

**Learning from Each Other:
Citizen Participatory Community Design
in the United States and Japan
and the Role of the Architect**


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Submitted to the Department of Architecture on May 6, 1994
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Master of Science in Architecture Studies

ABSTRACT

This thesis explored principles of community design for future development both in the U.S. and Japan by examining the organizational structures, levels of participation and processes of community designs.

Three cases in the U.S. and two cases in Japan were chosen for case studies. The method of research included a critical review of the literature, personal interviews and neighborhood visits. At the same time, the roles of architects in design processes were discussed as well as the roles of other participants: community residents, city officials and other professionals who were involved in the projects.

Levels of participation are defined by the distribution of power in decision-making, and each case is summarized in terms of levels of participation in each stage of chronological progression of the design process: use, pre-design, design, construction and habitation phase.

The U.S. and Japanese cases were compared by means of seven criteria: contextual consistency, spatial configuration, consideration of the family variation, achievement, citizens' levels of participation, involvement of institutions and the relationship between the community and the government. Findings clarified that the social background of each nation, attitude of city officials toward urban redevelopment, technical skills of professionals and attainability of financial support affect the success and effectiveness of participatory community design.

In conclusion six principles of participatory design were suggested to promote creative ways of including communities. Change in the role of architect were mentioned.

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INTRODUCTION

The word “community” implies many meanings. At least three explanations are noted in the dictionary:¹ “people living in one place, a group of people of the same interest, and a condition of sharing things.” When I use the word community, I feel that I am being linked with people at a specific place. I feel I am not alone, but living with people and generating a sense of place somewhere in a small town, a city or a country. As an architect, I always wish I could design a building that is a collective form of people’s power: lives, reality, creativity and collaboration.

So far several architects have succeeded at participatory design. In 1972, Lucien Kroll, the Belgian architect, designed the Medical Faculty at Woluwe-Saint Lambert in Louvain, Belgium.² The architect worked in collaboration with students to design their housing facility. Preceding Lucien Kroll’s implementation of a user-participation method in the design process, John Habraken articulated a dual-structure theory: a fixed skeleton, accommodating structural and service elements, and the infilling or enveloping building elements. One of many attempts to develop participatory design, much effort has also been carried out at the Community Project Laboratory in MIT.³ However, they do not go beyond the boundary of the architectural profession.

As far as I stay within the architect profession, I can play only a passive role as one participant in the participatory design process. What I need to know, however, are people’s needs regarding space, their culture and the issues in their community.

In the world, people live and develop their own community in different ways because of their culture, history, social and geographical settings. The ethnic diversity and class distinctions I see in the U.S.A. cannot be seen in Japan. However, I think there are basic common needs and desires for their community even though the social settings are totally different. For me, studying American communities and their current issues, concurrent with remembering Japanese society, is the way to find basic principles of community design.

I will use “community design” to mean the process of formulating a community or rehabilitating an existing community. Many people or organizations are involved in this process and it takes a long time to accomplish. Moreover, if I add the term “citizen participation” to community design, the process becomes more complicated. To what

¹ Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary, Oxford University Press, 1989

² Tronis, Alexander, “Architecture in Europe,” Rizzoli, New York, 1992

³ Harms, Hans H, “Toward Participatory Dwelling Design: Process and Product,” MIT School of Architecture and Planning Community Project Laboratory,” Cambridge, 1972

extent are citizens involved in the development process, and to what extent are their social needs met depends on their levels of participation. Architects are often part of this process and their roles can be discussed in relation with citizens' participation and distribution of decision-making powers.

Key questions

Because each community has its own background and problems, its development process is distinct and, therefore, the roles of architects vary one from the other. To make clear these differences and to understand the specific features of the development process, the following questions need to be answered:

1. Who are the participants?
2. What is the nature of their participation?
3. What are the goals of the participatory process?
4. When in the planning process does participation occur?
5. How are participants involved?

The role of the architects

Concurrent with thinking about the above questions, the architects' participation will be explored as outlined below.

1. What is the role of the architect in the each stage of the design process, in relation with either to other participants or the distribution of power in the:
 - Pre-design programming stage: to organize people, to consult
 - Design stage: to interpret culture, to apply planning skills, to consult
 - Construction stage: to supervise, to have a flexibility to change a plan for the residents' needs, to provide technical skills to residents
 - Habitation stage: to follow up, to provide a maintenance program, to provide adaptability
2. How do architects interact with participants and how does this participation affect the design decisions?
3. How does the architect make design decisions by selecting which inputs to follow?

Community Design within the Context of Urban Renewal in the United States

In the U.S., urban redevelopment legislation in the 1940s did not consider the role of citizens in the planning process. The main purpose of urban redevelopment was directed toward “slum clearance” and physical improvement. In the mid-1950s, because the emphasis of urban redevelopment shifted from slum clearance to rehabilitation of neighborhoods, the name “urban redevelopment” was changed to “urban renewal.” However, what the government did still entailed large scale demolition of buildings and displacement of neighborhood people. The Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA), established in 1957, at the request of the Mayor and the City Council, was responsible for urban renewal in accordance with the Massachusetts General Laws for the city of Boston.⁴ Prior to urban renewal projects, the Boston Housing Authority conducted a study of physical and social conditions, and the feasibility of urban development plans for New York Streets in the South End, the West End and Mattapan projects.⁵ Later, as the first phase of urban renewal, redevelopment began in the South End and the West End.

Development of the South End began in the 1820s, and it was followed by real estate ventures and landfill operations from the 1850s to the 1960s. Three- to five-story brick row houses were built to attract middle- and upper-class families. However, almost all upper income people preferred to live in the more fashionable Back Bay. Instead, the South End became:

“the port of entry for the many successive waves of immigrants, first Europeans, then rural Black folks. A large number of old people, mostly male, who had come to the city hoping to “make it” but failed to find work, settled into the increasing number of rooming houses that supplied cheap housing.”⁶

Concurrent with drawing an immigrant working-class reputation, the South End began to lose its young working class population who looked for spacious housing and a homogeneous white community elsewhere in the outskirts of the city. Meanwhile, by the 1950s, many buildings in the South End had deteriorated; most of the housing units were substandard. New York Streets was the first redevelopment project in Boston, initiated in 1952. The intention was “to assemble enough land for private industry to build an efficient

⁴ Boston Redevelopment Authority, “Fact Book,” Boston, 1982

⁵ Boston Redevelopment Authority, “Roxbury-North Dorchester Urban Renewal Area. General Neighborhood Renewal Plan,” Boston, 1970

⁶ King, Mel, “Chain of Changes, Struggles for Black Community Development,” South End Press, Boston, 1981

modern structure.”⁷ It obtained the status of the “national model” of urban renewal initiatives. Given its proximity to major thoroughfares New York Streets was in an ideal location for light industry and commercial development. A diverse New York Streets neighborhood was informed about the city’s renewal project by city officials, and was forced to relocate with minimal assistance. As the destination of relocation, “most white families went to South Boston, Dorchester and Jamaica Plain. Black and Portuguese families moved to Washington Park, Lower Roxbury and North Dorchester.”⁸

Besides this demolition and displacement, other developments such as “gentrification”, began in the early 1960s. The South End is located adjacent to the Prudential Center and historical Copley Square, and is very close to the downtown area. In addition, the South End’s beautiful row houses and low housing costs attracted young professionals to move in. Meanwhile, both private developers and individuals began to buy and rehabilitate deteriorated brick townhouses for middle- and upper-income residents in the South End. Gentrification brought land speculation and rents up. Consequently, many low- and moderate-income residents were forced to move out the South End.

The next location of large redevelopment was the West End, a Jewish and Italian immigrant neighborhood. Almost all houses in the area were demolished and Charles River Park, a set of high-rise, high-rent apartments, were built.⁹

The large scale demolition and displacement caused not only by urban renewal, but also by the South West Corridor Project.¹⁰ The plan initiated in 1948, aimed at extending Interstate 95 through Roxbury. Houses and businesses along a wide path, from Lower Roxbury to Jamaica Plain, were demolished. People were evacuated from their original site, with insufficient compensation from the City.

These changes led to a planning process with citizen involvement, and citizens formed a formal structure in their community to combat the displacement. The urban renewal program and related redevelopment projects initiated a new relationship between governments and citizens. It may be argued that the urban renewal program framed the concept of citizen participation in the U.S. There is another factor which affected citizen participation in the 1960s. The federal and state poverty programs of that period stated that citizens should have a voice in planning processes and plans that could change citizens’

⁷ Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce, “Boston Renewal,” pp.22 - 23, Jan. 1964

⁸ King, 22

⁹ Boston Redevelopment Authority, “West End Land Assembly and Redevelopment Plan,” Boston, June, 1959

¹⁰ Michael Rezendes, “Orange Line Blues,” *The Boston Phoenix*, Mar. 9, 1992

Gaston, Mauricio, “Community Participation in Boston’s Southwest Corridor Project,” Master degree Thesis submitted to MIT, Cambridge, 1981

lives. By means of a participatory process, citizens could protect their rights and have a voice in the planning process for their community.

Although citizen participatory design stemmed from widely implemented urban renewal programs in the U.S., the processes and goals of citizen participation in planning differs from one project to another. The extent of citizens' participation changes from project to project, ranging from complete control to limited participation. However, it is clear that citizens are gaining significant influence in the decision-making process, and planning is no longer the exclusive domain of professionals.

Community Design in a Japanese Context

The notion of participatory community design has been introduced to Japan just recently. Citizen participatory community design can be seen mostly in public projects such as parks, green space and green path projects. Some of these projects have been implemented step by step while the local government respects the communities' needs and wishes. Besides the recent movement toward citizens' participation in public projects, participatory housing design (especially condominium projects) have more than a 20-year history in Japan. At the beginning, a group of citizens form a union and purchase land in a city. These citizens share landownership. Because they participate in the design process with a precondition that they own land in a city, where it has the most value, participant are limited to upper-middle or high-income people. In addition, skyrocketing land prices and expenses of construction have seriously affected the growth of participatory design in housing.¹¹

Generally, there are three types of community design in Japan. The first type is "resistance-oriented" community design. This type of community design has practiced long before the notion of participation was introduced to Japan. The destruction of traditional neighborhoods caused by an invasion of private developers and land speculation which forces people to leave this neighborhoods induces residents' resistance to defend their lives in their communities and its surrounding livable physical environment. They organized a neighborhood association by themselves and sometimes proposed a land use plan for the development site. Some radical communities have made "Town Planning Charters"; they set spatial goals for the living environment. Some communities in Kyoto succeeded in implementing their charters; one community changed an initial plan for a

¹¹ Public sectors have begun to promote the citizen participation in housing development by applying various subsidy systems since 1980. They attract middle income people. These projects tend to be large scale developments and to lack enough participation by citizens.

condominium project planned by a developer. The height of the building was lowered from nine- to six-stories by the residents to protect their right to sunlight and to prevent radiowave jamming.¹²

The second type is “cooperative” community design. A local government clarifies physical and the social issues, citizens’ needs and the indigenous character of the community. Then the government sets up various systems and plans to improve the living conditions of the community, and provides a chance for residents to participate in the community design project. The contemporary trend of participatory community design in Japan is of this type. The design process tends to be led by the local government within the current bureaucratic administrative system.

The last type of participatory design is “spontaneous” community design. The community residents not only resist the destruction of the neighborhood but also set goals, create a long-term and durable proposal for the area and implement the project by collaborating with professionals. Sometimes it is motivated community residents who develop the community design, and the local government supports these activity.

Methodology of the Thesis

This thesis was accomplished by carrying out the following three steps.

First, the literature was studied regarding the notion of participation in community design and the past experiences of urban redevelopment both in the U.S. and Japan.

Then, three cases of community design were selected in Boston, Massachusetts, and two cases were selected in Tokyo area, Japan. Each case has a distinctive character which has led to the different results regarding physical and social achievements. The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative focused on the process of gaining power to revitalize its community. Physical issues -- housing and environment -- were equally emphasized as social and economic issues. Both Villa Victoria and Tent City initially intended to get decent housing to protect their lives and community and have succeeded. However, the Villa Victoria neighborhood had a strong identity and culture in the South End, and its community organization (Inquilinos Boricuas en Action) has acquired technical skills and developed its own businesses. On the other hand, Tent City has been a symbol of the citizens’ struggle to gain housing as it has involved many participants, which have weakened the citizens’ role in the design process. One of the two cases of community design in Japan, the Ageo, Nakacho-Atago district plan shows the city officials’ strong

¹² Katakata, Shinya, “A Study on the Role of Community Participation,” Japan Institute of Architecture, 1989

leadership in the design process, presents typical land issues in Japan and the destruction of the community by the private developers' invasion of the neighborhood. In the other case, A Series of Community Design in Setagaya-ward, Tokyo, citizens are aware of the importance of participation in the community design, and city officials and professionals are trying to support the citizens' activity.

I interviewed key persons in these community design cases. Because the purpose of this thesis is to find principles of citizen participatory community design by referring to each participant's role in the design process, the discussions were focused on the organizational structure of the communities, and the interaction between the participants: city officials, community residents, professionals, foundations. I interviewed primarily the representatives of each participant in order to understand the whole process of diverse community designs. Those interviewed were: the Executive Director, the Board of Directors, the professional staff of community organizations, the president of residents alliance, the architects, the planning consultants, the trustee staff of foundation and city officials.

Finally, I put this information together for the comparison of the U.S. and Japanese cases of community designs.

Framework of the Thesis

Chapter 1: Definition

This chapter outlines the levels of participation that are used in this thesis and introduces the background of participation in the U.S. and Japan.

Chapter 2: Case studies

To understand the distribution of power in community design for analysis, I classified the participants in each case that I studied into five groups: city officials, community residents, consultants and architects, foundations and developers or landowners. In some instances, these participants share decision making power with others, while in some cases, one participant has the strong power to control the process. These power distributions will be examined at each stage of chronological progression of community design.

Chapter 3: Comparative analysis between cases in the US. and Japan

Similarities, differences, effectiveness, design quality, weakness and strength, and what they can learn from each other will be discussed by comparing American cases and Japanese cases.

From these analyses, the participatory processes are examined with reference to their outcomes. Outcomes will be evaluated by the following criteria, and elaborated in this Chapter.

- 1) Contextual Consistency
- 2) Spatial Configuration between Public Space and Private Space
- 3) Consideration for family variations
- 4) Achievements
- 5) Citizen's Levels of Participation
- 6) Institution's Involvement
- 7) The Flow of Relationship between the Community and the Government:
Pressure, Pressure-Conflict, Negotiation, Collaboration

Chapter 4: Conclusion

I will conclude the comparison with general principles and suggest a citizen participatory community design for future development.

An Epilogue ends this thesis with mentioning a change in the role of the architect.

CHAPTER 1

DEFINITION OF PARTICIPATION AND CLASSIFICATION OF LEVELS

Sanoff¹ describes participation as “fact or conditions of sharing in common with others, and refers to making decisions with regards to the common good.” He further states that participation is conceptual and ideological, but there is little consistency in the way participation is perceived. Wulz² refers to a number of synonyms for participation and states, “it implies that participation is a general concept covering different forms of decision making by a number of involved parties.” De Carlo defines participation as “a series of continuous and interdependent actions aiming at a situation in which all parties have equal decision making power.”³

Arnstein⁴ simply defines participation as “the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens to be deliberately included in the future.” To analyze participation clearly, Arnstein developed a typology of eight levels of participation by illustrating 'eight rungs on a ladder of citizen participation.' The eight levels are: 1) Manipulation 2) Therapy (Non-participation) 3) Informing 4) Consultation 5) Placation (Tokenism) 6) Partnership 7) Delegated power 8) Citizen control (citizen power). Referring to public planning from the 1950s as urban renewal, poverty programs and political issues, Burke⁵ stated "participation emerged as a matter of right whether acknowledged or not." Although he refers to the difficulty of defining participation consistently because of its wide variation, he identifies a range of five roles: 1) Review and Comment, 2) Consultation, 3) Advisory, 4) Shared decision-making, and 5) Controlled decision-making.

On the other hand, Wulz⁶ described seven different forms and stages of participation focusing on the relationship between architects and residents. These are: Representation; Questionnaires; Regionalism; Dialogue; Alternative; Co-decision; Self-decision. Burns⁷ classifies participation in a different way from that based on decision-

¹ Sanoff, Henry, “Integrating Programming, Evaluation and Participation in Design,” Avebury Ashgate Publishing Ltd., England, 1992

² Wulz, F., “The Concept of Participation,” *Design Studies*, 7,3: 153-62, 1986

³ Giancarlo De Carlo, “Leuven Seminar on Participatory Design,” Edited by Jan Schreurs et al, Uitgeverij Acco Leuven, Belgium, 1981

⁴ Arnstein, S., “A Ladder of Citizen Participation,” *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, 35: 215-214, 1969

⁵ Burke, E.M., “A Participatory Approach to Urban Planning,” Human Science Press, New York, 1979

⁶ Wulz, F., pp.153-62

⁷ Burns, J., “Connections: Ways to Discover and Realize Community Potentials,” McGraw Hill, New York, 1979

making power, right or relationship between participants. He also noted experience: how far citizens go in the chronological progression of the development process, and classifies it as: Awareness; Perception; Decision-making; Implementation.

Classification of the levels of participation

With reference to the above precedents, I will use the following classification for levels of participation from the point of view of each stage of chronological progression of community development. "Participants" is used in a broad sense to include residents, architects, city officials and foundations. While explaining classification, I identify each level of participation first in terms of power distribution, second, I describe examples, and, then, I describe the relationship between citizens and architects.

Highly specified participation

Participants: Residents, City officials, Architects or Contractors, are instructed (manipulated or educated) to follow the decision-making procedure that has been provided by the other participants. They are informed of only a small part of the proposed plan and do not have any decision-making power.

Example: Neighborhood citizens attend neighborhood councils for a new community center project. To proceed with the project, they are asked to sign a legal print with brief explanation of the prospective community center. After it is completed, citizens who attend the neighborhood councils realize that they were not informed about important features in the project, and that there is no way to complain about it.

Relationship between citizens and the architects:

The architect simply interprets the client's desires, ambitions, dreams and self-esteem. Planning and design is highly influenced by the architect's own professional knowledge and experience.

Informed:

Participants are informed of the proposed plan, and at the same time, are given an opportunity to review the plan. However, the participants do not have any power to alter or modify the plan.

Example: News media, pamphlets, posters and responses to inquiries are frequently used for distributing information. Information tends to be a one-way flow from city officials to citizens. At the decision-making meeting, city officials have the initiative because they can employ their sophisticated negotiating techniques and knowledge.

Relationship between citizens and the architect:

Although the architect's profession dominates design process, citizens have more chance to review the proposed plans and to comment.

Consultation:

Participants have a chance to voice their opinions through planning organizations: for citizens it is neighborhood meetings or attitude surveys, for architects and city officials it is policy and planning committees. However, there is no assurance that their opinions will be taken into account.

Example: Attitude surveys, neighborhood meetings, and public hearings are frequently used to consult people. However, performing attitude surveys over and over without any follow up or giving other options to citizens, only serves to annoy citizens and can not produce valid results.

Relationship between citizens and the architect:

In the case of a mass-production of housing or public housing project, usually the architect's client is the bureaucratic representative of authorities. The architect considers prospective resident's needs and desires by means of observable, comprehensible and statistical analysis. Citizens are anonymized participants in this case. On the other hand, reacting against the simplified and uniformed residential planning that ignores their geographic and cultural context, the architect considers the specific regional settings with consulting representatives of the local residents. This is more advanced participation than the

above case. The most advanced participation case on consultation level is when design decisions are made based on conversations between the architect and the citizens. Although the architect has final decisive power, two-way communication is seen: the architect informs the citizens of his proposal, and the citizens give comments and their own view about the proposal to the architect at an early stage in the design process.

Partnership: Participants share decision-making power and act as partners in planning and decision-making.

Example: More than two different participants agree to share planning and decision-making power through joint policy boards and planning committees. Citizens' groups need to be well organized and if they have enough financial resources, partnership works effectively. Another example is, citizens achieve significant power by having a majority of seats on the decision-making place, and have the power of veto if mutual agreement can not be reached.

Relationship between citizens and the architect:

The architect provides the choice of several alternatives of design proposals for the current and prospective residents. The task for the architect is to well visualize his proposal in order to realize a meaningful participation. The more advanced participation will happen when motivated citizens are involved in the design process from the early stages and they direct the project as actively as the architect. The influence of the architect's profession is reduced.

Control: Participants have decision- making (or controlling) power. A solo participant proceeds with the project in full charge of policy making and management.

Example: A neighborhood corporation gets a grant from financial sources and proceeds with the project in full charge of policy making and management.

Relationship between citizens and the architect:

The architect's role is one of consultant on questions such as choice of materials, colors, technical and legal issues.

Table 1-1 shows the relationship between the typology of the levels of participation in this thesis and those of precedents

Typology in this Thesis	Arnstein	Burke	Wulz
Control	Citizen Control	Controlled	Self-decision
		Decision-Making	
Partnership	Delegation-Power	Shared Decision-Making	Co-Decision
	Partnership		Alternative
Consultation	Placation	Advisory	Dialogue
			Regionalism
Informed	Consultation	Consultation	Questionnaires
	Informing	Review and Comment	Representation
Highly-Specified Participation	Therapy		
	Manipulation		

Table 1-1: **Typology of the levels of participation**

CHAPTER 2 CASE STUDIES

2 - 1 OVERVIEW OF PROJECTS

DSNI (Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative)¹, Boston, Massachusetts

Overall Plan

DSNI released “The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative Revitalization Plan: A Comprehensive Community Controlled Strategy,” which was prepared by DAC International Inc.(Planning Consultant). The plan consists of three main development plan: physical, human services and economic development. Each has a specific strategy to achieve its purpose. The overall aim is to revitalize the community while combating speculative pressures that cause displacement.

Community: Neighborhood residents and the DSNI. The initiative is composed of residents, churches, community development agencies and small businesses. The 25-member board of directors includes 12 area residents (three African-Americans, three Latinos, three Cape Verdeans, three whites.) The membership increased to 1,800 in 1993.

Consultant: DAC International Inc.

Physical Development:

- **Housing:** approximately 300 single-family and cooperative housing units were planned
Architect: Primary Group Inc.
Developer: DNI (Dudley Neighborhood Inc.)
- **Village Common:** Landscaped open space at the northern point of the Dudley Triangle
- A series of 28 tot lots scattered throughout the neighborhood
- **Two Community Centers - Young Architects and Planners Project:** They were planned to be built at the center of the Dudley Triangle
Architect: 45 Teenagers as “Young Architects”, and 12 volunteer architects and planners

¹ Nagel, Andrea and Sullivan, Gail “Youthful Visions - Building for a Foundation for Community” Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative, Roxbury, Massachusetts, 1990

Information issued by DSNI, 1993

DAC International Inc., “Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative Revitalization Plan: A Comprehensive Community Control Strategy,” September, 1987

- Commercial development along Dudley Street and Blue Hill Avenue

Human Service Development:

The purpose is to identify the services and strategies through which neighborhood residents can achieve their goal of community revitalization and maximum self-sufficiency. Human services include skills training, improvement of local schools, increased public transportation, commercial services and safety.

Economic Development:

The purpose is to increase the chance of job opportunity for residents, improve the quality of services and goods to the consumer, and achieve equitable employer-employee relations

Villa Victoria², Boston, Massachusetts

Overall Plan

New construction and rehabilitation of housing including elderly and handicapped housing, clinic and social service offices, office space, and commercial development project.

Community: The original residents of Parcel 19 in the South End, and Inquilinos Boricuas En Action (IBA). IBA is a Puerto Rican agency incorporated in 1968. It initially intended to dedicate itself to the integral development of the Villa Victoria community and be responsible for the development of all housing in Villa Victoria. IBA is controlled by the members of the IBA corporation which consists of Villa Victoria residents. The members of the corporation elect a Board of Directors which has the power to make decisions.

Physical Development:

Phase 1: Rehabilitation of existing brick town houses into 71 units family apartments, completed in 1972.

Phase 2: New construction of Unity Tower, 201 units for elderly and handicapped housing, a clinic and social service offices in a 19-story building. Creation of community space (the Plaza). Completed in 1974.

² Inquilinos Boricuas En Action "Community Control Model" Submitted to U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1979

Poodry, Deborah Walne, "Neighborhood Self-Definition and Design Imagely: Case Studies," Master degree Thesis submitted to MIT, Cambridge, 1979

Bond, Evagene H, "La Comunidad: Design, Development, and Self-Determination in Hispanic Communities," Partners for Livable Places, Washington D.C.,1982

- Phase 3: New construction of Viviendas la Victoria 1, 181 units for family apartments and office space in a mid-rise building. Completed in 1976.
- Phase 4: Rehabilitation of nine existing brick town houses into 36 units family apartments, Casas Borinquen of Villa Victoria. Completed in 1977.
- Phase 5: New construction of Viviendas la Victoria 2, 190 townhouse units, and of one four-story building with commercial space on the first floor. Completed in 1981.
- Architect: John Sharratt Associates
- Developer: ETC Development Inc. (ETC/DI), a subsidiary of Inquilinos Boricuas En Accion
- Management: ETC Management Inc.
- Owner: ETC and Associates

Tent City³, Boston, Massachusetts

Overall Plan

269-unit mixed income apartment housing, ground-level commercial and 698-space underground commercial parking garage development

Community: Original residents on the Tent City site, neighborhood residents near the site, and activists from throughout the South End

The first tenants were selected from applications for public housing. They were selected according to income level and race in order to maintain the South End's diverse character.

Physical Development:

269 units (25% for low-income, 50% for moderate income, and 25% of market rates)

Architect: Goody, Clancy & Associates, Inc.

Developer: Tent City Corporation

Owner: (housing) Tent City Corporation,
(garage) Urban Investment Development Corp.

Ageo, Nakacho-Atago District⁴, Saitama, Japan

Overall Plan

Implementation of Community Living Environment Rehabilitation Program and District Planning System enforced by the city of Ageo

³ Goody, Clancy & Associates, "Tent City" prepared for Building and Social Housing Foundation, Habitat Awards 1989, unpublished paper

⁴ The City of Ageo, "Community Design towards Vitalization of Nakacho-Atago District", 1993

Physical Development:

- Project A
Community: Original residents on the project site (three land owners), and tenants
Architect: Total Design System
Units: 23 units, all for rent
- Project B
Owner: Original residents on the project site (four land owners, two land leaseholders and five tenants), and other tenants
Architect: Sho-Architect Office
Units: 46 units for rent, 8 units for land owners and previous land leaseholders
3 retail shops and offices

A Series of Community Design in Setagaya-ward, Tokyo, Japan⁵

Overall Plan

In 1992, thirteen community design projects received grants from Setagaya Community Design Fund. All these activities were for a specific place in Setagaya ward. Community residents participated through workshops, field surveys and neighborhood meetings. One of these activities, the Okusawa Public Park project received a grant and was implemented.

Physical Development⁶

- 1) Proposals for habitation through finding problems and natural resources: informative map making of the distribution of green space, farm land, a recycling center, and facilities for disabled people.
- 2) Proposals of green space and public gardens: practical design of green space and pocket park, proposal for linear green space along public transportation.
- 3) Proposals of rehabilitation of Physical environment: proposal for day care center and community center.
- 4) Preparatory activities of non-profit community design organization.

Okusawa Public Park Project

Community: Residents' group for Okusawa Public Park, neighborhood residents
Architect: July Architects Office

⁵ Setagaya Community Design Center "Data book of Setagaya Community Design Center and Fund" 1994

⁶ The examples were implemented in 1993.

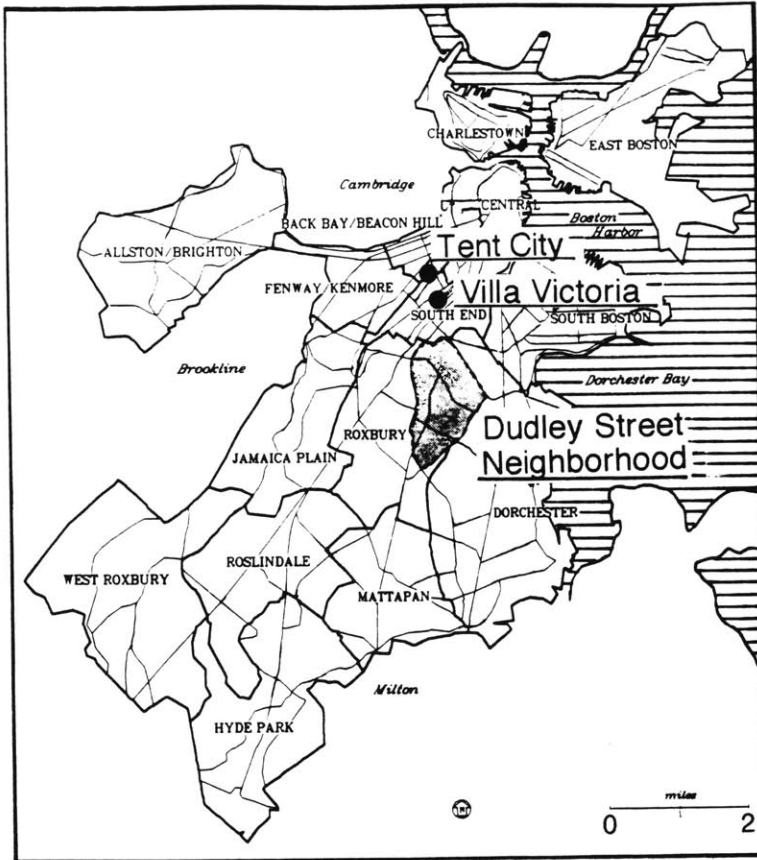


Figure 2 - 1: Location: Cases in Boston

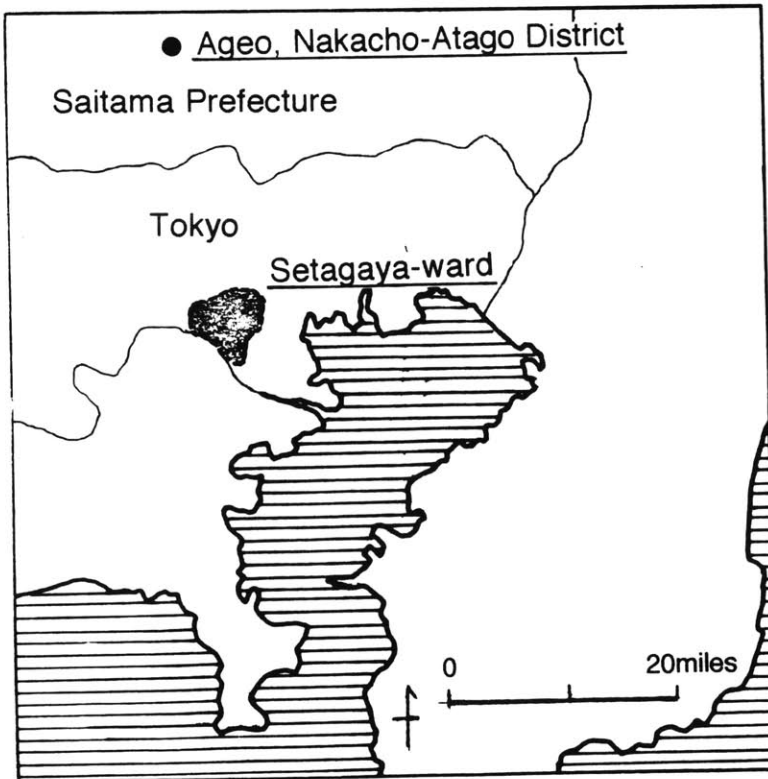


Figure 2 - 2: Location: Cases in Japan

2 - 2 THREE CASES IN THE U.S.

(1) DSNI: Community Power

The Dudley Street neighborhood is located in Roxbury less than two miles southwest of downtown Boston. Having approximately 14,500 residents, its racial and cultural mixture consists of approximately 40% African-Americans, 30% Latino, 20% Cape Verdean and 10% White. According to 1980 Census information, the median income of the neighborhood is half that of Boston city-wide. The neighborhood is approximately 1.5 square miles in area. There were no less than 1,300 vacant lots which covered more than 20% of the neighborhood, and they were filled with trash and industrial waste. One third of those lots were owned by the City of Boston.¹

Che Madyun, one of the DSNI Board of Directors, who moved to the neighborhood in 1976, described the condition of the Dudley Neighborhood in those days.²

“I used to hear fire engines every night. The fire engines thundered by regularly in the 1970s to aim their hoses at the burning houses and stores then standing on what is now a loose chain of vacant lots. By then, most of the Irish and Italian residents of this part of the city had left for the suburbs, taking with them the attention of most banks and businesses. Real estate values plummeted. Buildings were abandoned. Eventually condemned, they were torn down one by one. Some owners, rather than pay taxes on deteriorating buildings, cashed in on insurance by having them set afire.”

During the urban renewal projects, some new housing was built, but it was poorly done and scattered throughout the area. These houses deteriorated soon partly because of lack of funds³ to maintain them. Finally they were torn down, regenerated much vacant land, and made the environment worse. The people, however were suffering from a shortage of affordable housing. Concurrently, the Dudley neighborhood was suffering from the disintegration of its commercial and retail infrastructure. Banks and commercial businesses had gone with the white people, and only unskilled or service jobs were available to residents. The urban renewal plan which prevailed in the South End threatened the Dudley neighborhood as well, especially since the BRA had devised a re-development plan for Dudley Square.⁴ That plan induced developers to buy vacant neighborhood land,

¹DAC International. INC. “The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative Revitalization Plan: A Comprehensive Community Controlled Strategy” Sep. 1987

² Boucher, Norman, “The Death and Life of Dudley” *The Boston Globe Magazine*, Apr. 8, 1990

³ According to the BRA, “whites were three times as likely as economically similar blacks to receive mortgages in Boston,” Boucher. Also, Boucher describes that “the perception within Boston’s banks was that it was not a neighborhood worth lending to.”

⁴ BRA, “The Dudley Square Plan: A Strategy for Neighborhood Revitalization,” Boston, 1984



Figure 2 - 3: Dudley Street Neighborhood

and encouraged land speculation to bring rents up. However the fact that over one-quarter of the residents were homeowners pointed toward the possibility of stabilizing the community.

Brief History of the Dudley Street Neighborhood Community Design

Prior to the formation of the DSNI (1984) There were several trial movements, the Roxbury Neighborhood Coalition, Churches in Roxbury and Jesus Helps Baptist Church to address the neighborhoods' problems. However, because of the lack of commitment to collaborate and the lack of vision to solve problems beyond their interest, these trial movements had not been as bold as a community organization like the DSNI. However, the problematic conditions were still in place, and people were facing the threat of demolition and displacement. Some agencies kept working to generate neighborhood involvement and their efforts formed a base for the initiation of the DSNI.

- 1984 DSNI was initiated by residents and community-based agencies with support from the Riley Foundation⁵. The Riley foundation committed \$2 million to DSNI over five years. The initial board of directors consisted mostly of representatives from various human service and community development groups. There were only a few representatives on the board of directors, who were elected from ethnic groups in the neighborhood. The Board was reorganized to ensure that neighborhood residents would have power in the decision-making process of neighborhood development.
- 1987 DSNI released a comprehensive plan for developing the neighborhood prepared by DAC International Inc., a Washington-based, minority-owned consulting firm. The Riley Foundation and the Hymas Foundation paid the consulting fees.
- 1988 DSNI gained power of eminent domain over 15 acres of vacant land in the heart of the DSNI area. In addition, residents cleaned vacant lots, witnessed new housing construction and got back normal services: street and bus stop signs, stop lights at busy intersections, service from the commuter rail, a city hotline for reporting abandoned cars and illegally dumped trash, .

⁵ The Riley Foundation was established in 1972, when Mabel Louis Riley died. She left \$20 million for charity. Its trustee-staff visited the Dudley neighborhood and decided to focus primarily on this neighborhood. The Riley Foundation prefers to fund projects that will help to solve problems rather than to meet routine needs. The Riley Foundation, "Guidelines for Applicants," 1993



Figure 2 - 4: DSNI, Dudley Street, approaching St. Patrick's Church



Figure 2 - 5: DSNI, Vacant lot in the Dudley Triangle



Figure 2 - 6: DSNI, Trash in a vacant lot

- 1989 Over two hundred neighborhood residents ratified a plan for the development of the vacant land. The plan was a creation of an Urban Village: housing, shops, open space, human service facilities.
- 1994 DSNI got new planning grant from the Casey Foundation for a seven-year period (one year for planning, three years for capacity building and three years for implementation.)

Participants in the Project and the Nature of their Participation

City officials: The City of Boston, Boston Redevelopment Authority, The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, The State Department of Environmental Management

The history of the DSNI is the history of gaining power strong enough to negotiate with city officials or the bureaucratic power structure. But the city has brought not only political power but also financial and technical resources to the community. Before the initiation of the DSNI, the city and the BRA had enormous power to implement their plan. However, as the DSNI got financial and technical support, the relationship between the DSNI and the city had changed from a pressure-conflict oriented relationship to a negotiation oriented one.

As the first step, the DSNI captured the city's attention by demanding the close of two illegal trash-transfer stations in the neighborhood. The DSNI held demonstrations at the dump site, and encouraged media to announce their activity to draw the citywide attention.⁶ Personal level relationship between the city and the neighborhood can not be neglected. The DSNI board of directors had kept meeting with Lisa Chapnik, PFD, from early on, and this relation secured the land owned by the city so that it could not be sold. Stephan Coyle, BRA director, advised the DSNI board of directors to apply for power of eminent domain in order to gain control of the private lots in the neighborhood. However, within the city and the BRA, there had been skepticism toward giving power of eminent domain to the DSNI. On the other hand, the state Department of Environmental Management had agreed to spend \$1million grant to create a village common at the intersection of Blue Hill Avenue and Dudley Street.⁷ Most importantly, Flynn's support of the DSNI significant influenced on its achievement.⁸

⁶ "DSNI even threatened to dump trash at city hall." Boucher

⁷ The Boston Globe "A Dudley Street Transformation," Apr. 1, 1993

⁸ "It is clear that the key to successful redevelopment of the Dudley neighborhood is the control over private vacant property...I believe...that by using the 121A powers as an effective legal tool, the community and the City will ensure that comprehensive revitalization of the Dudley area takes another major step forward. Your group has the capacity, wisdom and vision to handle this task, and I am pleased

Community residents: Neighborhood Residents, La Alianza Hispana, DSNI
45 teenagers as young architects

The DSNI put the DSNI Membership on the top of its organizational structure. Four committees which are concerned with specific issues in the neighborhood, plus the Executive Committee are located beneath the DSNI Membership. In 1993, more than 1,300 residents had DSNI membership. The Board of Directors of the DSNI is a steering committee, and it makes all final decisions. However, before the DSNI Board finalizes a decision, it has to consult with the larger Dudley community, the DSNI Membership residents. They can modify, dismiss and ratify a proposed plan or policy at their neighborhood meetings.

Consultants: LISC, DAC International Inc., Pro bono services (Bank of Boston,
Architects Rackman, Sawyer & Brewster, Goulston & Stors, Powers & Hall,
Community Training and Assistance Center), Community Builders,
12 volunteer architects and planners

In the different stages of the development process, various technical support including planning, legal, management and architectural came from outside of community. They worked with the community directly or indirectly. During the organizing period, Paul Logan, the executive director of LISC, and Fernando, the director of IBA, gave the Riley Foundation technical advice: “gave them (community organization) money so that they would have a voice, and they would come to the foundation’s door and demand service. Because there are needs, foundations can go through the political process; foundations have to respond. Ultimately, government officials would be afraid if the citizens were organized, because city officials recognized that organized citizens could be political assets.”⁹ After the formation of the DSNI, during the community planning stage, they needed technical support to elicit residents’ vision of the neighborhood, and then, turn it into a tangible, workable plan. DAC International, which submitted a process-oriented proposal for the competition, was selected from fifteen consultants. To maintain community control over the planning process, the proposed recommendation should “reflect a strategy to meet the needs and priorities identified by the Dudley Street neighborhood.”¹⁰ The role that DAC International played was facilitator, and the residents

DSNI for 121A Application to Boston Redevelopment Authority, Sep. 28, 1988, quoted in Nagel, Andrea Isabel, Master Degree Thesis, “The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative: A Case Study in Community-Controlled Planning, submitted to MIT, May, 1990

⁹ Interview with Newell Flather, trustee of the Riley Foundation, held on Jun. 6, '94

¹⁰ DAC International. INC.

were active participants in the planning process. DAC International interviewed individual residents to know their problems. Also they held focus group workshops and, community-wide, smaller working meetings. Another consultant was subcontracted to fulfill schematic and physical design techniques. While trying to gain power of eminent domain from the city, the DSNI received support from various professionals. The Community Builders¹¹ assisted them in deciding what strategy to use to implement the community plan. Pro bono public (for public good) services, legal work, real estate work, and accounting work, have been donated by banks and agencies. This professional support made it possible for the community to negotiate with city officials.

Foundation: Riley Foundation, Hyams Foundation, Ford Foundation, Boston Foundation, State Street Bank, Bank of Boston, Polaroid Foundation, Shawmut Bank, Clippership Foundation

Among many Foundations which gave financial support to the Dudley neighborhood through grants or loans, the Riley Foundation played the most important role from the beginning. Its funding policy is not to fund many individual and isolated projects, but to focus on one specific neighborhood, the Dudley neighborhood, because the trustee-staff saw it was in the final stage of both the physical and social deterioration. However, through an intensive investigation conducted by collaborating with several human service agencies, Poul Logan, the executive director of LISC, and Felndand, the director of IBA, the trustee-staff was able to envision a seed that would grow into be a big tree, the neighborhood initiative. The Riley Foundation chose to give support without control. It wanted the project to be a success for the neighborhood people, not for the foundation.¹² Other major financial support came from the Boston Foundation¹³ and the Ford Foundation. By getting a \$2 million loan from the Ford Foundation, the initiative was able to buy up privately owned land in the neighborhood.

¹¹ The Community Builders (non-profit) is a full service management agent for non-profit, community-based organizations. It provides skilled staff, financial and management systems, operating experience and human service planning.

¹² Interview with Newell Flather

¹³ Boston Foundation's policy is to make grants to non-profits, to sponsor special initiatives, to convene groups of people and to work with other organizations. The Boston Foundation, "Report," Summer 1992



Figure 2 - 7: DSNI, Community Housing in the Dudley Triangle



Figure 2 - 8: DSNI, Nubian Roors' UNITY MURAL - F & T/Davey's Market



Figure 2 - 9: DSNI, Site for Community Center

Land owners: The City of Boston, Individual 130 owners

DSNI gained eminent domain powers from the BRA over the privately owned 15 acres of vacant land in the heart of the Dudley Triangle. The City had agreed to transfer its ownership to the DSNI of the other 15 acres of public land. Therefore, the DSNI gained control over all 30 acres of currently vacant land, and will own them through DNI (Dudley Neighbors, Inc.: community controlled land trust). DNI was established as the community land trust to “ensure the residents of the Dudley Neighborhood will always own the vacant land in the Dudley Triangle”¹⁴ through negotiation with existing owners. If needed, eminent domain authority power will be enforced.

¹⁴ Pamphlet regarding DNI

(2) Villa Victoria¹: Interpretation of the Culture

Villa Victoria (formerly Parcel 19) is located in the South End: the center of Boston's most culturally, ethnically and economically diverse neighborhood. The Original residents of this site were: Hispanic (Puerto Rican) 65%, White 20%, Chinese 10%, Blacks 5%, and had the first choice to live here. They became the main participants in the design process. In addition to these original residents, the elderly and the handicapped, and the people on a waiting list, came from the outside. The unique thing about the Puerto Rican residents was that the majority of them came from one town in Puerto Rico and they were the first generation in the U.S. Because of the language problem they depended on one another very much for their needs: jobs, support, shopping, and consequently had a strong sense of community.

Brief History of Villa Victoria

- 1961 The Urban Renewal Committee (URC) was formed to respond to HUD's request: to provide a certain level of community participation in reviewing and approving the renewal plan. However, less than 10% of the South End's population were in the URC.
- 1962 The BRA proposed a new set of renewal plans for the entire part of the South End. It called for a tremendous amount of demolition and reconstruction. The BRA's proposal drew substantial resistance from the South End communities when it was presented, and the BRA withdrew it.
- 1965 The BRA's overall planning process was improved to involve citizens in planning. Although the BRA's proposal tried to keep neighborhood residents in the area after rehabilitation, it still called for an enormous amount of demolition and displacement.
- 1966 to 1967 Israel Fericiano, a local leader, had been organizing the community. In 1966, Rev. William Dwyer of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church and Helen Morton, a South End resident, began working with some of the Puerto Rican residents by focusing on the future development of Parcel 19. They continued to

¹ Inquilinos Boricuas en Accion, "Community Control Model Case Study", Submitted to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), Jun. 1979

Poody, Deborah, "Neighborhood Self-Definition and Design Imagery: Case Studies", Master degree Thesis submitted to MIT, Cambridge, 1979

Bond, Evagene H., "La Comunidad", Partners for Livable Places, Washington D.C., 1982

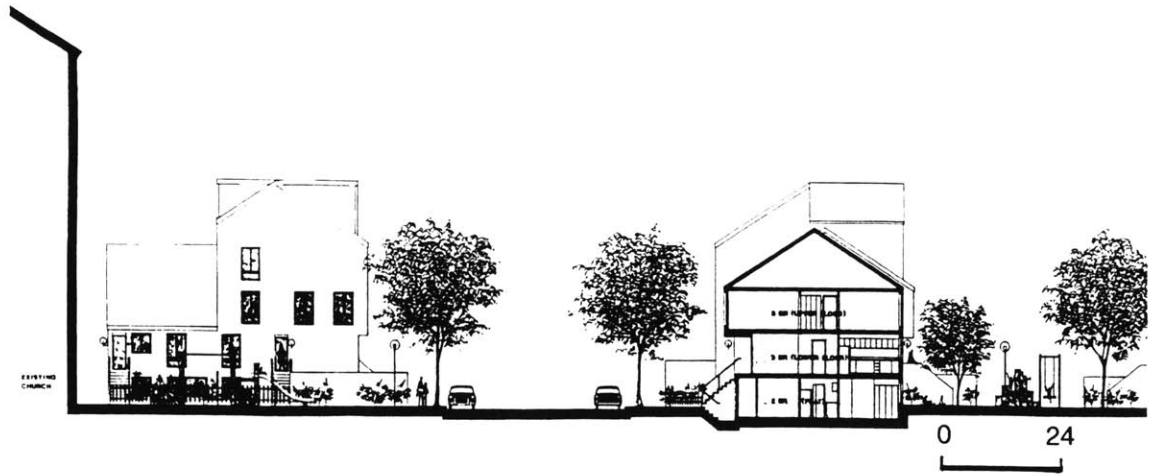


Figure 2 - 10: Section of Phase 5 townhouse units

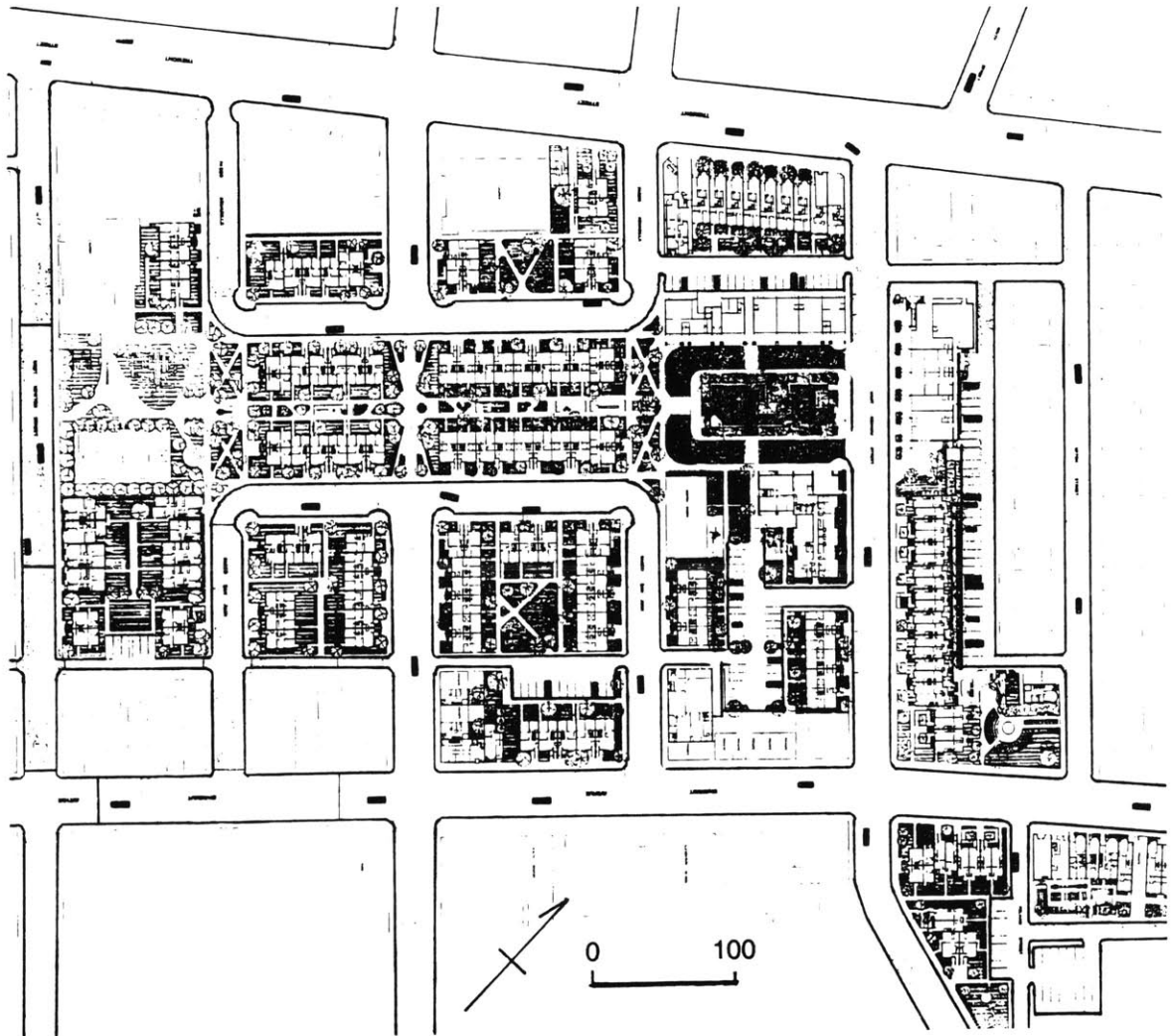


Figure 2 - 11: Site plan of Villa Victoria

have a series of small “house meetings” throughout the neighborhood. Later ETC took over the church's role.

During the Summer of 1967, the summer program was carried out. It had brought technical support from the planning organizations: Cooperative Metropolitan Ministers, Inc., Urban Field Services, and funds from VISTA to hire neighborhood residents.

- 1968 The original organization, Emergency Tenants Council (ETC), was formed to combat BRA’s 1965 plan. The ETC was initiated as a non-profit organization that fights poverty and assists the Puerto Rican community in its struggle for physical, economic, social and human development. Since this time, the ETC has been governed by residents who are in the ETC redevelopment area. It has a Board of Directors which is elected by membership residents. The architect, John Sharratt, who designed Villa Victoria, was first involved in the project, and worked with Fericiano and the ETC Boards and neighborhood residents.
- 1969 The ETC held its first annual convention. More than 500 residents attended, and it attracted a good deal of press and television coverage. The first Board of Directors was elected. Urban Planning Aid received funds to provide ETC with a full time architect, John Sharratt. Instead of an “all or nothing” proposition, the planing team set five principles which guided the organization through its negotiation with the City and the BRA (these principles will be discussed in the next part of this thesis).
- In May, the ETC made a full presentation of its proposal for the redevelopment of Parcel 19 to Mayor Kevin White. In December, the BRA designated the ETC as a tentative sponsor-developer of Parcel 19.
- 1973 The ETC became Inquilinos Boricuas en Accion (IBA). Emergency Tenants Council Developers Inc. (ETC/DI) and Emergency Tenants Council Developers Corporation (ETC/DC) were formed. ETC/DI is a for-profit corporation that directs housing development, and is responsible for businesses that are related to housing management. ETC/DC initiates development by receiving seed money, grants and donations. Financial support is prepared by ETC/DC and transferred to ETC/DI for construction, management and maintenance.

Participants in the Project and the Nature of their Participation

City officials: The City of Boston, Boston Redevelopment Authority

In the early 1960s, the South End's physical and social condition had deteriorated so much that it called for the city's urban renewal project, and the South End's urban setting and its aesthetic features had drawn gentrification. Responding to HUD's requirements, the BRA took the citizens' voices into account in the urban renewal projects in the South End. Although the BRA considered the following two points, 1) maintaining the heterogeneous nature of the population², and 2) rehabilitating the South End's housing and physical infrastructure, its proposed plan called for a tremendous amount of demolition and displacement with no assistance. After the BRA faced substantial resistance to its first plan for the South End, negotiation began between the government and the people in the community.

At Parcel 19, ETC was formed in 1968 to combat the BRA's urban renewal plan. Because the BRA had been both the authorized Boston planning agency and the urban renewal authority, the BRA had significant power to shape the South End and to implement its own plan by acquiring land and selecting suitable developers. However, relentless negotiation continued and, finally the ETC got the South End Project Area Committee's (SEPAC)³ recommendation for a project developer of Parcel 19. Due to the fact that the South End was a critical point in terms of its geographical location and the real estate market, and the strategic negotiation led by the ETC and the professionals, the relationship between the community and the BRA had been a "partnership" throughout the planning process.

Community Residents: Original Residents of Parcel 19, ETC(IBA), ETC/DI,
ETC/DC

Original residents in the substandard houses in Parcel 19 comprised the main body of the community organization and the Villa Victoria development. They had the first choice in deciding whether to live in new or rehabilitated housing; therefore almost all were able to stay on the site. In addition to the original residents, elderly and handicapped people, and those on a public housing waiting list were also eligible. The original group of the ETC was organized by St. Stephen's Episcopal Church and area residents, through a series of small meetings and door-to-door interviews.

² *Inquilinos Boricuas en Accion*, pp.11

³ SEPAC is a group of community organizations with veto power over the BRA's selection of a developer.

The local leader in the original Puerto Rican community was Israel Fericiano, and an interesting story about him is that he was a singer, scholar and an athlete. He was very handsome and seemed to attract everyone from children to the elderly. Fericiano had strong connections with the city and was tough negotiator. He motivated, stimulated and encouraged people. Fericiano got things done and played a major role in the organizing and designing process.⁴ The residents' desire was to remain in the area and to live with these neighbors. Israel Feliciano became the first Executive Director of the ETC.

The ETC (IBA) is controlled by the IBA Congress: the highest authority of the organization was comprised of membership residents of Villa Victoria. The ETC distributed a neighborhood newspaper so that the residents would know what the ETC was doing. Throughout the negotiations with the BRA, the ETC was always represented by John Sharratt, as a technical advisor and Israel Feliciano, as ETC Executive Director. Helen Morton represented the neighborhood view. This negotiation process is characterized in the letter from Feliciano to Hale Champion (BRA Administrator):

"It is our desire to work with the BRA and the City of Boston,...Your action will determine whether we will be able to do this or not. The responsibility is upon you. If we are designated "Sponsor Redeveloper" the responsibility will be ours. We have acquired competent technical and ample financial resources to guarantee success... We want the responsibility to determine our destiny, we are tired of the people making our decision."⁵

The purpose of the ETC is to inform the Mayor and the BRA of its presence and objective, and to gain the BRA's acceptance of ETC as a sponsor developer for Parcel 19. This means "the ETC and the BRA established a formal working relationship to engage in redevelopment activities."⁶

Consultants: St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, Cooperative Metropolitan Ministers,
Architect Inc., Urban Field Service, Urban Planning Aid, John Sharratt Associates

Throughout the first phase of the development, residents of Parcel 19 depended on technical assistance from outside support groups including churches and advocacy helps, but most people involved in the initiation of the ETC were non-Puerto Rican. Their jobs were data collection, analysis of issues in the neighborhood and their potential, and devising a strategy to create a counter-proposal to the BRA's urban renewal plan.

⁴ Interview with John Sharratt, Architect, May, 1993

⁵ *Inquilinos Boricuas en Accion*, pp.56

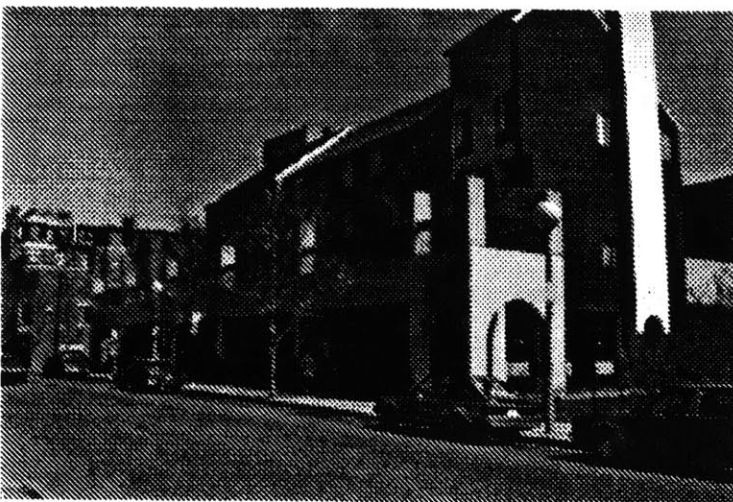
⁶ *Inquilinos Boricuas en Accion*, pp.2



*Figure 2 - 12: Villa Victoria,
Transition space from private to public*



*Figure 2 - 13: Villa Victoria,
Town House units: variety of unit types*



*Figure 2 - 14: Villa Victoria,
Plaza: a symbol of the Puerto Rican culture*

After the ETC got full time architectural and planing support (John Sharratt from Urban Planning Aid), they set five principles for negotiating with the BRA⁷: First, they had to maintain the ETC as a strong organization to retain political clout. Second, they adopted the motto: "Whatever the BRA does, the ETC does better." Third, they relentlessly informed the BRA of their activities (so that the BRA could not claim they did not know). Fourth, they tried to take the initiative in negotiations. Fifth, they always made it a rule to have both a planner and a community representative deal with the BRA as a team. At first, Sharratt and his assistants conducted an intensive survey of Parcel 19: building conditions, ownership patterns, number and location of residents, family structure, income. They made a better informative map than the BRA had.

In 1969, the ETC presented its proposal for Parcel 19 to the Mayor. The technical support helped the ETC create a plan that the city would see as workable, and turned the ETC from a crisis-oriented organization into a government designated housing developer.

Foundations: Banks, Private corporations and foundations, Boston Housing authority, Mass Cultural Council, Mass Department of Social Services, Mass Executive Office of Communities and Development, National Endowment for the Arts,

In 1979, the total income -- including funds, government fees and grants, program revenue, and investments, for IBA programs was \$750,000. It has reached \$1,350,000 in the fiscal year for 1992 . The major sources of income from private sector are: banks, private corporations and foundations. In the public sector funds are provided by the Boston Housing Authority, Mass Cultural Council, Mass Department of Social Services, Mass Executive Office of Communities and Development, and National Endowment for the Arts. Housing development has been supported by a HUD 236 interest subsidy, MHFA, the HUD Turnkey Program, HUD Section 8 rent subsidy and the BHA Section 11 (b) Program.

Architectural Features of Villa Victoria

During the pre-design and design phases a direct interaction was established among the residents, the ETC Board of Directors, and the architect. Every physical decision needed to be approved by the ETC Board of Directors, and thus the plan was revised many times to reflect the residents' feedback. The community residents gave top priority to housing, then, safety especially for their children, and, third, the plaza (cultural identity).

⁷ Bond, Evagene H.

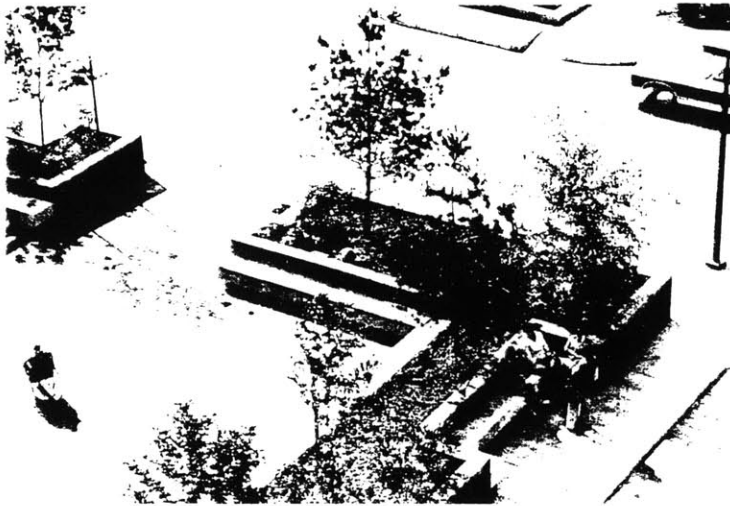


Figure 2 - 15: Villa Victoria, Plaza. Landscaping and street furniture

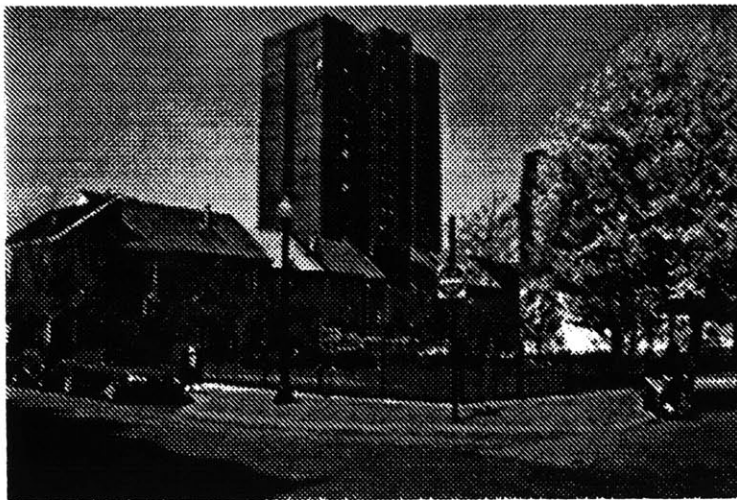


Figure 2 - 16: Villa Victoria, Unity Tower, 201 unit elderly and handicapped housing

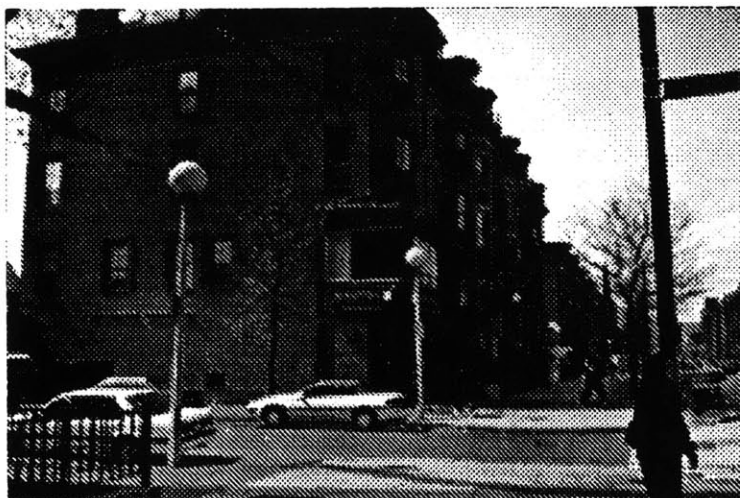


Figure 2 - 17: Villa Victoria, Housing rehabilitation along Tremont St.

Street Patterns and the Spatial Configurations: The street plan of Villa Victoria does not follow the South End's basic street pattern. Responding to the residents' request for safety, the architect designed dead ends and loops which allowed no through traffic. This street pattern provides much frontage for the houses. The ample frontage functions as an intermediary space between the private and public domain, and enables the residents to have areas for many social activities.

Colors and Materials: The stucco walls of the upper floor of the houses are painted in bright earth colors -- yellow, orange, beige, and brown, resembling Puerto Rican pastel colors. The fundamental materials in the South End, red brick and black metal are used on the first floor of the buildings.

Open Space: Villa Victoria has a plaza at the center. An arcade which shelters shops, social services and pedestrian walks surrounds the plaza. The Plaza has an important social function for communities in Puerto Rico, and it is one of the symbols of Puerto Rican culture. The Plaza reminds people of their home country.

Unit Variations: The residents can not modify or change the housing units, because the community not the individual residents owns the houses, and a safety reason. However, a good mixture of various housing units is provided for diverse type of families. A typical unit has a three to six bedroom duplex above one or two bedroom flats on the ground level.

(3) Tent City: From Tents to Housing

Tent City is located at the boundary between the South End, and historic Copley Square and Copley Place: a commercial and residential complex which collectively comprise of one of the most prestigious shopping malls in Boston, office buildings, a hotel and a luxury apartment. One of the neighborhoods in the South End, the Tent City neighborhood (Cosmopolitan neighborhood) had traditionally housed greatly diverse ethnic and income groups. Functioning as a “port of entry”¹, this neighborhood provided apartments and rooming houses for low income residents and immigrants. Physically, this neighborhood and surrounding areas are a typical of the South End brick, row houses.

Brief History of Tent City²

- 1964 The BRA adopted an Urban Renewal Plan for the South End. As a result of this plan, existing housing was torn down to make way for large-scale commercial development by the City of Boston and the original residents were forced to leave the site.
- 1968 To assure affordable housing for those in the South End, demonstrators and supporters, who were organized by the Community Assembly for a United South End (CAUSE)³, mobilized a demonstration at the Fitz-Inn parking lot on Dartmouth St. in the South End. Because the site is adjacent to historic Copley Square and the Back Bay commercial district, they were able to dramatize their position against the city's urban renewal policies.
- 1969 Low income and minority groups elected the People’s Elected Urban Renewal Committee (PERC) to pledge to boycott the city-sponsored election for an official renewal committee.

¹ King, Mel, “Chain of Changes, Struggles for Black Community Development,” South End Press, Boston, 1981

² *South End News* “Tent City's Long March” , April 28, 1988

Goody, Clancy & Associates, Building and Social Housing Foundation, Prepared for Habitat Awards 1989

Interview with Kenneth Kruckmeyer, Board of Directors of TCC, held on Feb. 16, 1994

Tent City Task Force, “Boston Tent City Site,” prepared by the Total Studio, School of Architecture and Planning, MIT, Cambridge, MA, May 1978

Interview with John Clancy and Paul H. Dudek, Goody, Clancy & Associates, held on Dec. 13, 1993

³ CAUSE is a group of people organized by Mel King. They fought displacement and demand affordable housing to the city.

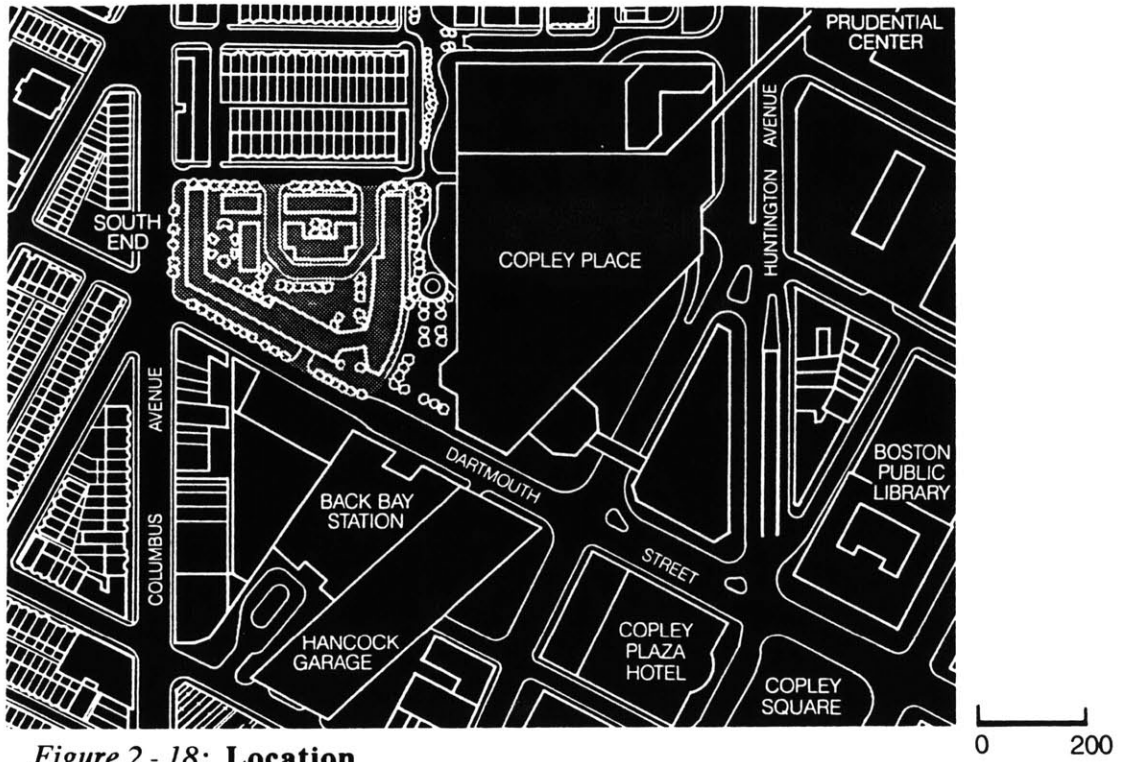


Figure 2 - 18: Location

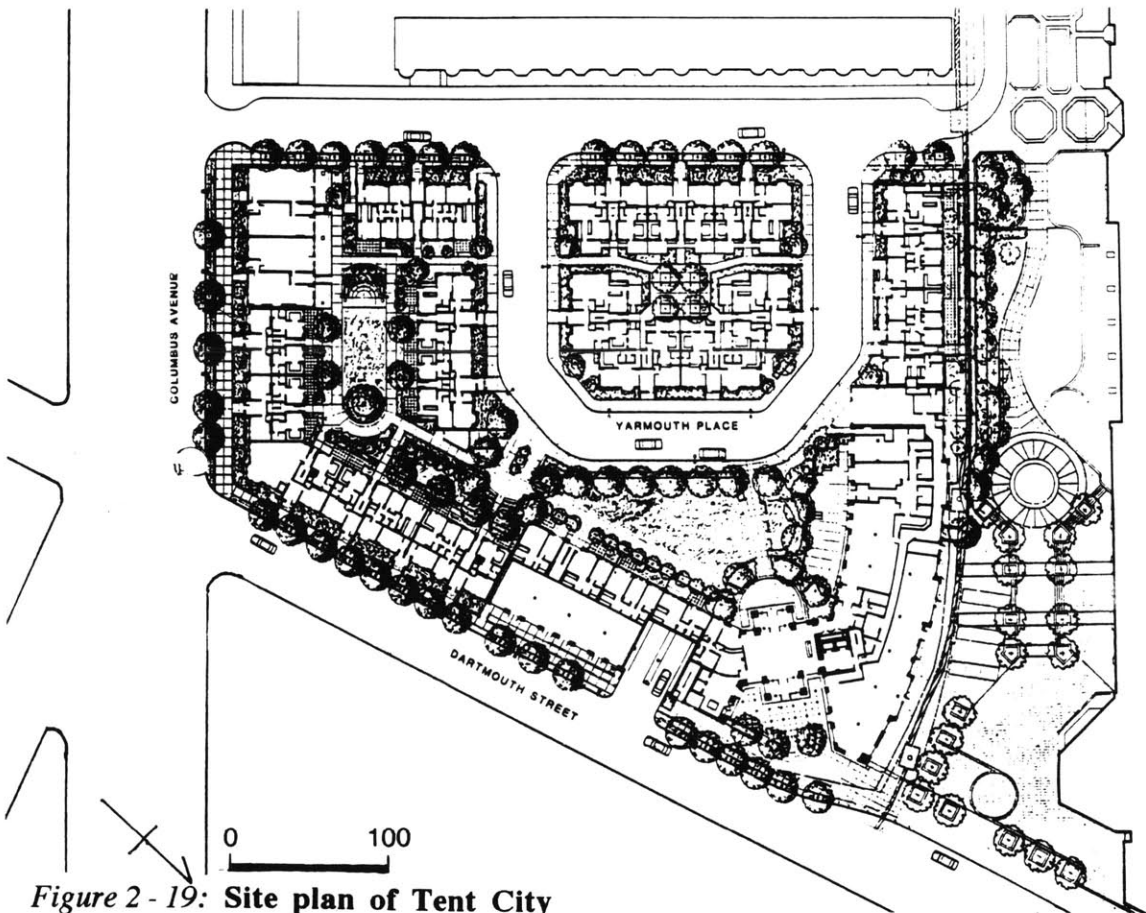


Figure 2 - 19: Site plan of Tent City

- In July, the first South End Project Area Committee (SEPAC)⁴ was elected with 35 members. SEPAC was a community-based organization that helped keep Tent City in the public eye through continual picketing and public meetings. SEPAC stopped its activities in 1981.
- 1974 BRA advertised the Tent City Site to developers, and adopted a plan that proposed a fifteen-story apartment tower and a huge parking garage. Only 10% of the units were subsidized. This plan induced great opposition among the people in the South End, who then organized Tent City Task Force. The Task Force set fundamental principles for the development; its purpose was to force the city to build mixed income housing and to achieve a physically integrated environment between the high-rise buildings and the four- to five-story South End row houses. Some people in the South End belonged to both SEPAC and Tent City. In the end, BRA's plan was not realized mainly because of the people's opposition.
- 1978 MIT Total Studio was held to propose a housing plan for the Tent City site. Until this time, non-professional people in the South End had the most influence on Tent City. Total Studio drew a great deal of attention and provided an opportunity to bring professionals to Tent City. The first Executive Director of the Tent City Corporation, Libby Seifel, attended at this studio as a student at MIT.
- 1979 The BRA proposed a 280-unit house with ground-floor commercial space and parking on the Tent City site. People in the South End including Tent City Task Force members, formed the Tent City Corporation (TCC). There was a 15 member board at this time. The TCC formed a partnership with a developer, Macombar Development and Housing Associates, who supplied professional support to negotiate with the city.
- 1980 The TCC, together with BRA, hired Goody, Clancy & Associates, Inc. to propose a plan for the site. At the same time, the Fitzgeralds family, one of the owners of the site, proposed a plan.
- 1982 The Urban Investment and Development Corp. (UIDC), The builder of the adjacent Copley Place, (a retail, office and hotel complex), purchased a part of the site from the Fitzgeralds. The UIDC announced its plan to build a seven-story parking garage on the site, which could accommodate 1400 cars. The City of

⁴ SEPAC's official power included the right to review and veto changes in the renewal plan, to initiate changes in the plan, to veto developers chosen by the BRA, and to review and veto plans for demolition of buildings. "SEPAC Report, 1976," quoted in "Tent City Task Force," pp.7

- Boston supported this plan, but the TCC opposed it. The TCC and the UIDC began negotiations.
- 1984 Newly elected Mayor Raymond L. Flynn announced his support for the TCC to build mixed-income housing and the garage. The TCC, the UIDC and the City of Boston reached an agreement for a 270-unit housing development with a 700-car, two-story, below-grade garage beneath the entire site.
- 1985 The UIDC traded its surface and air rights on the land for the right to build a subsurface garage. The BRA assigned two parallel 99-year leases for one dollar each: a subsurface lease to the UIDC for the garage, and a land and air rights lease to the TCC for the housing.
- 1986 Groundbreaking for the housing and garage development began.
- 1988 Residents began moving into Tent City. They were selected from the application and the waiting list for public housing
- 1994 Residents Alliance was incorporated. Residents Alliance is a tenant organization which deals with physical and social issues of Tent City such as building maintenance, security, trouble among residents, and living conditions in the neighborhood. It also promotes social services both for Tent City and neighborhood residents.

Participants in the Project and their Nature of Participation

City Officials: City of Boston, Boston Redevelopment Authority, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, South End Landmarks Commission, Boston Landmarks Commission⁵, South End Historical Society

The community design process of Tent City had begun as a conflict between neighborhood residents and the city government as well as the two other cases in the U.S. However, in this case, citizens most dramatized their opposition to the city's urban renewal project by mobilizing a demonstration at the project site. Therefore, the government had to pay careful attention to their opposition. Through the BRA, the City of Boston proposed plans for the site, but neighborhood residents continued to oppose these plans because these plans lacked the consideration to the affordability for low- and moderate-income people. Finally in 1984, the city of Boston, the UIDC and the TCC reached an agreement for housing and sub-surface garage development on the site.

⁵ South End Landmarks Commission, Boston Landmarks Commission have approval and disapproval right (veto power) over what would be built on the site.

Besides that, having veto power, the South End Landmark Commission and the Boston Land Mark Commission were primarily concerned with the design feature of the project, and required extensive reviews.

Community Residents: Tent City Corporation (TCC), South End Project Area Committee (SEPAC), Community Assembly for a United South End (CAUSE), Churches in the South End (Trinity Church, Old South Church, Episcopal Church, Episcopal City Mission of Boston), Residents Alliance

Prior to the 1968s demonstrations, several buildings had been torn down and the residents had already been displaced. Only a few buildings remained and the rest of the site had been converted into a parking lot. It was not the original residents on this site, but about 40 CAUSE members who first gathered on the parking lot and blocked its entrance. They enlisted a large number of people in the South End who joined the CAUSE, and brought the press' attention to urban issues incurred by the city's urban renewal project. Therefore, Tent City is not a project for a specific community or people but for the entire South End community or people who had suffered from displacement. Tent City had been a symbol of citizens' opposition to the City's urban policies. In spite of the press's critical evaluation, Mel King said, "the demonstration weren't a failure because they changed the way city officials dealt with affordable housing advocates."⁶

However, because this project reflected all the South End's communities' or political groups' concern about housing issues, conflicts among these communities directly affected the development process.⁷ It took six years to initiate the Tent City Task Force, and it took an additional five years to establish TCC which became the city's designated developer of the Tent City site.

Consultants: Goody, Clancy & Associates, Inc., Community Builders,
Architects Macombar Development and Housing Associates

During the initial phase of the design process, activists and affordable housing advocates in the South End played a central role. MIT Total Studio in 1978 was the first outside professional support they had received. After the TCC was initiated, it received

⁶ *South End News*

⁷ "The Ad Hoc Committee for a South End for South Enders" was organized by low- and moderate-income groups, and tried to stop the demolition of houses and favored more subsidized housing as a solution. "Committee for a Balanced South End" was a group of middle-income residents, homeowners and realtors. They opposed additional subsidized projects, and sought to expedite the renewal program. *Inquilinos Boricuas En Accion*, pp.15, and *Tent City Task Force*, pp.7



Figure 2 - 20: Tent City, Demonstration on Tent City site on Apr. 29, 1978, redressed the issues of the community

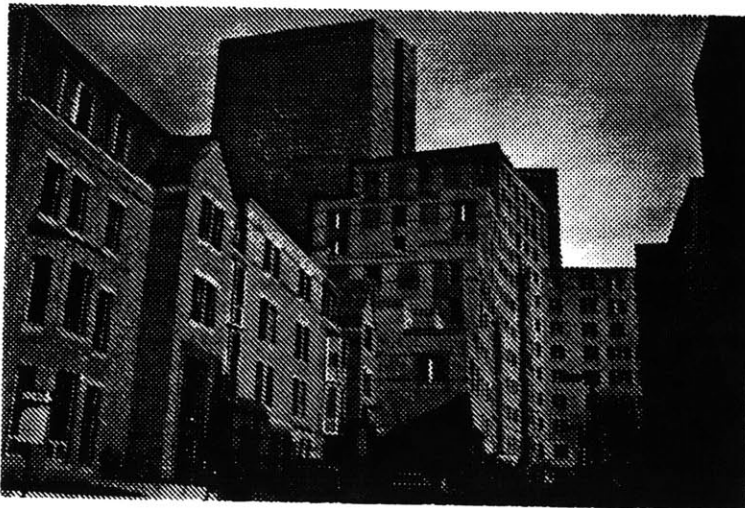


Figure 2 - 21: Tent City, Scale is broken down from the high-rise to four-story residential scale. John Hancock Tower hangs over Tent City



Figure 2 - 22: Tent City, South End side apartment building

planning and architectural support to combat private landowner and to negotiate with the city through the BRA. Community Builders has been involved in the housing development, formulated financing structures, and assisted the TCC as a management consultant.

In order to win “environmental, zoning, historic district, design and financial approval,”⁸ the professionals, the TCC and the city officials worked together closely through the design phase of both formal and informal public reviews.

Foundation: Massachusetts Housing Finance Agency (MHFA), Leighton Park Limited Partnership, City of Boston, Boston Housing Authority, State Seed Money Founders: Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA), Community Economic Development Assistance Corporation, National Cooperative Bank Development Corporation, Episcopal Mission of Boston, Trinity Church, Old South Church, Episcopal Church
Linkage payments from Copley Place

In order to accomplish a greater degree of affordability (75 percent of the rental units are variously subsidized), eight sources of seed money to finance initial development costs and different sources of permanent project financing and rental assistance were located.⁹ Federal Section 8 rent subsidies and Massachusetts State Chapter 707 rent subsidies were obtained. Foundations, especially MHFA, kept their eyes on the project to see if the plan would meet financial support.

Landowners: The Fitzgeralds, The Urban Investment and Development Corp.
The City of Boston

The Fitzgeralds, initial landowner of part of the Tent City site, and the UIDC had proposed their own plans. Although the UIDC wanted to build a parking garage to serve adjacent Copley Place, through the city’s innovative solution, the UIDC traded its surface and air rights on land for the right to build a subsurface garage, and was given the opportunity to develop another nearby parcel.

Architectural Features of Tent City

The architects successfully transformed Tent City’s scale from a massive volume of twelve-story apartment complex matching the high-rise scale of Copley Place to a three-

⁸ Goody, Clancy & Associates

⁹ Goody, Clancy & Associates

to four-story residential scale building of the South End. On the Copley Place side, the curving facade borders the Southeast Corridor pedestrian parkway. As a result, Tent City connects the Back Bay and the South End while clarifying the border between these two areas.

Street Patterns and the Spatial Configurations: Corresponding to the typical urban housing pattern in the South End, the buildings enclosed the site, and a new semi-public street, Yarmouth Place, loops through the enclosed court. It follows the South End's street patterns and avoids the "sealed-off character"¹⁰ of other housing developments. The town houses, located in the enclosed court, create other sheltered exterior courtyards which provide semiprivate patios.

Colors and Materials: Different colors of brick and occasional bright tiles were used on the walls of the building to "humanize and personalize"¹¹ the massive housing development under a tight budget. Bay windows and a bold arch created distinguishable entries and identity for the duplex housing units facing the semi-public street, Yarmouth Place.

Units' Variation: The large family duplex (three- and four-bedroom) units are located in the four story townhouses in the enclosed court. They have private street entries and direct rear access to semi-private exterior patios. One and two bedroom units are located in the mid-rise periphery building.

¹⁰ Campbell, Robert, "The Beautiful Triumph of Tent City" *Boston Globe*, Aug. 23, 1988

¹¹ Campbell, *Boston Globe*

2 - 3 TWO CASES IN JAPAN

(1) Ageo, Nakacho-Atago District¹: Joint Housing Development

The area is located to the North of Tokyo, and it is about forty minutes from the central business district of Tokyo by train. This area flourished during the Edo period, from 1605 to 1867, as a hotel district along a major street that stretched from Edo (former name of Tokyo) to the north countryside. The area used to be a livable and joyful town with a good balance between streets, shops and the houses behind them.

In Japan, it is a unique characteristic of old towns along major streets that each building site is long, rectangular with short frontage. Because the original land owners divided the rectangular sites into several pieces and sold them during that period, the land ownership of each site became very complicated. Moreover, it is extremely difficult to utilize a rectangular site, and almost impossible to rehabilitate deteriorated buildings that are located at the midst of the site.² Also, for the elderly it is very difficult to raise money and pay off the fees for building rehabilitation.

Deterioration of buildings, loss of and an aging population progressed at the same time, and the community began to lose its vitality. High-rise condominium construction accelerated the physical deterioration of the area. Its convenience and zoning ordinance as a commercial district with a floor area ratio of 400 percent volume to its site area, attracted developers. They built maximum volume buildings, seven- to ten-stories high, and these buildings cast shadows almost all day on the adjacent northern site. The new building construction disturbed the amenities of the area.

Brief History of Nakacho-Atago District

1984 The City of Ageo and the planning consultants who were hired by the city began an investigation to understand current physical living conditions, ownership of

¹ Wakabayashi, Akifumi, "A Practice of Housing Improvement Project in a Built-up Area: A Case of Nakacho-Atago District at Ageo City," Research Summary, Japan Institution of Urban Planning, 1991
The City of Ageo, "Toward a Good Living Environment," The City of Ageo, Nov. 1993
The New Association of Architects and Engineers, "Architecture and Community Design," Committee of the Architecture and Community Design, Jul. 1990 and Sep. 1993
Endo, Yasuhiro, "Look for Housing," Serial Publication of 'at' Delphi Research Center, Dec. 1992
Community Design Research Group, "Hito, Machi with Saitama," Saitama Total Research Center, Mar. 1990

Interview with Akihito Okada, Community Design Research Consultant, and Hiroshi Otsuka, the City of Ageo, held on Jan. 13, 14, 1994

² According to the National Building Code, we can not build on a site which does not face more than four meter's width to the street.



Figure 2 - 24: Ageo, Long rectangular sites in the neighborhood

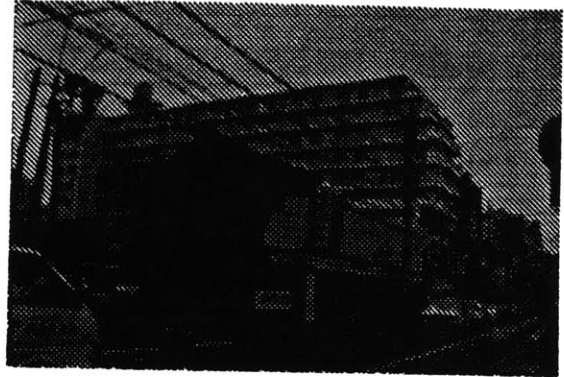


Figure 2 - 26: Ageo, Invasion by private developers to the neighborhood

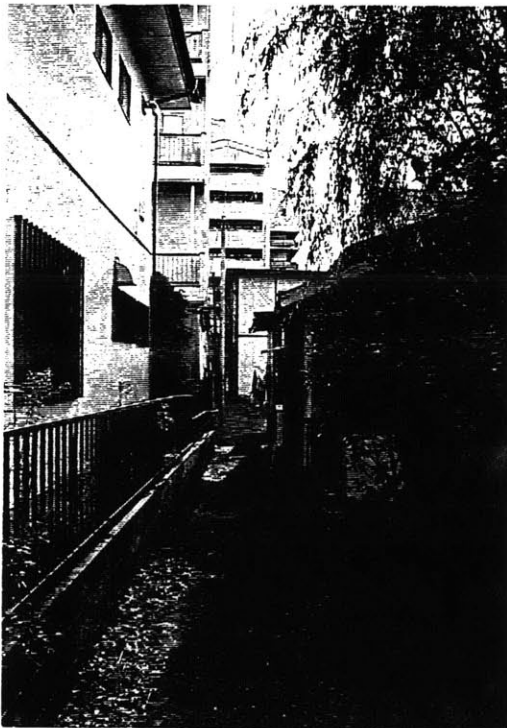


Figure 2 - 25: Ageo, Narrow alley leads people to the houses

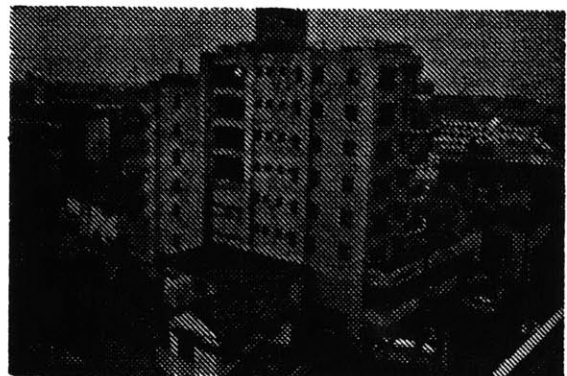


Figure 2 - 27: Ageo, Mid-rise buildings make shadow on the site to the North

the land in the project area, and neighborhood residents' views on the area's future. First, they had begun to interview with individual households not to explain the method of rehabilitation or development programs, but to learn of their problems and wishes, and to find common goals among the residents. The city made a map which showed physical problems: deteriorated houses, narrow paths, the location of land which has no access from a public road and the location of land which lacked enough sunlight. Then they set the following goals: providing paths which have enough width for rehabilitation and new construction in blocks, securing open space for children to play in and community gatherings to meet in, organizing green space and rehabilitating deteriorated houses and, afterwards, drawing young households to this area.

1986 The Community Living Environment Rehabilitation Program was applied to the Nakacho-Atago district. This program worked well to achieve these goals. This program is a subsidy system that lets the city purchase deteriorated houses and remove them from the lands, purchase the land for paths, open space and green space, and enable them to be usable for daily life, children's play and community greens. Also the program provides money for construction of public housing for the people who lost their houses because of the city's purchase of lands for public space. The owners of deteriorated houses can obtain money for a down payment on their new houses by selling their old houses. It promotes housing rehabilitation.

1989 A District Planning System was applied to the Nakacho-Atago district to create a livable environment. This system considers the particular character of the area and provides a plan with regard to building usage, design, site, and the area's block morphology, street system and the allocation of public facilities. Thus it guides and controls building and development projects. A District Planning System considers the lives of community residents and enables them to implement a rehabilitation project, respecting their lives and opinions.

Participants in the Project and the Nature of their Participation

In this project, the city officials, the planning consultants and the architects worked so closely that it is very difficult to define each specific role of the participant. In addition to pursuing their own roles, these participants went beyond their own professional boundary throughout the designing process. On the other hand the neighborhood residents had not formed any intermediary organization.

City officials: The City of Ageo, Saitama Prefecture

In Japan, usually various planning and administrative systems, projects and laws are enforced separately. In order to reduce the cost both for the residents and the local government, some of them: the Community Living Environment Rehabilitation Program, District Planning System, Urban Redevelopment Project, Government's Special Subsidy Program, Substitution of the development by the local Housing Supply Bureau, Income Tax Notice Chapter 33-6-4³ -- have been interwoven and enforced by the city officials.

In the Nakacho-Atago district community design, the Joint Housing Reconstruction Project was the core project to achieve neighborhood stability and to improve the physical environment. The city set a flow of the development process: 1) to make the neighborhood residents realize the possibility of joint housing reconstruction, 2) to re-configure the land ownerships 3) to examine the housing reconstruction with the residents and to achieve a consensus among them 4) to examine specifications 5) to conclude a formal agreement. Also, the city set planning principles to pursue this flow: to make the project (or process) understandable for the neighborhood residents, to provide affordable housing to receive new residents which should have a high quality to be a housing stock in the neighborhood, to implement a District Planning System to protect residents' right to sunlight.

District Planning System is intended to reform current urban design problems in Japan, and has a restricting power on building activity. Usually, The City Planning Codes and The Building Standards Codes are the two basic laws for all building activity and community development. These two laws are determined nationally. The City Planning Codes rules the land use plan or the allocation plan of public facilities in the whole city area. It lacks the careful attention to block or area scale environment. On the other hand, The Building Standards Codes rule the minimal standards of individual buildings. They pay minimal attention to the physical problems of community: buildings' blocking sunlight, and pay almost no attention to the social issues of community: invasion of privacy or the destruction of the traditional neighborhood. Also The Building Standards Codes determine Zoning Ordinances: what kind of building can be built, how much floor space and how much height is allowed in the area. Because these codes are determined nationally through bureaucratic processes, they tend to ignore the spatial character of areas. It seems that these two laws do not complement each other, but they keep their own jurisdictions. Therefore, we can not create a livable city by only obeying these laws.

³ In Japan, land is regarded as the most important property, and landowners have to pay a heavy Fixed Property Tax. When landowners sell or exchange lands, they are taxed as well. In order to create a usable, unified land for a redevelopment, land ownership had to be exchanged in the project site. This Tax Notice is implemented for landowners who exchanged their land ownership to avoid paying taxes.

Community Residents: Individual Land Owners of the land in the project area

Participatory community development could be a spontaneous action and be handled by residents; however, it was the city officials that suggested a citizens' participatory process by means of neighborhood meetings, newsletters, interviews, and then participating in approving the plan.

The project began an the intensive analysis of neighborhood needs by the city. Until this time neighborhood residents had not had any chance to voice their opinion about physical and social issues effecting the neighborhood. They were encouraged by the city and the planning consultants to participate in discussing neighborhood issues. The residents' attitude toward the city was very skeptical at the beginning and it took a while for the city to get enough collaboration from the residents.

The residents' (especially the landowners of the project site) greatest concerns were troublesome tasks which would be incurred by the joint reconstruction project and the profitability of the project. On the other hand, they wished to stay in their neighborhood, to get back a good living environment and not to disturb the other residents in the neighborhood by their self-interest. This fact has provided a neighborhood stability within the area.

Consultants: Community Design Research Consultant, Total Design Office,
Architects Sho Architects Office

When they began the investigation, the planning consultants set detailed principles for the community design: to create a practical and workable plan to improve the living environment of the neighborhood, and to encourage citizens' participation in community design by exchanging and sharing information. During the investigation, the city and the consultants held neighborhood meetings and distributed neighborhood newsletters.

As the second step of the investigation, city officials, consultants and architects interviewed individual households in the area where district planing would be implemented to gather more detailed information. At the end of the investigation (1985), the planning consultants proposed a neighborhood plan and various methods to implement it. The architects had worked with city officials and planning consultants from the beginning of the project.

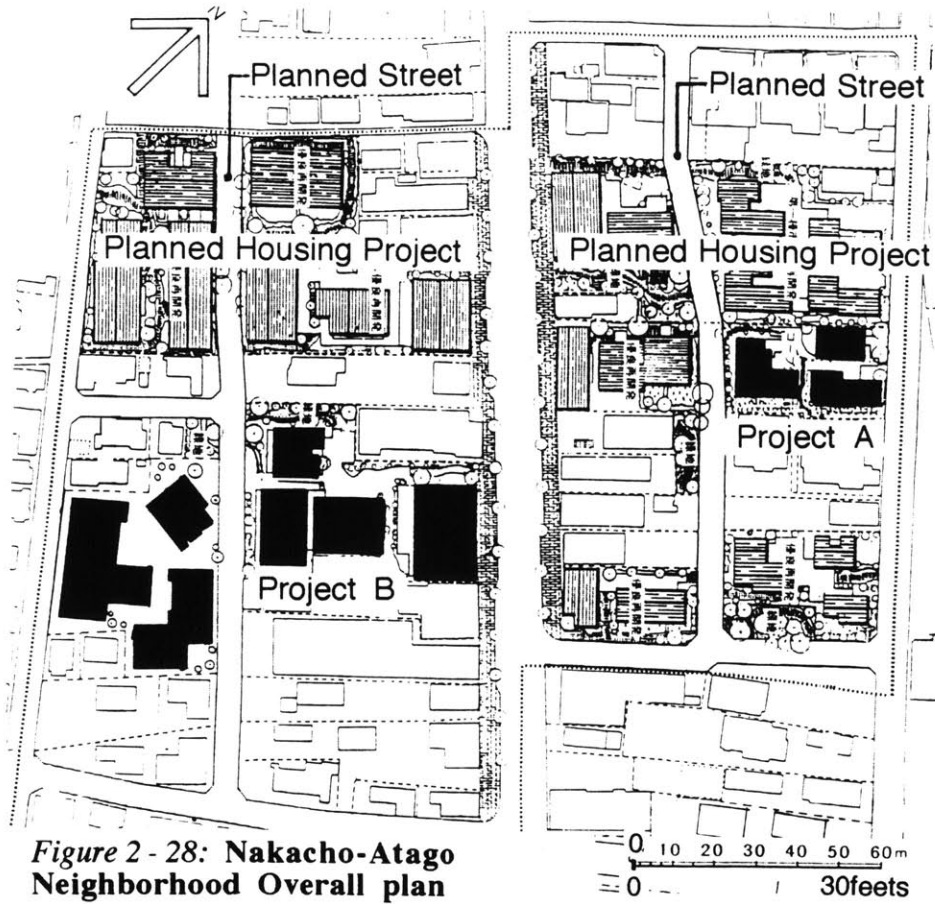


Figure 2 - 28: Nakacho-Atago Neighborhood Overall plan

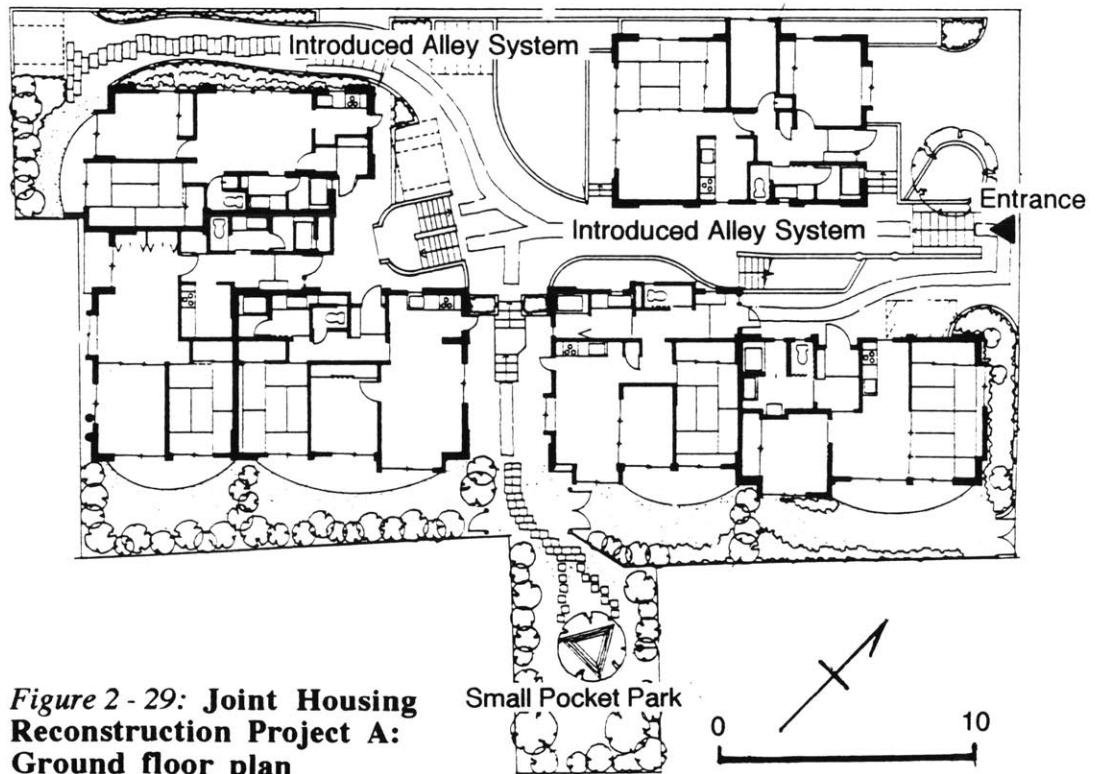


Figure 2 - 29: Joint Housing Reconstruction Project A: Ground floor plan

Architectural Features of the Joint Housing Reconstruction Project

The architects were involved in the project from the beginning. They participated in the neighborhood investigation and had gotten to know well the living environment, the urban context, and the needs of the neighborhood residents.

Street Pattern and the Spatial Configuration: Many alleys connect entrances of the houses and public roads in this neighborhood. Also, they connect different sites in the middle of the blocks. This alley system was to be maintained by the project. The alleys will connect the new projects and small public pocket gardens to one another. The alley system provides a street hierarchy: public road, semi-public alley, staircase, semi-private porch and entrance to the each unit. The building was divided into three clusters and pitched roofs were applied to correspond with the housing scale of the neighborhood. The height was limited to four-stories.

Colors: Two kinds of colors are used to express two different elements of the building. Dark and quiet colors are used for the permanent structure and the roofs which cover a large plane and will not change for the long term. Bright and vivid colors are used for the changeable elements: staircases, handrails and bicycle lots.

Open Space: Two small open spaces were designed to connect with the other open spaces of new development. This succession of small open spaces will create an amenity in the living environment.



*Figure 2 - 30: Ageo, Project A:
Pitched roof and the clustered
housing units*



*Figure 2 - 31: Ageo, Alley
system is introduced to the
project*



*Figure 2 - 32: Ageo, Structure
elements are distinguishable by
colors and materials*

(2) A Series of Community Designs in Setagaya-ward, Tokyo¹: Workshop Experience

Setagaya-ward is one of 23 wards in Tokyo. Local autonomy has been leading the society from 1975 by establishing a master plan for urban planning, social services and education.

Basically, the urban infrastructure including street, sewage, and mass communication systems are all still not sufficient in Japan. Also, an aging population, a great demand for high-level education, and the loss of close relationships between people in the neighborhood are important social issues in Japan. However, because a residential area covers a large portion of the ward, the Setagaya local autonomy has been listening to its residents' opinions about the physical and social issues since 1975. So far, Setagaya-ward has achieved a good reputation by accomplishing many social and cultural services, initiating cultural and educational institutions, and establishing housing and consumer's ordinance. A series of community designs, and a technical and financial support system are one of these local policies of autonomy.

Brief History of community design in Setagaya-ward

- 1974 Local Autonomy Law was revised in Tokyo. After a part of the right to oversee community design was delegated to each ward by the city, each ward began to design its community. The local government prioritized the area and proceeded with the redevelopment by encouraging citizens to participate in it. As a redevelopment method, step-by-step rehabilitation was applied. After 1974, Setagaya-ward began community design as an effort to protect itself from natural disasters. Because the zoning classification for almost all areas in Setagaya-ward is residential area, the local government has been trying to understand the communities' needs and to develop a consensus on public projects in the early stages of community design.
- 1982 Setagaya-ward set a Community Design ordinance. The ward sent professionals to communities as a technical support and provided funds for individual residents'

¹ Setagaya Community Design Center, a brief pamphlet of Setagaya Community Design Fund, 1992
Setagaya Community Design Center, News Letters: "Musunde-Hiraite"
Setagaya-ward, a brief pamphlet of the description of Setagaya-ward
Kodama, Yoshiro, "On Support System for the Community-Based Residents' Activities, The Case of the Community Development Trust Fund of Setagaya," Japan Institute of Urban Planning, 1993
Shibasaki, Kou, "Setagaya Community Design Center," Kenchiku Tokyo, pp.18 - 21, Tokyo Society of Architects and Building Engineers, Feb. 1993
Setagaya-ward, "Master Plan of Setagaya Community Design Center," Mar. 1992

groups. However, meanwhile, it became difficult for the ward government to lead community design because it lacked funds, time, human resources and appropriate methodologies. Generally, in a participatory process in Japan, city develop a framework for community design before citizens participate in it. Therefore, citizens do not have a single unified voice, and sometimes the design process goes on without consensus among the participants. Once a conflict erupts between the city and citizens or among the citizens, it takes a long time to resolve it. Moreover, because the consultants dispatched from the city can not oppose the city's decision officially, they have to impose the city's policy on the community's design. In order to resolve this situation, Setagaya-ward decided to establish a Community Design Center in 1987.

1992 In April, after a five year period of intensive preparation including a variety of research and experiments, Setagaya Community Design Center was initiated in the Setagaya-ward Redevelopment Bureau. Its intention was to shift the initiative in community design from city officials to citizens, and to support the citizens' spontaneous community design. It would take a neutral position among residents, professionals, corporations and the government.

In December, the Setagaya Community Design Fund was initiated by the Setagaya-ward Redevelopment Bureau to support the citizens' self-directed participation in community design.

Participants in the Project and the Nature of their Participation

A series of community designs in Setagaya-ward had two distinctive features. It established a community design center and it tried to create a formal structure of communication among citizens and professionals, including technical and financial support, while clarifying its own roles and principles of community design.

City officials: Setagaya Community Design Center, Setagaya-ward,
Setagaya Redevelopment Bureau, The City of Tokyo

Setagaya Community Design Center sets two principles of community: 1) to pursue a creative way for citizen participation by developing a methodology of participation and by providing professional support, 2) to involve citizens, private corporations and the government as well, while maintaining a neutral position. Thus, the design center defines its role as an organization which provides the following services: 1) valid information and technical support, 2) collaboration with residents on decision making, 3) setting up

opportunities for citizens, government and private corporations to talk to one another, 4) formulating a financial structure for community design projects. In order to verify the establishment of community design funds and approval of community design houses, non-profit organizations which provide technical support for specific communities, Setagaya-ward modified its Community Design Ordinance.

Community Residents:

The cases of community design in Setagaya-ward cover a wide range of fields including a community workshop building for senior citizens², informative map making for achieving a livable living environment³, and practical proposals for parks⁴. Participants vary from one case to another, and include diverse population: from children to senior citizens, house wives, college students, social workers, scholars and planning professionals. Children enjoy participating in the well-arranged workshops (design games) and show their creativity. These citizens are generally aware of the importance of the participation in community design.

Consultants: Setagaya Community Design House

Architects

One of the novel ideas in a series of community designs in Setagaya-ward is the establishment of a Community Design House in the community. The Community Design House is a non-profit organization which consists of planning consultants or architects, and experienced citizens in planning in the communities. They encourage citizens to find seeds which would be a bold movement of community design, consult with citizens so that community design reflects their needs and ideas, and play an intermediary role in negotiations between citizens and government. Their activities are not supposed to be temporary work but to be rooted in the neighborhood and support citizens continuously. If a group of professionals is approved to be a Community Design House, it can get financial support from a public trust (Community Design Fund). The qualification to be a Community Design House is that it should have a base in a specific community and have at least one full-time staff member, and provide technical support continuously for a community. However, financial support from the public trust is not sufficient to pay for

² "Proposals for Community Building where Senior Citizens can Live Enjoyful Lives," Setagaya Relay Events Workshop, 1990

³ "Workshop for Small Pocket Parks in the Neighborhood," Jul. 8 to Aug. 28, 1988

⁴ "Contests for Picture Maps and Records of Community Building Activities," Jun. to Nov. 1988



Figure 2 - 33: Setagaya, Okusawa Park Project (under construction)

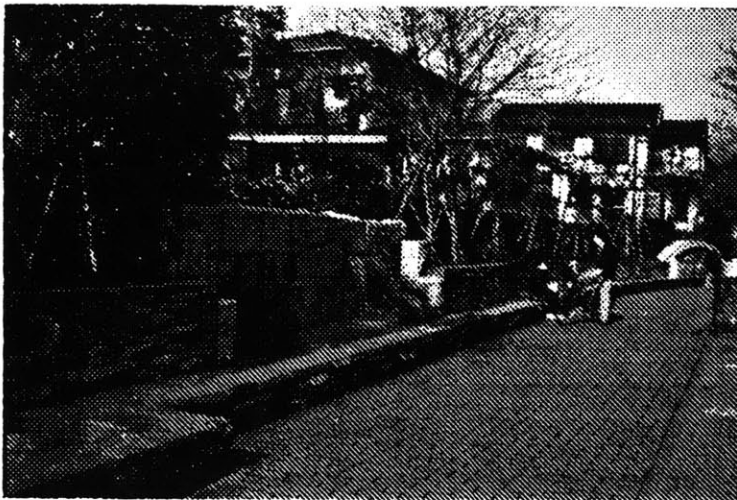


Figure 2 - 34: Setagaya, Taishido Community Design Project: Green path



Figure 2 - 35: Setagaya, Taishido Community Design Project: Small pocket park

the cost of running office, the salary for a full-time staff member and miscellaneous expenses. Currently, staff in Community Design Houses are working almost as volunteers.

Foundations: Setagaya Community Design Fund (raised by Government, Private Corporations, Setagaya Redevelopment Bureau, and individual residents)

In 1992, Setagaya-ward established the Community Design Fund by means of a public trust. This fund depends on the donations from the government, private corporations, Setagaya Redevelopment Bureau, and individual residents⁵. These donations are deposited in a bank trust, and the bank trust generates profits by utilizing the trust deposit. The profits are used as grants for community design organizations. The Working Committee of the Setagaya Community Design Center, which consists of local residents, scholars and city officials, decides which organizations these grants should be distributed to and administers the foundation.

The grants are distributed to three kinds of projects: 1) Community design projects that investigation and research of community design, work for proposing a preservation plans for living environments and rehabilitation plans for housing and the implementation of these proposed plans, 2) The initiation and the management of Community Design House, 3) Exchange of information between the people or organizations who are associated with community design.

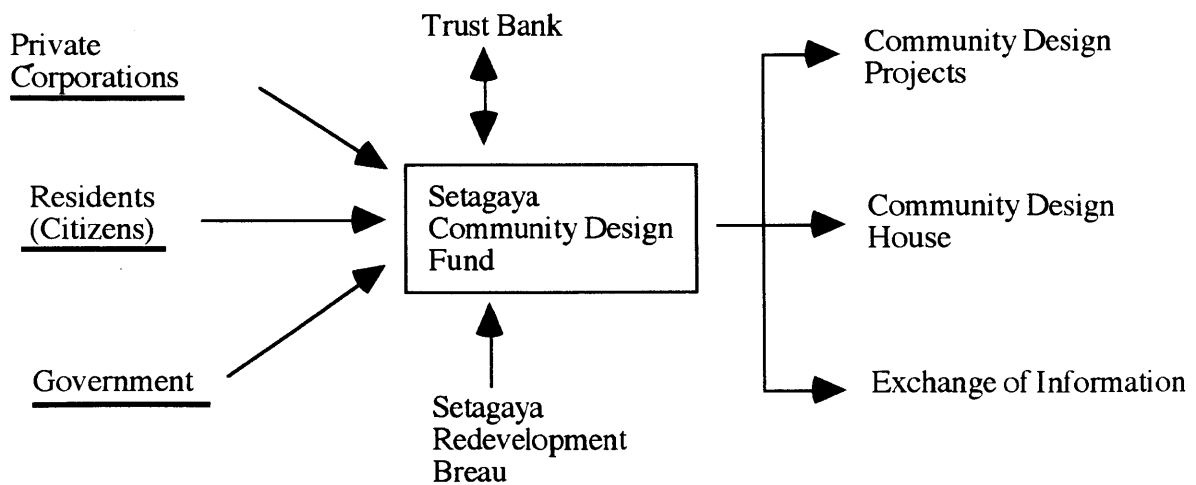


Fig. 2 - 36: The Flow of Money

⁵ Some people have experience working in communities and some are professionals in city planning who are aware of the importance of citizen participatory community design.

2 - 4 SUMMARY OF PARTICIPANTS' ROLES AND PHASES

In order to make the process of community design more understandable, I made a Participants - Time sequence matrix. "Participants" includes City-Officials, Community Residents' Groups, Consultants and Architects, Foundations, Developers, and occasionally Land Owners. Their characteristics are:

City Officials:

The Government is a body of city-officials, and it includes various levels of institutions which have legislative power: ward, city, state or prefecture, and nation. Also, the Government includes authorities which are delegated to organize redevelopment projects in the city: BRA, Setagaya Redevelopment Bureau. Generally, the government tries to control urban development and redevelopment projects by enforcing its restrictive power. However, sometimes the government helps communities by providing technical and/or financial support. In this analysis, the cities' regulations such as building regulations and safety inspections are not included, because these regulations do not affect an impartial evaluation of the cases.

Community Residents' Groups:

Intermediary organizations (non-profit, community organizations) are formed by citizens and usually have steering committees which are elected from neighborhood residents or neighborhood agencies. How many people are involved, how they are organized, and what function the intermediary organization serves affect the achievement of their community-involved design. Sometimes they are supported by voluntary workers.

Consultants and Architects:

Provide professional skills to non-professional citizens. Their knowledge, information and wisdom insures rational and effective decision-making. Their function in a community is advisory. They provide a framework for projects and alternative choices for citizens. Usually they come from outside of the community. However, if one is both a resident and a professional, or is motivated to direct the community design activity, one can share the decision-making power with the community's residents.

Developer:

The developer directs community (housing) development and offers planning, financing, construction and rehabilitation, and management services. The Intermediary (community) organization often designates a specific developer and hires a staff in order to maintain control over the development.

I distinguish the following stages in the designing process: Use, Pre-design, Design, Construction, and Habitation.

Use Phase:

During this phase, neighborhood residents are organized and set up an intermediary (community) organization. They need to get both technical and financial support from outside the community to help clarify issues within the community, to draw a vision for their future community plan, and to develop a strategy to achieve their purpose. The determination of the use of the designated site is also made at this stage.

Pre-Design Phase:

After the community organization is established, it begins to negotiate with the city authorities in order to be accepted as an authorized organization or developer. Sometimes, the community organization takes a more radical approach and demonstrates to demand recognition of its community's needs. Technical support is needed as well in order to learn how to negotiate, and to create a workable plan acceptable by the city. Community organizations can use financial support to hire professionals. Community residents gain some degree of control or partnership with the city as a result of these two initial phases.

Design Phase:

After the community organization arrives at an agreement with the city authorities through negotiation, it implements its plan. This implementation is achieved by the community organization or by its partnership with the city. Technical and financial support is needed. An architectural design is decided upon at this stage, and it will have a significant influence on the lives of the neighborhood people.

Construction Phase:

The Construction of housing or community facilities is done during this phase. If the project is housing rehabilitation or new construction after demolition of old housing, the relocation of the original residents is a significant issue.

Habitation Phase:

At this point construction is finished and the community organization has achieved one of its purposes: housing or a community center. The issue here is : rent - how much money people can receive from the city; the adaptability of the housing - whether people can modify their houses in accordance with their family size; social services - education, job training, security, and day care. These are the principal issues, and the community organization has to continue to face these issues.

	Use	Pre-Design	Design	Construction	Habitation
City-Officials	Control	Partnership	Partnership	Partnership	
Residents	Control	Control	Control	Control	
Consultants Architects	Partnership	Partnership	Partnership	Partnership	
Foundation	Control	Partnership	Partnership	Partnership	
Developer		Partnership	Partnership	Partnership	

Key:

Control	Partnership	Consultation	Informed	Highly-specified Participation	No Participation
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Fig. 2 - 37: DSNI, Distribution of the Decision Making Power

	Use 1984 - 1988	Pre-Design 1988 -	Design -1993	Construction 1993 -	Habitation
City Officials	The City of Boston (Public Facilities Department)				
	BRA				
Community Residents	La Alianza Hispana				
	Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative				
	*45 Teen agers as Young Architects				
Consultants Architects	DAC International INC.				
	Pro bono Services: (Bank of Boston, Rackman, Sawyer & Brewster Goulston & Stors, Powers & Hall and other support)				
	Community Builders *12 Volunteer architects and planners as facilitators				
Foundations	Riley Foundation				
	Boston Foundation, and others (more than 50 foundations)				
	Ford Foundation Casey Foundation				
Developer	Dudley Neighbors, INC.				
Landowners	Individual 130 owners				

* : Community Center Project

Fig. 2 - 38: DSNI, Participants in Each Stage

	Use	Pre-Design	Design	Construction	Habitation
City-Officials	Control	Control	Control	Control	Participation
Residents	Control	Control	Control	Control	Control
Consultants Architects	Control	Control	Control	Control	Control
Foundation	Participation	Participation	Participation	Participation	Participation
Developer	Participation	Participation	Participation	Participation	Participation

Key:

Control	Participation	Participation	Participation	Participation	No Participation
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Fig. 2 - 39: Villa victoria, Distribution of the Decision Making Power

	Use 1962 - 1968	Pre-Design 1968 - 1969	Design 1969 - 1979	Construction 1970 - 1981	Habitation 1981 -
City Officials	The city of Boston				
	BRA				
Community Residents	Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD)				
	Emergency Tenant Council (ETC) (in 1973, ETC became IBA)				
Consultants Architects	St. Stephen's Episcopal Church				
	Summer Program: Cooperative Metropolitan Ministers, Inc., Urban Field Service Urban Plannig Aid (John Sharratt Associates)				
Foundations	VISTA		Funding for IBA's program:		Funding for housing development:
			Community Development Block Grant, United Way of Mass. Bay, Dept. of Public Welfare, CETA, BHA, LEAA, Hyams Foundation, HUD, ETC Developers, Inc., Mass. Council for the Arts and Humanities, National Endowment for the Arts		First National Bank of Boston, MHFA, HUD Turnkey Program, Freedom Federal Savings & Loan, HUD
Developer			ETC/DC ETC/DI		

Fig. 2 - 40: Villa Victoria, Participants in Each Stage

	Use	Pre-Design	Design	Construction	Habitation
City-Officials	Control	Partnership	Informed	Highly-specified	No Participation
Residents	Control	Partnership	Informed	Highly-specified	No Participation
Consultants Architects	No Participation	Partnership	Informed	Highly-specified	No Participation
Foundation	No Participation	Partnership	Informed	Highly-specified	Participation
Developer	No Participation	No Participation	No Participation	No Participation	No Participation

Key:

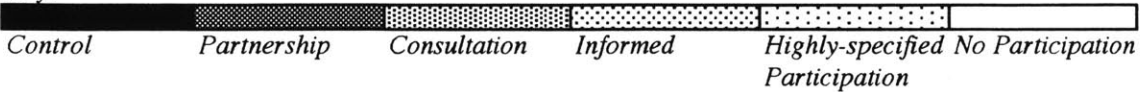


Fig. 2 - 41: Tent City, Distribution of the Decision Making Power

	Use 1964 - 1979	Pre-Design 1979 - 1984	Design 1984 - 1986	Construction 1986 - 1988	Habitation 1988 -
City Officials	The City of Boston				
	BRA				
	South End Land Mark Commission, Boston Land Mark Commission				
	South End Historical Society				
	Massachusetts State				
Community Residents	Community Assembly for a United South End				
	Demonstrators and Supporters (Sits-ins) South End Project Area Committee, and Churches in the South End				
	Tent City Task Force		Neighborhood Alliance		
	Tent City Corporation				
Consultants Architects	MIT Total Studio				
	Goody,Clancy & Associates, Inc.				
	Community Builders				
	Macomber Development and Housing Associates				
Foundations	Seed Money Founders: (BRA, CEDAC, NCBDC, Episcopal City Mission of Boston Trinity Church, Old South Church, Episcopal Church) MHFA, Leighton Park Limited Partnership The City of Boston, Boston Housing Authority Massachusetts State				
Landowners	Fitzgeralds		Urban Investment and Development Corp.		
	The City of Boston				

Fig. 2 - 42: Tent City, Participants in Each Stage

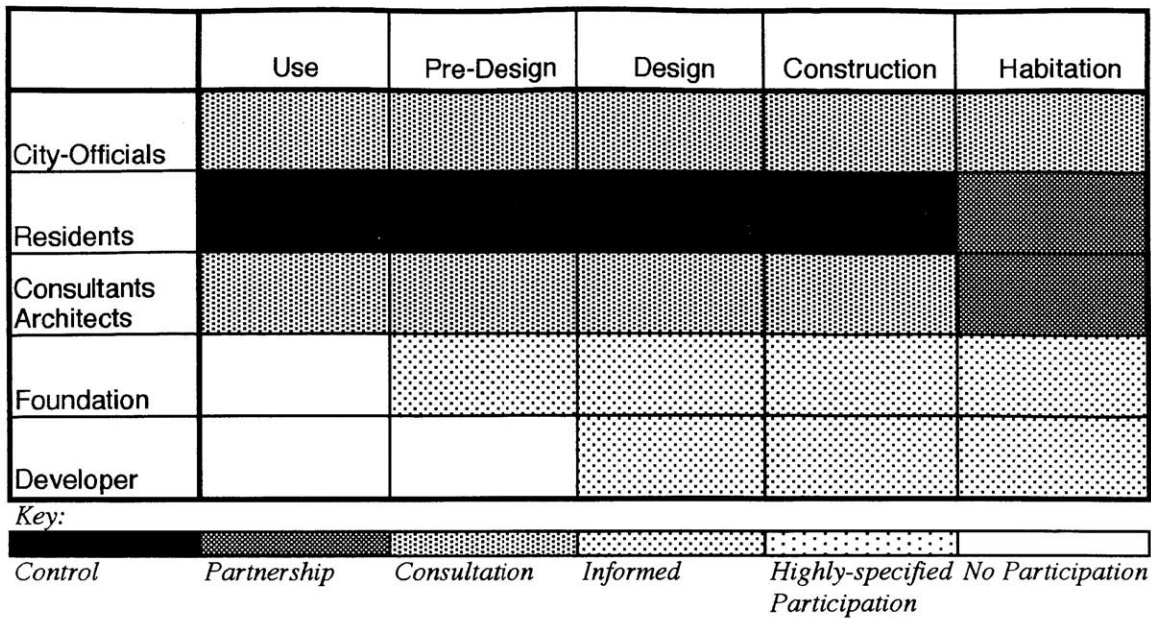


Fig. 2 - 43: Ageo, Distribution of the Decision Making Power

	Use 1986 -	Pre-Design -1988	Design 1988 - 1989	Construction 1989 - 1991	Habitation 1991 -
City Officials	Saitama Prefecture				
	The City of Ageo				
Community Residents	(no intermediary organization, but individual landowners)				
Consultants Architects	Community Design Research Consultant				
	Total Design Office				
	Sho-Architects Office				
Foundation	Bank of Saitama (Financing)				
	Government-backed Housing Loan Corporation				
	Government's special Subsidy Program for New-coming Residents				
Developer	Saitama Prefectural Housing Supply Breau				

Fig. 2 - 44: Ageo, Participants in Each Stage

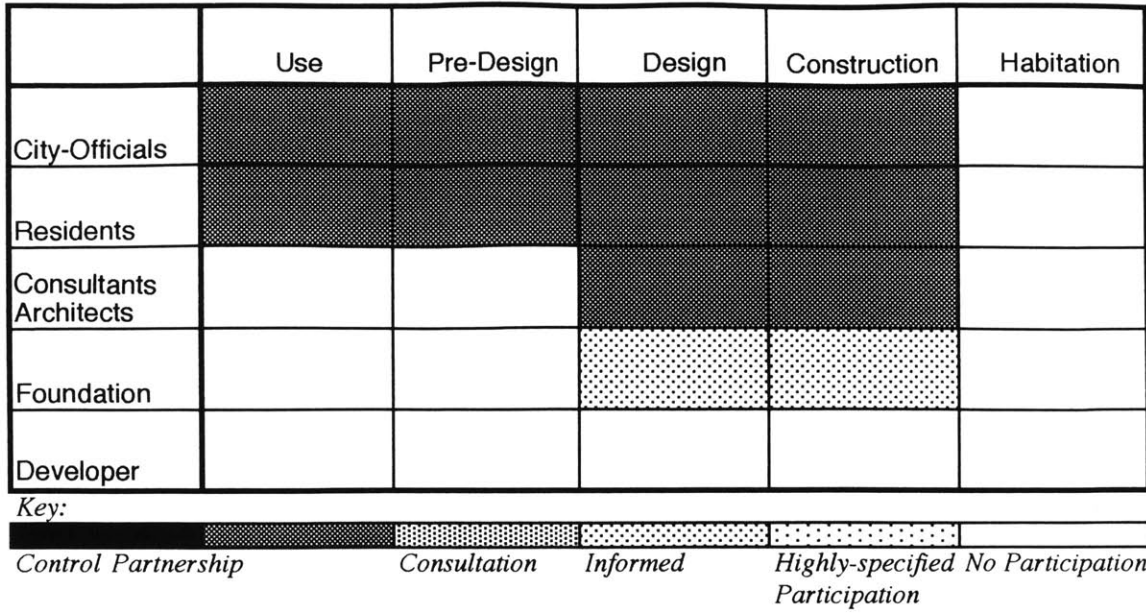
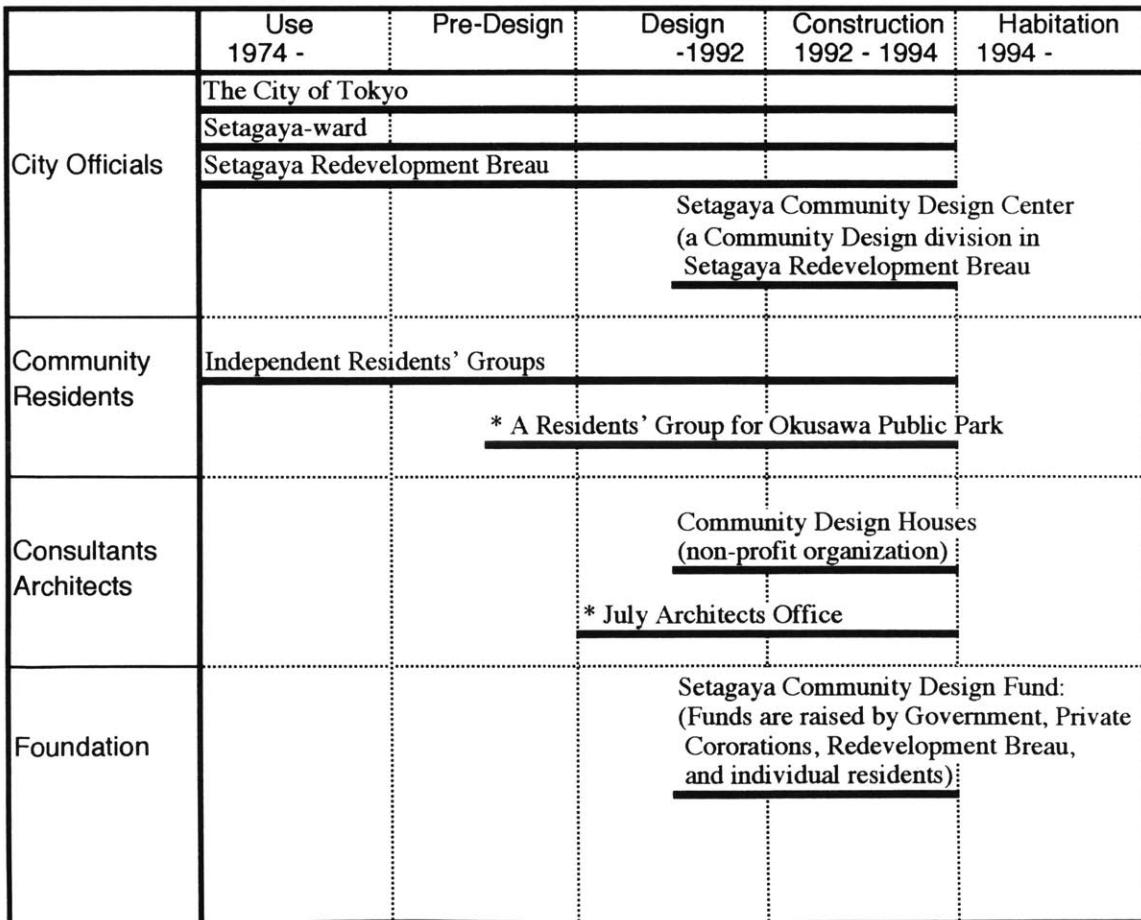


Fig. 2 - 45: Setagaya, Distribution of the Decision Making Power



* : Okusawa Public Park Project

Fig. 2 - 46: Setagaya, Participants in Each Stage

2 - 5 ISSUES IN FUTURE HABITATION PHASE

In this section, the issues to which the communities are currently facing, and their solutions are discussed.

Government's subsidy program is necessary to maintain affordable housing in a community. At the same time, applying the subsidy program to the housing projects means the communities have to accept the low-income people from outside of the communities, and it causes the conflicts between the original residents and the people from the outside.

Section 8 Subsidy Program has been applied to houses in Villa Victoria and, therefore, it has to accept diverse population of the non-Puerto Ricans. For the both sides, language is a crucial problem to communicate if they do not speak English. Also, it causes the community to lose its cultural identity. The growing numbers of the young generation (the second generation of the Villa Victoria) also causes the community to lose its cultural heritage.¹ IBA is trying to respond these issues by renewing its commitment to Villa Victoria's diverse population, and facilitating the creation of the Villa Victoria resident task forces.²

In a mixed income housing, Tent City, it is difficult to get involvement from the grassroots. Not only the cultural diversity, but also the diversity of the income levels and the family types of the residents make them difficult to find the common needs for the living environment. Residents Alliance has been incorporated since March 1994, and is trying to address the neighborhood issues by encouraging the residents of Tent City to participate.³

On the other hand, in Ageo project, Japan, the new people from outside of the community give a positive stimulus to the neighborhood which has been developed by the city officials' directions. Because the joint housing development had the first priority, providing green spaces and common open spaces has been set aside in the community design. Replying to the new residents' request, the workshops for common space and alley design have been organized by Waseda University.⁴

Construction of an Asphalt Plant by an equipment company near the Dudley neighborhood is an environmental and health issue, and a big threat to the neighborhood residents. The DSNI has joined Coalition Against the Asphalt Plant (CAAP), a coalition of

¹ Interview with Laura Buxbaum, Community Planner, IBA, held on Mar. 30, 1994

² IBA, "IBA 1992 Annual Report"

³ Interview with Nathaniel Bailey, Board of Committees and the President of Neighborhood Alliance of Tent City, Mar. 28, 1994

⁴ Souda, Osamu, "Alley Design in Ageo," *Architecture and Community Design*, pp.29-31, Committee of the Architecture and Community Design, Tokyo, Sep. 1993

residents, businesses, community groups from Roxbury, Dorchester, South Boston, and the South End to fight the construction of the plant.⁵

Sometimes, the conflicts between the community residents and the community organization are caused by the miss-direction of the community organization (organizational issue). IBA has generated economic activity of its own and developed its economic programs utilizing 26,000 square feet of commercial space. As IBA has grown up to be both a community development and business agency, it has lost its close relationship with the residents and has become less responsible to the community. To revise this situation, IBA conducted the evaluation of the organization from 1990 to 1992, and launched a multi-year community organizing program: The Villa Victoria 2000 Initiative.⁶

⁵ DSNI, "DSNI Newsletter," Winter, 1993-1994, and interview with Rogelio Whittingto, Executive Director, DSNI, held on Mar. 24, 1994

⁶ Interview with Buxbaum, this program includes: Community Organizing and Planning, Board and Membership Development, Public Safety Committee, Community Leadership Development, Youth Council and Young Adult Advisory Board

CHAPTER 3 COMPARISON OF THE U.S. AND JAPANESE CASES

3 -1 ANALYSIS OF THE PARTICIPANTS' ROLES

(1) City Officials

In the three cases of community design in the U.S, The City of Boston and the BRA (referred to as “government” in this chapter) played a very influential role by implementing urban renewal projects, enforcing legislation, and providing technical and financial support to the communities.

In every case of community designs in the U.S., the government faced strong opposition from citizens. While it is true that many people were displaced from the South End and Roxbury without sufficient support, it is also true that, as a whole “the urban renewal program executed by the BRA has never been, and was never intended to be, a neighborhood program.”¹

Government consists of politicians and bureaucrats, and sometimes a politician who has influence can change governmental policy. In 1984, Flynn replaced White as the Mayor of the City of Boston. Flynn brought substantial change to the city’s administration in urban redevelopment. Bureaucratic systems work very slowly, and are steered by higher legislative orders (HUD’s order in the Villa Victoria case), or by public opinion (the media played an important role in shaping public opinion in the Tent City case). Besides that, city officials began to recognize that organized citizens can be a political asset. City officials do not always react to citizens’ demands out of a sense of duty but out of their political instinct.

During the 1960s urban renewal period, citizens learned how to organize themselves and push the city to be responsive to them. Once the partnerships were built between government and citizens’ organizations, the government began to provide numerous technical and financial support for citizens.

In the two cases of community design in Japan, city officials of the local governments led the projects by setting detailed principles of community design, collaborating with the professionals, and encouraging community residents to participate in the projects. In Ageo, the city officials carried out innovative design process by applying various planing systems, and in Setagaya, the city officials invented diverse methods of

¹ King, pp.22

encouraging people to participate in the designs and harnessing citizens' potential to design their living environment.

In Japan, generally, the government is responsible for citizens' lives. At the same time, the government respects the individual rights of the citizens and their private profit more than their public welfare, and distributes its services equally among citizens. Therefore, the government in Japan successfully avoids creating the restraining forces to the government's policy by its citizens.

On the other hand, economic forces which disregard the public welfare drastically change the social and physical conditions of the neighborhoods in Japan. If the government respects the private profit which drives these destructive economic forces towards the living environment of neighborhoods, its decisions regarding urban policy will protect only the citizens' minimal rights and ignore the amenity and the quality of the living environment in neighborhoods. During the period of the country's prosperity (early 1990s), land speculation spread throughout the country. A great number of traditional houses and deteriorated houses were destroyed, and mid- to high-rise apartments were built in neighborhoods. The government did very little to prevent this land speculation. After the prosperity, some land remained vacant and was transformed into a parking lot, and there are no residents living in some of the apartments which were built for speculative purposes. The destructive economic forces towards the living environment are enormous, and the government is threatening citizens' lives indirectly by protecting economic forces in Japan.

In both countries, governments play very influential roles in community design directly and indirectly. In spite of the general characteristics of bureaucracy and rigidity in government the personalities of the city officials who were involved in the projects led the projects success by establishing partnership with the community residents and professionals.

(2) Community Residents

The three communities in Boston that are studied in this thesis, show a diverse ethnic backgrounds and the majority of the people earned low or moderate incomes and needed affordable housing. In these communities intermediary organizations, as representatives of the community, were formed by neighborhood residents by means of the technical and financial support at the initial phase of the development and lately they proceeded with the project by struggling or negotiating with the city or private developers.

In the Dudley neighborhood, people suffered from a shortage of affordable housing and increasing joblessness. Their participatory process began with the need to protect themselves from these threats. They needed to be organized to have a single unified voice and to push the city to recognize their right to live on the land. In the Dudley neighborhood, although the Riley Foundation initiated the DSNI, the board of directors was comprised of neighborhood residents. The Riley foundation stepped back to give the community residents control of the DSNI. The DSNI worked with a professional consulting firm to develop a scheme for their neighborhood and negotiated with the city with help from various professionals. Most importantly, the DSNI received power of eminent domain from the BRA.

In the South End, people were threatened by the urban renewal plan and gentrification. Before the demonstration at the Fitz-Inn parking lot, people were powerless in the South End. People were organized by CAUSE to demonstrate, and later several intermediary organizations evolved from the people in the Tent City neighborhood. By getting public attention, the people made the city and the BRA unable to ignore their voice and brought professional help from the outside. Also, at Parcel 19 in the South End, nearly all the Puerto Ricans were almost displaced from the South End by the BRA's urban renewal plan, and people formed ETC to combat the BRA's plan. The residents' control over the operations of the ETC became very strong, especially with professional help from the outside.

Once the community residents started community organizations, they accumulated skills in dealing with communities' issues and in negotiating with city officials, and they achieved a high levels of participation, "control", or at least "partnership" in the design process. Some communities established Community Land Trusts², or formed their own development corporations³ in order to keep community control over their neighborhoods.

Citizens' participation does not end at this point, but continues through the "habitation phase" by their occupying the majority of the seats on the Boards of Committees of community organizations. Community organizations deal with a wide range of issues and programs: human services, physical and economic development.

In the two cases in Japan, citizens' motivation to participate in the design of their community and the levels of their participation differ from each other. In Ageo-City, landowners, land leaseholders and building leaseholders had final decision over whether they would accept the city's proposal because land ownership is respected more than public

² DNI, see Chapter 2 - 2

³ ETC/DI, see Chapter 2 - 2

welfare in Japan. Although these residents suffered from threats of having their living environment destroyed, they had never been unified to protect themselves. However, the joint housing reconstruction project could not be accomplished without agreement from all land owners and housing leaseholders. They had legislative control over the project but were and continued to be extremely passive in their responses to this situation.

In Setagaya-ward, Tokyo, citizens are aware of the importance of participation in community design. There are many residents' groups that work on a variety of issues. In the Okusawa Public Park project, a residents' group was formed by motivated people spontaneously, and carried out the project by collaborating with architects and a Community Design House (non-profit professional organization). Here we can see a collaboration between citizens and professionals. However, adequate funding is lacking.

The Community Design Fund provides minimal amount of financial support, and the large part of works of the community design is supported by the residents' and professionals' voluntary efforts.

After analyzing these cases, I summarized the facts what encourage or motivate citizens to participate in community designs projects. First, citizens' lives were threatened by destructive forces from outside the community; second citizens recognized that their lives are in crisis and share a sense of crisis with other people in the community; third, they have no alternative choice but to live where they are living or they wish to continue to live in their community; fourth, and most importantly, they usually share the same wishes regarding social and physical conditions of their neighborhood with others in the community. Without being aware of these facts, it is difficult to create community design which truly reflects the needs and wishes of the residents.

(3) Consultants and Architects

In DSNI and Villa Victoria, professionals had been involved in the projects from the initial phases of the design process. Some planning consultants or architects worked with community leaders, trustees of foundations and/or churches, and set up bases for community organizations. In Tent City, demonstration by the activists in the South End came first, and professionals were involved later.

Other professionals were hired⁴ by the community organizations to provide planning, management, legal and financial support during the various phases of the design process. Because of the complexity of community issues and tough negotiations with the

⁴ in DSNI, free legal services -- Pro bono Services -- were provided by banks and consultants

city officials, it was necessary for the communities to have professional support. Besides the immediate effects of professional help such as schematic plans, legal documents, and grant applications, professional support helped community organizations institutionalize their presence in the design process.

Professionals in these cases consistently worked with the communities to make tangible and workable community plans and to form community organizations which can negotiate with the city officials. Because the final decisions were made by the Board of Directors, elected from the neighborhood residents, agencies and missions, professionals worked as facilitators to enable the communities to make proper and effective decisions. The residents were always main constituents and active participants in the process. Various methods, neighborhood interviews, workshops and neighborhood meetings were carried out to facilitate the design process.

In the cases in Japan, planning consultants and architects were involved in the projects from the initial phase. However, they closely worked with the city officials being directed by the detailed principles of the community designs.

In Ageo, professionals were hired and linked with communities by the city officials. In Setagaya, Setagaya Community Design Center set up a network among the planning consultants and architects, and these professionals exchange information and skills. Because of insufficient financial support, they work almost voluntarily. Generally, the expectation for the professionals is not to institutionalize communities as in the U.S. cases, but to work with the city officials, to encourage neighborhood residents to participate and to provide technical information or skills.

However, there were signs of new community design in Japan. Residents of a Kodan (quasi-public housing) organized a community group by themselves and have resisted the rehabilitation (reconstruction) plan developed by the authority, by proposing a counter-plan. In Setagaya, residents of Nishi-Kyodo Kodan have developed a strong sense of community and have taken care of the living environment and public facilities in the Kodan as their precious amenity for twenty years. The proposed plan by the authority was a high-rise, high-rent and high-density housing development which would accommodate huge numbers of parking spaces. If it is built, the living environment which the residents have known for twenty years will be totally lost. The residents have tried to protect their living environment by receiving technical and financial support from the Setagaya Community Design Center. In this case, the planning consultant and the architect worked as facilitators to make the community a workable negotiating group for the authority.

In both countries, professionals work as facilitators, intermediary organizers and technical supporters. Their roles are determined by the specific conditions of community design projects. However, the motivation of community residents and city officials towards the projects has a strong influence on the roles of professionals.

(4) Foundations

Three cases of the community design in the U.S. have a substantial amount of financial support from various kinds of resources. In contrast, two cases in Japan have a limited amount of financial support.

In the U.S., community organizations receive financial support from governments, banks, corporations, foundations and religious institutions (churches). Financial support from local governments take many forms: grants, loans, tax abatement and subsidy programs. Although the principle of corporate activity is to make a profit, a tax incentive system provides benefits for corporations in the taxation system.⁵ Also, stabilizing and strengthening the economy of the urban neighborhood will benefit the corporations by providing stable human resources and the purchasing power of the neighborhood residents. Philanthropic motives, which enable corporations to contribute to the society by returning a part of their profit, are also important in bringing corporations to the urban communities.

Banks have a strong influence on financing both the community organizations and the individual citizens in the community. Banks used to avoid financing people in the poor neighborhoods.⁶ This lack of attention to the neighborhood by banks created lack of funds to maintain building quality and accelerated the deterioration of the building in the neighborhood. Community organizations in Boston have been trying to persuade the banks to do more business, and these efforts, together with the same motives that brought the corporations' financial support to the urban neighborhood, have succeeded in getting funds from the banks.

Foundations provide financial support for a variety of community organization activities. The roles of the local foundations⁷, which specify the area they serve and the focuses they primarily concern, have become especially significant.

⁵ Hirayama, Yosuke, "Community-based Housing," Domes Publication, Tokyo, Sep. 1993

⁶ See the DSNI case Chapter 2 - 2

⁷ For example, in Boston, people can reach 15 Foundations through Grants Management Associates: a grant making and consulting firm. The foundations' focuses vary to one another and covers following issues: education, health, housing, environment protection, historic preservation, racism, social services, cultural program, youth leadership development, etc. Annual Grant Budget range from \$200,000 to \$1.5 million, and mostly serve for the communities within the Greater Boston Area.

In Japan, Setagaya Community Design Fund (Public Trust) collects a certain amount of donated funds from the government, various corporations and well-meaning citizens. However, because there are no other major financial resources for community design in Setagaya-ward and the Tokyo metropolitan area, the amount of money that the Community Design Fund can provide is not sufficient for many community design activities in the ward.⁸ Many local public corporations have been established in the past ten years, however, they lack enough consideration for citizens' needs and consistent policy to implement specific community design projects.⁹

Attainability of financial support is crucial for the community designs both in the U.S. and Japan. However, there are various ways to access financial resources in the U.S. which enable the community residents to establish dynamic community organizations and implement community plans.

If private corporations (especially domestic corporations in communities) are involved in community designs as members of communities who share the benefits from the projects, or tax incentives for their contributions to the projects are provided, private corporations can be the greatest financial resources for the community designs in both countries.

⁸ The amount of the money provided for each community design activities ranged from \$2,000 to \$7,000 in 1993, Kodama, pp.53

⁹ Ishida, Takeru, "Study on Activities of the Organization to Promote Community Design," Japan Institute of Architecture, 1991

3 - 2 EVALUATION OF THE OUTCOME

(1) Criteria

The main purpose of this thesis is to find principles for participatory community design by examining cases from two different cultures and suggesting creative ways to design a community physically and socially for future development. To pursue this purpose, it is necessary to evaluate the success and effectiveness of each participatory community design by applying several criteria. Because the underlying focus of this thesis is the role of architects in the whole process, the architect's role is evaluated through architectural quality, or, if the project is not accompanied by physical achievement, the architect's role is evaluated by his degree of involvement in the process. It is somewhat controversial to define "architectural quality." With their expertise in creating space and designing aesthetically, architects may produce "more quality" without participation. In this study, the architect's role is described as consultant, partner, advocate, translator, and catalyst, and its desirable and practical role is discussed in the conclusion. Here, "architectural quality" refers not only to the formal and aesthetic aspects but also to architecture's physical existence which supports residents' social and cultural lives.

Evaluation of the Architectural, physical, quality

1. Contextual Consistency

Through a participatory design process, community residents try to make themselves a distinguishable body which has power to achieve its own goals. They can design their property as a symbol of their culture or power by collaborating with an architect, and as a visible and tangible result of citizens' participation, housing can give people confidence and pride. However, as a physical existence, buildings are a component of the urban structure. Even though community housing or facilities are created specifically for the community's needs, their physical existence has a certain impact on the urbanscape.

Taking the position, "architecture must have contextual consistency in the urban physical structure," I evaluate the projects' architectural quality by studying the following points: scale, density, average height, materials, roof line, street systems.

2. Spatial Configuration between Public Space and Private Space

Community open space is used for various purposes: community gatherings, festivals, informal meetings, children's play. How open space in the planning site is designed and distributed affects a neighborhood's character. At the same time, one's private life should be protected from one's public life. However, clarifying the public and private domain with a single thick wall will isolate a neighborhood and disrupt the residents' relationships. Elaborating on the transition from private space to public space will provide intermediate space between them while ensuring the residents' relationships.

3. Consideration for the family variations

Providing a wide range of housing units while considering income ranges and family types will ensure a social mix in the community. Also it will enable the community to accommodate a diverse population, from single families to extended ones and from young individuals to the elderly people as well. It will also ensure the community stability by enabling families to change the housing units according to family size.

Evaluation from a social, organizational, point of view

1. Achievement

Because people in communities have a variety of backgrounds, the issues they face, and the way of they achieve their goals are different from one another; it is impossible to measure their achievements with the same criteria. Community residents' satisfaction with their participation in the design process does not necessarily correspond with what is considered effective, a quick result and a low cost, of the process. The outcome should be evaluated in the real context: what has been achieved by the participatory process in relation to social life. Here, an effective (or successful) participation process has to accomplish some concrete, visible, or tangible result which can improve the physical or social quality of the neighborhood, such as, neighborhood stabilization, family stabilization, housing improvements, the creation of open and green spaces, economic improvement, education, increased job opportunities, and safety.

2. Citizen's Levels of Participation

How much power the community residents (this includes community organization) have through the design process is directly related to how successfully they accomplish their purpose. Here, I evaluate the community residents' levels of participation.

3. Involvement of Institutions

“Institution” includes consulting agencies: legal, planning and management plus architects and foundations. Throughout the designing process, technical and financial support is necessary. The more technical support the community organization gets, the more they can visualize their purpose, involve the community residents, and become sophisticated in negotiating with the government. The more financial support the community organization gets, the more the community organization can sustain its activity, implement its community plan, and arrive at their destination.

4. The Relationships between the Community and the Government: Pressure, Pressure-Conflict, Negotiation, Collaboration

Government pressure results in demolition and displacement with insufficient compensation or relocation plans for the residents. It can be described as governmental negligence of a community. Once the community organizes itself, and begins to achieve its purpose, the relationship shifts to Pressure-Conflict, and Negotiation. This relationship flow often takes time and money, and if it happens too first, a meaning of learning process of the participants will be lost, and if it happens too slow, it will cause a reduction of interest and loss of tension in the participants. However, the tension which is generated by the conflict between the community and the government sometimes motivates citizens to intensify their activities. The important thing is the community’s purpose rather than winning a conflict. During this period, how they stay motivated, and proceed with their plans is evaluated.

	DSNI	Villa Victoria
Contextual Consistency	(Winthrop Estates) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-detached, two-story houses match the neighborhood • Wood is selected 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The South End's Street pattern is cut off in the site to provide the safety • Puerto Rican pastel colors were substituted by bright earth colors • Red bricks and black metals are selected
Spatial Configuration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entrance porch provides frontage for houses; it functions as the transition space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dead ends and loops provide enough frontage for houses; it functions as the transition space • Plaza: the symbol of the community and their culture; social activities and festival are held in the Plaza
Unit Variations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family units 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No chance to alter the housing units for the residents • Variety of unit types are provided: family units duplex, one or two bedroom units
Achievements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eminent domain power over the 15 acre vacant lots • Community Revitalization Plan: Housing, Human Service and Economic Development • Dudley Young Architects & Planners Project • New project by getting a new planning grant • Winthrop Estates (Community Housing Development) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 697 units of housing and 26,000 square feet of commercial space • Human Services: Youth, Elder Care and Family Support Programs • Arte y Cultura: in-school cultural awareness program • New project: The Villa Victoria 2000 Initiative
Levels of Participation	Control: the Board of Directors, elected from the neighborhood residents, agencies and churches, makes the final decision	Partnership: ETC the Board of Directors, elected from the Villa Victoria residents, makes the final decision
Involvement of the Institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Much support was provided from the initial phase: Pro bono Services as the technical support • More than 50 foundations' financial support was provided 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Much support was provided from the initial phase • IBA has developed its technical skills as a community development agency • More than 50 foundations' financial support was provided
Flow of the Relationship	Pressure - Pressure:Conflict - Negotiation - Citizen's Control	Pressure - Negotiation - Partnership

Table. 3 - 1: Evaluation of the Cases

Tent City	Ageo, Nakacho-Atago	Setagaya
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Scale is transformed from the high-rise to the residential scale • Semi-public new street follows the South End's street pattern • Clarifies its boundary • Brick and tile design humanize and break down the massive building volume • Bay window and bold arch are designed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The alley system is introduced to the housing projects • Cluster housing breaks down its volume • Different colors are applied for the different elements • Maintains Pitched roof 	<p>(Nishi-Kyodo Housing Rehabilitation Project, Residents' proposal)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parking lots are scattered around the building • Big trees are preserved • Green Paths are designed • Concrete pavements are disregarded
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The building on the periphery encloses the court: semi-public street and town houses • Transition: semi-public street in the enclosed court, to sheltered exterior courtyards 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alley system brought the street hierarchy • Small open spaces will be connected to one another 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small pocket parks are located near buildings • Building height is limited to eight-stories and, the height of the buildings on the periphery is limited to four-stories
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mixed income rental housing are provided • Variety of unit types are provided: family units duplex, one or two bedroom units 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Houses for the landowners were designed by participatory design process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Variety of unit types are planned
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 269-units mixed income apartment housing and 698-space sub-surface parking garage • Neighborhood Alliance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community Living Environment Rehabilitation Program, District Planning System, and Joint Housing Reconstruction Project (total 69 units housing implemented by the city officials) • Innovative design process designed by the city officials and planning consultants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of Setagaya Community Design Center and Setagaya Community Fund • Formal communication among city officials, professionals and finance providers • Implemented workshops, field surveys and neighborhood meetings in various projects • Several neighborhood pocket parks and public green paths • Okusawa Public Park
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partnership: TCC Board of Committee, elected from influential interest groups in the neighborhood, makes the final decision 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Consultation: No intermediary residents' organization was formed 	<p>Partnership</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professional support came after the community organization was established • Much financial support from public sectors (MHFA, etc.) • TCC has become a community development agency 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A few city officials and planning consultants were greatly involved 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Setagaya Community Design Center sets up communication between the residents and the planning professionals, and provides financial support • Community Design Houses provide technical support
<p>Pressure - Pressure: Conflict - Negotiation - Partnership</p>	<p>Encouragement and input - Consultation</p>	<p>Partnership</p>

3 - 3 CONCLUSIONS

Community design in the U.S.

Each community design in the U.S. that I studied in this thesis, has different characteristics from the others in terms of the community's problem, its history and its participants. However, we can see some similarities among them.

First, these three cases occurred in low income communities. Roxbury was one of the poorest communities and most run down area in Boston. Before the urban renewal plan, the South End's population was aged and poor, and the physical environment had deteriorated. These communities were threatened by the city's plan to clean up existing buildings. Also they were always exposed to violence, homicide, drug dealings and educational problems. Since most were unable to relocate, they had to live with fear. The struggle to get affordable housing was the struggle to live.

Second, in order to protect the right to affordable housing, community design was initiated against the City's Urban Renewal plan and gentrification. Because all three cases happened within two miles from the city's flourishing downtown area, they were threatened by developers' land speculations. Citizens' participation began as citizens' action; protest, conflict, lobbying by independent efforts by citizens and their groups toward the city.

Third, and later, their action involved many professionals, lawyers, architects, planners and management consultants, and obtained support from various philanthropic foundations. This support helped make it possible for residents to organize themselves. Intermediary organization (non-profit organization) was evolved from residents' groups, represented the community and negotiated with the city and the BRA.

These three cases exhibit similar problems to other inner-city neighborhoods in the U.S. However, their way of solving urban issues (community design), organizing the communities and negotiating with the cities were different from each other. Each learned the techniques and acquired skills from the professionals and created their own way to improving the living conditions in their communities.

Occasionally, the same professionals were involved in the different cases: Community Builders in the DSNI and Tent City, St. Episcopal Church in Villa Victoria and Tent city, Board of Directors of the ETC was involved in the DSNI as a technical consultant at the initial phase of the community design. Also, the community organizations exchange and share the information about community design to one another widely in the

U.S. The media introduces their advanced method of organizing, and professionals and experienced community residents go to the other community to talk about their experience both in formal and informal ways. In this way, people are involved in the community designs and create a broad network beyond the neighborhood area.

Community Design in Japan

The two cases in Japan are different from each other in terms of their motivation and purpose for community design. However we can see strong similarities for the basis for them in Japanese society

First, tension in the society is low in Japan and there are many factors that are responsible for this. First, there is no visible racial conflict in Japan. Rather, it is hidden unlike the U.S. So far we have rarely seen any community design or citizen action that was initiated because of discrimination. Also the differences between upper- and lower-class are not evident in urban neighborhood planning in Japanese society. Across any city we can see a good mixture of household income levels and social stability is very high. The low unemployment rate is one of the main factors for this high stability. Therefore, people can live satisfactorily and maintain their current situation as long as they do not complain about their living conditions: high population and physical density and lack of consistency in housing quality and the physical environment.

Second, because people are very indifferent to the physical environment, they are very passive in their reactions against the destruction of traditional neighborhoods. They rarely organize themselves to create a single unified voice to present the city authorities. Even if their neighborhood is threatened by a private developer's land speculation or rents increases, it was the city officials or planning consultants who are aware of the threat. In Ageo, city officials and the professionals encouraged people to be aware of these realities and to collaborate to protect or create their community. In other words, cities and the professions initiate community design and then try to involve residents to extract good ideas and to fulfill their needs. This process is totally opposite the U.S. cases.

Third, city officials, professionals and scholars are trying to create a good system and network that will provide enough funds for community activities and human resources that, in turn, will support the people. In Setagaya, people formed the Community Design Center as a resource center that provides funds and information to several non-profit organizations (NPO) within Setagaya-Ward. These NPOs are not independent but keep a strong link with other NPOs and the Community Design Center. Because of the strong network, they can share their experience and information. Having the same social

background, they can more easily develop a system and method that is more applicable to the community as a whole. Although there are several issues in community design, lack of foundation, information and people's motivation toward it, the creation of a network has a strong potential to create a bold movement in community design.

However, there is still one large obstacle to the movement. Zoning and building codes are determined nationally. There is almost no chance for citizens to change those laws or influence the decision making process of those laws. This situation makes citizens apathetic and indifferent to their living environment. On the other hand, this fact indulges architects. If it is not a historical district, there is no obligation for architects except for obeying the Building codes that rule the inside of the site. It is our nature to differentiate our own property so that we can show it wonderfully and impressively. Architects respond to this desire and design buildings as they wish without being aware of the importance of developing a sense of physical consistency in the cities of Japan.

Evolution of Participation

The relationship between citizens and the other participants, and the distribution of the decision-making power have changed as time has progressed. These changes take several patterns.

The levels of citizens' participation in the design process correspond with the distribution of the decision-making power. The evolution of citizen participation takes several patterns: A) citizens keep a high level of participation throughout the design process, B) the level of citizens' participation increases as time passed, C) the level of citizens' participation gradually diminished as time passed. The classification of the levels of participation is based on the studies of Arnstein's "ladder of participation" and

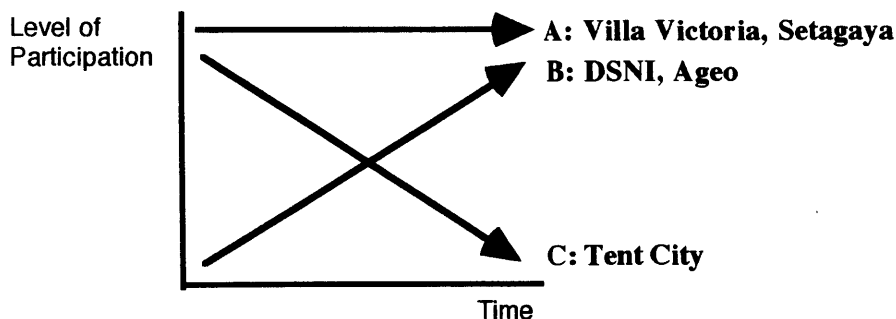


Figure 3 - 1: Evolution of Participation

other scholars' typologies. However, the evolution of participation does not always climb a "ladder of participation."

Villa Victoria and Setagaya can be classified to pattern "A." Because the majority of people in Parcel 19 had the same cultural and social background, they already had a strong sense of community. Even before the formation of a formal community organization, the community residents in Parcel 19 and other communities in the South End had influential power in the city's urban renewal projects in the South End. The professionals' support strengthened the organizational structure of the ETC, and the ETC finally became the designated developer of Parcel 19.

Since well before the recent movement of participatory community design in Japan, the Setagaya local autonomy has paid attention to the residents' needs regarding the living environment and has encouraged them to participate in urban redevelopment. Therefore, the residents in Setagaya-ward have been motivated and many independent residents' groups have been working for their own communities to improve living conditions. City officials and professional support empowered their activities as well.

DSNI and Ageo can be classified to pattern "B." The process of community design of the DSNI is the process of gaining power to deliver community control over the neighborhood. It began with organizing powerless residents in the neighborhood through the Riley Foundation and planning consultants, and finally the neighborhood initiative gained power of eminent domain over 15 acres of vacant land in the heart of the DSNI area.

Ageo is not a typical case of pattern "A," however, as the original residents who had legislative control over the housing projects were involved in the community design activity with the new residents to improve living conditions in the neighborhood.

Tent City can be classified to pattern "C." The demonstration in 1968 dramatized the neighborhood residents' opposition to the urban renewal projects in the South End. However, because of the characteristics of the project, its symbolism of citizens' opposition to the city's urban policy, and the involvement of so many participants, community control over the community design has gradually diminished.

Goals of Participation

Participation is the fundamental way to solve the communities' issues even after the community design has succeeded.

The Villa Victoria, Tent City and Ageo community design projects have accomplished producing affordable housing for the people in the community or the people

from outside of the community. The DSNI has just begun to construct the first 38 units of nearly 300 single family and cooperative houses in the Dudley Triangle. These housing projects were designed by paying careful attention to contextual consistency of the physical environment, spatial configuration and unit variations of houses. These architectural features were resulted from the collaboration between the residents and the architects. Pursuing the residents' needs, safety, cultural identity, common space, family type, and privacy, has made the housing projects unique in the neighborhoods' physical context. At the same time, the considerations to make the projects fit into the existing physical environment do not alienate the projects and the communities from the surroundings.

Housing is not an ultimate goal for the community design. Even after the communities have attained affordable housing for the community residents, they must face various social and urban issues during the habitation phase. Participation is not the only way to resolve these issues. However, professionals alone cannot address the communities' issues, and if there were not enough residents' participation, the community would lose its own control over the community design.

CHAPTER 4 LEARNING FROM EACH OTHER: U.S. AND JAPAN

4 - 1 DEVELOPING PRINCIPLES OF PARTICIPATORY DESIGN

This chapter will explore the principles and suggest a participatory community design for future development. First, I present five general principles of participatory design reasoned from this study.

1) People Respect Each Other

At the community level, all interested groups such as ethnic groups, institutions, and community-based agencies should be represented in the decision making place. It is desirable to reach neighborhood consensus at the early stage of the design process to strengthen the collective body of the people and groups of the community, and to avoid a split in the community in the later stages of the community design. In this respect, same numbers of seats in the Board of Directors in the DSNI are assigned to each ethnic groups, so that equal representation from each ethnic group can be obtained. Also, translation equipment is provided in neighborhood meetings to eliminate the language barrier among the community.

At the same time, youth, elderly and handicapped people should be involved in the design process. Usually, they are not institutionalized and not represented in a decision-making place. If we are concerned about the prevailing youth issues in the U.S. and the creative and vital potential of young people for the future, we should involve them in formulating communities through various innovative methods. DSNI's Young Architects & Planning Project and Setagaya's community design workshops succeeded in this aspect. Also, considering elderly and handicapped people reminds us of the basic human needs of the social and physical condition and teaches us human dignity. Participatory design process should not be a struggle of the weak against their oppressors, but be a learning process of the people, by the people and for the people. Everyone in a community have to have an equal opportunity to express their needs and preferences.

At the whole participants level, citizens (community organizations) could have more than "partnership" level of participation in the decision-making process. Government must be responsible for citizens' needs regarding social and physical conditions.

2) Institutionalization of Community

Institutionalize communities as a collective body of citizens, and integrate the citizens' potential to present community to the government as a dynamic community-based organization. The individual voices of citizens have to be unified to develop a collective body of citizens. How much power the citizens have in decision making determines the extent to which their needs and wishes are achieved. According to Berle, power is "based on a system of ideas or philosophy," and "exercised through and depends on institutions."¹ Without a clear goal or philosophy of community design as enacted by citizen participation, community-based institutions cannot be constructed nor endure. Without institutions, the power of citizens' single unified voice cannot be realized, used, or expended.

In every case in the U.S. we can see the attempts at formulating an organizational structure in the community by residents, planning consultants, architects and/or trustee staff at the beginning of the community design. It was the creation of the neighborhood initiative from grass roots in the Dudley Neighborhood, a strategic negotiation with the city led by a community leader and an architect in Villa Victoria, and a political campaign against the city's urban policy in Tent City.

3) Interrelating Programs

Programs such as physical development, economic development and human services should be linked to one another.

Social and physical issues are closely related to one another, and solving one problem in the community may not result in improving living conditions as a whole in the community. Integrating community programs will stabilize communities and enable the community organizations to sustain their control over the community design.

In the U.S. safety issues, youth programs and community economic development are significant as well as affordable housing development. A lack of consideration of one of these issues will jeopardize the community design as a whole. The DSNI released the revitalization plan which included physical, human services and economic development. Currently the IBA is conveying Community Organizing: The Villa Victoria 2000 Initiative, Human Services, Arte Y Culture program as well as creating and preserving valuable affordable housing. A series of Community Design in Setagaya applies various workshops which involve a diverse population from children to elderly people, and this fact gives

¹ Berle, Adolf A., "The Laws of Power" excerpted from "Power," Harcourt, Brace & World, 1969

people a chance to think about youth issues, the elderly and handicapped people. Some workshops focus on the issues regarding an aging society and school design.

4) Networking and Collaboration

Besides the specific issues in a community, each community has similar issues which stem from nationally prevailing issues, and communities can share information and their experience regarding these issues through networking. Setagaya Community Design Center offers several services by creating a network among community groups and professionals. This initial attempt enabled them to have informal meetings and to share information.

Collaboration is another important concept. To institutionalize community, people have to unified in order to develop a collective body of citizens and to work together in seeking a same destination. Collaboration among the professionals to address the link among the individual issue in the community is also needed, and the citizens' knowledgeable opinions have to be considered in the design process. The initial attempt to address the issue of the Dudley Street Neighborhood by the neighborhood agencies ended in failure because of the lack of commitment to collaborate beyond their own interest.

5) The Priority of Visible and Tangible Result

Among the many goals of community programs, visible and tangible results such as housing , community facility, and cleaning up neighborhood and public gardens have the strongest impact on the neighborhood. Housing, in particular, provides stability and helps people to develop their pride in the neighborhood.

4 - 2 MODELING EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATORY COMMUNITY DESIGN

In this section I suggest effective participatory community design by listing what the U.S. can learn from Japan and, what can Japan learn from the U.S. in terms of principles of participatory community design.

People Respect Each Other:

In both countries, community designs involved diverse populations in communities and developed innovative ways of motivating these people. Ethnic diversity is inherent in the U.S. society and community designs cannot succeed without considering this fact. Contrarily, because Japanese society has a high degree of homogeneity in terms of ethnicity, communities do not have to be concerned about ethnic differences among the people in the communities. However, there is no assurance that Japanese society can maintain this high degree of homogeneity in the future. In this instance, Japan can learn methods from the U.S. for organizing people in ethnically diverse communities.

Institutionalization of Community:

All three cases of community design in the U.S. began with fighting the city's negligence of the citizens' needs regarding living conditions. The organizing process in these cases differed, however, without exception, community control over the projects and the neighborhoods was sought. Many institutions were involved in the projects to provide technical and financial support.

In Japan, community designs began with protecting the neighborhood from destructive economic forces and housing rehabilitation by the authority¹, or with peaceful collaboration with the city to improve living conditions in the neighborhoods. Community designs directed citizens towards cooperation with city officials and professionals. Community control has never been sought by citizens.

Because the social backgrounds of communities are so different between the U.S. and Japan with regard to ethnic diversity, income status, population and social issues. The processes taken and the destinations reached were different, even though these citizens faced similar circumstances. Whether gaining community control is suitable for the social situation in Japan would have to be discussed on another occasion, however, Japanese citizens can learn ways of organizing their communities by involving various institutions from the U.S.

¹ See pp.85

Principles	What the U.S. can learn from Japan	What Japan can learn from the U.S.
People Respect Each Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workshops involve a wide range of age-groups, and they are treated equally. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community Organizations give equal representations to diverse ethnic groups and try to break language barriers among communities. • Great consideration is given to the handicapped in the U.S. society.
Community organizations or city officials develop innovative ways of involving youth and/or elderly people.		
Institutionalization of Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local Governments provide communities access to financial, technical and human resources. • Professionals are dispatched from the Community design Center. • Community Design Fund collects funds from governments, corporations and individual citizens. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community organizations have a strong organizational structure in the U.S. Final decisions about the policy, budget and the things which affect the whole community are made by Board of Directors elected from neighborhood residents, agencies and/or missions. • Various ways of institutionalizing communities: bottom-up process from grass roots, community leadership and, political campaign. • Many foundations provide financial support for community designs. • Tax incentives are provided for the contribution to community designs.
Interrelating Programs	<p>Community organizations interrelate various issues of community designs and develop programs.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Workshops involve diverse population and encourage people to be aware of various issues in communities, but concrete programs are not implemented. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical, Human Service, Educational and Economic development are interrelated in concrete programs by community organizations.
Networking and Collaboration	<p>Networks and collaborations are well developed among communities and professionals.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community Design Center provides networks among communities and professionals. • City Officials, professionals and Community residents collaborate in community design. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communities and professionals are networked spontaneously, and share skills and information with one another.
The Priority of Visible and Tangible Results	<p>Community designs attain visible and tangible results.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small pocket parks and green paths are made by step by step method of community design. • Joint Housing Reconstruction is accomplished. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neighborhood Clean-up, closure of the illegal trash transfer stations and community housing give confidence and self-respect to community residents in the DSNI. • Housing had a top priority in Villa Victoria.

Interrelating Programs:

In the U.S. there is a strong need for stabilizing low-income families and communities by providing human service, educational and economic programs as well as affordable housing.

In Japan, communities are not institutionalized enough to implement these programs by themselves. Public social services for all citizens in a ward or city are provided consistently by the government.

Networking and Collaboration:

Communities and professionals form informal networks and exchange information and human resources widely in the U.S. The purpose of networking is to strengthen the autonomy in communities. In Japan, city officials play significant roles in networking, and they are primarily concerned about the effective process of community design.

The Priority of Visible and Tangible Result:

In both countries this principle was pursued and communities attained concrete results. Visible and Tangible results gave community residents' confidence and pride in their neighborhood.

EPILOGUE PERSONAL THOUGHTS

Throughout this thesis, I have been concerned about the roles of the architect in design process. In the cases of community design I studied, architects were sometimes hidden behind strong community control or city officials' leadership. The architects never had control in the design processes.

In Villa Victoria, the architect played the most powerful role in the partnership with the community residents. In the DSNI and a series of community designs in Setagaya-ward, architects facilitated the design process by providing technical support for the community residents. There were particular needs in these communities, and architects were asked to reply to their demands in creating visible and tangible results.

The professional role of architects could be pursued by responding to the specifications given by the clients. Clients expect architects to do nothing more than planning and drawing. Participatory community design expects architects to do more than that. It is desirable that visible and tangible results come first so that they give community residents pride and confidence. However, this is not the ultimate goal of community design. The process of community design is a process meant to build self-confidence, pride, and self-esteem among community residents, and to create community control over the projects and the neighborhoods. Architects are expected to be active participants in these processes as partners, advocates or facilitators for communities.

This is a new generation of architects, and we, as architects, must learn how to work with citizens and communities, to create optimal living conditions. Interpreting or translating citizens' needs into physical existence are not enough for the new generation of architects. Through interaction with citizens, architects can help them to develop their creativity and imagination. At the same time, architects can be inspired by citizens to new solutions for solving community issues. Learning how to negotiate with city officials is also important. Architects must be aware that their technical skills can help citizens to institutionalize their communities.

Where can we learn and how can we develop these skills? Is there any other way than getting out of architectural school and experiencing the real community designs? Or, can we develop a structural method of learning the dynamics of community design and the roles of architects in the design process?

Here, I come to think about the strategy of participatory community design for future development. Coming from a different culture, where, as I have stated so many times in this study, social and physical conditions are different from those in the U.S. In

Japan we are losing traditional architecture and livable living conditions because of strong economic forces. Housing development projects do not pay enough attention to the needs of community residents. However, people are not institutionalized to speaking a single unified voice in order to get their needs met, and they do not have enough professional and financial support to go through tough negotiation with the government.

I learned of the notion of “participation” in the U.S. and Europe.¹ This notion was introduced to Japan within the past ten years, and people are struggling to establish their own methodology in Japanese society. In this thesis, I conducted a comparison of U.S. and Japanese cases and developed principles of participatory community design which are applicable to both countries. Under any conditions, the underlying principle is that “we have to have conversation with people.” Strategies for specific circumstances can be discussed, and they can be classified as a bottom-up process from grass roots strategy, community leadership strategy and, political campaign strategy. However, in every case, we must not forget to listen to the people in a community.

¹ In the Summer, 1993, I traveled England, Belgium and other countries in Europe, and saw several participatory design projects.

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