

**Project for Community-based Entrepreneurship Promotion:**  
**The D-HOPE Project**



## **D-HOPE Discussion Paper Series**

**D-HOPE DPS-3**  
**The Decentralized Hands-on Program Exhibition**  
**(D-HOPE) Approach:**  
**Understanding Community Design**  
**by Reviewing Community Theories and Development**

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The D-HOPE Discussion Paper Series is aimed to present philosophical background as well as the basic concepts for effective development and implementation of D-HOPE Approach for rural and community development. We emphasize integration of theory and practice for designing the D-HOPE Approach. The Discussion Papers are targeted at practitioners as well as scientists working for rural and community development.



**Project for Community-based Entrepreneurship Promotion: The D-HOPE Project**

## **Understanding Community Design by Reviewing Community Theories and Development**

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### **Abstract**

Community design has been used in discussions of local development. It is a concept of development based on the study fields of architecture, landscape architecture, and urban planning and began to appear in the 1960s. In the US, community design emphasizes social fairness as it was initially created to address the needs of ethnic minorities and low-income people and requires constructing hard infrastructure such as buildings and parks as a necessary component. In contrast, in Japan, community design without constructing facilities has become salient nowadays. Thus, to include both aspects, community design is defined here as “a process of creating a deliberate plan to make the local living environment a better place to live and taking action continuously to realize it by people who have a common consciousness for affiliation living in a certain area.” Community design without building facilities is similar to community development in sociology and anthropology, which studies human interaction and social systems. As community design projects without hard infrastructure are increasing, the knowledge of community development can complement the community design work. At the end of this paper, community theories in sociology were summarized, and their implications for community design were discussed.

### **Keywords**

Community design; community theory; community development

### **1. Introduction**

In recent years, the term community design has been used in discussions of reconstruction from natural disasters, city planning, rural development, and regional development, etc. It gained popularity among researchers and practitioners while community development, a similar concept, which has been used so far, is still intact. Are these concepts the same? In this paper, I clarify community design by looking back on the definition, history, and its purpose. Then, I introduce the idea of community development that is older than the history of community design. I also discuss how to conceive a community, which has been studied in the field of community development, and see how they can help us comprehend community design theoretically and practically.

## 2. What is Community Design?

### 2-1. Definition of community design

First, I examine what design is. The Kojien sixth edition (Shinmura 2008), the most comprehensive Japanese dictionary, indicates that design means "(1) sketch, a rough sketch, a figure, (2) a design plan, a general molding plan that examines and adjusts various demands from the elements such as materials, a function of the products and aesthetic molding characteristics, and from the side of technique, production and consumption". In addition, Britannica International Encyclopedia (Britannica Japan 2008) shows that design is "a plan or pattern that includes drafting a project". Design is a word derived from *designare* of the Latin that means "to instruct and display". It is associated with the words of respective fields, including urban design, building design, graphic design, and industrial design. Thus, design means a well-thought plan in various fields. Originally, a design meant a plan for making hard forms such as buildings, gardens, and industrial products but soft forms came to be included, such as organizational forms and networks.

I will discuss the nature of community later in detail as it is the main subject of this paper but here, let me briefly introduce Kojien's definition of community. It is "(1) a group, community, a collectivity of the people who live in a certain locality and have common feelings, (2) a social group, family and village that totally absorb individuals and a type of social group set by an American sociologist, MacIver (1882-1970)".

The definition of community design is not created by connecting the above definitions of the two concepts, community and design. It is the purpose that is required. If we combine the two words, it becomes community design, but it is important to consider for what purpose or why we design community. In a nutshell, the purpose of community design is to make a community a good place to live. Design, in the general sense, gives attention to the process prior to completing the hard forms (e.g., a building) and considers finished products highly; it does not pay much attention to after the completion of the hard forms. In contrast, community design considers the aspect of the soft forms. Moreover, community design is interested in the continuous process as well as the completed built forms. Therefore, in this paper, I define community design as "a process of creating a deliberate plan to make the local living environment a better place to live and taking action continuously to realize it by people who have a common consciousness for affiliation living in a certain area".

When we compare the definitions that researchers have shown with my definition, each study field's influence is apparent. First, Hester and Doi (1997:28) define community design as "creation or a plan of the local living environment. More specifically, it is a plan to create an area, a park, a local facility, a small employment placement center, and sometimes even the whole town

for the redistribution of environmental resources for fairness". In this definition, the hard forms and fairness are stressed when compared with my definition. Moreover, it can be understood that it is constructed from the point of view of landscape architecture and architecture. Next, Miyoshi (2010:11) defines community design as "a continuous work that builds the system and activity that is the basis of the community as a social system for people who belong to the community to live a better life". The system here is regarded as a wider concept, including the norms, work methods, organizational systems as well as established laws and rules. When Miyoshi's definition is compared with my definition, the aspect of the soft forms is identified as the common characteristic. Also, we can detect the influence of sociology and policy studies in Miyoshi's definition.

## *2-2. History of community design*

The concept of community design was born in the United States in the 1960s. It was a response to the decline of community in the urban areas of the United States. It was the result of a process: There was the movement of a large number of African-Americans from farm villages in the South to the manufacturing towns in the North as factory workers. Then, whites moved from the city centers to the suburbs. Finally, urban redevelopment associated with suburbanization took place (Doi 1997:117) that caused community disintegration.

African-Americans flew to the North where the manufacturing industry flourished since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In this process, the percentage of African-Americans' urban population increased from 22.6% in 1900 to 73.2% in 1960. This movement of African-Americans from rural to urban brought the suburbanization of whites. The whites left the city centers in disfavor with the working-class African-Americans who increased in the community where they lived in. Whites' feeling that they do not want to live with African-Americans in the same community was very strong. In a study for whites living in Detroit in 1976, if there are 8% of African-Americans in their residential area, 24% of the respondents have discomfort in the area, 7% of them are going to leave the area, and 27% of them do not want to move into the area. Furthermore, when the African-Americans' ratio increased to 57% in the area, the whites who have discomfort in the area reach 72%. In addition, 64% of the respondents are going to leave the area, and 84% of them do not want to move into the area (Massey and Denton 1993:93).

This white flight brought the redevelopment of the cities. Many houses were destroyed to construct highways that linked the central business district to bedroom communities where whites live. In addition, urban renewal projects, a part of the policy of the Federal Government from 1949, which aimed at slum clearance of inner cities, destroyed the community of African-Americans. Under the name of public works projects, 2,380,000 houses of the low-income people were destroyed from 1950 through 1968 (Doi 1997:117). Through such a series of social changes,

the city centers where many African-Americans resided decreased their community functions and came to be recognized as the ghetto of the underclass that increased the problems of low education, unemployment, poverty, delinquency, and crimes.

Specialists in urban planning, landscape architecture, and architecture, who concerned about such negative consequences due to urban redevelopment, clarified that these were the problems caused by the inability to think of how we conceive community properly, how to incorporate the community into the development plan and how to deal with various social problems locally (Doi 1997:117). These experts, including lawyers, supported African-Americans who were pressed for eviction in the process of redevelopment. Paul Davidoff proposed a series of activities that these experts do as advocacy planning. According to him, advocacy planning is "a defense activity in which a planner helps a plan formulation by various groups, and planner him/herself protects his/her values because various social interest groups must participate in the plan formulation process and pluralism must be realized there" (Davidoff 1965). Advocacy planning is to represent the profit of the community as customers. This idea led to the establishment of private community design centers throughout the United States. The planners were required to participate in community meetings that were a part of the Federal Government's city planning.

Whitney Young, a representative of the National Urban League, made a speech at the meeting of the 100th anniversary of American Institute of Architects in 1968. It became a driving force of the development of community design centers. He emphasized the importance of community design centers because it helps architects and planners to represent poor people like African-Americans. This speech had a great influence on the participants, and the establishment of community design centers took place successively in various places throughout the United States. There were 80 community design centers in 1975, and 57 were established from 1968 through 1972 (Watanabe and Shiozaki, 2001). In this way, community design was initiated by experts such as architects and city planners who tried to solve African-Americans' social deprivation situation in city centers, which was created in the process of urban redevelopment. Therefore, community design aims at social fairness as the premise, and its beneficiary is socially vulnerable people (ethnic minority, poor people, elderly person, and children).

### *2-3. Aims of community design*

How does community design realize social fairness? To know that, I summarize the contents of "Human Design Manifesto", a document to describe activities that were compiled by the advocacy group of community design represented by Hester in Oakland, California in 1983 (Hester and Doi 1997:52 - 54). The manifesto portrays the present conditions of environmental design (equivalent to community design) as a background before introducing ten principles. According to their

understanding, it was more humane in the 1960s, and environmental design was demanded to take social responsibility, but the current housing condition (1983) increases a degree of alienation further, which demands community design more strongly. People want to make their community healthy and beneficial, but because of their exclusion from thinking, designing, and building their community, it remains an unhealthy and inhuman space. In addition, designs and reviews become an art for the elites who give priority to "seeing" instead of understanding buildings and places as spaces where people reside and live a life. Therefore, they insist that the ten principles are necessary for a humane design. The ten principles are as follows:

(1). Fight for a fair living environment

Designers mainly get customers whose social status is usually higher than the middle class, and this builds up space that excludes social minorities and people with lower-income. The excluded people end up residing in a living environment such as a slum neighborhood with inferior houses and a small park. Thus, community designers aim at making a fair living environment without permitting such unfairness.

(2). Encourage people

We make a design process (setting a purpose for space operation, problem analysis, evaluation of a design during the drafting and after the completion) that is open to people and allows them to participate directly. This gives people the power to have ownership of their living environment as their own and take responsibility for it.

(3). Use what we know

Behavioral science research was advanced during the last 20 years, and things that people need and request have been articulated, and knowledge on how people recognize the environment and how they act has been accumulated. It is necessary to use this knowledge in environmental design (community design).

(4). Nurture the community

In the modern community where people are divided and a sense of estrangement is spreading, we bring up the community by building up space for people to gather and implement activities to promote conversations, bonding, neighborhood relationships, and reciprocal assistance.

(5). Withdraw from huge projects

The huge projects often bring large environmental changes and destroy the living space of people. Although the huge projects are carried out based on the economy of scale and bring profit to companies and the government, they do not pay much attention to the ecosystem and people's living. Therefore, if a huge project is carried out, it should be divided into components so that people can participate in it. By doing so, we can minimize the negative impacts when it ends in failure.

(6). Secure the free sidewalk

We must change our society from a car-centered one to a people-centered one. The children cannot run around and play freely due to cars. The car-centered society lowers the quality of life of people. When designing buildings and open spaces of a city, we must consider pedestrians who can visit there safely through improved roads, sidewalks, and specially designed roads that make cars slow down.

(7). Widen a design process

The design work should adopt an *ex post facto* assessment and should not think that it ended when the work is completed. It is necessary to evaluate whether a designed place is functional or not, how people use and feel the place, and whether people are satisfied or not. Based on the evaluation, if it is necessary, additional work for improvement is requested.

(8). Tell the truth

In the design of modern society, a fault is hidden like other products, and only a good image (e.g., a resort near the blue and quiet sea where the sun pours forever) beyond the reality is exhibited and sold. However, we must present a true form, not a false one, when environmental design (community design) is explained to people.

(9). Learn from people

The productive design is achieved through an interactive process between a designer and people of a community as clients. Up to now, it was one-sided visual communication in which a designer shows a design to the customers. But from now on, it is demanded that we acquire interactive communication, that is, a technique to talk and hear people's stories and incorporate them in design.

(10). Abolish the view of single aesthetic appreciation

The aesthetic sense that is thought to be splendid in the world of designers is exclusive, delicate and static, and is far apart from the life sense of people. Therefore, it creates spaces that inherently alienate ordinary people. We do not give priority to the elite-like aesthetic sense that designers have. Instead, we consider all the aesthetic sense of various people in the community equally valid.

When we see these ten principles of community design, it is apparent that community design aims to abolish the one-way visual communication from experts and use interactive communication so that local people can participate in the design process as the main members. It creates a space that fits with the living of local people instead of satisfying designers' aesthetics.

#### *2-4. Development of community design in Japan*

As I mentioned above, the concept of community design was born in the United States in the 1960s. The concept of community design was not clear in Japan, but the practice began in the 1960s, the same period as the United States. According to Yamazaki (2012), community design

can be classified into three types from the characteristics of the activity. The first type of community design is from the 1960s. The major characteristic is to create community by constructing hard infrastructure such as buildings. Representative examples include a residential area design, such as a design for a new subdivision that was popular between 1960 and 70 in various parts of Japan. In addition, the community design at this time was formulated by administration and experts. Although its purpose was to benefit the community, the opinions of residents were not reflected very much. Strangers moved into the newly-built subdivisions, who did not know each other. The people did not have common affiliation consciousness there yet. In other words, the community had not yet been formed. In such a situation, people have to interact and develop human relations to create community. Therefore, it was thought that by making the hard infrastructure, interactions could be promoted, which creates community. Based on the idea, community centers, community plazas, and public halls were built in the housing complex and developed residential areas. In addition, using the idea of this community design, maintenance of the hard infrastructure that encourages interactions was carried out in old towns. In a society where human relations have degenerated, and community has declined by the modernization process, the community design of this type was thought to help regain community by the maintenance of the hard infrastructure. The Japanese community design at this time has common features of American community design of the same period. These features are: a sense of crisis about community decline, awareness of the role of experts to create community, expert-centered activities, and a design on the basis of the hard infrastructure.

The second type of community design began in the 1980s and it is the community design of the public facilities in which residents participated in the construction process. In the first type of community design, many problems occurred due to the inability to capture residents' needs. For example, the projects were not related to the community's welfare or the new facilities were not used at all. These problems happened because it was a design made by administration and experts only. Thus, in the second type, the residents joined the design process. Also, it was thought that connections among people are facilitated as residents participate in the maintenance of facilities after the completion. Therefore, the two-way communication of community planners and residents was attempted through the technique of workshops. It is the community design of the hard infrastructure construction and maintenance by the participation of residents. Like the American community design of the same period represented by Hester, the Japanese community design is characterized by the participation of local residents in the design process.

The third type is community design after 2000, which is not premised on the hard infrastructure (making things). It is to make a network of residents and do activities based on it to make their life better. This type of community design emphasizes a soft dimension led by residents. Recent attention to community design is this third type which develops community without



buildings in contrast to the first and second types, which require buildings. Community design without structure is expected more and more. It uses the connections of people to make a better life. Community design that builds a system to overcome the problems people have and acts toward the settlement is what Miyoshi (2010) envisions. It is to design society in the area of soft infrastructure.

The American community design at this time (after 2000) came to be applied to wider social problems such as the underclass issue in cities and the life of elderly people, and health and education of people. However, the spirit of community design centers at the time of founding remains so that the main beneficiaries are low-income families. There are more than 60 community design centers as of 2016; the operations are carried out by universities, NGOs, and nonprofit organizations. The difference between the American community design and the Japanese community design after 2000 is that the former uses the hard infrastructure as well as the soft infrastructure while the latter focuses on soft infrastructure. In other words, in contemporary American community design centers, the soft infrastructure is emphasized but is not separated from the hard infrastructure. Association for Community Design defines community design as "a movement focused on the creation and management of environments for people. This process promotes change to the built environment from the neighborhood to regional scale, and aims to meet community needs through participatory decision-making at all levels" and holds that the role of the community designers is to "identify and solve social, economic, and political problems, as they relate to the built environment" (Association for Community Design, n.d.). In this way, community design in America is always associated with the built environment which is "any physical alteration of the natural environment, from hearths to cities, through construction by humans. The built environment generally includes built forms, such as building types (dwellings, temples, or meeting houses), uncovered areas (open space, road), landmarks (shrines), specific elements of buildings (windows, pillars, walls), spatial subdivisions of buildings (room size and function) (Lawrence and Low 1990:454). The relation with the hard building environment is indispensable when we see projects of some community design centers in the United States. For example, the East Tennessee Community Design Center carried out projects such as making a garden in a hospital, an extension of a church building, setting a sidewalk, and repairing a park. Moreover, the University of Cincinnati's Community Design Center implemented projects such as a campus for urban agriculture, a community restaurant, repair of a music hall. As these examples show, the American community design has projects that involve the built environment. It is almost the same as the second type of community design in Japan.

These three types appeared in community design with different periods, but these three types of community design coexist instead of thinking that when the second type appears, the first type disappears, and when the third type appears, the second type disappears. Moreover, it may

be said that the second and third types of community design are better than the first type because the former two types require the participation of residents in their process. Therefore, we can estimate that the first type of community design is decreasing. However, we cannot say which is better between the second type and the third type. Both types include the participation of residents. Which type we choose depends on the needs of residents and the availability of funds to build facilities.

### **3. What is Community Development?**

#### *3-1. History of community development*

The concept of community development emerged from settlement movements in the United States (von Hoffman 2012: 11-12) and the United Kingdom (Craig 2014) in the late 19th century. In the case of the United States, at that time, many immigrants came over to the country from various parts of Europe, including Ireland, Germany, Russia, and Italy. These people were incorporated into the bottom of the society in big cities like New York and Chicago as low-paid workers. They were poor and lived in slums which were the inferior hygiene environment. The settlement movement is a drive that poverty-stricken people and affluent people live together in the same place and help each other, which improves the lives of poor people. In practice, the activists built facilities such as lodgings and nurseries. The volunteers of affluent people called settlement workers lived in urban poverty areas together with the poor. They conveyed knowledge and culture to the poor who want to live in the United States permanently. In the United Kingdom, Cambridge House, Oxford House, Toynbee Hall were established for the same purpose.

The knowledge of community development has been accumulated in the discipline of rural sociology, a subfield of sociology in the United States (Garkovich 2011:14). Rural sociologists used the results of community studies (such as a typology of community, diffusion of innovation in the community, impacts of an influx of immigrants to communities, poverty in rural communities and strategies to overcome, methods of rural community development) for the practice of community development through Cooperative Extension Service in Colleges of Agriculture. The fusion of research and practice in the discipline was influenced by a unique rural sociology position. Most rural sociology departments belong to the College of Agriculture of state universities. The Morrill Act of 1862 established Land-Grant Universities in each state, which professed themselves to be "the University of the People" and the study environment of agriculture was arranged by the Hatch Act of 1887 (Sasaki 2003:70). Furthermore, Cooperative Extension Service was established in the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) and each state university of Land-Grant Universities by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. In this way, research findings of universities began to be utilized in rural communities. Under the

organizational structure of government-college cooperation, USDA implemented community development programs since the 1920s. For example, the USDA Office of Rural Development implemented a community facilities loans and grants program in 1926. This program was carried out to build, expand and improve facilities in communities to provide various services to rural residents. Besides, the Cooperative Extension Service of USDA started Community Resource Development Program in 1963. This program aimed to provide a subsidy to state governments for employing regional staff who can develop residents' capacity to organize and act by themselves in rural communities.

After World War II, in addition to rural sociology, community development came to be studied in development sociology and development anthropology as a part of international development. (Both sociology in the field of development and social anthropology emphasize application and maintain the common theoretical premise of social constructionism, and have a high degree of the interchange (Ito 2009:120). Therefore, I treat them as the same thing in this paper.) The Cambridge Meeting in 1948, where administrative problems of Africa were discussed, is considered the first occasion when community development as a part of international development was discussed internationally (Onda 2001:54). Many countries that became independent from colonial rules after the war were not able to get economic independence. Therefore, these independent countries became a target of development as developing countries in the global community led by the United Nations and other international organizations. In the early days of development assistance, modernization theories such as Rostow (1960)'s stages of economic growth dominated the development discourse that the cause of underdevelopment resides in the social system of developing countries, and modernizing the traditional societies leads to development. The modernization theories envisage that the ideal model of the country is the nation-state like the Western countries, and the efforts of development were made so that the Western rational thought and scientific knowledge would be the basis in every social domain such as education, economy, politics, and culture for the purpose of creating such nation-states. Therefore, in community development too, it was aimed at transforming people's thought and action from traditional inclination to rational scientific inclination. For example, in agricultural development, irrigation systems were developed in communities that depended on rainwater. New seeds of a stress-resistant type were developed in agricultural experimental stations and disseminated to agricultural communities. It was thought that the change from traditional agricultural methods to modern agricultural methods switches the thought and action of people to the modern way and advances society. However, in reality, development did not advance society as expected. The economy did not readily grow even if development projects were carried out, such as infrastructure development, industrial development, educational assistance, and agricultural development based on modernization theories. After the mid-1960s, a new theory was

developed which claims that underdevelopment is not caused by the internal problems of developing countries, but it is due to the dependency of developing countries that had been historically formed in relations with the developed countries. For example, Frank (1978)'s dependency theory divides world capitalism into two parts. They are the developed countries represented by European and American capitalism and developing countries that are ruled over by the former and are put in the position of dependency. Europe and the US accomplished the development of capitalistic economies and colonization of Africa, South America, and Asia by the end of the 19th century. They made the developing countries a place to procure resources necessary for their own country and a market to export their industrial products (Inaba 2013:242).

These dependent relations continued after independence, and it was thought that the developing countries could not be developed like the developed countries as far as this dependent relation remains. A dependency theory is a type of conflict theory (Katagiri 2000:151) as well as a Marxian social theory that captures the reality of the rule and ruled by cross-national relations. The conflict and dependent theories have been used in the field of community development. The well-known approach of this is community-level activities based on Freire (1970)'s educational theory. The educational theory of Freire is Marxian and consists of the ruler and ruled. The social structure that was developed by a ruler suppresses people. The revolutionary leader works together with people and aims to change the people's consciousness that can transform their lives for the better. This is a criticism of development based on modernization. In this critique, the development theory based on modernization consists of the relation of two groups: the "haves" called experts and the "have-nots" called people to be developed. It is an idea that the experts as the "haves" possess all necessary things for development such as knowledge, techniques and funds of development while the people as the "have-nots" do not have them all. Freire, who is critical of modernization theories, emphasizes the importance of knowledge and resources which people have in doing development. By such development, the social structure of the rule/ruled can be transformed. Some NGOs practice rural development to free people from suppression through Freire's *conscientization* of the oppressed in villages of developing countries. For example, Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), the largest NGO in Bangladesh, implements a project based on the idea of Freire (Ito 2009:130).

In the 1970s, the World Bank, which employed the experts in economics and engineering, began to employ anthropologists as a specialist in social development. The relationship between anthropologists and the development industry became closer (Sato 2011:32). Why did the World Bank begin to hire anthropologists? It has become clear that if development does not come from the local culture or society, it will not succeed. It is the result of *ex post facto* evaluations of various projects as well as anthropological and sociological studies in the development areas. In other words, it was revealed that when we implement a project only by

rational scientific thought, it will fail. For example, an irrigation system does not function well even if we organize a new farmer's association to develop and maintain its facility in the community. However, it may function if we use an existing organization in the community. In addition, there exists local knowledge different from scientific knowledge in the community. It has been demonstrated, for example, that environmental conservation was accomplished by utilizing local knowledge in environmental projects. As the utilization of local organizations and local knowledge are practices of development at a community level, such knowledge was accumulated as knowledge of community development. It came to attract attention as an element that is indispensable to success. Thus, community development was advanced by integrating sociological and anthropological knowledge.

### *3-2. Community design and community development*

As mentioned above, the knowledge of community development has been accumulated in sociology and anthropology. On the other hand, the knowledge of community design comes from architecture, urban planning, landscape architecture, environmental design, and most community designers receive education in urban planning or design. Community designers having architecture in their background have the basis of drafting, a spatial viewpoint, and construction knowledge. The community designers who learned landscape architecture make a site plan and city plan by utilizing nature and thinking about land use and space arrangement. The urban planners bring the public benefit from land use and economic operation, and especially, they emphasize creating local employment (Hester and Doi 1997:20 - 26). Community design is a field of development studies and is considered as an approach from architecture and city planning to community development. In other words, it is to develop a community through the design of public space. Designing a community is to work for a better community by human intervention, which is the same as a planned development. In Japan, it is called town-making (*Machizukuri*) (Niikawa 2009:10, Doi 1997:119). Development at a local level has been established as a discipline of community development that is interdisciplinary and mainly covered by sociology and anthropology. Its practice began in the late 19th century, and it expanded to developing countries after World War II. When we examine their purposes and practices, we can consider community design as a part of community development, as Hester and Doi (1997:26) attest. It is important to relate the knowledge of sociology specializing in studies of social action and relations to community design discussion because Yamazaki's third type of community design does not require the hard forms while it focuses on human interaction. Thus, the following section looks at how a community is discussed in community studies, mainly in sociology, and how they can contribute to the discussion of community design.

## **4. Ideas of Community and Implications for Community Design**

### *4.1. Ideas of community*

The definition of community varies, but Hillary (1955) extracted three elements by reviewing definitions of community in literature. They are: (1) community being a group, (2) being comprised of communicating people who are connected by common interests and activities, and (3) people living in a certain area. Considering Hillary's elements of community and the definition of Kojien introduced in section 2-1, I define community as "a gathering of people who live in a certain area and who have affiliation consciousness and connect with each other for common interests and activities."

Why does the community attract attention from researchers and policymakers? It is due to emerging social problems such as urban poverty, the loss of identity, alienation, and the disintegration of families. These problems were caused by changes in various social aspects, including economy, politics, labor, family, and culture, in the process of social transformation from the traditional society to the modern society. Western society experienced people's revolution of the 17th to the 18th century and the Industrial Revolution of the 18th to the 19th century. The transformation resulted in the weakening of social ties. As the strong social ties existed in traditional society, the community was sought after for the solution of these social problems, particularly alienation.

According to Nisbet (1953), the basic problem in modern society is the lack of cooperation in organizations of people caused by the decrease of the primary group. The malfunction of the primary group (a family, a neighborhood group, a playgroup: characterized by a close bond by direct contacts) increases, and close personal and durable relations of members that are the purpose of the primary group decrease by the increasing role of economy and politics. This change causes the shrinkage of organized and traditional relations that maintain morality and psychological stability necessary for personal life and eventually results in alienation. Thus, Nisbet longed for a community that includes concepts of integration, position, membership, hierarchy, symbol, moral, sense of unity, identification, and groups. It is thought that the community has the power to solve these social problems that occurred by modernization.

Like Nisbet, in modern society, the community is longed for as a solution to social problems. Then, what is a community? How did researchers like sociologists perceive community? Warren (1978) classified community studies in five areas by summarizing previous studies. They are: (1) community as space, (2) community as people, (3) community as the shared system and value, (4) community as interaction, and (5) community as distribution of power.

As for community as space, rural sociologists and urban sociologists (the Chicago school in particular) paid attention to the spatial side of the community. In the rural community

studies, the research interest was how to determine the boundary of the community. It is not easy to establish community boundaries because municipalities as an administrative unit are not the same as the community. Because community means the gathering of people who have common interests and do activities, the villagers and farmers outside the village are in the same community as they have a common interest in agriculture and run life accordingly. The community must include the living space of farmers beyond the range of the village delineated by the administrative unit. Therefore, rural sociologists investigated where a wheel track of carriages continued to. They assumed the trace of the wheel track as the range of community because it conveyed the living space of farmers. In the 1920s, urban sociologists in Chicago such as Park and Burgess paid attention to an urban community. Their study is called human ecology. The natural area and urban zone that are the result and products of the natural growth of a city are two important concepts. Park viewed the urban community as a society in which moral order is coupled with a spatial pattern and thought that competition in a city creates segregation of habitation areas. The natural area is a community formed by habitat segregation. Burgess proposed the concentric zone model in which a city forms the urban zone of five different characteristics in a circle. The core area is the central business district. The next is a transition area that has obsolete buildings and is often regarded as a slum area. A residential area of the working-class comes next. When workers' income improves, they move to this outer area that is better than the transition area. Then, a residential area of the middle class comes. Outside this area, a commuter area comes. It is the area where financially successful people live. In this way, habitat segregation is formed in the community by economic competition.

Community as people is a research area often conducted by demographers. Their research interest is identifying types of people who live in a community. Class and race vary according to place, and the difference produces unique regional characteristics. In addition, even in the same place, different groups of people live in different neighborhoods. Conflict among different ethnic groups within the community and the impacts of concentration of a specific race in the community have been studied. In addition, studies on the movement of people are necessary for an understanding of community. The movement of people affects the area. For example, a sudden population growth gives a burden on local infrastructure, and the population outflow reduces local functions.

The third is the community as the shared system and value. The shared value is a basic component of community and is an important element that differentiates one community from other communities (a farming community, a bedroom community, a city, etc.).

The fourth is the community as interaction. This is a study on interactions of local people, that is, a study of connections of each resident and each other's actions. For example, in the community action analysis, we analyze the action of people as a process that has four phases: (1)

commencement of the action and thought, (2) defining the goal and a plan to achieve it, (3) the implementation of the plan, and (4) achieving the goal and its results. Also, Wilkinson (1991) suggests a community theory that sees community as social interaction. In his theory, the community is a process and has an emergent property (it produces a new characteristic that we cannot predict from the prerequisite). According to him, there are three elements in the community as social interaction. The first element is the territory of community where people live and satisfy everyday needs together. The second element is the local society which means a general network of associations to satisfy common needs and express common interests. The third element is the community field which is the process in which people express common interests in the community and take mutually interrelated actions. The interactional approach is dynamic and emphasizes the community life of the emergent property. It tries to understand the process of collaboration when people aim at something together.

The last is studies of the community as the distribution of power. The analysis of power structures of the community has been performed in the field of urban studies and rural studies. In urban studies, Hunter (1953) estimated the size of power in Atlanta, Georgia, based on influential persons' reputation in the city. As a result, he found the monolith-like pyramid-shaped power structure in Atlanta, where large companies occupy the top of the pyramid. From this analysis, he proposed "the power elite theory". This is a model of a power structure that shows the economic elites grasp the power in the community and decide the city's policy. Dahl (1988) studied New Haven, Connecticut, and proposed "the pluralistic power theory". In the city, power is not concentrated as Hunter described, but elites exist in every issue, and its power disperses. In other words, local policymaking is made by plural leaders. In rural community studies, especially in rural development studies, how to diffuse new farming techniques was an important research topic, and many studies found that the person with power in the community had more influence on community affairs, and their support for the new technology influences farmers' decision to adopt it. Thus, researchers developed methods to find an influential person or group in the community.

As shown above, Warren classified community studies in five areas. Then, he proposed his approach that is a community as a social system. His approach is based on structural-functionalism, which was the main social theory of American sociology after World War II. In this perspective, the structural linkages between the unit of two or more become the basis. As communities in industrial society do not exist independently anymore, Tonnies (1887)' *Gemeinschaft*-like old community concept that imaged the traditional self-sufficient village is not effective in understanding contemporary communities. Nowadays, most social organizations as units in the community become parts of the larger system of the nation and the global community. There are five social functions in the community as a social system.

The first is the function of production - distribution - consumption. There are some kinds



of production activity, including agriculture and manufacturing. Through local governments, water supply and educational services are provided, and people do shopping at supermarkets and various stores. The second is the function of socialization. There are families, friends, schools, the media, religious groups in the community, and people learn the culture and grow up as a social human being in the community. The third is the social control function that punishes deviant behaviors and rewards behaviors that conform to society. Specifically, in addition to the second function of families, friends, schools, the media, religious groups, the administrative organizations (the government office, the police, and courts) take this role. The fourth is the function of social participation. Social participation rescues people from alienation and is indispensable to the identity maintenance of people. Establishing friendship and getting acquainted with neighbors are carried out in the community, and a lot of clubs and civic activities are performed in the community, too. The fifth is the function of mutual help. This function includes borrowing and lending things among neighbors and cleaning parks and cooperating at the time of disasters.

#### *4-2. Implications for community design*

In this section, I discuss the results of community studies Warren classified in relation to community design. First, the study that investigated the boundary of a rural community in community studies of space suggests that it is more effective to think about community as a network of living than to think about a community by administrative divisions. When community design projects are implemented, the participants should not be limited by a city boundary but welcome all people who have similar problems regardless of where they live. In urban areas, community design worked on the improvement of the living environment of the slums historically. Human ecology can explain how slums are formed from the viewpoint of urban space that is bigger than the community level. Therefore, it is important to have urban planning that discourages the development of run-down areas and relates it to community design.

The demographical data is used as basic information when designing a community. In Japan's case, we can think of community design for local revitalization only after there is the estimate of the rate of aging and population outflow and inflow. With regard to the conflict between different races and classes, its process or solution has been studied. It will be necessary for community design to take in the conflict resolution that has been developed until now.

The studies showed that the shared system and value characterized the community and clarified that even a plan that is thought to be excellent would fail if it ignores these aspects in the community. Therefore, we do not succeed when the community design is not in line with the shared system and value of the community. In addition, it is desirable to make use of the characteristic of the current community. For example, if the community is an agricultural

community, we think about a homestay program in farmers' houses. If it is a bedroom town, we think about how to increase consumption within the area instead of attracting manufacturing companies.

The studies from the perspective of community as interaction treated the process of collaboration when people aim at something jointly. It is thought that the process for the development of the community itself is community development even if there is no visible success of the project. In most cases, community design projects were evaluated based on the product of built forms like a building. The community studies from the perspective of community as interaction can be the theoretical basis for the third type of community design that makes the network of people without premising the hard infrastructure and works to make the life of residents a better one. Furthermore, even if we cannot achieve the target of the community design project of the third type, if the interaction of people took place in the community through implementation, we can say that a community is developed.

When we do not know how the local power structure is distributed and who the influential persons are in a community, community development does not succeed. Usually, if an influential person objects to a project, it will fail. On the contrary, the influential person agrees with the project and even involves in the project, it is more likely to succeed. The community design as a part of community development will have a similar situation, too. Particularly, in the community design of the countries with a low degree of democratization, the analysis of the power structure and the discovery of influential persons are more important.

When we see community as a social system, the community is a part connected to the system of the nation and the global community. When we design a community, we need to think about a design that considers the linkages with the bigger systems. When we think of a community as an entity having five functions (a production - distribution - consumption function, a socialization function, a social control function, a social participation function, and a mutual support function), we can regenerate the community by grasping which function is weakening and designing the enhancement of the weakening function. With such a systematic thought, we can reduce the ambiguity in project implementation.

## **5. Conclusion**

In this paper, I clarified what community design is from the definition, the history, and the purpose. In a nutshell, community design is a social practice in which local people plan and actualize it to make their living environment a better one. It has an ideological background that focuses on socially vulnerable people and aims at social fairness. We can consider the practice of community design as a part of community development. Community design has been studied in the field of design and planning, such as urban planning, architecture, and landscape architecture. Recently,

in Japan, community design that has only connections of people and does not premise on the hard infrastructure came to be practiced. This comes close to community development in sociology and anthropology because their focus is the relationships of people. Community development is older than community design academically, and the practice is wider and has more knowledge accumulation. Therefore, community studies in the field of community development help to enrich the field of community design. Warren mentioned that there are five types of community studies in sociology and its related fields. They are: (1) community as space, (2) community as people, (3) community as the shared system and value, (4) community as interaction, and (5) community as distribution of power. He added his own as a community as a social system. I discussed how each area of community studies Warren classified could support practices of community design.

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