The Origin and Evolution of Urban Heritage Conservation in the Specified Block System in Tokyo

東京都の特定街区制度における都市遺産保全の契機と展開

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1. INTRODUCTION

(1) Background

The concept and practice of heritage-led regeneration is not new. The earliest attempt of such a practice was made in 1968 in New York City which was probably the first city in the world to implement transfer of development rights (the TDR) to accommodate heritage conservation within the framework of urban redevelopment. Urban heritage conservation plays an integral part as a vector for development at the heart of contemporary urban placemaking by getting integrated into urban regeneration.

In Japan, heritage-led regeneration was put into practice in the 1990s when the conservation of modern architecture took the center stage of cultural heritage administration. In parallel, the national government promoted deregulations as an emergency economic package, and the local governments such as the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (the TMG) introduced competitive development strategies to win global urban games.

(2) Scope & Objectives

Accordingly, urban regeneration emerged as a part of the national economic revitalization strategy when cities suffered a long-term economic downturn in Japan. The TMG put heritage-led regeneration into practice in 1999 as a part of national economic initiative that reconciled conservation and regeneration within the framework of the city planning system, namely the Important Cultural Property Special Type Specified Block System (Juyo Bunkeizai Tokubetsu Gata Tokutei Gaiku Seido, 重要文化財特別型特定街区制度, the STSBS). However, the topic has received very limited academic attention. On one hand, most existing studies related to the specified block system stick to open space and transferable development rights; on the other hand, research on urban heritage conservation is often limited to an architectural context, neglecting its connection with the broader framework of urban regeneration. Moreover, urban regeneration research predominantly focuses on urban governance and management without paying much attention to conservation. Existing literature on this topic is very limited, while it mostly focuses on Tokyo without casting light on heritage-led regeneration systems. Accordingly, the main issue to consider in this paper is probing the economic, social, and political background, and the intent of the establishment of the heritage-led regeneration system at the level of policy and decision-making process that have never been spotlighted and clarified. In this fashion, this paper attempts to provide a bigger picture and insights into the integration process of urban heritage conservation within urban regeneration in Tokyo.

(3) Limitation & Methodology

Heritage-led regeneration processes involve multilevel institutions and actors, and require long-term discussions. Heritage-led regeneration cases in Tokyo largely constitute nationally designated heritage properties. However, the Agency for Cultural Affairs does not permit public access of records associated with these properties. Moreover, property owners and developers also strictly limit access to materials relevant to their urban regeneration project and conservation process. Therefore, the research in this paper is built on the following multilevel data set on corresponding cases: 1) Private sector project archives such as stakeholder minutes of meeting on heritage conservation and urban development plan; 2) Government archives such as Tokyo Metropolitan City Planning Council including their minutes of the meeting; 3) Academic journal papers; and 4) Newspaper articles. For further clarification, interviews were conducted with key actors involved in the corresponding cases in...
order to bridge the gap between the above-mentioned resources. Due to the fact that no single source can provide a complete picture, this paper binds multilevel data together to map the origin and evolution of urban heritage conservation in the specified block system in Tokyo.

2. HERITAGE-LED REGENERATION IN TOKYO: CURRENT SITUATIONS

Since the establishment of the STSBS, heritage-led regeneration came into play as an important tool for urban revitalization in Tokyo that has evolved into divergent types by getting incorporated into a larger inquiry of city development. It further changes the authority of state agency such as the Agency for Cultural Affairs in the delivery of conservation, and provides an alternative finance option other than a state subsidy to property owners and developers in support of conservation efforts. Before delved into the origin of urban heritage conservation within the city planning system, this section explores two currently prevalent redevelopment systems driving heritage-led regeneration in Tokyo that is evolved from the framework of the STSBS.

(1) Exceptional Floor Area Ratio Zone System

In 2000, the Exceptional Floor Area Ratio Zone System (Tokurei Yosekiiritsu Tokyo Kaiti Seido 特例容積率適用区域制度, the EFARZS) was established within the city planning system that allowed to relocate unused floor area from a heritage property to its neighboring blocks to accommodate urban development, while protecting the property. The EFARZS was purposely created for the Tokyo Station Marunouchi Building conservation and the Tokyo Station Area Improvement (116.7 ha). Under such conditions, JR East, owner of the Station, agreed to its designation as a national Important Cultural Property in 2003, and chose to receive floor area incentive instead of a state subsidy in undertaking the Tokyo Station conservation. The EFARZS financially enabled to deliver the preservation and restoration of Tokyo Station by trading 700% out of total floor area ratio 900% through the TDR that completed in 2012. However, in spite of such heritage conservation benefits, it is worth noting that, as pointed out at the 184th city planning council meeting, the EFARZS required a single conservation project to bear multiple urban redevelopment projects at once to assimilate floor area. With the absence of height restrictions, the System further allowed the construction of high rises in the immediate surroundings of the Station that was resulted from the designation of the Tokyo Station Area as the Exceptional Floor Area Ratio Zone.

(2) Special District for Urban Renaissance

In 2002, the national government pushed further deregulations to promote more efficient land-use, and boost the Tokyo’s international competitiveness. In line with this, the Special District for Urban Renaissance (Toshi Saisei Tokubetsu Chiku, 都市再生特別地区, the SDUR) was launched as a new city planning system under the Act on Special Measures Concerning Urban Renaissance (Toshi Saisei Tokubetsu Sochihō, 都市再生特別措置法). This was a highly flexible system compared to the existing city planning system because the national government removed almost all conventional land-use restrictions, and that encouraged the private sector to propose urban development plans. However, the government agency such as the TMG still held final decision making authority so that development proposals had to meet the requirements given by the agency. Unlike the EFARZS, the SDUR was not designed to conserve urban heritage, but accelerated land-use deregulations to assist urban redevelopment under a larger national framework of global urban competitiveness. Under the SDUR, there are two urban heritage conservation cases accommodated in redevelopment projects in Tokyo that were known as the Tokyo Central Post Office Building conservation and the TDR that completed in 2012. However, in spite of such heritage conservation benefits, it is worth noting that, as pointed out at the 184th city planning council meeting, the EFARZS required a single conservation project to bear multiple urban redevelopment projects at once to assimilate floor area. With the absence of height restrictions, the System further allowed the construction of high rises in the immediate surroundings of the Station that was resulted from the designation of the Tokyo Station Area as the Exceptional Floor Area Ratio Zone.

3. SBS AS A MODE OF HERITAGE CONSERVATION

Taking the current situations into consideration, this section looks into the origin of the urban heritage conservation within the framework of the city planning system, that is, the specified block system, which has not been examined from the standpoint of heritage-led regeneration.

(1) Birth of Specified Block System

The Specified Block System (Tokutei Gaiku Seido 特定街区制度, hereafter the SBS) was established in 1961 in line with the third revision of the Building Standards Law enacted in 1919. The System was set in the City Planning Law (1919) under the Ministry of Construction, while its planning standards (Keikaku Hyōjun, 計画標準) were released in 1962. The SBS was launched as the first redevelopment system aiming to offer balanced floor area ratio (FAR), and maximum height and setback restrictions to create sound urban built environment in time when cities in Japan underwent rapid urbanization. Nevertheless, the System was not widely and immediately implemented due to its strict standards and limited focus on public services. By the time of its first revision in 1964, there were only two urban projects executed under the SBS
that were Nagoya City Hall and Aichi Prefectural Office Building. More importantly, the idea of heritage conservation was not mentioned in the Standards.

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**Figure 1** Specified Block System and the Development of Related Redevelopment Systems

In the 1970s, the SBS was situated in a high degree of competition with other similar redevelopment systems that impacted on decreasing its contribution to redevelopment. Along this line, the SBS came down to the public sector concerns that the public agencies began to reexamining the system in terms of FAR incentive, application procedure, and rationale as a redevelopment tool. Accordingly, the SBS geared towards more relaxation of regulations on FAR, height, and setback that eventually allowed to transfer FAR when a development took place on more than one adjoining specified block. In light of this, it became inviting the private sector involvement in response to large scale redevelopment projects. Meanwhile, the lengthy application procedure of the SBS, which generally took up to one year, seemed to be remained unsolved. In fact, its long process had resulted from the city planning approval that showed the government's strong intent to control urban redevelopment.

By the year of 1975, the number of urban development projects under the SBS across Japan increased to 51, among them 27 projects were implemented into Tokyo. However, urban heritage conservation still had to wait to come into play in the SBS.

(2) Framing Urban Heritage Conservation into SBS in Tokyo

The first SBS urban redevelopment project in Tokyo under the control of the Ministry of Construction was officially approved in 1964, whilst, the TMG launched its own SBS operational guidelines (Uryo Kijun) in 1984, which were revised respectively in 1988, 1997 and 1999 until the launch of the STSBS. From the very first, the Tokyo SBS guidelines incorporated conservation policy into the framework of urban redevelopment strategy by mentioning environmental concerns. Under the environment criteria, it placed historic environment, cultural environment, and landscape. The former two were directly associated with heritage conservation, whilst the latter implied sequential landscape design focused on creating aesthetically pleasing urban place. More significantly, the guidelines stipulated FAR incentive for the conservation of heritage protected under the Cultural Properties Protection Law. On this spot, the term of heritage referred to historic buildings. The assessment criteria of the heritage conservation for the FAR bonus comprised of significance, need, scale and local contribution. Accordingly, the 1988 guidelines took a step further toward the establishment of heritage-led regeneration system.

In 1988, the TMG revised the SBS operational guidelines to greatly increase base FAR. One of the main reasons for this revision was to protect heritage properties from urban redevelopment in the city center. The 1988 guidelines defined heritage as historic buildings and landmarks under the protection of the heritage law that the System continuously required properties to obtain official heritage status in order to be incorporated into redevelopment. It is particularly worth noting that this revision explicaded an additional requirement, which was the prior agreement between the TMG and developers on certain issues outside of planning application for the specified block such as the conservation of historic buildings and landmarks. Accordingly, the 1988 guidelines took a step further toward the establishment of heritage-led regeneration system.

In the meantime, the TMG confronted a critical situation that non-designated urban heritages built between the Meiji and the pre-war Showa...
period (1868-1931) were disappearing fast in Tokyo. In light of the fact that the existing heritage law, namely the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (Bunkazai Hogohou 文化財保護法) enacted in 1950, is powerful and constant in providing protection and controlling changes to nationally designated heritage properties, such as Important Cultural Property. However, the Law does not provide protection for non-designated heritage properties, which often fall out of eligibility for official designation system. Under such circumstances, the Tokyo Banker’s Club Building Block Redevelopment Plan appeared at the center of the debate between conservation and redevelopment. Indeed, the TMG revised the SBS guidelines in 1988 as an effort to correspond to the case of the Tokyo Banker’s Club Building (the Club Building) aiming to restore historic urban space of Tokyo. As mentioned earlier, it provided more base floor area, and FAR incentive to a heritage property only if developers made a prior agreement with the TMG to keep the property intact. In this context, the TMG tried to offer the financial compensation by providing FAR bonus in exchange for promoting the urban heritage conservation outside of cultural heritage administration, particularly in the city center.

Unfortunately, although the TMG put great efforts to save the Club Building, the owner and developer refused to retain the property intact and its official heritage designation that resulted in lots of dismantling, which happened in both interiors and exteriors, then specifically the pieces of exterior façade were relocated and reconstructed within its block. Accordingly, the TMG failed to implement the 1988 SBS to the Tokyo Banker’s Club Building Block Redevelopment Plan. Having said that, the owner and developer applied for the Permission System for Comprehensive Building Design System (Sogo Sekkei Seido, 総合設計制度, the PSCBD) instead of the SBS to execute the Redevelopment that led the Club Building to be demolished in order to create open space to achieve FAR bonus. Nevertheless, Maeno (1991) claimed that the owner and developer only earned 0.4% FAR bonus through the demolition that in turn did not offer much profit to them. Therefore, it can be deduced from the result that the owner and developer chose the PSCBD because it required short application procedure and involved less government control. In other words, the requirement for a prior agreement on the heritage conservation with the TMG and the very long application procedure possibly turned into burdens on them that led to avoid the SBS. Besides, the Club Building case became an example to force “facadism” or partial demolition as a genuine method of heritage conservation. Since then, it has inevitably made into a popular conservation method in urban redevelopment. As a consequence, the case has influenced on the urban heritage conservation practice in Tokyo such as the St. Luke's International Hospital, the DN Tower 21, and the Otemachi Nomura Building (1996). While all three were not official heritage properties at the time of undertaking redevelopment, the first two cases were approved in 1989 under the SBS, and the third case was permitted under the PSCBD in the same year. Despite knowing these outcomes are the destruction of urban heritage, it can still be said that the Club Building redevelopment case incubated to integrate urban heritage conservation into the framework of redevelopment even though its remnants are destined to be gone soon.

4. EVOLUTION OF SBS INTO A SYSTEM

Although the case of Tokyo Banker’s Club Building Redevelopment Plan illustrated that urban heritage conservation failed to come into play in redevelopment, the pertinent government agencies seemed to learn lessons from it. After ten years from the Club Building demolition, the multilevel government agencies, industry, and actors finally came together to establish the heritage-led regeneration system, and put it into practice to prevent from the urban heritage destruction to make a way for creating open space. Leading up to its establishment, the conservation of urban heritage of the Showa period (1926-1989) became a central issue at cultural heritage administration, and in line with this, national Important Cultural Property designation came on stage, which was an official heritage status under protection of the heritage law, and had been specified as an requirement for FAR incentive from the 1984 Tokyo SBS operational guidelines onwards. Moreover, around the same time, the TMG tackled its SBS guidelines that led to the third revision released in 1997 that announced several advancements relevant to urban heritage conservation. Firstly, the 1997 guidelines considered a block redevelopment involved with heritage conservation; secondly, it counted heritage site as open space; thirdly, it divided designated FAR into two types as general and special, while the former included heritage conservation; fourthly, it restricted the transfer of bonus FAR to office use particularly in three centrally located wards in the Tokyo Metropolitan area such as Chiyoda, Chuo and Minato. On this very spot, two urban heritage of the Showa era located in the central business districts in Tokyo were consecutively designated as national Important Cultural Property that were the Meiji Yasuda Life Headquarters (1934) in 1997, and the Mitsubishi Main Building (1929) in 1998. While the former is located in the Chiyoda ward, the latter is located in the Chuo ward. Both properties are corporately owned modern office buildings, functioned as headquarters, built on large scales and involved in block redevelopment projects. Unquestionably, they laid the foundation for creating the STSBS, a spin-off of the SBS that also became the framework of heritage-led regeneration system in Tokyo. In this fashion, this section is structured in two parts: the first part touches upon three prerequisites, which are socio-economic and political conditions at the level of policy and decision-making process, leading to the STSBS. The second part discusses two nationally designated Important Cultural Properties, which constitute the STSBS, namely the framework of heritage-led regeneration in Tokyo.
(1) Three Preconditions

Memorandum of Agreement: The first condition at the policy and decision making process is drafting a memorandum of agreement between the Agency for Cultural Affairs (the ACA) and a property owner prior to processing heritage designation. As described earlier, the demolition of the Tokyo Banker’s Club Building in 1990 gave a lesson to the government agencies, in particular, the ACA.(56) Professor Osamu Goto of Kogakuen University maintained that when the debate on the Club Building was heated up during the late 1980s, the ACA celebrated the twentieth anniversary of its establishment. In line with this, their attention was shifting from the heritage properties of the Meiji era to those of the Taisho era (1912-1926). (57) However, the demolition of the Club Building epitomized that it was still early to raise awareness of the conservation of urban heritage of recent past including the Taisho period. Despite a number of difficulties that lied in front of the ACA, they attempted to designate the Club Building as a national Important Cultural Property. Those obstacles are: First, the Club Building is centrally located in Tokyo; Second, it is a corporately owned property; Third, the property is continuously occupied. While the ACA had rich experience in the designation of traditional heritage such as sacred and religious buildings, their experience with urban heritage designation was still limited at that time. Including setting and surroundings but not limited to those, urban heritage properties, especially modern ones like the Club Building, have different requirements from those of traditional ones. However, Goto argued that the ACA did not recognize the need of different approaches to urban heritage but had confidence to exercise their authority and power over heritage designation. As a consequence, they embarked on the discussion with the property owner to consent the designation of the Club Building without preparing strategic plan, which turned into a disappointing result. By doing so, the Club Building case revealed not only the ACA’s unsophisticated approaches, but also their lack of strategies and experiences specific to urban heritage designation. The ACA was inevitable to lose the negotiation in the Club Building case.

In 1994, an opportunity of improving the drawbacks to urban heritage designation came forth to the ACA, when the former Bank of Iwate Building located in Morioka-city, Iwate Prefecture was designating as a national Important Cultural Property. (56) Goto added that after having a bitter experience of the Tokyo Banker’s Club Building, the ACA became even more eager to designate corporately owned urban heritage to Important Cultural Property. (58) Taking into account of lessons learned from the Club Building case, the ACA attempted a different approach to the Bank of Iwate Building. The Agency drafted a clear-cut guidance supporting the conservation and management with the property owner. In doing so, they identified the three most ambiguous terms in conservation practices under the 1950 heritage legislation. Those terms were the change of existing conditions (Genjo Henko, 現状変更), repair (Shuri, 修理), and management (Kanri, 管理). (59) The legal officer of the Iwate Prefecture Government, formerly served the ACA, notified that the Law did not define nor distinguish these terms. Based on his legal advice, the ACA decided to spell out these terms specific to individual urban heritage at the negotiating table with the property owner. In this way, the Agency provided a clear understanding of the conservation actions to the owner. The agreements between the ACA and the owner came down to the form of 2-3 pages of Memorandum of Agreement. In this fashion, the designation of the Nakanohashi Branch of the Bank of Iwate to Important Cultural Property became the first case for the ACA to issue an official contract on heritage conservation. Meanwhile, unlike the Club Building case, the Bank of Iwate building was not under severe development pressure despite its central location in the city of Morioka. (60) Therefore, urban redevelopment was not a major issue at the designation of the Building so that it did not involve with the negotiation of FAR incentive. Furthermore, this piece of contract later made into the Conservation Management Plan (Hozon Katsuyo Keikaku, 保存活用計画) of Important Cultural Property, which was put into effect in 1999. (58) It can be noted that drafting the Memorandum of Agreement provided an opportunity for the ACA to exercise the strategic approach to urban heritage designation that piloted to relaxing the burdens on property owners. (59) This exercise persuaded the owners and developers and that allowed the Meiji Yasuda Life Headquarters and the Mitsui Main Building to be designated as national Important Cultural Property.

Deregulation on Heritage Protection: In the midst of an economic recession, there were major national policy actions, which directly impacted on urban heritage conservation. The second condition at the policy and decision-making process was the revision of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties (1950) in 1996. In this revision, there were two major advancements. The first change was the adoption of a new heritage registration system known as the Registered Tangible Cultural Properties System (Toroku Yukei Bunkazai, 登录有形文化財制度, hereafter the Registration System), which particularly focused on modern architecture built from the Meiji era (1868-1912) onward. (60) The Registration System was developed after undertaking extensive research on the European and the U.S. heritage systems such as the U.S. National Register. (61) Unlike the existing designation system, the Registration System permitted change, and called attention to the use of heritage properties that targeted non-designated properties to pave the way for inviting private owners to participate in voluntary protection. (62) Along with this, the ACA held a series of expert meetings to discuss issues on the conservation of modern buildings and structures between 1994 and 1996, and thus, the Registration System was an outcome of such a long-term concern for non-designated modern architecture, which often fell out of eligibility for official designation due to the limitation of the existing designation system and the low level of awareness. Moreover, while the designation system was powerful and constant in providing protection, it officially did not allow changes to the existing condition or features of heritage properties. Sakitani (1996) affirmed that the Registration System allowed to increase the scope of heritage
conservation practices, whilst complementing to the existing designation system without making changes to Article 2 of the 1950 heritage law.\(^{(60)}\)

The launch of the Registration System was not mutually exclusive to the second change in the 1996 amendment that modified the designation criteria of Important Cultural Property. In order to do so, the ACA undertook the national inventory research on modern architecture as well as civil engineering heritage properties (Kindai Isan, 近代化遺産), and set up expert committees to review the national heritage designation system for this emerging category in the early 1990s. Along with this, a group of experts re-examined the designation criteria for Important Cultural Properties that steered to widen the scope and definition of heritage, promote the use of heritage, and re-interpret the notion of "partial protection".\(^{(64)}\) It was essentially echoing to the Registration System and created a combined effect on promoting the conservation of modern architectural heritage. In this process, the experts deemed that the designation system lacked flexibility in cope with the diversity of modern urban heritage. Therefore, the revised designation criteria added adaptability to the urban heritage of Important Cultural Property.

More essentially, the 1996 amendment to the Important Cultural Property designation criteria opened the door not only to enlarge the scope of national heritage properties but to invite corporate and private owners to take part in those of conservation efforts.\(^{(60)}\) The ACA further stretched their interest to the conservation of urban heritage of the Showa era (1926-1989). However, as mentioned earlier, these new requirements to cultural heritage administration, in fact, were a chain reaction from socio-economic and political setting of the time. Kakiuchi (2014) gave insights into the period between roughly 1985 and 1990 that many buildings and structures outside of the 1950 heritage law were destroyed despite their significance. She emphasized that socio-economic factors such as land development, urbanization, and changes in lifestyle, particularly threatened modern historic buildings and structures.\(^{(66)}\) This period was known as the bubble economy of Japan; however, when it ended in the early 1990s, Japan started experiencing a prolonged economic contraction. Under such circumstances, the national government proceeded with regulatory reforms in various sectors of economy under the ‘Three-Year Program for the Promotion of Deregulation’. In 1995, the Cabinet approved the Deregulation Action Program, which directly laid the foundation for putting new deregulations into effect over a wide range of fields including the cultural heritage sector that signified the use and public access to national heritage properties. In response to this, the implementation of the Registration System and the revision of the Important Cultural Property designation criteria were undertaken on the purpose of deregulating heritage protection.\(^{(67)}\) As a result, it allowed the conservation policy of national Important Cultural Property to shift from untouched and pristine stasis towards functional and alterable stasis.

**Exemption from Building Code:** The earliest appearance of the term of exemption in the law dates back to the Urban Building Law (Shi gaichi Kenchikubutsu Hou, 市街地建築物法, the UB) enacted in 1919.\(^{(68)}\) Although, it did not essentially consider heritage conservation, the UB required a complete or partial exemption from the application of building code to those of historic buildings and structures under the protection of the heritage legislations.\(^{(69)}\) In this context, the UB did not consider heritage properties including historic buildings and structures protected under the heritage laws to meet building control regulations such as building height and coverage ratio under control of the Imperial ordinance (Article 25). Here, it defined cultural heritage as nationally and locally designated specially protected buildings, historical sites, places of scenic beauty, and natural monuments (Enforcement Ordinance, Article 27).

In 1950, the Urban Building Law was abolished due to the enactment of the Building Standards Law (Kenchiku Kijyun Hou, 建築基準法, the BS). The word of exemption was stipulated in Article 3 (Tekyo Jogai, 都市除外) that offered a complete exemption from the application of the BS to nationally designated heritage properties under the protection of the 1950 Cultural Properties Protection Law.\(^{(70)}\) The BS continued a tradition from the UB, which left heritage properties under the protection of the heritage legislation by excluding them from imposing legal controls such as building coverage ratio and building height. In other words, it was a kind of respect against the heritage law came into force before enactment of the UB as well as the BS; therefore, they did not interfere with the law but instead, leaving official heritage properties for full care and protection under the heritage law.\(^{(71)}\) It further expanded the application of the exemption to include non-nationally designated heritage properties, which were officially approved and designated by local administrative agencies. These properties were neither under legal restrictions on the change of existing condition nor managed by measures taken for protection.\(^{(72)}\) In 1996, a new category of heritage was added to the BS for exemption that was the Registered Tangible Cultural Property. In principle, those registered heritage properties were not applicable to the exemption as the heritage law applied different grading scales to designation and registration. However, the BS accepted them under the condition of official local heritage designation status and the approval of exemption application by local building review council. Nevertheless, these laws did not provide details of the exemption; therefore, no one paid much attention to the term and could possibly think of its potential to provide ground for integrating urban heritage conservation into the city planning system.\(^{(73)}\)

The TMG landed on this very spot and proposed to establish a heritage-led regeneration system using the SBS, and accordingly, the private sector actors brought the term of exemption in the BS into play. Along with this, the combination of national heritage status and FAR became a key success factor in getting urban heritage conservation done within the framework of redevelopment. Upon request from the TMG, the private sector actors undertook research on domestic and overseas to find applicable FAR and exemption cases to the SBS in Tokyo, and they identified two heritage cases involved with the FAR exemption not overseas but in Japan.\(^{(74)}\) The first case was known as the building No.15 of
the former foreign settlement (the Building No. 15) located in Kobe-city. The Building No.15 was designated as Important Cultural Property in 1989, whilst a new construction office tower was built through the PSCBD within the same block of the Building in 1990.\(^{(79)}\) The local public agency granted a building permit, which stipulated the exemption from the application of the BS so that the FAR of the Building was counted as zero.\(^{(76)}\) The second case was the Gokomachi Church (the Gokomachi), one of the early works of William Vories, located in Kyoto-city and built in 1913. The Gokomachi was kept nearly intact and listed as Kyoto-city tangible cultural property in 1997.\(^{(77)}\) Its local heritage status enabled the Gokomachi eligible for the application of the exemption from the BS so that the building permit exempted it from the FAR and Building Coverage Ratio. The Kyoto municipal government granted the approval for the exemption.\(^{(78)}\)

Suzuki (1998) stressed that these two exemption cases can provide a sound basis for the idea of exemption and the FAR incentive for urban heritage conservation that underpins the integration of the conservation into the SBS.\(^{(79)}\) Urban heritage properties are often located in the midst of economic and political activities, and therefore, the debate between conservation and redevelopment is strongly associated with their urban location and setting. In this fashion, the integration process of urban heritage conservation into the framework of redevelopment inevitably involves with multilevel institutions and actors. As a result, these three preconditions, and the collaborations and partnerships across sectors together paved the way for the establishment of the STSBS.

(2) Meiji Yasuda Life Headquarters

In May 1997, the Meiji Yasuda Life Headquarters (the Life Building) was designated as the first national Important Cultural Property of the Showa era. In 1986, the Meijiyasuda Life Insurance (the Meijiyasuda) kicked-off the discussion between conservation and redevelopment at corporate level. By doing so, the Meijiyasuda established the M Plan Committee (the M Committee) comprised of the Meijiyasuda (property owner), the Mitsubishi Jisho Sekkei (developer) and the Takenaka Corporation (general contractor) to examine methods to integrate the conservation of the Life Building into its block redevelopment in 1990 and after.\(^{(80)}\) In the year of 1992, the M Committee decided to cope with both the conservation of the Life Building and the redevelopment of its block, and commenced the negotiation with the TMG.\(^{(81)}\) Nevertheless, while the M Committee held over 100 meetings, their negotiations with the TMG did not seem to go straightforward and thus they were unable to shape the detailed implementation plan within the city planning system before the designation of the Life Building. Accordingly, the talk between the property owner, the developer and the government agency went downhill significantly. Despite that, the national heritage designation of the Life Building in 1997 inevitably set the stage for the STSBS.\(^{(82)}\) It was due to the fact that the news on the first Important Cultural Property designation of the Showa era alerted another major developer who was also in a position to make a final decision between conservation and redevelopment.

(3) Mitsui Main Building

Accordingly, the news on the designation of the Meiji Yasuda Life Headquarters as Important Cultural Property turned into a decisive moment to Mitsui Fudosan (the Mitsui), which is the property owner of the Mitsui Main Building. Around the same time, the Mitsui leaned toward demolishing their asset – the Mitsui Main Building to open the door to its block redevelopment at corporate level decision; however, the news held them back from knocking down the building.\(^{(83)}\) In line with this, the Mitsui and the Mitsubishi presented a common front at the negotiating table, whilst the Mitsui was advancing their own negotiations with the government agencies.\(^{(84)}\) Finally, the preparation of the STSBS set into motion. In July 1997, the Mitsui Main Building Block Redevelopment Plan was officially commenced, and that was only two months after the official designation of the Meiji Yasuda Life Insurance Headquarters.\(^{(85)}\) Despite the STSBS was developed out of the SBS, the Mitsui originally considered three alternative redevelopment systems for the Mitsui Main Building Block Redevelopment. These systems were the PSCBD, the Efficient Land Utilization District System (Kodo Ryo Chiku 高度利用地区, the ELUDS), and the SBS. Among them, the Mitsui and the TMG panned down to the SBS following their calculation and negotiations between conservation and redevelopment. By the time the negotiation began, the SBS was the only redevelopment system, which stipulated the conservation of urban heritage, and offered the highest FAR bonus compensating for conservation efforts.\(^{(86)}\)

Against this background, the STSBS comprised of the national heritage status of Important Cultural Property, and the exemption of the heritage property from building code and FAR.\(^{(87)}\) In addition, the STSBS also included design control, which was the first try in the city planning system. Upon approval by the Ministry of Construction, the TMG finally implemented the STSBS.\(^{(88)}\) It was the first integrative approach to urban heritage that led to neither “facadism” nor partial demolition but complete preservation within the framework of redevelopment in Tokyo. Another key thing to remember was that the STSBS opened a new financial option not only for the public agencies but also for the owners and developers. In both cases, the Meijiyasuda and the Mitsui did not take a state subsidy but FAR bonus for the conservation of their heritage properties. More importantly, the System opened a door for the involvement of private sector commercial practitioners in delivering the conservation of nationally designated Important Cultural Properties of urban heritage. In this fashion, the STSBS laid out a framework for heritage-led regeneration in Tokyo. Simultaneously, the TMG revised the SBS operational guidelines and officially released its fourth version, namely the STSBS in April 1999.
5. CONCLUSION

This paper explored the origin and evolution of urban heritage conservation in the specified block system concerning the establishment of the heritage-led regeneration system in Tokyo. One of the major causes for this establishment was the bubble economy and its after effects. While the SBS was originally implemented at the national level as the first redevelopment system, the TMG incorporated urban heritage conservation into the city planning system when they set out their first specified block operational guidelines in 1984. It was the first attempt of its kind to integrate conservation into redevelopment at the policy level. However, heritage conservation did not immediately come into play in the redevelopment system. In order for the SBS to evolve into a heritage-led regeneration system, there were socio-economic and political factors at the level of policy and decision-making process that led the SBS to evolve. These conditions were the memorandum of agreement, the deregulation on heritage protection and the exemption from the building codes. Indeed, they were not mutually exclusive and came together to establish the STSBS through collaborations and partnerships between public and private institutions and actors. It took thirty-eight years from the introduction of the SBS by the national government, and fifteen years from the establishment of the SBS operational guidelines by the TMG to lay a framework for heritage-led regeneration in Tokyo, namely the STSBS. In other words, it can be noted that the STSBS was a lesson from witnessing the demolition of countless urban heritage properties. The current heritage-led regeneration practices in the EFARZS and the SDUR were derived from the STSBS framework, and they were also designed in response to the changing needs and urban cultures in contemporary Tokyo. Accordingly, further research is necessary to clarify the integration process of urban heritage conservation into other redevelopment systems such as the PSCBD to design a holistic model of heritage-led regeneration not only for Tokyo but also for cities across regions and countries.

Notes

(1) The term has been mainly adopted by European scholars and institutions such as John Pendlebury and English Heritage, and implies the conjunction of historic building conservation and urban regeneration that is to use historic buildings as a promotional tool in the scheme of urban redevelopment. In this paper, regeneration and redevelopment is used interchangeably.
(3) In this paper, the term of urban heritage is defined as built in the style and materials of Western architecture, which are eligible for official heritage designation or registration. Therefore, urban heritage and modern architecture are used interchangeably.
(4) In light of Japan’s economic stagnation in the 1990s, due to its stock market and property bubbles burst, the Ministerial Conference on Economic Measures (Keizai Taisaku Kaigi 経済対策閣僚会議) proposed the ‘Program for the Promotion of Deregulation’, and approved by the Cabinet in 1995. Simultaneously, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government put forth global urban strategy of Tokyo. Please also see Kitazaki Tomoki (2015) Tokyo·Toshi Saisei no Shinjitsu (東京・都市再生の真実), Suiyosha Publishing: Tokyo.
(8) The records associated with nationally designated heritage properties involved in urban redevelopment includes designation statements but not excludes minutes of meeting with stakeholders and reports. The Agency strictly prevents public access from those documents. Among them, the abridged version of designation statement is available through public agencies’ monthly periodicals, whilst the original and official designation statement is not publicly available.
(9) For the details, the sources of archival data include government reports, project reports, minutes from expert committee meetings, newspapers, professional journals, architectural drawings and photos, corporate archives, and the personal archives of factors involved in the corresponding cases.
(10) A total of 25 personal interviews were conducted for the research. The interviewees included government officials, conservation architects, developers, and academic professionals. Most of them were key players directly involved in the corresponding cases. Most interviews were individual, while a few of them were collective. The author combined oral history interview and semi-structured interview. In the latter, the questions were written and given to the interviewees. The interview provided the author a firsthand information on the policy and decision-making processes behind the establishment of heritage-led regeneration system in Tokyo.
(11) Interview with Professor Tahara Yuki of Kyoto Institute of Technology; and Ms Naito Keiko, Manager/ Architect, Renovation Design Department of Nihon Sekkei, on 14 September 2008. Conducted by the author. While the former was PIC in the Tokyo Station Conservation project, the latter was PIC in the currently ongoing Takashimaya Department Store Block Redevelopment Plan in Nihonbashi.
(14) Interview with Professor Tahara Yuki.

(21) Interview with Mr. Sugiyama Takashi, Architect. Managing Director of Tokyo Kousoku Douro Co., on 15 October, 2014. He was former employee of Mitsubishi Jisho Sekkei and a project leader of the Meiji Yasuda Life Headquarters Redevelopment Project. Conducted by the author.

(22) In the 148th Tokyo Metropolitan City Planning Council Meeting held on 26 July 26, 1999, one of the council members presented the SBS operational guidelines (運用方例) issued by the Ministry of Construction that included "the conservation of landmarks". On one hand, the council member did not explicate its date of issue; therefore, it remained unclear when exactly the Ministry's SBS guidelines first mentioned heritage conservation, but on the other hand, the term of heritage conservation did not appear in the Ministry's SBS planning standards between 1961 and 1964.

(23) In the Tokyo Metropolitan SBS guidelines, the term conservation covers preservation and restoration.


(25) Interview with Mr. Shimizu, Tokyo Metropolitan Government. Information Disclosure Upon Request.


(27) Interview with Mr. Sagiyama, Architect. Managing Director of Tokyo Kousoku Douro Co., on 15 October, 2014. He was former employee of Mitsubishi Jisho Sekkei and a project leader of the Meiji Yasuda Life Headquarters Redevelopment Project. Conducted by the author.


(29) Interview with Mr. Sugiyama Takashi, Architect. Managing Director of Tokyo Kousoku Douro Co., on 15 October, 2014. He was former employee of Mitsubishi Jisho Sekkei and a project leader of the Meiji Yasuda Life Headquarters Redevelopment Project. Conducted by the author.

(30) In the 148th Tokyo Metropolitan City Planning Council Meeting held on 26 July 26, 1999, one of the council members presented the SBS operational guidelines (運用方例) issued by the Ministry of Construction that included "the conservation of landmarks". On one hand, the council member did not explicate its date of issue; therefore, it remained unclear when exactly the Ministry’s SBS guidelines first mentioned heritage conservation, but on the other hand, the term of heritage conservation did not appear in the Ministry’s SBS planning standards between 1961 and 1964.

(31) In the Tokyo Metropolitan SBS guidelines, the term conservation covers preservation and restoration.


(33) Interview with Mr. Shimizu, Tokyo Metropolitan Government. Information Disclosure Upon Request.


(36) The Tokyo Banker’s Club Building (東京銀行倶楽部) was built in 1916, and was a non-designated urban heritage property of the Taisho era.


(40) The PSCBD was established in 1970 within the Building Standards Law (1950).


(42) Interview with Mr. To Tsukawa, PIC of Urban Redevelopment Promotion, Land Use Planning Section, Urban Development Planning Policy Division, Bureau of Urban Planning, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, on 4 November 2016. Conducted by the author.

(43) Takachi Kikai Yochohui Kakaku Chousa Ka (宅地供用用地全体調査会) (n.d.) Daitoshi Chiiki ni Okeru Kakaku Chousa Ka Kenkyuka (大都市地域における住宅供用用地全体に関する研究).


(45) Interview with Mr. Hagio Masanori, Architect / Deputy General Manager, Design Department III of Mitsubishi Jisho Sekkei, on 18 September 2014. Conducted by the author. He was a former senior specialist for architectural heritage at the Agency for Cultural Affairs.


(50) Interview with Mr. Sugiyama Takashi, Architect. Managing Director of Tokyo Kousoku Douro Co., on 15 October, 2014. He was former employee of Mitsubishi Jisho Sekkei and a project leader of the Meiji Yasuda Life Headquarters Redevelopment Project. Conducted by the author.

(51) Interview with Mr. To Tsukawa, PIC of Urban Redevelopment Promotion, Land Use Planning Section, Urban Development Planning Policy Division, Bureau of Urban Planning, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, on 4 November 2016. Conducted by the author.

(52) Takachi Kikai Yochohui Kakaku Chousa Ka (宅地供用用地全体調査会) (n.d.).

(53) Interview with Mr. To Tsukawa, PIC of Urban Redevelopment Promotion, Land Use Planning Section, Urban Development Planning Policy Division, Bureau of Urban Planning, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, on 4 November 2016. Conducted by the author.

(54) Interview with Mr. To Tsukawa, PIC of Urban Redevelopment Promotion, Land Use Planning Section, Urban Development Planning Policy Division, Bureau of Urban Planning, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, on 4 November 2016. Conducted by the author.

(55) Interview with Mr. To Tsukawa, PIC of Urban Redevelopment Promotion, Land Use Planning Section, Urban Development Planning Policy Division, Bureau of Urban Planning, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, on 4 November 2016. Conducted by the author.

(56) Ibid. Adopted by the author.

(57) Ibid.

(58) Interview with Mr. Hagio Masanori, Architect / Deputy General Manager, Design Department III of Mitsubishi Jisho Sekkei, on 18 September 2014. Conducted by the author. He was a former senior specialist for architectural heritage at the Agency for Cultural Affairs.

Goto argued that the Plan happens to put back burdens on property owners.


(62) Between 1950 and 1996, there existed a number of adaptive reuse cases of modern historic buildings, but all of them were the public-sector initiatives. Accordingly, uses were limited to public uses such as museum and library. In a real sense, the utilization of heritage buildings became popular, particularly after the end of the bubble economy years. See Nishimura Yukio (2004), Urban Conservation Planning, pp.169-170, The University of Tokyo Press.

(63) Sakitani Yasufumi (1996)

(64) Interview with Professor Goto Osamu.


(67) Sakitani Yasufumi (1996)

(68) When and how exactly the idea of exemption began is still unknown.

(69) The existing heritage legislations at the time of establishment of the Urban Building Law were the Ancient Temples and Shrines Preservation Law (1897), and the Historical Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Monuments Preservation Law (1919). In 1929, the Ancient Temples and Shrines Preservation Law was abolished in order to promulgate the National Treasures Preservation Law that led to revising the UB enforcement ordinance to adopt the newly passed heritage law.

(70) Under the 1950 Building Standards Law, national heritage properties largely comprised of national treasures, important cultural properties, and important tangible folk cultural properties. Furthermore, it also includes historic properties designated under the category of historic sites, places of scenic beauty and natural monuments, and accredited under the Law Regarding the Preservation of Important Works of Fine Arts (1933).

(71) Interview with Mr. Kuruki Masao, Principal of Nihon Sekkei, on 27 October 2014; Interview with Mr. Shimogyo Toshihiro, Project Manager, Research and Planning Group, Environment and Energy Service Department, Office Building Division of Mitsui Fudosan, on 6 January 2016. Both interviews were conducted by the author. Mr. Kuruki and Mr. Shimogyo were key players in the Mitsui Main Building Block Redevelopment Plan, and conducted the research on the FAR and exemption cases. Please also see Nakayama Motoharu (1928) Zukai oyobi Syoshiki tsuki Shigaichi Kenchikubutsu Hou no Kaishaku to Tetsuzuki (図解及書式付市街地建築物法の解釈と手続き), pp.232-243, Kougyo Shoin.

(72) Item 2, Article 182 of the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties has stated that based on the established regulations, the local public entities may designate significant heritage assets that exist within their districts, which are not nationally designated such as important cultural properties. Item 2 of Article 182 is also known as “other ordinances (その他の条例)”.

(73) Interviews with Mr. Kuruki Masao, and Interview with Mr. Shimogyo Toshihiro.

(74) Ibid.


(76) Suzuki Hiroyuki (1998) “Toshi Kinkyo to Rekishi Issan no Kyozon (都市環境と歴史遺産の共存)”, the Chuo Koron. October 1999, pp.184-196, Chukokoron-Shinsha; Interview with Mr. Kuruki Masao; and Interview with Mr. Shimogyo Toshihiro.


(78) Suzuki Hiroyuki (1998)

(79) Ibid.

(80) While the Meijsyusada and the Mitsubishi Jisho Sekkei took seats at the Meijsyusada Life Insurance Headquarters Block Redevelopment Plan negotiating table, the Takenaka Corporation was responsible for the conservation of the Life Building. Interview with Mr. Kabe Yoshinari, Group Leader, Architectural Design Group 3, Integrated Space Design Section, Design Department of Takenaka Corporation; Mr. Nakajima Toru, Historic Building Expert, Senior Manager, Proposal Group, Design Department of Takenaka Corporation. Conducted by the author on 22 August 2014. Both of them were PIC of the conservation of the Meijsyusada Life Insurance Headquarters.

(81) Ajiisaka Toru et al. (2009)

(82) According to the Mitsui Main Building Block Redevelopment Plan File at the Nihon Sekkei, the TMG confirmed the Mitsui Plan as the first case of the STSBS at the meeting with Mitsui Fudosan, held on 11 June 1998. The TMG also mentioned that the Life Building was not yet determined for the designation as Important Cultural Property during the course of the stakeholder meetings held between the TMG, the Meijsyusada and the Mitsubishi.

(83) Interview with Professor Goto Osamu.

(84) Interviews with Mr. Shimogyo Toshihiro.

(85) Mitsui Main Building Block Redevelopment Plan File at the Nihon Sekkei, dated 5 December 2004.

(86) Mitsui Main Building Block Redevelopment Plan File at the Nihon Sekkei, Minutes of the Meeting dated 9 October 1997

(87) Article 3 of the Building Standards Law expressed that the Law exempted nationally designated heritage properties from building regulations: its reinterpretation expanded the scope of practice to exempt the floor area ratio of Important Cultural Properties in the STSBS.

(88) The Mitsui held extensive series of meetings with the public-sector agencies (the Ministry of Construction, the Agency for Cultural Affairs, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, and the Chiyoda ward), experts, and the counterpart agencies (the Meijsyusada and Mitsubishi Jisho Sekkei) between 1997 and 1999. All discussions and negotiations were taken place behind closed doors.

(2016 年 10 月 27 日 受付)