid industrialization processes** in both Japan and European countries affected old towns and landscapes. The industrial revolution had brought bigger scales, new speeds, crowded quarters and financial power as a new driving force of urban expansion through investment in real estate. It also had brought epidemics into the overcrowded cities. The process of substitution of old cities by new, industrialised cities originated the debate around the loss of identity brought by industrially reproducible structures⁵⁰.

In Europe, on one side of the debate, there were the advocates of the hygienism, which considered that a new type of city, adapted to the industrial society, had to be created. This line of thought started with Cerdà in Barcelona and the tendency could be followed up until the late CIAM, in the 1950s. The expansion plan for Barcelona, by Ildefons Cerdà, in 1859, was designed as a modern grid of wider and faster streets, a less crowded and more hygienic land structure, a huge scale which previewed to make Barcelona some ten times larger, and a wide area of building land plots for investors. Likewise, Paris saw how Haussmann opened the big avenues of his plan by demolishing large quantities of old dwellings, by using hygienism as justification. Hygienism was not the only reason to open new streets and squares, as the modern states claimed their own public spaces inside the old town. In other cities, new bourgeois class was moving out of the city centre to more exclusive zones, and opened avenues to circulate without going through the old city. Regent street, in London, and Ringstrasse, in Wien, are mentioned by Aymonino as the major examples of that kind of operations⁵¹. In Italy, the opening of new spaces at the cost of losing parts of the old town was given the name of *sventramenti* (lit. 'disembowelling'). Some of these operations were conducted around monuments, to make them visible, but several monuments became to be seen as they had never intended to be.

⁴⁸ FRAMPTON, Kenneth, KUDO, Kunio. *Japanese Building Practice. From Ancient Times to the Meiji Period*. Van Nostrand Reinhold, New York, 1997.

⁴⁹ NAKATANI, Norihito; NAKAGAWA, Takeshi; KURAKATA, Shunsuke. 'A study on the succession and conversion of 'kiku-jutsu' in public carpentry guide-books in Meiji era', in *Journal of Architectural Planning and Environmental Engineering (Transactions of AIJ)*, n.495, 1997.5, p. 255-262. 'kiku-jutsu in the publications of the Meiji Era emphasize a geometrical character which is seen not only in the roof shapes of traditional Japanese buildings but also in the roof shapes of Western style buildings. Yet, though the works vary through the Edo and Meiji Periods, the basic foundation of kiku-jutsu is based on the kiku-jutsu of the Edo Period.'

⁵⁰ GIOVANNONI, Gustavo. *L'urbanisme face aux villes anciennes*. Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1998 (French translation of *Vecchie città ed edilizia nuova*, published in 1931. Translation edited by CHOAY, Françoise). In the book, the taylorist city is described as seeing armies of workers and a sinister absence of any sign of individualism.

⁵¹ AYMONINO, Carlo. *Origini e sviluppo della città moderna*. Marsilio, Padova, 1965

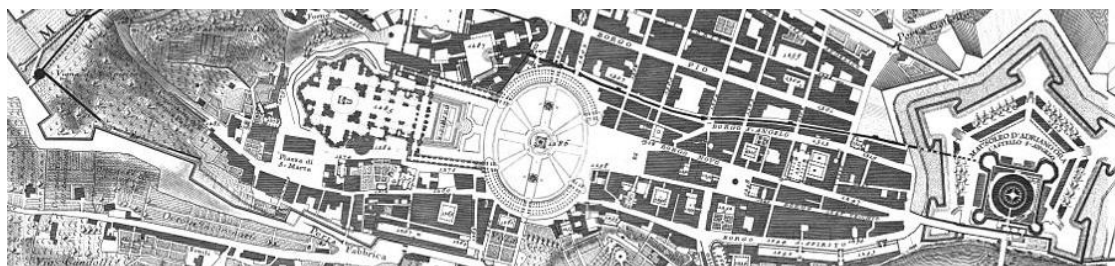


Fig.2.2 Detail of the Roman quarter called Rione del Borgo, included Vatican, as drawn by Giovanni Battista Nolli in 1748. Source: Wikimedia Commons (public domain). [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giovanni_Battista_Nolli-Nuova_Pianta_di_Roma_\(1748\)_01-12.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giovanni_Battista_Nolli-Nuova_Pianta_di_Roma_(1748)_01-12.JPG) (accessed 2014.5.4).



Fig.2.3 Detail of the Roman quarter called Rione del Borgo, included Vatican, in a current photograph. Source: Geoportale, Comune di Roma (Rome municipality) <http://comuneroma.globogis.it> (accessed 2017.6.4).

One of the most famous operation that caused both the loss of old buildings and the loss of the context of a monument was the opening of Via della Conciliazione, in Rome, right in front of Saint Peter of the Vatican (Fig.2.2, Fig.2.3). Such operations would also continue in some European countries until the 1960s. This continuation would end particularly late in countries with a late development of preservation policies, such as Spain. The same happened with the square opened in front of Valencia cathedral in successive operations between 1973 and 1945 (Fig.2.4, Fig.2.5). The new square replaced the old, narrow, parvis-type square, and allowed the cathedral to be seen from afar, instead of the narrow perspective for which the façade had been designed (Fig.2.6, Fig.2.7). Such operations caused a loss of context of historical monuments and thus, they showed the value of the townscapes as cultural properties by themselves.

On the other side of the debate there were those that criticised the replacement of the old townscapes by modern urban artefacts. John Ruskin acknowledged the townscapes as artefacts with historical and memorial value⁵², belonging at the society that unconsciously had built its architecture, while Camillo Sitte valued the city on its educational function to create the new cities with artistic values in mind⁵³. Italy in 1865, and Germany in 1873, made specific laws to distinguish the inside and outside the walled cores of the cities, in order to preserve the image of the old city. The elements to protect were the urban spaces, streets and squares, and as a supporting element, the domestic architecture that gave to streets and squares their picturesque shape. The protection of these streets and squares meant **their acknowledgement as objects from a distant period from the past, thus incompatible with the modern conception of the city.**

⁵² RUSKIN, John. *The seven lamps of architecture*. Noonday Press, New York, 1977.

⁵³ SITTE, Camillo. *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*. Phaidon, Wien, 1965.



Fig.2.4 Central Valencia with the cathedral, 1945, with the works of the opening in process.
 Source: Institut Cartogràfic València
<http://fototeca.icv.gva.es/> (access 2015.12.2).



Fig.2.5 Central Valencia with the cathedral, 2012.
 Source: Institut Cartogràfic València
<http://fototeca.icv.gva.es/> (access 2015.12.2).

However, the consideration of townscape as located on a distant past had some problems to be directly applied to cultural townscape. Towns have been supposed to be inhabited by people of each historical period, so they always have had a direct link to the present that other heritage does not necessarily have. Gustavo Giovannoni, an engineer with formation in both Hygiene and History of Art, devoted his career to find a compromise between hygienist and conservationist approaches of the old city. In the conservationist side, he thought that streets



Fig.2.6 Valencia cathedral from the opposite side of the current square, 2015.



Fig.2.7 Valencia cathedral façade from the site of former Calle Zaragoza, 2015.

and squares established a context for monuments to be read⁵⁴. Regarding demolitions for hygienic reasons, he developed a theory, called *teoria del diradamento* (lit. 'thinning out'), which encouraged small-scale demolitions, so that the permanent environmental conditions around monuments would not be affected holistically. As for the insertion of new elements on the city, Giovannoni stated that new elements were compatible in the old structure if the scale and life in the old structure remained, thus avoiding the insertion of infrastructures and big-scale facilities⁵⁵. Giovannoni was against the transformation of old towns into museums, and pursued the preservation of their vitality. Giovannonian vision based on visuals and the protection of the pre-existences were expressed in the Athens Charter on 1931⁵⁶, and the 1939 Italian Law for the Protection of Natural Beauty, also called Saveri-Giovannoni Act⁵⁷. **This position, intermediate between the consideration of the urban space as belonging to the present and its consideration as belonging to the past, would be the main trend in Europe in the 1920s and the 1930s, before World War II.**



Fig.2.8 Suzakumon, Heijōkyō, Nara, 2015. The reconstruction of the gate was finished in 1998, after an archaeological study to bring the remains of the foundations up, and a re-design based on different sets of fukugenzu drawings. The drawings were based on analogies of structures in and around the old capital.

The same debate about present and past townscapes was reproduced in Japan before World War II. The first intervention in an urban-like structure was, in fact, in the ruins of Heijōkyō old capital (*Fig.2.8*). Its discovery in late 19th century caused the first appreciation of a site which clearly did not belong to the present life, even if the traces had remained. After the 1919 Law for Preservation of Historical Sites was enforced, Heijōkyō entered the list of protected sites. Still, the debate between the type of intervention for the protection of the structures of Heijōkyō lasted long, between the possibilities of preserving the ruin in its state or performing a *fukugen* (lit.

'bringing to its origin') intervention. The *fukugen* approach was introduced by Teruo Hasegawa in 1924, when he finished his research on Shitennōji temple. He had documented the present state of the temple, based on in-site research, and in addition, he made a separate set of plans, called *fukugenzu* (plans of the original state). By doing so, he established this two-tier research method. He defended the *fukugen* type interventions from a propaedeutic viewpoint: the more the original state could be recovered, the more information about the original techniques and circumstances could be discovered⁵⁸. Posterior interventions have been based in this research method.

In a larger scale, the viewpoint of the protection of its original state had its first effect in Kyoto in the 1930s (*Fig.2.9*). The development of Kyoto had been strongly conditioned by its location, inside a range of mountains with a horseshoe shape, and crossed by a number of rivers which had been integrated in the urban grid. Aiming at protecting these natural pre-existences

⁵⁴ ZUCCONI, Guido. 'Dal capitello alla città. Il profilo dell'architetto totale', in GIOVANNONI, Gustavo. *Dal capitello alla città* (Curated by ZUCCONI, Guido). Jaca Book, Milan, 1996.

⁵⁵ GIOVANNONI, Gustavo. *L'urbanisme face aux villes anciennes*. Editions du Seuil, Paris, 1998 (French translation of *Vecchie chittà ed edilizia nuova*, published in 1931. Translation edited by CHOAY, Françoise).

⁵⁶ CONFERENCE OF ATHENS. *Athens Charter*. 1931. Its Section 7 is the first international acknowledgement of the environment as a part of the built heritage.

⁵⁷ ZUCCONI, Guido. *op. cit.*

⁵⁸ ŌTA, Hirotarō, *op. cit.*

at its origins, Kyoto defined an especial protection area, called *fūchi chiku* (lit. 'scenic area'). The law protected the spaces inside the area and its visuals, in a definition of the environment close to Giovannoni's theories.

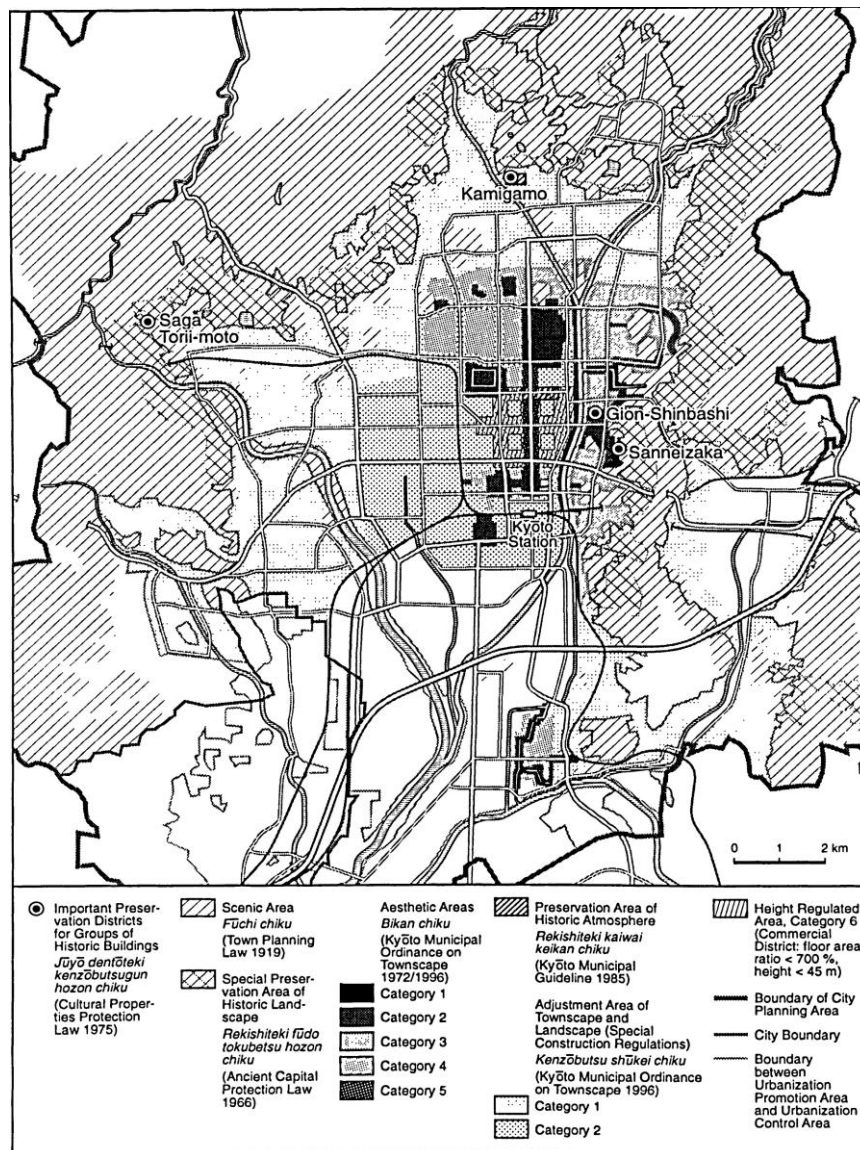


Fig.2.9 Protected areas in Kyoto, including the *fūchi chiku* from 1919 and the four current *denken chiku*. Since the remaining parts of the old capital were the landscape and the urban grid, instead of the buildings, the protection focused on these. The four *denken chiku* (marked as Important Preservation Districts of Groups of Historic Buildings) are actually outside the old Heiankyō capital, which was between Kamo and Katsura rivers. Source: Hohn, Uta; Krähe, H; based on cartography of the City Planning Bureau of Kyoto, 1922-1996 (published in. HOHN, Uta. 'Townscape Preservation in Japanese Urban Planning', in *The Town Planning Review*, n.68.2, 1997.4.)

From post-war period to the creation of *denken chiku* system (1945-1975): the formation of a model of townscape preservation specific to Japan

After World War II, Japan and European countries would establish progressively separate philosophies towards townscape preservation. While in Japan, the preservation of Kyoto continued with a similar methodology as before the war, the destruction of cultural properties caused by World War II caused an identity crisis in most countries of Europe. This, along with

the emergency state and the large quantity of monuments to restore, changed the mainstream thought regarding protection of cultural properties. In Italy, by using the methodologies used in History of Art, especially paint, they developed a discourse based on typologies and their evolution. A new group of scholars emerged. Among them, Renato Bonelli, architect, stated that artistic value being the only value inherent of any cultural property, over any other external factors such as economy, technical, structural, functional or social⁵⁹. At the same time, the restoration was defined by Cesare Brandi like 'the methodological moment in which the work of art is recognised, in its physical being, and in its dual aesthetic and historical nature, in view of its transmission to the future'⁶⁰. The typological approach allowed to work faster, while the valuation of any cultural property was reduced to its **historical and artistic relevance**.

Consequently, the prioritized works were those of which typology was easier recognisable, and at the same time, had a higher historical and artistic value, that is, major monuments. This approach was officially acknowledged in the Venice Charter on 1964, which referred mainly to monuments, while defining the environment as a framework for these monuments⁶¹.

This line of thought would be transferred from individual artworks to urban scale during the 1960s. As for theoretic lines, Aldo Rossi heavily influenced a generation of architects and designers with his definition of the 'urban artefact' as the recognisable unit within the pre-existing city⁶². The references to both historic and aesthetic values were present in the urban artefact: history as the locus of urban artefacts in space and time, and aesthetics as the definition of typologies of artefacts as a mix of need and beauty. According to his theory, called theory of permanencies, cities tended to maintain their layout while growing to the direction of their older artefacts. These old artefacts were generators of new urban artefacts, thus **urban morphology (the shape and organization of urban spaces, streets, squares) and its growth was necessarily linked to the built typologies of the artefacts**.

Legislation and policies that were enforced in the 1960s presented some differences with Rossi's approach. Rossi denied functionalism as he stated that function did not generate form, whilst legislation on urban planning was widely based on functionalism. In this context, the first law for the protection of urban sectors was enforced in France in 1962⁶³. This law, known as 'Malraux Law', aimed at preserving urban heritage while developing the urban functions. For that purpose, it defined the concept of *Secteurs à Sauvegarder* (lit. 'Sectors to Protect'), as urban artefacts protected as one cultural property. This defined not only the object to protect (urban artefacts), but also the tools for the protection (urban planning). This same approach would be stated in the Rome Charter of 1972, which defined the term 'preservation of historic centres', which had 'historic, architectural and urban' values, independently from single monuments. **Urban planning was stated as the method to operate on historic centres.**

Notwithstanding, urban planning and its instruments were created for the development and growth of the urban settlements, and not for the restructuration of the existing urban artefacts. In addition, economic profit and its encouragement had been the main driver of urban development. Not only in the democratic nations with liberal economic regimes, but even in the most restrictive legislations, such as the Spanish, the economic profit was included as a pillar of urban planning. Starting for the Land Act of 1956, the Spanish legislation considered that private

⁵⁹ BONELLI, Renato. 'Teoria e método nella storia dell'architettura', in *Bolletino Istituto Artistico Orvietano*, n.1, 1945.

⁶⁰ BRANDI, Cesare. *Theory of Restoration*. Nardini Editore, Florence, 2005.

⁶¹ ICOMOS. *Venice Charter*, 1964

⁶² ROSSI, Aldo. *L'architettura della città*. Quod Libet, Macerata, 2011.

⁶³ JOURNAL OFFICIEL DE LA REPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE. *Loi n°62-903 du 4 août 1962*. Published in 1962.8.7.

investment was necessary for urban development, since the government had limited resources; thus, private investment had to be encouraged, while promoting a model of urban development that avoided the indiscriminate urbanization of land. Still, the methods introduced for urbanization and land allotment were meant to cause a transformation from a highly divided, rural property structure to a modern structure with land plots large enough to build modern estates. That had been the mainstream attitude, even in the reconstructions in post-war period. With the exception of Warsaw, which was rebuilt as a copy of the destroyed city, all major capital cities were divided in zones following a modern, functionalist pattern. Many central districts, such as the City in London, were rebuilt in modern style. Even in France, despite the Malraux Law, urban planning was used for development, even in old districts. In Paris, the demolition of the twelve pavilions of Les Halles market was sanctioned in 1969, and executed in the early 1970s. The pavilions, designed by Baltard in the Second Empire period, were not valued since they were not from pre-industrial city; in addition, the location was privileged, and the land, valuable. However, Les Halles market was what Rossi had defined as a 'propeller element'⁶⁴, that is, a major structure which had played a key role in the development and vitalisation of central Paris. The biggest market in Earth was centre of the economic and social life, and its disappearance caused almost 50 years of confrontations between local government and citizens.

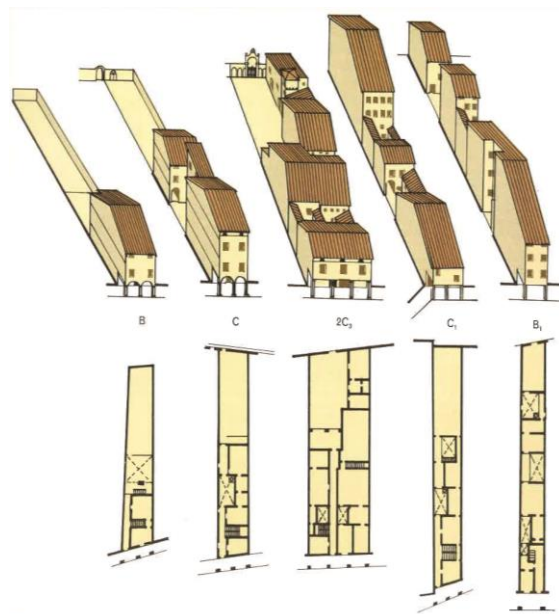


Fig.2.10 Plan for Bologna. Definition of housing typologies and their evolution on time. Source: CERVELLATI, Pier Luigi; SCANNAVINI, Roberto; DE ANGELIS, Carlo. *op.cit.*

In that context, first experiences in the creation of specific urban instruments for historical centres were applied in Italy on the 1960s and 1970s. Some plans, like the plan for the centre of Genova, by Ignazio Gardella, focused its interventions in the definition of urban morphology⁶⁵.

Genova had suffered several demolitions in war time, and Gardella proposed a street and square structure to link the remaining buildings and monuments together. Some other plans, such as in Assisi, included morphological analysis and sociological analysis, linking the current urban shape to the population and their living conditions⁶⁶. But the most influential plan at the time was the plan for Bologna. by Pier Luigi Cervellati and Roberto Scannavini⁶⁷ (Fig.2.10). Bologna was, at the time, a special case in Italy,

since it had been ruled by leftist political parties since the end of World War II. The local government opposed any 'hygienist' intervention on the old centre, which would result in wider streets, requalification of the centre, replacement of traditional dwellings by bourgeoisie estates, and in the end, gentrification and displacement of the original population (mainly workers, but also managers of small businesses, such as artisans and merchants) to peripheral quarters. To

⁶⁴ ROSSI, Aldo. *op.cit.*

⁶⁵ RANELLUCCI, Sandro. *Il restauro urbano. Teoria e prassi*. UTET Libreria, Torino, 2003.

⁶⁶ ASTENGO, Giovanni. 'Il piano regolatore generale di Assisi', in *Urbanistica*, n.24-25, 1958, pp.10-132.

⁶⁷ CERVELLATI, Pier Luigi; SCANNAVINI, Roberto; DE ANGELIS, Carlo. *La nuova cultura delle città. La salvaguarda dei centri storici, la riappropriazione sociale degli organismi urbani e l'analisi dello sviluppo territoriale nell'esperienza di Bologna*. Mondadori, Milan, 1977.

avoid that, the housing typology was studied and regulated as a key element of the whole urban planning and management, instead of the urban morphology of streets and squares alone. The other main axis was the plan of uses in urban soil. As modern urbanism used to pull non-profitable uses out of the centre and towards peripheries, working class families and industries were replaced by more lucrative businesses in city centres. Cervellati and Scannavini were very critical with the entire process in Les Halles in Paris, because investors had bought nearly every estate around the market right after the plan to demolish it was announced, thus replacing the local community⁶⁸. Bologna had also suffered the effect of the displacement of working-class families out of the centre: the dwellings once occupied by the working class, not being profitable for other activities, were empty. For the authors of the Plan for Bologna, the study and definition of typologies was useful to avoid this populational replacement to happen, since typology would define the allowed uses for every structure inside the city.

Starting the planning activity in 1969, citizen associations were organized in each quarter, and these associations played an active role during the planning process. In this process, the government and the citizens defined the buildings to preserve, the buildings to restore to a traditional state, and the buildings to demolish for hygienic reasons. Most of the demolished building were annexes located in the inner part of the blocks, thus recovering central gardens in the intervened blocks. In addition, the plan included, for the first time, the concept of the management after the restoration would be concluded: the use of each buildings, the decentralisation of public services to bring them to each quarter, the location of these services according to the local needs (typically in singular buildings such as palaces, provided that each building was compatible with the assigned use), the management of these services. This concept of the integrated management and participation of citizens in the preservation process would be the key point in Bologna Document of 1974, and later, in 1975, European Year of Cultural Heritage, would be also included in the Amsterdam Charter, thus defining the values and actions inside Europe for the following years. **To sum up, Europe defined a set of values (history and aesthetics, and in the case of Bologna, social affairs), a method for study (typology) and a method for preservation (urban planning).**

By contrast, the basis for Japanese initiatives in cultural townscape preservation was a combination of landscape protection and scholarly interest towards *minka* houses. Regarding landscape protection, Kyoto had started efforts in landscape preservation in 1930, but the area protected by the 1930 ordinance had suffered modifications for evacuation purposes in World War II, and for 'motorization' after the war⁶⁹. Comprehensive National Development Plans, starting in the 1960s, previewed an infrastructure network to boost national economy. These infrastructures were often in contradiction with the goals in protection of landscape. Even the new high-speed train was supposed to run across the very centre of the cities, including the protected area in Kyoto. This kind of events worried the Kyotoites, thus resulting in the first citizen association for landscape protection. Like Bologna, Kyoto have had a long history of leftist municipal governments, and an active citizen community. Christopher Brumann describes the beginning of *keikan ronsō* (lit. 'disputes on landscape') in Kyoto, when large projects such as Kyoto Tower were made public⁷⁰. Likewise, protests extended to other cities with historical landscapes. In 1963, Kamakura Landscape Preservation Society bought 1.5 hectares of land around Tsurugaoka Shrine, to prevent investors from building estates in the area. As the civilian actions extended, the government sanctioned the Law for the Protection of Ancient Capital

⁶⁸ CERVELLATI, Pier Luigi; SCANNAVINI, Roberto; DE ANGELIS, Carlo. *op.cit.*

⁶⁹ NISHIYAMA, Uzo. *Rekishiteki keikan to machizukuri*. Toshi Bunkasha, Tokyo, 1990.

⁷⁰ BRUMANN, Christoph. *Tradition, democracy and the townscape of Kyoto*. Routledge, London/New York, 2012.

Cities in 1966. This law included Kyoto, Kamakura and other six ancient cities and their landscapes. Thus, the protection of landscape objects was progressively extended to the built structures.

At the same time, the traditional rural houses (*minka*) and urban houses (*machiya*) started to be acknowledged as objects to protect. Before that, Japanese architectural preservation policies included ancient temples and singular buildings. It does not necessarily mean that there was no academic interest in popular houses in early times, but they were not preserved as valuable. Most of the *minka* that were studied before World War II were still in their original locations, but they were left as they were, rather than purposely kept⁷¹.



Fig.2.11 Bōsō no Mura, in Narita (Chiba), is the recreation of a village in Bōsō peninsula. Buildings are arranged so that they form an easy-to-understand and appealing group. Many of the first *denken chiku* would follow this model. Photo taken in 2014.

In urban areas, both the preservation of *minka* and preservation of the urban landscape against scrap-and-build activities were present in the first initiatives. In Kurashiki, architect Sato Shigeo founded in 1949 *Kurashiki toshibi kyōkai*, a group to determine the future protected urban landscape (*bikan chiku*). He aimed at establishing a protection of *minka* and folk crafts (*mingei*), which were being replaced⁷². In these associations, the scholarly interest on the *minka* and the landscape were merged with the interest of locals towards exploiting the new cultural tourism.

The nationwide shift towards the protection of *minka* started after the 1950 Law for Preservation of Cultural Properties was published. The four categories of criteria set out for the building designation included 'buildings with outstanding design', 'buildings with outstanding technique', 'buildings with historical value' and 'buildings typical for a region or period'⁷³. While the former three categories were meant for religious and public buildings from the past, the latter introduced the 'typical' attribute, also applicable to houses. And while protected religious buildings constituted the vast majority⁷⁴, scholarly interest in traditional *minka* houses grew. Between 1962 and 1965, the Commission for Cultural Properties (now merged into the Agency for Cultural Affairs) surveyed and designated as cultural properties 250 houses throughout Japan.

In an effort to protect this kind of houses from disappearing, several buildings were moved into traditional architecture museums, called *minkaen*. The first open air museum was opened in Hida-Takayama in 1959. Other museums were opened later to protect houses of specific typologies or environments, such as Meijimura (Inuyama), or Edomura (Kanazawa). Some others like Bōsō no Mura (Fig.2.11) would describe the typical traditional environment of their region.

⁷¹ NAKATANI, Norihito; MIFUNE, Tatsuo; FUKUSHIMA, Katsuya; SHIMIZU, Shigeatsu; ISHIKAWA, Hajime; OTAKA, Takashi; KIKUCHI, Akira. *Kon Wajirō Nihon no minka saihō*. Heibonsha, Tokyo, 2013.

⁷² MIYAZAKI, Yoshiro. 'Okayama ken Kurashiki shi ni okeru keikan no hozon to machizukuri no tenkai', in *Chiiki sōsei kenkyū nenpō*, Ehime University, vol.5, 2010.3, pp.1-12.

⁷³ JAPAN GOVERNMENT. *Bunkazai hogohō*. 1950.

⁷⁴ HENRICHSEN, Christoph. 'Historical outline of conservation legislation in Japan', in ENDERS, Siegfried RCT, GUTSCHOW, Niels (Ed.). *Hozon: Architectural and urban conservation in Japan*. Edition Axel Menges, Stuttgart/London 1998.



Fig.2.12 Hayashi house, Tsumago, 2012



Fig.2.13 Magome, Gifu, 2012. The main street is typically full of visitors.

In other words, the 'typical' attribute from the 1950 law derived into a creation of typologies, and as a result, typological environment reproductions were created.

In this context, and right prior to the 1975 Law Amendment, which acknowledged cultural townscapes as protected cultural assets, local communities formed to protect their buildings in their original sites. The Ancient Capital law protected only the landscape in the ancient capital cities, but the citizens of smaller towns had the same worries. This, along with the growing appreciation of traditional houses, led to the creation of local associations for townscape protection. This would be the origin of the stage that would originate the reflections that would eventually lead to the 1975 Law Amendment; for that reason, in this text, the period between 1960 and 1975 is referred as the Stage 0 of the Japanese townscape preservation policies. The first town to make efforts to keep their notable houses at their original site was Tsumago. The old post

town of Tsumago had started its re-orientation towards cultural tourism in 1959, when Toshihiko Kobayashi was hired by the local government to conduct a plan for the regeneration of the town through agriculture. However, Tsumago was not in a space suitable for agriculture. Being in an area with poor natural resources, Tsumago had a long history of locals going all around Japan to work. The only resource was their activity as a post town in Nakasendo road, but in Meiji period, these post towns were banned. In addition, new roads and railways bypassed Tsumago. Tsumago ordinance, based on the principle of 'do not sell, do not rent, do not scrap', tried to attract tourists without the original owners leaving the town. The ordinance was published after an old post in Tsumago, called Hayashi house (*Fig.2.12*), was put on sale. The local community opposed the sale and started a debate to take advantage of their townscape as a tourist asset. In fact, a little before, the electric train had arrived from Nagoya to Nakatsugawa. Magome district, another post town in Nakatsugawa and just few kilometres away from Tsumago, had received thousands of visitors (*Fig.2.13*). Tsumago community aspired to see some of those visitors arrived at Tsumago too⁷⁵.

Regarding the local associations for townscape preservations, the first one was founded in Takayama in 1966; seven years after Hida museum had opened and several old houses from Takayama had been moved there. In the meantime, the 1968 Law for Urban Planning enabled municipalities to determine planning areas with specific ordinances. Some municipalities published the first townscape preservation ordinances in the same year (*Fig.2.15*). These ordinances were established with the support of the citizen association and the establishment of local ordinances. Later, the Agency of Cultural Affairs started surveys to include those towns in the protected list as a new category. When in 1975, an amendment to the law included the

⁷⁵ UENO, Kunikazu. op.cit. 2011.

denken chiku, some protected towns moved to the new system ruled by the Agency of Cultural Affairs, while others stayed with their local ordinance under the Law for Urban Planning.

To sum up, Japanese initiatives for townscape protection have their origins in two research lines and two law corpora, different from European lines: the protection of landscape and the protection of traditional *minka* houses. Thus, the term *kenzōbutsugun* (groups of traditional built structures) was used instead of 'environment' (the spatial frame surrounding monuments). *Minka* or *machiya* housing groups were valuable in themselves, regardless of whether any monument in particular existed within the group. However, many traditional building groups were disappearing, because the tendency towards scrap-and-build, which was made possible due to the strong landowner rights⁷⁶, arising out of the 1960s. These landowner rights would also be a major differentiator factor of Japanese townscape protection. Since landowner rights could not be regulated by any urban plan or ordinance, the possible actions had to be concentrated in **works on the structures**, instead of urban planning and management instruments. Scrap-and-build, being impossible to restrict through urban planning, became the principal threat for cultural townscapes. Consequently, avoiding scrap-and-build activity would become the initial goal of townscape preservation. For that purpose, the Japanese approach of 'preservation through use' was the most viable, and thus, the local community groups had necessarily a lead role in the protection, instead of the scholars and the definition of values. These local communities, especially in rural areas, saw the protection not only as a means to avoid the scrap-and-build, but also as an opportunity to revitalise their decayed towns through tourism. Thus, instead of historic and aesthetic valuation alone, Japanese townscape preservation also included a strong **functional and economic valuation**.

The chronological evolution of the designations in *denken chiku* system

The amendment of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties in 1975 included, at a national level, the *kenzōbutsugun* in the list of categories of preserved cultural properties. The *denken chiku* was the network created to develop the law. This network would include the townscapes with their protection ordinances, but also included all the districts with potential to become preserved districts according to a survey by the ACA in 1972. That survey became the basis to decide candidates to the *denken chiku* designation.

Over the past 40 years, the development of designation for new *denken chiku* has not been homogenous. The first *denken chiku* responded to the priorities, namely the avoidance of the effects of scrap-and-build activity, and the revitalisation of rural areas through tourism. These criteria would limit the eligible districts to two categories: urban districts in serious risk of demolition, and rural areas viable for tourism activity. However, the 109 districts designated by early 2015 were more heterogenous than that. Being that the case, and considering that the districts included in the list of preserved districts were already known in 1972, the *denken chiku* system must have gone through a redefinition process of designation criteria. Why some districts were designated in 1976, right after the system began to work, while others were designated in the last few years? And, provided that the newest districts might have not been designated on the basis of their potential for tourism or their risk for disappearing due to scrap-

⁷⁶ YAMASAKI, Masafumi: 'Control Tools for Conservation of Historic Townscape with Citizens' Strong Property Right: Experience of Kyoto', in *ICOMOS 15th General Assembly and Scientific Symposium*, 2005.

and-build activities, which would the new criteria of valuation be? This section aims at defining that temporal evolution of the valuation criteria.

For that purpose, this section describes the evolution of the *denken chiku* system through four factors related to the valuation of the townscapes: publications and activities by local and national authorities, legislation, scholarly activity, and support by local communities. In all their publications, the ACA classifies townscapes into eight categories, in order to determine the value of each designated townscape and to make it public. These categories are: village, post town, port district, merchant district, district related to an industrial activity, temple and shrine district, castle and samurai district, and teahouse and amusement quarter. But in the last 50 years, the growth in the number of districts within each typology has not been uniform (Fig.2.14). Firstly, the overall rate of growth has increased significantly over the last 25 years. Secondly, the typologies that grew rapidly at first are different from the typologies that are currently growing. To discover the causes of these temporal changes, a temporal analysis of different laws and events has been performed, taking into consideration the events and laws from both before and after the 1975 revision of the Law of Cultural Properties. Three stages, plus a stage previous to 1975 (*Stage 0*) can be distinguished as described below (Fig.2.15).

The Stage 1 (1975-1990) coincides with the bubble economy period in Japan. Economic activity was concentrated in large urban areas, through successively passed Comprehensive National Development Plans and deregulation of economic activities. This caused two risks for old townscapes: speculative activity in urban areas, and population decline in rural areas. The Stage 2 (1990-2004) is the period after the bubble burst. While speculative pressures slowed down, international acknowledgement of Japanese heritage increased through the UNESCO Nara Document or the designation of *gasshōzukuri* villages as UNESCO World Heritage Site. After 1990, the number of yearly *denken chiku*

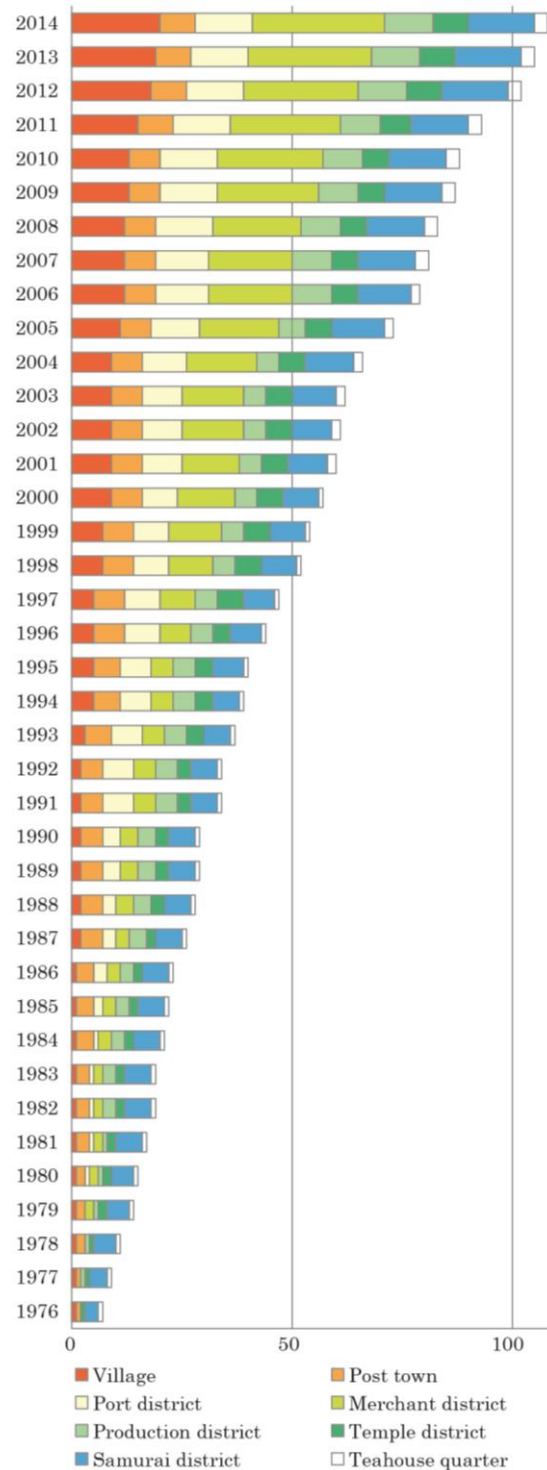


Fig.2.14 Evolution of number of denken chiku

designations increased, as the ACA provided a larger yearly budget to *denken chiku system*. Finally, Stage 3 started after Law of Landscape was passed in 2004, and cultural landscapes became elements to preserve. The situation and the consequences seen in *denken chiku* designations in each stage is described in detail below.

Fig.2.15 Chronology of laws and events related to townscape nationwide in Japan

Year	Laws	Events	Publications	
-1959	1897: Temporary National Survey of Treasures 1919: Law of preservation of historical sites 1929: Law of Preservation of National Treasures. 1950: Law of Cultural Properties.	1945: End of World War II. 206 of the national treasures had been destroyed. 1949: Fire at Hōryūji temple 1959: First open-air museum in Hida		STAGE 0
1960-1964	1961: Plan for Doubling National Income 1962: 1st Comprehensive National Development Plan Malraux Law in France: First law for townscape protection ever.	1960: Project for a New Tokyo inside the Bay 1961: AIJ establishes the Subcommittee for Research on Historic Buildings 1963: Kamakura Landscape Preservation Society buys 1.5 Ha of land around Tsurugaoka Shrine. 1964: Tokyo Olympic Games. Tōkaidō Shinkansen. Protest against Kyoto Tower.	1962-65: Survey by the Commission for Cultural Properties: 250 houses designated as National Cultural Properties 1964: Venice Charter	
1965-1969	1966: Law for Conservation of Ancient Capital Cities (Kyoto, Nara, Kamakura) 1968: Law of Urban Planning. First protection ordinances: Kurashiki, Kanazawa. 1969: 2nd Comprehensive National Development Plan	1965: Meijimura Open Air Museum 1966: Takayama Sannochō Association is founded as the first for townscape protection 1967: Edomura Open Air Museum 1968: Creation of the ACA. Creation of the Association of Friends of Tsumago	1968: TANGE, K. <i>Nihon no toshi kūkan</i>	
1970-1974	1970: Protection ordinance in Morioka 1971: Protection ordinance in Yanagawa 1972: Protection ordinances in Kyoto, Takayama, Hagi. 1973: Protection ordinances in Matsue, Tsumago 1974: Protection ordinance in Imajō	1972: Survey to create Denken Chiku system. Gasshōmura Open Air Museum in Shirakawa. 1973: Local governments found the Association of Towns with Historic Townscapes <i>Rekishiteki Keikan Toshi Renraku Kyōgikai</i> . 1974: Association for Townscape preservation <i>Zenkoku Machinami Hozon Renmei</i> (union of Tsumago, Imai chō and Arimatsu preservation societies).	1974: First list of the Machinami (Cultural Townscapes) by the ACA.	
1975-1979	1975: Revision of Law of Cultural Properties 1977: 3rd Comprehensive National Development Plan. Oriented towards balance between regions	1975: International Year of Cultural Heritage. 1976: First 7 <i>denken</i> are designated. 1979: Municipalities found the Association for the Protection of Denken Chiku.	1975: Declaration of Amsterdam	STAGE 1
1980-1984	1980: Asuka Law. First law in protecting a town and its landscape. 1982-87: Nakasone government deregulations. 1983: Ministry of Construction establishes a Model Program for Townscape Development, not restricted to historic towns.		1982: Association for Townscape Preservation publishes 1st issue of their bulletin.	

Year	Laws	Events	Publications	
1985-1989	1987: 4th National Comprehensive Development Plan by Nakasone government. Unipolarisation of the country towards Tokyo. Resort Law. Building of large leisure areas.		1989: ACA. <i>Shūroku machinami gaido</i>	
1990-1994	1990: Ministry of Construction changes its program name to Model Urban Planning for Attractive and Green Townscapes 1992: Ministry of Land introduces a less restrictive program, called Program for the Improvement of Townscape Environment. It includes the implementation of community centres and public services.	1991: End of bubble economy. 1994: Nara World Heritage Convention. Publication of the Nara Document.	1990: NISHIYAMA, U: <i>Rekishiteki keikan to machizukuri</i> . Critic to Nakasone's 4th Development Plan. The author states that the violent increase of land price is a cause for the intensive land use and environment destruction. 1993: KERR, A: <i>Utsukushiki Nihon no zanzō</i> . Criticism against the destruction of traditional elegance of Japan after the 1960s. First book by a foreigner in winning <i>Shincho Gakugei</i> literature award. 1994: LARSEN, K.E <i>Architectural Preservation in Japan</i> .	
1995-1999	1996: Amendment of Law of Cultural Properties. In order to stop the loss of buildings by deregulations, a new system of registration is established. The new registered building category is less restrictive than the designation as National Cultural Property. The scope was mainly composed by residential and industrial buildings.	1995: Gasshōzukuri villages as UNESCO World Heritage.	1997: ENDERS, S, GUTSCHOW, N. <i>Hozon</i> . Cases of tourism negative impact (Sanneizaka) and cases of local people participation (Imai-chō) are explained. HOHN, Uta <i>Townscape Preservation in Japanese Urban Planning</i>	
2000-2004	2001: First revision of Law of Urban Planning		2003: ACA. <i>Nōrinsui sangyō ni kansuru bunkateki keikan no hogo ni kansuru chōsa kenkyū</i>	STAGE 2
	2004: Law of Landscape.			
2005-2009	2006: Second revision of the Law of Urban Planning, oriented to <i>machizukuri</i> 2007: Law of Historical Machizukuri	2007: Iwami Ginzan area as UNESCO World Heritage.		STAGE 3
2010-2015			2015: ACA. <i>Rekishi wo ikashita machizukuri</i>	

stage 1, 1975-1990: designation of archetypical towns

The 15 years following the 1975 Law Amendment were characterized by a large number of surveys of townscapes, although few *denken chiku* were nominated. In 1976, seven districts which had their own ordinances were included into the *denken chiku* category, although few others were included after that. Most of the townscapes in urban locations were included during this period: until 1990, Kyoto hosted four of the 29 *denken chiku*. This is often described as a reaction caused by the deregulation policies of Prime Minister Nakasone^{77 78}: rising in land prices, especially in urban areas, caused the scrap of several old houses. Instead, the idea of the modernisation of cities led to the introduction of modern skyscrapers as new symbols and monuments⁷⁹.

From a theoretical perspective, the above-mentioned concepts of landscape and housing typology were present in several surveys, both in urban locations, like Sanneizaka district in Kyoto (Fig.2.16), or rural districts like Yōkaichi in Ehime (Fig.2.17), or Fukiya in Okayama (Fig.2.18)^{80 81 82}. In the case of Fukiya, even the *minka* research was not exhaustive: just some example houses from the three house types defined in the survey report.

Regarding townscape types, those growing the fastest were the post towns, samurai or castle towns, and at a smaller range, productive districts and merchant districts. In most of surveys, districts were named after one of the eight types defined by the ACA: Tsumago (Fig.2.19)



Fig.2.16. Sanneizaka, Kyoto, 2016.



Fig.2.17 Yōkaichi Gokoku district, Uchiko, 2015



Fig.2.18 Fukiya, Okayama, 2016

⁷⁷ NISHIYAMA, Uzo. *Rekishiteki keikan to machizukuri*. Toshi Bunkasha, Tokyo, 1990.

⁷⁸ HOHN, Uta. 'Townscape Preservation in Japanese Urban Planning', in *The Town Planning Review*, n.68.2, 1997.4.

⁷⁹ NISHIYAMA, Uzo. *op.cit.*

⁸⁰ HOHN, Uta. 'Important preservation districts for groups of historic buildings', in ENDERS, Siegfried RCT, GUTSCHOW, Niels (Ed.). *Hozon: Architectural and urban conservation in Japan*. Edition Axel Menges, Stuttgart/London 1998.

⁸¹ SUZUKI, Mitsuru; SUGIMOTO, Toshimasa; MARUMO, Hiroyuki; SAKOGAICHI, Hiroshi. 'Uchiko chō no toshi kōzō keikan ni kansuru kenkyū I', in *Nihon kenchiku gakkai Chūgoku shibu kenkyū hōkokushū*, vol. 7 n.2, 1980.

⁸² NARIWA TOWN, BOARD OF EDUCATION. *Bicchu Fukiya: machinami chōsa hōkokusho*. Nariwa, 1977.

is clearly defined as a post town; likewise, Kakunodate (Fig.2.20) is defined as a samurai town; Fukiya as a production town, and so on. Very few are described as an individual result of mixing several typologies, like Yōkaichi⁸³. Instead, the main trend when it comes to preservation was involving a typology and a period in which each district was built, and bringing all traditional buildings back to that defined period, like in Tsumago⁸⁴. Preservation works focused on the external shape of the town and houses, often changing the use of the interiors of the houses. In Tsumago, house typology was transformed from old post to new shop-dwelling use (Fig.2.21): the dwelling was moved entirely to the second floor, thus being the ground floor empty after shop closing time⁸⁵. The shape was preserved, but the social use of the space was severely altered. Furthermore, the treatment of the external aspect was broadly based on defined typologies rather than historical evidence. In Narai, external preservation was not associated with what historical Narai used to look like, but to the public perception of what Narai traditionally looked like⁸⁶. Likewise, surveys and policies in and around Yōkaichi, located in Uchiko town (Ehime), depict the concept of *Uchikorashisa* (lit. 'look like Uchiko') as a value worthy of preservation, not just regarding traditional buildings^{87 88}.



Fig.2.19 Tsumago, Nagano, 2012



Fig.2.20. Kakunodate, Akita, 2015



Fig.2.21 One of the houses in Tsumago transformed into displays for merchant activity, 2012.

⁸³ UCHIKO TOWN, COMPREHENSIVE REGIONAL PLANNING OFFICE. *Uchiko no 'hikari' wo 'mi' naosō. Uchiko chō kankō shinkō keikakusho*. Uchiko, 1983.

⁸⁴ HOHN, Uta. *op.cit.*, 1998

⁸⁵ UENO, Kunikazu. 'Conservazione urbana a Tsumago', in GIANIGHIAN, G; DARIO PAOLUCCI, M. *Il restauro in Giappone*. Alinea Editrice, Firenze, 2011.

⁸⁶ ŌSHIMA, Norie. 'The townscape transformation in an important preservation district for groups of historic buildings. The case of Narai, Narakawa, Nagano prefecture', in *Journal of Architecture and Planning (Transactions of AIJ)*, No.581, 2004.7, pp. 61-66.

⁸⁷ UCHIKO TOWN, COMPREHENSIVE REGIONAL PLANNING OFFICE. *op.cit.* 1983.

⁸⁸ UCHIKO TOWN. *Uchiko Muikaichi-Yōkaichi Gokoku chiku. Dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku hozon taisaku chōsa hōkokusho*. Uchiko, 1987.

Stage 2, 1990-2004: rural sites after the bubble burst.

In 1990, the Japanese economic bubble of the 1980s had burst. Townscape protection suffered both positive and negative effects as a result of that burst. On the negative side, tourism decreased. On the positive side, speculation on old towns also decreased. The government increased the budget for *denken chiku* to avoid the negative effects⁸⁹. The number of structures declared *denken chiku* increased remarkably after 1990. Scholarly activity also grew over the course of the 1990s. Several scholars, both Japanese and foreign, carried out their own surveys. In fact, the most complete reference books about preservation in Japan were written in the 1990s (Fig.2.15). During this period, *denken chiku* types which were not specific to urban settlements increased: merchant towns attached to historic routes, as well as port towns, were the main typologies at this stage. Many of the *denken chiku* from stage 2 were surveyed before 1990, but their nomination took longer, sometimes over a decade⁹⁰.



Fig.2.22 Kawagoe, Saitama, 2014

In the Japanese scholarly activity, the term *machizukuri* (lit. 'town making') was spread. Local communities grew in Japan to build self-organized town preservation committees, against deregulations and the polarization of economic activities of the 1980s into big cities. *Machizukuri* appeared as a synonym for town preservation which was driven by the local community and their sustainable life. Starting from Kawagoe (Fig.2.22) in 1988, specific ordinances for *machizukuri* were published in several municipalities. Given that the community was the centre of any *machizukuri* policy, several studies regarding communities in *denken chiku* were added to surveys. Fukiya had lost 30% of its population and 75% of its workforce since 1955, according to a survey conducted in 1991⁹¹. In a latter report⁹², the 'U-turn' phenomenon was seen as an issue to deal with: the 'U-turn' describes the return of the workers migrated to big cities once they have retired from active work. In Yame Fukushima, they created a NPO to attract young people from outside so that young people could open new businesses in the district⁹³, not limited to 'U-turn' people.

Another element introduced in surveys during this period is the study of street façades and the characterisation of each quarter inside a district. According to surveys, these street and

⁸⁹ ACA, AGENCY OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS. *Rekishi wo ikashita machizukuri*. Tokyo, 2015.

⁹⁰ KOBAYASHI, Fumihiko; KAWAKAMI, Mitsuhiro. 'Policies implemented in the application process of preservation districts for groups of historic buildings', in *Journal of Architecture and Planning (Transactions of AIJ)*, n.567, 2003.5. pp. 87-94.

⁹¹ NARIWA TOWN, BOARD OF EDUCATION. *Dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku minaoshi chōsa hōkokusho*. Nariwa, 1991.

⁹² TAKAHASHI CITY. *Takahashi shi Fukiya: dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku minaoshi chōsa*. Takahashi, 2013.

⁹³ ITO, Yuki, (Dir.). *Machiya shinshiroku*. [DVD] Directed by Yuki Ito. Japan: Group Gendai, Japan, 2015.

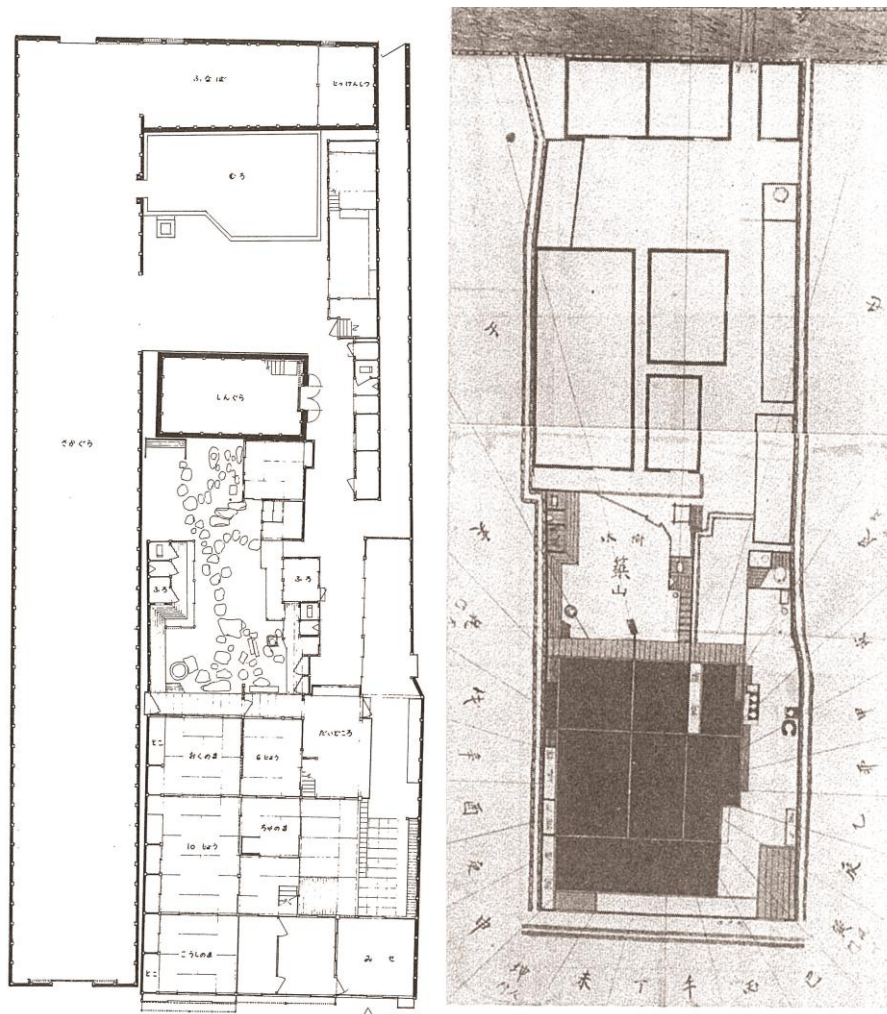


Fig.2.23 Historical survey in Takadake house, in Kurayoshi, comparing current situation and documents about past situation. Source: Kurayoshi City. Kurayoshi shōka machinami taisaku chōsa hōkokusho. Kurayoshi, 1980.

quarter studies were intended to solve two issues that were detected in protection during the 1980s: (a) previous surveys had considered each building independently, which made very difficult to introduce new structures into the district in a harmonious way; and (b) environmental elements, like roads, walls and urbanisation, had been omitted from previous surveys, thus causing difficulties when dealing with common services like electric lines or fire prevention equipment. The inside of buildings would also have to be more thoroughly studied: buildings not belonging to a certain typology would also be included in surveys. In some cases, like Kurayoshi (Fig.2.23), every intervention on a building was conducted along with a historical study of the building, which was included in the documentation of the intervention.

Stage 3, 2004-2014: village, landscape, community

In 2003, the Japanese government ruled by Junichirō Koizumi published *Fundamental Policy Principles to Make a Beautiful Country - Utsukushii kunizukuri seisaku taikō*. It was the greatest public acknowledgement of town and landscape as spatial structures, and it was intended to resolve all the disturbances that economic development introduced into the urban

space (e.g. electric lines, high rise blocks, decrease of green spaces). In 2004, a specific law, Landscape Law (*keikanhō*) was published. Also in 2004, the Cultural Properties Protection Law was modified in order to include cultural landscapes as a category. Landscapes like the fields in Uwajima (*Fig.1.2*) were included as cultural assets. The surveys on *denken chiku* became more detailed: landscape and streetscape elements, such as terrace walls, waterways or signs were included. In Kyoto prefecture, Ine district included the bay area in which the village was located, given that boat traffic was part of Ine community, even if it is not a street space itself⁹⁴. The number of *denken chiku* increased further, but the village type *denken chiku* had the biggest increase. In rural areas, empowered communities founded NPO, associations and trusts, which helped village districts become *denken chiku*.

The evolution of designation from a social and economic view, and its effects on the nature and location of eligible districts

In this section, the evolution of the social and economic aspects of *denken chiku* designations is described. Both economic development and tourism have common needs, such as accessibility to infrastructure. Japan's uniqueness when compared to western countries is that the movement factor is included in all community spaces: instead of static squares or greens, they build their relation space along economic trading routes⁹⁵. Japanese relate to each other while moving, thus transportation means are a key point to build these relations. By the time *denken chiku* system was implemented, the potential for tourism and regional transformation was higher for railway than for any other means of transportation, due to three factors explained below:

1) Temporal factors: roads and expressways had a smaller impact on Japan territorial transformation, because the railway was given priority from the late 19th century to the 1970s⁹⁶. The construction of the railways and development of express lines have been before *denken chiku* designations, while car expressways and public bus transportation came later. This is true even for some recent *denken chiku*, like Obamanishigumi, in Fukui prefecture. Being relatively close to Osaka or Kyoto, it was nominated before the new expressway from Osaka was built and thus before accessibility by car was improved.

2) Covered territory factors: in the 1960s, a few kilometres of the first two expressways (Meishin and Tōmei) were built, thus the coverage by expressways was far from having real potential. Also, the type of covered territory was different: before 1990, the railway network had been built along the old Edo and Meiji period routes, connecting regions and towns in a similar way as those routes. By contrast, the new expressways ran along the older, Heian period routes, thus connecting important urban areas while neglecting some rural regions like San-In, Shikoku or eastern Kyushu⁹⁷. As for public transportation, the first long-distance bus service (Tokyo-Osaka) would be opened in 1968, 4 years later than the Tokyo-Osaka shinkansen line and 5 years before Tōmei expressway was finished. In the 1990s, long distance bus networks were developed, but the biggest companies were subsidiaries of the existing railway companies, and most of services were night buses, connecting only big cities while rural areas had little service⁹⁸.

⁹⁴ INE TOWN. *Ine Ura dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon taisaku chōsa hōkokusho*. Ine, 2004.

⁹⁵ KŌJIRO, Junichirō; Meiji University Kōjiro Lab. *Nihon no komyuniti*. Kagoshima Shuppankai, Tokyo, 1975.

⁹⁶ MLIT, MINISTRY OF LAND, INFRASTRUCTURE, TRANSPORT AND TOURISM. *Roads in Japan 2015*. Tokyo, 2015.

⁹⁷ TAKEBE, Kenichi. 'Nihon kansen dōromō no shiteki hensen to tokushitsu', in *Proceedings of the Japan Society of Civil Engineers*. n.359, 1985.

⁹⁸ HAN, Ju Seong. 'Nihon ni okeru chōkyori kōsoku basu rosenmō no hattatsu', in *Annals of The Tohoku Geographical Association*. vol.47, 1995.

At the same period, railways were having good figures in terms of passengers and benefits, not counting local lines and third sector lines in remote rural areas⁹⁹.

3) Urban and regional transformation factors: after the Meiji period, road and fluvial transportation shifted to railway, thus altering the way Japanese used space and, eventually, the way Japanese built relations. This is especially true in big cities like Tokyo¹⁰⁰, but also rural areas experienced a great change when the railway replaced the use of boats¹⁰¹.

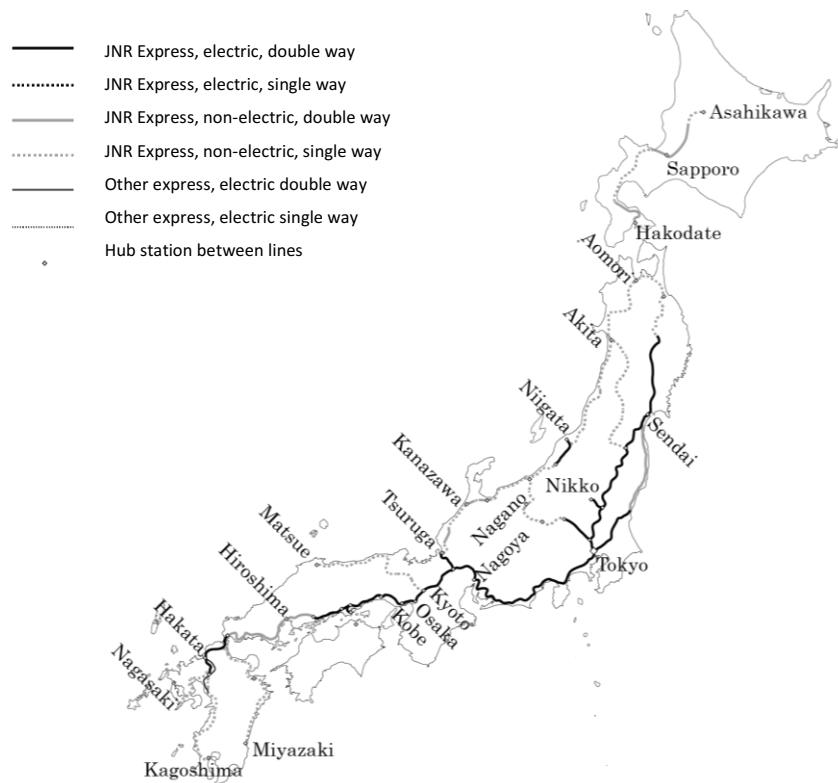


Fig.2.24 Map of Japanese express trains in 1961

Considering these factors, this section focuses on the accessibility to railway infrastructure as a booster for development and tourism. Prior to the 1975 legal amendment, Japanese politicians encouraged new projects which represented the new Japan; projects like Tange's for the development of Tokyo Bay were the image of a desired new urban culture. Cities were rapidly urbanized, while more population became increasingly concentrated. Thus, a shift in the infrastructure network was projected: from a local network to a city-to-city network. This network was not just for domestic users, Japan was also being developed for tourist activity ahead of the 1964 Olympic Games, thus an express train network was developed connecting Tokyo and all major cities (Fig.2.24). The express network would be progressively electrified, while many local railways were still incomplete. In addition, the Tōkaidō Shinkansen was open in 1964, and limited express trains would connect Tokyo with an increasing number of urban areas and tourist assets: Nikko had their own Limited Express services from Ueno station, and Aizuwakamatsu would have its own line later in that decade.

The new modernity also needed urban symbols: Kyoto Tower was projected on the site of the old Japan Post headquarters. Being much higher than the local townscape, it caused one of

⁹⁹ KAWASHIMA, Ryōzō. *Tetsudō wa kuruma ni kateru ka*. Chūō Shoin, Tokyo, 1998.

¹⁰⁰ JINNAI, Hidenobu. *Tōkyō no kūkan jinruigaku*. Chikumashobō, Tokyo, 1985.

¹⁰¹ NISHIYAMA; Uzo. *op.cit.* 1990.

the first popular reactions (*keikan ronsō*, lit. ‘landscape disputes’) against the new urban culture. As a part of that new urban culture, scrap-and-build activity was a risk for townscapes, especially in the most developed areas: Tokyo-Hakata axis, which also served as home to most of the new transportation infrastructures (Fig.2.24, Fig.2.25).

As opposed to urban areas, rural areas were declining, both in population and in economic activity. Most of them stayed away from the new infrastructure networks at first. Countryside looked for new economic opportunities through tourism, in order to survive. But townscapes as tourist assets are viable if tourists can access them. There were previous cases which prompted rural population to see tourism as a viable option. In Ise, the opening of the Kintetsu railway in the 1960s attracted 13 million tourists in 1975, 50% of them being from Kinki region. Tourism-oriented townscapes could suffer the same pressures as urban ones, but some communities would see tourism not as a conflict but as an opportunity: examples like Tsumago ordinance, based on the above-mentioned principle of ‘do not sell, do not rent, do not scrap’, tried to attract tourists without the original owners leaving the town.

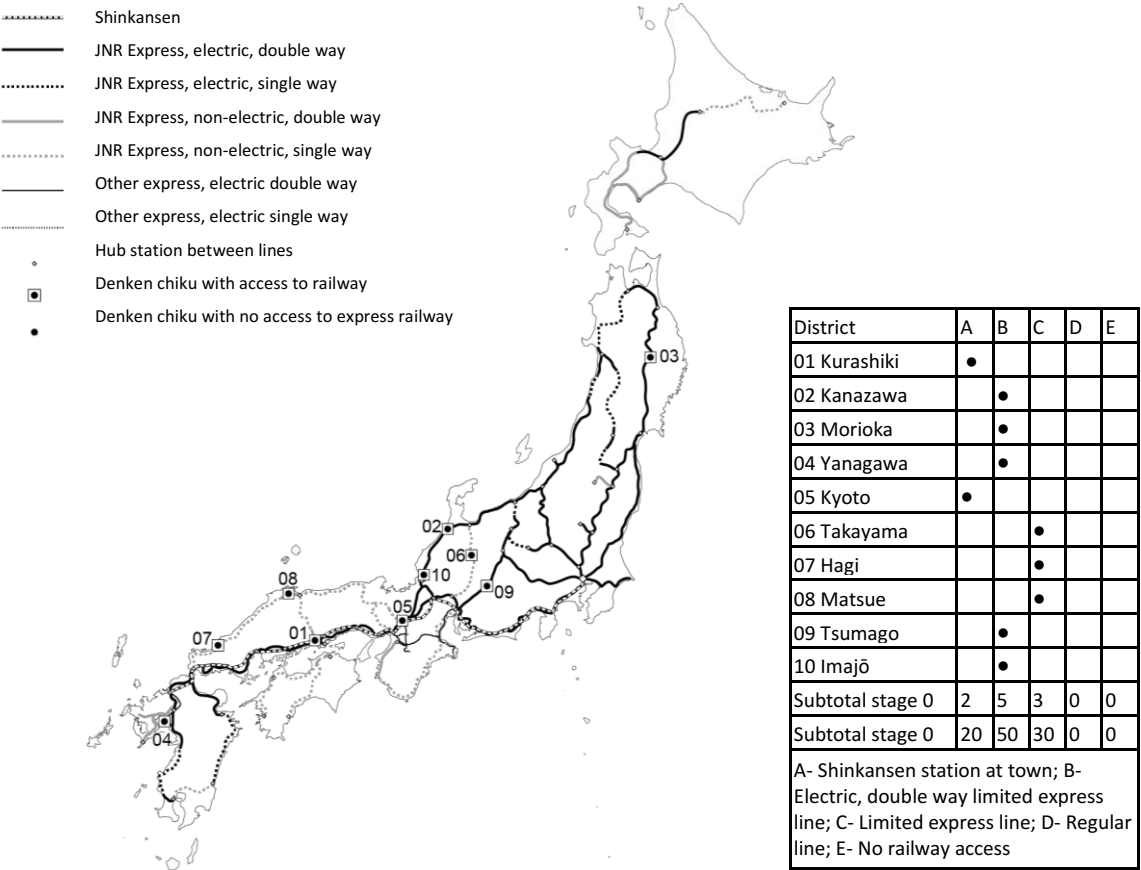


Fig.2.25 Map of townscapes with protection ordinances and their links to Japanese express trains in 1975

In this context, the first towns with ordinances were located in: (a) urban locations with a high scrap-and-build pressure, especially along the Tokyo-Hakata axis (Kyoto, Kurashiki) or in secondary axes (Hagi, Matsue, Kanazawa, Morioka), and (b) rural or periurban locations that had taken advantage of the new infrastructures to attract tourism as a new economic activity (Yanagawa, Tsumago, Imajō). Fig.2.25 shows how all these districts had access to the express railway network: all of them were in position to take advantage of the new trains.

Stage 1: the rescue of urban areas and the new tourism

Fig.2.26 Stage 1 denken chiku and their links to Japanese express trains in 1990

District	A	B	C	D	E
1 Kakunodate		•			
2 Tsumago juku		•			
3 Shirakawa					•
4 Sanneizaka (Kyoto)	•				
5 Gion Shinbashi (Kyoto)	•				
6 Horiuchi chiku (Hagi)			•		
7 Hiyako chiku (Hagi)			•		
8 Fukiya					•
9 Obi				•	
10 Naka chō (Hirosaki)			•		
11 Narai		•			
12 San machi (Takayama)			•		
13 Saga Toriimoto (Kyoto)	•				
14 Kurashiki	•				
15 Kitano chō (Kōbe)	•				
16 Ōuchi juku				•	
17 Chiran					•
18 Yōkaichi (Uchiko)			•		
19 Takehara				•	
20 Seki juku (Kameyama)			•		
21 Furuichi Kanaya				•	
22 Kasashima					•
23 Mimitsu			•		
24 Unno juku		•			
25 Taketomi jima					•
26 Ōmori Ginzan					•
27 Kamigamo (Kyoto)	•				
28 Waki				•	
29 Motomachi (Hakodate)			•		
Subtotal stage 1	6	4	8	5	6
Subtotal stage 1 (%)	21	14	27	17	21
A- Shinkansen station at town; B- Electric, double way limited express line; C- Limited express line; D- Regular line; E- No railway access					

When analysing the parallel evolution of infrastructure and the first 15 years of the denken chiku system, the pattern is remarkably similar to the previous stage. As seen in Fig.2.26, 62% of denken chiku in this stage had access to express trains (sum of A, B and C categories). The first denken chiku were concentrated around well-developed railway infrastructure areas, and the concentration was more intense in areas close to the shinkansen lines and in big urban areas.

Again, the scrap-and-build hazard in urban areas and the tourism opportunity in rural areas seem to be the main drivers of denken chiku nomination. Some districts followed the Tsumago model, aiming for *kankō risson* (lit. 'make a village a tourism destination'). This also applied also to some of the denken chiku without railway access: Shirakawa had a highly self-conscious community and has been the object of scholarly studies since the 19th century. Its community has built ties with Tsumago and aims to becoming a tourist asset. In the 1970s, they presented their village as a candidate for both denken chiku and UNESCO World Heritage Site declaration¹⁰². They also entered the 'Discover Japan' campaign by Japan National Railways¹⁰³. Not having their expressway connection finished until 2008, Shirakawa would use Takayama station as the nearest access hub, by bus. The economic motivation, based on tourism activity, was mainstream in the 1980s, the reconstruction of sites as they had traditionally been, was seen by Takeshita Prime Minister government as a means to revitalize the economy in depressed rural areas. This also applied to archaeological sites¹⁰⁴.

A few rural townscapes included other motivations, in addition to tourism. Yōkaichi Gokoku was designated in 1982, and local authorities led the application process, despite significant opposition by the local community. Four years later, the new Yosan line allowed limited express trains to stop in Uchiko (old Yosan line did not even pass through Uchiko). However, it still remained much like it did before the new railway, with commercial stores having remained as

¹⁰² SEIZAWA, Satohiro. 'Sekai isan no hozon to katsuyō wo sasaeru shakaiteki nettowāku. Gifu ken Shirakawa mura to Betonamu no jirei kara', in *Bulletin of Research Institute*. vol.14, Nara, 2006.

¹⁰³ SAITSU, Yumiko. 'Sekai isan no hozon to jūmin seikatsu. Shirakawa gō wo jirei ni shite', in *Journal of Environmental Sociology*. n.12, 2006.

¹⁰⁴ GUTSCHOW, Niels. 'Quest for the original state - reconstruction and restoration to an earlier state in Japanese conservation', in ENDERS, Siegfried RCT, GUTSCHOW, Niels (Ed.). *Hozon: Architectural and urban conservation in Japan*. Edition Axel Menges, Stuttgart/London 1998.

they were, and with a few tourism-oriented shops. Tourism was seen by local government as a support for other existing economic activities, and unlike Tsumago or Shirakawa, they saw a conflict between the excessive growth of a modern, fast-paced model of tourism and local lifestyle¹⁰⁵. Likewise, Fukiya was proposed as a denken chiku candidate by external scholars, who surveyed the town and encouraged the community to preserve it, if purely for scholarly interest. Since tourism was not established as a goal, the difficult access to the village was not a problem. Currently, Fukiya is still difficult to reach by public transportation; yet only six of the first 29 denken chiku had no train access at all in 1990 (Fig.2.26, Fig.2.27).

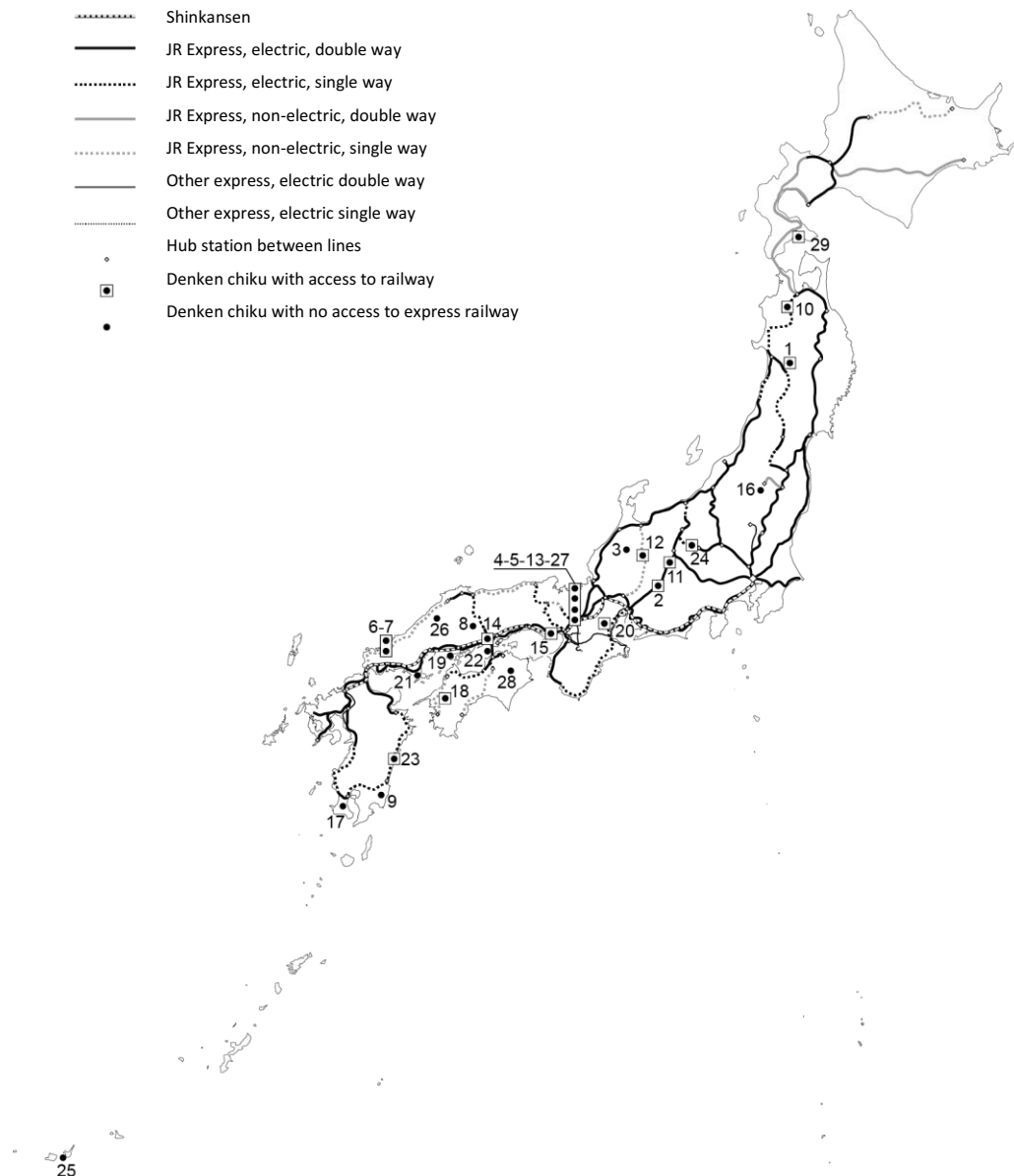


Fig.2.27 Map of Stage 1 denken chiku and their links to Japanese express trains in 1990. The districts are numbered according to the list in Fig.2.26

¹⁰⁵ UCHIKO TOWN, COMPREHENSIVE REGIONAL PLANNING OFFICE. *Uchiko no 'hikari' wo 'mi' naosō. Uchiko chō kankō shinkō keikakusho*. Uchiko, 1983.

Stage 2: the inclusion of slow-paced elements and places

Fig.2.28 Stage 2 *denken chiku* and their links to Japanese express trains in 2004

District	A	B	C	D	E
30 Shukunegi (Sado)					•
31 Hachiman		•			
32 Arita Uchiyama		•			
33 Higashi Yamate		•			
34 Minami Yamate		•			
35 Akazawa					•
36 Miyama chō Kita					•
37 Imai chō		•			
38 Ainokura					•
39 Suganuma					•
40 Izumi Fumoto	•				
41 Yutaka machi Mitarai					•
42 Kumagawa juku					•
43 Sawara				•	
44 Chikugo Yoshii				•	
45 Sakamoto		•			
46 Tondabayashi				•	
47 Kiragawa					•
48 Iwamura					•
49 Akizuki					•
50 Gokashō Kondo				•	
51 Kurayoshi			•		
52 Tonegawa					•
53 Minō machi				•	
54 Kawagoe				•	
55 Tonaki jima					•
56 Yamachosuji		•			
57 Hakuba mura Aoni					•
58 Jonai Suwakōji	•				
59 Higashiyama (Kanazawa)		•			
60 Hamazaki (Hagi)			•		
61 Yame Fukushima					•
62 Iriki Fumoto	•				
Subtotal stage 2	3	8	2	6	14
Subtotal stage 2 (%)	9	24	6	19	42
A- Shinkansen station at town; B- Electric, double way limited express line; C- Limited express line; D- Regular line; E- No railway access					

The Japanese model of tourism achieved poor results. According to Nishiyama¹⁰⁶, the Japanese were not used to a slow-paced tourism due to their fast lifestyles. In addition, the new high-speed infrastructures allowed a single-day tourism model; however, the speed of tourists was not in accordance with the speed of the original townscapes. Rural areas would concentrate under 10% of the tourism even in the most rural prefectures. On the other hand, local reactions against *kankō kōgai* (lit. 'tourism pollution') had started during the previous decade. Thus, local movements started as a reaction to urban changes led by motorization and tourism pollution. In Waki, local people opposed the local government due to the increase in tourism¹⁰⁷. In Kyoto, locals rose against authorities when a project for a new pedestrian bridge between Gion and Pontochō was presented; the bridge was intended to be a sightseeing spot for tourists¹⁰⁸. Massive tourism in Kyoto had already caused Sanneizaka district owners to transform their dwellings into shops¹⁰⁹.

Stage 2 *denken chiku* were not as concentrated around major infrastructures as before: 39% had access to express trains (Fig.2.28, Fig.2.29). The Japan government planned to have at least one *denken chiku* in every prefecture, included rural ones¹¹⁰. When pressure on the major infrastructures stopped, the townscape protection system began to include older infrastructures such as ports, channels and the old Edo routes. Those old routes had a different speed vector than the new railways and were more consistent with the pace of *denken chiku*. Plus, networks could be made along those routes: Kumagawa district, in Fukui, put effort into the valuation of the old route *Saba kaidō*, from Kyoto to Obama port. This would eventually lead Obamanishigumi, in the same route, to become a *denken chiku*. Both districts would be more viable

¹⁰⁶ NISHIYAMA; Uzo. *op.cit.* 1990.

¹⁰⁷ HOHN, Uta. *op.cit.* 1998.

¹⁰⁸ BRUMANN, Christoph. *op. cit.* 2012.

¹⁰⁹ NITSCHKE, Gunter. 'Protection of urban place of Kyoto', in ENDERS, Siegfried RCT, GUTSCHOW, Niels(Ed.): *Hozon: Architectural and urban conservation in Japan*. Edition Axel Menges, Stuttgart/London 1998.

¹¹⁰ GUTSCHOW, Niels. *op.cit.* 1998.

for tourism and local economic growth, in a model in which tourism would support other economic sectors instead of being the main activity.

Nonetheless, the intended economic and social regeneration of the rural zones was not completely achieved. The denken chiku system led to the preservation of townscapes when compared to those that did not enter the denken chiku category¹¹¹, but the decline of population was stopped in very few cases. It was necessary that old townscapes, especially in rural areas, would plan a more optimized use of their traditional resources to live, in order to guarantee their future. This would mean to include two more values in preservation: the study of the **natural environment and resources**, and the **traditional knowledge** related to the use of this environment as a generator of economic development for rural communities.

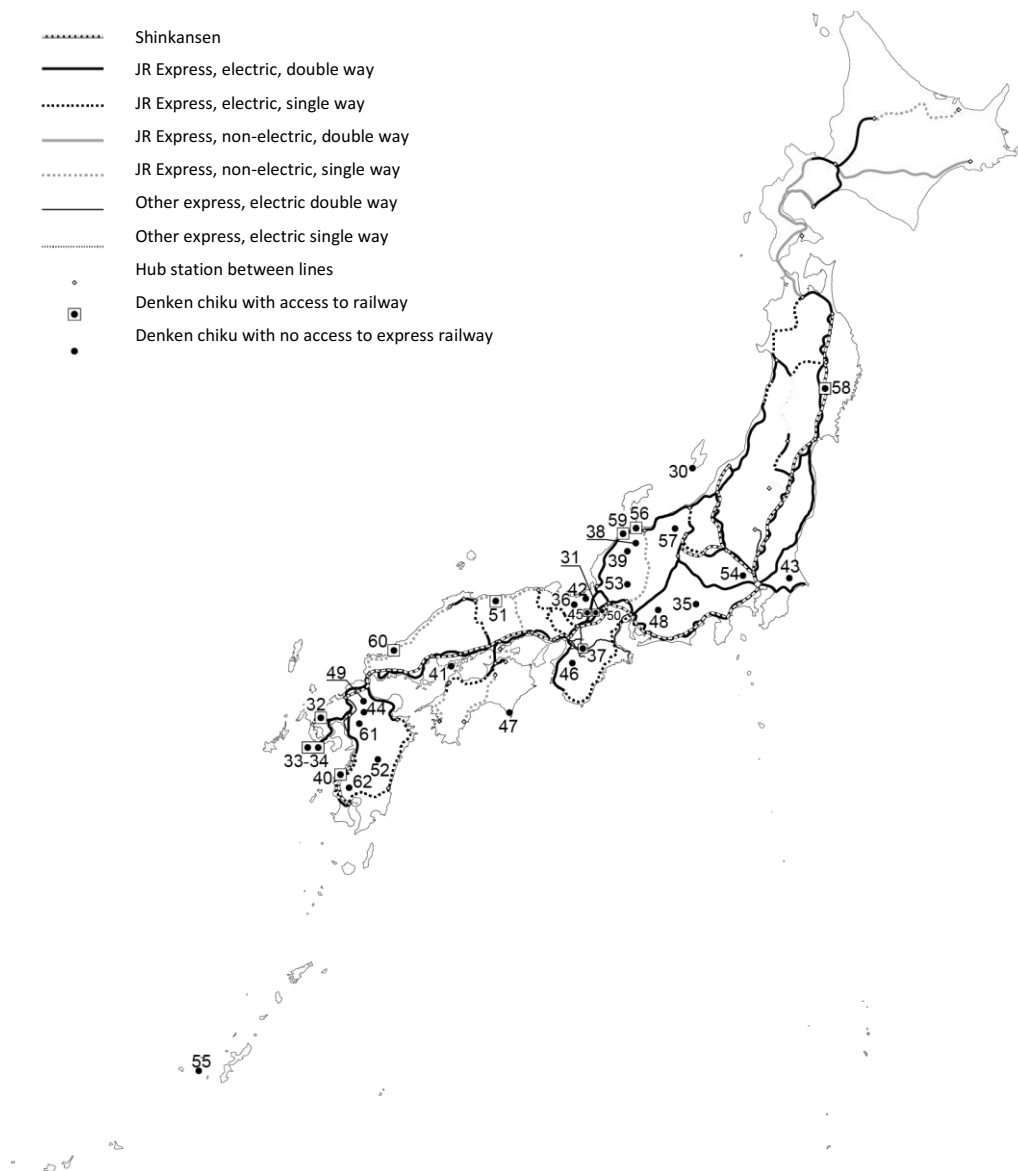


Fig.2.29 Map of Stage 2 denken chiku and their links to Japanese express trains in 2004

¹¹¹ SAIO, Naoko; TERAOKA, Yoshiaki. 'A study of sustainability of habitation in the historical preservation areas', in *Journal of Architecture and Planning (Transactions of AIJ)*, No.695, 2004.1, pp. 131-139.

Stage 3: remote areas and local communities

Even after 2004, the railway infrastructure continued to grow, especially the shinkansen network. By contrast, the old local lines, which ran parallel to the shinkansen network, were transferred to third party companies. These lines, found primarily in rural areas, tend to typically be on the verge of the bankruptcy^{112 113}, and the impact of tourism on these lines is small¹¹⁴. Nonetheless, the new denken chiku are found mainly in rural areas, and they are often difficult to access, with 45% of denken chiku having no access to trains and 65% having no express trains (Fig.2.30, Fig.2.31).

The 2004 Landscape Law, the machizukuri in the 1990s, and the confirmation of the partial failure of the tourism-centred model provided an opportunity to change the approach: the protection of housings, landscapes and communities, while considering tourism as a small-scale activity. Landscapes, protected by the Landscape Law, were in remote areas, typically over 50 km from any shinkansen. Several remote areas grew in protection, like some natural spaces in San'in or Shikoku. The case of Yunotsu is significant: it is a part of the Iwami Ginzan UNESCO

Fig.2.30 Stage 3 denken chiku and their links to Japanese express trains in 2016

District	A	B	C	D	E
63 Shimoninomachi (Takayama)			•		
64 Yunotsu			•		
65 Sasayama			•		
66 Mameda machi				•	
67 Kuroishi				•	
68 Kōjiro Kuji				•	
69 Ine					•
70 Kaga Hashidate					•
71 Kaya (Yosano)					•
72 Higashiiyamason					•
73 Shiotatsu					•
74 Akaiwa					•
75 Kiso Hirasawa		•			
76 Matsuyama (Uda)					•
77 Hamakanayamachi		•			
78 Hachiongishuku		•			
79 Yuasa		•			
80 Izushi					•
81 Kazuemachi	•				
82 Ōshimamura					•
83 Obamanishigumi				•	
84 Kurogi					•
85 Kuroshima chiku					•
86 Uno machi			•		
87 Makabe					•
88 Gojo Shinmachi				•	

District	A	B	C	D	E
89 Maezawa					•
90 Asuke					•
91 Sasanami					•
92 Utatsu Sanroku (Kanazawa)	•				
93 Kaga Higashitani					•
94 Kauemon cho		•			
95 Kiryuu shinmachi				•	
96 Shiramine					•
97 Doikachu					•
98 Tagomori					•
99 Kanayamachi	•				
100 Teramachidai	•				
101 Gujo Hachiman				•	
102 Fukusumi					•
103 Tsuwano				•	
104 Jōtō				•	
105 Tokorogo (Daisen)			•		
106 Hanazawa		•			
107 Murata					•
108 Inariyama		•			
Subtotal stage 3	4	7	5	9	21
Subtotal stage 3 (%)	9	15	11	20	45
A- Shinkansen station at town; B- Electric, double way limited express line; C- Limited express line; D- Regular line; E- No railway access					

¹¹² SHOZAWA Hideki. *Tetsudō chizu zannen na rekishi*. Chikuma shobō, Tokyo, 2012

¹¹³ KAWASHIMA, Ryōzō. *Tetsudō wa kuruma ni kateru ka*. Chūō Shoin, Tokyo, 1998.

¹¹⁴ ACKERMANN, Peter. 'Tourism as a future for local rail services?' in ASSMANN, Stephanie (ed.) *Sustainability in contemporary rural Japan. Challenges and opportunities*. Routledge, London/New York, 2016.

World Heritage Site since 2007. The site is composed of three towns, plus the traffic infrastructures that connected them and historic landmarks and landscape elements. Two of the towns in the site are *denken chiku* (Yunotsu and Ōmori Ginzan).

In this stage, the preserved townscape were not considered as assets with potential to attract visitors, and thus, to make business out of income from external means, but instead, they were considered as a part of an environment, with its history, its material resources and its associated immaterial culture and knowledge. The traditional townscape stopped being valued as an object from the past, and started being valued a generator of territorial development for the future.



Fig.2.31 Map of Stage 3 denken chiku and their links to Japanese express trains in 2016

Conclusion

To sum up, the criteria for the designation of new *denken chiku* by the Agency of Cultural Affairs were created and evolved at a national level, according to three factors: the economic situation of the nation, the new social demands by local communities, and the international acknowledgement of Japanese heritage. Japan established its own vision of townscape preservation between post-war period and 1975, when traditional structures, and not representative urban spaces around monuments like in Europe, started to be valued. Japan moved from the valuation to the active preservation when these structures began to disappear under the high-speed economic growth period of the 1960s. Groups of local scholars preserved actively their old structures for their cultural value, but also for their potential for economic

regeneration through tourism. In fact, in the beginning of *denken chiku* system, tourism has been a factor serving to mobilize communities in favour of *denken chiku* designations.

However, the approach towards tourism evolved once locals had reacted against tourism pollution. Before 1990, locals were generally encouraged by tourism-centred models. That is why the first *denken chiku* were typically in urban areas or areas easily accessible from urban areas, and they represented easy to understand *machinami* (lit. 'town rows'), like post towns and samurai towns. At that time, the 'typical' house typology and street typology were in the centre of any survey and valuation. Only a few towns were protected for scholarly purposes, and their protection was encouraged by scholars or local authorities, rather than local people. And even so, the contents of surveys did not change much. But the impact of cultural tourism in declining rural areas was moderate at most, and population decline -and consequently, decline of traditional towns- did not stop with the increase of visitors.

By contrast, the latest *denken chiku* are typically in remote areas: instead of surveys oriented to value 'typical', easy-to-show townscapes, other criteria such as the preservation of the environment as a generator of development, and the preservation of immaterial culture to exploit this environment, were included in valuation processes. The owners of both the environment and the knowledge associated to it were local communities, instead of visitors. Newly empowered communities rose throughout Japan, once the pressure of the bubble economy had ended. Tourism, at most, was seen as a support for community life and activity, thus community was positioned at the centre of townscape preservation as a major agent. That said, community changes have been more drastic in big towns and near major infrastructures¹¹⁵ and were better preserved in remote areas. These remote areas could not possibly be protected in previous stages, but they represent a big portion of the latest townscapes valued as *denken chiku*.

Thus, the creation and modification of a Japanese set of values for townscape preservation was performed coherently at a national level. From this point, the next chapters explain how this evolution of criteria at a national level influenced the planning at a local level.

¹¹⁵ JINNAI, Hidenobu. *op.cit.* 1985.

3. CASE STUDY: EVOLUTION OF DENKEN CHIKU PLANNING

Introduction

In the previous chapter, the main goal was to explain the shift that valuation criteria have suffered when determining new *denken chiku*. The valuation and preservation process regulated by the law is linear: first, local government conducts a study, based on the guidelines by the ACA. This study also included a proposal for the future plan, and in some cases, is conducted along with some urgent interventions on the townscape, to match the criteria by the ACA. Then, the ACA values the townscape based on the study and their own in-place verifications. If designated, the town prepares the regulations and the necessary framework to access to the program of economic grants available via ACA. In other words, **valuation is completely a previous step to the designation and the planning.**

The valuation criteria -in other words, why is a certain district preserved- by the ACA evolved in three stages after 1975. But once the question of why to preserve is defined, two more questions appear: what to preserve, and how to preserve. **The goal of this chapter is to determine whether the trends in locally studying, planning and regulating protected districts evolved with the valuation by ACA, or there were different trends coexisting.**

For that purpose, this chapter presents the results of an in-place case study. The research for the case study was conducted between August 2015 and September 2016, and was conducted in two steps. The first step consisted in an extensive in-place research to cover *denken chiku* districts in rural areas through Japan. The focus point was rural *denken chiku* with typically difficult access to the transportation infrastructures by the time they were designated. The reason lays in the above-mentioned question: the goal is to distinguish whether the planning in *denken chiku* evolved consequently with national policies. With the current trend, *denken chiku* with strong community and landscape values increased, thus increasing remarkably the *denken chiku* in rural areas, hard to access. However, even in stage 1, there were a few *denken chiku* in rural areas. Then, did those rural *denken chiku* from stage 1 conduct their preservation focused on tourism, like in other cases in stage 1, or did they use an approach closer to the current trend? In the former case, it would mean that the nationwide evolution, moving away from the tourism model, was coherent in all Japan. In the latter case, it would mean that the landscape and community approach already existed in previous stages, but they were a minority.

The second step consisted in an intensive document and in-place research in three cases, one per stage, following the criteria established in the first step. The studied cases are Yōkaichi Gokoku district, in Uchiko, Ehime prefecture, Utsubuki Tamagawa district, in Kurayoshi, Tottori prefecture, and Ine Ura district, in Ine, Kyoto prefecture. The document research included the plans and surveys related to the *denken chiku* designation and protection, but also to other programs to improve aspects related to the *denken chiku*, such as tourism, or liveability for local communities. The plans were valued in the framework defined in chapter 1: environment, functional system, social system and town structure.

By analysing the contents of specific plans, this chapter ultimately define how coherent was the local planning activity with the values defined in a national level, and how coherently evolved the *denken chiku* system in a local and national level together. In addition, the analysis aims at defining how Japanese preservation, centred in interventions on structures and not in standard urban planning, defined the structures to preserve and the method to preserve them.

Case 1, Yōkaichi Gokoku district, Uchiko town, Ehime

Presentation of the case and its motivation for preservation

General data

The first studied case is Yōkaichi Gokoku district, which is part of the old town in Uchiko Town. Uchiko is located in the island of Shikoku, which at the time of the designation was the only island not connected to the others by railway or any land transportation means. In addition, Uchiko had access to the railway network through a small local line (the Uchiko line), which had its last stop near the old town. This changed in 1986, when the new Yosan express line was opened through Uchiko. Notwithstanding, Uchiko was still one of the least accessible protected districts in the 1975-1990 period (Fig.3.1).

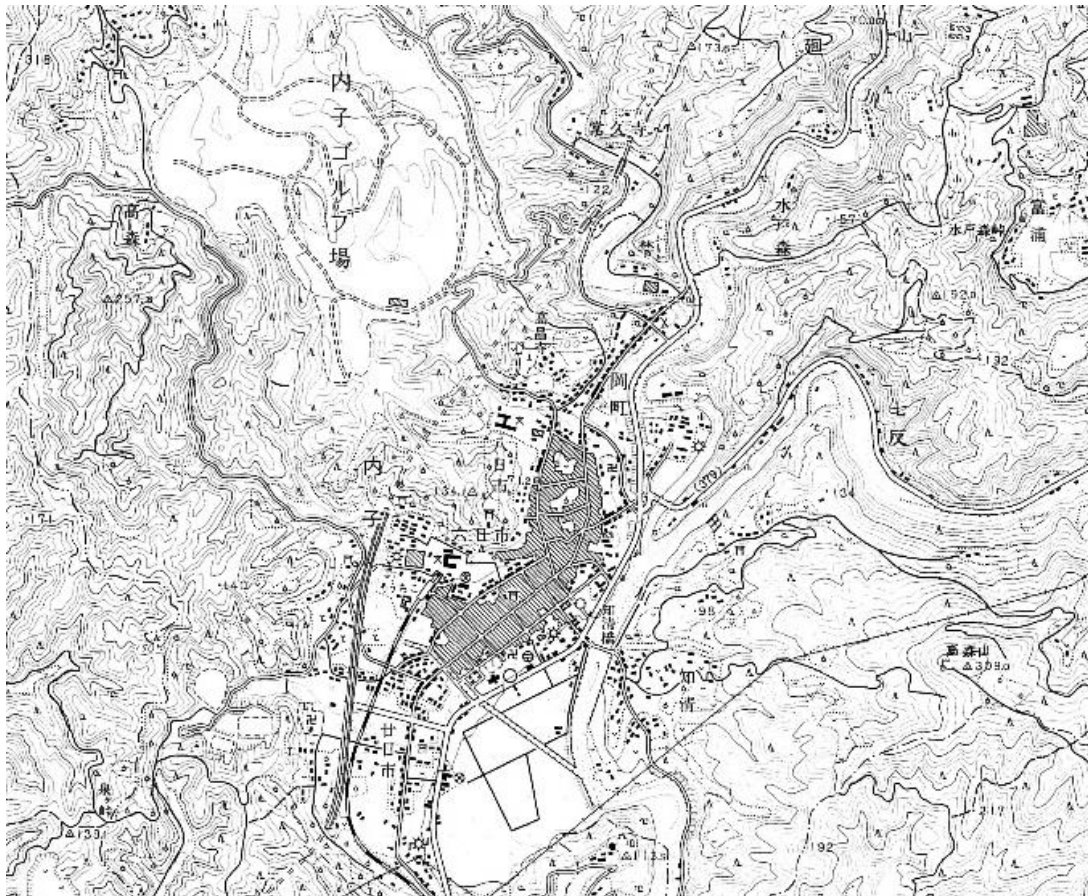


Fig.3.1 Map of Uchiko basin in 1983, after the denken chiku designation, and detail of central Uchiko. The urban area is surrounded by mountains and small rural settlements dispersed in the valleys, making it accessible only from the southwest by road and railway. Source: Kokudo Chiriin, Geospatial Information Authority of Japan

The current Uchiko Town is a vast area that includes several villages, including the former Uchikonomura (lit. 'Uchiko village'), as a result of several unions of eight smaller municipalities during the last 60 years. These small villages were along the upper stream of Ota river and its tributaries. The old Uchiko town is located in Uchiko basin, where the tributaries join to Ota river. Thus, it is the main entrance point to all those villages by land and fluvial transportation. The total area is 300 km², but only the 3% of the valley is actually flat, plus, while 78% of the land is covered by forest.

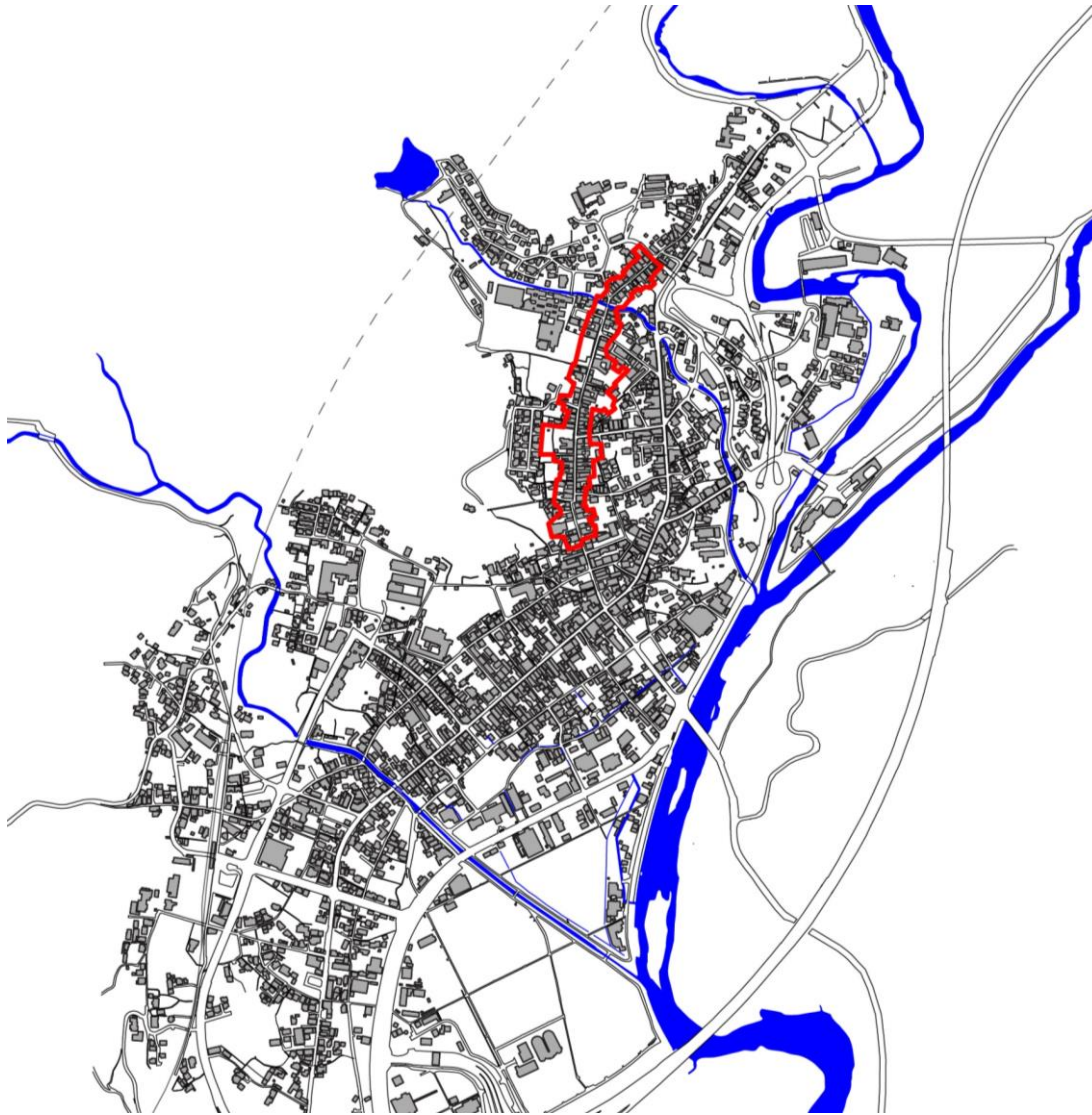


Fig.3.2 Uchiko in 2016, with the *denken chiku* area in red

Yōkaichi Gokoku *denken chiku* is located in the old Uchiko town (Fig.3.2). Uchiko is a perfect example of the rural town which was declining after the 1960s and continued declining during the bubble economy period. It flourished especially at the 18th and 19th centuries as a hub for regional economic activity. It was a strategic point for the local Ōzu clan, since it was the entrance to the old Uwa district: the road coming from Matsuyama, Kyoto and Osaka crossed the mountains and descended to Uchiko basin, to follow southwest on its way to Uwajima. It was also an important fluvial port. It also served as a post town for the Ohenro pilgrimage route. During the 18th and 19th centuries, Uchiko had also developed a wax production industry. Thus, in the old town, shop-dwelling typologies are mixed with old wax factories and storehouses. The merchant activity declined after the opening of a new bypass road in 1968, and the changes in lifestyle caused by the use of private cars; the wax production had been stopped before World War II.

History

The first settlement in Uchiko was Hatsukaichi quarter, which was established as a *monzenmachi* (town around a temple) for Ganjōji temple, in 12th century. Yōkaichi and Gokoku quarters were established in late 16th century as *monzenmachi* of the Kōshōji temple. This temple was inside the Ohenro and Konpira Kaidō pilgrimage routes¹¹⁶, and both Yōkaichi and Gokoku served as a post town for pilgrims. Uchiko became an important point in Matsuyama kaidō route and was also the entrance point of the valleys tributary to Ota river. The local Ōzu clan established its residence in Uchiko to control this point. Thus, at the beginning of the 17th century, Muikaichi quarter was established next to Yōkaichi, as a local marketplace that served all the inhabitants of the valleys. At this point, Gokoku, Yōkaichi, Muikaichi and Hatsukaichi districts together formed the original Uchinokomura (Fig.3.3). The name of Yōkaichi, Muikaichi

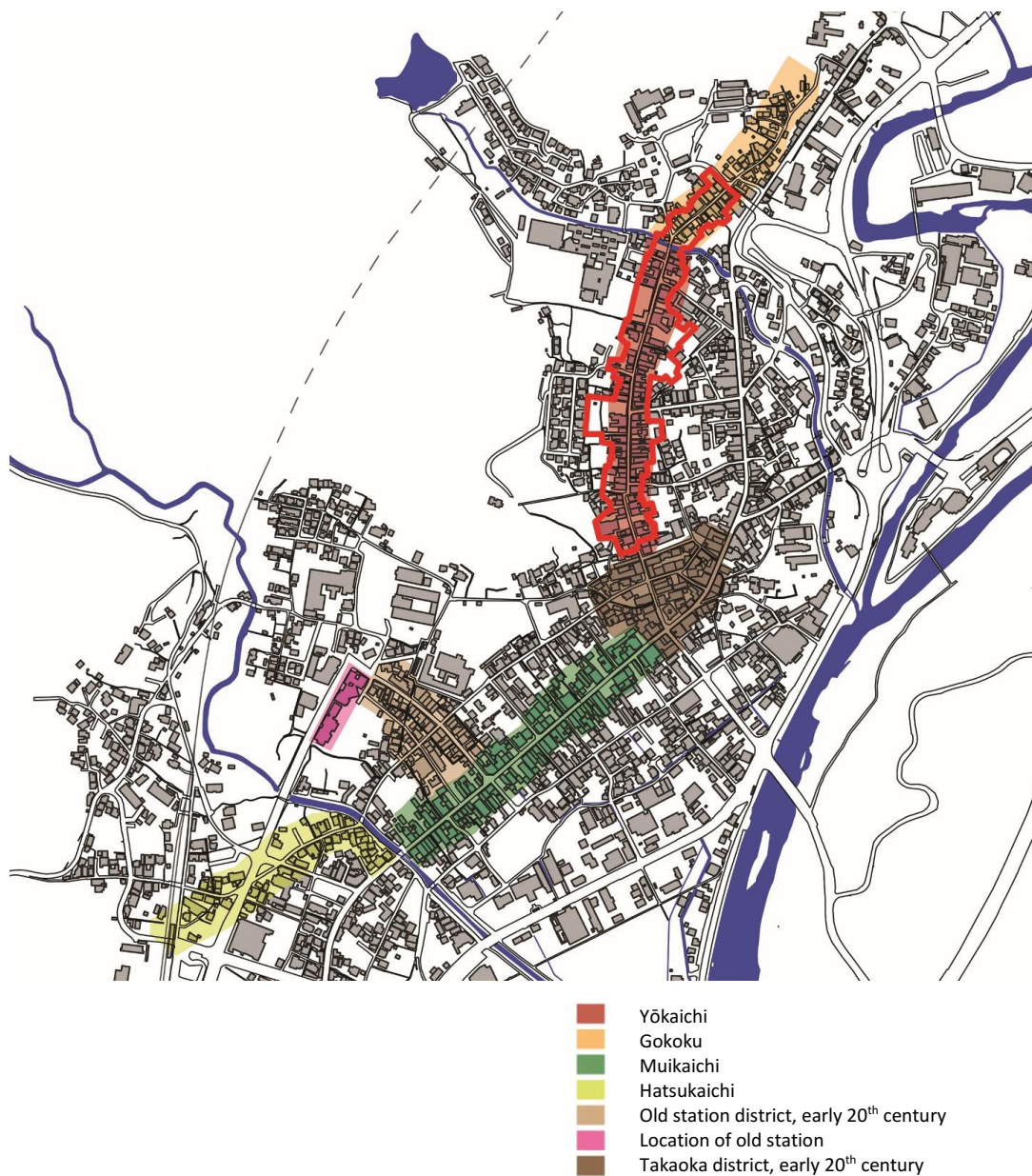


Fig.3.3 Districts of old Uchiko

¹¹⁶ UCHIKO TOWN. *Uchiko Muikaichi-Yōkaichi Gokoku chiku. Dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku hozon taisaku chōsa hōkokusho*. Uchiko, 1987.

and Hatsukaichi districts referred to the day they used to open a monthly market (their names mean '8th day market', '6th day market' and '20th day market', referring to the day of the month that markets were opened in each quarter).

18th century was the beginning of the period of full economic development of Uchiko. First, they developed a *washi* (Japanese paper) production industry, under the rule of the Ōzu clan, which granted the permission for the activity. Muikaichi district became the main sales point of paper production. However, *washi* industry declined when, at the end of Edo period (mid-19th century), privileges for making and selling *washi* paper were taken out of feudal clans. There is no documental evidence explaining the degree of urban development that Uchiko experienced during the growth period of 18th century.

The first documents describing Uchiko urban space were from mid-19th century, at the end of Edo period. Uchiko had a dense structure of two-floor *machiya* row houses, used as both living and merchant activities, with a *mise* (shop) space facing the street. This dense structure was a cause for frequent fires. Thus, in Meiji period, water channels were developed behind the houses. The channel system served to both the houses and the cultivated fields, located behind the houses. From the water channels, each house developed its own secondary channel to take water. The channels between *machiya* were meant to act as a protection against the spread of fires. secondary channel to take water. These secondary channels were in the border between

contiguous land plots, and still are. Thus, the land structure has not changed since this channel system was dug in mid-19th century.

Houses also went through some changes during Meiji period to avoid the frequent fires. First, the walls were made thicker, in a *ōkabe* typology: earthen walls which were thick enough to conceal the wooden post-and-beam structure. Second, a separation space was introduced between contiguous *machiya*; this space was also used to connect the front of the house with the back yard. Third, *sodekabe* walls were introduced in mid-20th century: lateral walls would surpass the plane of frontal façade, thus protecting the front door and windows from fire (Fig.3.4). Fourth, inner distribution was altered in many houses. In Edo period (1600-1868), the second floor had been used as storage space, thus being a high-risk area in case of fire. In Meiji period, *zashiki* (formal parlours to receive guests and customers) were open in the second floor. Typological change was visible in façades, where wooden lattices were built in front of the new *zashiki* rooms, in the second floor¹¹⁷. Those modifications became typical traits of



Fig.3.4 Sodekabe, lateral wall standing out of the façade of a *machiya*, Uchiko, 2015.



Fig.3.5 Kamihaga wax factory, 2015.

¹¹⁷ UCHIKO TOWN. *Yōkaichi Gokoku. Uchikochō dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku minaoshi chōsa hōkokusho*. Uchiko, 2013.

the houses in Uchiko. Thus, Uchiko defined its housing typology at the same time it defined the land structure.

Uchinokomura was joined to Chiseimura in 1888, creating Uchiko town as a bigger town, with old Uchikonomura as the centre of it. At the end of the 19th century, Muikaichi was consolidating its position as a central marketplace, and started being called Hondōri (lit. 'main street'). At the same time, *mokurō* wax manufacture was developed in Yōkaichi. In 1907, there were 11 wax businesses only in Yōkaichi¹¹⁸. This led to another major change in the town environment: along the road, *machiya* rows coexisted with open spaces for drying the wax production (Fig.3.5). The size of dwelling lots was also larger than in surrounding towns, reaching a maximum 10ken (around 18m) of façade width¹¹⁹ (Fig.3.6).

Before the 20th century, fluvial transportation was used to satisfy the needs for raw materials of the wax industry. Timber could be easily transported through rivers. By contrast, when land transportation was modernised in Meiji period, Uchiko continued using the old Edo route, since the new Meiji roads and railroads did not arrive to Uchiko until 20th century. However, the Edo road was not suitable for fast transportation. In 1907, the new Uchiko-Nakayama prefectural road was open, and Yōkaichi district was bypassed by the new infrastructure (Fig.3.8). The land structure suffered modifications to connect Yōkaichi to the new road at its southern end. Along the new connection, a new dwelling area was developed, called Takaoka. The new Takaoka quarter was developed at the first quarter of the 20th century. In Takaoka, local services such as the old town hall, the Asahikan theatre and the bank were established, thus Takaoka becoming the administrative centre. Thus, Yōkaichi remained apart from the relevant urban changes beginning in 20th century. By contrast, the new road went through Muikaichi, and the main street in Muikaichi became wider. Consequently, half of the buildings from previous periods were demolished.

In 1920s, the wax industry declined, and fluvial transportation declined along with it. In 1926, Uchiko railway line is opened, being Uchiko the terminal station. The station was located at the west of Muikaichi district. Thus, Uchiko extended towards the station in the 20s. The new



Fig.3.6 Honhaga house, one of the widest façades in Yōkaichi Gokoku. Uchiko, 2015.



Fig.3.7 Uchikoza theatre, 2015.

¹¹⁸ UCHIKO TOWN MACHINAMI HOZON CENTER. *Uchiko no machinami hozon. Jūyō dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku Uchiko Yōkaichi Gokoku*. Uchiko, 2015.

¹¹⁹ UCHIKO TOWN. *op.cit.* Uchiko, 1987

district around the station was an amusement district: the Uchikoza kabuki theatre was built, establishing a modern landmark between the town and the station (*Fig.3.7*).

In 1955, Uchiko municipality was enlarged by joining old Uchiko town with Gojō village (right to the north of Gokoku), Ōse village (upstream along Ota river), Tachikawa village and Mitsuho village (both upstream of Nakagawa river, tributary to Ota river). Ishidatami rural community, in Mitsuho village, and Ōse village would later become part of the Uchiko heritage protection network. The enlargement of the municipal territory did not cause Uchiko to change its shape; Uchiko only gained a wide area of farmlands and forest. Agriculture would be the main

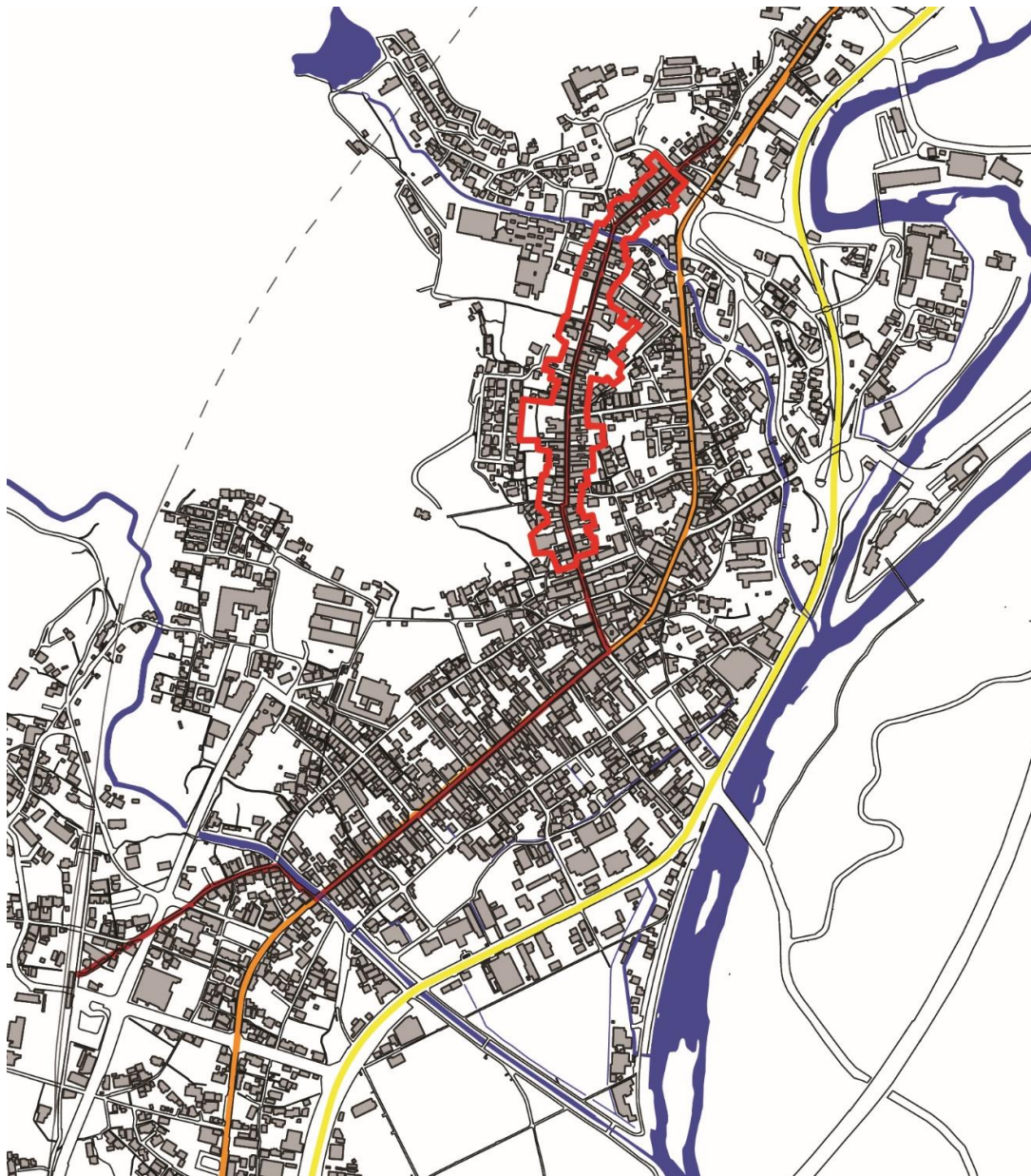


Fig.3.8 Uchiko with the Edo period route (red), the Uchiko-Nakayama prefectural road from 1907 (orange), and the Prefectural 56 Route from 1968 (yellow). The bypasses opened in the 20th century left Yōkaichi Gokoku aside. It would cause the economic activity to move away from the district, but it also caused it to be preserved.

economic activity in Uchiko after that¹²⁰. The population also increased to 22.000 at its peak in 1955.

In 1968, the Prefectural 56 Route was opened (*Fig.3.8*). It ran parallel to the old, Meiji bypass, but this time, it bypassed all the old districts, included Muikaichi. Many public buildings were moved out of the old districts to the new bypass, included the town hall. Takaoka district, next to Yōkaichi, lost its function as administrative centre, and it had all its public buildings closed. New chain stores with wide parking areas were established in the new bypass, and the consumers' habits changed. As a consequence, central Uchiko districts lost their old function as a marketplace for all the villages in the area, and became a local-scale retail-store area. The new relocation of modern activities outside the old districts had both good and adverse consequences: like in many places, the area which would later designated as *denken* was preserved because the new infrastructure network bypassed it, and thus modern economic activity did not enter the *denken chiku*: as a consequence, the *denken* avoided the scrap and build activity¹²¹. On the other hand, most of the commercial activity moved out of the old districts.

Still, until the 1980s, agriculture was still strong¹²². Per population data provided by Uchiko Municipal Office, the 1st sector was still the source of most employments in Uchiko in 1980, however, it was declining since its peak in 1955. While the overall population declined, and the total workforce was reduced in a 31% between 1955 and 1985, the agricultural sector lost more than half of its workforce in the same period (*Fig.3.9*).

Fig.3.9 Evolution of workforce in Uchiko. Source: Uchiko Town.

Sector	1955	1965(%)	1985	1985(%)
1st (agriculture, timber)	6546	66%	2640	38,4%
2nd (steel, construction, manufacture)	1268	12,8%	1838	26,8%
3rd (commerce, financial, transport, services, public)	2103	21,2%	2396	34,8%
Total workforce	9917	100%	6874	100%

Being Uchiko a mountain area, not suitable for rice, cereal or vegetables except for small areas around the river, the principal products had been silk and tobacco. But silk had declined in the 1920s, due to the introduction of the industrial silk, and tobacco started its own decline in 1970s, after tobacco production was privatised. Yet, the fruit production was quite diverse (kaki as principal, but also grape, pear, apple...) and it was living out of the local markets. In fact, the fruit sector was the only which grew in the 1980s and 1990s¹²³. Having no direct train connection with the prefectural capital Matsuyama, plus being far from any high-speed motorway, made Uchiko survive as a local production centre, because the region was not easily accessible for traders from outside the region. In fact, in 1983, Uchiko was one hour away from Matsuyama, by car. Then, the new JNR Yosan line was opened in 1986, and privatized (into JR) in 1987. While the old Yosan line had not run through Uchiko, the new Yosan line between Matsuyama and Uwajima through Uchiko introduced the Limited Express trains in Ehime prefecture.

¹²⁰ UCHIKO TOWN, COMPREHENSIVE REGIONAL PLANNING OFFICE. *Uchiko no 'hikari' wo 'mi' naosō. Uchiko chō kankō shinkō keikakusho*. Uchiko, 1983.

¹²¹ OKADA, Fumiyoshi. 'Jūmin to rekishi isan mamori katsuseika. Machinami hozon de 'kaku' takameru', in *Shōgai fōramu*, n.1163, Oct 1996

¹²² UCHIKO TOWN, COMPREHENSIVE REGIONAL PLANNING OFFICE. *op. cit.* 1983.

¹²³ SUZUKI, Shigeru. 'Ehime no chiikizukuri-sangyō okoshi. Ehime ken Kita gun Uchiko chō no baai'. *Matsuyama Daigaku Ronshū*, vol 12 num 5, Dec 2000.

Motivation for preservation



Fig.3.10 A sign of the Ohenro route in Yōkaichi Gokoku district



Fig.3.11 Kamihaga wax factory in Uchiko



Fig.3.12 Lodge in Yōkaichi Gokoku district

The need of a new economic development to stop the population and economic decline was in the origin of the Uchiko heritage protection planning. This would affect not only the 3rd sector, towards tourism industry, but also 1st and 2nd sectors: tourism was seen as an opportunity even to open new business lines in local fruit production¹²⁴. Starting in the late 1970s, public workers of Uchiko municipal office travelled to the first designated *denken chiku*, to study their tourism models¹²⁵. Even if they realised that neither Uchiko was as easily accessible as most of the visited towns, nor Uchiko had any famous cultural asset at the time, they decided to use tourism as a booster for future economic development. Thus, in 1983, Uchiko had its own plan to encourage tourism sector¹²⁶.

The goal was to boost a small-scale tourism activity which could affect other sectors rather than creating an independent sector for tourism. They called this approach '*machizukuri-centred tourism*'. Other *denken chiku* transformed into tourism spots were clearly defined by the typologies of the ACA list: Tsumago was a post town, Kurashiki was a merchant town, Hagi and Kakunodate were samurai towns, and so on. Thus, those districts had also a characteristic typology of architecture: the post house, the samurai house, the merchant house. On the other hand, Uchiko was a rural hub which had been at the same time post town, agricultural town, merchant hub, temple town in Ohenro route and industrial production town (Fig.3.10, Fig.3.11, Fig.3.12). This diversity caused Uchiko to have a comparatively diverse community. This community was, according to Uchiko local government, the main tourism and cultural asset¹²⁷. However, the self-consciousness of the local community was low, and the preservation of cultural assets did not provoke any pride to locals. Instead, locals preferred to have cultural

¹²⁴ UCHIKO TOWN, COMPREHENSIVE REGIONAL PLANNING OFFICE. *op. cit.* 1983.

¹²⁵ NISHIMURA, Yukio. *Shōgen. Machinami hozon*. Gakugei shuppansha, Kyoto, 2007.

¹²⁶ UCHIKO TOWN, COMPREHENSIVE REGIONAL PLANNING OFFICE. *op.cit.* 1983.

¹²⁷ UCHIKO TOWN, COMPREHENSIVE REGIONAL PLANNING OFFICE. *op. cit.*1983.

assets demolished and build modern facilities¹²⁸. By increasing the tourism, local government expected to increase the local pride: when locals saw tourists appreciate their town, they would eventually appreciate it too.

The approach towards tourism was slightly different from those *denken chiku* which were easier to visit, but yet, Yōkaichi was included in the first nationwide survey by ACA in 1972. Then, the Ehime Prefectural Cultural Board proposed Yōkaichi to become a protected townscape. Uchiko was valuated and designated in stage 1, as most of the tourism-centred districts. The preliminary survey to obtain the designation as *denken chiku* was finished in 1978, and the designation by the Japanese Agency of Cultural Affairs came in 1982. However, Uchiko had intervened on the external aspect of 29 buildings before the designation came, to improve the appeal to tourism of the town and obtain the designation.

From the beginning, the local authorities, and not the local community, led the process. To be specific, the implementation process of the Yōkaichi district protection plan was conducted by a municipal worker called Okada Fumiyoshi. He was aware of the successful experiences in other *denken chiku* communities, like Tsumago, Hagi, Takayama. These *denken chiku* were designated during the 1970s, and had based their success in a strong leadership which served to boost implication by the community. Okada himself had travelled to those sites and saw the impact tourism had on their economies. He particularly visited Tsumago several times¹²⁹. Tsumago, as well as Uchiko, had decayed because the infrastructures bypassed the old town, but at the same time, the old town was preserved due to the same reason. In late 1960s, Kobayashi encouraged local community to use their townscape as a resource for tourism. For that purpose, **the townscape would be considered as a single object, finished at a certain prime time in the past.**

Okada led the process because he considered that the local communities had not enough data to judge the real situation of Uchiko correctly, while public workers had the data. In Uchiko the community sense was not that strong in the 1970s. It is true that the *denken* had been protected as recently as the World War II time by their inhabitants: by initiative of the community, the construction techniques were improved so that they could resist fire^{130 131}. But at the time of the high-speed development between 1955 and 1975, the scrap-and-build tendency was majoritarian in Uchiko. Okada thought that the *motorisation* (a Japanese neologism to describe the urban development consequently with the private motor vehicle industry) made it easier and cheaper to buy non-local products, using private cars, and thus building pre-fabricated houses with materials transported from elsewhere. The Japanese baby-boomer generation was asking an industrialised type of development. By contrast, Okada considered that Uchiko was harder to access than any other town in Seto Naikai area. Uchiko had no direct access to the sea, and by the time, the main railway in the area (the old Yosai line) ran along the coast, thus bypassing Uchiko.

The main idea by Okada was that town protection would not last long if it was not community-centred and community-managed¹³². This was because municipal workers would come and go, and in few years, all the staff responsible for the *denken chiku* would be

¹²⁸ OKADA, Fumiyoshi. 'Kurashi no ba no saisei', in *Forum Report, Toyonaka Machizukuri fōramu*, n.90, Toyonaka, 2001.3. As an example, local merchants wanted Uchikoza, a kabuki theatre perfectly preserved but unused, to be demolished to open a car park around the central shopping area.

¹²⁹ NISHIMURA, Yukio. *op. cit.* 2007.

¹³⁰ OKADA, Fumiyoshi. *op.cit.* 1996.

¹³¹ OKADA, Fumiyoshi. 'Jūmin sankā ni yoru muranami hozon', in *Gekkan jichi fōramu*, 483, Dec 1999.

¹³² OKADA, Fumiyoshi. *op.cit.* 1999.

different¹³³; yet, community would be almost the same. Okada also stated that a process centred in community would lead to the preservation of local techniques and practical knowledge. The idea was using the tourism to boost local pride, so that local people would want to get involved with the preservation of local knowledge. Thus, Yōkaichi Gokoku district preservation was proposed as a part of a comprehensive town revitalisation plan, including the future creation of tourism assets. The expression ‘create tourism assets’ is present throughout all the planning activity from 1975 to present day: instead of ‘using’ the pre-existent assets for tourism purposes, they believed that new assets had to be created. These assets included buildings that had not been valued yet, but also community-networking activities that could potentially attract tourism: fairs, symposiums, workshops, festivals, and so on.

Apart from the economic sectors interested in the town protection for tourism purposes, the local implication was limited to a group of local scholars who loved the town. They established Machinami Kenkyūkai in 1976, as a study group to research the old document sources existing in Uchiko. But at the time, the valuable townscape, with valuable constructive techniques, was not visible because several reforms had concealed the original structures. From a tourism viewpoint, this made the town structure impossible to understand and thus inviable. **Making the structure understandable from a visual point for the visitor was the first priority of a later comprehensive tourism development.** To make the townscape visually appealing and get a positive valuation by the ACA, Uchiko reformed 29 buildings’ external part before the designation as *denken chiku*.

To put it simple, the protection activity had two major goals. On the one hand, **to create a local tourism model, in which the good life environment and the individuality of Uchiko with all its subtleties and its community, had to be the source of tourism interest.** On the other hand, to use this tourism model as a **booster for both local economy and local awareness.** In a later stage, they wanted that **local awareness became a trigger to make local community involved at the local protection activities.**

With these two goals in mind, the planning activity have always been concentrated in creating networks (between villagers, between economic activities, between touristic spots and assets, between primary, secondary and tertiary sectors towards tourism, between towns and villages). The constant creation of associations to manage specific aspects of the protection management have been constant (Fig.3.13).

Fig.3.13 Chronology of events related to townscape planning and management in Uchiko

	Agents-Planning-Research	Management-Works	Events
1971-1975	1973: Creation of the ‘Uchiko chō bunkazai senmon iinkai’ 1975: Creation of the Association for Uchiko regional development by local government and tourism, commerce and industry associations.		1975: Article about Yōkaichi district in <i>Asahi Graph</i> Yōkaichi in ‘Nihon no machinami’ publication by <i>Mainichi Shinbun</i> .
1976-1980	1976: Association for Yokaichi area protection (<i>Machinami kenkyūkai</i>) is created by local scholars. 1978: First <i>denken chiku</i> survey is completed. 1980: <i>Uchiko denken chiku jōrei</i> : Regulations for the <i>denken chiku</i> .	1980: Opening of Japan wax museum in Kamihaga house, in Yokaichi district	1979: 7 th Conference of National Scenic Towns held in Uchiko

¹³³ In Japanese work system, periodical transfers of workers between different departments of the same company or public institution (called *tenkin*) are frequent.

	Agents-Planning-Research	Management-Works	Events
1981-1985	1981: Urbanistic plan related to 'denken' 1982: 'Denken chiku' designation.	1984: Opening of coffee corner in Kamihaga house Japan wax museum 1985: Uchikoza theatre restoration finished.	1983: 'Machizukuri symposium' for the restoration of Uchikoza theatre.
1986--1990	1987: Second survey, including Muikaichi and Yōkaichi districts. Muikaichi would not be designated.	1986: Opening of the new railway to Matsuyama. Start of a historical research in Muikaichi district. 1987: Yomeoka house is restored and transformed into 'Machiya shiryōkan' 1988: The Yōkaichi Gokoku district parking lot is inaugurated Sokōkan house is opened as <i>Mingei shiryō kōkan henji</i> 1989: Electricity posts removal in <i>denken chiku</i> area. 1990: Uchiko history and folklore archive is opened in Muikaichi district.	1986: Yōkaichi is selected in 'Japan 100 roads' selection list. 'Uchiko Symposium 86, town, living, history'. 1987: Uchiko is awarded with the 2 nd 'Beautiful town making' award 1988: Uchiko is awarded with the 10 th Yuzo Yamamoto Memorial 'Vernacular Culture' prize First edition of the 'Moon viewing party' in Kamihaga residence. 1989: 11 th All-Japan meeting of <i>denken chiku</i> is held in Uchiko. 1990: Ōmura, Kamihaga and Honhaga houses are declared Important Cultural Assets.
1991-1995		1994: 'Ishidatami no Yado' is opened as rural lodging.	1992: 'Suntory Rural Culture Award' is given to Uchiko 1994: Yōkaichi Gokoku is awarded with 'Urban Landscape Award'
1996-2000	1999: Office for Regional Promotion is created by joining Office for Townscape Preservation Policy and Office for Planning and Regulation. 2000: Yōkaichi Gokoku Machinami Hozon Center is opened in Sokōkan house (former <i>Mingei shiryō kōkan henji</i>)	1996: Takahashi Villa is opened as 'Cultural Exchange Villa' Uchiko <i>Karari</i> Fresh Market (fresh products' local market) is opened. 1999: Fire and earthquake protection installed 2000: Shikoku Transversal Highroad is opened from Iyo to Ozu, through Uchiko.	
2001-2005	2002: Neighbourhood council system started	2002: Takahashi Villa opened as lodging	
2006-2010	2007: Regulation for exterior commercial signs Touristic network plan 2008: <i>Machizukuri</i> regulation 2010: Yōkaichi Gokoku revision survey	2006: Honhaga house restoration finished 2008: Uchiko Secondary School rebuilt in timber.	2006: Yōkaichi Gokoku awarded with 'Regional Handcraft Award' by Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism 2007: Yōkaichi Gokoku in '100 Japanese Historical Landscapes' selection
2011-2015	2011: Sister cities with Rottenburg 2014: Traditional craft promotion centre opened; managed by local craftsmen	2011: Kamihaga house restoration finished 2012: Ōmura house restoration finished 2013: Old Police Station is converted to the new Visitor Center 2014: Toilets for public use in 'Machiya shiryōkan', accessible from the street	2013: <i>Denken chiku</i> designation 30 th anniversary symposium Asahikan designated Registered Material Cultural Asset 2015: 'Cultural Craft Creation Town Award' by Agency of Cultural Affairs.

Analysis of the evolution in the planning from the points of view of environment, functional system, social system and town structure

Environmental aspects

Uchiko has experienced a certain evolution in their approach to the concept of environment. The first plans and interventions were focused on the **visual appeal** and the image. They expected to encourage tourism and also to raise the local awareness and pride. For that to happen, the first interventions were limited to the external and visual aspects of the built

structures. This approach was included as well in the 1978 survey and its following planning¹³⁴: in the buildings, only the visible elements were studied, and in their regulation, only the harmonisation with the town environment was considered.

The study mentioned only the street space and the external appearance of the houses. Regarding the street space, the study only stated that the modern dwellings had not been built aligned to the street, but retreated. Some had a front garden which was said to be inconvenient

for the traditional townscape, and these were visual aspects to address in the plan. Regarding houses, they were valued as an enclosure for the street space. Thus, the constructive elements of the façades were defined by how they looked like, not by how they were built or combined. In addition, the study was not exhaustive. It only included the traditional-like houses. Each constructive element was analysed as follows:



Fig.3.14 House with *ōkabe* Wall (the structure is concealed inside the wall), 2015.



Fig.3.15 House with *shinkabe* Wall (the structure is visible), 2015.



Fig.3.16 Roof eaves with visible *deketa*, 2015.

- **External walls:** coated, *ōkabe* type which concealed the structure as the most frequent (Fig.3.14); *shinkabe* type as a minority type (Fig.3.15). A few buildings are coated in black colour, while most of them are described as white¹³⁵.
- **Roofing:** all the buildings have *kiritsuma* (gabled) roof. *Sengawara* type roof-tile had substituted the old, heavy *hongawara* type in most buildings. The lower surface of the rafters was coated in most cases, while few had the timber frame covered with modern mortar coating or wooden boards, or uncoated.
- **Eaves structure:** 21 façades were built in *deketa*-type structure: the rafter was resting on a purlin which was not resting in the façade, but in cantilever brackets connected to each post in the façade. 12 of them had their *deketa* visible (Fig.3.16), while the other 9 had a concealed *deketa*, while brackets were visible.
- **Eaves front:** most of the buildings had a plain front, having the rafters concealed, while some buildings had their rafters visible from the front.

¹³⁴ UCHIKO TOWN. *Uchiko chō dentōteki kenzōbutsugun chōsa hōkokusho*. Uchiko, 1978.

¹³⁵ Later in the same survey, they would describe the traditional colour as 'egg-yolk', rather than white.



Fig.3.17 Tsuji-type house, 2015. The second floor was originally a storage space.



Fig.3.18 Zashiki-type house, 2015. The second-floor windows, with glass fixtures and dobukuro box, but the study in 1978 did not state clearly whether they were considered traditional or not.



Fig.3.19 House with shitomido shutters in the first floor, 2015.

- **Number of floors:** 89% of the studied houses were two-floor buildings. In some cases, the second floor was used as a storage space (*tsuji*) and in some other cases, the second floor was converted into a *zashiki* (Fig.3.17, Fig.3.18)¹³⁶.
- **Façade fixtures:** most of the fixtures in the first floor were described as ‘non-traditional’ (including wooden-frame slides with glass shutters). Only two buildings had preserved *shitomido* (sash-type wooden shutters, Fig.3.19) Lattices were more frequent in second floor façade, as well as the *dobukuro* (box-shaped containers for sliding doors, hanging outside the façade, Fig.3.18) -still, glass windows were more frequent than *shoji* (rice-paper windows). Consequently, it was not clear what the ‘traditional fixtures’ term refers to in the survey because all of them were present in few houses.
- **Lateral walls:** *sodekabe*-type lateral walls were present in 70% of the houses. *Sodekabe* could be present in both floors of the façade of just in the ground floor. Also, in a few cases, *sodekabe* stopped in the middle of the second floor, and it is covered by a t-shaped roof. In some cases, *sodekabe* were partially decorated with *namakokabe* (square-pattern coating). The *namakokabe* was used in the areas the most exposed to rain (Fig.3.20).

The study then defined 3 typologies of façade and external image. Type I was defined as the most decorated: black coatings, *namakokabe* decoration, *sodekabe*, *deketa* eaves with all its structural elements coated but visible (Fig.3.19). Type II has none of these decorative elements. Type III is defined only by the t-shaped *sodekabe* (Fig.3.20). In terms of architectural expression, only a few elements were used to describe typologies, while the syntax (how elements were combined, how the structures were built, how some elements

¹³⁶ Note than these floor types describe the shape of the façade, regardless of whether they really coincide with *tsuji* or *zashiki* in the interior.



Fig.3.20 Building with a T-shaped sodekabe, 2015. The namakokabe square-pattern is also at the base of the sodekabe, to protect it from rain.



Fig.3.21 Uchiko, the open-air museum. Source: Uchiko Town, op. cit. 1983.

could not be compatible together) was completely omitted.

In 1980, before the designation, the first protection ordinance was published¹³⁷. It regulated the criteria to determine if a preservation work was in accordance with the townscape. Criteria were focused on the constructive elements, according to the descriptions in the 1978 survey. The ordinance focused in the 'buildings necessary to preserve the environment', thus omitting other elements. This meant that the **buildings linked visually to the street were included**, and in those buildings, only the parts visible from the street. In case of the modern buildings not aligned to the street, the walls and gates limiting to the street were also included. The types of interventions covered by the ordinance were two: *shūri*, intervention in existing traditional structures, and *shūkei*, intervention in non-traditional structures, but only to harmonize them to the visualscape.

The same philosophy was followed in the Tourism Plan from 1983¹³⁸. Uchiko had none of the great touristic assets in Shikoku, but instead, the typical Uchikoese human resources and their living space were their major assets. **Even if neither the timing nor the location were seen as easy for tourism development**, the study aimed at making profit of the 'typical', old-fashioned image that Shikoku projected¹³⁹.

The plan defined the protected town like 'a museum of a particular way of life' (Fig.3.21), and aimed at the creation of walking routes, called 'promenades' (Fig.3.22), connecting the *denken chiku* with other related cultural assets. Local merchants could voluntarily participate by creating *midokoro* (lit. 'place to see') in their businesses (shops that attract slow-paced tourists, thus contributing to longer stay

¹³⁷ UCHIKO TOWN. *Uchiko chō dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku hozon jōrei*. Uchiko, 1980.

¹³⁸ UCHIKO TOWN, COMPREHENSIVE REGIONAL PLANNING OFFICE. op. cit. 1983.

¹³⁹ UCHIKO TOWN, COMPREHENSIVE REGIONAL PLANNING OFFICE. op. cit. 1983. 1983 was not considered a time for easy touristic development because after oil crisis, a new 'sustainable development' (*antei seichō*) period started, thus touristic patterns moved from 'same resort' type to showing their local Individuality, therefore competitiveness was harder. As for location, Shikoku was the most unknown of the big islands, and the least accessible. In addition, Uchiko had no direct train to Matsuyama until the new line was opened in 1986. By car, it used to take about 1 hour. The accessibility was not good for tourism.

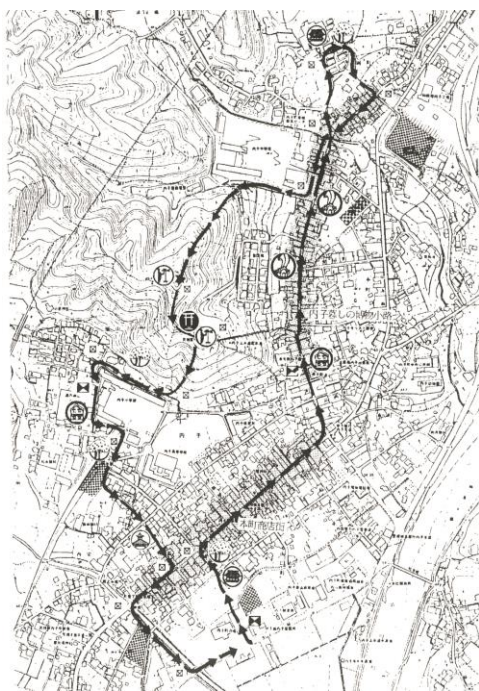


Fig.3.22 Uchiko promenade. Source: Uchiko Town, op. cit. 1983.



Fig.3.23 Yōkaichi district, 2015. According to Machinami Hozon Center, works in this house conducted before the *denken chiku* designation turned the roof structure 90 degrees, so that the eaves would be facing the street, as in the traditional houses of Uchiko.



Fig.3.24 Muikaichi main street, 2015

experiences). Thus, the shop, the inside of the building, would be an available tourism asset, as a part of the visuals of the *machinami*. These promenades are in fact the first try by Uchiko to link the *denken chiku* with the environment outside the district.

However, Uchiko faced a problem during the 1980s. As tourism had increased, it had also altered the living space, but the lifestyle in Uchiko was seen as its main appeal to tourists. In addition, after the 1978 survey, several houses had been externally reformed (Fig.3.23), thus making tourism appeal possible, but it did not improve the living environment. The concept of living environment is persistently repeated in the text: the protection of Yōkaichi Gokoku as a historical goods does not automatically make it a good environment for living. They wanted to include the rear and inner yards as a part of the environment to protect in each dwelling. The inner parts and installations of the houses, specially water and sewage, affected the visual environment and needed to be improved. Some open-air channels between houses were being used as private, open-air sewage for houses, thus ruining the whole living environment and the possibility to show it to tourists. But even if these inner parts of the house affected the exterior, it was unclear whether the *denken chiku* system allowed to include them as preserved elements.

In 1987, a new study was conducted to solve these problems¹⁴⁰. Its first contribution to the environmental approach was **to acknowledge the visuals of the street as linked with the living spaces and installations in houses**. The second was **to relate visual environment with the raw materials and techniques necessary to build them, thus introducing the first formulation of environment as a resource**. This happened as a consequence of the introduction of Muikaichi district in the 1987 survey. The southeast front of Muikaichi had to be demolished in 1907 to open the Meiji bypass. Thus, the modern architecture which did not use the traditional techniques could be easily introduced in the 1960s.

¹⁴⁰ UCHIKO TOWN. op.cit. 1987.

In previous research, *ōkabe* walls were described not only a sign of an improved traditional technique, but also a sign of a local community aware of natural risks such as fire. However, post-war reconstruction had prioritized the protection against human and natural disasters: earth was weak against earthquakes and against any external attack. Consequently, all the country had been rebuilt in iron-cast concrete. This led Japan to produce a short life-span dwelling type, in opposition to the long lifespan (soft and repairable) traditional buildings (Fig.3.24). In this context, the sustainability of the traditional construction techniques was added as a value to preserve. The substitution of traditional architecture was a huge loss also from a cultural viewpoint, since they were losing: (1) material, because traditional building needs timber which needs 70 years to grow, (2) culture, since they were losing technical knowledge, and (3) a way of living and working, a daily life which included fear from fire. Modern Japanese live in concrete houses and are less aware of the danger of fire, said the survey¹⁴¹.

However, the 1987 survey was rejected due to the opposition by merchants in Muikaichi. They wanted to follow the previous model, to make tourism their main activity. After that, **all the interventions which valued the environment would happen outside the *denken chiku***. This became possible after the alterations on the governmental structures (Fig.3.13). In 1999, Office for Regional Promotion was created by joining the Office for Townscape Preservation Policy and Office for Planning and Regulation, which meant to join preservation and planning at a municipal scale. In 2000, Yōkaichi Gokoku Machinami Hozon Center was created, as a branch of the Office for Regional Promotion inside the *denken chiku*, to coordinate all the competences related to the preserved district. In addition, in 2005, Uchiko absorbed Ikazaki town and Ota town, rural municipalities which had their own associations for tourism and development. But these villages had not easy access to the infrastructures which were appearing around Uchiko. Thus, their landscape was also their only viable resource, which could be added up to the cultural offer in Uchiko, which did not reach a minimum mass of *midokoro* to justify a long-stay type of tourism.

Consequently, *muranami* network was created as a group of villages necessary for the growth of the entire system: local development through local agriculture, whose products would be sold locally. Prior to that, in 1996, Uchiko 'Karari' Fresh Market had been opened as a facility managed by local farmers, to sell their products and conduct educational activities about their farming. When Uchiko brought this model to the *muranami*, the **environment was seen as a system of humanized land, not just from the visual viewpoint, but from the material resources viewpoint**. This means an 'ecologic' type of town making¹⁴², in which local needs are meant to be largely met with local landscape which gives the resources required. This model was named *hikizan* (lit. 'subtraction') by Okada¹⁴³. Instead of a municipal management model based on adding new structures and services and on infinite development, **the *hikizan* model proposes a sustainable development model,**



Fig.3.25 Recovered water mill in Ishidatami village.
Source: Pamphlet from Uchiko Town Tourism Office.

¹⁴¹ UCHIKO TOWN. *op.cit.* 1987.

¹⁴² OKADA, Fumiyoshi. 'Ekorojekaruna machi he', in *Jūmin gyōsei no mado*, num.173, Aug 2009.

¹⁴³ MORI, Mayumi. *Hankotsu no kōmuin, machi wo migaku: Uchiko chō, Okada Fumiyoshi no machinami, muranami no hozon*. Aki Shobō, Tokyo, 2014.

based on the use and optimization of the local resources. Local resources would include natural resources, but also the traditional knowledge and the architecture of the *denken chiku*. At the villages called *muranami*, the resources and the knowledge would be the resources to protect, rather than the external shape of a certain street or any other visual considerations. They recovered uninhabited farmhouses, transformed to rural lodgings ruled by local female inhabitants, in a model of public-private collaboration.

Law of Landscape from 2004 allowed to include natural resources in preserved elements. In addition, Uchiko was more accessible since the opening of the new Matsuyama Expressway in 2004. In 2007, Tourism and Machizukuri Plan included all rural areas of Uchiko¹⁴⁴, which proposed slow-paced tourism courses, focusing in local knowledge and in storytelling-based tourism, rather than in *midokoro*. They restored old activities and infrastructures in the natural environment, such as water mills or transportation by river boats. The plan was centred in the preservation of traditional knowledge: **it was more important to know how to build and run a mill than actually preserving it** (Fig.3.25).

In 2013, Uchiko conducted a new survey in the *denken chiku*¹⁴⁵, to try to introduce the whole living environment again, including inner spaces of properties and all the auxiliary buildings (annexes and storehouses). Previous researches had proven that the courtyard was frequent in Uchiko houses, as an element which structured all the domestic spaces¹⁴⁶.. The survey also pointed out the disappearing of the environment around the *denken chiku*, which used to form a *merihari* (sequence of full and empty plots) with auxiliary buildings and orchards. However, these measures were not implemented, and neither the inner courtyards nor the links with its location are solved yet. **While the environmental measures succeeded in rural areas, the denken chiku is having problems to build a life environment by itself, other than the visual space of the street.**



Fig.3.26 Ōmura house, 2015.



Fig.3.27 Kamihaga house, 2015.



Fig.3.28 Honhaga house, 2015.

¹⁴⁴ UCHIKO TOWN. Uchiko chō kankō kōryū keikakusho. Uchiko, 2007.

¹⁴⁵ UCHIKO TOWN. *op.cit.* 2013

¹⁴⁶ AKIMOTO, Kazuhide; TAKESHITA, Tenkazu. 'Structure of space on town house of town in village Youkaichi in Uchiko from view of location', in *Journal of Architecture and Planning, AIJ*, n.505, Mar 1998.

Functional system

The functional approach was also influenced by the orientation towards tourism. The 1978 survey only mentioned the state of private land use. Most of private land plots had lost its shop function, working exclusively as dwellings. Only 18 shops were open, and 17 houses were empty or used as storage. But the empty houses included the three major houses related to wax production in the past: Ōmura, Kamihaga and Honhaga houses (Fig.3.26, Fig.3.27, Fig.3.28). This would open the opportunity for the 1983 Tourism Plan to propose a cultural use for these houses. Thus, Townscape Documentation Centre was planned in Kamihaga house. It was supposed to hold the Wax Museum, as well as an information and research centre (Fig.3.29). Kamihaga would be opened to the public in successive phases (Fig.3.13). Later, the research centre would be executed in the Machinami Hozon Center, located in a small *machiya* inside the *denken chiku*. Likewise, Honhaga house would be used to explain the local life; but currently, Honhaga is in private hands and is not accessible.

In other private properties, the plan aimed at using the empty houses and first floors facing the street as cultural assets or local craft shops. The target was, first, shops oriented to tourists¹⁴⁷

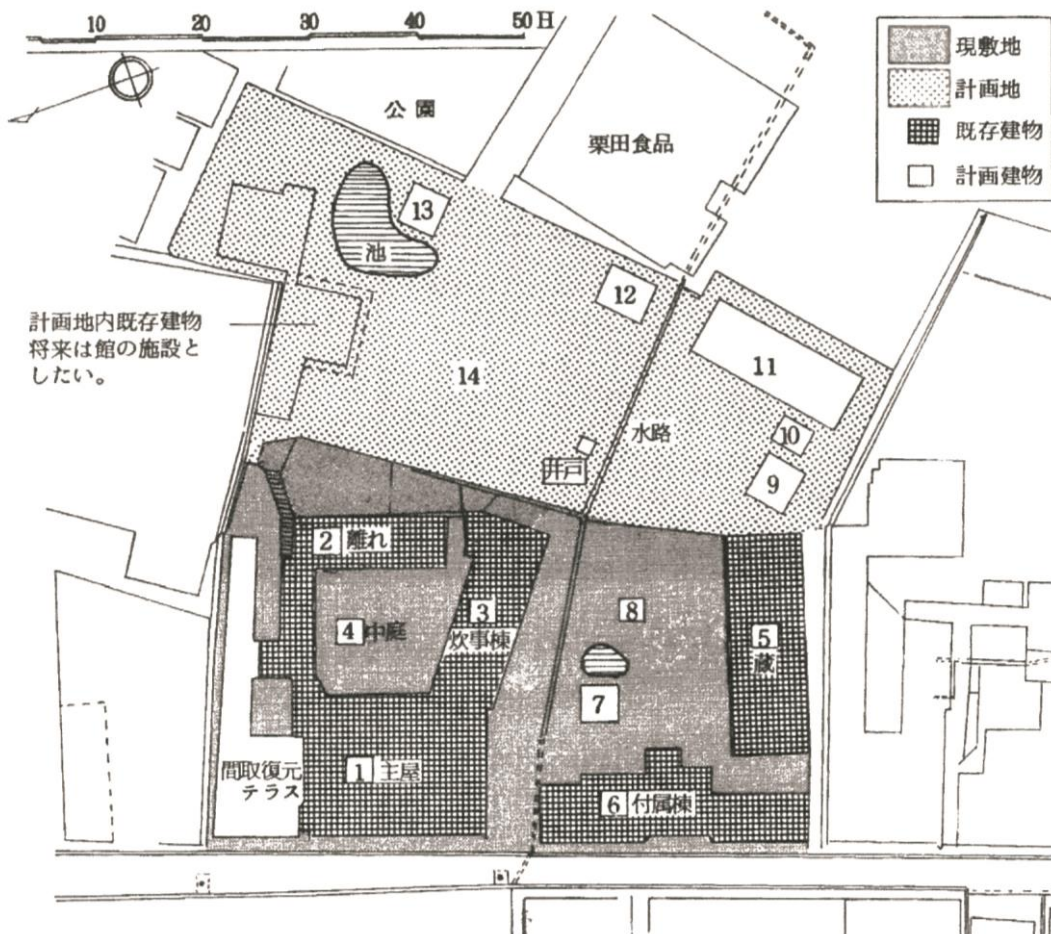


Fig.3.29 Plan for the documentation centre in Kamihaga house. The numbers indicate the future use of each space. (1) Exhibition of the main house and its furniture (2) Space for cultural workshops and associations (3) restoration of old kitchen (4) garden (5) Exhibition of the production of wax (6) Documentation centre, cafeteria, shop (7) Rest space and space for tea ceremony (8) Garden – Future use still undefined (9-14) Spaces to learn the techniques of wax production. Source: Uchiko Town, op. cit. 1983.

¹⁴⁷ Okada would express his disagreement with the opening of tourism-oriented shops, especially those selling souvenirs that could be found in any resort in Japan.

and in a second stage, consumer goods and high standard goods. These goods would not be limited to old, nostalgic products from the past. Other businesses such as cafes and services, or generally speaking, any business suitable to the *machinami* would be welcome. The idea was to create a mutual feedback between business creating *midokoro* for tourism and tourism creating business opportunities for local development.

The 1987 plan, which had detected problems in the interaction between locals and tourists, added the project of public parks, rest areas and restrooms, as well as a car park for tourists. In addition, information points and new tourism facilities outside *denken chiku* were planned to disperse the tourists in the whole town. Even if the plan was not executed, the car park and the facilities outside the district were opened. Thus, functional planning became an instrument for negative effects of tourism not become a burden in the life environment of the *denken chiku*.

This tendency continued in 2013 revision survey. Despite the goal of the previous plans being to encourage a slow-paced tourism model, the Matsuyama Expressway had facilitated the appearance of a new, fast-paced tourism model, based on short stays in the town. The survey introduced deeper functional regulations to this regard, since the union of Town Planning and Townscape Preservation in a single office had made it possible to coordinate both planning and preservation. These regulations affected public systems such as traffic and car park, and also use of private land. As for the traffic, they proposed to divide into daily life traffic (centred in Meiji bypass) and tourism traffic (centred in the 56 Prefectural Road). In addition, a network of public car parks was proposed, so that inhabitants had parking spaces in distances less than 200m from each house, and also a new car park for tourists in the site of the ancient hospital. Last, some new roads and extension of existing roads were proposed to open alternative routes for the traffic that used to run through the *denken chiku*. In private land, the recovery of *merihari* spaces around the *denken chiku* was proposed through a plan of uses in each plot, and model plans were proposed for inside the houses to adapt them to the dwellers' needs, like adding new rooms or designing a parking space (Fig.3.30).

The problems derived from fast-paced tourism were also addressed in the Uchiko Comprehensive Plan from 2015. Based on a consulting conducted by Japan Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Territory¹⁴⁸ to improve local economy and tourism, the plan pointed the lack of a 'story' to tell visitors and the lack of resources actually being used (limited to the *denken chiku*, Uchikoza and Takahashi house) and the lack of participative and involving activities, reducing the tourism possibilities to 'walk-and-watch' type tourism. In the *denken*, the shops targeting tourists had risen up to 15, and the fast-paced tourists were increasing. This meant overcrowding in some hours and emptiness in the early morning and the evening.

To sum up, functional systems were addressed, in the beginning, focused on tourism, but after 1987, the functional planning has been oriented towards **the preservation of the *denken chiku* as a life environment and as a traditional marketplace, which is compatible for slow-paced tourism but unfit for motorised tourism**. Planning of cultural facilities have been also oriented towards **creating a network with facilities outside the *denken chiku***, to avoid overcrowd.

¹⁴⁸ MLIT, MINISTRY OF LAND, INFRASTRUCTURE, TRANSPORT AND TOURISM. *Uchiko chō ni okeru kankō machizukuri konsarutingu jigyō hōkokusho*. Uchiko, 2010.

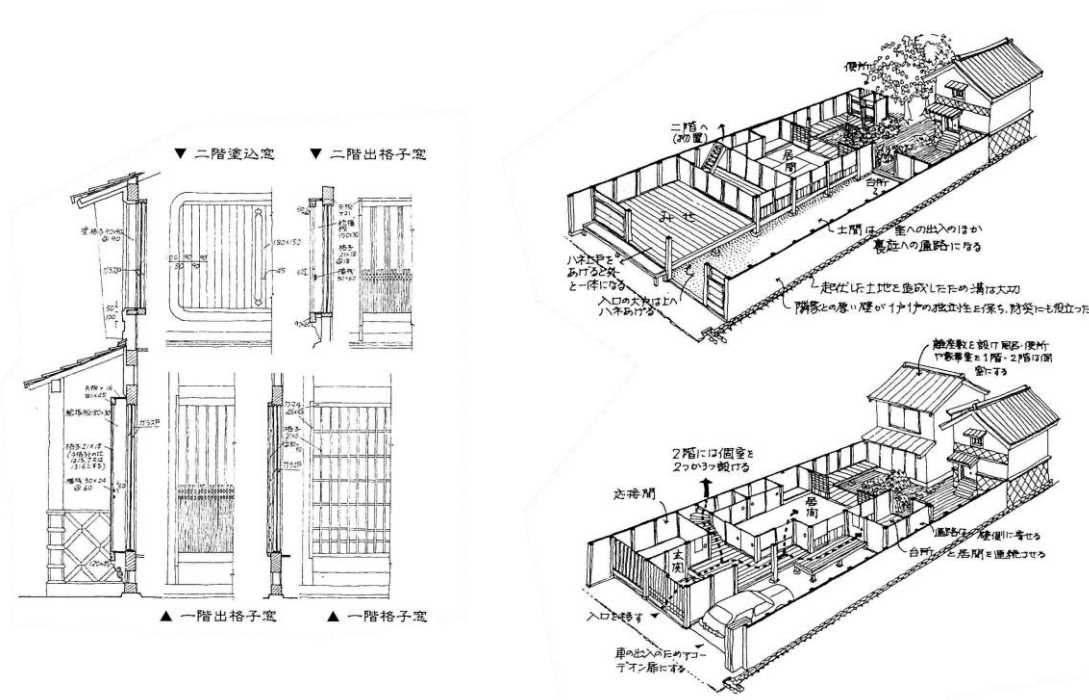


Fig.3.30 Models for interventions in old and new housing in Uchiko, considering the needs of local inhabitants. Source: Uchiko Town Machinami Hozon Center. 'Uchiko no machinami hozon. Jūyō dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku Uchiko Yōkaichi Gokoku'. Uchiko, 2015.

Social system

Uchiko started as an initiative by the local public workers, who considered that they had better information to judge the real problems of the town and its local community. They expected the local community to take over the lead role of the protection, but they focused in the interaction with tourists instead. In the 1983 Tourism Plan, Uchiko pursued a *machizukuri*-type tourism, in which **the community was part of the 'museum of a particular way of life'**. The plan aimed at creating groups, to coordinate different sectors inside the community to work together. The community needed to create *midokoro* and orient their activities and business to tourism. In the end, only the local government opened spaces for tourists. By its part, in this plan and all the subsequent, Uchiko would state that **local community was divided in different sectors (districts, economic activities), which worked independently, sometimes even competing each other. The opposition to government was also strong.**

In 1987 survey, provided that community was opposed to the preservation, and they were experiencing problems with tourism overcrowd, Uchiko proposed to focus on the life environment of the community and to create community groups to lead the management of this environment. As for economic development, since the 'car-TV-fridge' development era¹⁴⁹, new modern needs had been created, but also the area in which the consumer moved had been enlarged. Motorisation and wholesale stores, built along the new prefectural road, led young people to big stores with car parks. But local merchants' association defended that regulations

¹⁴⁹ In Japan, the word *sanshu no jingi* (lit. 'Three Sacred Treasures'), a word describing three Imperial relics from 7th century, was re-used to refer to the car-fridge-television set, which were marketed as the symbols of a new Japan after 1956. At that year, the government published the White Book of Economy (*Keizai no hakusho*), stating that post-war period had concluded, and Japan had entered a new era of modernity and economic growth. The three electric machines were marketed as the symbols of such development from the late 1950s.



Fig.3.31 Ōse muranami, Ōse mura, Uchiko, 2015.



Fig.3.32 Tōridoma and daidokoro of Kamihaga house, 2015.

had to be there to protect them and their way of life and extend it towards tourism, not to help them adapt their activity to the new needs of local consumers.

At the same time the regulations in *denken chiku* found opposition, the first local community associations in a village in Uchiko municipality was founded in 1987 in Ishidatami village, under 3 rules: no regulation of the association would be made, no money grant would be asked, no systems would be imposed¹⁵⁰. After that, the continuation of rural communities where they were disappearing became a key point, and the *muranami* network was created as a free association of rural communities (Fig.3.31). This led to the Tourism and Machizukuri Plan from 2007 to include the program of *satoaruki* (walking on villages) as a display for local production means by showing production places such as farmhouses. In these initiatives, **rural communities were the storytellers of their way of life, and managed independently their interactions with visitors.** By contrast, the lack of a 'story' pointed in 2015 Comprehensive Plan showed how **these initiatives were successfully implemented only outside *denken chiku*.**

In *denken chiku*, provided that policies had been initially focused on tourism and appeal, surveys in private houses only focused in the shape and the typology, and **only in the**

revision of 2013 the analysis of houses from a social point of view was performed. They detected the transition from *tsuji* to *zashiki* type as a consequence of social transformations. In the biggest houses, in which the rooms formed a 2x3 grid (Fig.3.33), the 2 rooms at the front used to have fixtures like small counters, thus indicating their use as *mise*. The *tōridoma* (Fig.3.32, an entrance space with earthen floor, connecting the front and the rear of the house) was at one side, and in some cases, the room of the *mise* next to the *tōridoma* had a small *doma*, to be used as a guest entrance. The rooms opposite to the *tōridoma* used to have the best tatami and decoration: they were used as *zashiki* (guest parlour) and *butsuma* (altar room). The rooms next to the *tōridoma* at the rear used to be connected to the kitchen (*daidokoro*), and had more modest fixtures, as it was usual for Japanese *chanoma* (family living-dining room). Thus, the study stated that houses were clearly divided in 3 zones depending on the users of each zone:

¹⁵⁰ ISHIDATAMI LOCAL ASSOCIATION. 'Bi no sato Ishidatami no mirai he Ishidatami mura no fūzokuri. 20 nenkan no muranami hozon undō kara'. *Zaisei to kōkyō seisaku*, vol. 31 num. 1, May 2009.

guests and customers in the front, visits near the *zashiki*, and family life around the *daidokoro*, at the rear.

In narrower houses, with only one row of rooms, the zoning was more confusing, and the privacy standards were lower. The *zashiki* and its fixtures were at the same place as in wide houses, but it was accessed through the area for the family. This needs for separating family's and visitors' activities caused the change of the *zashiki* to the second floor, usually occupying the front façade. Thus, the transformation of the house type responded to the social need to separate clearly the private zones of the house from the zones accessible for guests.

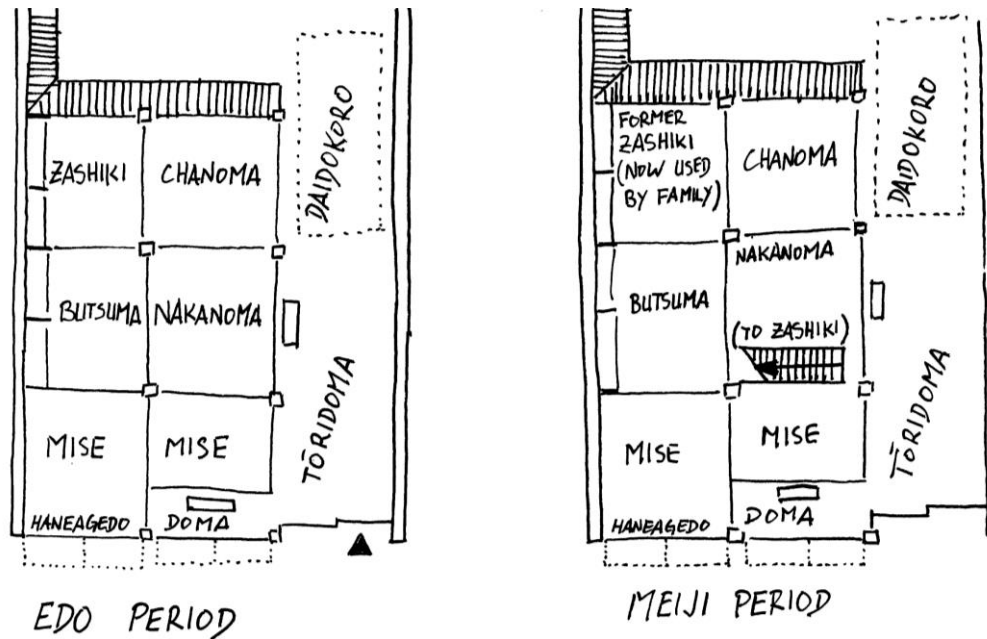


Fig.3.33 Evolution of the 2x3 grid type (sketch by the author of the thesis, 2015). As for the 1x3 grid, *butsuma* and *nakano* would be the same space, while *zashiki* in Edo period would be at the same location, at the rear of the house.

Yet, these social spaces inside houses are not included in the model houses to improve local life (Fig.3.30). Plans do not preview any space for business or for visitor access. **The analysis of the *denken chiku* as a social space, shared by both locals and visitors, is yet to be conducted;** this analysis could be associated with the plan of uses that the survey in 2013 mentioned as necessary. This would mean to associate the use aspect (what use has a certain space) with the social aspect (who uses and who accesses a certain space).

Town structure

In the 1978 survey, **the process of construction of structures in each quarter was explained as the formation of Uchiko type of house.** Yōkaichi Gokoku was described as a combination of many factors which confer its individuality to the district. First, its role as a cultural and economic hub connected to major routes to Kyoto caused Uchiko to develop several economic activities and centres working together. Uchiko lacked the uniformity that most of the early *denken chiku* presented, but it had a greater diversity. Second, the variety of uses that were given to the *machiya* houses had also been diverse: commercial uses for local goods, posts along the Ōzu Kaidō road and producers of Japan wax and lacquer products. Despite of the individual character of *machiya* in Uchiko, there were some common points in both building

techniques and floorplan of the houses. Thus, the ‘typical Uchikoese’ attribute had to be in the formation of these common points.

For that purpose, the 1978 study defined the concept of **typology**, which was described as a methodology brought from Italy. But the floorplans of houses drawn specifically for the survey represented only the frontal half of each dwelling, while trying to imagine its **original shape**, simplifying and omitting modern-like additions¹⁵¹. In other words, it was not the ‘current’ state of the buildings what was drawn, but a *fukugen* state (hypothetical ‘original state’, Fig.3.34). Dwelling types were described as a variable grid of rooms with a *tōridoma* (Fig.3.35). The narrowest houses were originally *nagaya*-type rent houses, built for the workers of wax factories. These *nagaya* progressively evolved to detached houses later, between 1850 and 1945. Some modifications frequent in several houses were roughly mentioned, **without any historical study of the modifications themselves**: parts of the *tōridoma* were modified to build a modern kitchen (which used to be in an annex connected to the rear of the house), some tsuji-type storages in



Fig.3.34 Fukugenzu plan of Gokoku area. Only the studied houses were included. The *tōridoma* of each house is represented in a dotted hatch. All the annex buildings in the rear were excluded. Source: Uchiko Town, 1978.

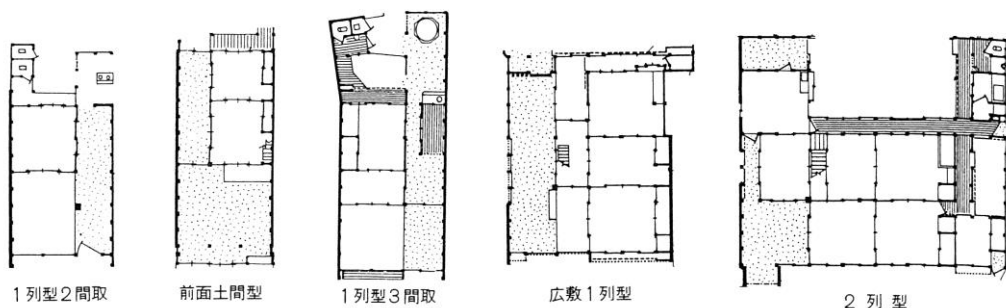


Fig.3.35 Floorplans defining typologies included in the 1978 survey: 1x2 grid, 1x2 grid with a wide *dōma* (room with an earthen floor) in the front, 1x3 grid (the most frequent), 1x3 wide grid, 2x2 grid. The *tōridoma* is the space marked with a dotted hatch, which links the front and the back of the house. Source: Uchiko Town. op. cit. 1978.

¹⁵¹ UCHIKO TOWN. op. cit. 1978. Page 59.

the second floor had been modified to build a *zashiki*, and some entrance porches had been closed. But as the modifications such as the conversion from *tsuji* to *zashiki* were hard to determine, no specific data about the reform works was added to the report.



Fig.3.36 Muikaichi district, near Takaoka, 2015. The house has the whole front at the same level of the street, thus showing that the *doma* was already modified to occupy the whole front.



Fig.3.37 Uchiko, 2015. Mix of elements in a façade.

In the 1987 survey, they used the same method of defining typologies in *fukugen* state, but they applied to a wider historic timespan. Since they added Muikaichi district to the studied area, they added the shop-front type, typical from the first half of 20th century in Muikaichi, which used most of the ground floor of the main building as a shop. The new house typology that appeared in Muikaichi between Taisho and early Showa periods (1912-1945), built in a more westernized style. The first floor was used mainly as a shop, while most of the living spaces are moved to the second floor or to annex buildings in the rear. With this modification, the whole ground floor at the front side was at the same level as the street, thus allowing the whole façade to be accessible (Fig.3.36)

Muikaichi was presented as the central part of the town life in 20th century. The main value for Muikaichi was the various buildings from 20th century with cultural value (Uchikoza theatre, the old police station, the old Uchiko Bank, Uchiko evolutionist school). Muikaichi also hosted the historical quarters built in Meiji and Taishō periods, thus it was a temporal continuation of the Edo-Meiji periods in

which Yōkaichi had been developed. Muikaichi had not a definitory prime time, but it had a superposition of different primes. By contrast, Yōkaichi was designated as *denken chiku* with a clear prime time, located in Edo to Meiji transition. **To sum up, the methodological innovation included in the 1987 survey was an approach that included several periods, instead of focusing on one period defined as the district's prime. But still, all these prime times were located somewhere in the past.**

To include various prime-times inside the 'typical Uchikoish' concept, the limit between traditional and non-traditional types was established in the constructive elements, techniques and materials. The guidelines for the restoration works encouraged interventions in analogy, that is, by creating copies of built elements existing in buildings that belonged at the same typology. This meant to introduce 'typical' elements in traditional and non-traditional buildings, just because they were typical. Despite, not every generic, 'Uchikoish' element being inherent to every 'Uchiko-ish' building, any 'Uchiko-ish' element could have been introduced and freely mixed in any building (Fig.3.37). Moreover, this kind of non-syntactic interventions, which were prolonged into 21st century, had led to the creation of two new 'Uchiko-ish' façade typologies

out of combinations incompatible elements, which had no direct relation with the historical shapes of each houses^{152 153}: In 2009, not only the number of lattices was much bigger than in 1978, but it was bigger than in any period of history of Uchiko. These interventions were related with some inaccuracies in the definition of types by the surveys: while the buildings were related to a type (*tsuji, zashiki*, shop type), and each of these types were associated with different periods (Edo, Meiji, Taisho to Showa), **the constructive elements (walls, roofs, eaves with *deketa*, lattices, decorative corbels...) were described by their shape, related to the visual environment. They were atemporal.** Even if some elements, such as the *sodekabe* walls, were not from the prime time of Uchiko (late half of 19th century), but had been added after World War II to protect the town against fires, these new elements were considered part of the same type.

As the awareness in the local government about these inaccurate interventions grew, Machinami Hozon Center assumed a role of study and preserve the knowledge of authentic constructive typologies. They also worked as a consultation point about design and construction. Consequently, the 2013 survey defined the creation of a regulation for the execution of restoration interventions. This regulation must define the criteria for conducting *shūri* (interventions in existing traditional structures) or *shūkei* (intervention in non-traditional structures, but only to harmonize them to the visuals) in two categories: ‘criteria for grant’ and ‘criteria for permit’. In addition, they introduced the rule of conducting a historical survey in each building before intervention. By doing so, they expected to obtain more detailed information about the evolution of each built structure, based in the existing built elements and the traces of past elements.

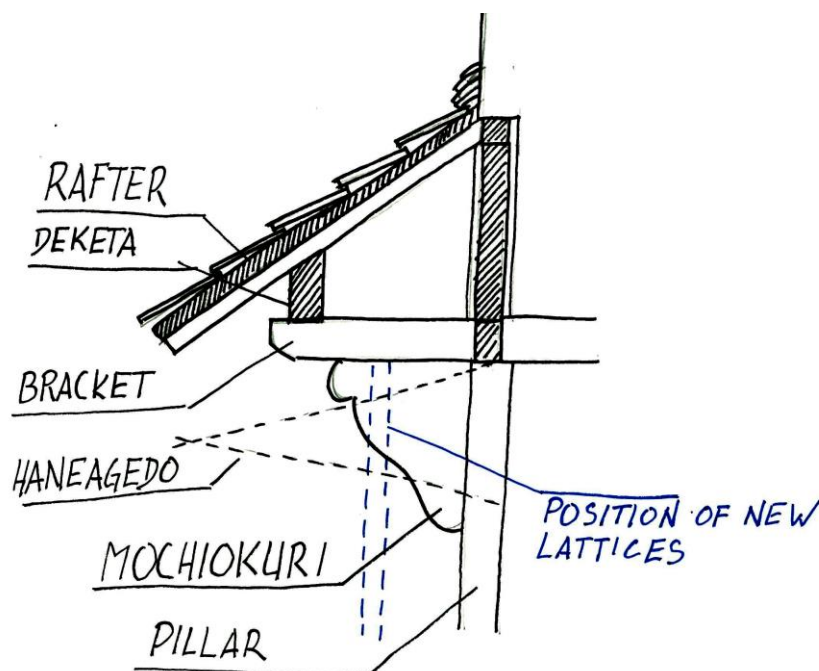


Fig.3.38 Sketch of the cross-section of a façade and its transformation from haneagedo-type sash shutters to lattices.

¹⁵² NAGANO, Mariko; NISHIMURA, Keigo; NISHIYAMA, Noriaki. 'Ehime ken Uchiko chō ni okeru machinami hozon ni kansuru kenkyū sono 1. Denken hozon seibi jigyo no kenshō ni tsuite', in *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai Kyūshū shibu kenkyū hōkoku*, Architectural Institute of Japan, n.48, 2009.3.

¹⁵³ NAGANO, Mariko; NISHIMURA, Keigo; NISHIYAMA, Noriaki. 'Ehime ken Uchiko chō ni okeru machinami hozon ni kansuru kenkyū sono 2. Jizokutekina kyojū-sangyō to machinami no kankeisei ni tsuite', in *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai Kyūshū shibu kenkyū hōkoku*, Architectural Institute of Japan, n.48, 2009.3

As a methodological advance, the study includes some technical and historical criteria to value each studied building. Instead of a formal comparison with the few buildings they knew the exact date, some built elements were studied to establish some chronotypological dating. The dating included several elements of the buildings:

- External shape and its dating: every building prior to 1877 that were built with *deketa* structure in eaves used to have decorative corbels (*mochiokuri*) under the brackets supporting the *deketa* (Fig.3.40). *Mochiokuri* were only compatible with fixtures between posts, like *haneagedo* (which was the correct term in local architecture, instead of *shitomido*). But after, the *degōshi*-type lattices were used. These lattices were fixed in front of the pillars, not between them, and thus, they were incompatible with the previous *mochiokuri* (Fig.3.38). Consequently, many of the buildings that had been dated as Meiji period (end of 19th century) had been actually built before, and then in Meiji period, their fixtures had been modified from *haneagedo* to lattices, but these lattices took necessarily the position of the *mochiokuri*. (Fig.3.39).



Fig.3.40 Mochiokuri-deketa-pillar structure in Kamihaga house, 2015.



Fig.3.39 Lattice under deketa in the façade of Kamihaga house, 2015.

- Internal distribution and its dating: based on the experience of the dwellings already restored, they concluded that the *zashiki* used to be in the first floor at least until 1890, thus the buildings were *tsuji*-type, and the shift to a *zashiki*-type happened gradually between 1890 and 1910. In all the buildings prior to 1890 but with *zashiki* in the second floor, the pillar structure in the second floor was newer than in the first floor. Thus, some of the *zashiki*-type houses were actually older, and they were transformed into *zashiki*-type when this type became the main trend.
- Courtyard and auxiliary buildings distribution: as for the previous restorations, a growth pattern could be established. The original distribution of annexes used to include the kitchen as a continuation to the *tōridoma*, and the bath and toilet connected to the external corridor (*engawa*) in front of the old *zashiki*. Any other extension, like *kura* or annexes for living, used to be built in the same logic: using the perimeter of the land plot and connected to the main building with corridors.

The study concluded that previous dating was not accurate enough. **Every building should be dated by looking at their constructive elements, to understand their original state and their modifications.** To sum up, the valuation and intervention model evolved so that it was given more importance to the historical accuracy of materials, techniques and uses. The interventions change from typology-based and analogy-based actions, to catalogue-based and combinatory-pattern-based actions. The catalogue would be built by historical evidences of material culture in Uchiko, rather than in generic typology studies.

Conclusions

Uchiko is a town in an unusual location to be a *denken chiku* designated in stage 1. As stated in chapter 2, most of rural *denken chiku* at the time were in regions accessible from great urban areas. By contrast, Uchiko was the only *denken chiku* in Ehime prefecture designated in stage 1 and the first one in Shikoku island. There would only be another *denken chiku* in late stage 1, namely Wakimachi, in Tokushima prefecture, but by the time Wakimachi was designed, Shikoku was already connected by railway and motorway to mainland Japan¹⁵⁴. In this context, Uchiko is a perfect example to answer the questions at the beginning of this chapter.

Was Uchiko following the main trends of valuation in stage 1? As explained in Chapter 2, the ACA gave priority to districts which could appeal to a new economic activity through tourism, thus giving priority to districts easy-to-access and easy-to-understand. Uchiko was not easy-to-access, but they had intervened in 29 buildings' external shape before the designation. These interventions focused exclusively on the external appearance of the *machinami*. The goal was to show Uchiko as a town that had preserved the shape of its *machinami*: row houses, aligned to the street, with a well-defined street space. Thus, Uchiko made efforts to adapt itself to the national criteria about being easy-to-understand, even if it meant to intervene in non-traditional buildings to make them look like traditional (Fig.3.23).

In addition, Uchiko had its planning oriented to tourism from the very beginning. They studied previous *denken chiku* districts such as Tsumago, so that they could figure out how to develop a local policy on tourism. However, there are two differences between Uchiko and other plans oriented to tourism. First, Uchiko started its planning from the awareness that Uchiko had neither 'defined town typology', such as Tsumago or Hagi, nor any famous cultural asset among those existing in Ehime. Big cultural assets in Shikoku, such as Matsuyama castle or Konpira temple, were between one and three hours away by car. Second, Uchiko aimed at tourism as a means to get some external appreciation, and thus, boost the local appreciation: locals were said to become aware of the value of their town, once they saw tourists visiting it. To sum up, the tourism-oriented approach existed as a trend in *denken chiku* districts in remote areas such as Uchiko.

Regarding the evolution of the planning in Uchiko, the original approach remained almost unchanged for over three decades. While it is common that a *denken chiku* performs revision surveys every 10 or 15 years, Uchiko reviewed its original plan from 1978 in 2013 (the plan in 1987 was not approved). In the 2013 review, several aspects such as the environment as a resource, the use of land, the social use of space and its link to immaterial culture, or the detailed chronology of the built structures were finally introduced. Most of the innovations conducted in

¹⁵⁴ Wakimachi, in Tokushima, eastern Shikoku, was designated in 1988. The same year, the Seto-Ohashi bridge and Naruto bridge were opened to car traffic, thus connecting Honshū main island with Eastern Shikoku. Likewise, the railway connection between Okayama (Honshū) and Kagawa (Shikoku) was finished in 1988. By contrast, the Nishiseto bridge, connecting Honshū island with Ehime prefecture, was opened in 1999.

Uchiko had their origin in other plans and activities, such as those in *muranami* areas. Uchiko evolved from a static, *denken chiku*-centred preservation to a network-structure that aims at linking communities from central Uchiko and rural peripheries. However, as stated before, most of the innovations actually happened outside the *denken chiku* area. How the innovations in environment and participation by community will translate into an urban space is still an open question.

Case 2, Utsubuki Tamagawa district, Kurayoshi city, Tottori

Presentation of the case and motivation for preservation

General data

Kurayoshi is located in the central area of Tottori prefecture, which is the smallest and least inhabited prefecture in Japan. Kurayoshi is in a rural area, with 60% of its lands being forests. The current Kurayoshi city is a result of a fusion of the towns and villages inside Tōhaku-gun district in the ancient Hōki province. The town of Kurayoshijuku, which is the current centre of Kurayoshi city, was developed at the northern slope of Utsubuki mountain from 17th century (Fig.3.41). Kurayoshi is another case of merchant hub connected to several roads and fluvial routes in Edo period. However, after World War II, Kurayoshi and its region became one of the least accessible areas in western Japan. While the main transportation axis in Japan was developed between Tokyo and Hakata in the 1960s, this axis was built in the Pacific Ocean coast. The Japan Sea coast, in which Tottori prefecture is located, was bypassed by the major infrastructures at the time. As for 2017, the only railway going through Kurayoshi, namely the JR San'in line, is a single-way, non-electrified line.

Kurayoshi had 51,766 inhabitants in 2008. The population has not been altered as severely as in smaller towns; in 1955, the population was around 52,000. This alteration has become more severe in the last decade (48,245 in February 2017¹⁵⁵). By contrast, Utsubuki Tamagawa



Fig.3.41 Plan of the urban area of Kurayoshi, with Ogamo river (left) and Tenjin river (right), 2016. In yellow, the old central area of Kurayoshi, formerly called Kurayoshijuku. In red, the current denken chiku area. In green, the new area around JR Kurayoshi railway station. In orange, the former Kurayoshi railway (dismantled in 1985). Utsubuki mountain is at the south edge of the old Kurayoshi.

¹⁵⁵Population data in the official page of Kurayoshi city. <http://www1.city.kurayoshi.lg.jp/toukei/jinko/> (accessed 2017.3.22).

denken chiku district lost over 60% of its population between 1965 and 2000, due to the construction of residential suburbs such as those built all around Japan after 1960¹⁵⁶.

The current old town has been suffering frequent floods during its whole history. Kurayoshi is located in the Ogamo-Tenjin river basin, which is wide and flat, and several tributary rivers run along the basin. The old quarter had been built in the 17th century, along Tamagawa river, which is one of these tributary rivers in the basin. Being Tamagawa river narrow, risk of floods was high, and thus the area nearby had been uninhabited before.

Kurayoshi stands as an example of the district which did not fit the priorities and the valuation criteria in the initial stages of the *denken chiku* network. By 1981, the external aspect of the buildings in the district had been altered with the addition of modern materials and built elements. Thus, after the first survey in 1980, its designation was rejected because it did not match the visual criteria at the time. But it could access to the nomination under the change of criteria in the 1990s.

The current Utsubuki Tamagawa *denken chiku* is located in the historical centre of old Kurayoshijuku, in the northern limit of Utsubuki mountain. It is located on the lowlands along the Tamagawa river. Currently, the administrative centre of Kurayoshi, built in the 1950s, right

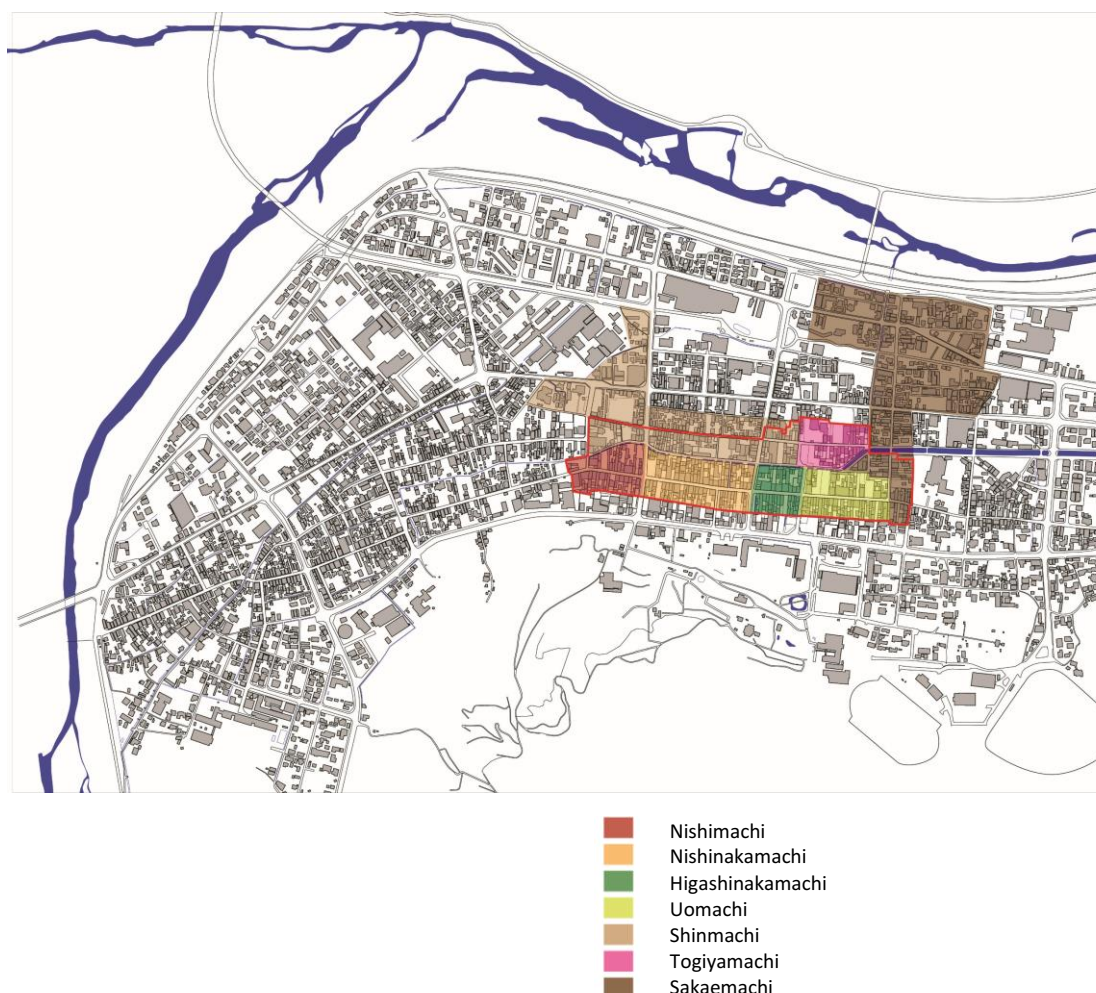


Fig.3.42 Central Kurayoshi, with the quarters included in the survey area, according to the denomination by the survey in 1980. Tamagawa river crosses central Kurayoshi, included the *denken chiku*, from west to east.

¹⁵⁶ SAWADA, Toshimichi. 'Rekishiteki machinami no saisei', in CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON REGIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEMS; HIROSHIMA UNIVERSITY, *Kenkyū shūkai hōkokusho 17: chiiki saisei to shinkutanku*, 2005.6.

south of the *denken chiku*. The protected area occupies four quarters built along Tamagawa river from west to east: Nishimachi, Nishinakamachi, Higashinakamachi and Uomachi (Fig.3.42). Linking the four quarters, there are two streets. The main street, called Honmachidōri, which is in the southern bank of Tamagawa river, is the road linking Kurayoshi with the Edo roads. The front entrances of most shops and dwellings are here. The back alley, which runs next to Tamagawa river at its northern edge, is currently the access to the rear part of the land plots. Some of the old rental storehouses in the rear part still remain, and they are directly accessible from the back alley. Many others, especially in the western area (Nishimachi and Nishinakamachi quarters), were replaced by private garages or public car parks. In addition, some parts of the quarters of Shinmachi, Togyamachi and Sakaemachi at the north and west are now included in the *denken chiku* district.

History

Kurayoshi was an important regional centre since Kofun and Nara periods (3rd-8th centuries); one of the most important ancient ruins in the area, the Ōmi-dō temple, is located 800m away to the east of the *denken chiku*. In the 8th century, the area became an important religious, economical, academic and political centre, as the headquarters of all Hōki province, which included the western half of the current Tottori prefecture. Around the 12th century, when the centralised national politics evolved to a feudal domain structure, the urban settlement was located around a castle at Utsubuki mountain, in the southern limit of the current *denken chiku*. The castle was inhabited until 1600, when the Nakamura clan, which had taken control of the castle in name of the new Edo government, moved to Yonago castle. The Utsubuki castle was dismantled in 1617, when Hōki province was fused into Tottori province.

The current Utsubuki Tamagawa merchant district was built under the name of Kurayoshijuku when the castle was dismantled, and the old samurais moved from the castle

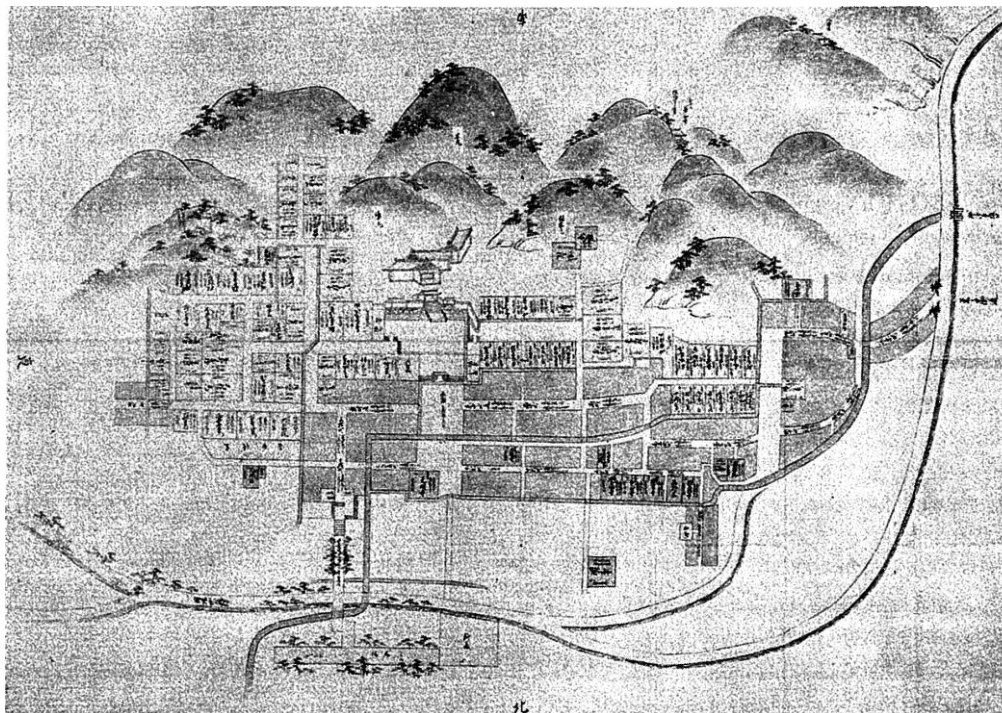


Fig.3.43 Kurayoshijuku in 18th century. The coloured street is the main street of the current *denken chiku*. It was connected directly to several Edo routes. Source: Kurayoshi Town.

area to the old castle-town. This caused the castle-town merchants to move to the riverside, establishing the merchant area in the current location at early 17th century. But the merchant activity had started earlier: starting from late 16th century, alcohol, oil or rice were sold in these old shops. The occupation of the lands around Tamagawa river was possible after some works on the riverbed were conducted. In addition, after 1689, a law forbade the Kurayoshi inhabitants to visit the Utsubuki mountain and the old castle settlement. Thus, Utsubuki mountain developed a natural environment which remained untouched by humans, while Kurayoshijuku grew as a commercial and administrative centre in the area. The name of Kurayoshijuku (lit. 'Kurayoshi post town') was used especially in Edo period, because Kurayoshi was used as a post town near important routes such as San'in dō, Katsuyama kaidō and Tsuyama kaidō. The Tenjin river basin was an area with a lot of traffic in Edo period, which caused Kurayoshi to develop as a trading hub during Edo period. It would also become connected with Inaba kaidō road, which enabled access to big cities outside the region such as Himeji and Osaka. The road ran parallel to the river, and it became the main street to the new merchant district (Fig.3.43). The current *denken* is divided into east and west part by an alley that was enlarged as a safety measure against fire. This was decided after a fire in 1750, which burned 700 houses in the merchant district. The alley reached a maximum width of over 50m, but it was progressively reduced to the current 7m. Still, it is wider than the main street, which is 5m wide.

In 18th century, Kurayoshi merchants were allowed to trade with other regions, mainly Kyoto and Osaka. Then, they started selling products such as cotton, nails, metal pieces, tools, machines for rice farming (mainly *inegoki* rice threshers) or artisan crafts, to these cities. In addition, the local businessmen established trade agreements with merchants in Osaka. Consequently, the local clan leaders in Tottori made Kurayoshi become a storage and interchange. Merchandise from all the area was stored in storehouses in Kurayoshi before it parted to Osaka. The local merchants built their storehouses with direct access to the back alley along Tamagawa river, so that local producers could put their merchandise, by paying a rental fee. At 18th century, Kurayoshi had its structure well defined: the plots were narrow and deep, with short façades and big courtyards. The storehouses at the back side of the courtyard were aligned with each other, thus serving as an external wall as well as a dyke against floods. In 19th century, tea and tobacco production were added to the Kurayoshi storehouse activities.

When in the 1870s, free trade was legalized, Kurayoshi lost its function of an interchange point for pass-by merchandises. On the other hand, Kurayoshi merchants enlarged their trading area by sea routes, thus serving their rice threshers all around Japan, from Hakodate to Nagasaki. Consequently, the area occupied by the production of rice threshers grew remarkably, especially in Kagijichō district, west from the current *denken*. In 1883, the first factory for *kasuri* splashed-pattern cotton production was founded. This production would become an important activity in the current *denken chiku* until World War II. Thus, in late 19th century, Kurayoshi was a central hub for the villages around, both industrial and commercial. The main road was fit to *jinrikisha* car transportation means at the time. In addition, the villages in the southwest of old Kurayoshi which contained the remains of the old samurai house districts were added to the Kurayoshi municipality in 1877.

In 1903, the San'in railway line was opened. The station was 4 km to the northeast of old centre, and thus, the town began to grow towards the new station. In addition, in 1912 the Kurayoshi line was opened from the San'in line station to the old Kurayoshi station (later renamed to Utsubuki station). The Kurayoshi line ran north of the current *denken*. At the same year, another alley was opened perpendicular to the main street, connecting it to Utsubuki station. It was 6m wide, wider than the main street, and it ended at the main street. This

modernization process of the street network was prolonged to post-war period: a pre-existing third alley at the west side was enlarged, and currently is 11m wide. Along with the development of new streets, Kurayoshi was electrified. In 1911, central Kurayoshi had its first electric line, and the electrification was completed 1932.

In addition, a bypass road was built in the north side of the Kurayoshi railway between 1916 and 1930 (Fig.3.44); the works lasted long because the acquisition of the land was a long process, even if all the land to buy actually was rice field. Cars were introduced in Kurayoshi since 1922. At the same time, the town grew around the new road and station area, and this area became the new commercial district as the use of cars advanced. The name of the new districts at the north took their names from the periods they were built; thus, they were called Meijimachi and Taishōmachi. The new districts continued growing even after World War II. *Kasuri* cotton production moved to Fukuyoshichō district, next to Taishōmachi and in the new road area. This made the old production zone, in the current *denken chiku*, decay. The business of rice threshers also started decaying in Kurayoshi, since they could not compete with newer patents introduced to the market. The local household economic activities shifted, from a production-based model with some room to retail selling, to a wholesale model. Houses were modified so they had a wider shop space.

Along with the opening of new alleys, which were effective for fire contention, Kurayoshi started another major change in its urban shape to prevent floods. Tamagawa river had a narrow riverbed, therefore water would flood anytime when heavy rain came. Heavy rain was frequent, and so were floods. In 1934, the back alley was restructured: the riverbed was enlarged while confined between stone walls. These stone walls would serve as foundation for the back alley



Fig.3.44 Central Kurayoshi with the Edo period route (red), the prefectural road from 1930 (orange), and the Prefectural Route from 1968 (yellow).



Fig.3.45 Tamagawa river, current shape after the 1934 works, 2015.

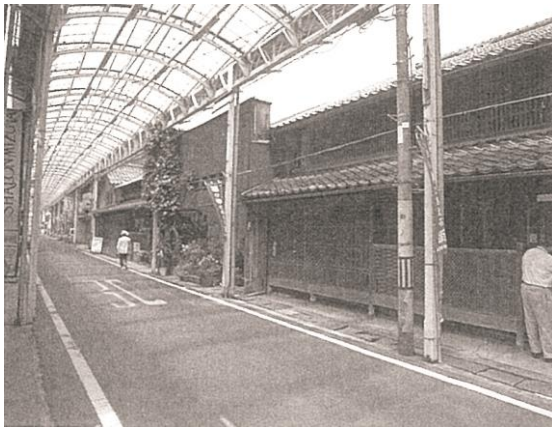


Fig.3.46 Kurayoshi arcade in the 1960s. Source: Kurayoshi City.

zashiki and storehouses (Fig.3.45). That was an ambitious plan which merged urban shape, land plot shape and building shape together. To access the new back alley buildings, which were aligned with the river, stone bridges were built in front of each entrance gate.

Then, Kurayoshi suffered significant alterations in its town structure in the economic growth period of 1950s and 1960s. Between 1951 and 1955, 8 villages were fused into Kurayoshi. In 1956, the new town hall was built for the new municipality. In the following years, the new elementary school and the court were built next to the town hall, on the sites occupied by the old samurai houses; in addition, the new prefectural road between the new facilities and the old town was enlarged in 1975, thus destroying the old samurai town structure which had been preserved until recent times. The destruction did not stop at the outskirts of the merchant district, but also altered the inside. Merchants from old Kurayoshi asked for a modernization of the shopping street, because commercial activity was moving out to the new districts at the north. In 1963, an arcade was built on the main street (Fig.3.46), west from the

alley to Utsubuki station. Consequently, most of the shop-houses in the arcade zone were reformed to 1960s *kanban kenchiku* style, by making new prefabricated façades, aligned to the arcade. The renovations also affected the rear of the houses: many accesses from Tamagawa river side were adapted to open car parks behind the arcade area. As for the interiors, many shops had been enlarged, leaving the old structure as it was but making many of the partitions disappear and levelling most of the ground floor to the old *doma* level.

In 1968, a new bypass (current national highway) was built at the north of the Meiji-Taisho quarters, thus causing Kurayoshi to grow towards the north again (Fig.3.44). As for the railway infrastructures, the Kurayoshi line was planned to be extended to Chugoku-Katsuyama station, in Okayama prefecture, thus having a direct connection to the Sanyō region. Yet, the project was never developed and the whole Kurayoshi line was shut in 1985, after the 1981 Japan National Railways restructuration.

Motivation for preservation

The debate about what to do with Kurayoshi old town started as a consequence of the plans to enlarge the river. A plan sponsored by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructures and Transport was developed during the 1960s (Fig.3.47). The plan previewed the enlargement of

Tamagawa riverbed in order to prevent floods. To enlarge the river meant to partially demolish all the storehouses and *zashiki*, which still remained in the east part of the district. Most of the affected buildings were unused, because daily life activities had been transferred to newer districts to the north. In that context, locals protested against the destruction of their district. Consequently, the debate about how to transform old Kurayoshi into a viable life environment started. The goal of the preservation of old Kurayoshi had not any relationship with tourism, but the goal was **to create an appealing life environment**. By doing so, they expected to put a solution to two problems. First, this appealing life environment to help solving the problem of depopulation, by attracting new inhabitants. Second, this appealing environment to help attract new businesses and activities, so that the unused buildings could be put on use again.

At that point, the local government searched viable ways to make old Kurayoshi to be an environment suitable for modern life. That meant all the buildings being used. This became the main goal of all efforts to revitalise the old centre. The attempt to enter the *denken chiku*, with the first survey finished in 1980, was one of the viable solutions that local government tried. However, Kurayoshi did not limit its activity to the survey for the *denken chiku* designation, because the goal was to improve Kurayoshi as a living environment, rather than as a cultural asset. Kurayoshi was not as visually appealing as Uchiko, and thus, the ACA rejected its designation in 1981 because it did not match the visual criteria at the time. In fact, the structures of the old houses were mostly remaining, behind the modern *kanban kenchiku* style façade. By doing so, they wanted to present themselves as the modern commercial galleries that appeared all throughout Japan, particularly in areas close to railway stations. But commercial activity in Kurayoshi still remained in two spots: the JR Kurayoshi station, 4km to the north, and near the Utsubuki station of the Kurayoshi line, in the quarters developed in Meiji and Taishō periods in the north bank of Tamagawa river. As a reaction to this failure, the recovery of the traditional structures of central Kurayoshi was seen as a possible solution.

After the rejection, and before it was designated in 1998, Kurayoshi intervened in the storehouses by their own resources. In addition, in 1982, Kurayoshi was selected as a model for the study for the preservation of a merchant district in a modern dwelling settlement in its region. The local initiatives to preserve the quarter were still active when the ACA reopened the designation process in 1994. When Kurayoshi was again nominated for *denken chiku* district in 1994, they had not changed their viewpoint. The priority had to be to create a life environment that guaranteed the continuity of the local community. Tourism was not in the centre of their goals, nor in the centre of their discourse. The planning and management have been centred in the communication between the local government and the local community, to identify the needs of the community and help them build a life environment suitable for them. However, in 1998, only the eastern half of the district was designated as *denken chiku*. The western half, which had been more severely modified during the 1960s, was included in the protected perimeter in 2010.

Fig.3.47 Chronology of events related to townscape planning and management in Kurayoshi

	Agents-Planning-Research	Management-Works	Events
-1980	1980: <i>Denken chiku</i> survey completed.	1966: Tottori prefecture started refurbishing Tamagawa river. The riverbed was dug and enlarged to prevent floods, which meant to demolish several buildings around.	
1981-1985	1981: Designation of Kurayoshi as <i>denken chiku</i> was discarded by ACA. 1982: The study for the preservation of merchant districts in a model dwelling settlement in central Tottori was conducted in Kurayoshi. 1984: HOPE plan for Kurayoshi by the MLIT. Kurayoshi Furui Machinami Hozonkai was founded by some merchants and a few locals, with participation by local government. First restorations of storehouses.	1981: Following the Kurayoshi city urban plan, the alley connecting the old district with the old Utsubuki station was extended to the south. The district was totally divided into two parts, to the west and east sides of the alley. 1984: First 6 storehouses were restored. 1985: JNR Kurayoshi line stopped its activity, thus leaving central Kurayoshi without railway.	
1986-1990			1987: Kurayoshi was awarded with Keizai Dōyūkai Prize, for the local revitalisation activities such as restoration of storehouses.
1991-1995		1994: New third-sector Super Hakuto Limited express train started its service between Kyoto-Osaka and Kurayoshi, reducing the travel time from 5 to 3 hours, and avoiding the frequent floods that interrupted the old service through San'in line.	1994: The ACA representatives visited Kurayoshi to see the <i>zushi</i> (cabinet-like small Shinto shrine) inside Hasedera temple, in Utsubuki mountain. The process for <i>denken chiku</i> nomination was restarted.
1996-2000	1998: Designation of Kurayoshi as <i>denken chiku</i>	1998: Akagawara Company opened Akagawara 1, 2 and 3 facilities as public facilities and souvenir shops.	
2001-2005	2003: Foundation of Kurayoshi Hozonkai Plan for disaster prevention in Utsubuki Tamagawa district. 2005: Kurayoshi was designated as <i>keikan gyōsei dantai</i> (local organ to manage the Landscape Law in a defined area).	2003: A fire partially destroyed a house inside the <i>denken chiku</i> . In the house, ' <i>Kurayōshin</i> ' Kurayoshi Bōsai Center (disaster prevention centre) built its headquarters. 2005: Survey on Kyūmakitake house. Akagawara Jūgōkan building is refurbished to host <i>Kurayoshi Wakamono Ikiiki Cafe</i> .	2005: 2 nd National Conference of <i>Denken chiku</i> Districts in Kurayoshi.
2006-2010	2007: Kurayoshi landscape plan (<i>keikan keikaku</i>). The concept of historical landscape included townscapes. 2009: Second <i>denken chiku</i> survey is completed 2010: Extension of the <i>denken chiku</i> area towards the west.	2007: Kyūmakitake house restoration works are finished	

Analysis of the evolution in the planning from the points of view of environment, functional system, social system and town structure

Environmental aspects

In Kurayoshi, the valuation of the environment is related to the definition of elements which build the living space in the district. The environmental aspects were present from the beginning, because **the protection of the environment against fires and floods had configured the urban development of Kurayoshi, and also had been the initial reason to start the**

protection. Provided that Kurayoshi was not visually appealing as ‘traditional-like’, the 1980 survey¹⁵⁷ focused on the definition of the structural pre-existences which were permanently underlying. Visuals and structure were analysed together. They concluded that visuals had changed several times during the lifespan of Kurayoshi, but the structure of land had been perfected to become a permanent element.

Thus, urban environment was defined by the infrastructures (roads, channels) and the structure of land property. The land plot unit, and all buildings inside it, were a result of all environmental conditions. Plots were narrow and deep, with two entrances, front and rear, and it was structured around a central courtyard (*Fig.3.48*). In the rear area, independently accessible, the rear storehouse, the rear *zashiki* (a room for guests and customers of the rear storehouses) or the sake brewery would be placed (*Fig.3.49*). These buildings formed a barrier against floods, and were accessible through bridges. The front of the plot, visible from the main street, was used for the main building, used as dwelling, with shop or production spaces. The plot structure allowed a variety of distributions of buildings, uses, and built typologies.

As for the visual aspects, they were not a value that defined the environment, but a consequence of pre-existences and needs. The traditional-like visual elements in Kurayoshi included very recent elements, and even western-style buildings. Elements in façades included lattices with different designs and purposes, glass shutters, wooden eaves, *sengawara*-type red tiles in roofs, and earthen walls in storehouses; but **these elements were explained not from the ‘typical’ shape, but from the needs for living, such as protection against fires, floods and snowfalls** (*Fig.3.50*).

The focus on the living space was also in the 1982 Model Plan for the Preservation of Merchant Districts in Central Tottori Prefecture¹⁵⁸. During the 1980s, the Ministry of Construction (currently integrated in the Ministry of Land, Infrastructures and Transport, MLIT) established some model programs to improve towns’ inner landscapes and improve them for living. In the same line, various towns in different areas of Japan were designated as



Fig.3.48 Kurayoshi, dozō storehouses inside a courtyard, 2016.



Fig.3.49 Kurayoshi, dozō in the rear, converted to zashiki, 2015.



Fig.3.50 Kurayoshi, 2015. Roof with red sengawara tiles. These tiles replaced thatched roofs in the end of 19th century, to prevent collapses due to frequent snowfalls.

¹⁵⁷ KURAYOSHI CITY. *Kurayoshi shōka machinami hozon taisaku chōsa hōkokusho*. Kurayoshi, 1980.

¹⁵⁸ NATIONAL LAND AGENCY (MINISTRY OF LAND, INFRASTRUCTURES AND TRANSPORT); TOTTORI PREFECTURE. *Tottori ken chūbu moderu teijūken ni okeru shōka machinami shūkei hozon ni kansuru chōsa hōkokusho*. Tottori, 1982.

model towns for such plans and programs. In 1982, the National Land Agency (also integrated in MLIT) published a study to design Kurayoshi as a model town in central Tottori prefecture. The plan detected serious problems in the maintenance of Tamagawa river and the spaces and roads around it. They were unsafe and not adapted to the needs of a modern living space. In this context, the plan focused on the refurbishment of the area in the north bank of Tamagawa river, opposite to the storehouses (Fig.3.51, Fig.3.52).

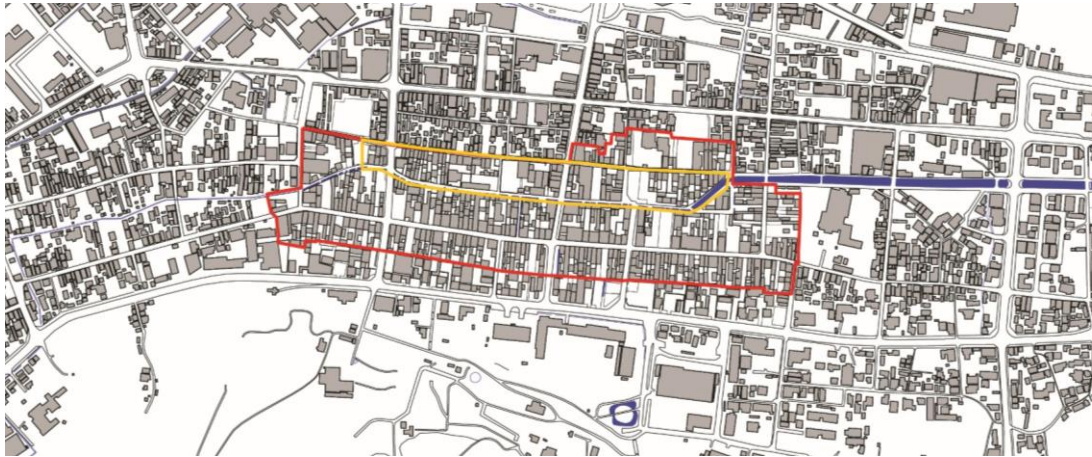


Fig.3.51 Central Kurayoshi, with the area affected by the plan of 1982 in yellow.

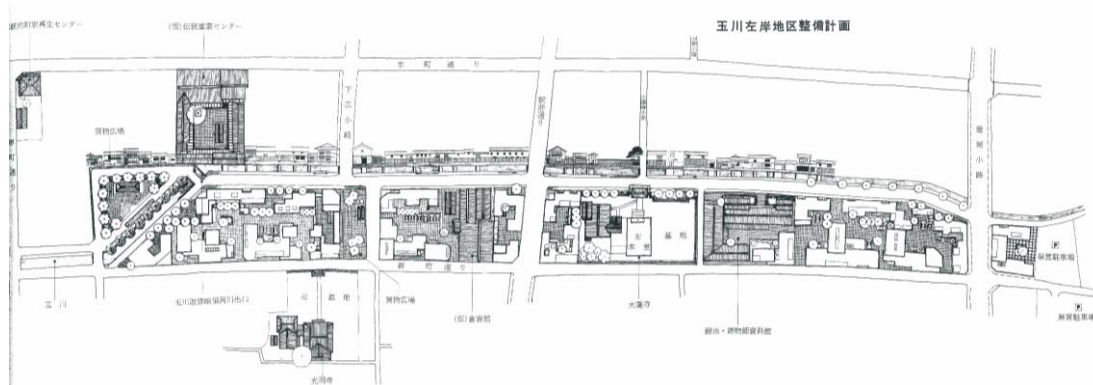
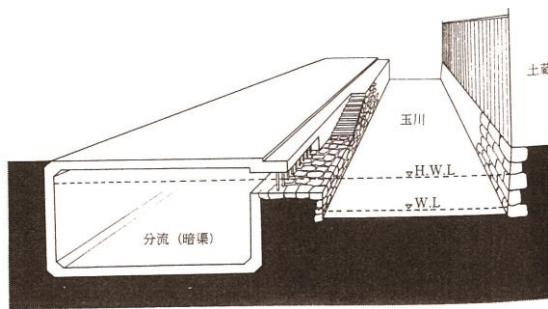


Fig.3.52 Plan of 1982, floorplan of the project. Source: Kurayoshi city.

This plan was to be executed along with the *denken chiku* protection, as to build a buffer next to the *denken chiku*¹⁵⁹. The street along Tamagawa river was proposed as a new green urban area, since there was a lack of green spaces inside central Kurayoshi, excluding Utsubuki mountain. The main work that structured the whole plan was the building of a hidden channel connected to Tamagawa river. This channel would absorb the excess of water from the river in case of heavy rain. The hidden channel, dug under the street at the north bank, made necessary to enlarge the street. The buildings at the north bank would be demolished, and new buildings would replace them (Fig.3.53). These new buildings would be built 4 metres behind the previous street line; thus, the street would gain 4 metres. However, this meant a significant reduction of the private land plots facing the street. Thus, to compensate the loss, this, the zone would be rebuilt according to a detailed plan that previewed to build apartment blocks with two or three

¹⁵⁹ In the study, it is mentioned several times that the old shopping district aimed at becoming *denken chiku*. It can be concluded that the designation as *denken chiku* was rejected after this study had been executed, and that the designation as *denken chiku* was already assumed by the team that conducted this study.



図IV-13 玉川改修河川構造図

Fig.3.53 Plan of 1982, Project for the hidden channel.
Source: Kurayoshi city.

storehouses in the river area, but the façades in main street were at the same condition as when the designation had been rejected in 1981. This shows how the criteria to value the environment by the ACA had changed in the 1990s, from a visual perspective towards a living space perspective. However, the eastern part of the proposed area for *denken chiku* had still the arcade from the 1960s in the main street, and consequently, it was not included in the designation.

After designation, Kurayoshi passed the Plan for Preservation¹⁶⁰ in 2001, and the Plan for Disaster Prevention¹⁶¹ in 2003. **While the 2001 plan included the preservation of urban spaces, infrastructures and the river, the interiors of houses were included for the first time in the preserved life environment in the Plan for Disaster Prevention.** Then, in 2007, the arcade was demolished. The demolition was continued by a proposal of a new survey was formulated¹⁶², which was completed in 2009. The survey aimed to protect the same life spaces to the west of the *denken chiku*, including the arcade area (Fig.3.54). The study states that the new policies put into practice by the ACA permitted a wider variety of districts designated as *denken chiku*, and

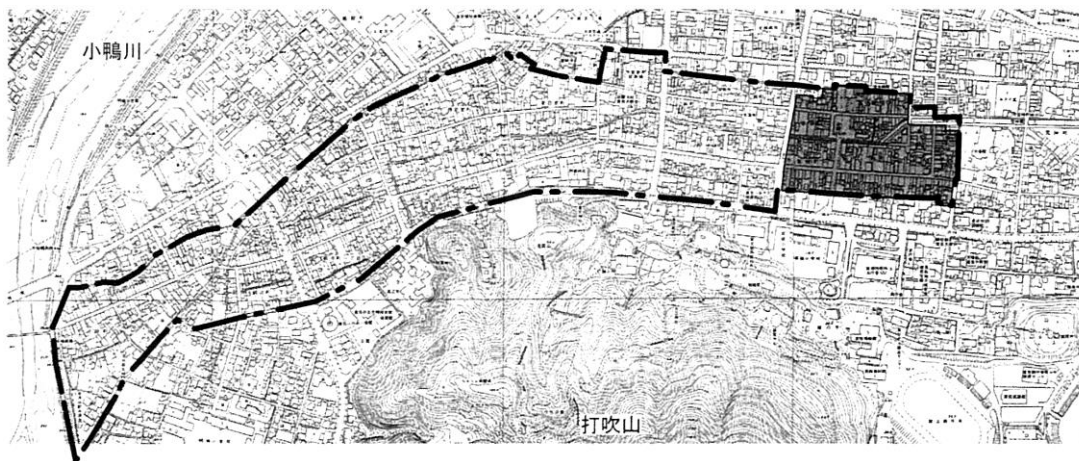


Fig.3.54 Area included in the 2009 survey. In black, area included inside the *denken chiku* before 2010, which corresponded to the eastern half of the current *denken chiku*. Source: Kurayoshi city.

¹⁶⁰ KURAYOSHI CITY. *Kurayoshi shi Utsubuki Tamagawa dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku hozon keikaku*. Kurayoshi, 2001.

¹⁶¹ KURAYOSHI CITY. *Kurayoshi shi Utsubuki Tamagawa dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku bōsai keikaku sakuteisho*. Kurayoshi, 2003.

¹⁶² KURAYOSHI CITY. *Kurayoshi shi Utsubuki Tamagawa dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku minaoshi chōsa hōkokusho*. Kurayoshi, 2009.

thus a wider area of Kurayoshi centre could fit into those new policies. The survey was conducted by the Department of Environmental Studies in Tottori University. The purpose was to conduct a study with a wider scope of studied elements and also a wider scale.

The main contribution by the survey from 2009 to the interpretation of the environment was to establish the limits of the enlargement of the *denken chiku* in environmental and structural terms. All the land which had preserved the structure of a merchant area had to be preserved equally. For that purpose, the study included the distinction of a variety of types in land structures inside the studied area. The old merchant area included the area designated in 1998 (Fig.3.54) and the area immediately west from it. The centre of the studied area had bigger plots, as a pre-existence of the disappeared samurai quarter. The western part had also a different structure, with frontal gardens, as a pre-existence of the 19th century industries. These structures were not included in the *denken chiku* because they were either disappeared or independent from the merchant district.

To sum up, Kurayoshi avoided from the beginning the definition of its preserved environment in visual terms. Instead, they defined the permanent pre-existences which gave shape to the district as environmental elements to study and preserve.

Functional system

Provided that the goal of preservation was to protect the life environment, and the structural unit considered was the land plot with all its buildings, **the study of functional systems in Kurayoshi started from the study of uses coexisting inside the same plot, as well as their**

evolution. The main building had typically some annexes (also included in the study) for kitchen, bath and toilet, and it was connected to these annexes by external corridors in the rear. In older examples, the cooker and sink had been placed directly on the *tōriniwa* (the local name for the *tōridoma*, a space with earthen floor crossing the whole house). The storehouses were built in one or several rows; in case of several rows, the storehouses accessible from the river were said as typically for rental, and the storehouses inside the courtyard, for domestic business. Overall, land plots were said to have been evolved to be flexible regarding changes of use. They were fit to host the *kasuri* cotton factories from late 19th century on. Then, between the 1920s and 1940s, the production activity was substituted by wholesale shops, but the plot structure did not change significantly. The factories from 19th century, were typically *tsumairi* type, with had a gabled roof of which the gable faced the street. Since the wall under the gable was supporting the structure, it was not a typology suited to shops, because they could not open



Fig.3.55 Kurayoshi, *tsumairi* type, 2015.



Fig.3.56 Kurayoshi, *hirairi* type, 2015.

large shop windows to the street. When shops were established, the structures changed to *hirairi* type, with a gabled roof with the eaves facing the street. The wall under the eaves was not structural, consequently shop windows could be open to the main street (Fig.3.55, Fig.3.56).



Fig.3.57 Kurayoshi, 2015. Different lattices for different spaces in the mise.



Fig.3.58 Akagawara Pavilion n.1, 2015.

In detail, structure and façade fixtures in current shops were described as an expression of the uses of inner spaces. In *tsuji*-type distributions, the structure and the façade of the second floor would be recessed, but after 1900, when second floor was also inhabited, most of structures and façades would have both floors aligned. As for façade and fixtures, glass doors and windows had substitute many of the original lattices, but still some remained. The front of the first floor was occupied by the *mise*. In the part of the *mise* the farthest from the entrance, the *degōshi* lattices were more frequent, while in the *mise* itself, some *koshikōshi* (lattices covering only the lower part of the window) were built, to obtain visibility from and to the street (Fig.3.57).

Finally, the survey included an analysis of the present condition of the district, in terms of infrastructures and public services necessary for a modern living environment, and also in transformations in private land to introduce these services. The district was in the centre of Kurayoshi, and had access to most public facilities and green spaces, located at Utsubuki mountain. But public parking spots

were not enough for the private cars, and many houses had their car parks inside their plots. In the west area, the storehouses of the back alley had been demolished to open car parks, and thus, other environmental elements such as stone bridges to access the plots over the river were changed to concrete structures. As for private land uses, most of the *zashiki* and storehouses remaining in the river front, were unused except for sake breweries. Thus, functional changes had resulted into consequences on the shape of the structures. Those consequences had been either good (as an addition of new typologies) or bad (as a suppression of pre-existences, such as the demolition of storehouses to open car parkings). **The use of the land, both public and private, had to be included in the preservation policies, since the use conditioned the preservation: new controlled parking areas and new businesses in empty shops and storehouses were desirable.**

The 1982 Model Plan also defined the functional conditions desirable for the preservation of the district. The study stated that most of the streets in old town were too narrow to meet the standards of Law of Urban Planning. The demand for new car parks was said to be high, which had caused the destruction of traditional built structures to open car parks. The intervention in Tamagawa river, including the widening of the street near the river, was designed as a green axis for pedestrians, while car traffic was detoured from the district. The plan also

included a plan of uses in private land: Honmachidōri as a shopping area, and unused storehouses reconverted to shops, cafes, or cultural facilities linked to a network of historical sites around central Kurayoshi. **The plan, based on modern urban planning and the clear establishment of urban system, assigned new but compatible uses to unused structures, as a way to guarantee both the preservation of the structures and the requirements of a modern living space.**

Even if the plan was not executed, the concept of assignation of compatible functions to unused buildings was the starting point of the activity by Akagawara Company. Founded by local merchants, they opened in 1998 three large storehouses as public facilities (including shops, exhibition rooms, public toilets and information centres). The current network includes 10 buildings, most of them in large storehouses (*Fig.3.58*).

Social system

While in the example of Uchiko, the local government considered that public workers had to put their knowledge in the centre of the planning, even if it meant going against the will of the local community, Kurayoshi included both local government and local community from the beginning. Thus, the concerns of the community were also included from the first survey. **The current land structure was explained in terms of environment (disaster protection) and functional system (multiple uses), but this land structure also played a role of structuring economic and social relations.**

As for the social composition of the whole community, the survey detected that current land structure was actually finished in 20th century, as a result of some social changes. In the 19th century, the north side of Honmachidōri had hosted the *kasuri* cotton factories. Thus, land plots had been wide, and most of the houses had been inhabited by their owners. In 20th century, factories had been replaced by large, wholesale shops. Many of the biggest houses of 19th century had been demolished to build smaller houses, and the land plots had been divided, but the families mostly had remained the same. The south side hosted smaller plots, with small retail stores, were rental houses in the 19th century. However, by the time the survey was conducted, they were dwelled by their owners.

In economic terms, the land plots were narrow and deep, to make the best business profit while paying the least taxes. Municipal taxes were calculated on two factors: the district (central districts used to pay more) and the length of the façade towards the main street. This, caused façades to be short, and plots, as narrow as possible. By contrast, the deep courtyards were used to access the several storehouses for several merchandises and users (domestic business and pass-by merchants). Storehouses converted to *zashiki*, or courtyards converted to factories or large storehouses, responded to the same diversity of social interactions. **The diversity of the users was the main cause of the organization of storehouses in multiple rows in the same property.**

Houses were also analysed in the same logic of classifying rooms by users, and these users would define also the dimensions, fixtures and decoration of each room. The room layout was typically a 1x3, 2x3 or 3x3 grid. The rooms on the front were used as shop (*mise* and *miseoku*, coinciding with the two kinds of lattices in the façade). The rooms at the rear were used as domestic spaces, *daidokoro* (kitchen) or *ima* (family room), as well as the *okunoma*, which was sophisticatedly decorated and was used as a parlour (*zashiki*) for guests. The rooms in the middle were *nakamise* (space between the shop and the dwelling) or *butsuma* (rooms with Buddhist

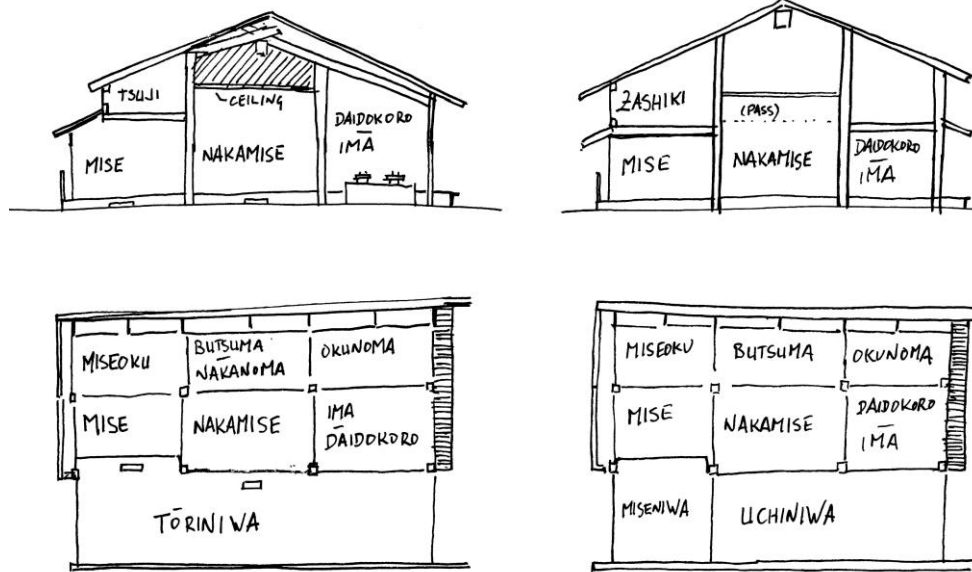


Fig.3.59. Type of dwelling before 1900 (left) and after 1900 (right). Sketch by the author of the thesis, 2016.

altars). Each room had a different type of ceiling: the shop was low because it had a *tsuji*-type second floor above it. The central rooms with altars had a rich ceiling, while the domestic spaces at the rear would have their roof structures visible. After 1900, the second floors were enlarged to occupy the whole space above the domestic areas. In addition, the *tōriniwa* was divided into two: the *uchiniwa* (as a domestic space) and the *miseniwa* (as an entrance space for the *mise*) (Fig.3.59). Eventually, many dwellers would add a glass door to separate both parts.

The 2009 survey would give a more detailed explanation of structural changes caused by social changes. In late 18th century, the two-floor *tsuji*-type was created. In this type, the second floor was built in either over the *mise* in the front, over the *chanoma* in the rear, or in both, and they were used as storage or as dormitories for hired servants. From late 19th century, factories were replaced by stores and servants were not needed. In the large houses that had been divided to host narrower houses (Fig.3.60), the *zashiki* had been moved from the *okunoma* to the second floor or to another building in the rear side of the plot (called *hanare* if it was a new building, or *zashikigura* if it was a storehouse reformed to a *zashiki*). The second floor of most houses grew in size.

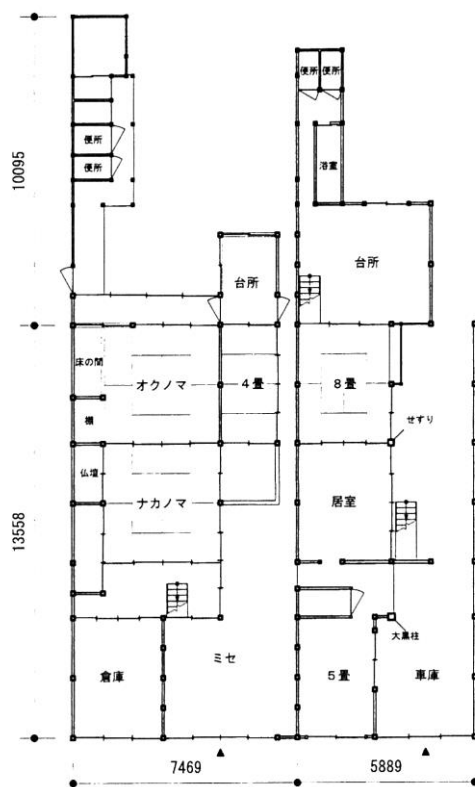


Fig.3.60 Floorplan of Yodose house included in the 2009 survey. It had been divided in two houses in early 20th century. Source: Kurayoshi city.

In order to preserve their social space, the community opted for preserving the shape of the district, instead of demolishing the storehouses to conduct works for flood prevention. Storehouses were essential to explain the structure of the town, and unlike houses, which mostly had been divided and rebuilt in 20th century, storehouses were older. In 1984, an association was established with the participation by local government, local merchant association and some individuals among local community. This association was called Kurayoshi Furui Machinami Hozonkai. The same year, the association intervened in 6 of the storehouses in Tamagawa river. The restoration works would continue in other storehouses during the following years. Consequently, public acknowledgement arrived: in 1987, the association was awarded with Keizai Doyūkai Prize¹⁶³ (granted by Keizai Doyūkai, Japan Association of Corporate Executives).

Once decided to preserve the storehouses, the key point of their maintenance was how to re-use them. In business terms, town centrality had moved from old town to other areas to the northeast, and merchant community in old district was disappearing. The 1982 Model Plan surveyed the merchant activity in Honmachidōri main street, along with other shopping streets in central Kurayoshi, to find out social needs that could be assigned to empty storehouses. The first conclusion is that other shopping streets in newer areas contained daily life products, while the majority of shops inside Honmachidōri sold long-life products such as clothing or metal utensils, or generally speaking, products not included in a daily shopping schedule, which caused the merchant street to decay. Consequently, the workforce structure inside the *denken chiku*, had changed from family businesses to hired workers.

Along with the proposal of re-using storehouses as cultural facilities, shops or cafes, the 1982 study aimed at coordinating the management by an organ, called Dentōteki Machiya Saisei Center, and composed by government and community members. This organ would debate the business lines adequate to revitalise the district, including cultural tourism. It would also value every proposal of restoration, in terms of the future use and the preservation of traditional-like image inside and outside the business.

Self-management of local community would take a step forward when they founded Kurayoshi Machinami Hozonkai in 2003, as an association for the protection of the old Kurayoshi composed only by local individuals. Its creation was a consequence of a fire that destroyed most of one property in the east side of Honmachidōri, and put the nearby properties in risk (Fig.3.47). Since none of the prior urban reforms had been executed, the *denken chiku* area was hard to operate for firefighters: narrow streets for firefighting vehicles, properties that shared the enclosure walls with neighbours, and many built structures shut inside the courtyards. Since plans and policies were not implemented by government, local dwellers formed Machinami Hozonkai, as a locally-managed association to deal with issues related to the *denken chiku* protection. They built their headquarters inside the burnt property, once it had been rebuilt, and **they centred their activities in raising awareness towards preservation and fire protection.**

The problem was that the limits of the community did not match the delimitation of the *denken chiku* in 1998. The 2009 aimed at defining the limits of the community, by performing a hearing survey and watching the structures. The arcade area was valued as many traditional merchant structures remained, although they were concealed behind prefabricated façades.

¹⁶³ Original Japanese name 経済同友会大賞

They concluded that the merchant practise had become westernized after the war, and the shopping street structure had changed along with it, but yet, the westernized shop area belonged at the same community as the shop area designated in 1998. The Japanese style *mise* was replaced by a western-style shop type. This meant, firstly, to remove the floor in the *mise* and level it to the street level. Consequently, lattices and floor beams were replaced by glass windows, so that the merchandise were visible from the street. Prior to that, the most visible part of the shop was the *nakamise*, which was both an entrance to the house and a showroom to invite customers to enter the building (Fig.3.61).



Fig.3.61 View of the *nakamise* in a shop-house, of a former *kasuri* cotton producer. Kurayoshi, 2016.

To sum up, the surveys have progressively added information about the social use of each structure in Kurayoshi: how locals, customers and traders used to relate to each other, how hired workers used to occupy some spaces in the structures, how these relations evolved so that the whole south part of the district was inhabited by tenants, how the big properties had been split to build smaller business structures, and so on. The key point lays, again, in the management: **knowing the social relations that used to happen inside and outside the structures helps to understand how, and by whom, the different structures and spaces were accessed. Thus, they know that the public, social spaces had not been limited to the street, but the courtyards and the storehouses were part of this social space too.**

Town structure

The structural analysis in 1980 was centred on the urban shape and infrastructures, as the body of the survey was. It considered this urban shape as the pre-existence, and the buildings, the expression of social and economic needs in the pre-existence. The survey included all the buildings in each land plot, at their present state, instead of a *fukugen* state. This was a consequence of the definition of the main goal as the protection of the current living space. Moreover, houses were actually newer than storehouses and auxiliary buildings, and courtyards were as important social spaces as streets, so limiting the study to main houses made no sense.

The structural study of the dwellings included the two typologies from before and after 1900 (Fig.3.59), but also a historical survey on building materials and techniques. This survey resulted in defining the general image of current 'traditional' Kurayoshi as rather recent. The red *sengawara* tile roofs, which are considered a dominant element in Kurayoshi landscape, were

not commonly used until the end of 19th century. Prior to that, grass roofing was the most common type. The change started from the storehouses which were used to store the most valuable merchandises, and left houses for the end. The oldest remaining buildings were in the north side of the main road, on the biggest land plots, and had been built after a great fire that happened in 1753. By contrast, most of the buildings in the south side were built after 1912.

In an urban scale, despite the diversity of uses and dating of buildings, the constructive elements defining the land structure were uniform. Especially in the external walls facing Tamagawa river, each plot had buildings with different uses (storehouses, *zashiki*, breweries), yet they were all similar as for the external view: a continuous wall, in masonry and partially covered in wooden tiles and in white coating, aligned to the river (Fig.3.45, Fig.3.49).

The study proposed that the structure was to be preserved as it was, as part of the present, not part of the past. All pre-existences, from the foundation of the Utsubuki Tamagawa district to modern times were considered. Elements and structures build in Shōwa period (after 1925) were as valid as older structures, as long as they followed the logic of town structure and added something to the history of the town. This approach was shared by 63% of the inhabitants, who were favourable to preserve the newest structures such as the alleys opened in early 20th century, or the electric posts, from the same period.

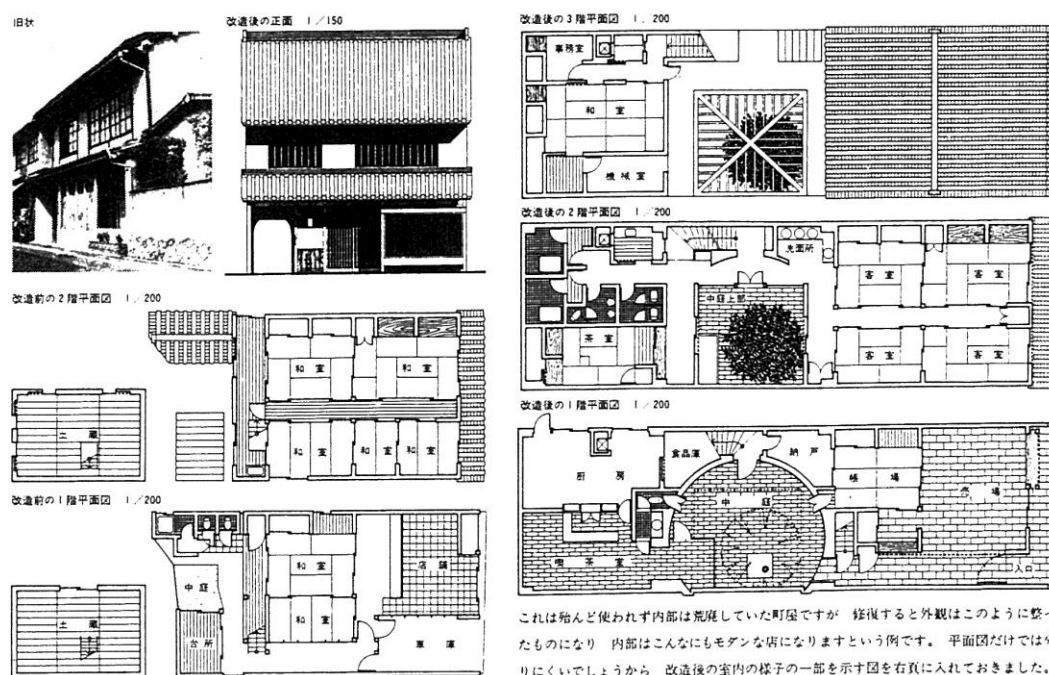


Fig.3.62 Plan of 1982, Project for new type house. Source: Kurayoshi city

By contrast, the 1982 Model Plan distinguished structures before and after 1925. The buildings after 1925 were described as 'not as valuable'. Thus, they proposed the substitution of the buildings by new dwelling types and the union of the narrowest land plots to make more habitable dwellings (Fig.3.62). The shop use would be maintained at the front, but the narrow courtyards would be reorganised into one common courtyard for all the dwelling estates.

The different approaches, along with the designation in 1998 of only half of the district, highlighted some methodological problems in the study and the valuation of structures. First, the valuation of buildings after 1925 was unclear, so it was also unclear whether it was correct

to preserve or replace them. The definition of a so-called *genjō henkō kyōka kijun* (lit. 'criteria for the permit of current situation') was necessary.

In addition, the west part being not included in the *denken chiku* was a problem. On the one hand, it had been more severely modified in the 1960s, but on the other hand, the most relevant houses listed as Registered Cultural Assets (Kyūmakitake house and Toyodake house) were on the western limit, thus inside the excluded area. The 2009 survey expanded the timespan to study to include structures altered in post-war period.

The survey found out that alterations were more frequent than expected, and **buildings were not 'pure' typologies from Edo or Meiji period, but a typological evolution had been conducted in each of the houses. The typological diversity was not defined as between buildings in the same zone, but inside every single building.** These changes were defined by a series of typological patterns. Some buildings had been reformed while others had been demolished and rebuilt. Some buildings went through the first structural change to a *tsuji* type but did not grow the second floor thereafter, while others had their second floors completely occupied. Some houses had their *zashiki* moved to another building, while some others had it moved to the second floor and the rest had not it moved at all.



Fig.3.63 Kyūmakitake house, 2015.

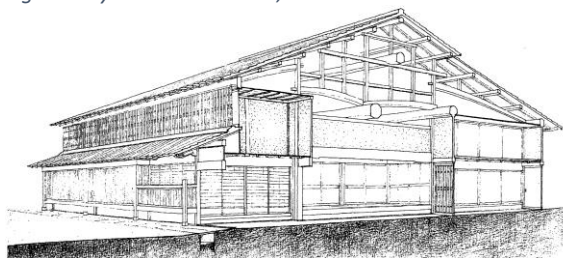


Fig.3.64 Drawing of Yodose house included in the 2009 survey. Source: Kurayoshi city.

Thus, the detailed survey could not date each building in a certain period. Very few houses were datable from document fonts, but even these houses were thoroughly researched in place. The Kyūmakitake house (Fig.3.63) had been built in 1760, Takadake house was from 1843 and Yodose house (Fig.3.64) was from 1859. Newer houses were more frequent, but they were more difficult to date; yet, there were many technical and typological similarities between older and newer houses. According to the old traces found in diverse houses, the houses from Edo period were one-floor buildings under a *sasu* style roof. Sasu style roof is a type of roof with no central pillars, while the ridgepole beam rested on the slanted roof beams. These roof beams support the whole structure and thus must be thick, and some thick beams had been preserved in structures that were

changed afterwards. In late 18th century, thus a central structure was built in houses, to make the *tsuji* in the second floor.

In this survey, the main contribution for structural analysis is a catalogue of each constructive element for structure (roofs, beams, brackets on which eaves rest, ridgepoles, pillars), external materials (roof tiles, metal sheets, grass roofing) and fixtures (doors, lattices). By looking of the geometry, material and craftsmanship of each type of element, they established a chrono-typological method to associate each spatial and material element with the moment it happened. The first-floor structures were dated by elements with recognisable



Fig.3.65 Type 1 udegi, 2016.



Fig.3.66 Type 2 udegi, 2016.



Fig.3.67 Type 3 udegi, 2016.

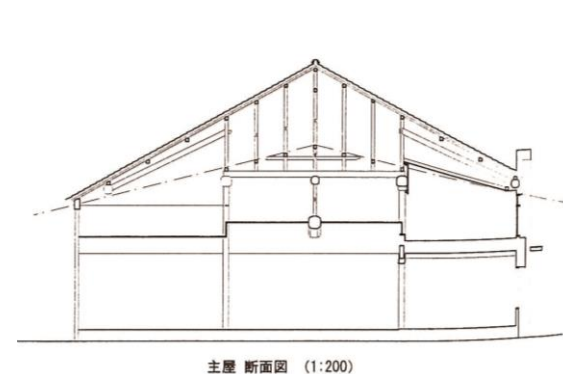


Fig.3.68 Structure with old and new ridgepoles, drawn in the survey from 2012. Source: Kurayoshi city.

craftsmanship. For example, the *udegi*, brackets that supported the *deketa* or horizontal purlin of roof eaves, had already been study in a previous research by a team in Tottori University. The chrono-typological database already existed, defining three types of *udegi* (Fig.3.65, Fig.3.66, Fig.3.67): type 1, waved cornice used until the 1870s; type 2, arched beam with a stronger curvature, used from the 1870s until the 1890s; type 3, straight beam, used after the 1890s. Thus, individual built elements were used as data to date parts of buildings with reasonable accuracy, based on chrono-typological criteria.

With the same criteria, they concluded how the built space had evolved: looking at the internal structure, they concluded that roofs had been lower until late 19th century, since some older ridgepoles built at a lower level had been preserved (Fig.3.68). Grass roofing and tree bark roofing had been used until the environmental conditions caused roof tiling to spread. As for the street geometry, it also evolved between 1880s and 1910s, from a more open streetscape with low and receded second floors (*tsuji*-type) to high second floors aligned with the first floor (Fig.3.69, Fig.3.70). The relation between inside and outside changed also in post-war period, when shops were internally reformed and external lattices were replaced by glass shop windows. In conclusion, the materials and elements used to build the space were added as an important value as a pre-existence that configured the current *denken chiku* though time.

Provided that the aspect of Kurayoshi was valued as a consequence of a historical process, the elements that supported that process had to be inside the protected elements. This meant **to protect the internal structures that supported the external shapes**, but also

to adopt measures to encourage the use of the built structures as dwellings or shops. It also meant to preserve the functions of historical urban networks and infrastructures, as well as adding new ones when needed (especially fire protection infrastructures). **As long as the social and material structures that had given shape to Kurayoshi stayed there and evolved, the townscape would evolve along with them.** Protection grants were ensured for structural reforms, not limiting them to external reforms. As for restoration guidelines, more detailed criteria were defined to grant a permit to any intervention in the built structures. Regarding the damaged structures, the restoration works in Kyūmakitake house became a guideline for restoration works. Since the built elements had been useful to date each part of the building, the restoration aimed at preserving the original materials as much as possible. When substitution of structural elements was needed, partial substitution had been used, thus not replacing the whole damaged element but only the damaged part.



Fig.3.69 Tsuji-type façade, Kurayoshi, 2015.



Fig.3.70 Zashiki-type façade, Kurayoshi, 2015.

Conclusions

Chapter 2 already explained that the tourism-centred approach was progressively discarded in the 1990s. The appearance of *kankō kōgai*, the alterations suffered by local communities by the affluence of tourists, and the diminution of tourism activity after 1990, caused the ACA to accept diverse approaches when designating *denken chiku* districts. Kurayoshi is a proof of that: in 1981, it was not designated because the traditional townscape was not visible. In other words, it was not easy to understand. Moreover, Kurayoshi was in a rural region difficult to create a viable tourism industry. Kurayoshi is also a good example to answer the questions formulated at the beginning of this chapter.

Did they exist different trends in each stage defined in chapter 2? Kurayoshi did exist during the stage 1 as a candidate for *denken chiku* district, but it did not fit the trend oriented to tourism. Kurayoshi was not designated in stage 1, but had to wait until the main trend shifted towards local development, after the tourism model had partially failed. Kurayoshi barely mentioned the word ‘tourism’ in their surveys and plans. It was treated, at the most, as a secondary topic, while the main topic was to revitalise the old town by revitalising its everyday activity.

Did older plans evolve along with the changes in the valuation at a national level? As it can be seen in the 2009 survey in Kurayoshi, the studies became more complex, and shifted from trying to understand the structures to trying to understand the communities who supported the

structures. Kurayoshi also evolved to a more accurate picture of their town as a consequence of temporal changes inside the community. As for the environment, Kurayoshi also enlarged the territorial scope of the survey in 2009, taking into consideration all the urban structures around the *denken chiku*, and even Utsubuki mountain. After that, the expansion of the *denken chiku* area did not include the whole studied area, but the 2009 study was a step forward to understand the links between the *denken chiku* and its surroundings. Thus, Kurayoshi evolved at a local level, with its particularities, along with the *denken chiku* system at a national level.

Case 3, Ine Ura district, Ine town, Kyoto

Presentation of the case and motivation for preservation

General data

Ine was the first district designated after the 2004 Law of Landscape had been passed. Most of the protected districts that included landscape elements appeared right after the Landscape Act was passed. Before that, the *denken chiku* had defined small protected areas, often under 20Ha¹⁶⁴. When comparing the three cases in this chapter, Ine Ura has by far the largest protected area, with 310Ha, while protected area is 3.5Ha in Uchiko and 9Ha in Kurayoshi (Fig.3.71).



Fig.3.71 Ine Ura in 2016, with the *denken chiku* area in red

Ine is located at the north of Kyoto prefecture, at the edge of Tango peninsula. Ine Ura district is currently in Ine town, at the western limit of Wakasa bay, which covers a 205 km-long coastline between Kyoto and Fukui prefectures, and Japan sea. The municipality is composed by a 77% of forest, while human settlements are 0.7% of the total area. The forest is a *uotsukirin* type forest¹⁶⁵, which grow in coastal lands with an important presence of several kinds of fish. Ine is located in a natural harbour, and enjoys a rich ecosystem of forests and a sea hosting several varieties of edible fish. The entrance to Ine bay is narrow, and Aoshima island, located in the entrance, makes it even narrower. Thus, the contact between the bay and open sea is

¹⁶⁴ Except for Tsumago, which had included the forests around the small rural settlement, reaching 1245Ha.

¹⁶⁵ Original in Japanese 魚付林. It is a Japanese word to define a type of forest with various species of trees, which allow the growth of several insects and microorganisms that are eaten by coastal fish.



Fig.3.72 Ine, 2016. The road was opened between 1930 and 1954.



Fig.3.73 Transportation to Ine (in red) from Miyazu, 1980. Source: MATSUMOTO, Shigeru. 'Gyogyō shūroku ni okeru kōtsū seikatsu. Kyōto fu Ine chō ni okeru kesu sutadi' in *Toshi keikaku ronbunshū*, n.15, 1980.11.

such that tides do not affect the inside of the bay. In such location, the whole economic activity of the community has been based on the exploitation of the natural resources of their environment, such as fishing and selling products to cargo boats that took refuge in the harbour. Their natural resources and the traditional ways of their exploitation would become a key point in the whole protection planning and management process.

The absence of tides inside the bay, as well as the hilly geography of Ine, made the access to Ine, and even transportation inside Ine, easier by boat than by land. There is an inner road running the coastline and linking all three communities together, but it was started in the 1930s and completed in 1954. Since the settlements were established in a narrow strip of land between the hills and the sea, the only way to open a road was through the land plots, thus splitting every property in two. Yet, the resultant road was narrow, with some spots being three-metres wide, and consequently, being hard to access for public transportation (Fig.3.72). Studies from late 1970s and early 1980s still described Ine as more easily accessible by boat than by bus^{166 167} (Fig.3.73).

Ine Ura *denken chiku* includes Hide, Kameshima and Hirata districts. Hirata, is located at the deepest point of Ine bay; Kameshima occupies both sides of the entrance to the bay and Aoshima island; and Hide is on a small harbour west to Ine bay. Kameshima is currently divided in four quarters: Takanashi district corresponds to the western Kameshima area, while eastern Kameshima is divided in Tateishi, Nibi and Kameyama quarters.

¹⁶⁶ MYŌJŌ, Teruo. 'Funayatai no mawari butai ni tsuite. Kyōto fu Yosa gun Ine chō tairyō matsuri' in *Nihon engeki gakkai kiyō*, n.12, 1971.3.

¹⁶⁷ MATSUMOTO, Shigeru. 'Gyogyō shūroku ni okeru kōtsū seikatsu. Kyōto fu Ine chō ni okeru kesu sutadi' in *Toshi keikaku ronbunshū*, n.15, 1980.11.

As for Hirata, the original settlement is divided in Higashihirata and Nishihirata, and Ōura new quarter has been added (Fig.3.74). Yet, the old three names Hide, Kameshima, Hirata) are still used for administrative purposes such as postal addresses and some community activities such as festivals¹⁶⁸.

History

The current Ine Ura district was called Inemikkamura (lit. 'the three villages of Ine'), during Edo period. Ine was founded under the rule of Miyazu clan. The name referred to the three communities that have occupied Ine Ura district since Edo period. The communities appeared as new settlements of fishermen families, who progressively had colonised all Wakasa bay. Ine was one of the last colonised areas in this process. The first community to settle seems to be

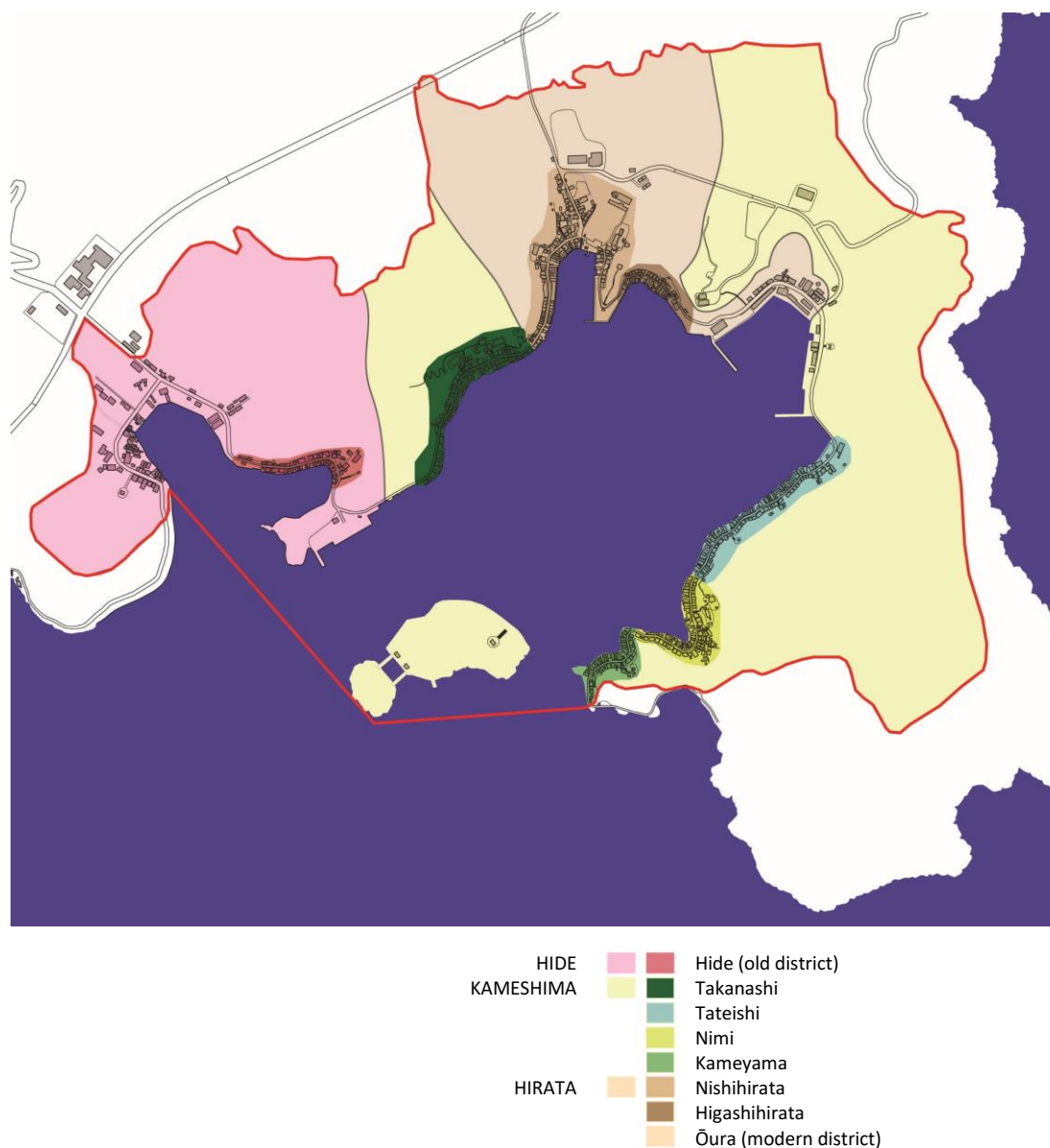


Fig.3.74 Three communities and their subdivisions, Ine Ura.

¹⁶⁸ INE TOWN. *Ine Ura dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon taisaku chōsa hōkokusho*. Ine, 2004.

Kameshima in 15th century. The communities in the eastern side of the bay were established as *edamura* (lit. 'branch village') of the original community at the west¹⁶⁹. Both sides used to cooperate in daily life and in religious affairs in Yasaka shrine (in the west) and Ebisu shrine (in Aoshima). The island used to be the common place for both west and east Kameshima to celebrate funerals¹⁷⁰. Cooperation included fishing and whale captures, when whales which lost their way ended up inside Ine bay¹⁷¹.

The establishment of both sides of Kameshima was followed by the establishment of Hirata (15th century), in the inner area of the bay, and Hide (16th century), outside the bay. As a rule, all three communities used to cooperate and distribute the fishing catches. They used a system of one person-one part, which resulted in 75% of the catch for Kameshima (the oldest and largest community in 17th century), 37% for Hirata and 12% for Hide¹⁷². The same system was used to distribute the agricultural production, since both fishing and agricultural lands were also acknowledged by local rulers as a right for the whole community, instead of for each farmer. After Meiji revolution, the members of this profit-distribution system formed a cooperative, in order to continue their cooperative lifestyle while adapting to modern license and tax systems. **The old system was completely replaced in 1940: the 100% of the fishing activity was held by the fishing cooperative, still working, and the agricultural lands were legally acknowledged as their owners' properties, thus buying and selling land became possible.**

The union between the communities became official when they formed Inemura in 1889. The three former villages became districts inside the new municipality. Each district retained its own major and was managed separately, except for fishing and agriculture, which were common. At that time, men in Kameshima and Hirata were working in fishing, while agriculture was basically a female activity. Forestry activities, such as lumber harvesting, were also operated by female.

As for transportation inside Ine Ura district, agricultural and manufactured goods were transported by boat. The first modern public transportation was opened by Ine Steamship Company in 1897, connecting Ine with Miyazu, Maizuru and Tsuruga, all of them inside Wakasa bay. This would shape the community space: the current Ine Ura district structure is composed



Fig.3.75 Row of funaya, Ine, 2016.

¹⁶⁹ KŌJIRO, Junichirō; Meiji University Kōjiro Lab. 'Funaya no aru shūraki to matsuri' in *Kenchiku bunka*, n.272, 1969.6.

¹⁷⁰ KYOTO PREFECTURAL ARCHIVE OF TANGO PROVINCE (KYŌTO FURITSU TANGO KYŌDO SHIRYŌKAN). *Ine Ura no rekishi to minzoku*. Miyazu, 1987.

¹⁷¹ IWASAKI, Eisei. *Tango Ine Ura gyogyōshi*. Ine Fishery Cooperative, Ine, 1955.

¹⁷² KYOTO PREFECTURAL ARCHIVE OF TANGO PROVINCE (KYŌTO FURITSU TANGO KYŌDO SHIRYŌKAN). *op.cit.* 1987.

by a line of *funaya* (boat houses) along the coastline (Fig.3.75), and a second line composed by dwellings, storehouses and some old manufactures (sake breweries, textile). The road built finished in 1954 runs parallel to the coastline, along the space between the *funaya* and house rows. Before the 1930s, the structure had been very different, with dwelling areas farther from the coast, in higher plateaus around temples and shrines. These temples and shrines remain in high areas.

By contrast, public transportation by land started in 1926, with the bus line between Miyazu and Ine. Boat transportation would be the most convenient for a long time, while bus could not reach all the communities in Ine Ura district since the current road had not been built yet. When in 1954, the road to the east side of Ine bay was completed, most of local inhabitants owned cars and motorcycles. Still, bus service did not circulate past Hirata even after the road was completed. Hirata centralised both boat and bus stops. Around this transportation hub, Hirata grew as the central shopping district in Inemura.

By contrast, east Kameshima had little traffic along the road, and the road space, still called *niwa* (lit. 'garden' or 'courtyard') by its inhabitants, was widely used as a domestic space and space for several chores, like drying fish, seaweed and agricultural products¹⁷³. Some house distributions showed how the road was conceived as a central garden, since some domestic uses, such as the toilet or the bath were often included in the *funaya* instead of the house. This is very common in *machiya* architecture, where auxiliary buildings in the garden host toilet and bath. In addition, the *niwa* and the disembarking points were used as improvised public markets. Eastern Kameshima had no fresh product markets, thus fresh vegetables and meat were sold directly from cargo ships in these spaces. These disembarking points between the *funaya*, called *butai* by locals, were also used for public ceremonies, such as the Yasaka shrine procession, or theatre spectacles performed in temporary floating stages, during religious festivals¹⁷⁴.

The current Ine Town was formed in 1954, when Inemura, Honjō, Asazuma and Tsutsugawa villages were fused. Inemura continued hosting the central public services for the municipality. The schools, the medical centre, the social services and the town hall itself were in Hirata, while the fishing cooperative and the post office were installed in Ōura, an uninhabited area between Hirata and eastern Kameshima. At the same year, Ine cooperative started buying bigger ships and going fishing to other spots, such as Otaru in Hokkaido. Consequently, the facilities of the cooperative included a new dock for the big ships. The reason that led local fishermen to work in distant areas was that new fishing techniques had caused a massive increase of captures between the 1920s and the 1950s, which had severely undermined the fish population in the area. Thus, local fishing was partly replaced by the new fishing in other areas, by means of big ships. This new fishing activity in other areas continued until 1993.

The reduction of the fishing activity had also been compensated with textile manufacture since 1961. Thus, in 1972, 70 houses were producing textile (wool, crepe)¹⁷⁵. As for the use of the *funaya*, some 20 houses had conditioned their own as a lodge and starting point of boat rides for visitors coming from Kyoto. As a result of the development of local economic activities, Inemura did not suffer depopulation as much as the other villages inside Ine town. Each of the three communities of Inemura had around 200 dwellings and 1000 inhabitants¹⁷⁶, which was

¹⁷³ KŌJIRO, Junichirō; Meiji University Kōjiro Lab. *op.cit.* 1969.6. In this journal paper, several photographs of the chores in the *niwa* are included and described. The photographs had been taken in July and August 1968.

¹⁷⁴ KŌJIRO, Junichirō; Meiji University Kōjiro Lab. *op.cit.* 1969.6.

¹⁷⁵ TSUKIJI Buntarō. 'Kumiai to tomo ni ikiru Ine gyokuyō no hitotachi', in *Kyōdō kumiai keiei kenkyū geppō*, n.229, 1972.10.

¹⁷⁶ KŌJIRO, Junichirō; Meiji University Kōjiro Lab: *Nihon no komyuniti*, Kagoshima Shuppankai, Tokyo, 1975. The book, which included a study of the communities in Ine Ura district, among other villages throughout Japan, described the Japanese community typically having around 200 houses and 1000 inhabitants as its maximum sustainable limit.

nearly the same population between 18th century and 1955, when Inemura reached its population peak¹⁷⁷. Consequently, the high-speed economic expansion period of the 1960s barely affected Inemura in comparison with the other villages in Ine town¹⁷⁸. Moreover, the local fishing cooperative was still active, even if the new fishing activity had been developed; in fact, the cooperative started the first movements for Ine environment preservation, long before entering the *denken chiku* system.

Motivation for preservation

The protection activity in Ine started in 1975, when local fishermen saw their life environment threatened by the construction of infrastructures. The government projected the construction of Kurita thermic power generator plant, a few kilometres away from Ine. This power plant would have raised the temperature of the sea, threatening the ecosystem, and thus, the life of the fishermen. In addition, the large-scale fishing industry, introduced in Ine in the 1950s, were declining after the oil crisis of 1973. Consequently, local fishermen started recovering the traditional, small-scale fishing techniques from the past. Thus, the starting point of the protection of Ine was supported on two pillars: the protection of the environment, and the recovery of the immaterial culture related to traditional fishing. The protection of the environment would include the natural environment needed for preserving Ine bay and its lifestyle, but also the structures built by the community that were linked to human activity in that environment. In this context, the above-mentioned *funaya* were considered a main part of this environment. They were buildings deeply linked to the local production and the local adaptation to the environment, but they also were called ‘the face of Ine’¹⁷⁹. The recovery of the immaterial culture was necessary to protect the lifestyle of the community, thus both the sea and the *uotsukirin*-type forest had to be included. When Ine bay and its vicinity was designed *denken chiku* under the name of Ine Ura (lit. ‘Ine inlet’), the protection perimeter was remarkably larger than most of the previously designated *denken chiku*.

The protection policies started from a landscape and lifestyle point of view, but the old *funaya* were unused because fishing activity had introduced large ships that could not fit inside the *funaya*. Yet, the fishing activity with large ships started decaying in the 1970s, and the fishing cooperative was recovering the local, small-scale fishing; if the future was to recover the traditional fishing, the *funaya* could be used again. But the lack of use was not the only threat to the *funaya*. The town was literally sinking, with the foundations lowering their level each year. The sinking had three reasons:

- The *funaya* had been rebuilt when the road was open between 1930 and 1954. The foundations of the *funaya* had been rebuilt on poor soil following a poor design.
- The *funaya* were also affected by other factors such as the increase of the supported weight (like in *funaya* converted to dwellings, lodgings or garages)
- The uncontrolled sewage of both houses and *funaya*. Many *funaya* hosted the toilet of the houses. In addition, several houses used subterranean water sources, thus affecting the soil under the foundations.

¹⁷⁷ INE TOWN. *Ine Ura Dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon taisaku chōsa hōkokusho gaiyōhan*. Ine, 2005. It only describes the population of Kameshima community, which reached population of 1198 inhabitants at its peak.

¹⁷⁸ MOMOYAMA GAKUIN UNIVERSITY SUGIMOTO SEMINAR. *Ine chō no sugata: chiiki chōsa wo moto ni shite*. Momoyama Gakuin University, Sakai, 1974

¹⁷⁹ INE TOWN. *Ine chō gyogyō shūroku kankyō chōsa hōkokusho: Ine, Niizaki, Kamanyū gyogyō shūroku*. Ine, 1979.

To study the history and the present condition of the fishing town environment, Ine town conducted a study in 1979. This study was conducted several years before any debate about *denken chiku* started, and the contents was very different from the studies about *denken chiku* at that time. The study explained the relation between three factors: the environment, the fishing techniques and tools, and the built structures of the fishing villages in Ine. In other words, **the big-scale and small-scale material culture was linked to immaterial culture and the environment that made this culture possible.**

The study also linked the trade activity derived from fishing with the spaces this activity was performed¹⁸⁰, and explored the social and economic structure of the community in Ine Ura, to analyse the pros and cons for its preservation. As a major problem for the subsistence of Ine, the lack of opportunities for female was pointed. Since fishing was mainly a job for male, and female tasks such as agriculture and forestry were disappearing while other alternatives were barely being developed, young female locals were leaving the town to search for a job¹⁸¹. The study did not mention either the use of the disembarking points as trade areas for merchandises transported by ship, as it had been before the 1960s, thus these improvised marketplaces must have disappeared at that time. However, Ine Ura was highly self-dependent regarding services and economic activities: being public services centralised in Hirata, local commerce and services were all around the eight quarters¹⁸². The study highlighted the needs of the community to be satisfied, for the material and immaterial cultural assets to be preserved.

In 1987, the ACA designated Ine Ura fishing as immaterial cultural asset. Ine and its immaterial culture had been object of academical interest since the 1960s, when first studies on their customs had been published (*Fig.3.76*). However, the material support for this immaterial culture was still at threat. The *funaya* were still sinking, while the number of unused or modified *funaya* was increasing. The fishing environment had to be protected to assure the protection of the fishing culture. For that purpose, Funaya Gun Hozon Kentō linkai was founded in 1993, as a discussion board to debate the policies to protect the landscape in the *funaya* area. That same year, fishing activity in other areas of Japan had stopped, and fishermen working in that fishing activity returned to Ine. Later, in 1997, the municipality started works to fix the foundations of the *funaya* which were sinking¹⁸³.

The interest on fishing culture in Ine continued growing, focusing not only in the fishing techniques but also in the village structure and community structure. This was because most of the traditional fishing communities had been severely altered. As an example, Ine avoided the construction of the power plant that supposed a threat to their lifestyle, but in the opposite side of Wakasa bay, Nyū village had a different outcome. In 1970, Mihama nuclear power plant was built in front of their village. These threats did change not only the shape of fishing villages but also their economic structure, since the new infrastructures created a great quantity of jobs outside traditional fishing. Consequently, according to a study published in 1991, Ine was

¹⁸⁰ INE TOWN. *op.cit.* 1979. In case of the fishing cooperative, they used to put their catch into market in the cooperative facilities; as for individual fishermen, they used to sell their fish either in their *funaya*, in the *zashiki* of their houses, or the narrow *engawa* in front of their *zashiki*.

¹⁸¹ The agriculture (5% of jobs) and textile (23%) were not enough for the local demand for jobs, and jobs at 3rd sector, including services, public jobs and tourism, were only the 29%. As for tourism, the offer (basically lodgings in *funaya* and recreational boat rides) had been developed as a secondary money source for people that were already doing another job. Therefore, jobs available for women did not cover the demand.

¹⁸² Ine Ura depended of bigger Miyazu city only for banking, articles of clothing and recreation activities.

¹⁸³ INE TOWN. *Ine chō dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku hozon keikaku*. Ine town, 2005.

considered one of the few villages that had preserved most of the conditions that defined a Japanese traditional self-sustaining fishing village¹⁸⁴.

According to the municipal education board, the claim to preserve Ine had no relation with interests on tourism. In fact, the popularity Ine reached its peak in 1993, when it was used as the background of a TV drama, while the study to include Ine in *denken chiku* system started 10 years later, when the peak had long passed.

Fig.3.76 Chronology of events related to townscape planning and management in Ine

	Agents-Planning-Research	Management-Works	Events
-1975			1969: Meiji University Kōjiro Lab published a study about the festival in Kameshima, centred in Yasaka shrine and Ebisu shrine (this one in Aoshima island), explaining the spaces in both sides of the bay that hold events in the festival (<i>Kenchiku bunka</i> , n.272).
1976-1980	1980: Research by Ine town about the fishing town environment in Ine		
1981-1990	1987: ACA designated <i>Tango Ine Ura gyorō shūzoku</i> (lit. 'Ine Ura fishing manners and customs') as Immaterial Popular Cultural Asset.		
1991-1995	1993: Foundation of <i>Funaya gun hozon kentō iinkai</i> , a discussion board to debate the policies to protect the landscape in the <i>funaya</i> area.		1993: Peak of the tourism boom of Ine, caused by a TV series broadcasted by NHK. Big scale fishing stopped as the main economic activity.
1996-2000	1997: Foundation of <i>Ine Ura funaya guntō hozon kenkyūkai</i> , to conduct surveys for the designation as <i>denken chiku</i> .	1997: Start of the preservation works to fix the damaged foundations of the <i>funaya</i> .	
2001-2005	2003: The research for aiming at <i>denken chiku</i> designation was finished.		

Analysis of the evolution in the planning from the points of view of environment, functional system, social system and town structure

Environmental aspects

In Ine, the protection of the environment is the starting point of the entire planning. The valuation of the environment is related to the relation between the geography, the resources and the lifestyle originated in these geographical and natural conditions. In the survey prior to the *denken chiku* designation¹⁸⁵, conducted in 2003 and published in 2004, Ine was described as a landscape rich in natural resources and diverse in animal and tree species. The focus point was clear from the beginning of the report.

The variety of trees which composed the *uotsukirin* forest included *shii* (Japanese chinquapin) and Japanese black pine in the coastline and Japanese red pine, *keyaki* (Japanese

184 SAKAI, Shunji. 'Nihon no dentōteki gyoson soshiki ni okeru communication to cohesion sociale. Kyōto fu Ine chō Kameshima no jirei wo chūshin to shite' in *Takasaki Keizai Daigaku keizai gakkai hen*, vol.34 n.2, 1991.10. The conditions were: its own fishing area and port for the whole community, a community structure with around 100 houses per community and at least 50% of the households living out of fishing, at least 70% of the captures by fixed nets located in their exclusive fishing area, a cooperative system of distribution of captures, and 100% of the captures performed by local boats. Communities inside Ine were larger than 100 houses each, but they fulfilled the other conditions.

185 INE TOWN. *op.cit.* 2004.

zelkova) and chestnut tree in hillside (Fig.3.77). The variety of the trees was associated to the diversity of the fish species in the zone: tuna, amberjack, sardine, squid were the main catches for local fishermen¹⁸⁶. The combination of the geographical particularities of Ine with the preservation of traditional economic activities until recent times caused Ine to be a complex case for a *denken chiku*. Thus, fishing techniques and tools had evolved to adapt to the particularities of Ine bay and the nature of fishing as a collective job.

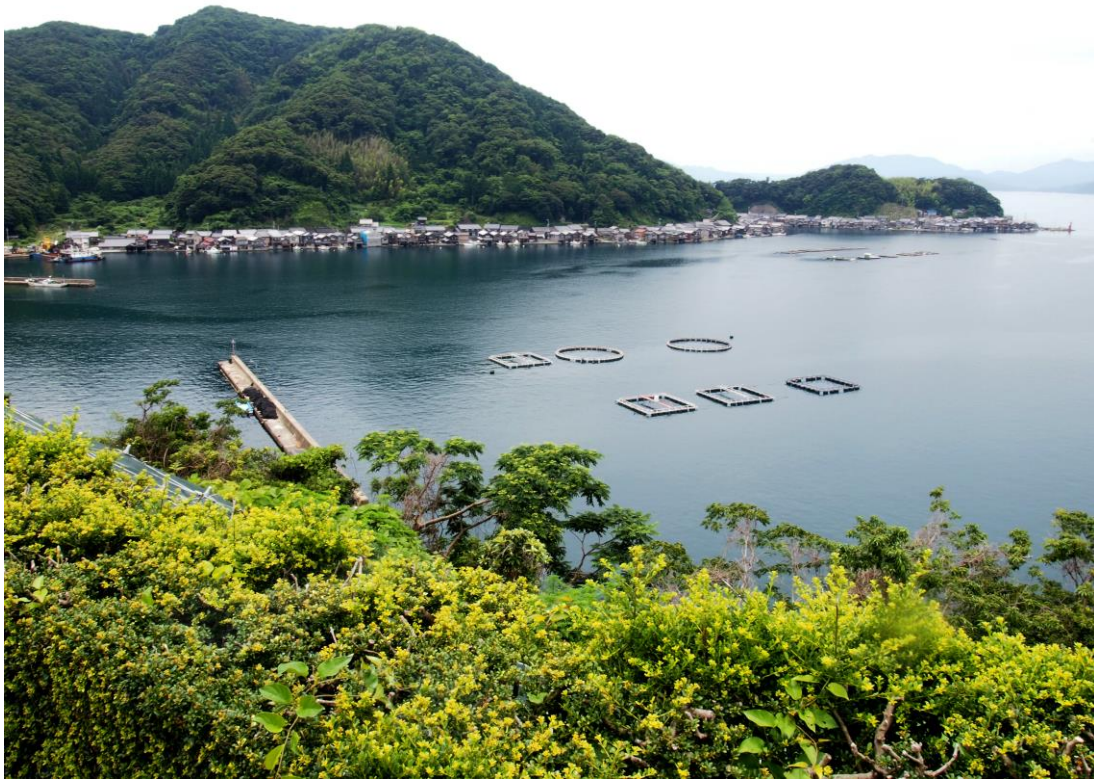


Fig.3.77 Ine bay and its uotsukirin environment, 2016.

This conferred Ine both immaterial and material value, as a result of a site-specific lifestyle and a site-specific urban space. This value linked environment with an ethnographical, popular heritage, rather than an elitist, monumental heritage. In this survey, environment is the location in which the townscape is inscribed, but also the location that the townscape creates by means of the site-specific knowledge. **Environmental-material and social-immaterial values are close to each other, and compose the main body of this survey.**

The *funaya* was described as the element linking the particularities of the landscape and the local community together. In an area the peak season of fishing in winter, when rain and snow were frequent, *funaya* were created as rather tall buildings to hang tools dry and to protect boats from rotting (Fig.3.78). There was no documental evidence that the *funaya* had existed in Ine since 17th century, yet most of the traffic between communities had been performed by boat. Notwithstanding, there is documental evidence that *funaya* existed in nearby communities, thus the study concluded that *funaya* had probably existed in Ine from the 17th century, but the drawings of that period omitted them to show the interior of the town structure¹⁸⁷.

¹⁸⁶ IWASAKI, Eisei. *op.cit.* 1955.

¹⁸⁷ Japan has a long tradition of omissions like that in cityscape drawings and plans, as it is described in TANGE, Kenzō; URBAN DESIGN LAB. *Nihon no toshi kukan*. Shōkokusha, Tokyo, 1963.



Fig.3.78 Image of the traditional structure of a *funaya* and a *butai*, included in the 2003 survey. Source: Ine town.

But the *funaya* of Ine was specific to Ine bay. Whilst, the *funaya* in nearby communities had been simple wooden structures with grass roofing and no walls, the current *funaya* in Ine were closed and have a tile roofing. In addition, whilst all the *funaya* in nearby villages were built in dry land, only the *funaya* in Ine were built on the sea, in the strip of land between high and low tides. This was possible because of the absence of violent tides inside Ine bay. The forests in the bay provided a wood from species of trees that would resisted in contact with sea water. Thus, **the type of the *funaya* in Ine was adapted to the geography, the materials available and the needs of fishing activity existing only inside the bay.**

At the same time, *funaya* were designed with wide entrances, because the transportation and social interactions were conditioned by the geography. Since the transportation was easier by boat, the *funaya* served as real entrance for people and merchandises which came by boat. **The *funaya* composed the façade of Ine from the sea, together with the *butai*, which were used for public access and introduction of merchandises by people from outside the community.**

The rest of built structures were analysed not only one-by-one, but as an only urban structure adapted to the location, which includes buildings and open spaces. Individual buildings are not given special importance. In the three studied cases, Ine is the only one which included cross sections of the whole settlement, from the mountain to the coastline. In these cross-sections, every level, from the temples and shrines in the highest location, to the houses and *funaya* in the lowest, are shown as in relation with the spaces they leave unbuilt: terraces, roads, old paths, stone walls, back yards.

This view as a single structure was also applied to visuals. The study and its following plan focused on the view of the whole village from inside the bay. Thus, it included the bay as the main urban space from which to look to the town. But it is unclear how the space of the sea is integrated as an urban space, since the so-called 'façade of Ine' is visible only from the sea, from Aojima island and from a few disembarking points inside the district.

This approach makes the model of Ine more flexible with the built structures themselves, as long as they do not affect the spaces around. The planning is oriented towards preserving the size and scale of the built structures, while preserving the materials and elements of public spaces such as roads, gates, terraces or stairways (Fig.3.79, Fig.3.80). Consequently, the built elements, such as the structures of the *funaya*, or the fixtures on the frontal façades of the houses, were not seen as a value by themselves, but as a material result of immaterial culture, namely the crafts and knowledge to build them and their use inside the lifestyle of Ine. The knowledge is the value to protect, not the details of structures.

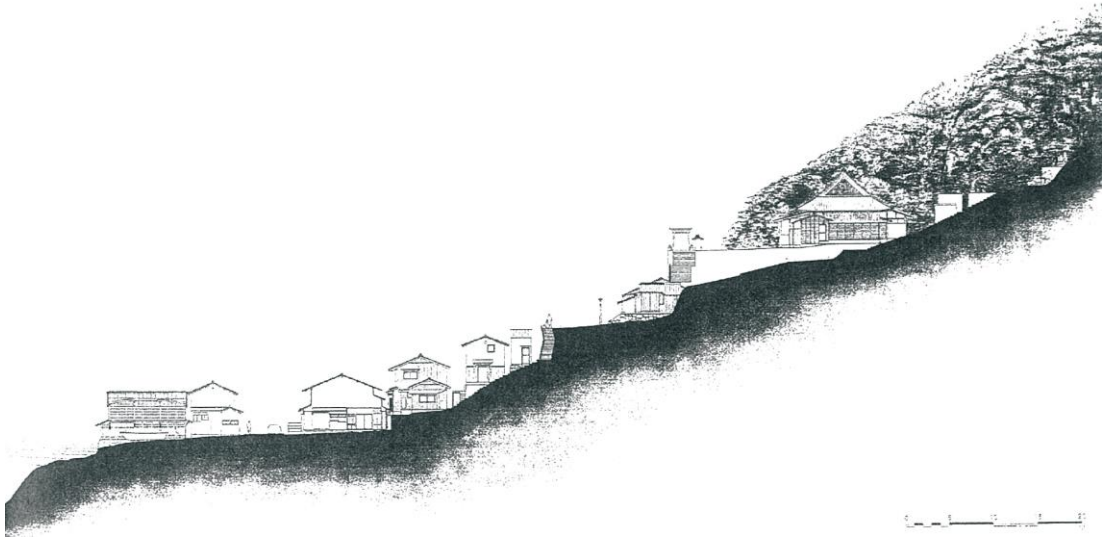


Fig.3.79 Cross-section included in the survey of 2003. Source: Ine town.

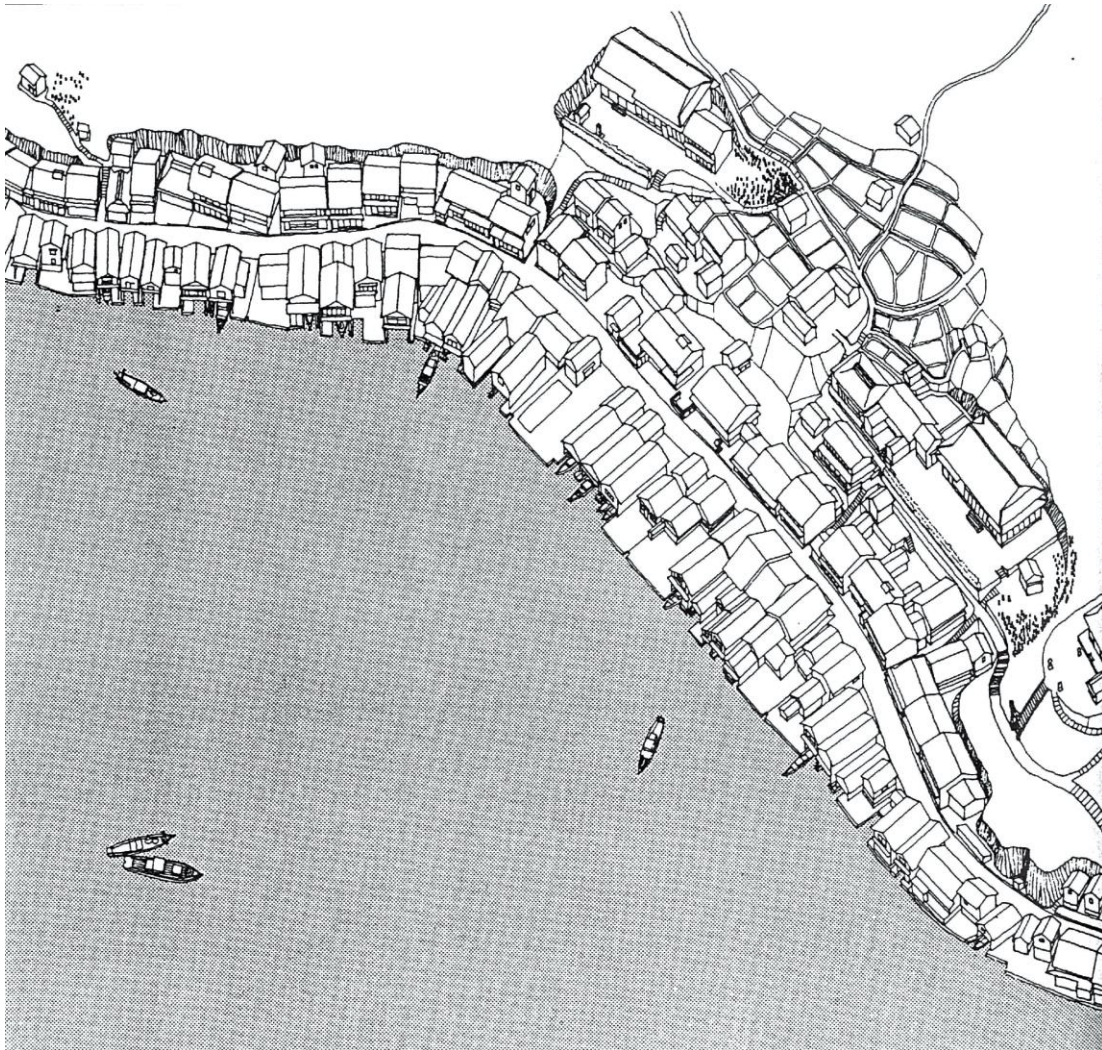


Fig.3.80 Axonometry included in the survey of 2003. Source: Ine town.

Functional system



Fig.3.81 Cars parked in front of houses, in places with lack car park. Ine, 2016.



Fig.3.82 Car park in central Hirata, 2016.

Ine included the sea as a functional space for the community, as well as the forest, old and new roads and the historic use of lands around the village. Uses were described based on maps from 1841 (*Tochi kōchi ezu*¹⁸⁸, non-proportional perspective drawings describing roads, temples and shrines, dwelling and agricultural land partition) and 1882 (*Kyōto fu Tango kuni Yosa gun Hide mura daizenzu* and *Kyōto fu Tango kuni Yosa gun Kameshima mura zenzu*¹⁸⁹, floor maps describing land partition and roads). In these maps, it was clarified that agricultural lands existed in Hide and only some parts of Kameshima and Hirata. Maps also showed that there was a precarious road network land between communities, typically connecting the different shrines and temples through the hillside, not the coastline. According to hearing and in-place surveys, the use of these roads was far less frequent than the transport by boat. In fact, most of these roads do not exist anymore; only traces of some sections remain. The traditional transportation was centred in the transportation and parking by the sea before the road was built.

The study explained how the new road superimposed a different functional system, which was incompatible with the traditional, centred in transportation by sea. The road caused the accessibility to all buildings and structures to turn upside-down. The road ran between the space between houses and *funaya*, called *niwa*, which was a domestic, private use area. At the same time, the front of each land plot, which was de façade of the *funaya* towards the bay, became a secondary entrance. Even many storehouses, built at either side of the road, had their entrance directly from the road. This is highly atypical in Japan, where storehouses are accessed from the courtyard (called *nakaniwa*) of each house.

The new road system affected the internal use of the pre-existent structures. Provided that *funaya* lost its function as access, it suffered a transformation. Most of *funaya* hosted also other uses: garage, dwelling, lodgings for tourists, workplace or storage. Only four of the 117 owners of a *funaya* still preserved enough room for two boats, which was the most usual number before the road had been built.

Motorisation also brought the need of car parks. In a village as narrow as Ine, car parks were difficult to implement. Most of the existing cars were using empty plots or open parking lots. The spaces available for car parks were created often by altering structures such as the

¹⁸⁸ Original 土地耕地絵図

¹⁸⁹ Original 京都府丹後國與謝郡日出村大全図 and 京都府丹後國與謝郡亀島村全図



Fig.3.83 Most of car parks in buildings are in refurbished or newly built houses, replacing old *funaya*. Ine, 2016.

funaya, or even open spaces such as the *butai* (Fig.3.81, Fig.3.82, Fig.3.83). Both cars and boats were in larger quantities in eastern Kameyama, coinciding with the farthest quarters from public services, shops and infrastructures. The lack of car parks was also a problem for the access to public facilities, such as around the health centre or the social centre, and for the visitors.

The study also presented an analysis of urban functions and systems, both public and private. The study stated that most of the public facilities were concentrated in Hirata, since it was the only area in which there was room enough for public facilities such as schools, as well as traffic infrastructures and car parks. Commerce and business was also concentrated in Hirata, while other quarters, such as eastern Kameshima, had been losing their local commerce. The boats which used to bring daily-life products such as vegetables and sell them at the *butai* had disappeared,

and with that, the *butai* had lost their use as a space provider for local needs.

Consequently, east Kameshima was the area the most dependent to private transportation means, being car or boat. The plan detected and studied some imbalances inside the village between central Hirata and other quarters, but did not provide any specific plan or intervention to reconduct these imbalances or recover the lost activities in urban spaces. **Instead, the study linked the possibilities of urban development to motorisation: a network with rather big and centralised public services (schools, social services, medical facilities) accessible by private car, instead of a decentralised network accessible locally on foot. In addition, this approach was the confirmation of cars having replaced boats as the main means of transport.**

Social system

As in Kurayoshi, the entire process in Ine was started by the community. However, while in Kurayoshi the goal was to revitalise the town, even with the introduction of new economic activities, in Ine, the community was aiming at recovering the traditional activities existing in the previous generation. This knowledge was, as mentioned above, site-specific, and at the same time, its value was more of an ethnographical, popular heritage than an elitist, monumental heritage. Popular heritage is not intended to be heritage at its creation, and thus its creation process hardly ever is as well documented as monumental heritage. This was especially true in the study of the fishing techniques and the collaborative structures to manage the fishing activity. Consequently, the study in Ine had needed a different approach, closer to social anthropology and its methods: the documental research had been heavily complemented by surveys and interviews to local elders and in-place research.

community used the sea and urban spaces. Some of the *butai* were now used for garages or auxiliary buildings.

In conclusion, the study managed to describe the relation between elements in urban structures and the way these urban structures were lived. Thus, the evolution of these urban elements (roads, *butai*, disembarking points, ceremonial spaces) had to be described to understand the value of Ine as a traditional living space. These urban elements and their material remains (paths, walls, stairs, gates, signs, altars) were also listed as elements to protect. To sum up, this study explained in detail something that the previous cases did not: **how the local life was materialised in building places, with their own *sensus loci*, and how these places took shape by linking built and unbuilt spaces. However, the study of these spaces was not exhaustive; the document only described the kinds of spaces that had existed, and the location of the described spaces cannot be inferred from the study.**

As for domestic spaces according to the study, the *minka* in Ine corresponded to a so-called Tango-type, as implying that there is a common *minka* type for the whole Tango peninsula. The Tango type a very open floorplan with the entrance through the *tōridoma*, where the utensils for processing rice and grain would be installed. The room plan was organised in a 2x2 frame, being two rooms in direct contact with the *tōridoma*. These two rooms were originally one: a large *hiroma* (hall) that included the *daidokoro* (kitchen) and the *irori* (fireplace); the open floorplan was designed so that the smoke from the *irori* could get out. The other two rooms were called *omote* and *nando*. The *omote* was facing the entrance façade and was used as a guest room or *zashiki*. The *nando* usually describes a storage room in the most secluded area of the house, but in Ine, it was used as a bedroom. These two spaces, being the most public and the most private of the house, were the only separated by walls and doors, while the rest of the floorplan was either simply divided by *shōji*, *fusuma* (sliding doors) and furniture, or not divided at all.

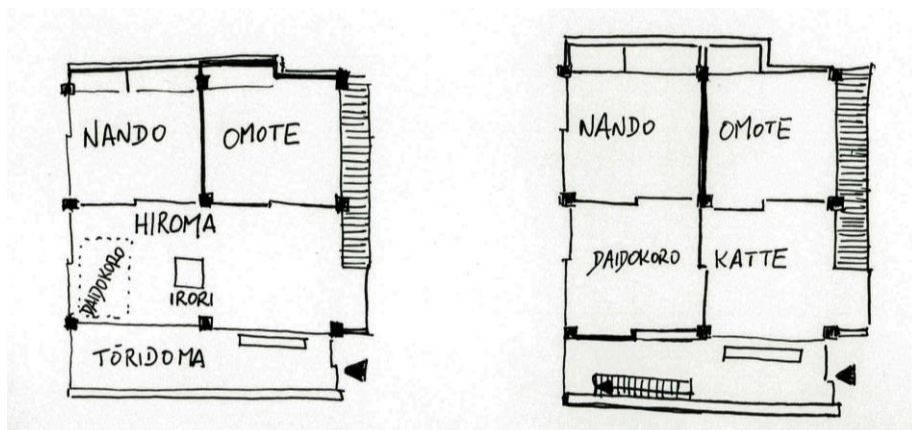


Fig.3.85 Evolution of the floorplan and cross-section in house type, before and after the *irori* were removed and a second floor was built above the *tōridoma*. Ine (sketch by the author of the thesis, 2015).

In Ine, due to the lack of space, the *tōridoma* was reduced to the minimum necessary area, thus being 1,80m to 2,40m wide. It could also be irregular, to absorb the irregular geometry of the plot. The original type, dating back from Edo period, was described as a unified structure that covered the whole living space. Yet, 77% of the houses had been built after 1912, with the space became divided as in the Tango-type. In post-war period, the space became less unitary, dividing the *hiroma* into two: a frontal room called *katte*, and a rear room called *daidokoro*. The

study explained this change as a result of the progressive disappearance of the *irori*: since there was no smoke from the *irori*, the needs for ventilation also disappeared. In the new floorplan, only the *katte*, the frontal half of the old *hiroma*, was visible from the entrance. The wooden step to access the house from the *tōridoma* was also limited to the *katte*, while the *daidokoro* became invisible and inaccessible to visitors (Fig.3.85). Along with the increase of privacy standards, a second habitable floor appeared above the *tōridoma* in some buildings.

The only access to some of the houses was through the *tōridoma*, and some others had a secondary access to the *omote* through a narrow door. The *hiroma* had typically had a window, not a sliding door, in the façade (Fig.3.86). In addition, the study established some elements used on the façades as a result of the opening of the road between the houses and the *funaya*. Having transformed a private space into a public road, façades had become more closed to the exterior. Thus, the study described the changes in the structure and the internal and external division of the house as happening together as a consequence of some changes on the social role of the spaces in and around the house.



Fig.3.86 Ine, 2016. Façade of a house. The windows in second floor are only above the entrance. On the right, there is the window of the *katte*.

Town structure

The analysis of the town structure in Ine was conditioned by two circumstances particular to Ine. On the one hand, the specific environment of Ine, which allowed to define a town structure and a community with customs clearly distinguishable from other similar villages in the area. On the other hand, the traumatic transformation of the whole structure with the opening of the road, which altered not only the private and public spaces, but also the local customs such as festivals. The urban study in Ine focused on the superimposition of the old and new urban spaces and infrastructures, with a special focus on how the new road had altered the old urban structures, and how the old structures had either been replaced or adapted to the new urban structure. Thus, the approach seen in Kurayoshi towards the study of buildings was here applied in roads and open spaces. As in Kurayoshi, most of the analysis had been conducted by means of in-place research, since Ine had little document sources available.

The detail drawings (Fig.3.79, Fig.3.80) described the way the spaces were built and used in the present time, but also served to discover the old road network connecting every quarter in Ine to each other and with the outside. They also discovered traces of those roads in-place, proving that every community in Ine had been connected by land through a mountain road network, each of these roads entering the community spaces by the temple areas behind the houses. A frame of alleys would connect the temple area with the coastline, and with other spaces important for the community, such as the communitarian water wells or the butai. The path located in the same location of the current road, between the houses and the *funaya*, had also existed, but it had been a pedestrian path, around one metre wide, which would coincide with the space called *niwa* between houses and *funaya*, but had not connected different communities to one another (Fig.3.87).

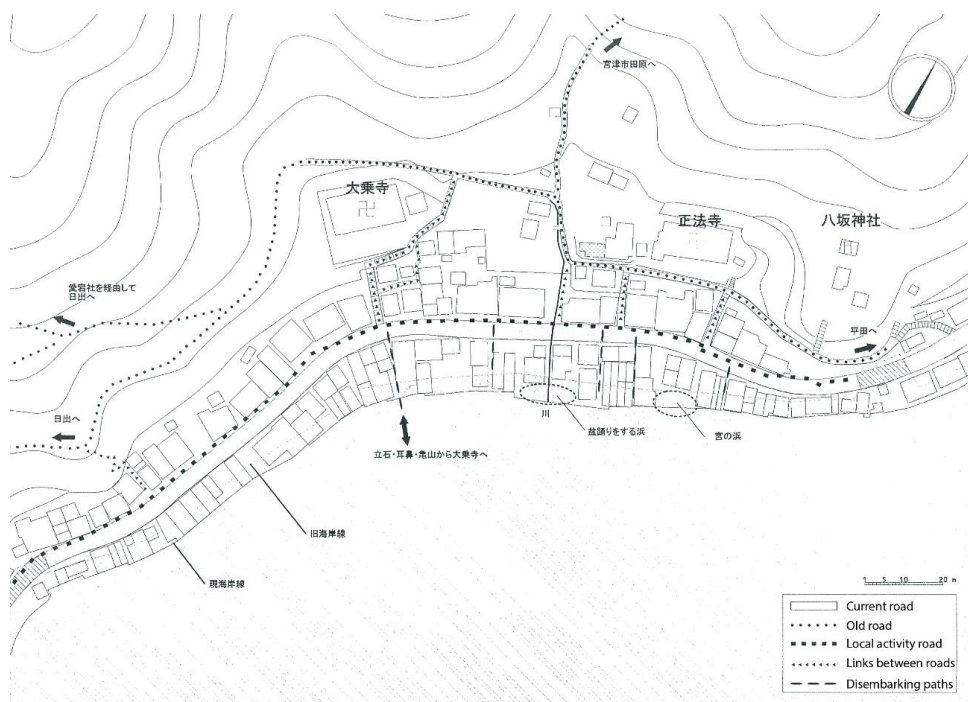


Fig.3.87 Detail study, included in the 2003 survey, of Takanashi quarter, western Kameshima, Ine. The 'local activity road' coincided with the space called *niwa*. This space finished in a dead-end in each of the limits of the quarter. Source: Ine town.

As for the real impact of the opening of the road in each building, the study dated all of them. Around 40% of buildings had been built after World War II, while around other 40% were building from 1869 to pre-war period. The buildings remaining from Edo period were barely a 4% of the total. Storehouses represented most of the buildings from Edo and pre-war period, while *funaya* were the newest and the most transformed. This was explained as a result of the evolution of fishing activities, as well as adaptations to natural disasters¹⁹¹. As for the building distribution per district, Hide had the highest concentration of pre-war period buildings. Hide experienced a great transformation after the coastline road to Miyazu was opened in 1883, but stayed the least altered after that. On the other hand, the coastline road inside the bay had been finished in 1954, which means that the bay area, and especially eastern Kameshima area,

¹⁹¹ The *funaya* boathouses were the most affected in both cases. In 1893, a typhoon destroyed many *funaya*, which were later rebuilt with tile roofing instead of grass roofing. As for the improvements of fishing activity, the village was adapted after 1950 to a fishing activity which used bigger ships which could not fit into the *funaya*. This meant many *funaya* remained unused or reused for other purposes.

experienced structural alterations recently. These alterations influenced on further alteration of buildings.

The documents about the *funaya* were available only from 20th century. In 1909, the *funaya* were very close to each other, while barely in contact with land. Grass and tile roofs had coexisted at that time, thus the study concluded that a transition between both techniques had been performed in the early 20th century. The façades had been divided in two parts: the lower part had been wide open to allow boats to go in and out, while the upper part had had some opening for ventilation, as fishing nets and tools used to be hung to dry inside the *funaya*.

In later photographs, taken in 1969, many of the *funaya* had been transformed, so that the second floor had been transformed into a dwelling, and in some cases, the first floor was used as a garage. In some, the access from the water was shut at this time; in others, modern materials such glazed roof-tiles and prefabricated façades had been introduced. In second floor, balconies had replaced rectangular openings in those *funaya* transformed to dwellings. **Thus, the transformation of the structures of *funaya* happened right after the road had been opened.**

Based on these modifications, the study classified the existing *funaya* in four categories (A, B, C, D), according to two factors (Fig.3.88): whether the functionality as boathouse was maintained or not, and whether the opening in the façade was still occupying the whole width

of the façade or not. 62% of the *funaya* maintained the boat access, yet most of these had reduced the size of the boat entrance. As for the rest, a 17% of the total had been totally transformed, both in shape and functionality, with the boat entrance completely removed. The districts of Kameyama had preserved the largest number of boat accesses, while Hirata hosted the biggest number of transformed *funaya*. This coincided with the degree of urban transformation of each district: Hirata had experienced a greater degree of transformation, with a significant augment of urbanised space, achieved by building several retaining walls behind the urbanised area.

As for the main houses, originally, they had not been right behind the *funaya*, but in higher, narrow plateaus around different shrines and temples. The connection between houses and boathouses had been composed by narrow and steep paths. Houses progressively had occupied spaces closer to the *funaya*. Consequently, the urbanized space near the coastline had been enlarged and retaining walls made of concrete had become necessary to enlarge these spaces. In 2003, the background of the *funaya* area,

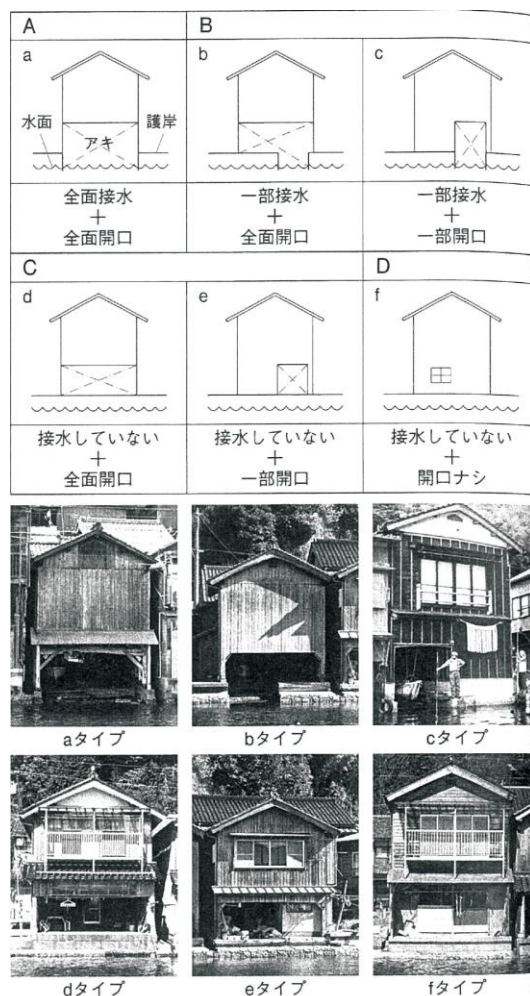


Fig.3.88 Typological classification of the *funaya*, in the 2003 survey. Source: Ine town.

which had been occupied by forest, was full of these retaining walls.

Ine had not lost its visual appeal due to the modernization, but it had been severely modified when it came to structures. Thus, its value was in the continuity of the community. It was not about preserving a certain shape, but about preserving a way of life, including its historical alterations. Assuming that the *denken chiku* system would require the protection of the external shapes, it was mentioned in the guidelines for a future protection policy, but barely. Being the built structures, especially the *funaya*, relatively new, the recommendations were limited to discuss about the protection of the current volumes or to regulate the possible augment of floors.

The study was more exhaustive with the preservation of urban elements, and above all, the relation between the material and immaterial culture. Ine had already been studied as an immaterial cultural asset. Therefore, life in the village was a cultural asset itself, not only the village as an object to preserve. Ine had one of the most elderly population in Japan, with a high proportion of inhabitants over 80 years old. Social services needed by the elderly had to be included in an interdisciplinary department in local administration, in order to manage all the issues related to the *denken chiku* together. Measures to encourage young people move to Ine had also to be adopted.

Consequently, in 2005 the protection plan was published¹⁹². The plan aimed at maintaining the living environment as making it evolve at a slow pace. **The living environment included the whole environment, as humanized space in the present, not the past, thus it could be continued by following the logic of local knowledge. By doing so, they expected to have an environment that every generation would acknowledge as their own.** This was a long-term plan, and the execution of the plan was meant to be long-term too. The plan stated at its preamble that it had been written on the basis of both the Cultural Property Law and the Landscape Law. Thus, the plan, along with the ordinances¹⁹³, determined the area to preserve as a much wider area than that occupied by the village. All the mountain landscape visible from inside the bay was included, as well as the waters of the bay, Aoshima island, the harbour Hide was located in and the mountains visible from that harbour. The landscape did not only include mountain areas, but also, for the first time, included zones inside the sea.

The plan also defined criteria for permission of works on structures. The interventions that needed permission were limited to those altering the external aspect of the building. To get the permission, they decided as mandatory to execute a historical research on the building before any preservation works. This external aspect is defined as the view from outside, such as in a landscape, visual approach: as a principle, they encourage to preserve the current floor levels and volumes, specifying the geometry very roughly. The modified structures were said to be restored to their geometry. As for materials, they define preferred materials (such as wood structures and fixtures, coated walls and tile roofs), but also defined other compatible materials (such as tinted glasses, if they are compatible with the colours of the town, or pre-existing aluminium slide-doors, if their frames are restored according to a catalogue of examples given by Ine town), as well as incompatible ones (such as *namakokabe* decorations or other traditional-like decorations not used in Ine before). Therefore, **there was a conscious effort to avoid the historical forgeries created under the 'typical' attribute.** There are also criteria for new buildings and structures and their harmonization with the environment¹⁹⁴.

¹⁹² INE TOWN. *Ine chō dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku hozon keikaku*. Ine town, 2005.

¹⁹³ INE TOWN. *Ine chō dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku hozon jōrei*. Ine town, 2005.

¹⁹⁴ INE TOWN. *Machizukuri no tebiki*. Ine town, 2012.

Conclusions

As the tourism-centred approach was progressively discarded in the 1990s, cases such as Ine would become possible to designate and protect. Not only Ine started without considering the cultural tourism as a solution for their problems, but they also entered the *denken chiku* system one decade after their peak as a tourism spot. Moreover, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the awareness about the spoiled Japanese landscape was on the rise. As seen in Fig.2.15, in 1993, japanologist Alex Kerr published his book *Utsukushiki Nihon no zanzō*, later translated to English as *Lost Japan*¹⁹⁵. This was the first book written by a foreigner in winning *Shincho Gakugei* prize for non-fiction books. This book was a criticism against the destruction of traditional elegance of Japan after the 1960s. Even the landscapes in the most unreachable rural areas had been invaded by all kind of large-scale infrastructures for transportation, services or safety. When the governmental concern about the landscape and its beauty rose under Prime Minister Koizumi's rule, **many of the landscapes the government studied were in remote areas, maintained by small, rural communities**¹⁹⁶. **Thus, the protection of the community became a key point to protect the landscape. In this context, Ine would be in the trend which became mainstream in stage 3.**

Did different trends exist in each stage defined in chapter 2? While it is true that towns such as Uchiko were concerned about the local community, they preserved much of the old activities in workshops and museums. They also did evolve towards the protection of rural landscapes and the practical knowledge of rural communities, but these improvements typically happened outside the *denken chiku* area. A majority of *denken chiku* areas did not include their environment. Moreover, in stage 1, towns had been valued as an object from the past, created for a lifestyle which did not exist anymore. Even in stage 2, there had been some conscious decisions about not including natural environment in the *denken chiku* area such as Kurayoshi, including Utsubuki mountain in the studies but not in the protected area. **Consequently, the main trend of stage 3, in which Ine was inscribed, was exclusive of this stage.**

¹⁹⁵ KERR, Alex. *Utsukushiki Nihon no zanzō*. Asahi Bunko, Tokyo, 2000.

¹⁹⁶ ACA, AGENCY OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS. *Nōrinsui sangyō ni kansuru bunkateki keikan no hogo ni kansuru chōsa kenkyū*. Tokyo, 2003. The first survey on cultural landscapes focused on landscapes related to agriculture, forestry, river lands and fishing. Thus, the landscapes selected as candidate for Important Cultural landscapes were 180. However, the highest concentrations were in remote areas, such as Hokkaido, north of Tohoku, west of Shikoku and south of Kyushu. In 2010 (as stated in ACA, AGENCY OF CULTURAL AFFAIRS. *Saikutsu, seizō, ryūtsū, ōrai oyobi kyojū ni kankei suru bunkateki keikan no hogo ni kansuru chōsa kenkyū*. Tokyo, 2010.), 19 cultural landscapes had been selected, 7 being concentrated in the most remote areas of western Shikoku.

Conclusions of the chapter

The three cases explained picture the evolution that the planning activity in the *denken chiku* districts experienced. Moreover, this evolution at a local planning level proved to be consistent with the evolution of the valuation criteria applied by the ACA in *denken chiku* designations. As the impact of tourism in the rural economies decreased and the tourism pollution appeared as a problem, the importance that viability for tourism activities was not a common trait in designated *denken chiku*, but at the same time, tourism also lost its presence in the planning of those *denken chiku*. Thus, **even if municipal governments could conduct their plans autonomously, they adapted their vision of local needs to the valuation criteria at a national level.**

Consequently, the main trend in each stage was in fact the only trend, even with variations. In stage 1, Uchiko was one of the *denken chiku* with the lowest viability to become a tourism spot. When considering cases such as Tsumago, Hagi, Takayama, Kurashiki or the four *denken chiku* districts in Kyoto, Uchiko was by far less accessible and less connected to any other spot for cultural tourism. However, tourism was present in their plan, even if it was in an unusual way when compared with other *denken chiku* of stage 1. While Kurashiki actually succeeded in stopping economy decline through tourism during the 1980s, and Tsumago became a spot completely controlled by tourism activity, Uchiko tried to use tourism as a mean to support other economic activities. Still, as explained above, planning in Uchiko had tourism as a key point in all its plans and revisions. By contrast, in stage 2 and 3, tourism progressively lost its relevance in both valuation and planning. Communities first, and their living environment after, became central in stages 2 and 3, as seen in the cases of Kurayoshi and Ine.

Regarding the evolution of older plans in newer stages, **they introduced innovations while their knowledge of local problems grew.** Uchiko introduced the *muranami* network as a way to establish a network between central Uchiko and surrounding rural areas, as interdependent producing communities. Central marketplace could not be developed if a network of producers was not available. Moreover, the rural areas were good places to try new forms of communication with the community and enlarge the offer for tourism through eco-tourism activity. However, most of the innovations seem to be not only external to the central *denken chiku*, but also introduced via management, and not via planning. As explained in Chapter 2, **the Japanese approach focused in works on structures, rather than in urban planning, from the beginning; later, management of the immaterial aspects of culture would be added to interventions.** In later stages, local communities and their immaterial culture have been included in management from the beginning of the preservation activity.

Thus, *denken chiku* in older stages apparently have evolved towards more complex approaches along with the whole *denken chiku* system, but this evolution did not happen through planning. Instead, it happened through management. The evolution of the management models, their motivations, their composition and the results of the different models is analysed in the next chapter.

4. ANALYSIS OF THE MANAGEMENT IN 'DENKEN CHIKU' SYSTEM AND ITS EVOLUTION IN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Introduction

The planning in *denken chiku* districts and its contents have evolved accordingly with the valuation criteria to designate new *denken chiku*. The valuation (the *why* and the *for what* to preserve) defined the contents of the surveys conducted in each district. The focus point of surveys evolved, and the elements studied (the *what* to preserve) changed consequently. As it has been explained in previous chapters, a value system that focused on tourism tended to value the visual aspects of the townscape, and consequently, the objects to protect were those that visually affected the townscape, such as materials and decorative elements in façades and roofs. By contrast, a value system that focused on local life would tend to preserve structural elements important for that local life, such as interiors, uses and meanings of different spaces, or infrastructures and natural resources that made the local life possible. In the former, the colours and materials of the built structures (*kenzōbutsu*) were the *what* to preserve. In the latter, the *what* to preserve corresponded with roads, water infrastructures, the internal distribution of inhabited structures, or the built elements that linked or separated spaces, to say some.

Likewise, there was little margin for variations in the planning in each stage. In stage 1, the approach towards tourism was present, even in districts with little potential for tourism such as Uchiko¹⁹⁷. Other districts such as Kurayoshi, which also presented their candidacy to the designation as *denken chiku*, were discarded because of these lack of potential, and recovered later, when the valuation focused on other aspects. Thus, the main trend in each stage defined *why* to preserve, as well as *what* to preserve. However, in the previous chapter, the three studied planning processes also showed different degrees of participation by the local government, the local community and external scholars. While Uchiko started as a government-led process, Ine on the other hand had already been community-led for over thirty years before it was designated *denken chiku*. In the chapter 1, it was mentioned that the definition of agents (*who* participates in the preservation) and the receptors (*for whom* the preservation is appealing) of the preservation activity would define the management process of preservation plans. In other words, **who is in charge of translating the contents of the plan into specific works on structures and spaces** makes the difference between different possible outcomes of the same planning. Thus, how the management model includes social groups (tourism, local community, scholars) into management organisation will compromise the future results of the preservation works, as well as the viability of the district in the future. To sum up, **the first topic to elaborate in this chapter is the role of the agents that take part in the preservation management and implementation.**

For the purpose of researching **the agents** and their roles in preservation, this research included a hearing survey to local agents that take part in the preservation of their district. The interview survey was conducted between May 2015 and September 2016. The interview research included three phases. The first phase consisted in an extensive research in the studied regions, to verify the existence of agents and social structures around the townscape protection

¹⁹⁷ NISHIMURA, Yukio. *Shōgen. Machinami hozon*. Gakugei shuppansha, Kyoto, 2007. This book includes an interview to Fumiyoshi Okada, founder of the Yōkaichi Gokoku Machinami Hozon Center in Uchiko. He explained how cultural tourism was a main trend at the 1970s, but unlike townscapes with great cultural assets such as Hagi or Takayama, Uchiko had not any great asset with potential for tourism. The only thing Uchiko had to offer was the 'normal Japanese' type of townscape.

which is currently active. This phase would include all the districts in the studied areas, and would provide a criterion to make a further selection for detailed survey. The areas studied were larger than in later phases:

- Kyoto and Fukui prefectures.
- West Honshu area, including Tottori, Shimane, Okayama and Hiroshima prefectures.
- Seto Naikai sea area, including Okayama and Ehime prefectures.

The second phase was limited to eight *denken chiku* districts, which had a verified social network which was totally or partially willing to collaborate in the survey. This phase was a preparation phase of detailed interviews. In this phase, a documental research on each district was necessary, to prepare the specific questionnaires for each interview. For that phase, the selected districts were limited to eight (Fig.4.1), having two or three in each stage and three in each studied location (being one district located at the same time in two). These eight districts were the only ones to match the requirements as below:

- Temporal criteria: the districts were equally distributed along the 3 stages.
- Location criteria: three regions were chosen, each one being around one of the districts studied in chapter 3, and having access to the same infrastructure network. They had similar physical and geographical conditions in each region, thus, the survey made it possible to infer whether there were also common points in the management models in the same region. The regions chosen were:
 - Zone A: Wakasa bay area, including Fukui and Kyoto prefectures, and being in the regions near the Obama and Tango railway lines.
 - Zone B: Seto Naikai sea, including Ehime and Okayama prefecture, and being in regions near the Seto and Yosano railway lines.
 - Zone C: Western Honshu area, including Tottori and Okayama prefectures, and being accessed by San'in and Hokuriku railway lines.
- Social structure sufficient to maintain a network around the preservation, and active enough to be willing to collaborate with the detailed surveys.

Fig.4.1 List of municipalities with *denken chiku* districts included in the detailed survey

District (Municipality)	Designation year	Stage	Prefecture	Geographical zone	Surveys and plans	Regulations	Type of district
Kurashiki Kawahan (Kurashiki)	1976	0-1	Okayama	B-C	1973, 1984	1968, 1978, 1982, 1990, 2000	Merchant
Yōkaichi Gokoku (Uchiko)	1982	1	Ehime	B	1978, 1987, 2013	1980, 1993	Productive activity / Merchant
Fukiya (Takahashi)	1977	1	Okayama	C	1977, 1991, 2013	2005	Productive activity
Utsubuki Tamagawa (Kurayoshi)	1998	2	Tottori	C	1980, 2010	1996, 2000	Merchant
Kumagawajuku (Wakasa)	1995	2	Fukui	A	1981	1995, 2008	Post town
Ine Ura (Ine)	2005	3	Kyoto	A	2003	2003, 2005	Village
Unomachi (Seiyo)	2009	3	Ehime	B	1998	2003	Merchant
Obamanishigumi (Obama)	2008	3	Fukui	A	1991	1998, 2007	Merchant/ Teahouse quarter

The third phase was conducted between November 2015 and September 2016, and included interviews to the departments of local governments in charge of the townscape preservation, as well as local community groups and NPO created for preservation purposes. The contents of this chapter refer mainly to the interviews which were recorded and transcribed. However, a few data refer to interviews which could not be recorded for lack of specific permission by the interviewed. In addition, this chapter also includes quotations from the documents included in the research in phase 2. This is because the contents of the interviews often refer to those documents, their contents were omitted or barely mentioned in the transcriptions, so some notes were needed to understand the context in which the interviews were conducted. The interviews have been conducted in the same thematic blocks:

- Starting point, motivations and goals of the *denken chiku* designation.
- Management: agents, their tasks, their communication, the works on buildings.
- Approach and current situation:
 - Environmental approach: valuation of visuals and resources.
 - Functional approach: adaptation of the old town to modern needs and uses.
 - Social approach: changes in social structures during the preservation period.
 - Structural approach: elements and structures protected, historical periods valued.

The second topic to elaborate in this chapter is the results of the management and implementation into specific works and results. These results have their effects in the town as an environment, as a functional space, as a social space and as a temporal structure. For the purpose of studying **the results** of specific management models, a detailed in-place survey was conducted after the interviews. The detailed survey included data from each stage, including the three cases from the previous chapter, namely Uchiko, Kurayoshi and Ine, as well as the other districts included in the first section of this chapter. The analysis of results included the interventions on spaces, the plan of uses, the social occupation of the spaces and the functional network in each district.

Thus, this chapter aims at pursuing the whole chain of events from the valuation, through planning and management, up to the results. Consequently, this chapter gives a comprehensive vision of all processes involved in the *denken chiku* system, as well as the evolution of these processes and their outcomes. Then, **the last point to elaborate in this chapter is a comparative analysis of the whole denken chiku system and its evolution, from an international viewpoint, considering the theoretical, epistemological and methodological advances in European countries and other UNESCO-related international cases.**

The evolution of the agents and the management in *denken chiku*

Presentation of the cases, the agents taking part and the motivation of each agent

The table (Fig.4.2) shows an overview of the assignment of tasks, based on the information gathered in the interviews in all eight municipalities. The tasks are classified in those assigned to the local government, those assigned to the group or assembly of local community, those assigned to local individuals, those conducted as a shared responsibility between government

and community, and those unassigned. At first glance, it is clear that the management is not a uniform process in Japan, or at least, it is not as uniform as the valuation and planning processes. In addition, when considering each stage separately, the assignment of tasks in each stage is not uniform either.

There are some tasks which are equally managed in almost all the districts. The local government is in charge of the grants and permits for preservation works in cultural assets (including in private properties inside the *denken chiku*). The hiring of professional for both the preservation projects and the works are performed individually by each owner in case of private property, and by local government in case of public works. Festivals and other events, including those related to tourism, are widely managed by local community's hands.

Fig.4.2. Overview of the assignment of tasks in each municipality.

STAGE	0-1	1	1	2	2	3	3	3
AREA	B-C	B	C	C	A	A	B	A
DISTRICT	Kurashiki	Yōkaichi Gokoku	Fukiya	Utsubuki Tamagawa	Kumagawa-juku	Ine Ura	Unomachi	Obama Nishigumi
Grants and permits								
Public works								
Historical research			*					
Management tasks			*					
Tourism contact			*					
Community contact								
Contact to local individuals	*		*					
Management of vacant properties								
Preservation projects			*					
Events open to public participation	*		*					
Festivals	*		*					

	Government
	Shared task
	Local group
	Individuals
	Unassigned

*Assigned to the local group after its foundation. In the case of Fukiya, the foundation was a few years after the first preservation initiatives, while in Kurashiki, the local groups were founded during the 2000s.

Another relation which is equal in all districts is the relation between the historical study of the district, the management of the whole plan (including the establishment of schedules for public and private works of preservation) and the contact with tourists and visitors. In the cases that the members of the local community group are involved in the **obtainment of knowledge**, they are also involved in the **diffusion of this knowledge** to tourists and in the **application of this knowledge** in the management of the plan.

Regarding the differences, the table shows three major categories:

- **Temporal differences:** Districts from stage 1 were mainly planned and managed by local government, though during their existence, some of the districts founded local community groups to take over tasks related to research, management, communication and organization of events. Districts from stage 2 have the biggest share of tasks assigned to local community, while districts from stage 3 have both assigned to the community or shared government-community.
- **Geographic differences:** being because some old customs survived in certain geographic areas, or being because of communication between neighbouring districts in those areas, some characteristics are specific to either one of A, B or C

areas. In area A, all three studied districts share almost the same assignment of tasks. Sometimes, the specificity of an area is showed in a single task, while it being this one clearly differentiable from the rest. For instance, in area B, there are the only two districts in which public works are privately managed.

- **Difference between rural and urban districts:** The three most rural, small villages are those of Fukiya, Ine Ura and Unomachi. The three of them share a rural location and a reduced size of both the village and the local government. In these districts, local government works as a contact office for the local community group, due to the lack of personal and resources in these community groups.

However, when looking at the common points between different groups, **still the greatest differentiating factor is the temporal one. The districts from each stage shared a similar start point and a similar evolution throughout time.**

Fig.4.3 Motivations of each preservation process.

	Who started the process	Why started the process	Goal of protection by local government	Goal of protection by local community
Kurashiki	Community (before 1975). Local government (after <i>denken chiku</i> designation).	Protest against scratch and build.	To maintain the local life against the motorisation.	To survive through tourism.
Uchiko	Local government	Use tourism to improve local life and local awareness	To maintain local life and activities and to increase local self-esteem.	To use tourism to boost life and existing activities.
Fukiya	Prefectural government.	Preserve the villages with historical relevance or cultural interest.	Maintain the visual environment produced around <i>bengara</i> production and traditional houses.	<i>To maintain the town through tourism</i> ¹⁹⁸ .
Kurayoshi	Community	Prevent the destruction of the district by modern infrastructure works	To maintain local life as a traditional marketplace.	To recover the unused buildings and their former economic activities.
Kumagawa juku	Scholars (survey in 1981). Community at the time of the designation	Prevent the village from disappearing.	To improve the life quality of local community.	To maintain the population in town.
Ine	<i>Community</i> ¹⁹⁹	Preserve the life environment	Local life, local knowledge and environment. Preserve the visual in a territorial scale Regulate and limit tourism.	
Unomachi	Community	<i>Preserve the cultural legacy present in the town</i> ²⁰⁰ .	<i>Protection of life environment and cultural legacy, both material and immaterial culture</i> ²⁰¹ .	
Obama	Cooperation local government - community after the foundation of the community group in 1995.	Preserve the teahouses, prevent the quarter disappear due to works in sewage infrastructures.	Protection of life and natural environment.	

Next, this section describes the evolution of agents participating in management process, as well as the motivation of each agent. In Fig.4.3, the motivations described are classifiable in two kinds: government-started processes, which were motivated by a scholarly interest, and community-started processes, which were motivated to prevent some kind of damage caused by the modernisation and the loss of traditional spaces. In fact, this seems to be a common point in any community group for townscape preservation in Japan: these groups were founded as

¹⁹⁸ NARIWA TOWN, BOARD OF EDUCATION. *Bicchu Fukiya: machinami chōsa hōkokusho*. Nariwa, 1977.

¹⁹⁹ INE TOWN. *Ine Ura dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon taisaku chōsa hōkokusho*. Ine, 2004.

²⁰⁰ SEIYO CITY. *Machinami hozon no tebiki*. Seiyo, 2013.

²⁰¹ SEIYO CITY. *op. cit.* 2013.

reaction groups. These groups' motivations were 'to protest against' some destruction of their environment, 'to preserve' their environment from some external threat, or directly 'to prevent' the whole town from disappearing. The only proactive motivations are found in the districts in which preservation was started by government or external scholars with academic interests in a certain townscape.

In stage 1, most of the cases were motivated by government, or at least, they had had a strong leader figure inside the local government. In Kurashiki, Sato Shigeo had founded in 1949 *Kurashiki toshibi kyōkai*, a group to determine the future protected urban landscape (*bikan chiku*). Tsumago had Kobayashi Toshihiko, while Kakunodate had Takahashi Yūshichi²⁰², and the only exception to preservation models with strong leaderships would be Shirakawagō, which has been reported as community-led in past studies²⁰³. Regarding Fukiya, it was also started by the government (in this case, prefectural government), and the community got involved later. Okayama prefectural government started its own plan to protect culturally relevant settlements, and they decided to preserve Fukiya based on the independent research conducted by the architect Takahara Ichirō²⁰⁴.

Likewise, Uchiko had its own leader figure in Okada Fumiyoshi, who at the time was a public worker in the Tourism Department of local government. He led the preservation works because he stated that in the 1970s, the sense of local community was not strong enough to confer the leading role to Uchiko inhabitants^{205 206}. But the goal has always been to transfer the leading role to the local community when they involve themselves in the preservation of their town. Okada stated two major reasons for the convenience of transferring the leading role to the community. On the one hand, in Japanese work system, constant transfers of workers are frequent. Consequently, in three or four years, local government can make the whole team in charge of the townscape preservation to be completely different from the team that established the entire system, without being any continuity or communication between the former team and the current team. The risk of preservation policies being inconsistent is high²⁰⁷. On the other hand, locals have their home inside the district, and for them, that is not yet another structure, but probably their only home in a lifetime²⁰⁸. But at that time, locals were hoping Uchiko to become a new, modern town in which to live, not a place in which their old houses would be preserved. Consequently, Okada met with local opposition. Local opposition was common at the beginning of the *denken chiku* system, not only in Uchiko²⁰⁹, due to the lack of information and understanding by locals regarding the meaning of the system.

While the scholarly interest and the preservation of local life were the governmental interests, the communities aimed at the revitalisation of their economic activity through tourism. Tourism was, mainly, a privately-led activity. Local businesses in Kurashiki expected the merchant activity to become enforced by the tourism, and in fact they had two peaks in tourism activity: in the late 1970s, after the shinkansen arrived at Okayama, and in the mid-1980s, when Shikoku island became connected to Okayama by railway. Likewise, locals in Fukiya

²⁰² NISHIMURA, Yukio. *op.cit.* 2007.

²⁰³ SAITSU, Yumiko. 'Sekai isan no hozon to jūmin seikatsu. Shirakawa gō wo jirei ni shite', in *Journal of Environmental Sociology*, n.12, 2006.

²⁰⁴ NARIWA TOWN, BOARD OF EDUCATION. *op.cit.* 1977.

²⁰⁵ OKADA, Fumiyoshi. 'Jūmin to rekishi isan mamori katsuseika. Machinami hozon de 'kaku' takameru', in *Shōgai fōramu*, n.1163, Oct 1996.

²⁰⁶ OKADA, Fumiyoshi. 'Jūmin sankā ni yoru muranami hozon', in *Gekkan jichi fōramu*, 483, Dec 1999.

²⁰⁷ NISHIMURA, Yukio. *op.cit.* 2007.

²⁰⁸ ITO, Yuki, (Dir.). *Machiya shinshiroku*. [DVD] Directed by Yuki Ito. Japan: Group Gendai, Japan, 2015. The documentary film includes a short interview to Okada.

²⁰⁹ NISHIMURA, Yukio. *op.cit.* 2007.

expected that the old *bengara* tint factories would attract tourism, and Uchiko expected cultural tourism to rise. Locals wanted immediate economic profit, regardless of this profit being through preservation, or development of other activities. Okada states that the biggest mistake by local government was to explain townscape preservation in terms of economic profit through tourism: if it were preserved, it would become profitable. Similarly, in the studied three cases from stage 1, to maintain the townscape visually appealing for visitors was one of the key points.

Instead, after 1990, most of the processes were started by local communities. Some processes, such as in Kumagawajuku or Obama, also began with local government leading the process in the 1980s, but the *denken chiku* designation was asked by the local community in the 1990s. The case of Unomachi is the most extreme, since local community had founded a group to lead the townscape preservation in 1979. The group even had consigned a survey to apply to *denken chiku* designation to Suzuki Mitsuru, from Hiroshima University, who had also led the 1978 survey in the neighbouring Uchiko. However, the survey was never concluded due to differences with local government²¹⁰. These situations of opposition were mainly because the goals by the government and the local people were different.



Fig.4.4 Kumagawa, 2016. *Saba kaidō*, old Edo route

When looking at the cases from stage 2 in Fig.4.3, both Kurayoshi and Kumagawajuku present similar goals stated by local government and local community. This can be explained as a result of two factors. **On the one hand, the decrease of tourism in the end of the bubble economy caused local communities to look elsewhere as potential activities. On the other hand, there was a new generation of locals taking over the initial one from the 1960s and 1970s; this generation had seen the depopulation and economic decline of their districts.**

In this context, the goal for local government would be to maintain the local community as a guarantee to preserve the town. For the new generation, the recovery of their life environment, including buildings and activities would become their goal. In stage 2, both Kumagawajuku and Kurayoshi were equally threatened. Both had been bypassed by the infrastructures after Meiji revolution, both had been in strategic points along routes from Edo period (Fig.4.4), and both had lost their main economic activity after railways and roads had been built elsewhere. In this context, both communities started by studying and recovering production activities and customs from past generations in their present, to use them as resources again.

In the same line, the towns from stage 3 started as led by a young community generation recovering the environment and the knowledge from past generations, and local government entered the processes when they were asked, thus sharing the goals by the community. Obama started preserving its teashops (Fig.4.5). Ine started with preserving its fishing culture and the threatened natural environment that made that fishing culture possible. When locals considered going back to traditional fishing as a solution for their economic decay, the generation living in Ine at the time had to re-learn the traditional techniques in order to use them. Thus, the preservation started from the immaterial aspects of the culture, and only when

²¹⁰ SEIYO CITY MACHINAMI HOZONKAI. *Symposium: Unomachi no machinami wo kangaeru. Kako kara mirai he.* Seiyō, 2015.



Fig.4.5 Obamanishigumi, inside a teashop privately preserved, 2016.



Fig.4.6 Unomachi, 2015. Old school building.

they realized that they needed to preserve their structures (especially the *funaya*) and environment to assure the preservation of the immaterial, they sought the collaboration by local and national governments. As for Unomachi, it had been an important educational centre since Meiji period, and they were worried about losing the heritage related to this past (Fig.4.6). The community in Unomachi wanted to include their immaterial culture and become a cultural reference for Ehime prefecture again²¹¹.

Consequently, as a new generation of locals took over, new elements such as immaterial culture and environment were introduced, while the tourism-oriented operations lost importance. This new generation also appeared in *denken chiku* designated in stage 1. Thus, the new elements that appeared in some of the stage 3 districts were incorporated in stage 1 districts and sometimes in stage 2 and other stage 3 districts (Fig.4.7). These new goals were sometimes included in *denken chiku* revisions,

or in completely different plans which were not necessarily limited to the *denken chiku* district. Both the plan revisions and the new planning figures had a common cause: preservation activities inside *denken chiku* system were limited by the initial view by the ACA. These revisions defined their goals as below.

- **Enlargement of protected area.** In stage 1 and some cases of stage 2, the districts designated by the ACA had not included the whole zone studied zone in surveys, but only the zones which were the most visually appealing and the best preserved. Thus, Uchiko and Kurashiki, and even Kurayoshi from stage 2, saw how similar structures as those preserved inside the *denken chiku* were destroyed in nearby areas. Kurashiki had already included a larger area in its own ordinance: the figure of *bikan chiku* (district of scenic value) included the whole *denken chiku* and its surroundings, included Tsurugatayama mountain and its temples and shrines, at the north of the *denken chiku*.
- **Increase of protected elements and structures.** Elements which were not visible from the street but were important to the town structure were included in plan revisions. Fukiya added urban and landscape elements, as well as the whole land plot structures. This protection was already present in newer plans such as in Kurayoshi, but Fukiya included it in later revisions. In 1991, they studied the internal shape and its evolution of each building, and the structure of land plots, thus not limiting the definition to the external shape²¹². A building was not only a façade for a certain period (Meiji, Taisho, Showa) anymore, but a series of superimposed structures. In the second revision, in

²¹¹ SEIYO CITY MACHINAMI HOZONKAI. *op. cit.* 2015.

²¹² NARIWA TOWN, BOARD OF EDUCATION. *Dentôteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku minaoshi chōsa hōkokusho*. Nariwa, 1991.

2013, they would define the character of each quarter inside the Fukiya denken chiku. This revision would also include a study of immaterial culture, such as local crafts, traditions and festivals²¹³. These revisions would not be necessary in the denken chiku designated in stage 3, because they already included the structures and the immaterial culture. Uchiko also studied inner yards and domestic spaces, important for everyday life.

- **Include the study of immaterial culture.** With a new generation of locals actively participating in the research and recovery of traditional knowledge, plan revisions also included the preservation of old crafts and festivals.
- **Include environmental protection.** Ine initially included the whole environment inside its protected area. Moreover, the plan in Ine defined territorial parameters such as the proportions of natural and built environment. Likewise, other *denken chiku* included environmental elements and territorial networks in different protection figures: the *muranami* network in Uchiko and the landscape protection in the Tao district in Unomachi, were two protection figures with similar parameters of protection.

Fig.4.7 Revisions of plans and their motivations (information from the interviews)

	Reasons for plan revisions	Other figures or denominations
Kurashiki	Enlargement of the protected area to include areas not designated at first	Bikan chiku: larger area around <i>denken chiku</i> .
Uchiko	Enlargement of the protection to the domestic spaces such as inner yards. The life environment also includes the recovery of old crafts, which could help create jobs in an inner market.	Muranami: a network to preserve rural areas around central Uchiko, as well as their natural resources, their economy and their traditional crafts.
Fukiya	Increase of studied structures. <i>Addition of immaterial culture: festivals, local techniques and knowledge</i> ²¹⁴	No
Kurayoshi	Enlargement of the protected area to include areas not designated at first	Landscape protection includes Utsubuki mountain and its rich flora.
Kumagawa juku	No revision	No
Ine	No revision	No. Natural and rural resources are included in the <i>denken chiku</i> .
Unomachi	No revision	Protection of rural settlements, their natural resources, their economy and their social spaces
Obama	No revision	No

To sum up, the agents and their motivations evolved to reach a wider range of scales, to match the needs and requests of the local communities inhabiting *denken chiku* district. These motivations started from the visual protection of the street space, and continued being enlarged to include the territorial and landscape scale. Territorial scale has been managed mainly with a network of small urban protection planning figures, protecting a network of settlements around the *denken chiku*, rather than with figures of territorial planning. The only exception would be Ine, which includes the territorial scale inside its large *denken chiku* area. The protection also evolved to include the immaterial culture. But **the immaterial culture, as well as the territorial scale, are not points regulated by the planning based on *denken chiku* system. Thus, they had to be addressed through local management models. These management models needed a division of tasks between local government, local community groups, and even families living in the district.**

²¹³ TAKAHASHI CITY. *Takahashi shi Fukiya: dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku minaoshi chōsa*. Takahashi, 2013.

²¹⁴ TAKAHASHI CITY. *op.cit.* 2013.

Division of tasks among the governmental and community agents

Governmental agents

The role of local governments has evolved along with the empowerment of local communities and the formulation of new goals to achieve through townscape preservation. When considered the management structure inside the local government, the main trend is to concentrate the management of cultural properties in a single department of each local government, typically the Board of Education, while separating this management from urban planning, which is typically conducted by the Department of Town Planning. The separation of tasks and areas is conducted as below:

- The Board of Education manages the preservation activities related with the designated cultural properties. Cultural properties are designated by ACA, prefectural government or municipal government. *Denken chiku* are delimited by the ACA, thus the Board of Education manages the preservation of the structures inside this delimitation. But the lack of competences in town planning by the Board of Education, and to the strong protection of land property rights by Japanese laws, cause the preservation activity to be conducted through interventions on structures and money incentives to owners, rather than detailed plans and ordinances.
- The Department of Town Planning conducts the planning independently, including inside and outside the *denken chiku* areas. The Law of Town Planning allows municipalities to define areas of special protection in their urban plans, and these areas are defined by the Department of Town Planning. Thus, the Department of Town Planning can conduct tasks related with planning, management and execution of works in urban infrastructures inside protected areas.

Fig.4.8 shows the division of governmental tasks related to the *denken chiku* and cultural assets. The main agent by local government is either the Board of Education or some office inside it. As for the Department of Town Planning, it has some competences in *Kurashiki* and *Unomachi*. In *Kurashiki*, the *denken chiku* district is included in the larger protected area designated *bikan chiku*. This area is defined based on the Law of Town Planning, so it is managed by the Department of Town Planning. Thus, Town Planning is in charge of public works related to urban infrastructures inside the *bikan chiku*, such as roads, purification pump for the river, bridges, fire extinguishing equipment, street lights, and electric poles. As for *Unomachi*, the Department of Town Planning manages the protected rural areas outside the *denken chiku*, which are managed separately and regulated under different national agencies. And the differentiation between agencies is the same in every town, where **not only the Board of Education and the Department of Town Planning have their own preservation activities, but they also depend on different Ministries**: the programs by the Board of Education depends on the MEXT, and the ones by the Department of Town Planning, on the MLIT. The incoordination between protection of structures and town planning starts at a national level²¹⁵.

The exception to that is *Uchiko*. While originally the Office for Townscape Preservation and the Office for Town Planning were separated, they were fused into the Department of Regional Promotion in order to join all the competences needed in *Machinami Hozon Center*. The Department of Regional Promotion has actually competences on town planning in all the

²¹⁵ HOHN, Uta. 'Townscape Preservation in Japanese Urban Planning', in *The Town Planning Review*, n.68.2, 1997.4. The author states that Japanese *tatewari gyōsei* (strict vertical organisation of bureaucracy) is an obstacle for horizontal coordination between different agencies, which 'requires tremendous voluntary efforts at the 'informal' level' (p.241).

municipality, while the Machinami Hozon Center acts as a branch office inside the *denken chiku*, with competences only inside the district. Thus, the preservation outside the *denken chiku*, as well as the coordination with community groups from outside the *denken chiku*, are assigned to the Department of Regional Promotion.

Fig.4.8 Governmental tasks (information from the interviews)

	Tasks by the department responsible for the <i>denken chiku</i> and cultural properties	Tasks related to cultural properties by other departments
Kurashiki	Board of education: Grants and permits for works. Communication with group leaders.	Department of Tourism: Tourism information points. Department of Town Planning: management of urban infrastructures
Uchiko	Machinami Hozon Center (union of former workers from Board of Education, Tourism and Regional Promotion): Grants and permits for works. Communication with locals. Study of the history of the district. Information centre for visitors. Application of the disaster prevention plan.	Department of Regional Promotion: Created in 1999 as the union of Office for Townscape Preservation and Office for Planning and Regulation. In charge of town planning, as well as management of the <i>murunami</i> network.
Fukiya	Board of Education: Grants and permits for works. Execution of public works such as electricity, roads. Act as a mediator between the inhabitants and the designers.	No
Kurayoshi	Department of Cultural Properties, inside Board of Education: Grants and permits for works. Execution of public works in roads and in the river. Distribution of fire alarms and equipment.	No
Kumagawa juku	Board of Education: Grants and permits for works. Open the application period to request grants for restoration. Execution of public works. Management of empty houses. Taking part in the organisation of festivals. Grants for events related to the management of the <i>denken chiku</i> .	No
Ine	Board of Education: Grants and permits for works. Execution of public works (public space, electricity, sewage, water). Provide technical assistance through manuals and catalogues. Contact office for the local community group.	No
Unomachi	Department of Economic Promotion: Grants and permits for works. Open the application period to request grants for restoration works. Contact office for the local community group. In works on private property, prepare the project, hire the professionals by means of public competition.	Department of Town Planning: preservation of rural settlements around Unomachi.
Obama	Board of Education: Grants and permits for works. Execution of public works such as electricity posts, roads., the river, sewage, parks, open spaces. Take part in the meetings and events by the local community group.	No

Likewise, Unomachi has a specific office for the protection of the *denken chiku* inside the Department of Economic Promotion, while other protection figures such as protection of rural areas is assigned to the Department of Town Planning. According to both local community and local government, this is due to two circumstances. First, the above-mentioned conflicts between the community and the Department of Town Planning, which was originally in charge. Second, the proximity (both geographically and ideologically) to Uchiko. Okada Fumiyoshi had taken the preservation out of the departments in the local government and founded an exclusive office and meeting point inside the protected district. Then, he took part in study groups organized in Unomachi and assessed them. Thus, Unomachi did exactly the same as Uchiko, and now they have their office inside the district. In both Uchiko and Unomachi, the office inside the district is in charge exclusively of the district itself. Other preservation figures involving rural

areas and landscape are assigned to other departments. Thus, in these two cases, there is a clear separation between the tasks inside and outside the *denken chiku*.

However, as a rule, the Board of Education is in charge of most of the tasks related to the preservation of the structures inside the *denken chiku*. Regarding these tasks, the only one shared by all of the studied towns is **to give the permits and money grants for any work in privately owned structures. Yet, the criteria to give grants and permits varies between stages.** In stage 1, being the **preservation-through-shape** applied, the criteria for permits have been largely based in the valuation of the external façades, in case of traditional buildings, or the harmonisation with the shape of the street, in case of non-traditional structures.

By contrast, in stage 2, a **preservation-through-use** criterion applied, and the modernisation of interior space is encouraged in both Kurayoshi and Kumagawajuku, with the limit of maintaining the structure. In the case of Kurayoshi, the permit requires a previous historical research on buildings before preservation works, to define the structural elements that can receive grants. However, local government does not intervene in case of modification of structures, or even their destruction to open car parks in private land plots.

In stage 3, with towns typically in more rural locations, **governments also provide technical support before and after the permit.** In Unomachi and Ine, local government also includes the condition of a previous historical research to give the permit. After the permit is given, and due to the lack of professionals, local governments provide support in different ways. In Unomachi, the contact between the architects of other technicians and the owners is facilitated by local government. In Ine, due to the lack of scholars and professionals, preservation works are often performed by the locals, who are often unaware of the difficulties to perform these tasks under the directions of the ACA. To solve that, the local government produced a handbook, with directions for preservation works and a catalogue of traditional designs of built elements, to be used as a reference²¹⁶. Some other small towns in rural locations, provide some technical support, even in stages 1 or 2. In Fukiya, the local government does not hire the designer, but it acts as a mediator between the designers and the dwellers.

The second most frequent task for local government is the **execution of works in public space and infrastructures**. Every town has its particularities about which infrastructures are intervened or not. Electric lines have been put in subterranean lines only in some districts. Same happens with water, sewage, street elements, trees, walls, terraces and so on. In two *denken chiku* in B geographic area, Uchiko and Unomachi, local government is not in charge of common infrastructures. This is because in both cases, historically there has been an agreement between locals to manage these public works privately, by assigning the corresponding part of street, water channels and infrastructures to each house. In the case of Uchiko, they even had a rule to define small vicinities, called *mukōsankenryōrin*²¹⁷ (literally ‘three buildings opposite and both sides’). According to this custom, every owner had to build their houses in harmony with the houses at their left and right, as well as the nearest three in the opposite side of the street. In the case of Ine, the local government is also in charge of executing the preservation works of urban elements such as paths, walls or stairs, but the schedule of these works is managed by the community of each quarter inside Ine Ura.

The rest of the tasks assumed by local governments are significantly heterogenous.

²¹⁶ INE TOWN. *Machizukuri no tebiki*. Ine, 2012.

²¹⁷ In Japanese, 向こう三軒両隣.

- **Increase of local awareness and valuation.** Uchiko focuses its activity in strengthening the local identity, so that local community will lead the preservation in the future. They plan to organize study groups with locals and scholars, but it has not been established yet. In later *denken chiku*, these tasks are often assigned to local community.
- **Disaster prevention plans.** Implementation of the fire and disaster prevention plans is carried by local government in two districts, while disaster prevention activities are also widely assigned to the community.
- **Support to local community group.** In small towns, the address and telephone number of the community group is that of the municipal office. Two more municipalities, Kurashiki and Uchiko, are also in charge of some formal type of contact with community groups and citizens, while Obama takes part in community meetings only when they are required. Kumagawajuku is in charge of some tasks to support the community: taking part and providing grants for the festivals and events, and managing the empty houses to find potential dwellers. **Generally speaking, smaller villages tend to have a more direct, informal contact with dwellers, while they assist to local communities through money grants or performing certain support tasks.**

Thus, when it comes to the division of tasks in the management of the preservation activities, the limit between the tasks by government and tasks by community is unclear, but the trend may have changed **towards passing the initiative to the community.**

Community agents

Provided that the community have been evolving to take the initiative on the management tasks, the next question is how this community is composed, and how it distributes the tasks to perform. Consequently, the key points are two: whether organized community groups oriented to preservation exist; and which tasks are assigned to these groups, when they exist, and which tasks are left to individual citizens. The interview survey aimed at answering these two questions.

Fig.4.9 shows the goals of existing community groups and the goals defined by the community in the beginning. Groups of all three stages have their own singularities. In stage 1, only Fukiya had a specific group, called Machinami Hozonkai, from the beginning, being the most long-lived community group of this study, and moreover, one of the groups in charge of the largest number of tasks. The initial purpose of Machinami Hozonkai in Fukiya was to agree how and when to perform preservation works in each house, but they also aimed at promoting tourism from the beginning. Yet, local government is also involved in the group, and in fact, the Board of Education acts as a contact office for the Machinami Hozonkai.

The other districts from stage 1 have a **more disperse structure of community groups.** In Uchiko, local government creates and dissolves groups by defining *machizukuri* plans every few years. These groups are created to respond to specific needs at a time (revitalisation of a rural area, or revitalisation of farming or tourism activity). Local government is usually represented in each group, and Machinami Hozon Center acts as their contact office. The only fixed members in these groups are the workers in Machinami Hozon Center, while the locals take part in meetings or events at their convenience. Thus, it has not any organizational structure, other than the local government. That is why Uchiko model is called government-led machizukuri²¹⁸.

²¹⁸ SUZUKI, Shigeru. 'Chiisana jichitai no chōsen. Ehime ken Uchiko chō no machizukuri no tokuchō'. *Zaisei to kōkyō seisaku*, vol. 31 num. 1, May 2009.

This could cause problems in case of sudden job transfers inside local government, thus becoming the main problem of government-led processes.

Fig.4.9 Relation between goals by local community and existence of community groups (information from the interviews)

	Goal of protection by local community	Existence and purpose of community groups
Kurashiki	To survive through tourism.	Machiya Trust: Maintain the community who ensures the future of the town. Denken chiku mamori sodateru kai: regulate the activities in the <i>denken</i> according to local needs.
Uchiko	To use tourism to boost life and existing activities.	Government organizes groups to solve specific needs related to boosting activities: Machinami Hozonkai: to organize events along with local government and to raise awareness in the <i>denken chiku</i> . Rural groups: to recover rural activity and develop eco-tourism. Karari Fresh Market: to build and manage a marketplace for local farmers.
Fukiya	To maintain the town through tourism ²¹⁹ .	Machinami Hozonkai: to maintain their houses and businesses (now through tourism). All households take part.
Kurayoshi	To recover the unused buildings and their former economic activities.	Machinami Hozonkai (70% of locals take part): raise awareness about the preservation and about safety against disasters. Akagawara: to revitalise the district through business activity. Akinaijuku: to attract new entrepreneurs to Kurayoshi.
Kumagawa juku	To maintain the population in town.	Special Board of Machizukuri (all inhabitants take part): to revitalize the town by exploiting all its potentials: local products, tourism, forestry, re-use of empty structures, attraction of young settlers ²²⁰ . Sectorial groups: fire prevention group, activity group, research groups on folk knowledge. Planning, execution of machizukuri.
Ine	Local life, local knowledge and environment. Preserve the visual in a territorial scale Regulate and limit tourism.	Machinami Hozonkai: to preserve their life environment and their traditional culture and knowledge.
Unomachi	Protection of life environment and cultural legacy, both material and immaterial culture ²²¹ .	Machinami Hozonkai: to study the history and folklore of Unomachi, to divulge about Unomachi and its culture.
Obama	Protection of life and natural environment.	Machinami Hozonkai: to raise awareness about the value of the district among the disagreeing citizens, and to make Obama succeed with the plans for the protection.

Currently, there exist the two groups in Uchiko, created in the 2000s with the support of local government: the farmer's group in 'Karari' Fresh Market, and *muranami* groups, in rural communities around central Uchiko. These groups are meant to create their own tourism assets through their activity. 'Karari' Fresh Market is located outside the *denken chiku* and without any direct contact (Fig.4.10), and farmers sell their products and organize events to divulge about their activity and traditional techniques. Likewise, in other rural areas, locals have recovered traditional structures such as farms, to use them as tourism lodgings. Rural communities, which have a greater cohesion, show how the protection of local life had to precede tourism as an economic activity. Tourism had to come only as a consequence of a consistent work on preserving the life environment. If it is preserved, it will bring customers. The model of tourism which they aimed had to be locally managed, while it had to enforce the recovery of local crafts, as they considered that local life was the main asset of Uchiko. Thus, they tried to avoid businesses from outside the town which sold cheap souvenirs available anywhere else.

²¹⁹ NARIWA TOWN, BOARD OF EDUCATION. *op.cit.* 1977.

²²⁰ WAKASA TOWN KUMAGAWAJUKU, SPECIAL BOARD OF MACHIZUKURI. *Saba kaidō Kumagawajuku katsuseika moderu chōsa*. Wakasa, 2007.

²²¹ SEIYO CITY. *op. cit.* 2013.

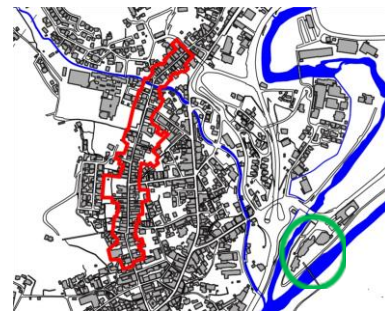


Fig.4.10 Pamphlet of Uchiko 'Karari' Fresh Market, which is run by local farmers, and its position in relation with old town. Source: Pamphlet from Uchiko Town Tourism Office.

However, local groups in central Uchiko have not been developed because local merchants pursued a more standard model of tourism town, thus making tourism the new main economic activity. This stance was completely opposed to Okada's stance. In late 1980s, the concept of *kankō kōgai* (tourism pollution) was spread, and local governments had started talking about the convenience of focusing on tourism. In Shikoku, at the end of stage 1, this debate was intense since the opening of the railway access to the island, which caused a significant massification of tourism in different spots. Not only Uchiko, but every *denken chiku* district in the region, suffered this massification, and different departments inside local governments, could not agree a position towards the massive tourism²²².

Kurashiki has two groups, both being founded in the 2000s: Machiya Trust and Denken chiku Mamori Sodateru Kai. Machiya Trust works as an NPO which acts as a mediator between owners of empty properties and potential dwellers, while also working as a local association for neighbours living in the eastern part of the *denken chiku* (Higashimachi and Honmachi quarters). The eastern part is the part of the *denken* which was not included in the *denken chiku* in 1976, but it was included in the 1984 revision. Consequently, it did not suffer the consequences of tourism in late 1970s and early 1980s. But instead, it suffered the problems of depopulation and

²²²HOHN, Uta. 'Important preservation districts for groups of historic buildings', in ENDERS, Siegfried RCT, GUTSCHOW, Niels (Ed.). *Hozon: Architectural and urban conservation in Japan*. Edition Axel Menges, Stuttgart/London 1998. In Wakimachi district (Tokushima prefecture) in 1988, local government workers had also opposed views about tourism because of *kankō kōgai*. In October 1993, an article in *Asahi Travelling* magazine and a special issue of the *Tabi JTB* magazine, caused a huge increase of tourists in 1994 Golden Week. In that week alone, Wakimachi had more visitors than the entire previous year, and the district was not prepared to host that quantity of tourists.

aging as in any non-touristic *denken chiku*. In this context, the purpose of Machiya Trust is to ensure that there will be a next generation to take over the preservation of Kurashiki and its culture. For its part, Denken chiku Mamori Sodateru Kai (from now on, Mamori Sodateru Kai) has its headquarters in the western part of the district. This part has been strongly transformed by tourism, and many properties are used exclusively for businesses, and the actual number of inhabitants in the area is small. Consequently, Mamori Sodateru Kai aims at avoiding the life environment to be lost. For that purpose, they pursue the regulation of the *sofutomen* or soft aspects, which are the immaterial elements of the life environment, such as regulation of activities inside the *denken chiku*. These activities should ideally be decided in consensus with local inhabitants and they should prioritize to fulfil the local needs over the demands by tourism. This fulfilment of local needs must be compatible with modern life and appealing for young people to live inside the *denken chiku*.

As for Fukiya, which is a remarkably smaller village than Uchiko and Kurashiki, Machinami Hozonkai is a group formed by all the families living inside the *denken chiku*. They act as an assembly in which all the operations in private properties are debated. Other than that, they aim at maintaining the town by means of tourism activity. Contact with tourists is assumed privately, by the community.

In contrast with this dispersed participation of local communities that exist in stage 1, the districts in stage 2 present a fully recognisable community group at the centre of the preservation management. Both Kumagawajuku and Kurayoshi have a group representing a vast majority, if not the totality of inhabitants, and in addition, other groups which gather specific people for specific purposes. In both cases, they aim at raising the awareness of the local values, promoting the local culture, revitalising the local activity (local production, local resources exploitation, tourism), preventing disasters, and attracting new young inhabitants to their districts. Most of these tasks are conducted in coordination with the local government. Thus, **while in the stage 1 there were examples of disperse local groups with a strong involvement by local government in all their tasks, the stage 2 established groups which worked independently but in coordination with government at certain tasks.**

Kurayoshi had as a main goal of their preservation activity to recover the economic activity of the old merchant town. Thus, when in 1994, Kurayoshi was proposed for the designation by the professionals of the ACA, local merchants were already prepared to give their support. In 1997, Akagawara company was founded to re-use unused buildings as new businesses. They recovered 15 old pavilions, which were mainly large buildings (soy sauce factories, sake cellars) and thus, difficult to re-use by their individual owners. The company leases unused buildings from their owners, and use them for different businesses or facilities. Their goal is to assure the existence of a next generation that continues the activity in the district. Thus, the businesses and facilities are not only limited to tourism: in one of the buildings (Akagawara pavilion number 10), they established an information point, which provides information to tourists, as well as shows about business opportunities in the district to young people interested in settling in Kurayoshi (*Fig.4.11*). In addition, the merchant association manages Akinaijuku, a structure which is lent to potential merchants who want to establish their business in central Kurayoshi. These merchants borrow the structure for 6 months, and during this time, the local merchant association helps them to find a place suitable for their business.

Thus, the management of the economic activity and tourism is assigned to the local merchants from the beginning of the *denken chiku*. The local community formed its group after the fire in 2003, which affected several structures in the eastern part of the district. In one of



Fig.4.11 Kurayoshi, 2015. Akagawara pavilion number 10 – ‘Wakamono ikiki café’ is a cafe/information point for young people about activities in Kurayoshi and job opportunities. It also works as tourism information point.

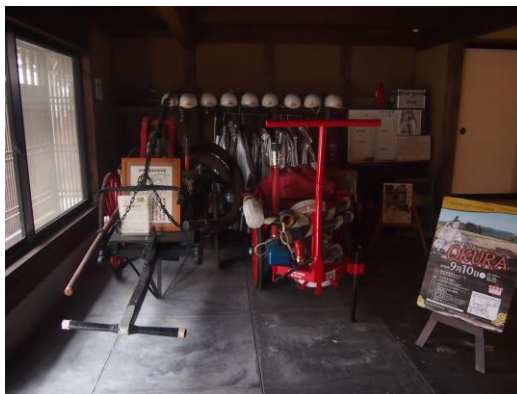


Fig.4.12 Kurayōshin Fire Prevention Center, 2016.



Fig.4.13 Kurayōshin Fire Prevention Center, 2016

the affected structures, the local government opened ‘Kurayōshin’²²³ Fire Prevention Center (Fig.4.12, Fig.4.13). As the facility was opened, it became the headquarters of the local community group, Machinami Hozonkai (Association for the Preservation of the Townscape). The group focuses its activity in raising awareness regarding protection and prevention of disasters. They are in charge of the communication with local inhabitants, and they also organise periodical drills to train locals in the use of the equipment for firefighting.

In stage 3, local community groups started as independent from local government, they were managed independently, and sometimes were in charge of tasks that had been assigned to local government in districts from stages 1 and 2. In all three cases of Ine, Unomachi and Obama, local community did not see viability in tourism as a main activity. Thus, they focused on studying and recovering their lifestyle and their culture (both material and immaterial). After that recovery, they also work in raising the awareness of local people towards the local culture. For that purpose, local community groups in the three cases, and also in Kumagawajuku from stage 2, started their own historical research groups. Generally speaking, the community groups which get involved in the research group and thus improve their knowledge on their town, are the community groups which take the largest part of the initiative in management tasks.

In Ine, when locals considered going back to traditional fishing as a solution for their economic decay, the generation living in Ine at the time had to re-learn the traditional techniques used by previous generations, in order to use them. They had organised themselves to recover and preserve their traditional techniques, and to lobby against the works threatening their environment. The

²²³ In Japanese くら用心. The name is a combination of ‘Kurayoshi’ and ‘hi no yōjin’ (lit. ‘watch out for fire’, as a reference to groups traditionally created to raise awareness about fires in Japanese dry winters).

preservation of the immaterial part of their heritage is still their job. Since there is a lack of scholars and professionals in Ine, the study related to the recovery of this immaterial culture is also assumed by local community. The community itself assumes the consultative tasks, and local government consults them directly. They also re-think the use of the unused boathouses, often converted to lodgings for tourists or dwellings for their relatives. Other tasks related to the maintenance of immaterial culture, such as the Ine festival, which is performed every year at early August, are also local people's tasks.

Thus, **the groups have been progressively evolving towards a management in which the community has its own initiatives, and leads the entire process for study and preservation.** However, this model is not exempt of risks. First, as community groups were created as reaction groups to specific problems, and they have not any long-term action plan or specialised knowledge, even if they create study groups. Second, especially when considering that most of the districts in stage 3 are located in small towns in rural areas, these groups have a generational problem. As in most rural settlements which are severely depopulated, there is not a next generation to take over the founders' work. These two problems are not necessarily present in government-led groups, since government has effective access to specialised knowledge and also can replace personnel.

In Ine, the management structure is experiencing the opposite problem to that of Uchiko. The local government has also its work transfer system, and in fact, the current personnel in the Board of Education has a limited knowledge of the history of the preservation in Ine. That would not be a problem in a community-led management model such as Ine, as long as the community survives. However, according to the local government, Ine is in the top at the list of villages with the most elderly, single-person households in Japan. Likewise, the current local association, created in 1993, is having difficulties because there is not a new generation to take over the previous one, mainly because of lack of employment for females. The recovery of fishery employment created jobs, related with traditional fishing or with new businesses such as fish raising, but fishery employees are exclusively male. In this context, while the local council becomes inactive, the local government currently serves as a contact office for the local council, thus having to take some tasks back from community. Moreover, since in Ine, the public works are scheduled by the community, the paralysation of local council not only paralyses the works on private structures, but also paralyses the debate about the works on public property and infrastructures. **Thus, while a government-led management has the problem of frequent job transfers, a community-led management has the problem of the decline of communities.**

As for the second key point, namely the division of tasks among the community groups and individual citizens, *Fig.4.14* shows the relation of tasks assigned to each one. The community groups have three major tasks: **raising awareness** among the local community, **studying and preserving** the local material and immaterial culture, and taking part actively in the **planning and management** of the town. Due to the lack of specialised knowledge by locals, the study is usually necessary to be able to take part in the planning and management. The activities to raise awareness are more present in districts in stages 1 and 2, while the study tasks and management tasks are in districts from stages 2 and 3.

Fig.4.14 Community agents and tasks (information from the interviews)

	Tasks by community group	Tasks by individual citizens
Kurashiki	Machiya Trust: Publications, festivals, local meeting point, inviting new inhabitants to empty houses. Denken chiku mamori sodateru kai: communication between locals, and between locals and government.	Maintenance of their property. Prepare the project, hire the professionals. Apply for grants if they wish to execute any work in their property.
Uchiko	Machinami Hozonkai: publications, events, trips to other denken chiku, along with local government. Rural groups: works on creating eco-tourism assets. Karari Fresh Market: organize market and workshops in Fresh Market building.	Maintenance of their property and public spaces. Prepare the project, hire the professionals. Apply for grants if they wish to execute any work in their property.
Fukiya	Cleaning of the surroundings, drills for emergencies. Groups of study, visits to other <i>denken chiku</i> . Decide the execution of the works every year.	Taking part in the local group
Kurayoshi	Hozonkai: oriented to raise community awareness. Organization of festivals, fire prevention drills. Akagawara: re-use of old structures (factories and storehouses) as shops. Attract new inhabitants and businesses. Akinaijuku: lease a shop space inside the denken chiku for 6 months to candidates to open a business.	Maintenance of their property, including the whole land plot and the water channels. Prepare the project, hire the professionals. Apply for grants if they wish to execute any work in their property. Allow local government to conduct the in-place research before interventions are allowed ²²⁴ .
Kumagawa juku	Organization of activities and festivals, fire prevention, communication with locals, tourism promotion, re-use of unused structures, attract new inhabitants. Research on history and culture of the <i>denken chiku</i> , Machizukuri Masterplan.	Maintenance of their property. Prepare the project, hire the professionals. Apply for grants if they wish to execute any work in their property. Taking part in the local group.
Ine	Preservation of the fishing techniques and the knowledge about their environmental resources. Each quarter inside the <i>denken chiku</i> , is in charge of applying for money grants to preserve their public structures.	Maintenance of the property. Apply for grants if they wish to execute any work in their property. Allow local government to conduct the in-place research before interventions are allowed. Organizing festivals with no intervention by government
Unomachi	Focused on the historical research of the whole village including the <i>denken chiku</i> . The study includes the recovery of past traditions (such as festivals) and the recovery of landscapes. They also organized symposiums in the past, to interchange experiences and knowledge with scholars and other <i>denken chiku</i> .	Maintenance of their property. Maintenance of the infrastructures around their property: walls, water channels. Apply for grants if they wish to execute any work in their property. Allow local government to conduct the in-place research before the intervention is allowed.
Obama	Detailed management and the future of the preservation. They work together with the local government. Organize yearly sessions to explain the grant system.	Maintenance of their property. Prepare the project, hire the professionals Apply for grants if they wish to execute any work in their property. Organizing festivals with no intervention by government.

The **raising of awareness** is managed through different strategies. In Kurashiki, the Machiya Trust plays a similar role as local government in Uchiko through the Machinami Hozon Center: it is a meeting point for locals, it is used as a cafe, and it communicates its activities through publications. In addition, Machiya Trust acts also as an information centre for potential new inhabitants: they establish guidelines for these new inhabitants to be proactive towards the preservation of (1) buildings, (2) community and (3) material culture of Kurashiki. The new locals are encouraged to preserve their buildings, to take part in the community activities and to establish businesses not oriented to tourism, but oriented to develop economic activity around the traditional production in Kurashiki. Consequently, several businesses related to textile products have been opened in the last decade. Textile, especially denim, had been a traditional production in Kurashiki. By its part, Mamori Sodateru Kai focuses its activity on the communication with the government, thus becoming a useful source of information about the problems inside the *denken chiku*. In other *denken chiku*, community activities are another way

²²⁴ This was commented by the member of Kurayoshi Board of Education, Okamoto Tomonori, during a visit to some works in a house which I was allowed to see. It was in my personal notes, but it is not included in the formal interviews.

to raise awareness. Fukiya community group organizes the cleaning of the surroundings, as well as fire safety drills. In stage 2, Kurayoshi and Kumagawajuku also organize fire safety drills, and in addition, they invite new potential inhabitants to the unused buildings in the district.

The **groups of study** are more common in small towns, and in stages 2 and 3. Fukiya, Kumagawajuku, Ine and Unomachi are all small towns in rural locations, and all have a traditionally principal activity which eventually disappeared: Fukiya had its mines and its *bengara* (traditional red tint) factories, Kumagawajuku had its posts, Unomachi had its educational centres, and Ine had its small-scale fishing. All four orient their study to the recovery and the re-use of this cultural legacy in current life. Meanwhile, they have recovered some old traditions that had disappeared, such as materials and tools, or festivals that had been celebrated in the past but eventually had been stopped. Unomachi also organizes periodical workshops with professionals related with heritage preservation and learn how to manage events, landscapes, local productions, among others.

Consequently, as mentioned above, more **management tasks** are assigned to community groups in these municipalities with groups of study. Fukiya Hozonkai decides the yearly schedule of preservation works inside the district; in Kumagawajuku, the local group is in charge of the Machizukuri Masterplan, which defines the works, facilities and activities needed for the future of the district; in Ine, works in public space (roads, walls, stairs, terraces, agricultural lands) and the grants needed to execute those works are managed by community groups in each quarter inside the district; in Unomachi, local group takes part in the recovery of landscapes in risk of disappearing. Finally, the Hozonkai in Obama centres its activity in workshops conducted with the local government, to decide the works in urban space, oriented to the revitalisation of the old Obama²²⁵. Their most significant achievement has been the opening of *Machi no Eki*. This public facility is located in the entrance to the *denken chiku* from the main road across Obama city. It includes the Asahiza theatre, built in early 20th century, and it is use for cultural events oriented mainly to locals. The intervention also includes new structures and facilities: a car park for visitors, a rest area, public toilets, tourism information point and some restaurant area showing the local cuisine. Overall, the management tasks assigned to community groups have two characteristics. On the one side, they are **short-term (usually one year) decisions**, and on the other side, they refer to **specific works on structures or specific activities, one by one**.

As for tasks assigned to local inhabitants individually, they are mostly in charge the **maintenance of their local property**, in seven out of eight cases. Only in Fukiya, where community group includes the whole locals, the group decides through consensus when and how execute the works in any property. The maintenance is limited to their property in four cases (Kurashiki, Kumagawajuku, Ine and Obama), while in Kurayoshi it includes the water channels behind the private land plots, and in Uchiko and Unomachi it includes the entire street space.

The **application for grants** is also responsibility of each individual in every municipality except for Fukiya. As for the **preparation of projects and hiring professionals for works**, they are tasks for individuals except for these small villages in which the local government takes this responsibility (Fukiya, Unomachi and Ine).

In addition, they have some disperse tasks such as **allowing the local government to conduct a historical research on any building** before the execution of any reform work, **taking**

²²⁵ OBAMA CITY. *Obama chiku naka-nishi bu chiiki kankō machizukuri keikaku jigyo hōkoku shiryō*. Obama, 2014.

part in the local group (in Fukiya and Kumagawajuku) or the **organization of festivals** without the government being involved.

Communication between agents

The communication between the local government and the community groups has evolved from government-led to community-led. In stage 1, the contact has been kept by informal ways, typically regular visits by local government members to community group leaders. In addition, local government has a specific office or telephone line to deal with issues from the *denken chiku*. But in the municipalities in stages 2 and 3, local government attends to the meetings and events organized by community groups. Thus, the communities have taken responsibility of the communication at the same time they have taken responsibility of the management and planning of the *denken chiku* (Fig.4.15).

Fig.4.15 Communication between agents (information from the interviews)

Municipality	Community groups	Citizens in general	Visitors
Kurashiki	Regular contact with group leaders, monthly meeting.	Publications by community group (<i>Machiya</i> Trust), cafe, events. One -on-one consultations by community group (<i>Denken chiku mamori sodateru kai</i>)	Tourism information centre, tourism information points.
Uchiko	Depending on the existing groups at the moment. Workshops with rural groups about rural life, production and environment.	Hozon Center workers visit locals on a regular basis, and manage all contacts between locals, on one side, and local government and preservation professionals, on the other side.	Machinami Hozon Center has its own exhibition space.
Fukiya	The government has a phone line to deal with topics related to Fukiya.	Usually through the local group.	Information point with volunteers, run by community group.
Kurayoshi	Local government attends to the Hozonkai meetings, every other month. Hozonkai publishes its bulletin every trimester since 2015.	Local government communicates directly with citizens at the street. Yearly questionnaire survey to citizens. Publications: diary, calendar.	Akagawara group maintains the tourism information centre.
Kumagawa juku	Local government attends to events run by local community groups.	Local government visits regularly the <i>denken chiku</i> and speak directly to locals. Local government distributes the 'life in Kumagawa guide' to all the inhabitants, with the guidelines for preservation and use of land. Community group has its periodical publications, as well as a guide for new settlers.	Museum, information centre in Kumagawajuku, and webpage, run by locals. Local government publishes information about the district, its history and its activities.
Ine	Local government as a contact office for the community group, since its members are aging and becoming inactive.	Manual for intervention in buildings, with a catalogue of traditional elements (grills, lattices...) found in traditional structures in Ine.	Tourism information centre, headquarters of the tourism cooperative. They offer tourism guides by volunteers.
Unomachi	Local government takes part in their study sessions, where they invite people from other <i>denken chiku</i> (Okada, from Uchiko). They also distribute their news magazine among the locals.	Office for the protection of the machinami visits locals on a regular basis, and manages contacts between locals and preservation professionals. Manual for intervention in buildings, with a catalogue of elements found in traditional structures and detailed drawings explaining combinations and sizes of built elements.	Office for the protection of the <i>machinami</i> is located inside the district and acts as an information centre.
Obama	Local government takes part in all meetings and events by local community.	Local government publishes a pamphlet explaining the criteria to get grants and permissions.	Local community group opened an information point with volunteers. They organize tours on demand.

As for the communication with citizens in general, it is deeply related to the tasks assigned to the local government and the citizens in each *denken chiku*. In stage 1, the communication

tasks with the citizens are assigned to community groups, who act as mediators, with the exception of Uchiko. In *denken chiku* of stages 2 and 3, local government is in charge of more formal communication, such as publication of manuals or questionnaire surveys. The direct contact through informal visits to citizens is performed in four out of eight cases. In these cases, the argument to maintain these informal contacts is that informal conversations give the opportunity to know more details about the real circumstances and needs of each family and house, while these details would never appear in formal surveys. The cases of the most direct contact are in Uchiko and Unomachi, where public workers are full-time inside the *denken chiku*, thus making direct contact more available.

Regarding communication with visitors, local community takes the responsibility in six out of eight cases, including all the *denken chiku* from stages 2 and 3. The exceptions are Kurashiki and Uchiko. In Kurashiki, the tourism information is not integrated in the town preservation, and it is performed separately by the Department of Tourism. By its part, Uchiko Machinami Hozon Center acts both as a contact office for Machinami Hozonkai and as a tourism information office inside the *denken chiku*. In the rest of the districts, locals run their own tourist information centres, providing information pamphlets to visitors, and in a few cases, even guided tours by volunteers. The pamphlets for tourists are typically produced by the same tourism centres, except for the case of Kumagawajuku, where the local government also provides additional information about the environment around the *denken chiku*.

To sum up, when the *denken chiku* system was introduced in 1975, governments took over most of the communication activities that were conducted by locals in the 1960s, but with the progressive empowerment of local communities after 1990, local communities regained the control over the communication. The only exception is tourism: **since tourism remained as a goal only for local inhabitants, but not a main goal for local governments (Fig.4.3), tourism remained as privately managed as a majoritarian rule.**

Analysis of each management model and their effects

Preservation management and its effects on functional systems

Preservation activity may influence the functional system in two ways. On the one hand, the activities oriented to the revitalisation of the economic activity (whether tourism oriented or not) may have caused private properties to be used for the revitalised economic activities. On the other hand, the goal of preserving the life environment of the preserved districts may have brought a new set of facilities and new uses necessary for modern life. Thus, the effects on functional systems can be tracked in two lines: how private land use changed by tourism or other economic activities, and how public facilities and services such as transportation evolved to adapt to the new lifestyles.

Fig.4.16 shows the **relation between tourism uses and private land uses**. In stage 1, even when the management of the preservation was government-led, tourism activity remained in private hands. Public initiative was present in museums and information centres, as well as other services such as car parks and public toilets. However, public initiative was not coordinated with private businesses, and the results in each case are very different. In Kurashiki, its urban nature made it possible to appear a considerable number of hotels around the protected area, built in modern style and in buildings higher than inside the *denken chiku*. Regarding the private businesses, they have occupied most of the western area of the *denken chiku*, wiping out the dwellers and emptying the district when shops are closed. By contrast, outside large urban

locations, *denken chiku* developed very few hotels and shops, thus making the tourism to stay typically around 2 hours long. This created a huge demand for car and bus parks, rest areas and public toilets, and overall, a **fast-paced tourism model**. This fast-paced model created a small number of souvenir shops, which usually open at times tourists are in town, but not a solid economic activity.

Fig.4.16 Current state of functional systems around the *denken chiku* (information from the interviews)

Municipality	Use of private land	Tourism facilities
Kurashiki	Shops and factories (west area): tourism uses Shop-dwellings (east area): new inhabitants opened non-souvenir businesses, selling products related to the historical crafts in Kurashiki	Re-use of dwellings: museums and hotels. New hotels: workers' dwellings replaced by hotels. In bubble period, hotels appeared all around the <i>denken Ivy Square</i> : tourism facilities in the old denim factory.
Uchiko	Shop-dwellings: Most of them are exclusively used for dwelling. A few of them use their former shop area as a shop. Most of the attempts to establish souvenir shops failed.	Few lodgings. Some publicly managed. Car parks and toilets for tourists in <i>denken chiku</i> . Tourism assets outside the <i>denken chiku</i> have their own car parks and facilities. Convention centres, theatres, spaces for events.
Fukiya	Dwellings: most of private land is used as dwelling. Shops: converted to souvenir shops. Some business related with bengara remain. Bengara factories: disappeared or closed.	Souvenir shops, tourism information office, tourism tours on demand. Car parks for tourists, rest areas and toilets in the rear of the <i>denken chiku</i> .
Kurayoshi	Shop-dwellings: some used only as shops. Storehouses: former storehouses for leasing are used as shops.	Information point and souvenir shops: run by Akagawara company. Cultural properties open to public: Kyumakitake, Toyodake houses. Local museum: near the <i>denken chiku</i> , public. Car parks and toilets for tourists.
Kumagawa juku	Post-dwellings: re-used as dwelling. Shop-dwellings: shops only open at holidays Storehouses: they used to lease them to travelling merchants, but now they are unused or privately used.	Information point, museum: run by locals. Tourist oriented shops, cultural properties open to public Car parks, rest areas and toilets.
Ine	Dwellings: used as dwellings. Funaya: often divided between boathouse, storage or garage, and auxiliary dwelling. <i>Funaya</i> used as <i>minshuku</i> lodgings decreased due to the aging of their owners.	Private properties: the plan aims at establishing some limits to tourism. Few lodgings exist. Tourism information centre: run by volunteers.
Unomachi	Dwellings: many in centre are empty, or leased to different businesses. In western area, most of the dwellings are in use. Re-use of buildings: Bunka no Sato, a meeting point for locals and visitors, and Ikeda cellar, as a concert hall for local music bands.	Cultural properties: old school buildings inside and outside the <i>denken chiku</i> are used as museums. Bunka no Sato (a former merchant store) is used as information centre. Nagomi no kan: model house refurbished by the electric company, available for leasing to perform events.
Obama	Dwellings: use as lodgings and tourism assets increased. Shops of the merchant area: most were closed. Some are preserved as cultural assets by local government.	Tourism information, rest point and parking - Machi no eki. Cultural properties: old teahouses have been reformed to be used as modern cafes or to show to visitors.

Currently, local governments make efforts to develop a more slow-paced, eco-oriented tourism model, in *denken chiku* from all stages. In Uchiko, local government have opened some lodges, around the *denken chiku* but close to it, or in rural villages. This was possible after Uchiko absorbed Ikazaki and Ota towns, smaller municipalities in rural areas which already had their own associations for tourism. The plan for tourism published in Uchiko in 2007 was actually a collaboration of all tourism associations, which eventually merged into one association²²⁶. The plan was a comprehensive rethinking of functional systems in Uchiko, to orient them to slow-paced tourism. The four topics included in the plan were *machiaruki* (a network of signs and floorplans aiming the slow-paced tourist), *satoaruki* (a network of facilities open to public, such as farmhouses and sake breweries, to highlight the production and environment in the villages),

²²⁶ UCHIKO TOWN. *Uchiko chō kankō kōryū keikakusho*. Uchiko, 2007.

kawaaruki (barrier-free courses in natural environment, including the recovery of river transportation) and *yamaaruki* (restore the infrastructures in natural environment such as water mills). Thus, tourism model was based on traditional knowledge, which made necessary to slow down to learn. The same approach was tried later inside the *denken chiku* and its surroundings. Old theatres and factories were reformed to be used convention or workshop spaces. However, the public of the conventions celebrated in Uchiko usually stay at other towns due to lack of offer of private lodgings.

The impact of tourism in the use of private land in Uchiko *denken chiku* is explained in Fig.4.17. Being the accessible spaces only a few, a tourism visit to Uchiko can be completed in a brief time, thus making the tourism stays in Uchiko typically 2 hours long. In fact, only a few of the existing shop-dwellings are currently on business, which means that only a few of the structures are visible as shops. Same happens with the cultural properties existing in the *denken chiku*: some of them have been transformed into museums, such as Kamihaga house-factory, but other cultural assets are private and inaccessible, such as Honhaga and Ōmura houses. Thus, in Yōkaichi Gokoku, the area accessible for visitors is limited almost exclusively to the space defined by the physical façades (Fig.4.18), while the shop spaces, which used to be social spaces, remain closed. Only in certain events promoted by local government, the old shop spaces are open to the public. These events include the Kangetsukai (moon viewing), which is celebrated during one day in September. But these one-day events are not as frequent as to help boosting the tourism.

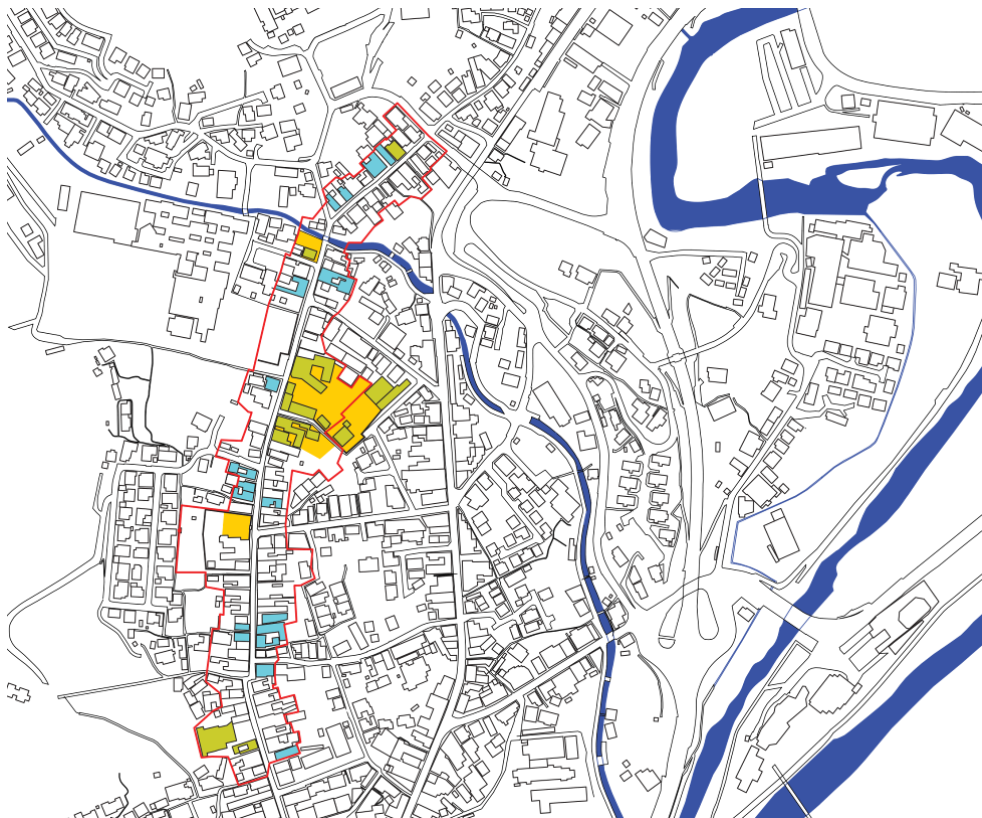


Fig.4.17 Uchiko, 2016. Tourism facilities(green), public spaces (yellow) and shops (blue) are the few accessible spaces in the protected district.



Fig.4.18 Yōkaichi Gokoku district, 2015. Most of the stalls of the merchant street are closed, thus the street is usually the limit accessible to visitors.



Fig.4.19 Yōkaichi Gokoku district, 2015. Local crafts shop in the denken chiku.

The number of private lodges inside the district is one, plus another one in the same street but outside the protected area. The local government have opened some lodges, such as Takahashi villa, outside the denken chiku but close to it, or the Ishidatami lodge, in Ishidatami rural village. However, the impact on the number of overnight stays in Uchiko have been limited. Yet, visitors are the main scope of the businesses. Although Uchiko succeeded in its goal to boost businesses different from souvenir shops similar to those that sell the same products anywhere in Japan, and instead, craftsmen's' workshops and shops selling local products have been established (Fig.4.19), there is not any business selling merchandise for everyday life.

In that sense, the *denken chiku* district has lost its function as a marketplace for the locals, which was the basis of its everyday life. The mutual feedback between the attraction of tourism through showing everyday life and the recovery of this everyday life has not happened. This is partly a result of the dispersion of the management towards the community, which makes them compete against each other. The opposition by locals to any protection model which would not focus on economic profit from tourism, and lack of dimension of central Uchiko to be a tourism spot for long stays, made Okada and his team search a life-environment network along with rural areas inside the same municipality. The approach towards preservation in Uchiko could evolve thanks to the actions that took place outside the denken chiku. However, the rural *muranami* network is rather diffuse, and the relation between different local groups is inexistent. As an example, 'Karari' Fresh Market was built in a town with plenty of unused shop space in its old centre, which could have been used if different community groups had worked together (Fig.4.21). Instead, Karari' Fresh Market was installed near an access to the prefectural route, and it is accessible independently from central Uchiko. Moreover, it developed their own facilities and networks: their own car parks, their own rest areas, their own toilets (Fig.4.20). It is a facility prepared for fast-pace, motor-vehicle tourism, instead of the slow-pace, walking tourism that local government pursued. **Thus, tourism-only centred use of private land appears insufficient to assure the future preservation of the town, especially if community aims at a standard model of tourism exploitation. This approach, present in stage 1 districts, result in a fast-paced tourism which cannot become a main economic activity to support the district.**



Fig.4.20 Uchiko, 2015. 'Karari' Fresh Market.



Fig.4.21 Uchiko, 2015. Yōkaichi Gokoku district



Fig.4.22 Kurayoshi, 2016. New shop inside a storehouse.



Fig.4.23 Kurayoshi, 2016. An old structure recovered as exhibition place for local crafts.

In stage 2, local groups changed the focus of tourism from souvenir shops and businesses to the re-use of cultural assets to show the local life and knowledge. Information points, exhibition galleries, concert halls and spaces available for temporal leasing are privately run. Individual businesses included tourism in their scope, especially in rural locations. Many of the businesses open only on weekends and holidays, when both locals and visitors have free time. Most of traditional businesses, such as shops and storehouses, are used as dwelling; only in Kurayoshi the old merchant activity has been recovered to a certain extent, thanks to the initiatives such as Akagawara and Akinaijuku (Fig.4.9, Fig.4.14). Their works on private land focused on the structures of each land plot, including auxiliary buildings, open spaces and access networks. Provided that storehouses have their own access from the street, they can be used independently from the main houses of each land plot. The **preservation-through-use** philosophy was applied to these preserved structures. Thus, some storehouses have been re-used for the establishment of new businesses (Fig.4.22). Consequently, new businesses have been opened in buildings that are not meant to host a dwelling.

The facilities opened by some locals are also open and in use, contributing to the revitalisation. These locals have their structures open, while they recover some of the old crafted products that used to be sold in Kurayoshi, such as *washi* paper or textiles (Fig.4.23). These re-used buildings, combined with the buildings leased by Akagawara company have brought a revitalisation of the activity, especially in the eastern part of the district (Fig.4.24).

Kumagawajuku tried a similar approach, but conditions were different. First, Kumagawajuku, a former post-town which had been bypassed by modern transportation infrastructures, had not any possibility to revitalise their former activity as a post-town. Second, the size of the community is much smaller than in Kurayoshi. In that context, they use tourism as a support for their preservation and research activities, but not as a main economic activity. Old posts have been reconverted to shops and restaurants, which usually open only at weekends; most of inhabitants have another job

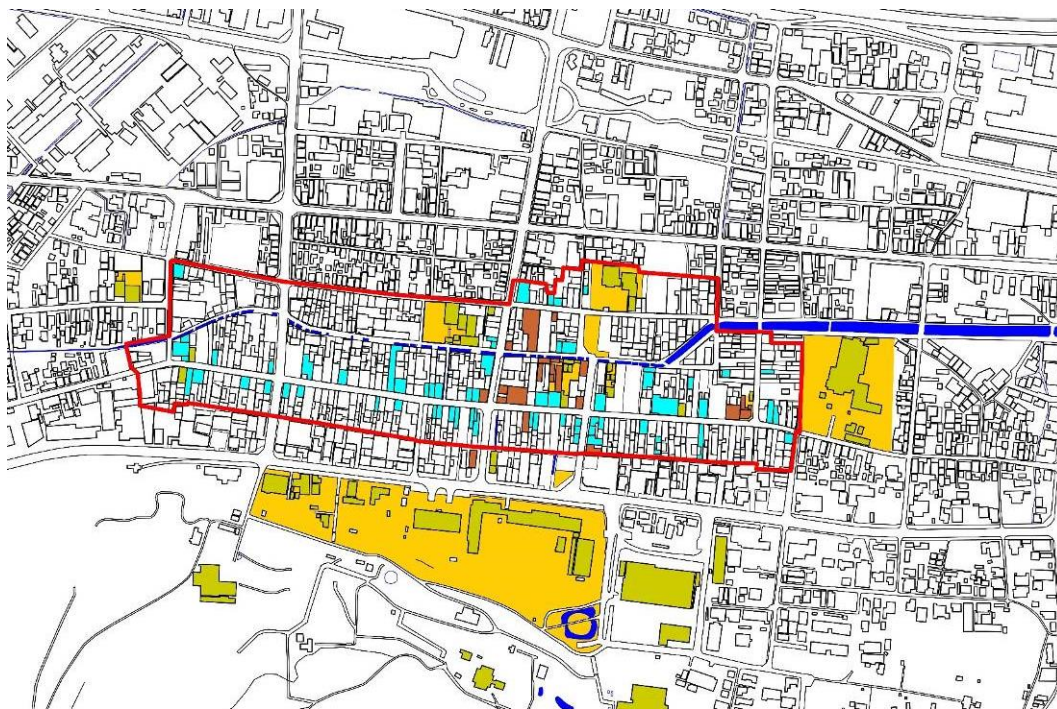


Fig.4.24 Kurayoshi, 2016. Public facilities(green), public spaces (yellow), shops (blue), plus the buildings re-used by Akagawara.

outside the district. Yet, many local structures and many sources of immaterial culture such as festivals have been studied and recovered with the support of tourism. Being that the case, the unused structures have been recovered as communitarian facilities, such as in the case of Kyūhen Mikan Heiei house. This house was reformed while transforming the interiors, to see the potential of old structures to become modern spaces, and currently it is used as a meeting point between community and visitors (Fig.4.25, Fig.4.26).

The use of tourism as a support is much more secondary in stage 3 districts. Local community in Ine aims at regulating the tourism activity, and they debate the opening of any new lodging or tourism facility in their council. They also organize tours conducted by local volunteers, to focus the tourism activity in showing their culture at a slow pace and to a limited number of visitors. Unomachi has a very similar approach towards tourism, while Obama recently included tourism in their activities, provided that the traditional economic activities

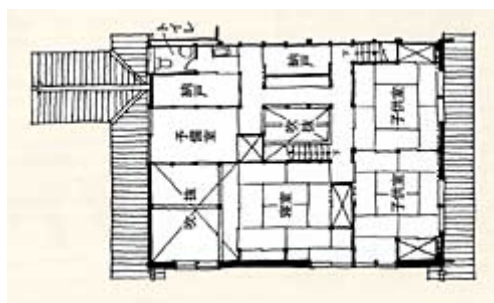


Fig.4.25 Kumagawajuku, Kyūhen Mikan Heiei house after reform. Source: webpage of Wakasa Visitors Association (<https://www.town.fukui-wakasa.lg.jp/kankou/sitesheeing/kumagawa/img/kumagawa29.gif>) (accessed 2016.9.15)



Fig.4.26 Kumagawajuku, Kyūhen Mikan Heiei house, 2016.

(such as the teahouses) required visitors to be continued. **Thus, stage 3 uses tourism as a secondary activity, limited only to their needs. To sum up, while the contact with tourists have been mainly a task by the community in all three stages, the use and management of private land has progressively moved away from tourism activity.**

Fig.4.27 Current state of public facilities around the *denken chiku* (information from the interviews)

Municipality	Car parks, traffic	Public facilities
Kurashiki	Public, included in planning; few garages in dwelling plots	Health: a hospital existed since early 20th century. Education: 2 primary schools, 1 high school near the protected area. Social: Some houses were converted to social welfare. Other: the old market disappeared
Uchiko	Car park for tourism behind the <i>denken chiku</i> . Lack of private car parks	Health: health centre 1 km away from the <i>denken</i> , since old hospital was demolished. Education: schools within walking distance. Social: community, cultural and welfare within walking distance.
Fukiya	Car parks near the houses or at small car parks nearby.	Local school closed. Educational and health facilities are 20km away but have their specific buses. A doctor visits the village once per week.
Kurayoshi	Many private land plots transformed to car parks. Public car parks near the district, but their use rate is low. Some houses were replaced to make room for private cars.	Health, educational, welfare, cultural and governmental facilities are within a walking distance from the district.
Kumagawa juku	Private cars: in the rear alleys There are car parks for tourists at both ends of the district.	School is in a walking distance. Other services were moved to central Wakasa, near Kaminaka station.
Ine	Lately public car parks have been opened in central Ine. There is also a car park in Hide, in the tourism boat port, and another one, with a bike leasing service, in the tourism information point. Private car parks in spaces between buildings or inside <i>funaya</i> and storehouses.	Primary and secondary schools are in central Ine, as well as social welfare. The health centre and the town office were moved outside because local government previewed a fusion of Ine with Miyazu city. That fusion never happened. There are a few daily buses connecting central Ine with public facilities.
Unomachi	Private car parks in empty plots and in plots with modern houses. Public car parks planned and run by local government.	Educational, health and governmental facilities inside or within a walking distance, since the <i>denken chiku</i> is in a central position in the town.
Obama	Lack of car parks. Empty plots are used to park. There is no space to open a garage inside the old houses. Most streets are one-way because they are narrow.	Educational and social facilities were moved out of the <i>denken chiku</i> , at a walking distance.

Regarding **the goal of adapting the public facilities and services to adapt to the new lifestyles**, a list of these public facilities is summarized in Fig.4.27. Here, there is a difference between towns in stage 1 and the others. In stage 1, Kurashiki and Uchiko have models in which the department or office in charge of town planning is somehow involved in the townscape preservation. In the case of Kurashiki, Department of Town Planning is in charge of the implementation of the plan for urban landscape²²⁷, as well as the maintenance of public infrastructures and services in the *denken chiku* and its surroundings. Being the *denken chiku* in the city centre, it maintained the principal health, educational, social and cultural facilities are within walking distance. In Uchiko, the preservation and town planning tasks are coordinated by the same office, thus, the preservation plans and surveys in Uchiko could include regulations of urban systems. In this case, facilities are within a walking distance from the *denken chiku*, even

²²⁷ KURASHIKI CITY. *Kurashiki shi keikan keikaku*. Kurashiki, 2014.

if some have been relocated near the prefectural route. But the location of some facilities is related to the re-use of old structures and sites. Old Uchiko station area hosts most schools and social facilities, while Uchiko Middle School, is in the site of one of the old factories in the *denken chiku*.

The case of Fukiya is different because in the meantime, it was absorbed into Takahashi city, thus integrating its own local government into it. Thus, it lost its centrality, and as a result, most of the public facilities were concentrated in more populated areas of Takahashi city. This would be the main tendency in stages 2 and 3: since town planning is usually separated from the *denken chiku*, the planning and location of public facilities depend mostly in the position of the *denken chiku* in relation with the municipality. Those *denken chiku* which maintained their

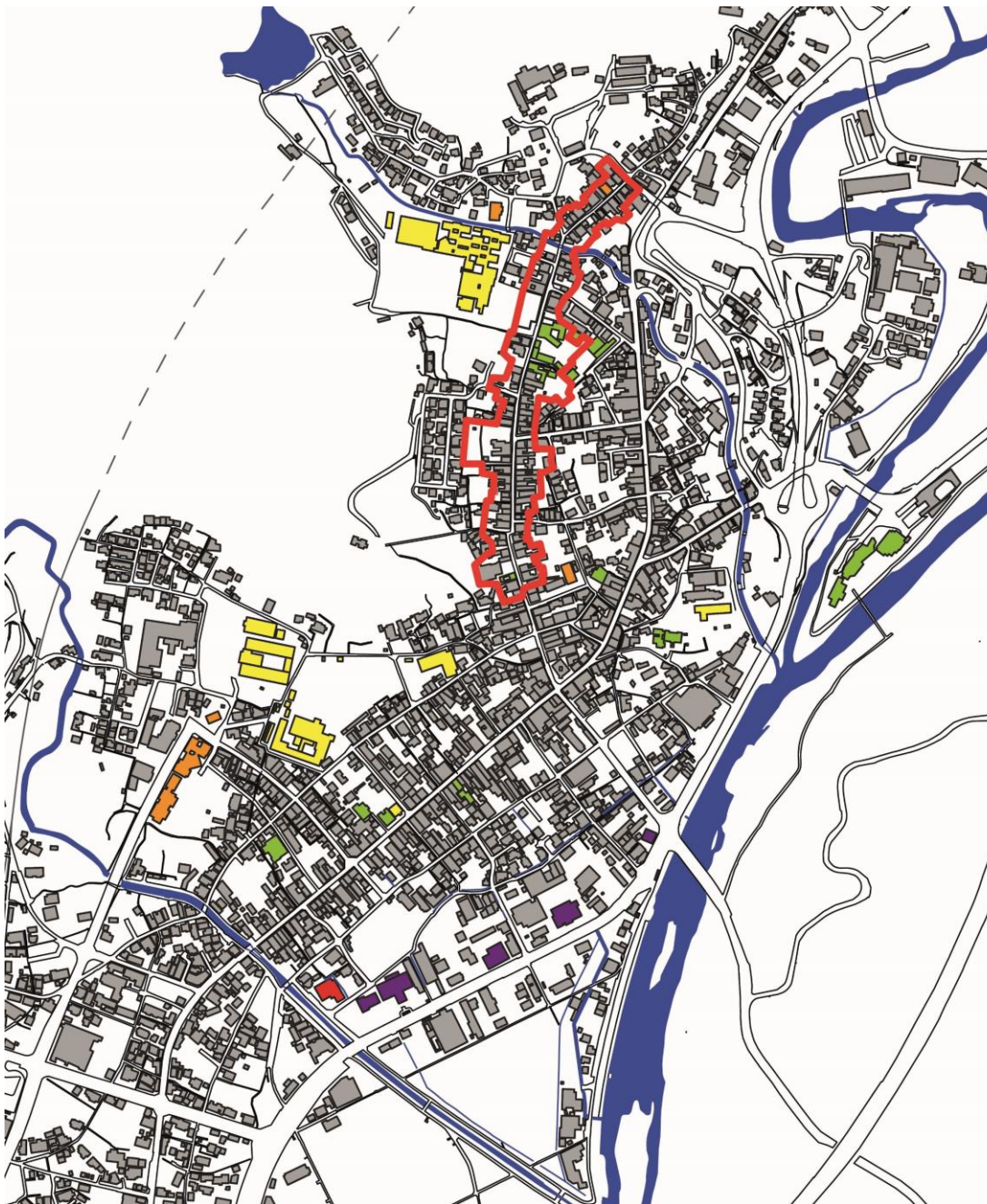


Fig.4.28 Uchiko, 2016. Location of public facilities: educational (yellow), community/social (orange), governmental (purple), health facilities (red), tourism and cultural facilities (green).

position of centrality maintained also the public facilities around them. This is the case of Kurayoshi (Fig.4.24). Other districts have also preserved their position close to the current centre, but they have the majority of their facilities usually near the new bypass roads built after the 1960s. This is the case of Ine, Unomachi and Obama. The smallest rural villages have been incorporated to larger municipalities, and consequently, have lost their independent facilities, like the above-mentioned Fukiya, or Kumagawajuku.

Ine had the same risk when it was planned to be fused to larger Miyazu city (Fig.4.27). The planned fusion was also conducted by the Department of Town Planning. Previewing that the public facilities would serve to a larger area, several were moved from central Ine to the new bypass, outside the *denken chiku*. The affected facilities were the town hall, the health centre and the fire station (Fig.4.29). Currently, an inhabitant in the far-eastern area of Ine bay has to walk six kilometres to reach the municipal offices or the public health centre, while public transportation is often unavailable. The rest of the facilities (elementary and middle school, social welfare centre) remain in their original locations in the central area, but still far from the eastern quarters.



Fig.4.29 Ine, 2016. Public and tourism facilities (green), public spaces (yellow) and private businesses (blue). The facilities in the west, outside the *denken chiku* area, were originally in central Ine.

Small rural villages have difficult access to educational, health or governmental facilities, and depend mostly on private car to reach the closest facilities, or even to reach shops for their daily needs. Bus transportation services are usually scarce, thus many cars, and many car parks, are necessary for locals as they are for tourists. The need for space for private cars is also a problem in the most urban areas such as Kurayoshi, especially after the closure of Kurayoshi Railway in the 1980s.

Fig.4.27 also shows the current situation of traffic and car parks. While car parks for tourists are usually planned, the problem of private cars is harder to solve. Again, stage 1 districts with their links to the office in charge of town planning have more possibilities to open the necessary infrastructures. In Kurashiki, as the *denken chiku* is at the centre of the city, it is surrounded by major urban car park facilities. In Uchiko, another main problem of Yōkaichi Gokoku district that keeps it from being used as a marketplace is its use for car traffic. While car parks for tourists are implemented, car parks for locals and anyone who visits them privately is insufficient. Machinami Hozon Center planned the implementation of local-oriented car parks in the back alleys of the *denken chiku*, so that people could park their vehicles without having to go across the district, but so far, these proposals have not been introduced into the town planning in Uchiko. In addition, there is another problem: some residential areas, as well as some privately-managed car parks are also accessible exclusively across the *denken chiku*. A broader urban plan would be necessary to open alternative accesses to these areas.

As for the rest of the cases, the separation between preservation and town planning creates ambiguous relations. In small rural villages, such as in Fukiya or Kumagawajuku, they usually have large spaces between buildings to use them as private garages. In more dense areas, there is usually a problem of lack of space, which has been solved by demolitions of unused buildings and opening of privately managed car parks.

In Kurayoshi, as a consequence of the long time until the designation, and in a context with absolute lack of public grants to maintain the traditional structures, many land owners decided to move out of the district, demolish their houses and open car parks for leasing instead (Fig.4.30). Some others, demolished their houses to build a new one with a parking space in

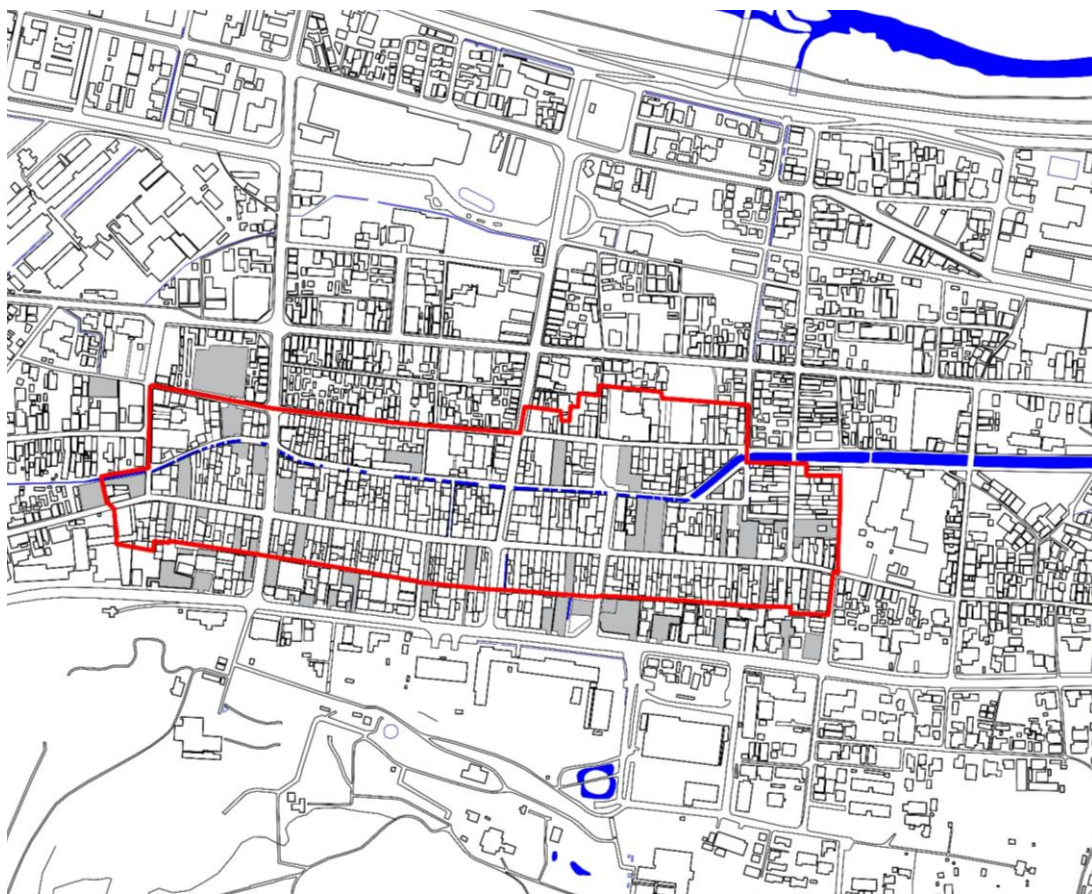


Fig.4.30 Kurayoshi, 2016. Location of car parks in and around the *denken chiku* (in grey)

front of the house. To avoid that, Kurayoshi city forbid the opening of parking spaces in front of houses opened public car parks around the *denken chiku* and opened public car parks outside the *denken chiku*, but many properties had already been demolished by then. Regulation of traffic has also an ambiguous relation with the *denken chiku*. Traffic goes around the district by using the main roads, which are north and south of the district. But at the same time, some transversal alleys have been opened recently, thus demolishing some of the buildings in the old district.

Similar tendencies were followed in districts from stage 3, Ine, Unomachi and Obama. In all three cases, local government opened car parks close to the *denken chiku*, in empty plots or replacing modern buildings. By its part, locals from all three *denken chiku* worked to open their own car parks in their private land. The case of traffic and car parks Ine is especially conflictive. The road there is at some points as narrow as three metres. This makes the road unpracticable for interurban buses, leaving only the possibility of using vans or minibuses for local public transportation. Since eastern quarters concentrate the most parts under three metres, they have a higher concentration of *funaya* transformed into car parks (Fig.4.31). As for public parking lots, most of them are concentrated on central districts, but some of them are in the location of former public facilities. Local government usually cannot operate in any land plots but the public ones, and the only lands available for parking lots were those occupied by old public facilities in central Ine, which were moved when the fusion with Miyazu city was planned.

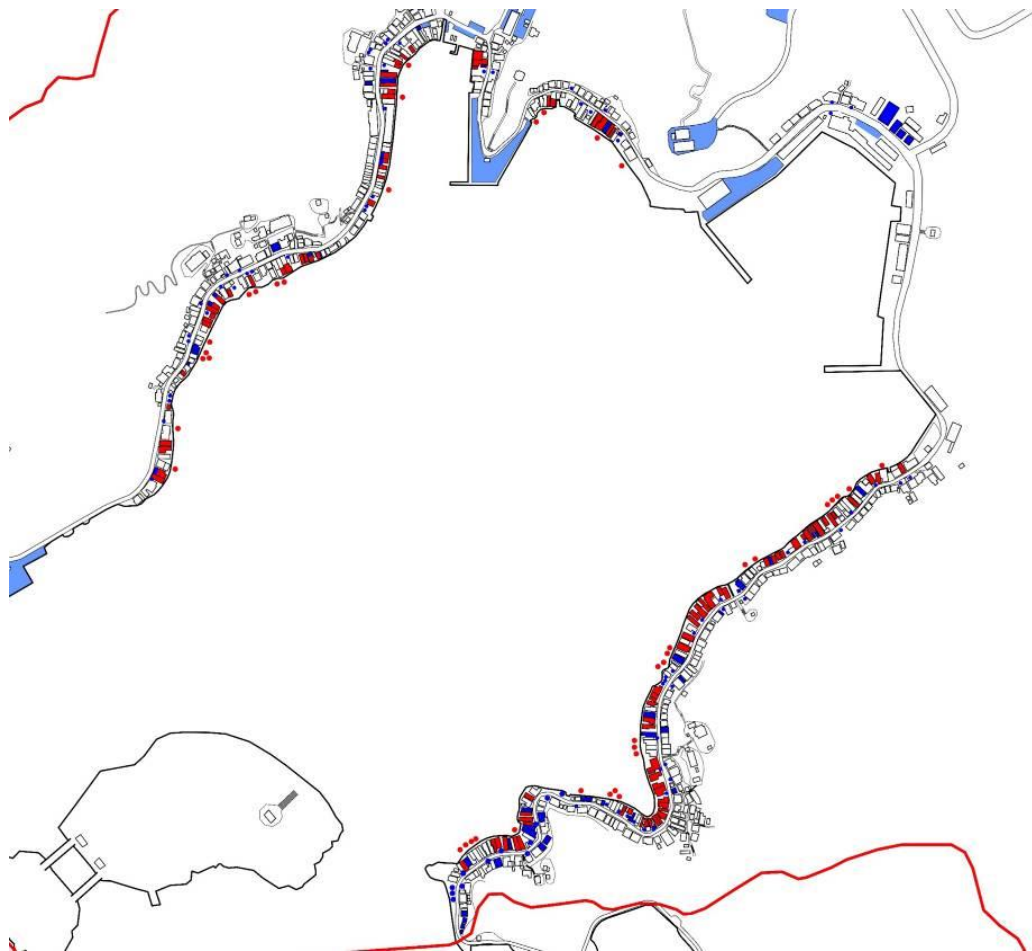


Fig.4.31 Car parks in private land (navy blue), boat parks (red) and public car parks (light blue).

To sum up, the access to the facilities is quite random in each *denken chiku*. These facilities can be either kept close to the *denken chiku* or moved to another area to serve a larger territory, and this new area can be randomly close or far from the *denken chiku*. The liveability of the *denken chiku* has not any influence on the planning of facilities by the Department of Town Planning of each municipality, except for the cases in stage 1. This causes an increase of car traffic in districts which are neither prepared for the needs of modern traffic, nor prepared for the needs of car parks.

Preservation management and its effects on social systems

Fig.4.32 Current state of social structures in the *denken chiku* (information from the interviews)

Municipality	Population	Age	Business
Kurashiki	Currently rising, outsiders moving in. The east area is inhabited, while the west area is full of shops but uninhabited	Aging population. The offspring of inhabitants moved to suburban areas	There was a market. Local commerce declined with motorisation, the opening of suburban department stores, and the displacement of commerce towards the JR station. Tourism-oriented commerce took over until 1990s. New businesses opened by new inhabitants.
Uchiko	Currently declining. The old town is especially declining. It lost half of its inhabitants since it was designated <i>denken chiku</i> .	Aging population. The offspring of inhabitants had to move to other towns because of lack of employment.	Most of businesses are, in modern quarters, even those created for the revitalisation of the town, such as Karari Market. Tourism did not help to existing businesses in the <i>denken chiku</i> either.
Fukiya	Currently declining. 20 some houses are empty. The future of the preservation is not assured.	Aging population. The offspring of inhabitants had to move to other towns. There is only one company as employer (screw factory), thus employment is insufficient.	Most shops were transformed to souvenir shops, but they existed before as daily life shops. <i>Agriculture had already decayed before the designation</i> ²²⁸ .
Kurayoshi	At a standstill. Locals want to continue living in the district. Outsider people that opened businesses in the district often live elsewhere.	Aging population, near the mean values of the whole country.	Storehouses for customers were transformed into shops and businesses. The local government gives grants to newly established businesses. Very few storehouses maintain their old production: soy sauce, sake, textile. Akagawara group converted soy factories into tourism facilities and information points.
Kumagawa juku	Declining slowly, mostly because its inconvenient location and lack of facilities and employment.	Aging population. The offspring of inhabitants had to move to other towns because of lack of employment.	Merchant activity decreased. Many shops open only on holidays.
Ine	Declining. Central Ine suffered less the decline than peripheral areas.	Aging population. Ine has a problem with the number of households formed by only one elderly person.	Most of employment is on fishing or on companies outside the town. Tourism had no impact in the employment. <i>Ine has a problem with employment for female inhabitants, since fishing is a male activity.</i>
Unomachi	Declining.	Aging population. The activities related to the <i>denken chiku</i> progressively are taken over by people living outside the district.	There are some workshops by local craftsmen. Shops had already moved out of the district before the designation. Tourism had no impact in the employment.
Obama	Declining due to lack of employment	Aging population. The elderly people rate is as high as in the most rural Japan.	Locals established the local tourism company, to try to create jobs. Information point and parking area (Machi no eki) in the main road of modern Obama, next to the <i>denken chiku</i> entrance. <i>Businesses like cafes, lodgings or private museums are established, especially in the old teahouse quarter.</i>

Fig.4.32 explains the current situation of local communities in terms of population and economic activity. As a general rule, all rural areas in Japan are seeing their population decline.

²²⁸ NARIWA TOWN, BOARD OF EDUCATION. *op.cit.* 1977.

Generally speaking, the decline of population and the lack of employment were important problems long before the *denken chiku* designations. In 1977, 20 houses in Fukiya were already uninhabited, and 48 households out of 69 had their jobs outside the *denken chiku*, while agriculture had mostly disappeared. The *denken chiku* in Kurashiki, Uchiko, Unomachi, Kurayoshi, Kumagawajuku and Obama had lost their merchant activity after the 1960s, when they were bypassed by the new road infrastructures. This stopped the economic activity, but also boosted motorization, which made local people to move out of the *denken* to more modern residential areas. Thus, **the access to employment and the access to modern life needs (fully equipped houses in modern quarters, modern roads, education, healthcare) are the two reasons behind the depopulation.**

The problem of depopulation has been addressed by two types of actions: the recovery of the economy, first through tourism, later through local activities, and the attraction of new young residents through events oriented to them. The recovery of traditional economic activities has been promoted after 1990, when tourism activity decreased. The activities helped stopping depopulation in three districts: Kurashiki, Kurayoshi and Ine. In these activities, community has been involved, and a previous study of the traditional activities has been necessary:

- **Recovery of old merchandises.** Kurashiki Machiya Trust promoted the recovery of traditional merchandises after the tourism bubble ended in the early 1990s; consequently, new businesses established in the area and the population is growing. In Kurayoshi, local government and Akagawara used the same strategy to stop the decline, but most of the new businessmen do not live inside the *denken chiku*.
- **Recovery of activities in first sector:** Ine local community is recovering the fishing techniques, and currently half of the inhabitants in Ine work in fishery industry; consequently, the *denken chiku*, which is in the central Ine area, is declining slower than the smaller rural settlements within the same municipality. However, the recovery of fishing activity does not guarantee jobs for everyone (especially female). Thus, the activity by local community does not seem to solve all the problems of lack of employment.

Some districts also try to **attract new inhabitants, especially young people**, to stop aging problem. In rural areas, the offspring of the inhabitants move to bigger towns with job opportunities. In urban areas such as Kurashiki, the offspring moved to suburban areas, looking for modern and comfortable houses. This is conducted by two means:

- **Business opportunities.** Kurashiki attracted new young people with their business opportunities around the recovery of old merchandises.
- **Activities that appeal to young public.** In Kurayoshi and Unomachi, private owners have transformed old buildings to offer concerts. In the case of Unomachi, the concerts at the old Ikeda cellar are exclusively performed by local music bands. This caused young people from other towns to get involved into the cultural activity in Unomachi. However, young people do not establish their homes inside the *denken chiku*, due to the opposition by part of the local community to deal with young people from outside.

To sum up, the depopulation and aging of the *denken chiku* communities is a common phenomenon in all the *denken chiku*, as it is in most part of Japan. Neither the *denken chiku* designation nor the planning by local government changed these tendencies. So far, the actions that helped avoiding the population decline had some common traits:

- They were **management actions**, since the planning in *denken chiku* focused only on the physical structures and thus, it was a limited tool to intervene on social structures.
- The agent in charge was **either the community or a collaboration between the community and the local government**. The results of activities in collaboration (Kurayoshi) seem to be working better than those by only the community (Ine).
- They included actions focused on **local economy, local knowledge and its traditional strengths**: local resources, km0 approach, local particularities.
- The scope of the management defined **target social groups** (locals, young people from outside). Then, a plan of uses of private structures was defined with that scope in mind. Thus, businesses, cultural uses, entertainment or community uses were introduced in dwellings or old storehouses. The key point was not to define the preservation interventions, but **to define the future use and users of the preserved structures**.
- They required **initiatives for the communication**, to appeal to their target groups. The communication was typically managed by the community or a collaboration between the community and the local government.

Fig.4.33 Current state of socio-spatial environment (information from the interviews)

Municipality	Socio-spatial environment
Kurashiki	The river area changes between day and night because there are few inhabitants. Street lighting replaces the lack of illumination from the houses. In the east area, houses are inhabited day and night.
Uchiko	Most dwellings are occupied. Some empty houses were recovered as public facilities. Businesses are a few. Tourism-oriented businesses are even fewer.
Fukiya	Some dwellings are empty, but the life environment is as it was before the designation.
Kurayoshi	The townscape changes between day and night due to the buildings used exclusively as shops and businesses (around 30) Dwelling environment suffered alterations due to the opening of car parks.
Kumagawa juku	The townscape changes between holidays and weekdays, because many shops are open only on holidays, to deal with tourists.
Ine	Some interventions, such as in electric poles, have not been executed because of lack of people to debate.
Unomachi	Some dwellings are empty, but the life environment is as it was before the designation.
Obama	Especially in the teahouse quarter, the use and occupation of streets have improved with the new tourism activities. By contrast, the merchant area is emptier since most of the shops are long closed.

These management figures and their results in the social structures had also effects in the way communities use and occupy their living space (Fig.4.33). The effect seen in those management models focused on the creation of local businesses is that several buildings have a different regime of occupation during day and night. Some areas of Kurashiki and Kurayoshi are empty at night. In both cases, there are internal variations: there is a zone used as business area (the west area in Kurashiki, the river area in Kurayoshi), which is empty at night (Fig.4.34, Fig.4.35), and street is dark because there is no illumination coming from inside the buildings; on the other side, there is an inhabited area (east part in Kurashiki, main road in Kurayoshi) which are naturally more illuminated, due to the light coming from the occupied dwellings.

In the case of Kurashiki, as a town from stage 1, the touristic activity was the cause of the use of buildings as businesses (Fig.4.36). In Kurayoshi, though, the areas empty at night are those which had non-residential buildings. In abandoned storehouses, the **preservation-through-use** philosophy was applied to these preserved structures. Thus, some storehouses have been re-used for the establishment of new businesses. Consequently, new businesses have been opened in buildings that are not meant to host a dwelling.



Fig.4.34 Kurashiki, 2016. West area at night.



Fig.4.35 Kurashiki, 2016. East area at night.



Fig.4.36 Kurashiki, 2016. Shops in the Western area are mainly souvenir shops.



Fig.4.37 Kurashiki Ivy Square, cultural and event facility in the old denim factory, 2016.

Thus, a model focused in the revitalisation through business can have effects on the perception of street space in terms of social control and safety. In Kurashiki, extra public illumination has been installed in dark, uninhabited areas, to make them seem safer. As for the rest of the management models, the dwellings seem to remain, but the depopulation problems stay the same as before the designation. Most houses are occupied, but the inhabitant ratio per house decreased. This paralyzes any maintenance work in the street space, like in Ine, or causes local government to be in charge of the debate about maintenance, like in Uchiko.

Thus, the recovery of economic activity is necessary for the preservation of the townscape, but it does not seem that it is enough to preserve the townscape as a social space. **The modification of temporal regimes of activities, or number of businesses managed by people living outside also play a role in the social use of the preserved districts and in their sense of security.**

About the events to attract new inhabitants, they prove to be useful to create a sense of community, and also to give new uses and social meanings to structures. In stage 1, most of the structures revitalised have been used as museums or cultural facilities, such as Kamihaga wax museum in Uchiko, or the use of old textile factories in Kurashiki for different public access events and exhibitions (Fig.4.37). In stages 2 and 3, the events are typically conducted by local community, inside private structures. **However, there is still an open question: the social resignification of the *denken chiku* is limited to buildings, while open spaces are usually omitted.**

In Uchiko, the school is opposite the largest cultural facility accessible to tourists: the Kamihaga wax museum. However, the space between both school and museum,



Fig.4.38 Yōkaichi Gokoku district, 2015. The space between Kamihaga house and the school, at the site of the disappeared factory, is the widest street space in Yōkaichi quarter, but it has no use assigned.



Fig.4.39 Yōkaichi Gokoku district, 2015. One of the conclusions of the 2013 survey was that the environment of the *denken chiku*, composed by cultivated fields and water channels, could be documented and recovered. Some old fields were recovered as parks.

which was the space between the old house of wax producers and the old factory, has no other use today but as an informal car park (Fig.4.38). This space could easily be included in cultural activities relating Kamihaga museum and the whole district, thus giving a new meaning to the space which is central to the district. The only initiative implemented to give exterior spaces a meaning was the introduction of some green spaces in the *denken chiku*, in areas in which in the past had existed cultivated fields (Fig.4.39). Thus, there is a knowledge base in the Machinami Hozon Center, about the past history of the district and the former shape of the different spaces inside it, but the implementation of this knowledge is limited to some operations in certain land plots, with the agreement of the owners of those land plots.

The links between public and private are not visible either. The street in Yōkaichi Gokoku district is 4m wide, and many of the structures facing it are shop-houses, with façades that could be open completely to the exterior, as if they were shop windows. Thus, the dimensions and the uses of the street makes it to be more similar to an open-air market than to a modern street with vehicle and pedestrian traffic together. A lane in a market is typically a space without visual barriers between the private and the public,

since the visibility of the shops and their products is necessary for the activity. Thus, the collective space includes not only the lane, but also the parts of the shops which are open to the public; in other words, the public-private space distinction is different from the collective-restricted space distinction. In this context, the physical façade, the external wall of the buildings, is not coincident with the social façade, the division between spaces accessible to the public and spaces restricted to the dwellers. But that would be the case of Uchiko using entirely the shop spaces available.

The lack of social meaning of spaces is also present in those examples in which the study of spaces was included in research reports. In Ine, the focus point of the whole studies was the alteration of the community and its spaces by the opening of the road finished in 1954. In that alteration, the use of public or private lands was completely turned upside-down. The public accesses, from the sea, configured structures such as *funaya*, but also public spaces such as *butai*. These access points lost their public function when the road was opened, and nowadays they are used as private. Thus, although local government studied the existence of these social spaces, it does not intervene on them.



Fig.4.40 Ine, 2016. The old façade of Ine, as a seaside town accessed by the sea.



Fig.4.41 Ine, 2016. The current façade of Ine as a regular machinami in which sea is visible only in a few points.



Fig.4.42 Ine, 2016. The private use of the old butai and the lack of definition in their uses.

As a result, there is a separation between the historic knowledge by local government and the implementation of this knowledge into spaces by local community. The significance of the seaside as the once so-called ‘façade of Ine’ is different depending on the zone of Ine: some areas of this seaside front, especially in central and western areas, are not accessible by any means whatsoever, including by sea or by land (Fig.4.40). The modern façade of Ine is the road, from which sea is visible in a few spots, but the history about how Ine used to be is not visible (Fig.4.41). These points in which sea is visible coincide with the old *butai*, which were collective disembarking points but now they are privately used, and their use is varied and undefined: car parks, small orchards, service spaces for the houses, terraces for businesses such as restaurants. The lack of definition in the use of the former *butai* disembarking points caused these disembarking points to have been transformed in different degrees: some are still accessible, while some others are used as private land or even they host annex structures such as garages (Fig.4.42). Thus, there is a big difference between the Ine showed in documents and pamphlets and the actual Ine which is accessible.

To sum up, the activities to revitalise the social system in the *denken chiku* have been limited to the re-use and re-signification of structures, omitting the urban space and its meanings for local community. These meanings include the former meanings given

by the community in the past, such as in Ine, or the potential future meanings as new social spaces, such as in Uchiko.

Preservation management and its effects on environment

Fig.4.43 explains the points regulated regarding environment, both in visual and material terms, and the effects of the regulations in each *denken chiku*. All eight studied *denken chiku* had their visual environments regulated, but the way they regulated visual environment varies depending on the stage of each *denken chiku*.

Fig.4.43 Current state of environment (information from the interviews)

Municipality	Points regulated	Interventions on urban visual environment	Interventions on resource environment
Kurashiki	Visual, adaptation to environment of newly built structures, in terms of materials and colours. Catalogues of typical built elements: roofs, earthen walls, lattices, fixed wooden frames in windows (<i>mushikomado</i> , <i>bugyomado</i>).	Electric poles were removed.	The NPO aims at recovering the local crafts and maintaining the environment by local materials
Uchiko	Façades, materials, other elements such as walls, gates, fences, water channels. <i>Typical built elements such as walls, lattices, corbels. From 2013, their combinations are also included, to avoid errors in interventions</i> ²²⁹ .	Electric poles were removed. Walls and fences were built in front of modern buildings. Hikizan theory included the removal of non-harmonious structures from late Showa (such as the school).	Hikizan theory. Instead of spending more resources in expansive policies, they value the local resources and limit their growth to them.
Fukiya	Natural environment around Fukiya is included. Visual adaptation of new structures. <i>The colour of materials such as roof tiles is a key point for the visual adaptation</i> ²³⁰ .	Electric poles were moved to the back alleys. Trees and forests are preserved.	Not regulated.
Kurayoshi	Visual, adaptation to environment of newly built structures, in terms of built volume and link to the streets and land plots.	The modern elements are not removed if there is not a solid historical reason. Electric poles remained, because they had existed before 1934.	<i>Not regulated. Utsubuki mountain is included in environment regulations, but as a natural space and leisure space</i> ²³¹ .
Kumagawa juku	Natural elements: mountain areas, the river. Volume of the buildings. There are hirairi and tsumairi types. Common built elements: stone walls, bridges, electric poles.	The buildings from post war period are being removed, to harmonise the town. Electric lines are hidden underground.	Community group researches about local materials and techniques.
Ine	All structures made by humans that give shape to the environment: walls, stairs, terraces, foundations, land plots, old roads, and even some trees are protected individually.	They aim at preserving the visual character from afar. As long as built volumes and natural elements maintain their proportions, the detailed treatment of elements buildings is flexible.	<i>The whole ecosystem of the bay area is protected as it is essential to the life in Ine. Community group researched about local materials and techniques</i> ²³² .
Unomachi	Façades, materials, built elements (lattices, doors, <i>sodekabe</i> , <i>udatsu</i> pillars, roofs). Elements defining urban space: urban elements such as walls, gates, fences, water channels, trees, signs. <i>The urban space and the natural environment are included in the protection</i> ²³³ .	Hikizan theory applied on built volumes. Additions in prefabricated are typically removed, as long as they do not serve as a vital function for the dwellings. In new buildings such as the local museum, same criteria area applied (visual simplicity, local techniques and aesthetics)	Local government and community group together research about local materials and techniques. In rural areas, the maximum dimension of new structures is fixed, so that they do not exhaust the material (timber) resources locally available
Obama	External elements of the buildings at their current state. The maintenance of the current state as the sum of past states is the general rule. Shrines, torii gates, walls, roads, river, trees.	Electric poles were removed in teahouse quarter.	The old quarter is totally isolated from its environment due to the new infrastructures around.

In stage 1, traditional colours, materials and built elements were widely studied. Consequently, model houses and catalogues of walls, lattices, decorations or other elements were created. However, these elements included in catalogues were considered only visually,

²²⁹ UCHIKO TOWN. *Yōkaichi Gokoku. Uchikochō dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku minaoshi chōsa hōkokusho*. Uchiko, 2013.

²³⁰ NARIWA TOWN, BOARD OF EDUCATION. *op.cit.* 1977.

²³¹ KURAYOSHI CITY. *Kurayoshi shi keikan keikaku*. Kurayoshi, 2010.

²³² INE TOWN. *op.cit.* 2004.

²³³ UWA TOWN. *Uwa chō Unomachi dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon taisaku chōsa hōkokusho*. Uwa, 1998.

as ‘typical’ elements belonging at somewhere in the past. Provided that tourism was given priority in stage 1, they aimed at preserving their towns as frozen in the past. But this frozen image was only limited to the external shape of the structures. Thus, the catalogues used to refer only to external elements of the buildings. However, the way these elements had been combined in the past was not studied. **Their goal was not to freeze in an ‘accurate’ image of the past, but in a ‘typical’ image of the past.**



Fig.4.44 Yōkaichi Gokoku district, 2015. External fence built in front of a modern structure, aligned to the street façade line.



Fig.4.45 Façade restored in Yōkaichi Gokoku district, 2015. The lattice in the first floor was newly introduced. It was incompatible with the pre-existent structure, with decorative corbels under the rood structure. The pillar at the left has its corbel, while the rest had to be removed to build the lattice.

Consequently, interventions in built structures have been centred in visual aspects. Not only in the remaining traditional buildings, but also in the modern buildings inside the protected district, the use of typical-like elements such as wooden lattices and plastered walls have been included in every intervention. In Uchiko, some of the modern buildings existing in the district had been built by retiring them from the façade line, in order to leave some space for car park; in these cases, Uchiko-like external fences have been built even in front of pre-fabricated structures (Fig.4.44). Yet, since the combination of these built elements had not been studied, some new combinations of elements appeared. These new combinations would not only transform the external image of buildings, but also their functionality (Fig.4.45).

The interventions on the visual environment, focused on protecting the ‘typical’ *machinami* (town row) shape, that is, the rows of façades aligned to the street, was also used in public space. Any visual burden or any element considered ‘modern’, such as electric poles, would be removed, and any modern building not aligned to the street would have attached an external wall or fence, aligned to the traditional façades of

the street. In these early *denken chiku*, they would eventually detect the limitations of the *denken chiku* preservation philosophy. For instance, in Uchiko, they have been trying to expand the protection to the inner yards of each house since the 1987 survey, considering these yards as an important part of the environment, but they have not found the way to implement this protection within the strict limitations of the *denken chiku* system.

In stage 2, these urban spaces behind the houses have been protected. In Kumagawa, the forest and fields area behind the houses is protected, as well as the terraces around the shrines. In Kurayoshi, they included the inner courtyards of the properties, by making them accessible and visible, and thus, making them become a part of the streetscape. The recovery of courtyards, the accessibility to these courtyards, the transformation of empty building inside the land plots into shops, were operations that recovered the way the urban space had been used in the past,

and at the same time, they recovered structures for modern uses. **The consequence was not that the present town was preserved as frozen in the past, but the opposite: they were recovering the past as belonging at the present.**

The treatment of structures as elements in the present was also applied to urban elements, such as the road itself, external walls, bridges, rivers, and natural elements in and around the *denken chiku*. In Kurayoshi, even the old electric poles are protected. As for built elements such as walls, lattices, roofs, they are not treated only like visual elements included in a catalogue. A historical research defines the history of each built element in the buildings and its importance, regardless of the visual impact of each element. Traditional-like elements such as lattices are recovered if there is evidence that they had existed, and they fit with the current needs of the building. If they do not fit, the preservation is conducted in terms of modern life needs. This adaptation to modern life needs is also applied to the interior of buildings: measures for accessibility for elderly and disabled, introduction of modern kitchens and baths, and safety against earthquakes and disasters.

But the preservation through use as belonging at the present, practised by locals, have also some counterparts. That is, the preservation of the shape stays as a secondary goal. Thus, many properties which had lost their function (old factories, sake breweries, soy breweries, shops) were expensive to maintain and were finally demolished to open car parks. These interventions had not any participation or consulting by the local government, and the result is that the shape is not as well preserved as in the cases in which the local government led the management of the *denken chiku*. In Kurayoshi, historical research on buildings is assigned to the local government, thus, government is in possession of the knowledge of the *hard*, material aspects of preservation. The knowledge on soft, immaterial, such as old crafts and customs, is in community. But the preservation of both hard and soft are ultimately in the hands of community, which causes a revitalisation of the *soft* but sometimes a loss of the *hard*.

In stage 3, the regulations are also focused on creating an environment for current life. When introducing any traditional-like element, there must be historical evidence and it must fit to the needs of the inhabitants. In addition, the environmental protection includes natural elements and landscape elements in all three districts from stage 3. Unomachi uses a set of criteria based on historical evidence and current needs; in fact, when in 1993, local government tried to introduce some preservation criteria based only on external visuals (like in stage 1), local community opposed, and the works had to be cancelled. **It is not the buildings one by one what they want to preserve, but their relationship with their landscape and their ability to continue the local life.**

Instead of maintaining certain decorations, complex to reproduce and maintain, in stage 3 they aim at searching visual simplicity, thus accepting any built element, traditional or more modern, that can adapt to this visual simplicity. In Ine, the protection is focused on the visuals from far. As long as the balance between the built structures and the forest areas is maintained, the regulation does not introduce more specific rules to protect parts of buildings in detail. Provided that both the plan and the tasks by the local government focused on the environment, most of the visible results of the preservation works are on the environmental elements and some infrastructures to preserve them. Thus, the bay area and the forests remain practically unaltered. As for infrastructures, walls, stairs and paths are preserved or recovered (*Fig.4.46*), while fire safety infrastructures and sewage systems were implemented. The unaltered structure of property facilitated the installation of individual sewage collectors in each house, of which the vents are visible in the central road (*Fig.4.47*).



Fig.4.46 Ine, 2016. Walls and stairs intervened by local government.



Fig.4.47 Ine, 2016. Ventilation of the sewage system installed by the local government in all the district.



Fig.4.48 Ine, 2016. A small lattice convertible to bench for trading.



Fig.4.49 Ine, 2016. The privacy given by lattices is obtained with translucent glass.

Buildings have been treated more loosely. Most of the interventions were performed by locals, and the local government only regulated about the volume, or the possible addition of floors or new annexes. As long as the overall vision of the environment was not altered, the government only based its activity in the recommendations in their handbook. Consequently, some of the houses preserved their traditional fixtures, such as windows, or the bench for small trading that worked also as a small lattice when unused, while other houses replaced those elements with modern materials that satisfy the same needs, such as translucent glass used instead of the lattices, to increase the privacy inside (Fig.4.48, Fig.4.49).

Regarding the concept of environment as a resource, the *denken chiku* system does not preview its preservation as a part of townscapes. Thus, the local governments and communities preserve their resources through management, or through other protection figures.

In stage 1 and 2, this protection is often located outside the *denken chiku*. Kurashiki protects its natural environment inside its *bikan chiku* protection area, which includes the *denken chiku* and the surrounding mountain area. Uchiko protects its resources through the *muranami* network; historically, central Uchiko acted as a central market for the rural settlements at the surroundings, consequently, the natural resources network for central Uchiko was always located in these settlements. The *muranami* network aims at preserving these settlements and their resources. Kurayoshi has also its separate plan for the preservation of natural resources. **But this network includes community groups from those rural settlements, and they have no relationship with the management of the *denken chiku*.**

As for the stage 3, the approaches are not so limited to the strict definitions of the *denken chiku* system, which aims at preserving visuals. Ine includes the resources inside the protected area, including the bay. This means that it is not

allowed to perform any action which would damage the forests or the bay water, since they are the main resource for the living. These environmental elements are managed along with the *denken chiku*. By its part, Unomachi has its own version of the *murunami* network, where the maximum size of any intervention of structures is limited to the amount of timber available inside the municipality.

The recovery of traditional techniques and knowledge is also related to the use of the resources available in their environment; thus, in Ine, the recovery of traditional fishing and building techniques was started via management, thirty years before the *denken chiku* designation. In Unomachi, the study of traditional techniques is performed along with the historical study of the *denken chiku* itself. To sum up, **the management of the environmental elements is integrated with the management structures of the *denken chiku* in stage 3, while in stage 1, instead of contained in independent structures to manage them.**

Preservation management and its effects on town structure

The town structure and its formation on successive temporal layers is a value studied, defined and preserved by local government in all the studied *denken chiku*. Surveys usually include some kind of valuation of built structures, defining some criteria:

- Whether built structures to protect are considered objects belonging to the present time or to the past time.
- Whether the temporal span to preserve in each structure includes its own life, or includes only a pre-defined prime time.
- Whether the town has also a prime time, or each structure has its own existence to be valued individually.
- The definition of structures which are valuable as cultural properties individually, and the role they play in townscape preservation.

Fig.4.50 shows the definition of historical periods in which preserved structure were included. In stage 1, the priority given to the 'typical', frozen visuals resulted in visually easy-to-understand townscapes. The towns were defined by three factors: the expression 'typical Japanese', its use (village, post town, port, merchant town, production town, temple town, samurai town or teahouse quarter), and finally, the period that this use was developed. For instance, the category 'samurai town' had necessarily to be associated to historical periods when samurai existed and were relevant; thus, structures dating from 20th century would not be relevant to define a samurai town.

Consequently, it is not any surprising that the three studied towns in stage 1 had their function and their prime-time period well defined in their plans and surveys. Kurashiki was defined by its position as merchant town and its port, operating during Edo period, and its textile factories from Meiji period; Uchiko was defined by its wax production and its local market, which grew especially in earl Meiji period; likewise, Fukiya was defined by another industrial production (*bengara* tint), which also reached its peak at Meiji period. These three districts progressively introduced more detailed surveys, to establish the character of each structure and each quarter. Consequently, the timespan considered to protect individual structures was typically wider than the timespan considered to define the whole district: preserving some structures dating from Showa period does not remove the Meiji period personality of a certain district.

Fig.4.50 Temporal valuation of each district (information from the interviews)

Municipality	Identification of a prime time for the town	Identification of a prime time for each building
Kurashiki	Late Edo to early Meiji	Late Edo to Taisho. <i>Machiya</i> Trust independently surveyed every structure built by local carpentry, reaching the 1960s.
Uchiko	<i>Late Edo to early Showa</i> ²³⁴	<i>Late Edo to early Showa</i>
Fukiya	Meiji (whole district). Prime time of each neighbourhood, defined after revisions.	<i>Meiji and older, defined by the geometry of the roof: irimoya and kiritsuma in Edo period, yosemune in Meiji period</i> ²³⁵ .
Kurayoshi	No. All periods until 1934 are considered, since the current urban shape is a result of the works on the river in 1934.	No. Buildings are studied one on one, and they identify the modifications that the building experienced through time. The building to preserve is the sum of all its temporal modifications.
Kumagawa juku	No. All periods before World War II are considered	No. Buildings are object in the present time, and they must respond to current typologies.
Ine	No. All periods until the 1960s are considered, since the current urban structure was finished in the 1950s.	No. Buildings are studied one on one and they identify the modifications that the building experienced. Catalogue of built elements classified by periods, which is not compulsory to be used.
Unomachi	No. Every structure based on traditional techniques is considered, even those in western style, such as the Christian church. They recognised different development periods in each quarter, not only one prime time to each quarter.	No. Buildings are studied one on one and they identify the modifications that the building experienced through time. When the old building was replaced by a pre-fabricated one, reconstructions are encouraged.
Obama	No. All structures based on traditional techniques are valued.	No. Buildings are defined by their former use as merchant houses and teahouses, with their own typological evolution. Western-style or post-war designs are also included and protected.

The definition of a prime time for the whole district disappeared in stages 2 and 3. Provided that their goal was to preserve their towns as part of the present, all the historical periods were relevant to explain the current shape of districts. Same criteria were applied in stages 2 and 3, with some differences:

- In stage 2, the timespan to protect was expanded until World War II, while any post-war structure was not valued as traditional. In stage 3, the focus point shifted from the historical evolution of each structure to the traditional knowledge applied in each structure. Consequently, any structure reflecting traditional techniques and knowledge was valuable, regardless of the historical period in which it had been built.
- Western-like architecture was progressively valued as an evolution of the techniques and life environment. Later, these structures would be valued in stage 2 and stage 1 districts.

This does not mean that the definition of historical periods, or built typologies associated to certain periods, disappeared in stage 3, but the definition of typologies had less importance. In Ine, buildings were classified according to the period they were built (Edo, Meiji, Taisho, Showa), but later, the works were based on documental evidence of their evolution (old pictures, drawings). Thus, any element in a traditional structure could be documented, and even recovered, even if it was not from the original period of the structure: a Showa period window could be recovered in a Meiji period house with no contradiction. Obama defined the built types from their use, rather than from their creation period. They had two major types of buildings in the main streets, namely merchant houses and teahouses. Both types were a sum of different evolutions in different periods, but they were easily recognisable: merchant houses, with the dwelling at the second floor, had the façade of the second floor recessed to avoid being seen from outside; the teahouses had guest rooms in the second houses, so the second floors were

²³⁴ UCHIKO TOWN. *Uchiko chō dentōteki kenzōbutsugun chōsa hōkokusho*. Uchiko, 1978.

²³⁵ NARIWA TOWN, BOARD OF EDUCATION. *op.cit.* 1977.

aligned to the street to be as visible as possible. Moreover, the use of built elements and decorations (lattices, sodekabe walls, windows, handrails). had followed separated evolutions in merchant houses and teahouses.

The way the town structure was valued defined also the attitude by local governments in interventions to preserve structures. In stage 1, interventions in buildings were defined consequently with the prime time and typology of each building. A merchant house from Edo period was treated as a merchant house from Edo period, with no further survey in the intervened structure to explain its posterior evolution. The environment approach was mainly visual, while the town structure was shown as a catalogue of built typologies from the prime time of the *denken chiku*.

This led to interventions which included historical forgeries, where built elements were combined in ways that never had been combined in the past (Fig.4.45): lattices in doors which used to be open, box-shaped lattices in windows that had never had a lattice, or *namakokabe* decoration (square-pattern coating) in walls that had never been protected by such coatings, to mention some. The catalogues and their combinations have been refined when these problems were detected.



Fig.4.51 Kyūmakitake house, Kurayoshi, 2016. Intervention with old and new elements in different colours, being newly introduced elements in a lighter colour so that they can be distinguishable.

In stages 2 and 3, five out of the six studied *denken chiku* included a historical survey of each structure as a condition to define its preservation (Fig.4.52). Only Kumagawajuku defined the interventions on a different basis: they encouraged to evolve and modify the buildings to adapt them to the current needs, as long as the volume and the structure remained working the same way. In fact, they used Kyūhen Mikan Heiei house, designated municipal cultural property, as a model house to explain the possibilities that the traditional house had in Kumagawajuku (Fig.4.26). They opened a central atrium (*fukinuke*), leaving all the structure visible, so that the elements to protect could be recognised, but at the same time, the spatial flexibility of the house could be understood.

In the cases in which the results of historical research by local government were applied in the restoration works, the results of the interventions have deeper structural implications, rather than stopping in the visual aspects. Kurayoshi focused on the preservation of the structures of the buildings, and also in any other fixture found during any intervention. Old lattices and façade elements have been restored in the cases that some remains could be found; yet, the elements completed in the interventions are distinguishable from the old pieces (Fig.4.51).

Fig.4.52 Management of interventions on each district (information from the interviews)

	Treatment on interventions	Regulated interventions	Detailed surveys on intervened structures
Kurashiki	According to the prime time of each building	Only external. Interior is free.	No
Uchiko	According to the prime time of each building. Restorations in analogy, and recycling parts of other properties, like in a material bank	Only external. Interior is free.	No
Fukiya	First interventions were emergency interventions to fix damages in buildings. After that, the interventions are executed to recover the Meiji image.	Only external. Interior is free.	Yes (at the revisions)
Kurayoshi	They conduct an in-place research in each intervened building, to document its history.	External of all buildings, structure. Interior is free. They encourage works to make buildings barrier-free and protected against earthquakes, by providing grants.	Yes
Kumagawa juku	The priority is the life of the inhabitants, before any historical or formal consideration.	External of all buildings. Interior is free. The local government explores and encourages new life and formal possibilities inside the houses.	No
Ine	They conduct an in-place research in each intervened building, to document its history. However, they encourage to improve the needs for current life, such as accessibility.	External of all buildings, structure, electricity. Interior is free. They encourage works to make buildings barrier-free and protected against earthquakes, by providing grants.	Yes
Unomachi	They conduct an in-place research in each intervened building, to document its history.	Built volumes, external of all buildings. Interior is free.	Yes
Obama	They conduct an in-place research in each intervened building, to define the current state that has to be maintained.	Interior is free.	Yes

The visual, historical or life criteria used to define the interventions in a district is usually applied to all buildings inside that district, but there is an exception: the buildings that are designated cultural properties by themselves. The role that cultural properties play in each townscape is not always decided by the local government, as Kumagawajuku did with Kyūhen Mikan Heiei house. First of all, municipality must respect the regulations at a national level when dealing with cultural properties. Secondly, local governments are not always the owners of these properties -in fact, all types of ownerships exist: public, private, shared, publicly owned but privately managed or even leased. Fig.4.53 shows the ownership and current use of cultural properties inside each denken chiku. The current state and use of all cultural properties is one of the following two:

- **Maintaining their original use.** This is frequent in dwellings which are currently owned by the same family that had built them or established their home at them some generations ago. In these cases, they are preserved in both interior and exterior, but as a general rule, they are not accessible to general public, except for certain times of the year. For example, Uchiko organizes an event called *kangetsukai* (moon-viewing) every September, and the locals are encouraged to illuminate their houses and open the sash windows to show the interior.
- **Community or tourism facility,** either publicly or privately managed. In both cases, the cultural properties are used as a communication tool for the contents of the protection plan. In stage 1, they describe 'typical' houses, shops or factories from that district and its prime time. They can also be used as museums of the traditional activities in the district (textile, wax or bengara production). In stage 2, they are used to show the structures of the houses, being from a historical point of view (Kurayoshi and the historical evolution of the houses) or from a spatial point of view (Kumagawajuku and

the future possibilities of the houses). In stage 3, they are used as meeting points for local community or as research and divulgation points of local culture.

Fig.4.53. Ownership and current use of cultural properties inside *denken chiku* (information from interviews)

	Other cultural properties	
	Owner	Use
Kurashiki	Private	Dwelling, tourism facility
Uchiko	Takahashi house, Kamihaga house, Uchikoza theatre are public and publicly managed. Honhaga house and Ōmura house are private.	Dwelling, tourism facility
Fukiya	Katayama house. Publicly managed.	Tourism facility
Kurayoshi	Kurayoshin community centre is public owned. The rest are private.	Community facility, tourism facility.
Kumagawa juku	Ogino house is private, but it can be accessed. Kyūhen Mikan Heiei house is used for community events and it is accessible.	Community facility, tourism facility.
Ine	Managed by each quarter inside the <i>denken chiku</i> .	Temples, shrines.
Unomachi	Managed by the local government.	Community facility, tourism facility
Obama	Temples, shrines and important cultural assets are public. Some minor cultural assets are private.	Tourism facility. Some of them are closed.

To sum up, the structure of the town has been preserved in diverse ways in each stage. In stage 1, town structure was defined by **its typology and typical image** as the goal was to maintain it as a tourism asset. In stage 2, the town and each structure inside it was put in the present as a result of all **its chronological history**. In stage 3, temporality was given less importance, while any structure in the present that showed any signs of **traditional knowledge and lifestyle** was valued and preserved. The only exception in all stages are the buildings that were cultural properties, since they had to follow national regulations, instead of local criteria.

Conclusions of the analysis

The management and its evolution showed different valuation systems and management models, which caused different results on the preservation of urban structures and spaces. The differences between stages 1, 2 and 3 can be tracked down from the designation to the management of specific works. Generally speaking, the management has evolved from government-led to community-led, as the continuation of the community was increasingly perceived as a key point to guarantee the survival of cultural townscapes. However, this evolution did not mean an improvement in all aspects of the preservation. Thus, each stage has its specific achievements and their problems.

In stage 1, the *denken chiku* system was still to be completely defined, and the degree of awareness about their built environment among local communities was still low, and even in the towns that had a pro-preservation movement before stage 1, which set the examples for the protected districts to come, a strong leadership by some local public worker was necessary to develop the protection plan, often dealing with the resistance by local inhabitants²³⁶. In some cases, the initiative for the protection came from scholars who had not any direct relation even with the local government, such as in Fukiya, while only exceptional cases, such as the currently UNESCO World Heritage Site of Shirakawagō the initiative came from the local inhabitants'

²³⁶ NISHIMURA, Yukio, *op. cit.* 2007.

initiative²³⁷. In either way, tourism was seen as a tool for local re-development, especially in areas accessible by train, but not only. Moreover, tourism would ideally bring an external valuation of protected districts, which would help increase the awareness of this valuation among locals. That concept was the starting point expressed by Okada Fumiyoshi, founder of Uchiko Machinami Hozon Center, in any interview^{238 239}. However, the tourism model in these places is typically fast-paced, good for businesses such as souvenir shops but not enough to develop a hotel industry around tourism. This created tourism spots massively occupied at business hours but almost empty at night.

In this stage, districts would try using their heritage as a tourism asset, while improving the standards of living and the awareness within the community. However, the protection plans at initial stages concentrated on the visual aspects of the streetscapes, while the inside of the structures was neither thoroughly researched nor regulated. In particular, the future use of restored structures was not regulated, and thus, except for Kurashiki, most of the spaces with potential for tourism remained as private dwellings. Consequently, the only space truly available for tourism is typically the street itself, plus a few public buildings. The tourism assets in central Uchiko apparently are not enough to form a critical mass to encourage tourists to stay in the town. In this aspect, the greatest achievement of Uchiko is making locals from rural quarters inside the municipality involved, to create a comprehensive network of places and assets available. This network is also a proof that the awareness grew effectively in Uchiko, and it also widens the scope of protection model to rural quarters and their resources. The evolution by local government towards a more comprehensive model of interventions in dwellings, considering both inside and outside, seems a step to solve the problems caused by the tourism-oriented model as well. However, their largest obstacle seems to be the lack of coordination between locals, in a fully government-led model.

Uchiko established, through Machinami Hozon Center, a framework with potential to achieve its goals of recovering the traditional life environment as an asset. They had the knowledge and the will to implement that knowledge in **specific shapes to evoke the traditional townscape**. But the opposition of local community, which refused to get involved in any long-term activity which would not give them immediate profit, the incoordination between different local community groups (which sometimes compete against each other) and the lack of competences in town planning, limit the results of their work to those of **preserving the shape**.

In stage 2, the tourism was the not main goal in new protected districts, but at most a supporting activity for the local economic activity. Instead, the depopulation and the lack of this local economic activity, which caused also many structures to be unused, was the main concern. Thus, the protection through use was the main idea in the case of Kurayoshi, but also in other cases from stage 2 such as Kumagawajuku. These cases incorporated the study of both inside and outside of built structures since the beginning of their protection activity. By doing so, several unused buildings were put into use again. The use of the buildings can be as businesses, like in Kurayoshi, or communitarian facilities like Kyūhen Mikan Heiei house in Kumagawajuku.

As for Kurayoshi, in order the unused buildings to be accessible, the central gardens of some land plots have been opened to the public, and by doing so, the spaces accessible even for

²³⁷ SEIZAWA, Satohiro. 'Sekai isan no hozon to katsuyō wo sasaeru shakaiteki nettowāku. Gifu ken Shirakawa mura to Betonamu no jirei kara', in *Bulletin of Research Institute*. vol.14, Nara, 2006.

²³⁸ NISHIMURA, Yukio, *op. cit.* 2007.

²³⁹ MORI, Mayumi. *Hankotsu no kōmuin machi o migaku: uchikochō okada fumiyoshi no machinami muranami hozon*. Akishobō, Tokyo, 2014.

tourists have increased as a side-effect. In addition, Kurayoshi presents a great achievement when compared with stage 1 districts, namely the involvement of local community in the management model. Provided that the main goal of the protection was to improve the life environment for locals, and that by the time Kurayoshi was designated as *denken chiku*, the whole national network was already known, the involvement of local community was achieved faster. The community worked on **specific activities to maintain the traditional townscape in the present, not to evoke the townscape from the past.**

However, Kurayoshi presents two problems. First, given that most of the re-used buildings were not prepared to be dwellings, their impact on the depopulation of the local community has not been significant. Second, **the preservation-through-use philosophy had worse results in the shape of the town, while unused structures were re-used as car parks without further environmental consideration.**

In stage 3, the philosophy is to maintain through use and to preserve through recovery of immaterial culture. This use is not the traditional use of the buildings, but its current use. This is because the community puts itself in the centre of the preservation activity, and thus, the community's current needs are considered for preservation. In the case of Ine, the use of many structures, especially the *funaya*, had already been altered to provide solutions to the new needs: parking spaces, extra dwelling space for smaller family units, or businesses. The community had already adapted their space, thus continuing their life as a community.

With the inclusion of cultural landscapes as elements to protect, the number of districts in rural landscapes increased. These rural landscapes hosted communities that had not been as altered as those in urban areas. In this context, Ine is a case with a well-defined fishermen community which took the initiative for the protection by themselves. The community viewpoint let the preservation process consider the landscape not only in visual terms, but also in terms of a network of resources necessary for the local life. This is at the same time coherent with the valuation of rural areas and their resources seen in the case of Uchiko. The tendency is towards a more comprehensive, regarding protected elements and systems, and more inclusive, regarding participating actors, concept of preservation. The results are also more visible in the interventions, in which the exclusively visual aspects of the streetscape have evolved to structural and environmental aspects of the whole settlement.

However, Ine is by no means a district with all its problems solved. First, the population is still declining, regardless of the revitalisation of the local fishing activity. Second, the preservation process is led by community groups, which are usually groups without long-term plan and specialised knowledge. The success of the management is limited to the points in which local community had interest, namely the environment and the preservation of immaterial culture to ensure the continuation of the village. As for other aspects included in surveys by local government, there are many historical data that could be implemented in the shape and use of the structures and spaces of Ine, but since the local group is, **as groups in other *denken chiku* are, a reaction group, their scope of action is limited to their goals, not reaching a comprehensive vision, nor a long-term plan for the preservation of the village.**

Thus, historically accurate data obtained in surveys are not reflected in the preservation and subsequent use of spaces and structures in towns. In Ine, the meaning of the inclusion of spaces such as the bay area inside the protected perimeter is not clear. Which is currently the façade of Ine? The way visitors access each property was altered by the opening of the road. Many buildings now have not access to the bay, which once was the main space for mobility inside Ine. As for the road, it is yet built in the central yards of the old land plots, and its visual

link with the bay is often limited to the remaining *butai* disembarking points. The use of the *butai* themselves, most of them not used as disembarking points anymore, is unclear. The current use of *funaya* as garages also influence the state of the road, in which pedestrians and vehicles share space. Meanwhile, the unused state of the disembarking points, along with the removal of the access for boats in several *funaya*, could be **an opportunity to recover the sea front through itineraries and spaces for pedestrians, which could at the same time recover the significance of the bay as a main urban space.**

To sum up, as exposed when relating each case with the stage in which they were inscribed, the valuation system in a national level have evolved coherently with the management models applied locally by each municipal government. Thus, as the valuation system shifted from tourism-centred to local community-centred, so did the plans in each district. Moreover, not only recent plans were coherent with the shift in the national valuation criteria, but also older plans have evolved coherently with those criteria, even contributing with original approaches to the whole question of the preservation.

At the same time, the whole preservation system has room for improvement. First of all, the *denken chiku* system and the whole protection plans do not seem to be enough to stop the main problem that threatens the continuity of the protected districts, namely the **progressive depopulation**. Since the towns designated as *denken chiku* had effectively worked for the protection of built structures when comparing to those districts which had not been designated, but at the same time both designated and not designated had similar degrees of depopulation, as some recent researches already proved²⁴⁰, it is clear that the protection plans need to be included in wider plans to guarantee the future viability of the local communities.

Secondly, as it was seen in the problems between inside and outside in Uchiko, as well as in the undefinition of the current urban façade in Ine, **Japanese townscape protection shows signs of hardship when dealing with the definition of urban places based on the knowledge obtained in surveys.** The meaning of the term *denken chiku*, ‘groups of traditional built structures’, clearly shows how the focus is on the built structures themselves, even when talking of environment (walls, disembarking points, stairways, gates). Neither of the three exposed plans defines the significance of unbuilt, urban places, nor they define ways to re-appropriate these urban spaces in case their use changed, such as the bay space in Ine. In conclusion, the definition of the significance of common spaces and their re-appropriation through thorough mappings, conducted along with scholars used to managing this kind of knowledge and the local community (the only one that can convey a meaning to each space), would be a desirable next step in the history of townscape preservation in Japan.

Analysis of the evolution of *denken chiku* system in an international context

Summary

As stated in chapter 1, this research aimed at describing the evolution that the *denken chiku* system experienced from its initial implementation to the present day, to finally define what has been the meaning of the term ‘townscape preservation’ in Japan from a European approach. For that purpose, this research defined three main goals, namely to define the specific valuation in Japanese townscape preservation comparing to Europe, to explain the specific research and

²⁴⁰ SAIO, Naoko; TERAOKA, Yoshiaki. ‘A study of sustainability of habitation in the historical preservation areas’, in *Journal of Architecture and Planning (Transactions of AIJ)*, No.695, 2004.1, pp. 131-139.

planning (creation of regulations) associated to the Japanese valuation, and to analyse the management models and agents involved in the implementation of planning (application of regulations defined in the planning), as well as the consequences on the present condition of townscapes.

By doing so, the research aimed at enumerating the virtues and problems of the Japanese vision of urban heritage and its practice, as well as comparing these virtues and problems with the challenges that townscape preservation have been facing in an international scenery. For that purpose, the *denken chiku* system was analysed by following the three topics of valuation, planning and management. So far, the conclusions of each chapter were stated as follows.

The valuation. Why, for what to preserve

Chapter 1 already pointed out that one of the characteristics that distinguish cultural townscapes from other categories of cultural or artistic properties **is their nature as complex systems, with economic, social and political values** being as important as the historic or artistic values. Consequently, the reasons to value a townscape (why to preserve) and the purpose of its preservation (what to preserve for) will be more complex, and the meaning of the townscape preservation might be more complex as well. Which role was the preserved townscapes supposed to play in the modern life, according to the values that the *denken chiku* system conferred to these townscapes?

The valuation applied to Japanese *denken chiku* was developed as an approach specific to Japan after World War II. While Europe focused on the preservation of major monuments, while giving to townscapes a value of spaces that built a context for those monuments, Japanese approach was developed as a union of scholar interest on landscape protection and scholar interest on *minka* house protection. While the interest in landscape increased, popular movements started to fight against the scrapping of their life environment during the 1960s, especially in cities. The old structures were being replaced by industrialised ones, being all structures the same, with no regards to local identity. In addition, traditional *minka* starting to be displaced to open-air museums, to use them as tourism (thus, economic) assets. Consequently, the areas from which these *minka* came, saw the potentiality of tourism as a new source of income. Thus, the purpose of economic development was added up to the initial scholarly motivation.

Thus, the visual shape of these places, both in urban areas and rural areas, and their non-industrial nature, were the value to preserve, in order to preserve the identity of the local protesters. Urban area communities aimed at preserving the shapes of places that composed their present life environment, affected by scrap-and-build. By contrast, rural areas had been left behind as a result of motorisation, and the lifestyles that originated traditional townscapes in rural areas had already been discarded. Thus, the shapes of places that composed their life environment became a cultural asset with value for tourism. The valuation of the rural townscapes was the same as the valuation of the *minka* inside the museums: as typical man-made crafts from a certain place in Japan. **The value of a rural townscape was that of being typical, which meant to value the towns as a product of an ideal past, simplified to be a product for tourists to consume.**

In the 1980s, while towns increasingly had left their old lifestyles behind, the emotional bound with their towns decreased, and the economic valuation took over as the main value in *denken chiku*. However, after the economic bubble ended, the economic development through

tourism did not fully attain its goals, because it was massive but fast-paced. Thus, the pressures from tourism industry were affecting negatively, while its fast pace caused economic profit to be limited.

This led to another nationwide valuation model starting in the 1990s, which aimed at preserving local identity against the industrialised tourism. Tourism industry, and the value of being typical, tended to oversimplify the towns, and investors from outside the communities tended to open the same shops with the same souvenirs, regardless of the place. This caused local people to move out, and the *denken chiku*, to become empty. But this emptiness was problematic, since a town is culturally interesting as long as it is lived. In this context, the economic recession caused the arrival of many U-turn locals, which returned to their hometowns after retiring from their jobs at large urban areas. For this generation of returnees, **the value of the *denken chiku* was defined as that of a container for local life.**

This value as a container of local life was extended to large cultural landscape systems associated to the lifestyle of those communities, when cultural landscapes were defined in 2004. The value of the *denken chiku* was that of a **generator of landscape and territorial development**, as well as a **container of the knowledge** associated to that development.

As stated in chapter 2, this process was quite uniform in the entire country, and the characteristics of the designated towns varied along with the valuation criteria. As a result, it would seem that the tendency is towards valuating and protecting any culturally significant element related to the traditional knowledge of a community, when the initial goal was to protect only the shape of built structures at its place. Thus, the role that was given to traditional townscapes evolved from being products, to being sources of knowledge.

Regarding the **results of the different models of valuation**, in 1975, the term *kenzōbutsugun* pointed at built structures, thus, the material culture was on the focus point of preservation. The reductive valuation of the beginnings, centred in structures easily recognisable as typical, caused early *denken chiku* to be **small protected areas, limited to the areas where the visual *machinami* and its shape was well preserved and thus, it was easy to understand and appreciate for anyone.** The inclusion of the immaterial culture and knowledge in valuation caused new *denken chiku* to define **larger areas to preserve, including the surrounding areas and environmental elements.**

However, the regulation of *denken chiku* system did not change that much: the ACA still limits the money grant systems to the physical, external parts of buildings, now including structures built in the landscape such as walls and terraces. To avoid the limitations of the *denken chiku* system, early *denken chiku* had created interdependent networks with areas outside the *denken chiku*, which allowed to develop a preservation in levels not included in the *denken chiku* valuation. Thus, the early *denken chiku* succeeded in creating preservation networks by working on the edge of, and outside of, the *denken chiku* areas. On the positive side, the early *denken chiku* built flexible systems to value separately material culture (inside the *denken chiku*) and immaterial culture (outside the *denken chiku*); on the negative side, this separated valuation made it difficult to coordinate efforts between communities inside and outside the *denken chiku*. **Thus, even if the way local communities value their towns evolved, the evolution has limitations, imposed by the fact that valuation is still conducted by the ACA.**

The planning. What to preserve, how to preserve.

Townscapes have become valued as sources of knowledge regarding human activity. Regarding that, chapter 1 already stated how the overall concept of culture have suffered a process of anthropization, by giving the name of culture to any human activity and product; as a consequence of this process, one of the characteristics of that distinguish the townscapes from other cultural assets is their **double nature of material and immaterial assets**. Preserving a townscape is not preserving a single structure which has a value in itself, but preserving a series of elements that are valuable only as related to the whole town, but have not necessarily value in themselves.

When considered the concept of planning applied in European countries as the set of rules created by local governments to regulate private and public properties, the planning in Japan refers clearly to a different concept. Provided that landowner rights could not be regulated by any urban plan or ordinance, the possible actions had to be concentrated in the **identification and works on the structures, instead of urban planning instruments**.

Chapter 3 explained how the definition of elements considered for preservation in surveys and plans also evolved consequently with the national valuation system and the role that the *denken chiku* system conferred to old townscapes. The tourism-oriented valuation was a trend in which all the *denken chiku* before 1990 were included, even if in different degrees; this caused surveys and plans to focus on the preservation of **the physical shape of urban places, as well as buildings and structures visible from these urban places. The preservation works focused on the visual aspects that made these buildings and structures recognisable as 'typical', regardless of their authenticity**.

After 1990, the preserved elements were those that were related to the individuality of a townscape as a container of life. This individuality, which had been built throughout time and had been evolved until the great alterations caused by motorisation, had to do with the history of each structure, rather than with their 'typical' attributes. Elements for the local life, at their current state, with their current identity and role in local activities, were progressively included in surveys and plans; thus, **urban infrastructures related to the local life, as well as non-visible (but liveable) structures, were included as elements to protect**.

When in 2004, environmental protection was introduced, the planning focused on the preservation of the place and its resources, while the preservation of individual structures and physical spaces became more flexible. This also caused the protection areas established as *denken chiku* districts to be larger, because they included environmental elements which had been generated from the town.

Regarding the **results of planning and identification** of elements to preserve, the surveys have been more thorough in recent *denken chiku* than they had been in the 1970s and the 1980s. As an example, the plans of study of the pre-existences only included floorplans of the visually relevant structures in early *denken chiku*, whilst we did not see a cross-section of an entire district until the plan of Ine, in 2004.

However, even if the newest surveys kept adding more historical data, but at the same time, these new historical data were not necessarily reflected in the planning, because the planning was conducted by local government with the support of scholars, while the application of this planning was often in the hands of local community, who had not any contact with the planning. As an example, in Ine, the study of the *butai* is included, as well as the study of the community activities, such as whale fishing, but this is not translated into a

definition and planning of places: if whales were caught, where were the significant spaces for the subsequent tasks? Where are the *butai* currently? The town planning in terms of space was more precise in Uchiko or Kurashiki than in Ine. **As a result, plans from the 1970s and 1980s resulted in a more consistent preservation of structures and spaces; by contrast, the preservation of the immaterial, the activities inside and outside the structures, was better documented and preserved in later cases.**

The management. Who is included in the preservation.

The evolution of the management has been more diverse. From a management viewpoint, the current valuation of the townscapes as a source of knowledge is in contradiction with the concept of democratization of the culture, as explained in Chapter 1. The democratization would need a high accessibility to cultural assets to everyone, regardless of their level of knowledge. This would lead to management models in which tourism industry would prevail as a focus point. But then, this management models would be in contradiction with the third characteristic that distinguish the townscapes from other cultural assets, namely their **nature as a living environment**.

This chapter explained how different models were developed to respond to different motivation: increase of tourism, enhancement of local life conditions, revitalisation of local economy, or preservation of a local identity or knowledge. It also explained that the goals of the management were different depending on who was in charge of the management, whether local government, scholars or local community. Thus, management models were more diverse, because they did not respond only to the period of designation of the *denken chiku*, but also to the nature of the agents involved. In addition, these agents used to respond to their specific conditions, such as the location and the size of the municipality. Yet, some common temporal evolution can be detected in the management of *denken chiku* districts.

Before the definition of the *denken chiku* system, mainly the efforts for the preservation were centred on groups of local scholars or leaders, regardless of whether they were goals were to maintain the traditional-looking urban space or to survive through tourism. When the *denken chiku* system was established and local governments took over, the works were centred on the preservation of the traditional-looking urban space, while tourism-oriented activity was privately managed.

After 1990, the recovery of local activity was on the centre of management actions. These actions, which included also new activities such as tourism, were conducted directly by local community organizations, while local governments focused on further study of the structures, their history and their potential uses. While the immaterial aspects of preservation and the traditional knowledge became the focus point, the local communities increased their involvement in preservation activities, often by creating groups of study and taking part directly on the elaboration of masterplans. The tendency seems to be towards a more inclusive model of *denken chiku*, in which the leading role of the local community replaces the former leading role of the municipal government.

As for the **results of management**, in *denken chiku* in the 1970s and the 1980s, cases of pure top-down management, such as in current Uchiko, were frequent. These often had to deal with the opposition of the local community, but they had a genuine long-term vision, which led them to act in opposition to local community when they considered that their actions would suppose a profit for local community in the long term. But top-down management models have

also two weaknesses. On the one hand, the **local participation** is more limited than in other *denken chiku*. This caused population of several *denken chiku* to decrease, and in some cases, only then the remaining local community would organise itself in form of NPO or association. These associations appeared typically in the 2000s, even in several *denken chiku* from the 1980s. On the other hand, the **Japanese public worker management system does not preview highly specialised jobs**, and it is not uncommon public workers to be transferred to completely different jobs every three or four years. This was pointed out by Okada as a reason to make efforts to pass the responsibility of the preservation to the local community: public workers change, while residents do not²⁴¹. Thus, public workers can have access to more specialised information than the local community, and they can build long-term plans, but when new workers take over, the transmission of the specialised knowledge becomes hard to attain.

By contrast the local groups play a more active role in most of *denken chiku* in stage 2 and 3 districts. They are more sensitive to the informal aspects of the townscape preservation, which are necessary for the overall preservation. But these management groups have two weaknesses. On the one hand, they are typically **reaction groups**, rather than action groups. They detect a problem in a certain moment, and they act to solve it: management of empty houses, re-activation of businesses, solving conflicts with tourism, to say some. In the best of cases, they are assigned fixed, periodical tasks, such as communication, historical study groups, or drills for disaster prevention. On the other hand, **they do not have a long-term plan at any rate, nor access to the knowledge created in successive studies**. In addition, in rural communities, they are experiencing difficulties to build a next generation group to continue the preservation. While public workers can be replaced, community is not replaceable.

Characteristics of *denken chiku* system: linear and centred on role division

To sum up, it would seem that the current model of *denken chiku* is oriented towards a community-centred valuation, where all aspects involving the townscape as a source for the local life and knowledge are prioritised before the visual and formal aspects of the town structure. In addition, since the management model evolved from being centred in either local government or coordinated groups between government and community, to being centred in local community itself, it would seem logical that the next step would lead us to a community-led management model. Thus, the community would not be the agent which communicated to government the initiatives to take, but the community itself would take the initiative. However, chapter 4 explained the results of representative cases of each stage, and in that explanation, it was clear that every stage had its own problems to solve. Moreover, some problems in the last stage, such as the planning of traffic, the lack of accessibility to some services, or the undefinition of the urban space, were more intense than in stage 1. Consequently, the evolution cannot be valued only in terms of improvement of the system from stage 1 to stage 3, but instead, it must be valued in terms of the strengths and weaknesses of each model. Thus, while the past evolution of the role of old townscapes in Japan is directly inferable from the results exposed in chapters 2, 3 and 4, the future problems and opportunities for the townscape preservation in Japan require further assessment.

Thus, both top-down management by government and horizontal management by community have their weaknesses and their advantages. But overall, they have some common weaknesses. First, the process of study, valuation, planning and management is **very lineal** in

²⁴¹ NISHIMURA, Yukio. *Shōgen. Machinami hozon*. Gakugei shuppansha, Kyoto, 2007.

Japan: study and valuation lead to planning, and planning establishes the guidelines for management. The only feedback to the entire system is actually when a new study is conducted. Most of these revision studies are conducted either to adapt the *denken chiku* to the changes in valuation by the ACA, or to make some modifications in the *denken chiku*, such as the enlargement of the preserved area. In addition, these revision studies are typically conducted by scholars who are external to the process of everyday management, thus, the study receives little to no feedback from the everyday management process and its results. The studies are not exhaustive, and they use the past studies only as a reference, thus creating a whole new document that is not added to the old data, but replaces them. **The lineal structure of the entire process causes knowledge from studies to be non-exhaustive, as well as non-unified.**

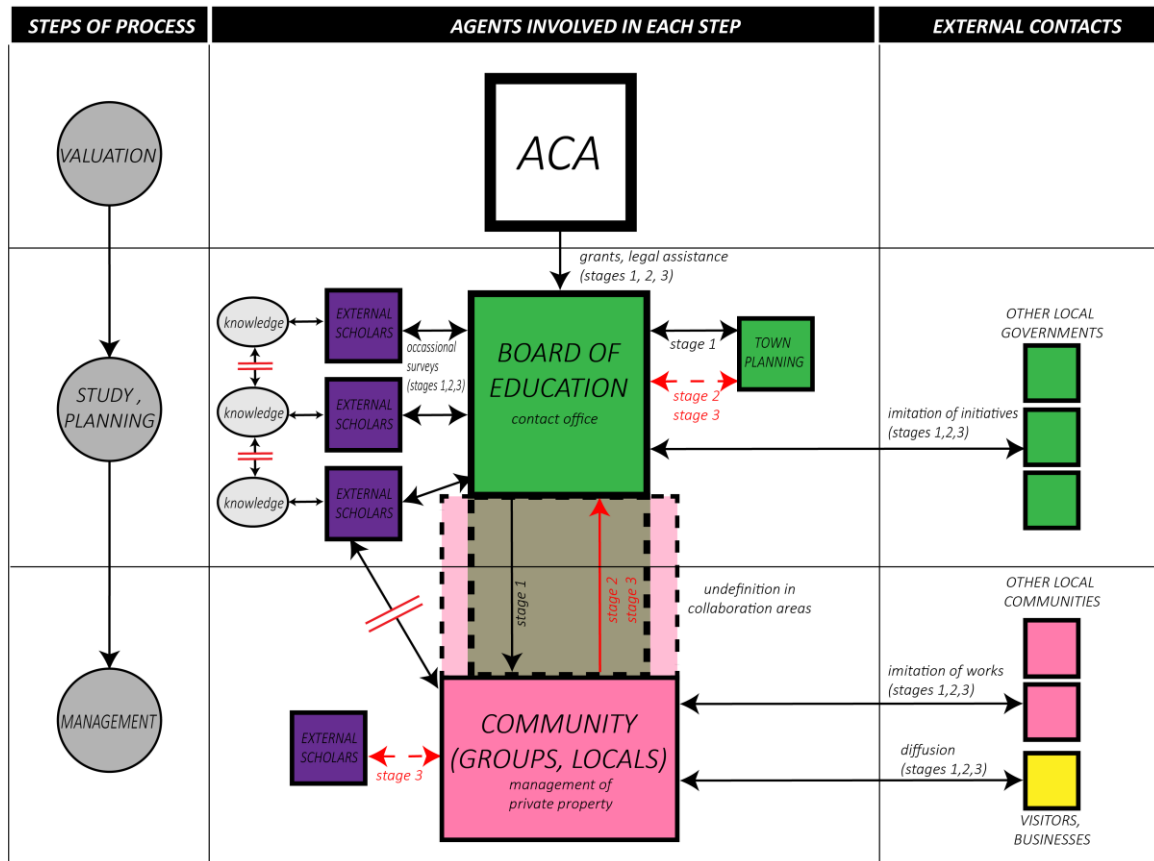


Fig.4.54 Current linear, role-centred preservation model in *denken chiku*

Second, and as a consequence of the first point, the division of tasks is separated in these levels (ACA, local government, community, scholars). Thus, the roles of study, valuation, planning and management are conducted as separated tasks, as below (Fig.4.54):

- The ACA is in charge of the valuation, since it decides whether a district is to be included in the *denken chiku* system or not. The tasks by the ACA are then limited to the external assessment, such as for technical or legal aspects²⁴², and the grant of subsidies for previous studies and preservation works. The ACA does not intervene in the planning or in the proposal of preservation works, but only decides about money grants for the works proposed by the local governments of each *denken chiku*. Thus, the ACA has its

²⁴² KARIYA, Yuga. 'La conservazione urbana e dei centri minori', in GIANIGHIAN, G; DARIO PAOLUCCI, M. *Il restauro in Giappone*. Alinea Editrice, Firenze, 2011. The author explains how the assistance by the ACA is limited to helping local governments clarify the areas which are regulated under the Law of Urban Planning, and which areas are regulated only by the local preservation ordinances.

tasks very defined and limited, and the communication with each *denken chiku* is limited to these tasks.

- Local governments are in charge of the planning process, following the previous study and valuation. They also work as a contact office between the different agents (ACA, local community, scholars); by contrast, the contact between local governments of different *denken chiku* is often limited to the districts in the same area. By doing so, they sometimes build their own planning by imitating experiences in neighbouring *denken chiku*. As for the execution of the planning oriented to the preservation, it is often limited to the area designated as *denken chiku*, which has its special ordinance written by the Board of Education. Outside the *denken chiku*, the Office of Town Planning is in charge, and they sometimes take decisions in different directions (if not plain incompatible) from the directions marked by the Board of Education. As for management, they usually are in charge of public works, but they do not control processes such as the schedule of interventions on built structures. Thus, they cannot establish a long-term schedule which is consistent with the planning and its goals. As for other tasks, in some cases, they are in charge of the historical research on buildings, and in all cases, they are in charge of the request of studies and surveys to scholars.
- The interaction of scholars with *denken chiku* is usually limited to the studies previous to the *denken chiku* designation, and any other revision study afterwards. These scholars are usually working for a university or one of the Nara or Tokyo Research Institutes of Cultural Properties. While some of these scholars may continue in contact with the *denken chiku*, by taking part in consultive organs, as a rule, their relationship is limited to the study, which is often used by scholars only for academical publications. In addition, the independent structure of each study in the same *denken chiku* makes that the knowledge obtained is also dispersed among the different research groups that took part in each of the studies²⁴³.
- The local community, typically through community groups, are in charge of the management of the preservation of their property, while only in a few cases they take part in planning processes. Among management tasks, they establish yearly schedules to preservation works, following the individual needs of inhabitants who want to have their property improved. The management tasks assumed by the community are more in the towns in which community contacts with scholars to conduct research groups about their history; however, this knowledge is often independent, and separated, from the knowledge obtained by the local government. They usually are also in contact with tourists and visitors, and they organize meetings and visits to interchange experiences with local communities in other *denken chiku*.

The tasks for the ACA, local governments and scholars are limited and defined, and they form a strong top-down structure. In this structure, the means of communication between them are defined too. By contrast, the local community has not any defined tasks, and their communication with the rest of agents are also undefined. In other words, **the areas of potential cooperation between local community and the rest of agents is not defined**. In addition, every

²⁴³ This thesis also experienced the hardships caused by the dispersion of the knowledge. While the local government keeps the and publishes the reports of each study, the raw data often belong to the university or institute that conducted the research. Thus, the local government can only reproduce (or grant permission to reproduce) the contents of some parts of the reports. As for this thesis, some images or graphic data from the study reports could not be exposed in this text because not only the governments had not the rights of these data, but they often had not any record of the owners of the rights of each data. Thus, tracking the sources of the data, from the study reports all the way to the raw data, is often impossible.

agent has its own sources of information, while they might lack the knowledge necessary to apply correctly solutions learnt outside the own *denken*. Thus, some local communities could apply technical solutions seen in other towns, regardless of whether these solutions fit into their own buildings or not²⁴⁴.

The evolution of international theoretical and practical framework in recent times

In international context, the definition of new management models, which gets over the valuation-plan-management linear model, to define areas for cooperation with communities, has been a common topic since the 1990s²⁴⁵. Nara Document seemed to make it clear: the community that values the heritage must be an active part of the preservation²⁴⁶. But which is the community that values the heritage, and how do they participate in the preservation?

If looking to new theoretical approaches in international context, public participation has been oriented towards the pursue of knowledge. As defined by Choay, the goal of the restoration is to preserve our ability to build and articulate spaces, as well as conferring them a significance. In other words, it is our ability to preserve, evolve or replace the pre-existing spaces and structures, following their logic. **Instead of preserving the townscape as an object of the past, or leave as it is in the present, it is necessary to understand it to build its future, as a new historic layer that is added in the same logic**²⁴⁷. And to do so, first we need the knowledge underlying in these structures. Thus, **in order to achieve the goals of the preservation of the present generation, the pursue and diffusion of knowledge must be in the centre of the entire preservation process. Thus, the management system must be a knowledge-centred system.** If it is not conducted that way, the historical town loses its historicity and either freezes in time or is abandoned. If it freezes, this kind of valuation will attract external businesses, which will eventually replace local community, which happened in the Japanese cases of *kankō kōgai*. If it is abandoned, it has an elevated risk of disappearing, as in many rural Japanese towns²⁴⁸.

Considering this motivation for the preservation, who is the community that values the heritage, as defined in Nara Document? In knowledge-centred systems, while governmental workers introduce the knowledge necessary to value the districts, the community is responsible for the creation and the care of new and old meanings: a place is culturally significant only because the community conferred a meaning to it. **Thus, the community is the people who confer a meaning to a townscape: people living at the townscape and people that participate in the life of the townscape.**

The community has a key role to play in a knowledge-centred system. First, as a **source of knowledge**, since it is the community who gave each space and structure a meaning. This means that community plays its role in the valuation, not only in the management. Second, as a **recipient for the knowledge** created or recovered by other agents, so that they can understand,

²⁴⁴ To this regard, there are some relevant cases of inconvenient interventions by locals in their own structures in UCHIKO TOWN. *Yōkaichi Gokoku. Uchikochō dentōteki kenzōbutsugun hozon chiku minaoshi chōsa hōkokusho*. Uchiko, 2013. Some locals introduced technical solutions to their buildings which eventually would damage them.

²⁴⁵ PANELLA, Raffaele; SPIGAI, Vittorio; CLEMENTI, Alberto; GIOVANETTI, Alberto; DOGLIONI, Francesco. *Estrategias de intervención en centros históricos*. Colegio Oficial de Arquitectos de la Comunidad Valenciana, Valencia, 1993. This book of proceedings explored ideas for new management tools adapted to the urban preservation, focused on the idea of the urban space as an evolutive process, to be completed in the future with the locals.

²⁴⁶ ICOMOS. *Nara Document*, 1994. Art. 8: 'Responsibility for cultural heritage and the management of it belongs, in the first place, to the cultural community that has generated it, and subsequently, to that which cares for it'.

²⁴⁷ CHOAY, Françoise. *Alegoría del patrimonio*. Gustavo Gili, Barcelona, 2016.

²⁴⁸ DARIO PAOLUCCI, Matteo. 'La tutela del paesaggio culturale attraverso alcuni esempi', in GIANIGHIAN, G; DARIO PAOLUCCI, M. *Il restauro in Giappone*. Alinea Editrice, Firenze, 2011. The author states that if community is not backed up by knowledge, many cultural landscapes might disappear in Japan, due to lack of valuation by local community.

and modify if necessary, the goals of the preservation planning. Third, as the **performer of the practical application of this knowledge** to specific works and initiatives in management. Last, as a **diffusor of this knowledge** to visitors, other communities, as well as a source of a feedback from these interactions, which are potentially sources of new knowledge. Thus, the last step, the management, would feedback the first one, the valuation, in a continuous process.

Once defined the theoretical framework, from the definition of the ultimate goals of preservation to the definition of the agents including community, it is necessary to define methods to bring this theoretical framework to the practice. the community, **both government and community must define clearly a common view, and as a result, the potential areas for cooperation between government and community.**

A representative case of successful shared valuation was carried in Nepal before and after the 2015 earthquake ²⁴⁹: to manage the professional knowledge, they established a documentation centre, led professionally but accessible to the community. By its part, community was in charge of tasks as defined as other agents: maintenance of public space, maintenance of community buildings, maintenance of mechanisms against commercial pressures by real estate investors. In other words, community could bring some useful feedback to the valuation, by orienting it towards the spaces and structures which have a meaning for the community. Thus, the technical knowledge and the meaning of place were combined in the same plan.

In the same line, a great methodological advance was the introduction of the value chain in Spanish preservation. The value chain, as a concept, was introduced to the preservation of cultural heritage in mid 1990s by Felipe Criado and Matilde González, but the concept was adopted from practices for continuous improvement in business world²⁵⁰. In the heritage world, it was introduced first into archaeology, and it was used to establish a comprehensive management model in archaeological sites. The value chain was intended to fulfil two goals: first, to move away from the concept of archaeological sites as isolated and without any link to the environment and the society around them; second, to provide a standardized framework for the tasks of study, valuation, preservation, subsequent use and diffusion, and evaluation of socio-economic impact, so that every task provided feedback to the rest. The standardization of the way everyone worked was seen as an effective way to encourage transdisciplinary collaborations. If everyone shared a common way to work, a common knowledge database and common codification and technical vocabulary, the implementation of professionals from new disciplines when needed would be easy to perform.

This kind of frameworks based on transdisciplinary work and common knowledge had a chance to be implemented in the practice in the province of Alava in the 1990s. Two major works established a new way to intervene in built heritage, not only archaeological sites: the old cathedral of Vitoria-Gasteiz, and the Salt Valley in Salinas de Añana, which is currently candidate to UNESCO World Heritage Site. Both cases were big-scale interventions, both cases had a long history which included an uncountable number of modifications, both cases had problems regarding their future viability, and in either case the viability problem would be solved with only an intervention for their material preservation. In addition, both were human works that had conditioned their environment: Salt Valley was composed of terraces, channels and storages

²⁴⁹ WEISE, Kai; THAPA, Bhupesh; SHRESTHA, Manindra. *Kathmandu Valley World Heritage Site: potential areas for cooperation*. UNESCO Office Kathmandu, Kathmandu, 2004.

²⁵⁰ AZKARATE GARAI-OLAUN, Agustín; BARREIRO MARTÍNEZ, David; CRIADO BOADO, Felipe; GARCÍA CAMINO, Iñaki; GUTIÉRREZ LLORET, Sonia; QUIRÓS CASTILLO, Juan Antonio; SALVATIERRA CUENCA, Vicente. 'La arqueología hoy', in *Actas Congreso 'Medio siglo de arqueología en el Cantábrico oriental y su entorno'*, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2009, pp.599-615.



Fig.4.55 Añana Salt Valley, 2013. Recovered water channel.



Fig.4.56 Añana Salt Valley, 2013. View from the salted water storage area under a terrace.

that shaped the landscape in an entire valley (Fig.4.55, Fig.4.56), while the cathedral had been built, rebuilt and evolved along with the buildings around it. When the cathedral was closed because of problems of structural instabilities, the buildings around were also in risk of collapse.

The first problem for the professionals (architects, archaeologists, scientists) involved in the intervention was understanding the dimension of the intervention. The Salt Valley was said to be inhabited and exploited for salt extraction for over a millennium, and the cathedral of Vitoria-Gasteiz was said to be early gothic style, but in both cases, there were evidences that both dated back to way earlier days than thought. Thus, in both the Salt Valley²⁵¹ and the cathedral, the first step was to define a pilot project in a part of the site. By doing so, they could understand the technical and structural solutions in each site, and in addition, they could understand the complexity of the sites and their history, in order to define the common framework to operate the next years.

The cathedral of Vitoria-Gasteiz was closed to the public in 1994, and the works to define a master plan began²⁵². The goals were two: to

study the different phases of the construction of the cathedral, while associating these phases to the structural problems existing in the present; and to re-establish the significance and use for an old, unused building such as the cathedral. The study for the elaboration of the master plan included the mapping of all built elements in a 2D and 3D cartographical set, a GIS registry and a database. On the base of this mapping, they conducted an archaeological and architectural study, which included the materials, structure, use of spaces, thermic and acoustic conditions, existing services (electricity, water) and use and accesses of each space.

By its part, the Salt Valley had stopped its activity in the 1980s, and it was closed. As in the cathedral, the Salt Valley aimed at studying the past and the viability for the future of the salt production site. Thus, the Salt Valley used the same model of mapping, and conducted archaeological, architectural, geological, environmental and economic studies²⁵³.

Then, in both cases, they presented a master plan which defined phases of intervention, subsequent uses and socialization of the cultural properties. In the master plan, each phase of intervention included the entire value chain: study, valuation, preservation, subsequent use and

²⁵¹ LANDA, Mikel; OCHANDIANO, Alazne. *Añana Salt Valley. Architectural preservation manual*. Aitim, Madrid, 2014.

²⁵² AZKARATE, Agustín; CÁMARA, Leandro; LASAGABASTER, Juan Ignacio; LATORRE, Pablo. *Plan Director de Restauración de la Catedral de Santa María, Vitoria*. Diputación Foral de Álava, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2002.

²⁵³ LANDA, Mikel; PLATA, Alberto. *Valle Salado de Añana. Hacia una recuperación integral*. Diputación Foral de Álava, Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2007.



Fig.4.57 Cathedral of Vitoria, 2012. The 'open for works' initiative allowed visitors to Access and see the restoration works in different stages.

diffusion, and evaluation of socio-economic impact. Each detailed study in a phase added data to the mapping; each intervention was also reflected in the mapping as an update.

In addition, both works had (and currently have) another common trait: **the 'open for works' socialization of the site was already introduced during the intervention phases, as any other part of the value chain.** Both sites were accessible by visitors during each phase, through temporal visitor circuits that would be modified as works evolved (*Fig.4.57*). In the Salt Valley, not only the salt fields, but also the structures needed for their functioning were preserved and shown to the public. The salt production was recovered to a certain extent, while the unproductive salt fields were

recovered for landscape purposes. In addition, salt production was oriented towards cultural tourism, through new facilities, products and documents.

To sum up, in both cases, the process was transdisciplinary and knowledge-centred, with a central knowledge database accessible to all the people involved in the preservation. They analysed the entire history of the site, and then, documented their own interventions as another historical layer, while enhancing the techniques that were in progress of development when the valley stopped its activity. In addition, both planned the site in terms of future viability, including the socialization and the economic returns of the exploitation of the site.

As for the management issues, the fields composing the Salt Valley were still in the hands of the families who had worked on them until the 1980s. Thus, the participation of the community was a key point. In this case, the community was not given a finished plan, such as in the *denken chiku*, so that they could manage their properties. Instead, local community was involved in all the phases:

- **Study and valuation:** the inhabitants who had worked as salt makers were the ones to provide the knowledge related to the processes that salt production involved.
- **Preservation and subsequent use:** the locals formed a trust (the Salt Valley Foundation) which acted as a manager of all the properties. The unification in a single institution made it possible to intervene in the fields in agreement with the planners' schedule, and after that, to re-open only the number of salt fields suitable for the market share their salt could obtain, thus they could hire only the workers necessary to reach the production of that market share. Individually and without the studies by the planners, neither any the owners could manage a viable business, nor they would figure out any other way to gain profit.
- **Diffusion, and evaluation of socio-economic impact:** the locals agreed to create a brand to sell their production, and to re-use old structures for activities related with the production or with the cultural tourism: visitor centre in an old storehouse, open air bath in some unused fields, or open-air theatre on some others. Thus, some spaces acquired a new use and significance after their restoration.

These efforts for the socialization of the preservation through an integrated management model have been also applied to the urban preservation in the area. Examples such as the Master Plan for the Preservation and Restoration of the Defense Walls of Labraza²⁵⁴, or the URBAN Plan for Vitoria-Gasteiz²⁵⁵ were developed on similar premises.

The viability of the implementation of a knowledge-centred system in the *denken chiku*

A system with a constant feedback which would help improve the preservation activity by adding new information layers could be a sensible idea in Japan. In Japanese business culture, the philosophy of *kaizen* has been ruling most of the corporations. This philosophy is based in the constant improvement of the corporate frameworks, which is the same goal that the value chain pursued in business after the 1980s and in the cultural heritage after the 1990s. However, in order to implement such a model in Japan, the *denken chiku* system would need to make some major modifications.

First, **the valuation should be continuous, and conducted on site**. Like in *kaizen* philosophy, the nearer someone is from a topic in a business, the more aware of the topic that person is. By contrast, the valuation of *denken chiku* is punctual and conducted by the ACA, as a previous step for surveys conducted every 10 years at its best. Thus, the ACA is not in the best conditions to value each site as locals or researchers with a strong background on a specific site would. Local and regional governments

Second, to provide a good feedback system, **knowledge created in every step need to be open, accessible, and centralised**. In Japan, knowledge is not only dispersed, but also under several conflicts of copyrights. A local-based database which would own the contents of every survey conducted in the municipality would be a solution, instead of dispersed databases in all the labs of the researchers and professors involved in the *denken chiku*. In other words, this would lead to researchers and local governments towards a different way to produce knowledge. This new way to produce knowledge was defined by Gibbons et al. in 1997²⁵⁶. Instead of producing knowledge inside an academic discipline, which would only fulfil the curricular interests of the professors and researchers involved, and which would be valued through peer review, the new model would create transdisciplinary knowledge, centred in the overall results on-field, and which would be valued by the visible results when providing solutions to previously defined problems.

Thus, the problems to which solutions are to be provided must be defined. Based on the knowledge, **a master plan defining goals, potential areas for future development, schedule of preservation and management actions and formation of teams for each action needs to be defined**. The goals must be agreed and known by local government, community and scholars

²⁵⁴ HERNÁNDEZ MAYORAL, Luis Ignacio; MELERO ALONSO, Iñigo. *Plan Especial de Rehabilitación del Casco Histórico de Labraza. Documento para su aprobación definitiva*. Ayuntamiento de Oyón, Oyón, 2015. In the document, they presented the Master Plan from 2008 (original title: *Plan Director de Conservación y Restauración de las Murallas de Labraza*) as an effort to maintain the defence walls alive, provided that many dwellings had been built by using the defence wall as their external wall, thus having few windows and poor ventilation conditions. The Master Plan, which proposed the controlled opening of windows for the houses, was not applied, due to contradictions with the subsequently passed Decree 57/2008, which designated Labraza as Cultural Property, thus forbidding the opening of new windows.

²⁵⁵ AYUNTAMIENTO DE VITORIA-GASTEIZ. *Reactivación casco medieval Vitoria-Gasteiz. Candidatura URBAN 2007-2013*. Vitoria-Gasteiz, 2008.

²⁵⁶ GIBBONS, Michael; LIMOGES, Camille; NOWOTNY, Helga; SCHWARTZMAN, Simon; SCOTT, Peter; TROW, Martin. *La nueva producción del conocimiento. La dinámica de la ciencia y la investigación en las sociedades contemporáneas*. Ediciones Pomares-Corredor, Barcelona, 1997.

involved. As it was in the Spanish cases, the master plan does not need to define a detailed project for each action, but only the priorities of that action and its goals. Since each action could provide some feedback, the master plan and the knowledge database need to be open enough to admit modifications on all valuation, planning and management stages (Fig.4.58).

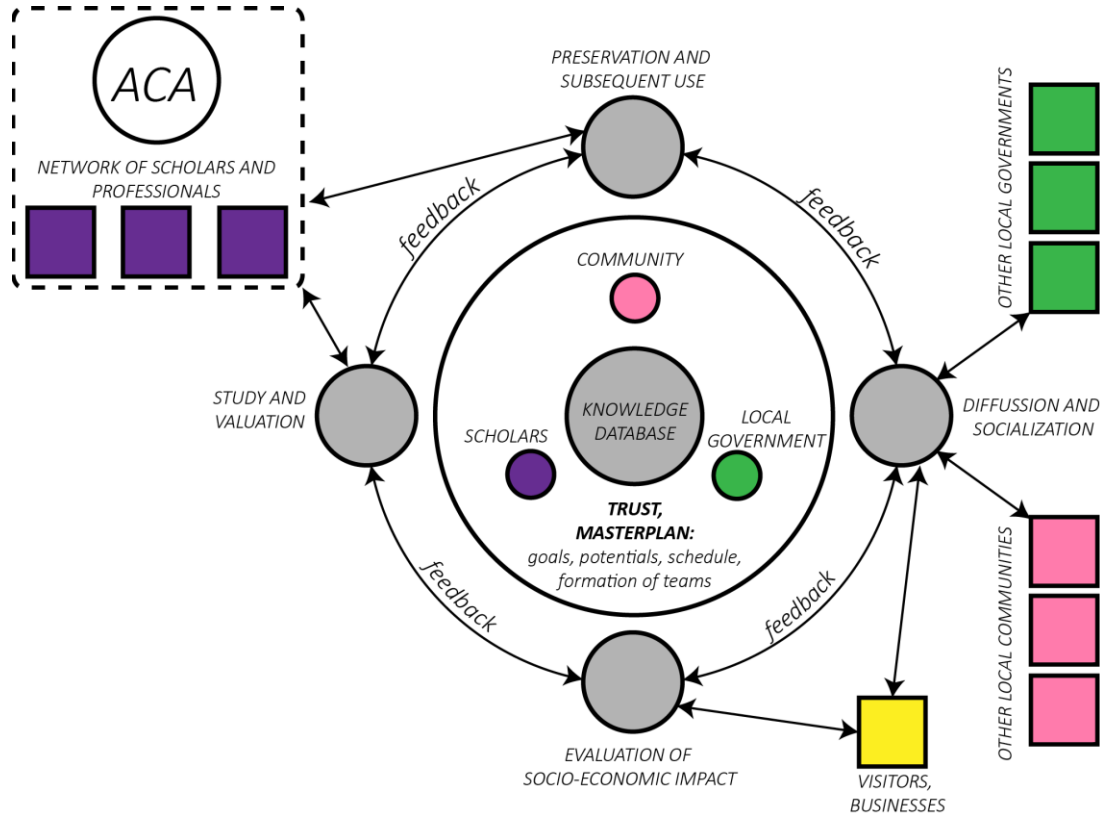


Fig.4.58 Implementation of a knowledge-centred model, adapted to denken chiku system.

As for management, the model of trusts or foundations which gather local community are becoming common in Japan. Nevertheless, in a knowledge-centred system, community might lack to the ability of interpretation of the goals and the potential areas for future development. Some of these groups often invite scholars to study sessions, but the involvement of the scholars ends there. The relation with the local government, with constant transfers of workers, has similar problems. The solution in Spain was to **build trusts and foundations which involve not only communities, but also scholars and governmental workers**. This would need a change in the attitude of each agent:

- The scholars need to adapt themselves to a new way to produce knowledge, focusing on the results on the object of study rather than the curricular aspects of the object that could be interesting to them. Thus, scholars could be members of the trust rather than limiting their action to being external advisors, and the results of their works must remain as property of the trust, rather than each scholar's property.
- The local government needs to understand the goals and make sure that any new member (governmental, scholar or community) understands them. They also need to have a more specialised background, in order to manage the knowledge. Moreover, they need to build a trusted relationship with local community. Thus, the constant transfers of governmental workers would not help to this model.

- The community would preferably change their viewpoint from a yearly planning activity to a long-term planning activity. In addition, it is important to create an awareness in the community that they can participate in all phases of the preservation process, rather than limiting their actions to the management of their properties. In Spain, locals were a key point from the beginning, taking active part in the study and valuation.

A knowledge-centred system would work in a horizontal structure that would include the government, scholars and community, and they would assume all the steps (study, valuation, preservation, subsequent use and diffusion, and evaluation of socio-economic impact) on a basis of a common knowledge database and a common master plan. Then, how about the contact with the ACA, other *denken chiku*, or visitors?

- As pointed by Carbonara, the problems of cultural policy are better solved if they are managed locally and by specialists²⁵⁷. This means that regional and local governments need more power and means. The ACA could provide them assistance in fields that not any *denken chiku* could solve with their own means. Instead of limiting their actions to offer money grants, they could provide further assistance by creating a common network of scholars from different fields, so that any *denken chiku* could invite a new scholar when a new problem appeared.
- As for the relation with other *denken chiku*, the relation would be between trusts. The transmission of information between communities led to misinterpretations of solutions, which in some cases harmed the intervened structures. If the entire trust is involved, this problem would be solved.
- As for the relation with visitors, it would be included in the master plan and in the planning of each scheduled action, according to the value chain system.

To sum up, with a locally managed knowledge database, a locally managed work group and a locally executed valuation, most of the problems of the current *denken chiku* system would be solved. However, in order that to happen, a deep re-thinking is needed, starting from the role of the ACA itself. If a valuation process by the ACA continues conditioning the whole preservation process, the decisions and the efforts might not match the needs of the protected districts. Hohn already reported in late 1990s that there was a plan to increase the number of *denken chiku* district so that there would be at least one preservation district in each prefecture²⁵⁸. Thus, the activity of the ACA basically included a remarkable yearly increase of the budget for *denken chiku*, associated to an equally remarkable yearly increase of designated districts. If the institution in charge of the valuation is also in charge of the designation but has no relation with the subsequent planning and management (except for yearly money grants), the only logical consequence of valuation is the increase of designated districts, regardless of whether this means an improvement for the entire system or not. The preservation activity needs cultural policies, instead of politics made from culture.

²⁵⁷ CARBONARA, Giovanni. *Avvicinamento al restauro. Teoria, storia, monumenti*. Liguori Editore, Naples, 1997.

²⁵⁸ HOHN, Uta. 'Important preservation districts for groups of historic buildings', in ENDERS, Siegfried RCT, GUTSCHOW, Niels (Ed.). *Hozon: Architectural and urban conservation in Japan*. Edition Axel Menges, Stuttgart/London 1998.

5. CONCLUSIONS, OPEN QUESTIONS AND CHALLENGES FOR THE FUTURE IN 'DENKEN CHIKU'

Conclusions

From a European point of view, Japanese townscape preservation had its particularities at its origins, as well as it had in the valuation, planning and management stages. Moreover, the evolution from the time the studies conducted in the 1990s to the present has been different in Europe and Japan, in both theory and practice. This research aimed at explaining the Japanese particularities found in the *denken chiku* system, analysing it from a European workflow, composed by the stages of valuation, planning and management. As a result, the conclusions are as follows.

The first conclusion is that Japan has its own workflow, equivalent to the valuation, planning and management steps, yet different, due to the differences in motivations for preservation, as well as legal differences between Japan and European countries. The European countries have been using tools belonging at the discipline of town planning, and a set of values based, first, on historical and aesthetic values, and later, including social values as well. In contrast, Japan developed a workflow based on the definition of the structures to protect, and specific works on these structures, because the strong landowners' rights do not allow a European-like approach, based on regulations from urban planning. The same landowners' rights, strongly linked to the economic value of property, caused that Japan linked preservation to **economic factors**, such as the use of structures for cultural tourism and the recovery of traditional economic activities.

The second conclusion is that the valuation of *denken chiku* started and evolved by considering these economic factors, and this evolution was coherent in the whole country. The coherent evolution is due to the preferences established by the ACA, which favoured districts viable for cultural tourism during the bubble economy years, but became more inclusive after the bubble burst in 1990. After that, valuation was conducted considering the preservation as a generator of territorial development through local knowledge and local economic activity, thus factors such as preservation of environment and preservation of immaterial culture were considered.

The third conclusion is that the full development of the *denken chiku* system happened, beginning in the 1990s, but the factors for this development not only included the increase of budget for these policies, but also -and especially- the enlargement of the range of protected values in the 1990s and 2000s. The inclusion of the preservation of old infrastructures and old activities allowed districts not valued as *denken chiku* in the 1980s to be designated after 1990. In addition, the 2004 Law of Landscape and its subsequent revision of the Law of Protection of Cultural Properties allowed environmental values to be included in protection.

The fourth conclusion is that the research and planning at a municipal level also evolved as the protected values increased. Thus, while protection before 1990s was strongly focused on the visual preservation of the street space, districts designated after 1990s focused on the preservation of town structure (i.e. infrastructures and land property structure), while the visuals were valued as a consequence of the town structure and its use by local community. This preservation of the structure was brought to the landscape scale after 2004, thus including anthropized natural spaces around the preserved districts.

The fifth conclusion is that the initiative of the preservation progressively passed from local governments to local communities, as the preservation increasingly included the whole life environment of the local people. In districts designated before 1990, the preserved areas were small, not including the whole life environment but only the visual townscape. This preservation did not necessarily influence positively in the life of locals, and there were cases of strong opposition to the application of the preservation policies. In this context, the enlargement of the values (including infrastructures, landscape or traditional knowledge) was implemented through additional planning figures, often outside the *denken chiku*, and unrelated with it. In districts designated later, the enlarged set of values affected positively the local life environment, thus reaching consensus more frequently, and being possible to include these new values inside the *denken chiku* by the local community.

The sixth conclusion is that even when valuation by the ACA became more inclusive, it limited the elements of the life environment to protect via planning inside *denken chiku* system, and local governments and communities had to develop preservation tools via management. These additional preservation tools were focused on the recovery of traditional knowledge (immaterial culture) as a generator of territorial development, and the continuation of the community through the attraction of new community members and new economic activities.

The seventh conclusion is that the structure of the agents involved in the management evolved accordingly with the inclusion of the whole life environment and the participation of local community. In the specific cases of *denken chiku* districts, management was government-led in the early districts, while the community became the leader in most of districts designated after 1990. While the community managed models have become the main tendency in the current *denken chiku* districts, this management models have also its limitations. While government-led models such as in Uchiko have the problem of the local opposition and their limitation of their activity to the public space, they had some strong points such as an overall image of the goals they wanted to obtain, and the technical information that local people did not access to form their opinions. On the opposite, locally managed models can coordinate the actions inside and outside the private property, but due to the non-technical nature of local community groups, their activities are reactive, rather than active, thus not having any long-term vision of the preservation.

The eighth conclusion is that preservation in Japanese *denken chiku* evolved in the last twenty years, but its evolution has been conditioned by the legal framework of the 1975 Amendment of the Law of Cultural Properties, which defined the *denken chiku* system. Comparing to Europe, which developed the concept of integrated management, which included the preservation of the town structures along with the social structures and immaterial values, the Japanese workflow is very linear and the roles of valuation, planning and management are separated, rather than integrated. While Japan pioneered the inclusion of local community into active preservation of their cultural townscapes, the separation of roles (valuation by ACA, planning by local government, study by external scholars with no regular contact with the district, and management progressively by the community) is the main obstacle to establish an integrated management model in Japan. In this context, a shift from role-centred system, where valuation, planning and management are strongly separated tasks assigned to separated groups, to a knowledge-centred system, which would prioritize the tasks over the positions, could help *denken chiku* system to get over its contradictions. However, this would need the creation of a new, locally oriented network, in which even the ACA would need to redefine its role.

To sum up, Japan created and developed its own concept of townscape valuation and preservation, as well as a set of tools adapted to this concept. These tools, while strongly relying on local management and the involvement by local community on the whole process, have evolved towards an increasingly inclusive idea of preservation. This inclusive idea of preservation has evolved from a valuation based on the visuals and shapes of the townscapes, to the valuation based on the knowledge and environment that created those shapes. That said, the entire preservation workflow has challenges to face in the future, to create a knowledge-centred preservation system while maintaining the specific traits of Japanese townscape preservation.

Open questions and challenges for the future in *denken chiku*

In a knowledge-centred system, the preservation activity studies the present preservation actions as another historical layer to be added to pre-existences. Thus, the historical process is not stopped or frozen, but continued in the future. **Thus, the preservation does not freeze the environment, functional systems, social systems and town structure in the past or in the present, but it adds a new layer of the four aspects to the future townscape (Fig.5.1).**

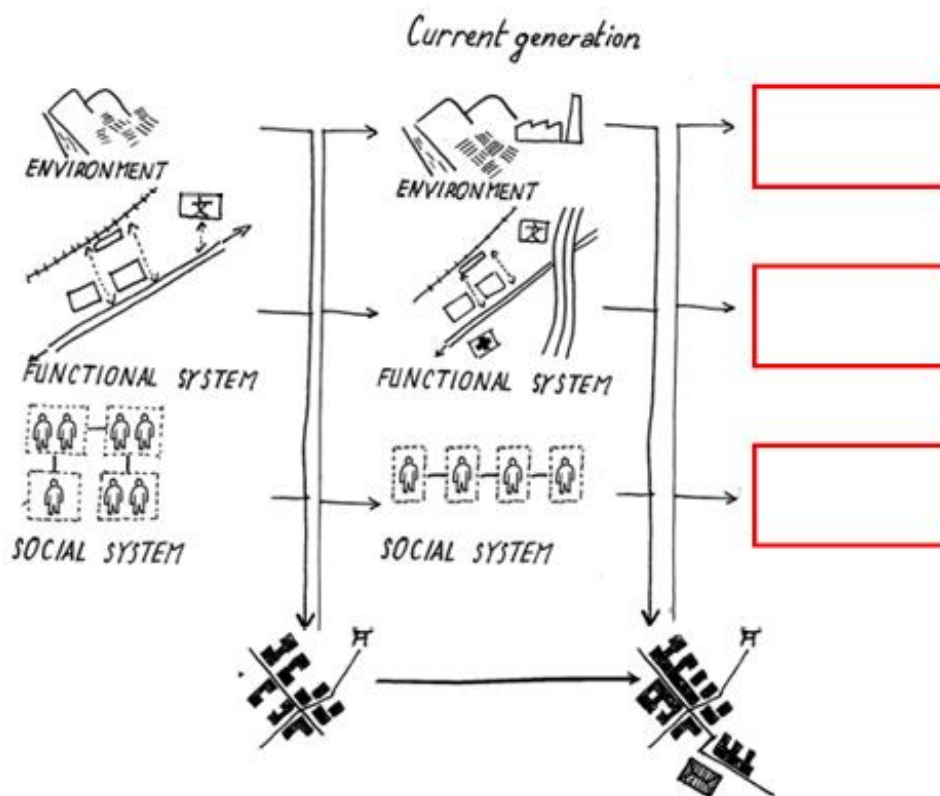


Fig.5.1 Location of preservation activities in time, in a knowledge-centred system

Thus, it is necessary to define the environmental, functional, social and structural aspects to consider at the time of the definition of a future historic layer, provided that this layer must continue the pre-existing town following its own logic and its needs.

Environmental aspects

When considering the visual implications of the environment, a strong planner agent such as in stage 1 districts obtained some satisfactory results. The environment inside the townscape is practically focused in a single aspect: the street line. As a general rule, the street space preserves its shape better in the *denken chiku* designated before 1990. Overall, planning conducted by the local government have played a relevant role to solve some environmental aspects of the preservation.

However, in rural areas, visuals are not enough to guarantee the continuation of the town. They depend on their autonomy, or to say the least, on their ability to satisfy the interdependences between the central town and its territory. The survival of the settlements was described in previous researches as a result of the relation between the size of the settlement and its resources, thus defining a minimum survival unit²⁵⁹. According to Ishikawa²⁶⁰, in order these survival units to continue in time, they are organized as **‘high-resolution’ territories**, which means a division in rather small lots which are used for different, and co-dependent tasks (dwelling, working, diverse types of production). The maintenance or substitution of this high-resolution land division will condition not only the visual integration of the whole town, but also the means the town will have to survive. Thus, the way the environment around the *denken chiku* changes can improve or impoverish the *denken chiku*.

The study of the physical and visual environment could reflect the changes in the surrounding areas, but not only at a study level, but also at a proposal level. Often, old maps and plans show how the built townscape formed the high-resolution micro-network with the productive land around it. This micro-network often included in its composing shapes traces of pre-existing structures (ancient walls and buildings, kofun-type mounds, divisions between lands, old infrastructures such as channels). These links and traces disappear when a new land allotment, composed by big land plots, replaced old ones. But the remains of the land structures described in old documents can be searched in-place.

How can be the old natural links be recovered, or at least, evoked, in the current space, and how can that improve the local life? In the Spanish cases, such as in Salt Valley, the disappeared structures are planned to be recovered, even those that will not be recovered for a productive activity. Environment protection can include **the recovery of old land use and property structures and other infrastructures, if only visually**. As a meaningful data visually perceptible, the old land divisions can be recovered or evoked, so that the town itself explains its history as a cultural asset. In these recovered land plots, planning can include the increase of the green spaces within the protected district or around it.

The maintenance of green spaces, as well as their recovery, cannot be conducted one by one, but planned and agreed in the municipality as a whole, and based on the knowledge about the environment in which the *denken* was built and evolved. It is necessary to admit that the landscape is not natural space anymore, but humanized space composed by living elements, exactly as the urban structures inside *denken chiku* districts. Landscape archaeology have already studied how all the land around us, included the land looking like natural, is actually humanized, and even the most natural-looking land has been intentionally modified to become a resource²⁶¹. In addition, any modification in the environment will need time to become visible,

²⁵⁹ KŌJIRO, Junichirō; Meiji University Kōjiro Lab. *Nihon no komyuniti*. Kagoshima Shuppankai, Tokyo, 1975.

²⁶⁰ ISHIKAWA, Hajime. ‘Nōkō no kaizōdo – ‘Resolution’ in farming’, in *Isekigaku kenkyū: Nihon iseki gakkai shi*, n.11, 2014, pp.78-81.

²⁶¹ CRIADO BOADO, Felipe; GONZÁLEZ MÉNDEZ, Matilde: ‘La socialización del patrimonio arqueológico desde la perspectiva de la arqueología del paisaje’, in *Actas del XXII Congreso Nacional de Arqueología*, Vigo, 1993

so it has to be planned beforehand. Thus, the planning on the in-place study and recovery of green spaces in and around the *denken chiku* is the best option to transform the documental knowledge about the environment in specific proposals.

Currently, *denken chiku* include, at most, the recovery of old land plots and spaces in inner gardens, such as in Kurayoshi, or in the vicinity of specific assets such as temples and shrines, such as in Ine. But this study could be led to the limits of the district. This would help preserving the life environment, as well as making the townscape more appealing for activities such as slow-paced tourism.

Functional aspects

The planning and the management in *denken chiku* have defined clearly what each town used to be, but they do not define what they are or what they are potentially to be. Most of *denken chiku* were developed from Edo to Meiji periods, and their economy and social structure used to be specialized. Some of these uses, such as in merchant districts, can be recovered as they were to a certain degree, but some other, such as samurai quarters, lost the function which justified their original structure. Thus, we can classify them into categories of “living” functional spaces and “dead” functional spaces²⁶². The more the dead a functional space, the more legit and necessary the introduction of tourism as a new activity will be; but then, the transformation of the town will be unavoidable, like in Tsumago.

But the greatest challenge for a traditional town is the implementation of modern functions. The greatest achievement in 20th century in buildings are networks such as electricity, water, heating, sewage, ventilation, or exhaust evacuation. In early 20th century, Giovannoni warned that the rehabilitation of old towns would come through the renovation of inner gardens and courtyards, where these networks often happen to be²⁶³. The preservation of old *machiya* houses will need the evolution of their courtyards, to integrate the modern networks, kitchens, bathrooms to the old structure. The planning would need the study of models to implement

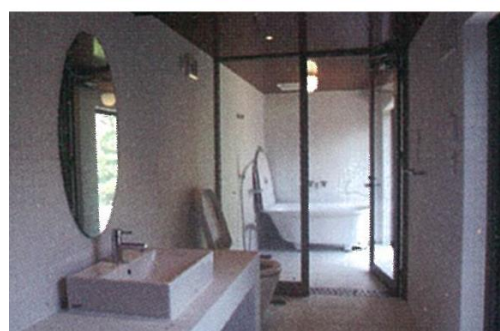
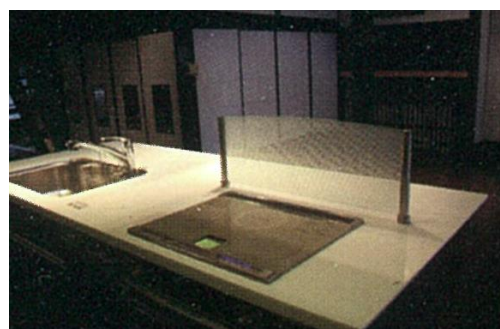


Fig.5.2 Nagomi no kan, Unomachi. It is a pilot project to show the capabilities by traditional houses to host modern services. Source: Unomachi Tourism Information Office.

²⁶² This classification is the same defined by Gustavo Giovannoni for dead monuments and alive monuments, as stated in CARBONARA, Giovanni. *Avvicinamento al restauro. Teoria, storia, monumenti*. Liguori Editore, Naples, 1997.

²⁶³ CHOAY, Françoise. *op.cit.*

these spaces and networks which are adapted to the morphology of each town and the needs of their inhabitants (Fig.5.2, Fig.5.3, Fig.5.4, Fig.5.5, Fig.5.5).

These measures would help to strengthen the function of *denken chiku* as a dwelling quarter, but how would this fit inside the whole urban system? In the early 20th century, Giovannoni already foresaw that the evolution of the infrastructures would lead humanity through a sequence of urbanisation / sub-urbanisation / de-urbanisation²⁶⁴. The urbanisation process would be caused by the concentration of activities in cities, due to transportation infrastructures that made it possible. The sub-urbanization would lead the inhabitant of urban areas outside the city, due to energy transportation infrastructures that made it possible. The de-urbanisation would make it unnecessary to live even in those suburban areas, when the information infrastructures made it possible. At this point, the old towns can return to be a reference point as a living place, with a slow pace good for rest and leisure. But the maintenance of their traditional structure depends, ironically, on the modernization of their infrastructures to make it liveable. Thus, preservation planning need to include the introduction of networks of modern infrastructures, such as telecommunication. Some examples already exist in Japan, such as Kamiyama town, Tokushima prefecture. Kamiyama, a rural area in the outskirts of Tokushima city, took advantage of the introduction by prefectural government of the most advanced fibre optics back in 2005. The town launched a program called 'Work in residence', oriented to people who wanted to establish both their houses and their businesses in Kamiyama, taking advantage of this fibre optics network. **Generally speaking, the dwelling-business mixed uses are the most ideal for any *denken chiku*, and the de-urbanisation process foreseen by Giovannoni provides an opportunity to develop policies to encourage these uses.**



Fig.5.3 Machiya Shiryōkan, Uchiko, 2015. Public toilets were implemented in the courtyard, as an example of how these services can be introduced in traditional houses.



Fig.5.4 Machiya Shiryōkan, Uchiko, 2015. Available public toilets are shown to visitors through a sign in the entrance.



Fig.5.5 Machiya Shiryōkan, Uchiko, 2015. The front and the courtyard are connected by a tōridoma rebuilt as its original state.

²⁶⁴ CHOAY, Françoise. *op.cit.*

The use of buildings as mixed business-dwelling activities would solve two of the problems that many *denken chiku* have: the **scale** of the structure related to the scale of the modern town, and the **mobility**. Regarding scale, we already talked about the high-resolution structure in self-dependant villages. This high-resolution structure is not compatible with new activity poles in industrial and post-industrial cities, which require large plots for highly centralised and specialised uses. These incompatibilities make it necessary to move what has been called ‘new elements of urban centrality’ (big-scale offices, infrastructures, modern production means) away from the old townscapes²⁶⁵.

As for the mobility, many *denken chiku*, especially those with a function specifically linked to the access to the old Edo routes (mainly merchant towns and post towns) or Edo ports (port towns), depended strongly on their accessibility to survive. However, the best preserved *denken chiku* were left apart by successive new infrastructures from late 19th to late 20th century. **The old towns were not designed to take the new scales and speeds brought by the infrastructures in the urbanization process, and the same reason that make them decay (not being part of the urbanization process) is the reason they exist.**

By contrast, other townscapes still existing in the 1970s were demolished when affected by urbanization processes. This is the case of Saijō, studied by Kōjiro in the 1970s as a representative case of Japanese urban community. It was neither included as *denken chiku* nor preserved by town planning, and the old post town was demolished to open the new boulevard connecting the JR station and the new campus of Hiroshima University. Thus, the apparition of new roads, adapted to motorisation, usually cause old towns to disappear. In the case study presented in Chapter 3, all three cases had experienced problems with the introduction of traffic: if traffic is introduced without changes in the street structures, causes problems of co-existence between vehicles and other users; if traffic causes changes in street structures, the townscape suffers severe modifications.

To avoid that, the planning needs to establish a comprehensive vision to minimize the traffic between the *denken chiku* and the outside. The easiest way would be by making this traffic unnecessary, by planning the districts and its surroundings at a pedestrian-scale. This means the minimization of displacements for work (like by encouraging the above-mentioned mixed used buildings) or school (by locating schools in the vicinity of the *denken chiku*). Other facilities (health, administrative, communitarian) would preferably be located in the vicinity as well. **Planning of modern facilities have much to do with the functional and traffic problems in old townscapes, which makes them hard to inhabit.**

Yet, cars will always be a part of the urban life. In the cases in which planning made efforts to avoid privately owned car parks to spread by building dissuasive car parks in the limits of the *denken chiku* avoided to go further in the internal destruction than those models with a strong community management. The planning, especially the planning on the limits of the *denken chiku* seems to be an important task for both functional and environmental aspects.

To sum up, the planning should not only include only the preservation of urban structures, but also their subsequent use and co-dependences, as well as the implementation of facilities for the modern life. But since some facilities are not compatible with old townscapes, the planning of old and modern districts cannot be separated. The old town will survive if it is

²⁶⁵ LALLANA SOTO, José Luis; SANTOS Y GANGES, Luis; CASTILLO RAMÓN, María; JIMÉNEZ, Marina. ‘La olvidada dimensión social del patrimonio urbano’, in *VII Congresso Português de Sociologia*, Porto, 2012.6.

preserved as an **inclusive space which hosts multiple uses but also multiple kinds of users**, and which is linked functionally to the rest of the town.

Social aspects

According to the UNESCO, the preservation of the heritage is responsibility, first, of the community who created it (if it exists), second, of the community which lives or uses it (if it exists), and last, of the community which values it (which exists in all cases; otherwise, it would not be considered heritage).

In cases that community, either that which created the *denken chiku* or that which lives in it, still exists, the active participation in management have been frequent. But then, we have to distinguish between the communities in “alive” townscapes and communities in “dead” townscapes. Dead townscapes would be those that lost their function while it was not replaced by a new one. Its equivalent in monuments would be those typically in ruins, created by a community which does not exist. In these cases, many monuments are re-used as open-air museums. If a whole community would disappear, the musealisation of the whole settlement would be possible as well, but then, it would not be any different from visiting an old, Edo period castle or a traditional town. In any case, the tourism exploitation of whole towns happened in towns that considered themselves objects from the past, thus dead in the present. Thus, the above-mentioned cases of Tsumago and Kakunodate, having lost their original functions of post towns and samurai residences, they are entirely used as tourism assets. But these are very specific cases, a minority, in Japan: towns that hardly could be re-used otherwise. Unfortunately, some alive townscapes followed the same path of musealisation, like Sanneizaka in Kyoto. Even if in 1976 most of houses were inhabited, currently there is not any inhabited house in the whole quarter²⁶⁶. The musealisation of towns causes two problems: the loss of historicity of the town (since it is frozen and stops evolving), and the replacement of local community by external businesses.

The continuation of the community labour has been easier in those communities whose activity is long established and possible to recover in the present. But these groups usually have been concentrated in the recovery of their activity, without further consideration of the causes of its decline in past times. Again, they are reaction groups, rather than action groups. We could see how in Uchiko, while the *denken chiku* hosts a lot of unused shop spaces, local agricultural community built their own structure outside the urban area. This lack of coordination is due to the nature of these groups as reaction groups. Kurayoshi is an exception to that: the management, including the community, is mainly coordinated between local government, local community and Akagawara company, created by local merchants’ association. The local government, through several plans and studies, made a general picture of the whole town structure, also as a social space: which use had the street front, the back alley, the storehouses, the *zashiki*, the central courtyards, or the main shop-house. Government also conducted a model plan for the revitalisation of the structures through the combination of some preserved structures and the controlled introduction of new ones, without the social use of space being severely altered. In the end, even if these plans were not implemented, local government had a detailed picture of **how Kurayoshi socially worked**. The effective coordination between local community, local merchants and local government led each one to recover different structures

²⁶⁶ MUNETA, Yoshifumi. Turismo e conservazione nel centro storico di Kyoto, in GIANIGHIAN, G; DARIO PAOLUCCI, M. *Il restauro in Giappone*. Alinea Editrice, Firenze, 2011.

and spaces without altering its use and its social significance. Thus, land plots are accessible from the front and the rear, courtyards are linked to the uses of the structures in them, and some of them are even accessible to the public, as they used to be. In other words, **Kurayoshi put the data obtained through research into specific interventions in spaces.** But this is an exceptional case among the cases exposed in this text.

In fact, merchant and post towns share several common traits when it comes to their social use of their space. They usually have a public street, which works as a lane in a marketplace, rather than a street itself, while there is a road system for supplying the businesses. These roads can be connected to the rear side of the land plots, and directly access to the storehouses, or be a shared space with the main road. These marketplaces used to appear either along important routes, or in the entranceway to an important spot such as a temple. In some cases, such as in Uchiko, both are true. But then, when old marketplaces around temples and roads were replaced by new streets around the railway stations, these old marketplaces would end up declining. The merchant activity is only alive in those districts near important tourism assets; others, like Uchiko, try creating tourism assets themselves, but these tourism assets sometimes are not linked to the *denken chiku*, which in the end does not work to make shops open again.

Thus, **the dwelling-business space is part of the common social space itself**, and the relationship between public and private is different from the relationship between common spaces and restricted spaces. Yet, when the function as a marketplace disappears, the social space is transformed, and limited to the street space. This happened also to other social spaces which were significant for their communities, such as the butai in Ine, which are often used as private spaces despite their former community meaning. Thus, we need to define the difference between public-private and collective-restricted, meaning that collective spaces are all the public and also the private spaces which are meant to be used collectively. **A model based only in town planning, which regulates only the use of public space, will not be effective to recover the social use of the spaces.**

To revive social spaces, it is required a cooperation between government and community, while establishing clearly the matters solved by planning and the matters solved by cooperation.

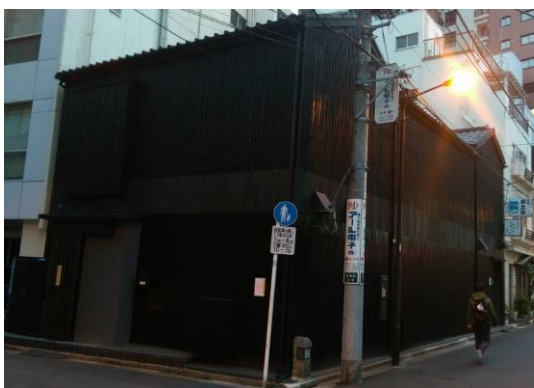


Fig.5.6 Modern building concealed under a façade imitating traditional lattices, without being a real lattice. Tokyo, near Kanda Myōjin Shrine, 2015.

In the case of mixed shop-dwelling townscapes, the planning should solve the recovery of the old environment, the means to supply the shops, the street space and the interest in going to this space from the viewpoint of locals. The cooperation should include local community and merchants, to revitalise the old merchant space (including private spaces) while making it open and accessible again. This would also need to include a debate about the traffic allowed in each road. In order to be a merchant street viable, pedestrian traffic must be prioritized, because as it was mentioned above, it guarantees the town to be socially inclusive.

Aspects related to town structure

The town structure is the built result of the superposition of environmental, functional and social conditions throughout time. Thus, the preservation of town structure is the sum of the preservation of two elements: the *sensus loci*, or spirit of a place²⁶⁷, built by the environmental, functional and social conditions, and the building ability, which is the ability to understand how the past was built and then, continue evolving it.

The spirit of place is the translation in spatial terms of the knowledge (including material and immaterial) of a certain town. To keep the spirit of place, the **mapping of this knowledge** will be the key point: how a place was built, which techniques were used, which uses and meanings a place had throughout time, which were the elements that defined the place. This reflection should include collective and restricted, public and private spaces. The same way there were typological or structural analyses of buildings, the same typological and structural analysis can be used in public spaces. The goal is to identify the key spaces that confer a town its significance.

The building ability is the ability by current generation to preserve, develop or replace the pre-existences following their logic. According to Choay, **the ultimate goal of all preservation is to preserve our building ability through the preservation of built elements that can teach us how to build and articulate new ones**²⁶⁸. The result of this preservation is the preservation or creation of **space**.

Thus, the plan must **consider how the knowledge base is mapped into specific spaces, but also how this knowledge can evolve to create future spaces in continuity with old town**. In Bologna, the dwelling typologies existing in old town were applied and evolved to create dwelling typologies in the new working-class quarters. Likewise, in Uchiko, some isolated experiences tried to implement the old typologies in new houses in other areas of the town; but generally speaking, the 'traditional-like' interventions in new dwellings around old areas often limit to a cosmetic imitation/update of traditional-like techniques in façades. Old Yanaka and Nezu quarters, in Tokyo, have significant examples of these cosmetic interventions (*Fig.5.6*). Instead, the continuation of the structure must be the continuation of the knowledge. In Salt Valley, they considered that at the time the salt production had stopped, some of the latest building techniques applied to salt fields were not fully evolved, and that the introduction of some technical tweaks was legit²⁶⁹. To sum up, the plan has to specify how to locate past knowledge into present and future spaces.

²⁶⁷ As for the definition included in TURGEON, Laurier (dir.). *Spirit of Place: Between Tangible and Intangible Heritage*. Les Preses de l'Université Laval, Québec, 2010.

²⁶⁸ CHOAY, Françoise. *op.cit.*

²⁶⁹ LANDA, Mikel; OCHANDIANO, Alazne. *op.cit.* 2014. In 20th century, concrete was used to build salt fields which would be neater than the traditional fields, made by clay or stones. Yet, the concrete introduced new technical problems that had not been solved at the time the salt production stopped. The authors consider that these techniques would have evolved, had they continued the production.

Last word

This thesis put some light on the role Japan had at an international level regarding townscape preservation. Currently, the social and economic implications of the townscape preservation activity are included in preservation plans in western countries, as well as the participation of the local community in the whole process as the origin and last receptor of the knowledge contained in the townscape as a material cultural property. These two points have been central in the theoretical framework that evolved in European countries in the last decades. On the other side, this thesis used a framework based in European experiences, which proved to be effective to establish the strengths of the Japanese townscape preservation, but also it showed the points in which there is room for improvement.

As for future challenges that Japanese townscape preservation might address, this thesis stated how the local planning should always aim at transforming the knowledge into specific proposals in space, in order to continue the two major values in the future: the spirit of the place (including the environmental, functional, social and structural aspects) and the ability by locals to build this place. In order that to happen, Japan would need to combine elements that Japan pioneered to create: the knowledge and valuation of material and immaterial culture as the same thing, and the preservation of local communities as a key factor in the continuation of the history of Japanese traditional townscapes.

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