

微观情境视角下日本社区营造运动的全球本土化分析

GLOCALIZATION-BASED ANALYSIS OF JAPANESE COMMUNITY BUILDING MOVEMENT FROM A MICRO-CONTEXT PERSPECTIVE

周详

东南大学建筑学院景观学系讲师

成玉宁*

东南大学建筑学院景观学系系主任、教授

窪田亚矢

东京大学工学部都市工学系地域设计教研室主任、教授

ZHOU Xiang

Lecturer at the Department of Landscape Architecture, School of Architecture, Southeast University

CHENG Yuning

Chair and Professor at the Department of Landscape Architecture, School of Architecture, Southeast University

Aya KUBOTA

Director and Professor at Territorial Design Studies Unit, Department of Urban Engineering, the University of Tokyo

*通讯作者

地址：江苏省南京市玄武区四牌楼2号东南大学建筑学院景观学系

邮编：210096

邮箱：cyn999@126.com

摘要

文章首先从词源学的角度阐释了“全球本土化”概念的内涵，以及将之作为现实背景对社区营造展开研究的当代意义。文章指出，通过具体的微观情境来理解全球本土化的概念，是社区营造研究中全面理解本土社会全球化进程最适宜的分析框架。基于此，文章从微观全球化视角出发，以日本的社区营造为例，考察了全球本土化进程对日本社会产生的影响。日本的社区营造除了具备西方社会倡导的“公众参与”所普遍具有的政治学和社会学因素外，还强调从文化的角度来理解日本传统空间意象的保护意义。文章选取东京神乐坂作为研究案例，通过剖析其在社区营造过程中话语实践的创新，来探究日本社会在全球本土化过程中表现出来的复杂性和驱动力。文章关注全球化体系中神乐坂的本土化社区在社会关系塑造中的作用，并通过解析自下而上的营造与由上至下的规划之间产生的矛盾与耦合关系，重点论述日本社区营造当前面临的机遇和挑战，从而希望对中国正在推进的社区营造运动有所启示。

关键词

微观全球化；全球本土化；社区营造；地域共治；文化景观

ABSTRACT

This paper first explains the etymological connotation of Glocalization and interprets its authenticity and contemporary significance for studying community building. It argues that understanding Glocalization in specific contexts offers an ideal analysis framework to comprehend the globalization processes of local societies. This paper, by adopting a perspective of micro-globalization, studies the community building in Japan to manifest the influence of the process of Glocalization on Japanese societies. In addition to the political and sociological factors prevalent in the public engagement of community building advocated by western countries, Japanese practice is characterized for emphasizing the cultural significance of the traditional Japanese spatial image. Taking the community building case in Kagurazaka of Tokyo, it illustrates the creative discourse practice in the local community building to probe into the complexity and driving forces in Japan's Glocalization. In addition, this paper focuses on the role of the localized community in shaping the social relations in Kagurazaka under globalization. By analyzing the contradictions and associations between the bottom-up building and the top-down planning, it discusses the opportunities and challenges faced by the community building in Japan and hopes to offer inspirations for the current community-building movement in China.

KEYWORDS

Micro-Globalization; Glocalization; Community Building; Cohabitation and Co-Governance; Cultural Landscape

编辑 田乐 翻译 田乐 周详

EDITED BY Tina TIAN TRANSLATED BY Tina TIAN ZHOU Xiang

1 全球本土化与微观全球化

随着全球化进程的加速，一个问题日益凸显：全球化使各个国家、种族变得更加相似和同质，还是更加相异与多样？一些学者认为，全球化的顺利推进必定会以“全球本土化”的形式予以呈现和发展^[1]——全球本土化（Glocalization）是全球化（globalization）和本土化（localization）的结合，体现了全球网络与本土社会力量此消彼长的互动过程，亦即全球性和本土性相互适应与联结的过程^[2]。

“Glocalization”一词源于日本的“土着化”（dochakuka）概念，最初意指农业技术需要因地制宜，以适应当地的农业生产条件^[3]。20世纪后期，这一概念在社会学、经济学和城市研究领域广泛传播。1997年，流行词汇研究专家、社会学家罗兰·罗伯逊在关于“全球化与本土文化”的会议中指出：“全球本土化意味着一种普遍性与特殊性的同时性与共存性，”^[4]其结果是产生一种特殊的普遍化现象，即强调通过独立的案例分析寻求具有普适性的价值^[5]。由于这一概念同时表述了全球化和本土化的协同与抗衡，因此它包括两方面的交互作用：一方面是话语实践的“调适转换”，即当全球趋势渗透至某一具体的社区时，其话语方式会有选择性地被重新定义和调适，从而形成适应社区的新的本土文化；另一方面则是话语实践的“整合创新”，即地域社会在全球化的压力下主动采取因地制宜的调和措施，使不同文化或社会群体中的话语元素进行不断选择、阐释及重组^[1]。全球本土化作为一个可以从多种角度加以辨识、讨论和认知的概念，既可以是自上而下的由国家通过强大的行政措施使本土社会接受全球化洗礼的过程，也可以是自下而上的使本土社会以特殊的制衡机制促进全球化与在地社区交融的过程。

虽然全球化的蔓延可能导致本土社会的同质化，但商品、服务和观念的全球化并不意味着文化差异会在大规模的同化作用下消失。世界上不同地区的人群正以多种多样的方式应对全球化的影响^[6]，这便是微观全球化的研究范畴。微观全球化以社区个体成员为观察对象，重点关注全球化进程中地域社会的行为、态度和观念转变的过程。目前，微观全球化的一种观点是将全球化视为历史事件，进而关注行动者在本土社会背景下的诉求和表达，这种观点主要强调全球化的本土

1 Glocalization and Micro-Globalization

Among international academia, one of the increasing concerns on the accelerated globalization is that does globalization make countries or races more homogeneous, or otherwise, more diverse? One argues that the progress of globalization must be recognized in the form of “Glocalization”^[1]—Etymologically, the term “Glocalization,” as a combination of globalization and localization, describes the negotiating interaction between global networks and local social forces, i.e. the mutual adaptive and interconnecting process between globality and locality^[2]. Meanwhile, one probes into that the term “Glocalization” originally stems from “dochakuka” (a Japanese concept which refers to the adaptation of agricultural technology to local production conditions^[3]) and was widely spread in the fields of Sociology, Economics, and Urban Studies since the late 20th century. On the Globalization and Indigenous Culture Conference in 1997, buzzword expert and sociologist Roland Robertson pointed out that “Glocalization means the simultaneity and the co-presence of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies”^[4], which results in a unique universalization that explores universal values through individual case studies^[5]. Implying the coordination, intension, and counterbalance between globalization and localization, this concept not only represents the adjustment and transformation of discourse practice (amidst the globalization, the discourse pattern of certain communities would be selectively redefined and adjusted to re-adapt the new local culture), but also embraces the integration and innovation of discourse practice (a territory’s proactive coordination and adjustment against the backdrop of globalization so as to dynamically select, interpret, and re-organize the discourse elements in various cultures or social communities)^[1]. As a concept that can be examined, interpreted, and recognized from various perspectives, Glocalization is both a top-down process during which local communities get globalized with a nation’s powerful administrative means and a bottom-up process allowing local communities to intermingle with globalization under a unique counterbalance mechanism.

Although the overwhelming globalization may lead to the homogenization among different societies, the cultural disparity would not be erased by the globalization of goods, services, and ideas. People in different regions of the world are coping with the impact of globalization in their own ways^[6], which exactly is the research interest of Micro-Globalization—Micro-Globalization examines the process of territorial societies’ changes in behavior, attitude, and concept under globalization by profiling individual community members. By arguing that “the local expression of globalization is situated in a historically concrete, rather than an

表征,使行动者“处于一种具体的历史背景之下”^[7]。从人类社会关系的视角出发,对任何社会结构动态和惯性的解释都必然是基于微观情境的,而微观层面的本土变迁则可以从社会的不同面向进行考察,譬如社区生活中的本土景观、消费模式、行为方式和价值取向的改变等,研究这些社会现象的分析路径通常可作为一种剖析微观全球化的方法^[8]。通过分析全球本土化和微观全球化各自的内涵,可以发现本土社会的变迁不仅表现为城市宏观发展模式的变化,还体现在嵌入微观情境中的个体价值与行为的聚集性变化。因此,通过具体的微观情境来理解全球本土化是把握和概括本土社会全球化进程最适宜的分析框架^[9]。

从20世纪90年代开始,全球范围内的城市规划和治理结构出现了重大变革。为了提高决策的效率与公正性,决策权逐渐从中央向地方转移。联合国于1992年颁布的《关于环境与发展的里约热内卢宣言》和《二十一世纪议程》提议各国地方政府动员广大市民参与制定21世纪的地方议题。根据倡导地方政府可持续发展国际理事会于2000年和2001年开展的调查,全球已有113个国家的6 416个地方政府参与了21世纪地方议题的制定,其中欧洲国家和日本的表现最为活跃^[10]。然而,这些在地实践究竟如何缔结为一场全球化运动?具体而言,即在地生活与全球化的互动是如何展开的?最终又将形成何种意义上的社会?对于这些问题的回答,有必要基于全球化的视角来审视地域社会参与全球化网络和微观情境下话语实践的整合创新——以日本的社区营造为例,其所展现的创新性话语实践是在全球化的单一思维模式^①下无法洞见的。这些本土经验有助于理解全球化背景下世界各地不平衡的发展格局,从而形成全新的社会协调发展理念。基于此,本文将从日本经验出发,重点检视在全球化背景下将社区营造作为城市化动力的意义,进而探究这一超越国界、文化、种族和政治的新社会动力对中国社区发展的当代意义。

2 社区营造:全球本土化进程中的地域再造

“社区营造”(community building)的概念是相较于具有权威性的城市规划系统而言的:社区营造是以地域社会现有资源为基础,通过

abstract context,”^[7]a current opinion of Micro-Globalization considers globalization as an episode in history, where actors' demands and expressions in the local context are scrutinized. In the light of human's social relations, explanations on social structure dynamics and inertia must arise from studies on localities, and one of Micro-Globalization study methods is to interpret territorial societies' micro-level changes in indigenous landscape, consumption pattern, behavioral habits, and values, etc.^[8] By understanding the implication of Glocalization and Micro-Globalization, it reveals that the changes of local societies include both the changes of overall development mode of a city and the aggregation change of individuals' value and behavior in specific contexts. Understanding Glocalization in specific contexts, therefore, offers an ideal analytical framework to comprehend the globalization processes of local societies^[9].

Since the 1990s, great changes have globally been witnessed in urban planning and governance structure. In order to enhance the efficiency and justice of decision-making, authorities have gradually delegated power to regional governments. In 1992, the United Nations issued the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development and Agenda 21 to encourage local governments promoting public engagement in responding to their own local agendas. According to the surveys by the ICLEI-Local Governments for Sustainability in 2000 and 2001, 6,416 local governments from 113 countries had taken actions, among which Europe countries and Japan witnessed the most active and productive practice^[10]. However, how on earth do such efforts become a global movement? To be specific, how does the interaction between local life and globalization take place? What kind of society will eventually form? To answer these questions, it necessitates to employ the lens of globalization to examine the local participation in the globalization network and the integration, as well as the innovation of discourse practice in specific contexts. The community building in Japan, for example, displays its fruition of creative discourse practice that cannot be recognized under the single thinking mode of globalization^①. Such examples help understand the evenness of globalization development around the world to foster the awareness of coordinated social development. This paper studies the role of community building—as a new social driving force that goes beyond national boundaries and across cultures, races, and politics—in propelling urbanization with a Japanese case, in order to offer references to Chinese practice.

2 Community Building: Territorial Reconstruction in the Process of Glocalization

Compared with the conventional authoritative urban planning system, community building is a series of activities based on the existing resources of the territorial society to gradually improve

① 单一思维模式是指当下的城市发展策略言必“全球化”,并将“全球化”视为唯一可选的发展战略。基于此,本文引入“全球本土化”的概念,并将其视作城市发展的可选战略。由于这一概念同时强调“全球化”和“本土化”两种互相影响、互相渗透的思维方式,因此不再是一种单一的思维模式。

① The single thinking mode refers to the current urban development strategy that considers “globalization” the only way for future development. This paper introduces the concept of Glocalization as an alternative for urban development. This concept is not a single thinking mode because it emphasizes the interaction and interpenetration between globalization and localization.

多元化协作使人居环境逐步得到改善，从而提升社区活力的一系列活动^[11]。这一概念最早由增田四郎于1952年提出，以唤醒在地居民的环境意识^{[12][13]}。此后，日本将其作为一种解决地域问题的方法论，并开始地域治理模式的创新实践。20世纪末，高度城市化下的草根力量开始尝试从市民社会中寻找突破口。伴随着地方政府等基础自治体权限和力量的扩大，社区的概念开始超越行政管理的物理边界，营造的对象也不再局限于单纯的物质空间^[14]。两者的叠加使日本的社区营造成为了一场声势浩大的社会运动，并显现出其在空间、文化和政策等方面的多维含义。

日本的社区营造除了具备西方社会倡导的“公众参与”（public engagement）所普遍具有的政治学和社会学因素外，还强调从文化的角度来理解日本传统空间意象的保护意义——这一点尤为重要^[15]。在日本，“町”（machi）既是社区营造的基本单位，也是传统街区的计量单元。因此，以町为单位的社区营造的核心便是从非官方、非专业的民间维度对地域社会共同认可的价值取向和生活方式进行衡量^[16]，为町内居民勾画出一个颇为明确的文化及社会集体心理意识，从而促使人们对其所在的町进行防卫和保育^[17]。早期的日本社区营造主要由“町内会”（chonaikai）等内生型组织进行领导。町内会与中国的居委会颇为相似，其在历史上与日本地方政府形成了良好的伙伴关系，并在社区营造的过程中发挥了重要作用。也正因如此，町内会在社区中的政治话语权具有垄断地位，从而限制了多元化社区议题的出现^[18]。实际上，社区营造过程是无法通过町内会这样的保守组织去反抗既有的、不合理的规章制度的，于是便催生了独立社区营造组织。另外，在1990年代泡沫经济破灭后，日本中央政府还对一些管理领域进行了赋权，即便如此，在城市规划和环境治理等核心议题上，自上而下的行政作风仍在延续^[19]。同时，由于地方政府在城市发展议题上缺乏独立的决策权（决策权归于中央），且受到财政预算的限制，使其成为了世界上权力最弱的行政单元^{[20][21]}。由此可见，在日本的社区营造过程中，中央政

the living environment through diverse cooperation, so as to enhance the vitality of the community^[11]. This concept was first put forward by Masuda Shirou in 1952 to increase local residents' environmental awareness^{[12][13]}, and then adopted by Japanese scholars and city managers as a methodological means on territorial governance to inspire new practice modes. At the end of the 20th century, grassroots strengths under the intensive urbanization started to seek a boost from civil society. With the expansion of the authority and power of local governments and other autonomous entities, the conceptual scope of community began to transcend the administrative boundaries of physical world and that of community building was no longer simply about physical construction^[14]. In such a context, the community building in Japan becomes a massive societal movement with great influence in spatial growth, cultural development, and policy making.

In addition to the political and sociological factors prevalent in the public engagement of community building advocated by western countries, Japanese practice is characterized for emphasizing the cultural significance of the traditional Japanese spatial image^[15]. In Japan, “machi” (町) is not only the physical unit of community building but also the entity unit of traditional blocks. In other words, Japanese community building is to measure the values and lifestyles recognized by territorial societies from an informal non-professional civil dimension^[16] by outlining a clear, culturally and socially collective ideological image for the residents within a neighborhood so as to promote machi-scale local protection^[17]. In Japan, early community building was mainly led by endogenous organizations such as neighborhood associations (chonaikai). Chonaikais—an analogy to the neighborhood committees in China—historically have had a good partnership with local governments in Japan and played an important role in local community building, resulting in, however, its political monopoly on associated decision-making that diminished the diversity of community programs and interests^[18]. In fact, chonaikais are often too conservative to defend or protect communities against existing unreasonable regulations, which triggered the emergence of independent organizations on community building. After Japan's economic collapse in the 1990s, the central government empowered local authorities on certain management concerns, but the top-down bureaucracy still continued on the major issues such as urban planning and environmental governance^[19]. In addition, local governments do not have the independent decision-making right on urban development issues (which are determined by the central government) and are often financially limited—Japanese local governments might be the weakest administrative entities in

府通过法规控制、行政管理等手段塑造了一个权威阶层所乐见的市民社会框架。

当前,日本社区营造的产生是城市治理上下角力的结果,这种冲突性表明:介入社区管理领域是一项高度政治化的活动,因为它不仅会触动既有的管理体制,还影响着市政预算的支配,其终极目标是希望形成一种上下均能接受的管理体制^[22],而全球化的外部压力使日本的本土化改革正在经历一个漫长的演进过程。调和全球化进程与地方发展之间矛盾的关键在于打破物理地域边界并建立集合意识;同时,加强有关地域独特性的认知对于维护具有韧性的地方本土性也至关重要^[23]。因此,基于微观情境的本土化分析不仅有助于理解日本的社区营造究竟在多大程度上实现了居民的地方自治,还便于认识全球范围内经济重组和去中心化的趋势。本文以东京神乐坂地区的社区营造为例,探讨这一处于自下而上的群众运动和自上而下的行政管理的交叉点上的全球本土化事件。

3 全球本土化的微观观察:以东京神乐坂的社区营造为例

3.1 神乐坂路地空间的文化内涵

神乐坂隶属东京都新宿区,占地面积约16hm²,位于新宿区、文京区与千代田区三个行政辖区的交界地带,由上神乐坂至下神乐坂这两个缓坡地带中的6个小型街区组成(图1),现有居民2 600余人^[24]。区域内的主要道路是位于下神乐坂中部的神乐坂街道(图2),街道两侧是日本传统的街巷空间——“路地”(ろじ)网络;在这些2~3m宽的街巷中坐落着神社、旅馆、餐厅以及传统工艺品商店(图3)。作为日本传统文化景观的代表,神乐坂地区的路地空间包括三类^[25]:第一类是由装饰性路地(しつらえの路地)和迎客性路地(もてなしの路地)构成的“花街路地”;第二类是由小型商店构成的“商铺路地”;第三类则是由高密度的小型低层住宅构成的“生活路地”。建筑师山下馨曾对路地系统的空间美学作出阐释^[26]:在狭窄而曲折的小路上徘徊,会使步行者产生犹如置身于三叠^②至四叠半的茶室中的错觉,那种紧迫

the world^{[20][21]}. In the process of community building, Japanese central government has shaped a civil society framework favored by the authorities by means of regulatory control and administrative management.

The community building in Japan has been the result of a conflicting negotiation on urban governance, revealing that community management interventions are highly political activities, because it would not only impact the existing management system but also associate with the municipal budget allocation. Eventually, it would form a management system that can be accepted by both the central authority and grassroots classes^[22]. Due to the external pressure brought by the globalization, Japan's localization is going through a long-time transition. The key of reconciling the contradictions between globalization and local development is not only to transcend territorial boundaries and erect collective consciousness, but also to strengthen the cognition of territorial uniqueness that is crucial to maintain the resilience of localization^[23]. The analysis of localization in specific context helps understand the extent of residents' autonomy through community building and recognize the global trend of economic restructure and decentralization. This paper examines Glocalization as a mutual interest between bottom-up movement and top-down administration by studying the community building case in Kagurazaka of Tokyo, Japan.

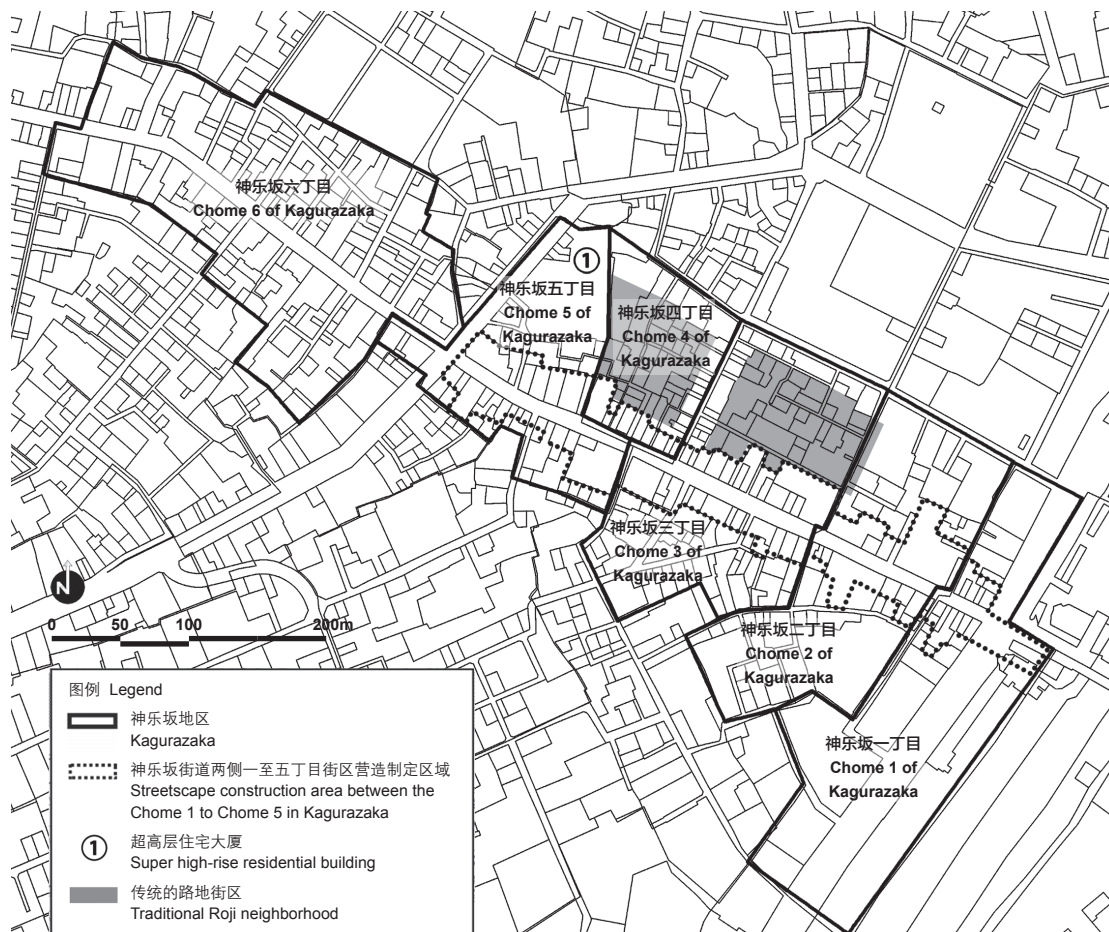
3 Micro Perspective of Glocalization: A Case Study of Community Building in Kagurazaka, Tokyo

3.1 The Cultural Identity of Roji System in Kagurazaka

Located in Shinjuku District of Tokyo, Kagurazaka covers an area of about 16 hm² and sits on the borders of Shinjuku, Bunkyo, and Chiyoda Districts, composed of six small blocks in the two stripes between the upper- and lower-Kagurazaka (Fig. 1) and accommodating more than 2,600 residents^[24]. Situated at the middle of the lower-Kagurazaka, the Kagurazaka Street is the main road within this area (Fig. 2) and enjoys a traditional Japanese streetscape—the network of Roji (ろじ), a kind of alley of two or three meters in width with storefront shrines, inns, restaurants, and traditional handicraft shops (Fig. 3). As a representative of traditional Japanese cultural landscape, the Roji spaces in Kagurazaka include three types^[25]: 1) alleys of red-light district, consisting of decorative Roji (しつらえの路地) and greeting Roji (もてなしの路地); 2) alleys of mom-and-pop-business; and 3) alleys of life scene, consisting of high-density small low-rise houses. Japanese architect, Yamashita Kaoru, described the spatial aesthetics of Roji network^[26] as: one walks on the narrow and winding paths, as if wondering in a

② 叠,即“榻榻米”,是度量榻榻米面积的单位,一叠相当于1.62m²。

② "Tatami"(畳) is the unit for the size measurement of a tatami. A tatami is equivalent to 1.62 m².



1. 神乐坂区位与社区营造范围示意图
2. 神乐坂街道街景
3. 神乐坂地区的路地街巷空间

1. Site location of the community building in Kagurazaka
2. The streetscape of the Kagurazaka Street
3. Roji spaces in Kagurazaka

的空间感使人仿佛从日常的经验空间进入到神秘之境，由此对空间生出无限的遐思。

在江户时代（1603–1867），神乐坂曾是下级武士的居留地以及寺庙、神社的集中区域。神乐坂在明治时代（1868–1912）末期、大正时代（1912–1926）和战前的昭和时代（1926–1941）达到了鼎盛，当时的神乐坂一带设有大量的料亭（日式高级餐厅）及酒馆，同时聚集了大批精通传统舞蹈与三味线艺术的艺伎^[26]。目前有关神乐坂文化的论述大都将神乐坂的空间内涵分为两类：一类是传统文化空间及其承载的文艺活动，例如成立于2003年的社区营造组织“粹之町营俱乐部”，用“粹”（いき）——一种代表日本江户时代传统美感意识的概念——来阐释神乐坂的空间文化精神^[27]；另一类则是平民的日常生活

mini Japanese tea house with an area of 3 or 4 tatamis^②，where the spatial tension draws visitors from daily experience into a mystery, inspiring infinite fantasies about such spaces.

In the Edo period (1603-1867), Kagurazaka was the home to lower-class warriors and a centralized area to a great number of temples and shrines. Kagurazaka witnessed a historical prosperity from the end of Meiji period to the early Showa period (1868-1941), when plenty of ryoteis (a Japanese-style luxury restaurant) and taverns thrived with geisha performance of traditional Japanese dance and shamisen art (Japanese guitar)^[26]. The existing literature on the Kagurazaka culture anchors in a two-fold spatial implication: One is the places of traditional cultural identities (including cultural activities occurred here), one example of which was the Iki Club of Stylish Community Building (a community building organization founded in 2003) that adopted “iki” (いき, a concept representing the traditional aesthetics of Edo) to narrate the local cultural spirit^[27]; The other is the places for people’s daily life and the public

空间及其承载的公共活动（图4），这些空间极大地增加了人们接触互动的机会，有助于社区发展以及空间的灵活使用^[28]。在这里，人们身处由社会、历史以及文化交织而成的复杂空间中，日常生活成为人们在世界存在和延续的具体呈现。

3.2 神乐坂地区社区营造历史

二战后，日本经济的高速发展使与神乐坂毗邻的护城河饭田濠受到严重污染，新宿区议会遂于1972年将填埋饭田濠列入“都市再开发计划”，成为神乐坂地区社区营造的开端。1978年，因土地交换权益问题，一位居民向新宿区议会提起诉讼，由此引发本区居民和商户联合其他社会团体成立了“饭田濠保卫会”，以反抗政府的填濠行动^[29]。反抗者认为，饭田濠是江户时代遗存下来的文化景观，当地早已形成夏季泛舟河上观赏烟火的悠久传统，同时作为附近居民的滨水休闲空间，河岸遍植樱花，每年春季都吸引大量游人前来观赏。正是这次反抗行动催生了神乐坂的社区营造运动（图5）。

在神乐坂社区营造的推进过程中，受全球化影响的地域社会协调发展的经验尤其值得关注。全球化产生的问题不仅迫使人们重新审视自己的生活环境，同时也唤起人们对本土生活方式的重视，从而在日常生活中强调传统社区的存续和发展，这种发展模式使当地居民形成了强烈的恋地情节。迫于社会舆论压力，新宿区政府于1988年将神乐坂划定为社区营造示范区。然而，随着日本经济的持续低迷，以高消费客群为服务对象的艺伎产业遭受重创，这里留存下来的料亭仅余4家，艺伎数量也锐减至20余人^[26]。为了应对此危机，神乐坂地区的居民和商户于1991年成立了“神乐坂町营造会”，同时出版了具有街区导览性质的宣传册《神乐坂乐乐散步》，以推广神乐坂地区独特的“路地”文化。1994年，该会制定的《社区营造宪章》成为指导神乐坂地区的社区营造的最高公约。1997年，该会又与神乐坂商会一起推动了街道改良计划，以规范神乐坂一丁目到五丁目的街道空间建设。这些改良计划包括：限制街区内建筑物的高度、规定街道两侧建筑物外墙的退界距离，以及建筑物的风貌设计和街道美化等^[30]。



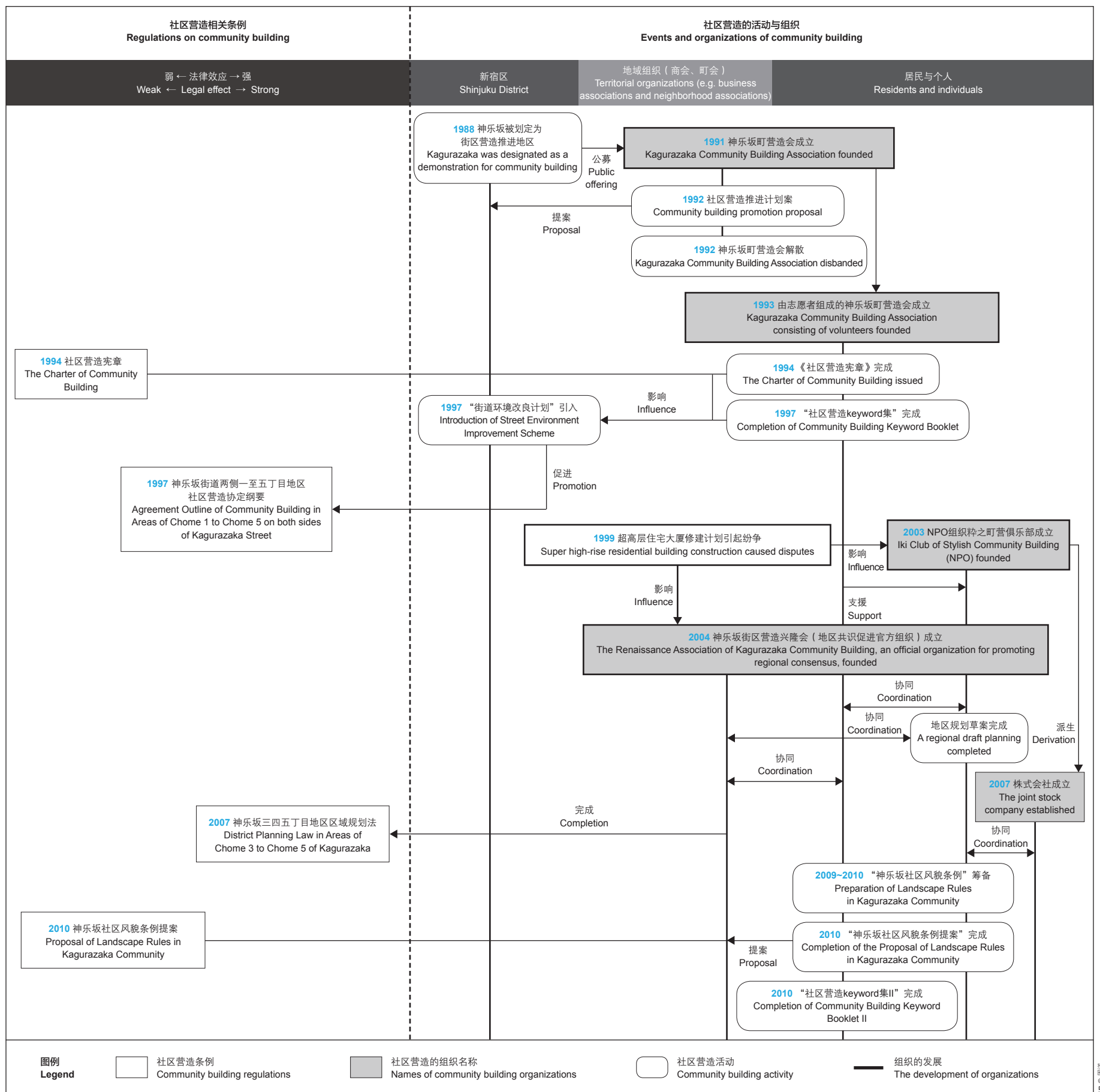
activities (Fig. 4) which greatly encourage people's interaction and promote community development and a flexible use of space^[28]. In Kagurazaka, the residents live in a complex network interwoven by social, historic, and cultural factors, where daily life represents and records people's existence, inheritance, and continuation in the world.

3.2 The History of Community Building in Kagurazaka

Community building in Kagurazaka began in 1972, when the Iidabori Moat (a river adjacent to Kagurazaka) was heavily polluted, compromised by the rapid growth of the postwar economy, and the Shinjuku Council determined to bury the river as a part of the Urban Redevelopment Program. In 1978, a local resident filed a lawsuit against the Shinjuku Council to defend his land replacement right. It triggered the establishment of Protection Association of Iidabori Moat by the local residents and merchants, as well as other social organizations^[29], who believed that the Iidabori Moat should be protected not only as an Edo cultural landscape but also for the historic tradition of firework boating in the summer. Meanwhile, as a waterfront for nearby residents' leisure life, cherry blossom trees were planted, attracting a great many visitors every spring. This event gave birth to the community building of Kagurazaka (Fig. 5).

The promotion of the community building of Kagurazaka demonstrates a valuable perspective for coordinative development of territorial societies under globalization. The problems brought by globalization force people to re-examine their living environment, rethink their local lifestyles, and emphasize the survival and development of traditional communities with daily measures. This development mode makes local residents form a strong topophilia. With the growing public pressure, Shinjuku district government designated Kagurazaka in 1988 as a demonstration for community building. However, the continuous downturn of Japan's economy struck the high-end geisha business industry—only four kiosks left now in Kagurazaka with about 20 geisha artists^[26]. As a response, in 1991 local residents and retailers established the Kagurazaka Community Building Association, and published the Guidebook of Kagurazaka to spread the unique Roji culture of Kagurazaka. In 1994, the association launched the Charter of Community Building, which later became the highest-level convention to guide local community building. In 1997, the association, together with the Kagurazaka Business Association, took a street improvement initiative to regulate streetscape construction between the Chome One to Chome Five of Kagurazaka. The initiative proposes that to limit the height of buildings, to define the construction boundaries on both sides of street, and to make aesthetic requirements on building style and features and street beautification^[30].

4. 路地承载着神乐坂地区大众的日常生活及公共活动
5. 神乐坂社区营造运动演进过程
4. The Roji system in Kagurazaka serves residents' daily life and accommodates public events.
5. The progress of the community building in Kagurazaka



在地社区研究的重要意义在于全球化社会维度的讨论，因为全球化的发展过程及其对在地社区的影响不仅体现于在地资源的再分配、当地经济活动的开展与社会整合方面的内容——尤其是社区居民为了协调经济发展与维系社区关系所采取的众多互动行为——也体现在这些过程中所生发的社会价值观念上。1999年，一位开发商收购了神乐坂地区几块面积总计约4 500m²的土地，准备在这片土地上兴建一座31层高的住宅。由于这项计划严重破坏了神乐坂地区的历史风貌，当地居民和商户又临时成立了“神乐坂高层大厦对策协议会”进行反抗^[31]。但是根据当时的规划政策，这座现代高层建筑并未违反规划要求。基于此，东京大学城市设计研究室提出了一个较为折衷的方案，以在确保开发商利益的同时兼顾神乐坂街区的整体风貌。最终建筑楼层由31层降至26层，但此项目还是对街区的历史风貌造成了无法挽回的损害^[32]。这次失败促使本地居民与商户开始重新审视区域内路地系统的文化价值，也使其转变观念，开始尝试利用规划手段来实现社区保育的目标。

全球化进程的深入使得信息与物质的跨地域交换成为可能，而与日俱增的跨边界信息交流却使得场所同质化现象愈发严重。这类现象在宏观及微观层面均有体现，基于这种二元性，地方在采取行动前需要对现状问题进行批判性思考^[23]。2004年，由本地居民和商户联合组成的区域规划特别组织“神乐坂街区营造兴隆会”成立，其主要目的便是约束区域内再开发项目的建造高度。同时，神乐坂町营造会发起了很多在地的文化保育活动，如工作坊、“路地”论坛、传统表演和社区导览等，引发了全社会的广泛关注^[33]。神乐坂的社区营造很好地利用了此次机会，将街区曾经面临的各种危机转换为对神乐坂进行品牌化推广的契机。2009年，神乐坂町营造会成功入选由日本联合国协会联盟举办的“未来遗产运动计划”——日本全国有50个提案应征该项计划，最终只有10个入选，而神乐坂町营造会申报的“神乐坂社区营造项目”是包括东京在内的关东地区唯一入选的提案项目。随后，神乐坂各个社区营造组织联合举办了6个工作坊，这些活动的最大成果是制定了《神乐坂社区的景观保育规则》及《路地界域粹的街道环境保育规划》^[34]。由此可见，神乐坂社区在全球化过程中不是一个被动的接

Research on local communities contributes to the social discourse of globalization. Because the progress of globalization and its influence on local communities are reflected not only in the usage of social resources, the development of economic activities, and the social integration—especially the diverse interactions that coordinate and maintain the social ties between community members—but also in the social values formed in these processes. In 1999, a developer acquired several pieces of land in Kagurazaka (about 4,500 m² in total), and planned to accommodate a 31-storey modern-style building. Local residents and retailers temporarily established the Consultation of Countermeasures against High-Rise Building in Kagurazaka to resist the proposal since it would seriously damage the historic landscape of Kagurazaka^[31]. However, the proposal did not violate any planning policy or regulation at that time. Finally, the Urban Design Laboratory at the University of Tokyo put forward a compromised proposal that attempted to both ensure the interests of developers and protect the overall historic identity by cutting the floors down to 26. Unfortunately, the building still caused a heavy loss of Kagurazaka's historic value^[32]. This failure forced the local residents and retailers to re-examine and re-understand the cultural identity of the local Roji system. They started to employ planning means for a greater community conservation.

The spreading globalization enables information and material exchanges across regions, which, however, results in the increasing homogenization of place making worldwide—at both macro- and micro-level. In the consideration of this duality, local governments need to critically think about current context before taking action^[23]. In 2004, the Renaissance Association of Kagurazaka Community Building, a special organization of district planning, was founded by local residents and retailers to restrict the construction height of redevelopment projects in the area. At the same time, the Kagurazaka Community Building Association held many cultural conservation activities in forms of workshop, Roji-themed forum, traditional performance, guide tour, etc., which attracted wide public attention^[33]. The community building of Kagurazaka seized such opportunities by turning the challenges into boost for the promotion of the cultural identity of Kagurazaka. In 2009, the Kagurazaka Community Building Project by the Kagurazaka Community Building Association was listed in the Heritage for the Future Project by the National Federation of UNESCO Association of Japan (NFUAJ)—The project gathered 50 submissions across the nation and only selected 10 finalists, and the Kagurazaka Community Building Project was the only project in the Kanto Region (besides Tokyo). Later, six workshops were jointly held by different community building organizations in Kagurazaka, and a notable fruition was the publishing of the Landscape Conservation Rules for Communities in Kagurazaka and the Street Conservation

受者，而是积极的参与者。在这个过程中，社区能够以全球化为契机激活原有的公共资源，提升其参与全球化的能力，并意识到有必要且有可能保持自身的主体性。换言之，即不断地对自身的历史和文化进行反思，并在这一过程中实现自我认同与文化自觉，避免在全球化进程中去特质化和客体化。

3.3 神乐坂社区营造的意义

通过回顾神乐坂的社区营造经验可以发现，社群培育是社区营造的核心。它不仅强调了居民的主体身份，还重塑了居民关于生活的想象力，让他们可以自主建造宜居的、充满活力的生活空间。在神乐坂，路地空间无疑是代表着日本传统街道美学的文化景观，但是这些只有两、三米宽的窄巷却与日本当代城市规划体系格格不入：出于消防考虑，现代城市规划要求街道尺度不得小于4m；且路地系统中的传统和式住宅均为木构建筑，火灾风险较高，因而路地集中的区域成为日本城市更新项目中亟需重点关注的对象。在这种全球化的通用标准下，日本的路地空间呈锐减态势。然而，随着神乐坂等社区营造项目的成功，路地系统的文化景观价值开始受到社会各界的广泛关注。同一时期也有很多讨论路地空间的著作问世，而“在日本全国范围内掀起路地空间文化价值的再认识，可以说是日本民众对战后非人性化的现代城市规划体系的一种反向诉求”^[24]。然而，日本要应对全球化带来的负面影响，仅仅依靠神乐坂一地的力量是不够的。在这种背景下，日本“全国路地型街区联络协议会”于2004年成立，并每年组织一次峰会，旨在协商路地型街区如何在更新过程中实现路地空间及其附加价值的保育。神乐坂的社区营造运动在其中发挥了极为重要的推动作用，甚至因其巨大的成功，路地型街区开始成为一种独特的街区类型而为日本社会所接受。

3.4 神乐坂社区营造的思辨

社区营造可以通过一种更加柔性、缓和的方式化解社会冲突，但即使社区营造运动获得了成功，神乐坂地区依旧面临着其他发展难题：虽然区内所有建筑均于二战后由传统商户和在地居民根据传统建筑结构重新修建，但从历史建筑保护的角度而言，这些建筑均不属于被保护对象。这意味着在以后的城市开发进程中，该街区随时可能会面临各种新的发展压力。但是，当这些重建的传统建筑作为一个整

Planning for the Territorial Alley System^[34]。It evidences that the community of Kagurazaka has proactively participated, rather than passively involved, in the process of globalization by activating its existing public resources, enhancing its capacity to participate in globalization, and increasing awareness that it is necessary and possible to maintain its ownership and uniqueness midst the global movement. In other words, the community of Kagurazaka has constantly rethought their own history and culture in globalization and realized self-identity and cultural consciousness, so as to avoid homogenization and objectification.

3.3 The Significance of the Community Building of Kagurazaka

The history of the community building of Kagurazaka reveals that community fostering is essential to community building. It not only emphasizes the ownership of local residents but also reshapes the residents' lifestyle by encouraging independent building activities for livable and vibrant living spaces. In the Kagurazaka case, the Roji system is undoubtedly a cultural landscape of traditional Japanese street aesthetics, but these narrow alleys are only two or three meters in width that are not up to the standards of Japanese modern urban planning system—For the requirements of fire protection, the width of urban streets cannot be less than 4 meters; in addition, the wooden structures of traditional Japanese buildings in the Roji system are concerned with high fire hazards, which now require security improvements through urban renewals. To in line with such urban construction standards, Japan's Roji spaces have been replaced with widened urban roads in a large number. Fortunately, the community building cases in Kagurazaka and other communities stand out against such a context, making the local societies start to reconsider the cultural value of Roji systems, and spurring a broader academic discussion on associated topics, and “it can be said that the re-recognition of the cultural and spatial value of the territorial alley system in Japan is a reverse appeal of the Japanese people to the dehumanized modern urban planning system after the second world war”^[24]. However, the impact of globalization cannot be coped with individual efforts. The National Communication Council of the Alley-Based Community, founded in 2004, has organized annual summits to explore solutions for Roji conservation and associated cultural-value enhancement through urban renewals. Kagurazaka case's success has greatly propelled the nationwide community building practice—Roji neighborhoods now become a special type of neighborhoods in Japan.

3.4 The Reflection on the Community Building of Kagurazaka

Although community building has, somehow, resolved social conflicts in a more elastic way, the community of Kagurazaka still faces other development problems. One of them is that all buildings

体，其所构成的路地系统却蕴含着独特的文化和空间价值——特别是这些建筑承袭了日本传统艺伎场所特有的空间特征和风格，且路地型街巷完整地延续了历史上的道路格局，使之在整个东京都内都具有相当突出的文化价值。因此，如何评价这一重建型街区的历史文化价值，是神乐坂需要面对的新的挑战。虽然世界范围内已有很多城市将历史街道列为保护对象，但在日本还没有将历史性街道或路地型街区列为保护对象的先例。在地社区在全球化背景下面临的新的的发展问题不仅其来有自，而且也决定了社区未来变迁的方向，这些新问题不应被排除在狭义的文化范畴之外^[35]。因此，将路地型街区列为保护对象的议题不仅关系着神乐坂传统街巷系统的保护，也意味着其在未来面临大型再开发项目时，可以有效避免在历史街区中再次出现小型地块合并开发的情况。目前，不少学者已开始从文化景观的角度论证神乐坂路地的街巷体系与艺伎产业的价值，希望以此推动路地型街区的保护^[36]。

在法规层面，2004年，《景观法》的出台使日本各级政府可以制定符合当地实际情况的景观基准。新宿区政府亦于2009年制定了针对该区的景观条例，并将神乐坂列为区内需要实施特别景观基准的6个风貌区之一。这些景观基准包括对路地石材、院墙色彩，以及建筑风貌的规定，鼓励新的开发建设尊重区域内的原有风貌^[37]。然而，这些要求均以建议的形式出现，并不具备法律效力：即使开发商的建设规划不符合景观条例的要求，在技术操作层面上他们仍有可能获得开发许可^[38]。因此，即便神乐坂开发建设过程缺乏有效的法律保护，社区营造组织在路地系统保护中仍然发挥着不可磨灭的作用。

3.5 神乐坂社区营造的影响

受城市化进程和各种灾害的影响，城市中大部分历史街区内的历史要素虽然保存了下来，但风貌均受到不同程度的破坏——这是亚洲许多城市面临的共性难题，而神乐坂的社区营造无疑为该难题的解决方案提供了一个可资借鉴的本土化样本。其在地经验表明：在打造宜居生活环境层面，基于在地社区的公众参与至关重要；其中，社区营

in the area were rebuilt after the World War II, which are excluded by the current policies on historic building protection. This means that in the future Kagurazaka may face uncertainties brought by new urban developments. However, vibrant Roji systems with unique cultural and spatial values will be formed when these reconstructed traditional-style buildings are seen as a whole—especially most of these buildings are traditional geisha places which form a distinctive pattern of alleys and streets, making a prominent cultural identity among various communities across the city. Therefore, how to evaluate the historical and cultural values of such reconstructed neighborhood poses a new challenge for the community of Kagurazaka. Because local governments in Japan have not issued any policies on historic street or Roji neighborhood protection, which has been promoted by many cities around the world though. The new development problems under globalization often stem from the internal systems of local communities, and in turn define the future development of communities. Therefore, these problems are definitely culturally significant that should not be ignored^[35]. The agenda of Roji neighborhood protection would not only determine the Roji projection of Kagurazaka, but also help avoid redevelopments that merge small plots in historic areas in the future. At present, scholars have begun to highlight the value of the Roji system and the geisha industry in Kagurazaka as a cultural landscape, so as to promote the protection of Roji neighborhoods^[36].

According to the Landscape Law, issued in 2004, Japanese governments at all levels are allowed to formulate landscape benchmarks upon specific localities. The government of Shinjuku District also issued its landscape ordinances in 2009, and listed Kagurazaka as one of the six landscape areas with special landscape benchmarks—ranging from requirements on pavement stones, the color of courtyard walls, and architectural style to measures that encourage historical protection during new urban development^[37]. However, such landscape benchmarks are not mandatory; technically, even if an urban construction project does not meet these requirements, it still can get consented anyway^[38]. Therefore, in the face of the lack of legal guarantee, community building organizations play an indelible role in the protection of Roji system during the urban development of Kagurazaka.

3.5 The Influence of the Community Building of Kagurazaka

Features of most historical districts in cities have been somehow damaged during urbanization and by disasters—architectural structures have remained though—This is a common problem faced by many Asian cities, and the Kagurazaka case undoubtedly offers a paradigm for localized practices by demonstrating that the participation of local communities is critical

造作为地域振兴的催化剂，激发了当地居民主动发掘整个区域文化价值的责任感。与此同时，更高一层的政治参与和协同也决定着这些活动的成败。2010年出版的《神乐坂期刊》以“景观十年，风景百年，风土千年”为口号总结了神乐坂的社区营造精神^[27]。这表明，日本的本土化社区营造并非一场有了些许成果便可完结的政治运动或社会事件，其精髓恰恰在于通过社区营造提醒人民要争取一种适于生存的权利，即将城市建造为适宜居住的家园。从这种意义上讲，社区营造将会是一场世代永续的“故土保卫战”。在全球本土化的视角下，社区发展问题的研究重点不只是文化之间的相同性或相异性，还包括相同性暨变异性，因为只有当权力欲望和经济原理让位于生活逻辑时，城市才开始向民主、现代和人文的分权规划转型。目前，纵观全球范围内的社区发展问题，主要存在以下三个方面的转变：1) 尺度转变：从宏观物质空间规划到微观社区发展和治理，社区治理已成为一项政治议题；2) 重视过程：从注重规划结果到注重民主参与，并关注透明决策以及相应的制度建设，规划从业者也面临着角色转型的挑战，即规划师和建筑师要成为市民参与过程的倡导者与促成者；3) 持续分权：随着市民参与的推进和深化，城市的公平性和包容性提升，社区对环境发展的控制力和影响力加强，责任和义务也同步增加。

4 总结：新的全球化风景——社区营造的当代内涵

在日语中，“社区营造”一词中的“营造”（づくり）兼具“稻米的培育”及“人的培养”等含义^[39]。这意味着社区营造在诞生之初就不同于生产或制造某种物品，而是一种需要经过漫长的时间用心规划和孕育的过程。从这一意义上讲，日本的社区营造并非旨在创造全新的东西，而是对现有事物进行仔细琢磨以使之脱胎换骨。因此，社区营造并不能达到立竿见影的效果，只有一个地区长期、稳定、持续地开展在地活动，才能激发本地活力，形成可持续的社区良性经济模

in the improvement of living environment, during which community building, as a catalyst for regional revitalization, activates local residents to exploit the cultural value of the whole area. Besides, the participation and coordination of higher-level authorities leads to the success or failure of community building activities. In 2010, the *Journal of Kagurazaka* summarized up the core spirit of community building of Kagurazaka into a propaganda that “the creation of a landscape takes a decade, a century for a scenery, and hundreds of years for a tradition.”^[27] This points out that the local community building in Japan is not a single political movement or social event that finishes with certain achievements; it essentially illuminates people to strive for their rights for a better life through community building, which is to build cities into comfortable homes—In this sense, community building is a fight to protect homeland through generations’ efforts. In terms of Glocalization, research on community development is not only to identify the commonness or difference between different cultures, but to explore the trend from cultural commonness towards cultural variability. Because only when the desire for power, as well as economic principles, give way to people’s living demands, urban planning begins to transit towards a decentralized planning mode in democracy, modernity, and humanity. At present, by reviewing the issues on community development globally, three trends can be identified: 1) scale changes: with a shift from macro-planning on physical environment to micro-planning on development and governance, community governance has become a political agenda; 2) emphasis on process: with an emphasis shift from planning outcomes to democratic planning process, transparent decision-making mechanism, and associated institutional construction, planners and architects are also expected to act as advocates and promoters in the process of public participation; and 3) continuous decentralization: with the promotion of public engagement the fairness and inclusiveness of the city will be enhanced, and communities would play a greater role in the control and influence on environmental development, taking a larger responsibility and duty as well.

4 Conclusion: A New Global Landscape—The Contemporary Implications of Community Building

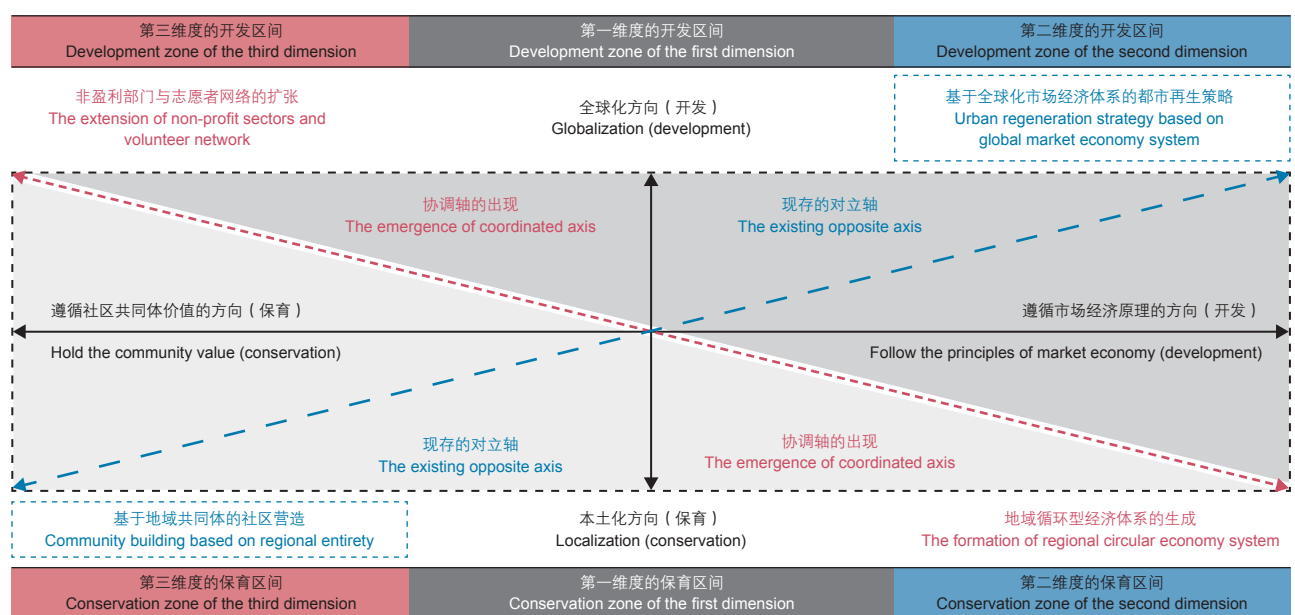
In Japanese, the word “building”（づくり）also means rice cultivation or talent training^[39]. This implies that community building is inherently different from goods production or manufacture; it is a long-time process that needs careful planning and fostering. In this sense, the purpose of community building in Japan is not to create something new, but to revitalize or rebirth the existing by sophisticated planning and design. It also suggests that, instead of an activity that can get immediate results, community

式。这当然还取决于地方政府、投资者、当地居民、社区规划师和志愿者对社区营造本身的理解和耐心。

当下，全球化与本土化之间的紧张关系令多元化的社会环境变得愈发复杂。对于全球化的理解已不能再沿用旧有的概括性结论，而需要更加细致地研究特定场所和地域文化对城市社区的影响。在实践指导方面，亦不可虚假地“创造”所谓的地域传统，或在全球化的压力下对地域传统进行全盘否定。相反，全球本土化需要更加细致地关注当代文化中必然出现的杂交性，不仅要重新审视既有的历史和传统要素，还要能够充分利用全球化带来的各种生活便利性。全球本土化学者吉利·S·德罗里认为^[1]，可从三个维度讨论全球本土化以及全球化与本土化相互渗透与相互作用的问题：全球性和本土性两种力量此消彼长的关系、全球文化和本土文化在不同部门或领域的超越与融合，以及全球文化和本土文化在不同年代和地域的扩散与调适（图6）。作为全球化与本土化共同作用的产物，社区营造本身就是一个充满矛盾

building requires long-term, continuous, and sustainable efforts upon localities, so as to stimulate local vitality and contribute to the sustainability and health of community economy—Of course, it also depends on the understanding and patience of local governments, investors, local residents, community planners, and volunteers on community building itself.

At present, the tension between globalization and localization complicates the diversified social contexts. The understanding of globalization cannot be shaped with conventional conclusive definitions, but need to methodically study the influence of specific places and regional cultures on urban communities. In practice, regional traditions cannot be fabricated, or completely denied or discarded under globalization. On the contrary, Glocalization requires a more profound examination on the inevitable hybridity midst contemporary cultures, by rethinking of the existing historical and traditional elements and making full use of all kinds of living conveniences brought by Globalization. Glocalization expert Gili S. Drori believes that^[1] Glocalization, as well as the mutual penetration and interaction between globalization and localization, can be explored from three dimensions: 1) the trade-off relation between the strengths of globality and locality; 2) the boundary-crossing and integration of global cultures and local cultures among different sectors and fields; and 3) the spread and adaptation of global cultures and local cultures in different ages or regions (Fig. 6). Under the influence of both globalization and localization, community building itself is a complex of contradictions: intertwined by nations' macro-scale reforms and individuals' micro-scale needs,



6. 全球本土化的三维度解析
6. Three dimensions to understand Glocalization by exploring the mutual penetration and interaction between globalization and localization

的复杂体。交织在一起的国家宏观的整体变迁和家庭微观的个体需求，使社区成为展现城市社会变迁、利益冲突和邻里抗争的重要空间^[40]。

目前，对于处在社会经济转型期的中国而言，发展目标已非经济粗放增长时期的新区创造，而是促使已有资源朝向更加成熟、可持续发展的微观全球化的方向发展。在这种社会结构重大变化的背景下，肇始于50年前的日本社区营造的城市再造方式对于中国当下倡导的“存量规划”和“参与式设计”仍然具备充实工作内容、指引发展方向的借鉴意义。学者赵汀阳认为：“生活的一切问题都是共在问题，如果像叙述事物的物理运动那样去叙述生活的命运，那么将取消生活的一切意义和价值……幸福的概念也将因此消失，因为没有一种幸福属于个体事物的存在状态——幸福是一件事情，一件属于共在状态的事情”^[41]。在此意义上，基于全球本土化进程的社区营造的当代内涵便是形成一种关乎幸福的新的全球化风景。LAF

communities now become places witnessing urban social changes, interest conflicts, and neighborhood-level struggles^[40].

Today, being a social and economic transformation, China has given up massive construction of new towns under an extensive economic growth and embraced the redevelopment of existing resources towards a mature and sustainable micro globalization. Japan's urban regeneration experience initiated 50 years ago through community building can still offer references for enriching the regeneration strategies and objectives to China's current inventory planning and participatory design. Philosopher Zhao Tingyang holds that all problems in life are common problems; if we narrate our life like profiling an object's physical movement, all meanings and values of life would be diminished, so as the notion of happiness since no happiness exists upon individual things—happiness is a thing upon collective states^[41]. Thus, contemporary community building under Glocalization is to form a new global landscape related to happiness. LAF

REFERENCES

- [1] Sun, Y., & Wu, D. (2017). *Intercultural Communication in the Age of Glocalization*. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.
- [2] Epitropoulos, M. G., & Roudometof, V. (1998). *American Culture in Europe: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Westport: Praeger Publishers.
- [3] Knowles, E., & Elliott, J. (1997). *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words*. Oxford: Oxford University.
- [4] Giulianotti, R., & Robertson, R. (2009). *Globalization and Football: A Critical Sociology*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- [5] Robertson, R. (1992). *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- [6] Breidenbach, J. (2009). *Seeing Culture Everywhere: From Genocide to Consumer Habits*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- [7] McMichael, P. (1996). Globalization: Myth and Realities. *Rural Sociology*, 61(1), 25-55. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/20523531/Globalization_Myths_and_realities
- [8] Sun, J., & Lancaster, S. (2013). *Chinese Globalization: A Profile of People-Based Global Connections in China*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- [9] Ebo, B. L. (2001). *Cyberimperialism: Global Relations in the New Electronic Frontier*. Westport: Praeger Publishers.
- [10] International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives. (2002). *Local Governments' Response to Agenda 21: Summary Report of LA21 Survey Response with Regional Focus*. Toronto: International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives.
- [11] Sato, S., Aiba, S., & Uchida, N. (2017). *Textbook of Community Empowerment*. Tokyo: Kajima Publishing House.
- [12] Masuda, S. (1952). One Issue of Urban Autonomy. *Urban Issues*, 43(2), 49-59.
- [13] Watanabe, S., Sugisaki, K., Ito, W., & Koizumi, H. (1997). Bibliographical Survey on the Word "Machizukuri" or Community Building (1945-1956). *Journal of the City Planning Institute of Japan*, 32, 43-48. <https://doi.org/10.11361/journalcpj.32.43>
- [14] Sorensen, A. (2003). Building World City Tokyo: Globalization and Conflict over Urban Space. *The Annals of Regional Science*, 37(3), 519-531. doi:10.1007/s00168-003-0168-3
- [15] Zhou, X. (2017). Development and Practices of Neighborhood Conservation-Based Community Building in Japan. *Landscape Architecture Frontiers*, 5(5), 10-25.
- [16] Miura, T. (2011). *What Will Happen to the Suburbs? Story of Tokyo Residential Development*. Tokyo: Chuokoron Shinsha.
- [17] Waley, P. (2002). Moving the Margins of Tokyo. *Urban Studies*, 39(9), 1533-1550. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980220151646>
- [18] Sorensen, A., & Funck, C. (2007). *Living Cities in Japan: Citizens' Movements, Machizukuri and Local Environments*. London and New York: Routledge.
- [19] Yorifusa, I. (2006). Local Initiatives and Decentralization of Planning Power in Japan. In C. Hein, & P. Pelletier (Eds.), *Cities, Autonomy, and Decentralization in Japan* (pp. 25-54). London: Routledge.
- [20] Goldsmith, M. (1995). Autonomy and City Limits. In J. S. Davies, & D. L. Imbroscio (Eds.), *Theories of Urban Politics* (pp. 228-252). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- [21] Mulgan, A. G. (2004). *Japan's Interventionist State: The Role of the MAFF*. London and New York: Routledge.
- [22] Sorensen, A. (2007). Changing Governance of Shared Spaces: Machizukuri as Institutional Innovation. In A. Sorensen, & C. Funck (Eds.), *Living Cities in Japan: Citizens' Movements, Machizukuri and Local Environments* (pp. 56-90). London and New York: Routledge.
- [23] Sun, M. (2018). Collective Territories: Public Art Practices for a Resilient Localization. *Landscape Architecture Frontiers*, 6(1), 28-39.
- [24] Morokuma, B., & Kubota, A. (2017). Conservation of Alleys' Cultural Landscape in Large Cities: Case Study of Kagurazaka area in Tokyo. In N. Suzuki (Ed.), *The Frontiers of Urban Heritage Conservation in Asian Cities* (pp. 156-169). Yokohama: Shupusha Publishing House.
- [25] Nishimura, Y. (2006). *Community Building from Alley*. Tokyo: Gakugei Publishing House.
- [26] Yamashita, K. (2010). Alley Discovery and Value: Progress from the Alley. In the 2nd Production Committee of Kagurazaka Keyword (Ed.), *Smart Community Building: Past, Present, Future* (pp. 118-119). Tokyo: The 2nd Production Committee of Kagurazaka Keyword.
- [27] The 2nd Production Committee of Kagurazaka Keyword. (2010). *Stylish Community Building: Past, Present, Future*. Tokyo: The 2nd Production Committee of Kagurazaka Keyword.
- [28] Rivard, T., Cowdy, M., & Qian, Y. (2018). Global Challenges, Local Solutions: The City as an Ecosystem of Events. *Landscape Architecture Frontiers*, 6(1), 52-63.
- [29] Club of Stylish Community Building. (2013). *Genes of the Stylish Kagurazaka Community*. Tokyo: Toyoshoten Publishing House.
- [30] Yabara, Y. (2009). *A Study on the Community Development System for the Conservation of Kagurazaka District: Focusing on the Effects of District Transformation on the Organizational Structure* (Master's thesis). University of Tokyo, Tokyo.
- [31] Yamashita, K. (2005). Challenge to Urban Planning on the Preservation of Kagurazaka's Alley and Neighborhood. *Community Building Quarterly*, 8, 24-34.
- [32] Kagurazaka Team of Urban Design Laboratory at the University of Tokyo. (2012). *Fragments of Kagurazaka: 50 Data to Unravel*.
- [33] Yamashita, K. (2011). From Downtown Alleys in the Center of Tokyo to the Future: Community Building Activities and Future Prospects of the Stylish Kagurazaka Community. *Community Building Quarterly*, 33, 45-53.
- [34] Kagurazaka Team of Urban Design Laboratory at the University of Tokyo. (2012). *Reports of 2009-2011: Kagurazaka Fragments*.
- [35] Wang, L. (2011). *Glocalization: Sociocultural Changes in Contemporary Western China*. Beijing: Economy and Management Publishing House.
- [36] Matsui, D., & Kubota, A. (2012). A Study on the Transformation and the Planning Tasks of the Historic Townscape in Kagurazaka Area. *Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Engineering*, 77(680), 2407-2414. <https://doi.org/10.3130/ajja.77.2407>
- [37] Matsui, D., Kubota, A., & Nishimura, Y. (2012). Advantages and Problems of Public-private Partnership on the Process of Registered Tangible Cultural Properties: A Case Study of Kagurazaka Area. *Journal of the City Planning Institute of Japan*, 47(3), 613-618. <https://doi.org/10.11361/journalcpj.47.613>
- [38] Fujii, S., Okata, J., & Sorensen, A. (2007). Inner-City Redevelopment in Tokyo: Conflicts over Urban Places, Planning Governance and Neighborhoods. In A. Sorensen, & C. Funck (Eds.), *Living Cities in Japan: Citizens' Movements, Machizukuri and Local Environments* (pp. 247-266). London and New York: Routledge.
- [39] Nishimura, Y. (2004). What is Neighborhood Conservation-Based Community Building. In *Japan Architecture Society* (Ed.), *Neighborhood Conservation-Based Community Building in Japan* (pp. 2-7). Tokyo: Maruzen Publishing House.
- [40] Zhou, X., & Kubota, A. (2018). Between Family and State: Discussion on the Segmentation and Unification of Daily Living Space within Shanghai Historic Lane Neighborhood. *Landscape Architecture*, 25(4), 34-40. doi:10.14085/j.fjyt.2018.04.0034.07
- [41] Zhao, T. (2013). *First Philosophy: From Cogita to Facio*. Shanghai: SDX Joint Publishing Company.