



# Suburbia as Tool of Soft Power Projection: A Case Study of Washington Heights Dependents Housing Area, Tokyo (1946-61) and the Proselytizing of the Garden Suburb for Rebuilding Japan under GHQ

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**Suburbia as Tool of Soft Power Projection:  
A Case Study of Washington Heights Dependents Housing Area, Tokyo (1946-61)  
and the Proselytizing of the Garden Suburb for Rebuilding Japan under GHQ**

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**Master in Design Studies  
Urbanism, Landscape, Ecology**

At the Harvard University Graduate School of Design

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**Suburbia as Tool for Soft Power Projection:**  
**A Case Study of the Washington Heights Dependents Housing Area, Tokyo (1946-1961)**  
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## ABSTRACT

*During the Allies' occupation of Japan between 1945 and 1952, Japanese architectural and industrial design expertise was mobilized by the American leadership to provide for the housing needs of the occupying forces. The resulting residential compounds were known as Dependents Housing (DH) areas, and in terms of formal characteristics, replicated those of the Garden Suburb prototype in the United States. More than functioning as an enclave for an "average Western" setting of living, the archetypal DH through various channels, was also tasked with proselytizing the American suburban model as an exemplary solution to Japan's own chronic shortage of housing and postwar rebuilding.*

*Using the Washington Heights Dependents Housing Area in Yoyogi as the primary example, this thesis probes the project's self-declared "forerunner" role as a tool of soft power projection, through analyses of inquiries into Washington Heights's urban forms and architectural characteristics, its association with and inheritance of past military and defense industrial precedents' adoption of the Garden Suburb Form, as well as the deployment of propaganda promoting subjects directly or obliquely related to Dependents Housing design under the stricture of occupation.*

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I would like to thank the following individuals for their support and encouragement, to whom I owe my upkeep of curiosity and optimism:

Professor Eve Blau, Han Ruizhu, Zhang Jun, Peteris Lazovskis, Frank Yao, Zhao Xiaomeng, and Ruyi

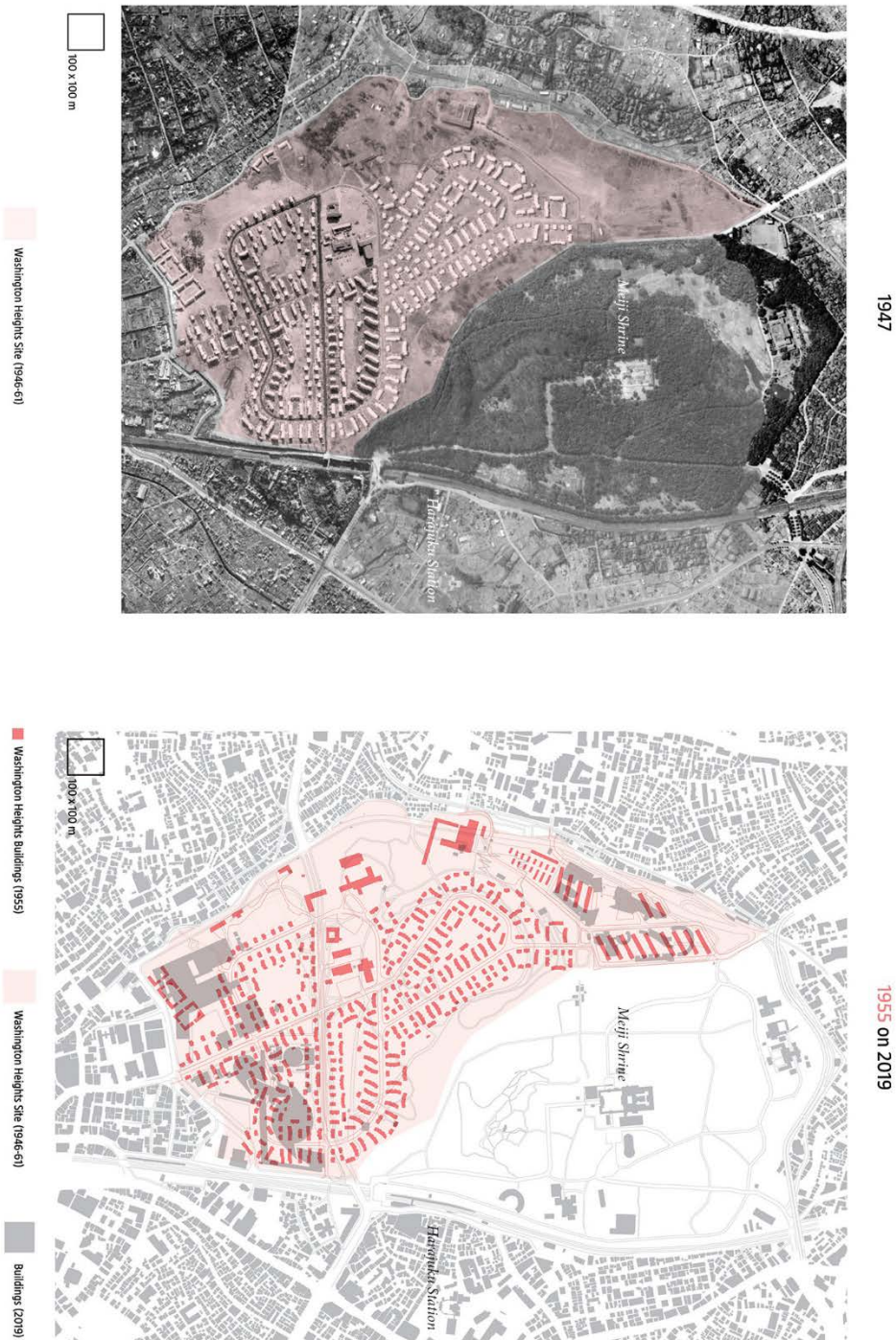
#### NOTE ON TRANSLATION OF JAPANESE NAMES

In this thesis, the ordering of names of Japanese individuals follows the *surname, given name* format, as consistent with the practice in the original language. For example: Tange Kenzō, as consistent with 丹下 健三. This does not apply to names in footnotes and bibliography, which follow templates of the Chicago Manual of Style.

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## MAPS OF WASHINGTON HEIGHTS



**Image 0**

Sheng Yan. Drawings of Washington Heights in 1947, and in 1955 on building figure grounds of 2019, 2021, digital map with data from Japan Geospatial Information Agency and Esri.

## INTRODUCTION

The end of the World War II saw the occupation of Japan by United States and Allies. Between 1945 and 1952, the General Headquarters (GHQ) of the Supreme Command of Allied Forces, the American military-led civil administration in Japan, requested the construction of twenty thousand residential units for its personnel, from which around 70% were new construction for housing officers and their families.<sup>1</sup> Collectively known as Dependent Housing (DH), these new residential compounds followed design guidelines derived from the *Garden Suburb* archetype, an urban design and urban planning model derived from the civilian housing project of Radburn, New Jersey by planner Clarence Stein, Henry Wright, and their associates in 1928. The DHs in Japan were constructed entirely with locally sourced materials and labor, based on design suggestions from GHQ-employed Japanese architects. Among the largest DH projects, “Washington Heights” in Shibuya, Tokyo, occupying the site of former Imperial Japanese Army’s Yoyogi Parade Ground, was one of the earliest to be completed, serving as a flagship project of the nation-wide effort under GHQ. Through propaganda efforts using mass media targeting audiences interested in both design-related and general interests, Washington Heights projecting itself as a model residential community not only capable to satisfy an “average Western” standard of living, but also as a potential template to which Japan could refer for its own postwar rebuilding efforts.

## Methodology

Probing Washington Heights as an example of *soft power* projection tool, especially in its mode and capacity to dispose its design as an agent of influence under “representation power”, this thesis investigates the DH’s role as proxy to proselytize American suburban life as a practice to the Japanese public by using findings from three lines of inquiries: Firstly, a historiographical sampling conducted for selected Garden Suburb-inspired housing projects by the U.S. the military and the defense industry sector in the interwar and war time period, specifically, through historical accounts in academic and governmental sources to analyze these projects’

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<sup>1</sup> Shihori Murakami 村上しほり et al., “The Aspect of Dependent Housing and Military Dispositions in the Occupied Japan 占領下日本における部隊配備と占領軍家族住宅の様相,” *Journal of Architecture and Planning 日本建築学会計画系論文集* 82, no. 739 (2017): 2448.

formal resemblance to the Garden Suburb archetype, as well as the ties between key institutional and individual players between the military and the civilian urban planning profession. This inquiry unveils a sub-episode of Garden Suburb's popularization within the defense construction sector, therefore establishing a context to which Washington Heights and other Japan-based DH projects could claim origin for their embedded agency to exert influence.

Secondly, analyses are conducted of first-hand accounts by the GHQ-employed Japanese designers, as well as secondary sources with focuses on the design of DHs. Evidence for this inquiry includes photographs, drawings, design specification documents, as well as related written and graphic examples from existing literature. This inquiry demonstrates linkages between Japan-based DH projects and their domestic predecessors, by unveiling specific examples of shared adoptions of Garden Suburb formal elements, therefore positioning Washington Heights's unique geopolitical circumstance as a conduit through which the formalistic Garden Suburb continued to convey certain developmental assumptions thus far internalized by the U.S. military.

Lastly, the thesis curates relative Japanese-language propaganda materials, namely, design magazines, newspapers, and exhibition literature published under the GHQ's censorship regime, whose content either directly or obliquely promoted Washington Heights, DHs, and design-related subjects of American origin to targeted Japanese audiences of designers and domestic consumers alike. This inquiry provides understanding of the communicative venues through which Washington Heights's underlying message was conveyed and received.

In the conclusion, the thesis utilizes political theorist Janice Bially Mattern's critical expansion of political theorist Joseph Nye's definition of *soft power*, specifically, Mattern's repositioning of Nye's soft power as a "representation power" capable to achieve desired outcomes in both nonphysical *and* coercive ways. A collection of evidence detailing the outcomes of Dependent Housing projects' immediate influence on residential architectural design, product design, as well as of popular resistance to DHs as environments *of* occupation-induced inequity at large, are evaluated as moments of success and failure to achieve the

GHQ's desired influence on Japanese society under the analytic framework of representation power.

## **Potential**

By unpacking the United States military's adoption of the Garden Suburb urban form, the analyses of Washington Heights and Dependents Housing design in general, as well as probing Washington Heights as a tool of soft power projection, this thesis aspires to lay the foundations for further study that will contribute additional findings in the following venues: 1) The study of Washington Heights, Dependents Housing projects and their consequential influence on Japan's development of its own architectural design discourse during the formative years of GHQ's occupation. Especially, this thesis strives to complement existing literature on Washington Heights with insights from a decidedly urban design historian's point of view. 2) The development of a historiography of "suburb-like" military housing projects and defense workers villages between the two World Wars of the twentieth century, unveiling new cases of relevance both to current academic findings in the sub-fields of interwar- and WWII-era planning practices, and to historical inquiries in the globalization of the American suburban form in general. 3) A critical probing of the "soft power" concept in relation to researching architectural historical subjects, and of the formation of a threshold (or thresholds) by which the concept can be use productively for future case studies.

## 1 PRECEDENTS

### Beginning of the Military Neighborhood Unit

As one of the earliest American Garden Suburb housing projects in U.S.-occupied Asia after the Second World War, Washington Heights inherited an established tradition within the military of building on-base housing following civilian design and planning principles and can trace its lineage back to the early interwar period. Immediately after World War I, the U.S. military suffered from severe shortages of existing housing stock and limited funding for new construction. The situation did not improve until 1926, when the U.S. Congress passed *Public Law No. 45*, authorizing the Secretary of War to sell 43 military reservations and to direct the money received from the sale to fund the construction of permanent installations.<sup>2</sup> With further funding made available from the Public Works Administration (PWA) as a result of the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, as well as from the Works Progress Administration (WPA) enacted by the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, the construction of military bases, their on-site housing and amenities became a prioritized undertaking that served both military advancement and employment creation under the New Deal. In total, 1,091 sets of quarters were built in continental United States from 1927 to 1940, when PWA and WPA funding was terminated, and the military shifted its focus on war emergency preparation.<sup>3</sup>

The planning, design and construction of military housing projects coincided with interwar-era emergence of planned suburbs, whose formal characteristics the military copied accordingly. As early as 1924, the Quartermaster Corps, the military's logistical support branch in charge of base building, operation, and maintenance affairs, had proposed to house "junior lieutenants, warrant officers, field clerks, and senior non-commissioned officers" in temporary bungalows over more communal residential building types, foreshadowing a preference for a more suburban-like setting for military residential areas to come.<sup>4</sup> (*Image 1*) The Quartermaster

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<sup>2</sup> According to Grashof, prior military establishments were all conceived and built as "outposts", with each dwelling subject to a construction allowance limit of \$500. Bethanie C. Grashof, "A Study of United States Army Family Housing Standardized Plans, Volume I" (Fort Belvoir, Virginia: Defense Technical Information Center, May 1986), 41, 43.

<sup>3</sup> Grashof, 46, 47, 56.

<sup>4</sup> Grashof, 42.

Corps hired professional architects, engineers, and designers through civil service, as well as authoritative figures through advisership.<sup>5</sup> Amongst the civilian advisors, George Burdett Ford was particularly influential in approving final design decisions. An urban planner and member of the Regional Plan Association (RPA) behind the 1929 Regional Plan of New York and Environs, Ford was instrumental in implementing Garden City-inspired plans for the French towns of Reims and Soissons, under the capacity as an advisor to the American-led rebuilding efforts after WWI.<sup>6</sup> Bringing his planning expertise to the military upon recruitment by the Secretary of War Dwight F. Davis in 1925, Ford was credited for combining “efficient workable plans with planning concepts used in the City Beautiful and Garden City movements” to “develop efficient, cohesive, and pleasant environments within reasonable expenditures” that are exemplified by “vistas and irregular [traffic circulation] lines.”<sup>7</sup> From the perspective of users, according to the records of the Quartermaster Corps in 1928, spouses of resident officers rejected an earlier proposal of kitchen-less apartment buildings with a neighborhood canteen, and favored “single sets of quarters” each equipped with “a living room, dining room, kitchen, three bedrooms, two baths where possible, a maid’s room and bath”, effectively making a low-density, low-rise neighborhood character the default arrangement of new base housing areas.<sup>8</sup>

In 1931, with the creation of a Planning Branch within the Quartermasters Corps that was overseen by two landscape architects and two architects, the design of military bases shifted further away from using parade grounds as the centering elements that typified earlier characteristics such as radiating streets and overall symmetry. On-base residential areas instead

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<sup>5</sup> Grashof, 54.

<sup>6</sup> Hugh Clout, “The Great Reconstruction of Towns and Cities in France 1918–35,” *Planning Perspectives* 20, no. 1 (January 2005): 18.

<sup>7</sup> R. Christopher Goodwin, “National Historic Context for Department of Defense Installations, 1790-1940, Volume I” (Washington D.C.: United States Army Corps of Engineers, February 26, 2001), 207, <https://denix.osd.mil/cr/historic/contexts/national-dod-historic-properties-context-1790-1940/volume-i/>; Jody Cook, “National Historic Landmark Nomination: Randolph Field Historical District” (United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, February 26, 2001), 51.

<sup>8</sup> Goodwin in his firm’s report to USACE, called referred to this configuration, by virtue of its demographics, “executive living areas arranged in neighborhoods around curving streets and parks.” Grashof, “A Study of United States Army Family Housing Standardized Plans, Volume I,” 48; R. Christopher Goodwin, “National Historic Context for Department of Defense Installations, 1790-1940, Volume II” (Washington D.C.: United States Army Corps of Engineers, February 26, 2001), 372, <https://denix.osd.mil/cr/historic/contexts/national-dod-historic-properties-context-1790-1940/volume-i/>.

adopted “landscape elements within an overall master plan that often incorporated multiple parade grounds”.<sup>9</sup> The overall objective by then, had been planning and development of a live-work environments that “secure the healthful conditions, promote the scientific training of troops, and also furnish the means of social intercourse”, while accommodating to the desires for low-density living and the dependence of automobiles, reflecting the principles behind Radburn, New Jersey, the *archetypal Garden Suburb* founded in 1929.<sup>10</sup>

### **On-base Examples: Randolph Airfield (1929) and Wheeler Army Field (1933/1942)**

Constructed as one of the Army Air Corps’ flagship base following the enactment of Public Law No.45, Randolph Airfield in San Antonio, Texas was one of the early examples of military installations that proactively adopted civilian city planning principles as means to envision a new type of live-work environment enabled by the maturation of aviation. According to the 2001 report recommending the base National Historic Landmark designation, Randolph Airfield was the second largest construction project by the U.S. Army up to that time, after the Panama Canal, and the first instance where “Army posts were required to have comprehensive development plans” in line with expectations of civilian city planners.<sup>11</sup> Constructed in 1927 and completed in 1931, Randolph Airfield was in the most functional terms, a reversed *neighborhood unit*: Buildings were grouped by functions, with workplaces occupying the periphery near the airstrips, the residential area occupying the center that was laid with concentric circular roads, and administrative buildings occupying the ends of the main axial throughfare. The overall form as a result, according to the report, “clearly embraced City Beautiful” principles while exhibiting qualities associated with civilian “Garden City suburbs with curved, tree-lined streets, parks, parkways, and numerous facilities.”<sup>12</sup> (*Image 2*)

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<sup>9</sup> Goodwin, “National Historic Context for Department of Defense Installations, 1790-1940, Volume I,” 208.

<sup>10</sup> Birch summarizes Radburn’s core ideals as: “decentralized, self-contained settlements, organized to promote environmental considerations by conserving open space, harnessing the automobile, and promoting community life.” Goodwin, 208; Eugenie Ladner Birch, “Radburn and the American Planning Movement: The Persistence of an Idea,” *Journal of the American Planning Association* 46, no. 4 (October 1980): 424.

<sup>11</sup> Cook, “National Historic Landmark Nomination: Randolph Field Historical District,” 52, 54.

<sup>12</sup> Cook, 52.

Residential buildings of Randolph Airfield followed standardized plans provided by the Quartermaster Corps, with exterior styling using Spanish Mission Revival motifs to reflect local context.<sup>13</sup>

Constructed in 1933, Wheeler Army Field in Oahu was the Army Air Corps' principal base in Hawaii that subsequently saw two distinct, yet related layouts implemented for its residential areas. Designed by a Quartermaster Corps servicemen name George W. Armitage upon recommendation from McKim, Mead & White, the Wheeler neighborhood, like Randolph Airfield, followed standardized floor plans and Mission-style exteriors for its residences, and used a layout of concentric half-circles for its vehicular streets; pedestrian paths connect the back entries of houses to shared green areas within each block, which are shaded by tropical trees.<sup>14</sup> (*Image 3*) In December, 1941, Wheeler Army Field was among the military properties target by Japanese warplanes as a part of the Attack on Pearl Harbor, and subsequently saw a large influx of troops from the mainland in preparation for the Pacific Theater of World War II. The increase of personnel saw construction of new single-family houses and duplexes on site, employing a utilitarian mix of "concrete brick exterior walls, wood frame hipped roofs with asphalt shingle roofing and small louvered gablet vents."<sup>15</sup> New streets were laid out in perpendicular grids, while houses were arranged in such a way that "they create little courtyards along the block", while having residual inner-block green space in line with its Mission-style neighbors built a decade ago.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Goodwin, "National Historic Context for Department of Defense Installations, 1790-1940, Volume I," 442.

<sup>14</sup> Mason Architects and Belt Collins Hawaii, "Historic Context Study of Historic Military Family Housing in Hawaii" (Department of Defense Legacy Resource Management Program, August 2003), 3–55, <https://denix.osd.mil/army-pchh/pchh-featured-content/program-comment-implementation/intro-and-ch-3/>.

<sup>15</sup> Mason Architects and Belt Collins Hawaii, 3–61.

<sup>16</sup> According to Grashof, Mission style houses were also built in Panama, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines during the interwar years. In general, the Quartermaster Corps considered tropical climatic zones as appropriate settings for this style. Mason Architects and Belt Collins Hawaii, 3–53; Grashof, "A Study of United States Army Family Housing Standardized Plans, Volume I," 53.

## Wartime Defense Workers' Villages

In what exemplifies military construction of on-site neighborhoods during the war, Wheeler Army Airfield's post-Pearl Harbor addition possessed a formal logic that appears most congruent to that of Washington Heights, particularly in the adoption of pedestrian-only street-side courtyards along Garden Suburb constraints. Their mutual form however, had notable use in precedents and parallels in large-scale, defense industry-oriented workers' neighborhoods constructed under New Deal and wartime initiatives. Funded largely by the Housing Act of 1940, also known as the Lanham Act, these projects were part of the "most ambitious housing program in the world" of its time that overwhelmingly relied on the Garden Suburb model of Radburn, to deliver large quantities of dwellings in tight time constraint, servicing host factories that were intentionally scattered all over in continental United States under the purview of the so-called "National Defense Migration".<sup>17</sup>

One notable example of this undertaking is the large complex of Baldwin Hills, in Culver City, California. Designed by Clarence Stein, one of Radburn's originators, and completed in 1942, the 80-acre superblock development with some six hundred units was organized according to the original model in New Jersey, with driveways reaching into the block from streets, connecting communal parking lots and housing units in groups of twos and fours; the back-facing spaces between buildings had large paved walkways and ample green space, which configured as secondary, finger-like green spaces that connect to a central green corridor known as "the Village Green".<sup>18</sup> (*Image 4*) At 7.8 dwellings per acre, the Baldwin Village was at the time considerably denser than its superblock counterparts in the Los Angeles area, while guaranteeing ample shared green space for its plural demographics.<sup>19</sup>

In Grand Prairie, Texas, Richard Neutra's design for the workers of the North American warplane factory exemplified both a large-scale adoption of the Garden Suburb neighborhood unit model and prefabricated housing. Dubbed "a park living development", individual houses

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<sup>17</sup> Eric Mumford, "National Defense Migration and the Transformations of American Urbanism, 1940-1942," *Journal of Architectural Education* (1984) 61, no. 3 (2008): 27; Jean-Louis Cohen, *Architecture in Uniform: Designing and Building for the Second World War* (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 2011), 111.

<sup>18</sup> Clarence S. Stein, "Baldwin Hills Village," *Town Planning Review* 20, no. 4 (1950): 393.

<sup>19</sup> Stein, 394.

are lined around tree-like driveways, each with sub-branches of cul-de-sacs, while leaving open yards and the inner block greenspace accessible via pedestrian paths, which also connect to buildings for communal use on site.<sup>20</sup> (*Image 5*) Still, the Channel Heights Defense Housing, in San Pedro, California, a large-scale workers' village project that saw realization of Neutra's design at all scales, ranging from the neighborhood to furniture, exhibited a totalizing synthesis between architectural standardization, product mass manufacturing, and the Garden Suburb form: the prefabricated dwellings, equipped with minimalist furniture, facing finger-like parks radiating from a central green space, skillfully using the terrain to avoid the feeling of monotony considered typical of defense workers' villages.<sup>21</sup>

The defense workers' villages, both by formal similarity and by association of their initiators, drew inspiration from Greenbelt, Maryland. Constructed from 1936 and partially completed in 1938, the interwar-era public housing project designed by Clarence Stein under the Resettlement Administration was, according to landscape historian Michael David Martin, "one of the few planned communities which did remain true to Radburn's radicalism."<sup>22</sup> In 1937, the Resettlement Administration was succeeded by the Farm Security Administration (FSA), who inherited the responsibility to relocate the economically disadvantaged to planned communities with industries. Under the leadership of architect Burton D. Cairns, FSA's internal designers were subsequently responsible for "some thirty percent of all the defense housing built in California during the war", who experimented with "synthesis of architecture, landscape, and planning" in line with Greenbelt's implementation of the Radburn ideals.<sup>23</sup>

## Summary of Cases

As the characteristics of the designs behind on-base military housing projects have demonstrated, the United States military upon its departure from primary building temporary buildings at the turn of the 1920s, had closely followed contemporaneous practices in the civilian city planning profession, and welcomed their expertise to improve, and arguably also to

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<sup>20</sup> Cohen, *Architecture in Uniform: Designing and Building for the Second World War*, 117.

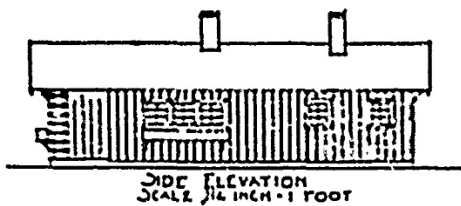
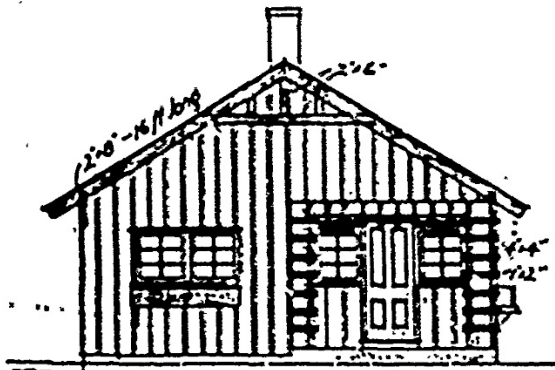
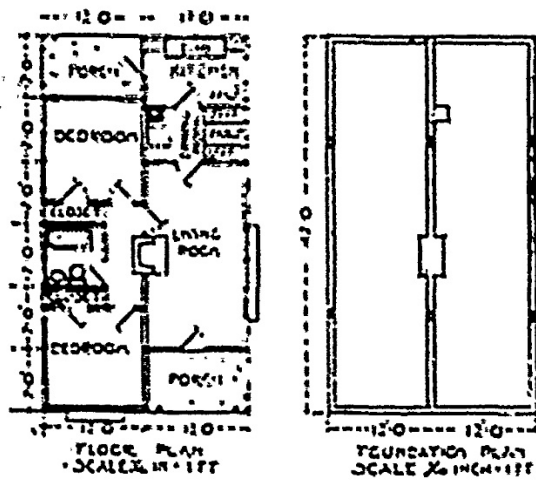
<sup>21</sup> Cohen, 118; Mumford, "National Defense Migration and the Transformations of American Urbanism, 1940-1942," 30.

<sup>22</sup> Michael David Martin, "Returning to Radburn," *Landscape Journal* 20, no. 2 (January 1, 2001): 156.

<sup>23</sup> Mumford, "National Defense Migration and the Transformations of American Urbanism, 1940-1942," 29.

invent new a spatial paradigm of military work-live arrangement, as shown in the concurrent development of the modern airfield and the residential friendly air-base. Concurrently, design and construction of defense workers' villages that subscribed to the Garden Suburb neighborhood unit archetype obtained new authoritative currency as projects important to national defense while serving their original purpose of unemployment alleviation. Both the interwar-era on-base military housing areas and defense workers' villages in continental United States, therefore, attained a pluralistic identity that was simultaneously *martial*, *developmental*, and *universal*. These precedents, and the ideals behind the Garden Suburb thus far internalized by the military and war industries, rendered Washington Heights as a continuation of an established path of development, whose "forerunner" potential owed lineage to its predecessor's success in implementing a formal planning model of civilian origin.

## Images



**Image 1 – The Quartermasters Corps’ proposed design of single-family house for an officer and families (1924)**  
 Author unknown. Temporary bungalow from Brinckloe, “Construction Hints and Helps,” Quartermaster Review, September-October 1924, p. 43-44.. In Bethanie C. Grashof, *A Study of United States Army Family Housing Standardized Plans, Volume I* (Fort Belvoir, Virginia: Defense Technical Information Center, 1986, 45.

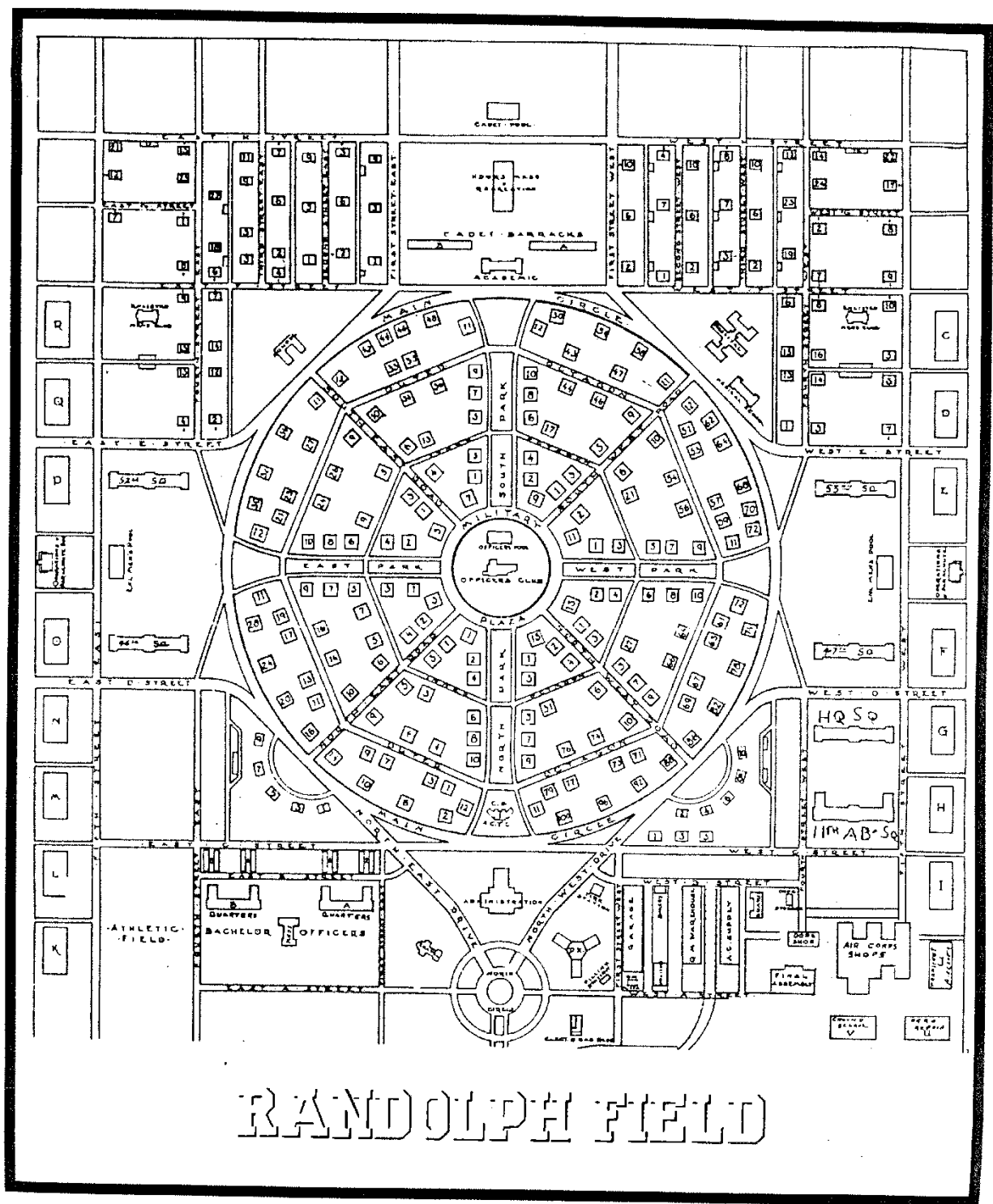
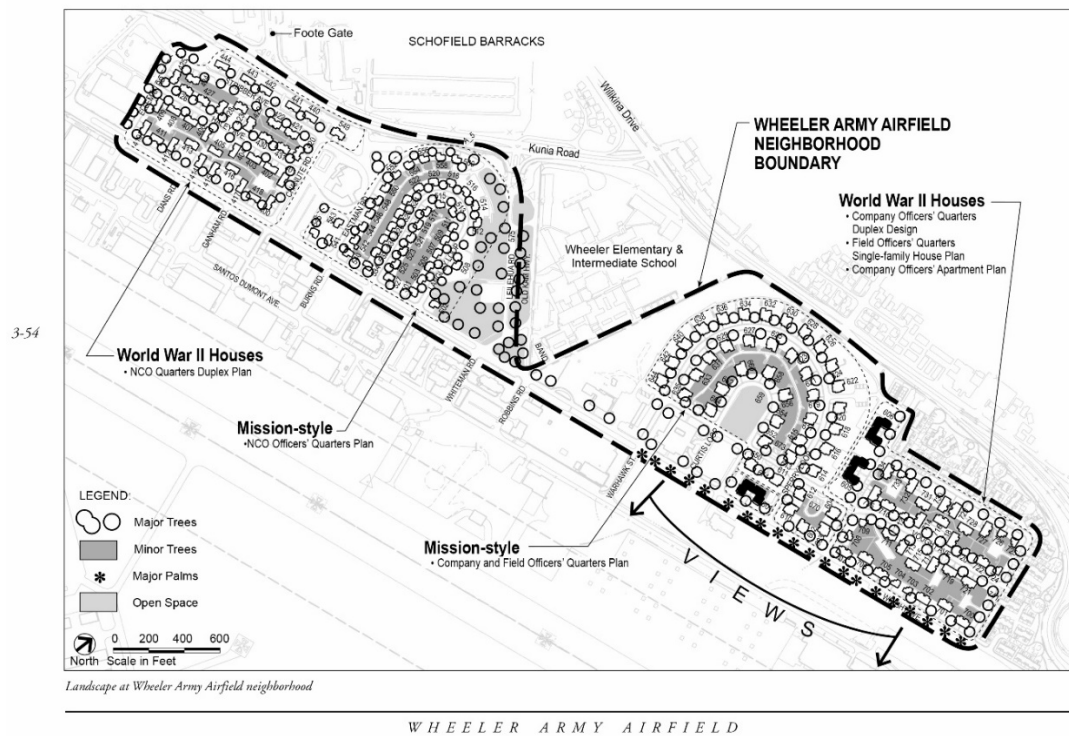


Figure II-26. Plan of Randolph AFB, Texas, ca. 1928.

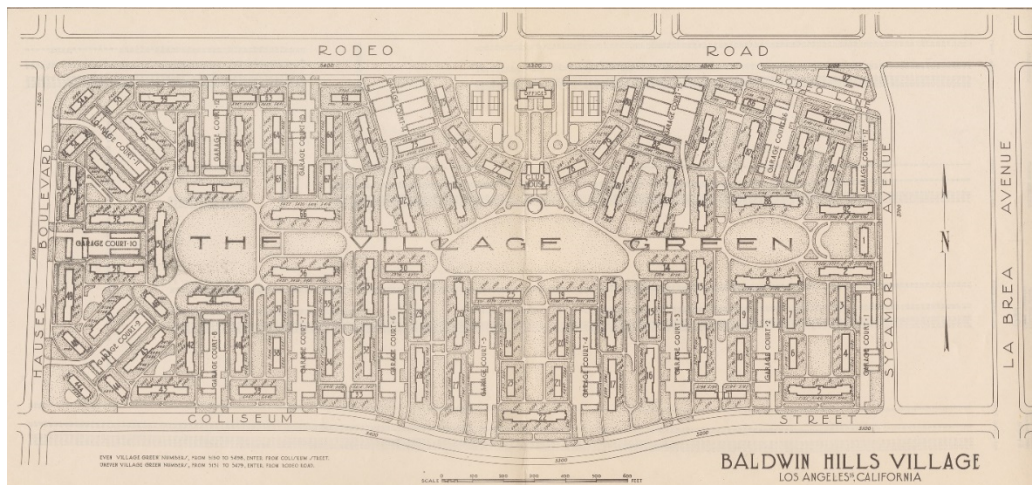
**Image 2 – Plan of Randolph Field, outside of San Antonio, Texas (1929-)**

Author unknown. Plan of Randolph AFB, Texas, ca. 1928. In Christopher R. Goodwin, *National Historical Context for Department of Defense Installations, Volume I* (Washington D.C.: United States Army Corps of Engineers, 2001), 215.



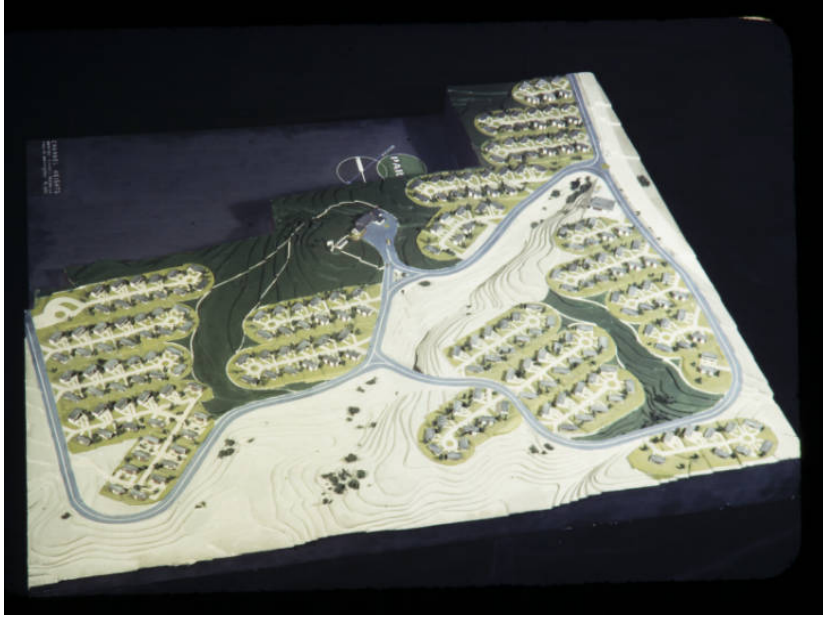
**Image 3 – Plan of Wheeler Army Airfield, Wahiawa, Hawaii (1933/1942-)**

Author unknown. *Landscape at Wheeler Army Airfield neighborhood*, date unknown. In Mason Architects and Belt Collins Hawaii, *Historical Context Study of Historic Military Family Housing in Hawaii* (Department of Defense Legacy Resource Management Program, 2003), 3-54.



**Image 4 – Plan of Baldwin Hills Village, Los Angeles, California (1942-)**

Clarence S. Stein. *Plan of Baldwin Hills Village*, date unknown. In Clarence S. Stein, *Baldwin Hills Village* (Town Planning Review, Volume 20, Issue 4, 1950), 393.



***Image 5 – Model of Channel Heights, San Pedro, California (1943-)***

Richard J. Neutra. *Channel Heights Housing*, 1942. Design Library Image Collection, North Carolina State University, Chapel Hills, accessed May 2, 2021,

<https://images.lib.ncsu.edu/luna/servlet/detail/NCSULIB~1~1~2784~279945:Channel-Heights-Housing?sort=WORKTITLE%2CAGENTSORTNAME%2CIMAGEID&qvq=w4s:/who%2FNeutra%2C%2520Richard%2Fwhere%2FSan%2520Pedro%2C%2520California%2C%2520United%2520States;sort:WORKTITLE%2CAGENTSORTNAME%2CIMAGEID&mi=0&trs=8>

## 2 WASHINGTON HEIGHTS AND DEPENDENTS HOUSING

### Roles of Institutions under Occupation

The Allied occupation of Japan began immediately after the Imperial Japanese government's declaration of unconditional surrender on August 15, 1945, with the United States Eighth Army, the newly founded US Pacific Air Command (PSCUSA), as well as a much smaller presence of British Commonwealth Occupation Force (BCOF) dispatched over the following months to all cities and prefectures in mainland Japan.<sup>24</sup> Command of occupying forces were solidified under the *General Headquarters, Armed Forces Pacific* (GHQ/AFPAC), the US-led administration with the supreme authority over military affairs. On the side of civilian governance, the GHQ, with the same senior leadership, inherited responsibilities from the Military Government Section (MGS), a predecessor organization founded within AFPAC shortly before the end of the war to prepare governance over affairs ranging from economics and finance to public health and welfare, resulting in the establishment of the *General Headquarters, Supreme Commander of Allied Forces* (GHQ/SCAP) on October 2, 1945.<sup>25</sup> As a result of the military-civilian governance division within the GHQ, SCAP was tasked to issue orders known as "Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers Directives to the Japanese government", or SCAPINs, to the surrendered Japanese Imperial Government, who would then devise appropriate plans and relay orders to local public and private sectors.<sup>26</sup> Both the military and civilian arms of GHQ had officers with advanced degrees and experience in intensive training in civil administrations, with SCAP particularly relying on non-uniformed specialists to staff its larger bureaucracy.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> According to Murakami et al., the British Commonwealth Overseas Forces (BCOF), consisted primary of British Indian service members stationed around Hiroshima, insisted on "camping out" by an order issued in January 1946. This effectively made the Americans sole occupants of Dependents Housing projects. Murakami 村上しほり et al., "The Aspect of Dependent Housing and Military Dispositions in the Occupied Japan 占領下日本における部隊配備と占領軍家族住宅の様相," 2441, 2448.

<sup>25</sup> Eiji Takemae, *Inside GHQ: The Allied Occupation of Japan and Its Legacy* (New York: Continuum, 2002), 48.

<sup>26</sup> Kazuko 小泉和子 Koizumi, ed., *Senryōgun Jūtaku No Kiroku 占領軍住宅の記録 [The Chronicle of Occupation Forces Housing]*, vol. 1, Sumaigaku Taikai 096–097 (Tōkyō: Sumai no Toshokan Shuppankyoku 住まいの図書館出版局, 1999), 24.

<sup>27</sup> Takemae, *Inside Ghq*, xxviii.

## Procurement for Dependents Housing Construction

The tripartite structure, by which AFPAC, SCAP and the Japanese government work together to achieve objectives, provided framework for the various parties involved in the constructions of Dependents Housing (DH) for the occupying military. Elaborating further on the September 1945 SCAPIN-2's general demand for the Japanese government to provide accommodation to the occupation at their own cost, on March 6, 1946, the GHQ formally issued SCAPIN-799 outlining the specific requests on constructing housing for Allied personnel: the Japanese government was to provide twenty thousand dwellings in Japan and Korea, using all available material resources to produce, store, transport necessary products for building; the Japanese government was responsible to mobilize and manage labor to ensure that the objective would be met. The order provided a bill of materials demanding, amongst a wide arrange of commodities, 300 million board feet of lumbers, 12 million square feet of impregnated asphalt for roofing, 20 million pounds of lime plaster, 13 million meters of wire binding, 700 thousand plug outlets, as well as items ranging from toasters to garden hoses.<sup>28</sup> In summary, the completed projects would not only include roads, buildings, and landscape, but all the tools and equipment for maintenance, light fixtures, furniture, bedding, appliances and utensils. Among the 20,000 ready-to-move-in units, 5,437 would be constructed in Tokyo, within which 3,715 units were to be constructed anew.<sup>29</sup>

Responding to the GHQ's request, the Japanese government established special agency named *Seisan Fukkō-in, or the War Damage Reconstruction Board* (WDRB) directly subordinate to the Prime Minister's Cabinet. Working side by side with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Central Liaison Office (*Shūsen Renraku Chūō Jimukyoku*), the WDRB became the organization with power to devise work plans and issue further requests to other Japanese governmental agencies, including the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Finance (*Ōkurashō*), and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry (*Shōkōshō*).<sup>30</sup> (**Image 6**) The rallied ministries were made

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<sup>28</sup> General Headquarters Supreme Commander for the Allied Forces, "SCAPIN-799: Housing Program for Occupation Forces and Their Dependents" (General Headquarters, Central Liaison Office, Tokyo, March 6, 1946).

<sup>29</sup> Koizumi, *Senryōgun Jūtaku No Kiroku* 占領軍住宅の記録 [*The Chronicle of Occupation Forces Housing*], 1:54.

<sup>30</sup> Murakami 村上しほり et al., "The Aspect of Dependent Housing and Military Dispositions in the Occupied Japan 占領下日本における部隊配備と占領軍家族住宅の様相," 2442.

responsible for distributing project funding, counting towards Japan's financial reparation to Allies, ordering materials from both survived industries and the black market, as well as hiring labor and management for design, construction, and product making. By September of 1947, with the Central Liaison Office and WDRB's construction arm consolidated into the Special Procurement Board (SPB, *Tokubetsu Chōtatsuchō*), a cabinet-level agency overseeing construction, operation and maintenance of both GHQ-held and Japanese buildings and facilities.<sup>31</sup>

### Designing the DH Prototype

Anticipating the issuance of SCAPIN-799, in December of 1946, the GHQ/AFPAC established an internal team of architects and designers tasked with finding a solution to carry out the building of twenty thousand dwellings amidst chronic material shortage and a disorganized labor market. Under the command of AFPAC's Engineer Section (ES), the *Design Branch* consisted of serving military members from the American side as leadership, whose were trained engineers and architects before enlisting, as well as Japanese staff members primarily dispatched from the newly regrouped *General Contractors Association of Japan (Nippon Kensetsu Kōgyōtōsei Sōgō)*, an industry association with the Japan's largest construction companies as members.<sup>32</sup> Under the leadership of ES Chief, Colonel Bruce D. Rindlaub, the task of leading the Design Branch was assigned to the 35-year-old Major Heeren S. Krusé, a Chicago-based architect who also worked as the chief designer in the appliance division of Sears, Roebuck and Co. before the war. Shimura Taishichi, an English-speaking architect who graduated from Harvard University in 1921, held the most senior position among the Japanese staff.<sup>33</sup> Equipped with expertise in multiple design fields, the Design Branch was able to produce

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<sup>31</sup> Murakami 村上しほり et al., 2442; Takashi Momose 百瀬孝, *Jiten Shōwa sengoki no Nihon: senryō to kaikaku 事典昭和戦後期の日本：占領と改革* [Dictionary of Showa-era Occupied Japan: Occupation and Reformation] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2005), 355–56.

<sup>32</sup> Koizumi, *Senryōgun Jūtaku No Kiroku 占領軍住宅の記録* [The Chronicle of Occupation Forces Housing], 1:64.

<sup>33</sup> Anne Gossot, "Made in Occupied Japan: L'Avènement de L'industrie des Biens Durables et du Design Industriel au Japon [Made in Occupied Japan: The Birth of the Consumer Goods and Industrial Design Industries in Japan (1945-1955)]," *Cipango - French Journal of Japanese Studies*, no. 21 (December 31, 2014): 363.

a solution deemed *acceptable* to the problem at hand: all Dependent Houses, according to Krusé, were to provide “average ‘western’ living accommodations for two income groups”, able to suit “the greatest number of families of Occupation Forces” with “materials obtainable currently anywhere in Japan”, and were not “visionary, theoretical solutions to a housing problem”.<sup>34</sup>

The Design Branch’s proposal for an “average western” residential setting resulted in design guidelines that relied heavily on standardizing elements of uses and at all scales: All residences were derived from three archetypal layouts, providing a total of nine options of single- or double-story units with two to four bedrooms, at unit areas ranging from 936 square feet to 1,485 square feet (*Image 7, 8*); all houses were theoretically to be erected with standardized timber framing, using local Japanese carpentry techniques (*Daiku*), on uniformly sized concrete foundation footings following prescribed column spacing (*Image 9*); and the exteriors were to be finished with stucco for fire-protection and insulation purposes, using nine pre-selected colors.<sup>35</sup>

At the scale of a residential building cluster, houses were to be either detached, or attached in rows of up to four units; all dwellings would maintain a distance of 25 feet at minimum, and 200 feet at maximum, from the nearest motorized road; the dwellings’ front facades and back façades should face identical sides of other buildings, with a minimal front-facing spacing of 75 feet, and 50 for the back; If detached, dwellings should maintain a minimum of 25 feet between lateral sides. Units were to be accessible via pedestrian pathways and loops that connect to the nearest main road. The resulted layout would provide a “family court” in front of houses, and a “service area” between back façades.<sup>36</sup> (*Image 10*) The DH compounds would have their own schools, kindergartens, clubhouses, grocery stores, gas stations, and depending on size, water treatment plants.<sup>37</sup> At the neighborhood scale, a DH compound should have limited numbers of

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<sup>34</sup> Shimura Tashichi, the head of the Japanese Staff, provided a precise, sentence-to-sentence translation of Major Krusé’s preface on page 227. GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff & Shōkōshō Kōgei Shidōsho 商工省工芸指導所, ed., *Dependents Housing: Japan & Korea* (Tōkyō: Gizyutu Siryō Kankōkai 技術資料刊行会, 1948), Preface, 227.

<sup>35</sup> GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff & Shōkōshō Kōgei Shidōsho 商工省工芸指導所, 229, 230, 231.

<sup>36</sup> GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff & Shōkōshō Kōgei Shidōsho 商工省工芸指導所, 229.

<sup>37</sup> Koizumi, *Senryōgun Jūtaku No Kiroku* 占領軍住宅の記録 [*The Chronicle of Occupation Forces Housing*], 1:52.

entries, with neighborhood roads at least 200 feet apart from the compound's peripheral boundary; spaces that exist at the center of a block would either accommodate buildings for communal use or to be lawned as "at home play areas".<sup>38</sup> The use of plants on DH compounds should work with seasonal priorities concerning sunlight and natural wind: using mostly deciduous trees to provide shades, and evergreens only near northeast- or southwest-facing building entries; mixed planting of shrubs are encouraged near entries, using species that flower at different times throughout the year.<sup>39</sup>

While also containing drawings for retrofitting requisitioned office buildings and apartments, the Design Branch's manual, later published in 1948 as *Dependents Housing: Japan and Korea*, featured mostly information on new buildings, i.e., standalone residences and single-story communal buildings. Effectively, the manual advocated for a low-rise, low-density *Garden Suburb*-inspired superblock community of similar appearance and organization to a "typical" suburban locale in the U.S. homeland. By making the design of the DHs commercially available, the United States Armed Forces by its extended presence as the GHQ, began the effort to export *its* version of the Garden Suburb form thus far internalized by its own history of constructing suburban housing areas domestically, in overseas dependencies, and now in occupied territories.

## Washington Heights

Apart from retrofitting requisitioned mansions, office buildings, and apartments that survived bombing, new units were planned to be built on former military parade grounds and other properties with open space. The Yoyogi Army Parade Ground became the site to host a residential compound of 827 dwellings. Renamed "Washington Heights", the 226-acre open area was flanked by railroads to its east and west, and adjacent the Meiji Shrine to the north, making it the most centrally located Dependents Housing projects in Tokyo. Based on the

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GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff & Shōkōshō Kōgei Shidōsho 商工省工芸指導所, *Dependents Housing: Japan & Korea*, 59, 228.

<sup>39</sup> GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff & Shōkōshō Kōgei Shidōsho 商工省工芸指導所, 243, 244.

Design Branch's guideline, two existing roads from the parade field were partially paved, providing entry to the base on from the east and the south; following the 200 feet-offset requirement, two loops were paved near the center, connecting with existing roads. The roads were constructed using dimensions provided *Architectural Graphic Standard*, following the 34-foot width throughout; curbs at intersections and curves followed a reduced radius of 20 feet, enough to accommodate Jeeps and family vehicles driven by the residents.<sup>40</sup> The divided blocks were labeled by letters, with blocks "E" and "F" selected as sites for communal buildings, block "C" hosting servants' dormitories, and the rest accommodating residences.

To accommodate families' needs beyond housing, Washington Heights had a number of communal facilities. At the western end of the compound, a two-story, 39,640-square-foot clubhouse featured a dining hall, a dance hall, a library, a bar, meeting rooms, guest rooms, as well as an outdoor pool and tennis courts, with parts of the interior clad with amazonite and volcanic slate panels, a 19-room school building of a capacity of 780 persons serving both kindergarten and grade school students, a multi-faith chapel for 500 worshippers, a 1,000-seat theater, a dispensary, a commissary supermarket/post exchange (PX), and a gas station. The compound also had its fire station, reservoir, and water towers. (*Image 12*)

At a ratio of one servant per two families, some four hundred Japanese servants were hired and housed in Washington Heights's dormitories, which were placed at the far southwestern corner on site, near the south entry.<sup>41</sup> The dormitories consisted of ten single-story L-shaped buildings, each with loaded corridors connecting seventeen dorm rooms, and served by one shared bathroom with five toilets. Each room houses two to three occupants. The buildings remain the only ones in Washington Heights with traditional Japanese domestic interiors.<sup>42</sup> (*Image 13*)

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<sup>40</sup> GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff & Shōkōshō Kōgei Shidōsho 商工省工芸指導所, 240.

<sup>41</sup> By Koizumi's account, the servants quarters had rooms floored with tatami mats. Bathrooms were shared by occupants living in the same building. Koizumi, *Senryōgun Jūtaku No Kiroku* 占領軍住宅の記録 [The Chronicle of Occupation Forces Housing], 1:156.

<sup>42</sup> Koizumi, 1:156.

In total, Washington Heights had a building ground coverage area of 82.7 acres, over 150.4 acres of relative flat area on site.<sup>43</sup> At a ground coverage ratio of 0.55 (or 0.36 over the total area of the property), and 3.7 units per acre, the result represented a compromise between the hard requirement of unit numbers and the prescribed low neighborhood density in the image of an American suburban neighborhood. The construction of Washington Heights began in May of 1946 and completed in September of the following year. The entire project cost eight hundred thousand (800,000,000) yen and employed a total workforce of 2,167,000 persons under *Kajima Kensetsu*, *Shimizu Kensetsu*, and *Toda Kensetsu* construction companies; 147.4 acres of lawn, some three thousand trees and forty thousand shrubs were planted on site, with grass pulled from requisitioned airfields and trees uprooted from San-Tama, Chiba, and Saitama outside of Tokyo.<sup>44</sup>

Washington Heights as the archetypal Dependents Housing project has two distinctive characteristics. Firstly, as the name “Dependents Housing” suggests, it was conceived and built as a civilian neighborhood-like enclave with favorable amenities for stay-at-home women and young children. As a matter of design, the neighborhood would only admit a demography of a certain stature, as only those are married and with ranks from Sergeant to Colonel Major could possibly be housed in Washington Heights and similar compounds.<sup>45</sup> Its design also reflects the ranks within the occupying force, where higher-ranked officials were housed in *tōyō-fū* style mansions requisitioned from Japanese of prominence, lower-ranked servicemen without accompanying families were stationed in much more rudimentary settings such as Palace Heights near the Imperial Palace, where housing stocks were made entirely of Quonset Huts.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff & Shōkōshō Kōgei Shidōsho 商工省工芸指導所, *Dependents Housing: Japan & Korea*, 60, 228.

<sup>44</sup> Koizumi, *Senryōgun Jūtaku No Kiroku* 占領軍住宅の記録 [*The Chronicle of Occupation Forces Housing*], 1:56; Gossot, “Made in Occupied Japan: L’Avènement de L’industrie des Biens Durables et du Design Industriel au Japon [Made in Occupied Japan: The Birth of the Consumer Goods and Industrial Design Industries in Japan (1945-1955)],” 342; Munemasa Maeda 前田宗正, “The General History of the Landscape Architectural Industry 造園産業史概観,” *ランドスケープ研究* 58, no. 2 (1994): 126.

<sup>45</sup> GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff & Shōkōshō Kōgei Shidōsho 商工省工芸指導所, *Dependents Housing: Japan & Korea*, 228.

<sup>46</sup> Koizumi, *Senryōgun Jūtaku No Kiroku* 占領軍住宅の記録 [*The Chronicle of Occupation Forces Housing*], 1:57; Murakami 村上しほり et al., “The Aspect of Dependent Housing and Military Dispositions in the Occupied Japan 占領下日本における部隊配備と占領軍家族住宅の様相,” 6442.

Secondly, despite the abundance of venues for commercial, religious, sports and leisure activities, Washington Heights notably lacked accommodation for work, effectively making the DH compound a bedroom community, in which case the need to travel to workplaces in requisitioned buildings near the Imperial Palace resembles the suburb-to-downtown commute in America, and a strict work-life separation was practiced by the resident officers.

### The Self-declared Forerunner

Completely foreign in its appearance as against its surroundings, Washington Heights was, accordingly to journalist-historian Akio Satoko's description, "an exclave of America" in the middle of Tokyo: the principal occupants of the premise enjoyed extraterritorial legal privileges, living materially abundant lives that were completely unimaginable to the otherwise austerity-stricken locals; the scenes visible through the fences nevertheless, was built upon land scorched by its very occupants two years ago.<sup>47</sup>

Yet despite the induced shock, Washington Heights was in the wording of its designers, conceived also as a "forerunner to a new way of living for the Japanese people." In seeing Washington Heights as a model for reconstruction, Major Krusé wrote in his preface for the DH design manual:

*"In the rehousing of Japan's numerous homeless families, many problems similar to those confronting the planners of Dependents Housing for the Occupation Forces will have to be solved. It is believed that planners, studying this one approach [of Washington Heights] to the problem of providing economical housing arranged in integrated communities illustrated in this book, will find inspiration for developing better solutions. Of course the aim of any development will be the democratic goal: Better living conditions for the greatest number of families."*<sup>48</sup>

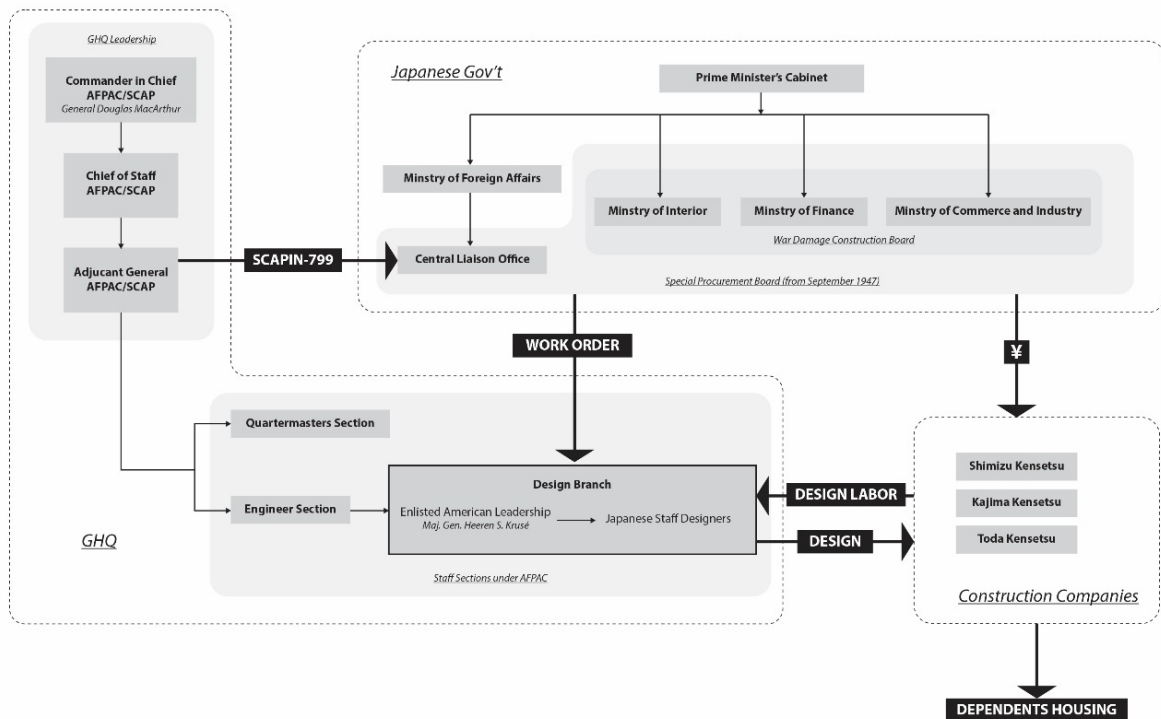
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<sup>47</sup> According to Akio, most of Washington Heights's vicinities were destroyed during the Yamanote Air Raid on May 25 and 26, 1945. Satoko Akio 秋尾沙戸子, *Washinton Haitzu: GHQ ga Tōkyō ni kizanda Sengo* ワシントンハイツ - GHQ が東京に刻んだ戦後 [Washington Heights: Postwar Tokyo as Shaped by GHQ] (Tōkyō: Shinchōsha 新潮社, 2009), 11.

<sup>48</sup> GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff & Shōkōshō Kōgei Shidōsho 商工省工芸指導所, *Dependents Housing: Japan & Korea*, Preface.

Positioning the central goal of Washington Heights as solving housing problems and achieving an “average western” standard of living, Washington Heights inherited a tradition of its domestic predecessors, by which improvements were best realized through implementing civilian suburban forms. Yet as succinctly put in Krusé’s mission statement, the Dependents Housing projects in Japan would take on an elevated role to project the ideals invested the Garden Suburb form as a potential template of local development, with Washington Heights made a proxy by which the material evidence of America’s progress as rehearsed by its residents, exert influence in the *softer* channels of engagements: publications, exhibitions, and other public relations endeavors under the stricture of GHQ’ censorship.

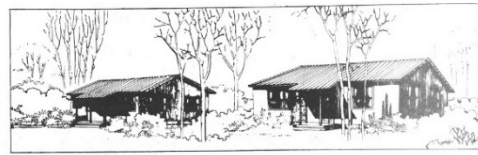
## Images



*Image 6 – Organization workflow of procurement, design, construction, and delivery of Dependents Housing*  
Sheng Yan. 2021, Digital illustration.



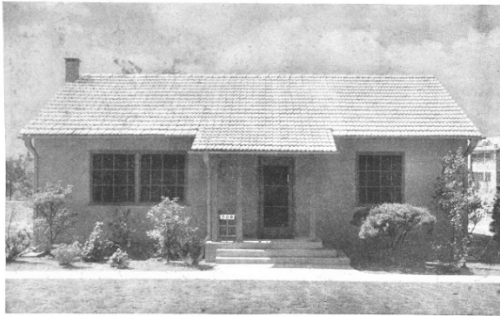
A-1



(A-1) TYPE



(A-2) TYPE



A-2



B-1

HOUSE TYPE A-1, A-2, B-1

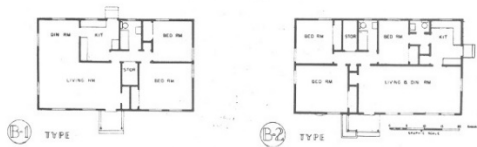
住宅 A-1・A-2・B-1 型



B-1 GROUP



B-2



(B-1) TYPE

(B-2) TYPE



HOUSE TYPE B-1, B-2

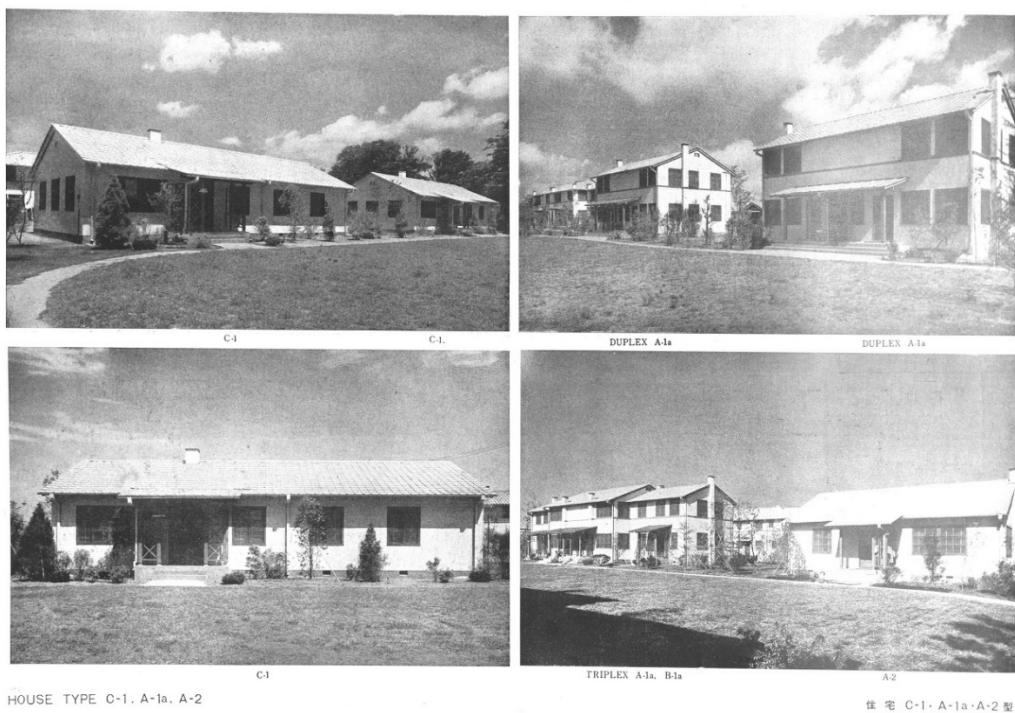


B-2

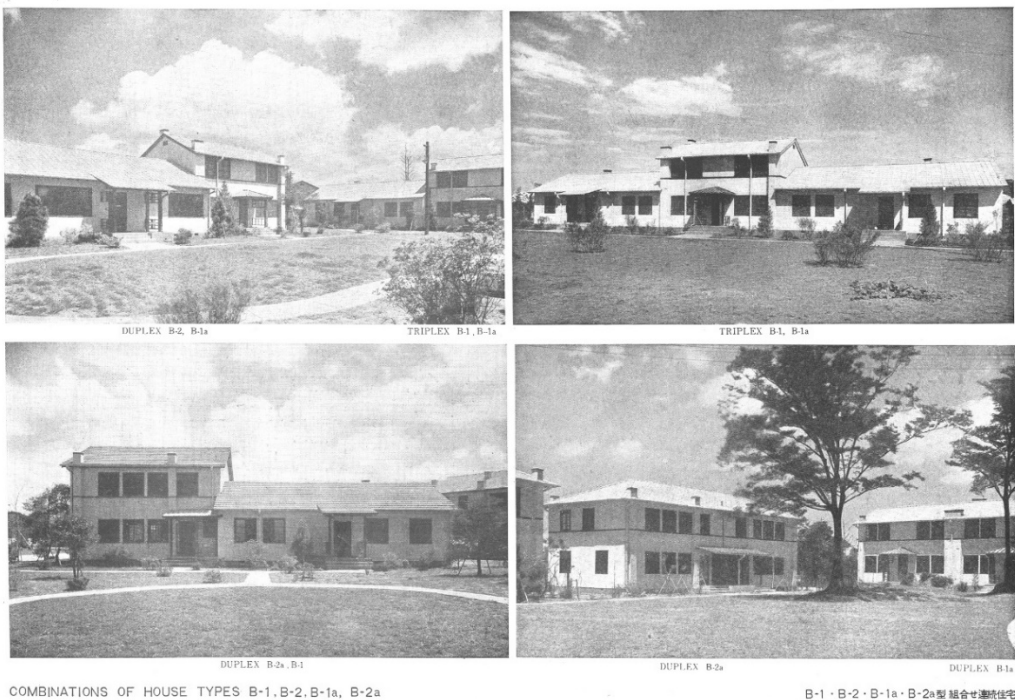
住宅 B-1・B-2 型

### Image 7 – Unit Types of A-1, A-2, B-1 and B-2

GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff, Watanabe Yoshio. *House Types A-1, A-2, B-01; House Types B-1, B-2*, 1948. In GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff & Shōkōshō Kōgei Shidōsho 商工省工芸指導所, *Dependents Housing: Japan & Korea* (Tokyo: Gizyutu Siryō Kankōkai 技術資料刊行会, 1948), 16, 17.



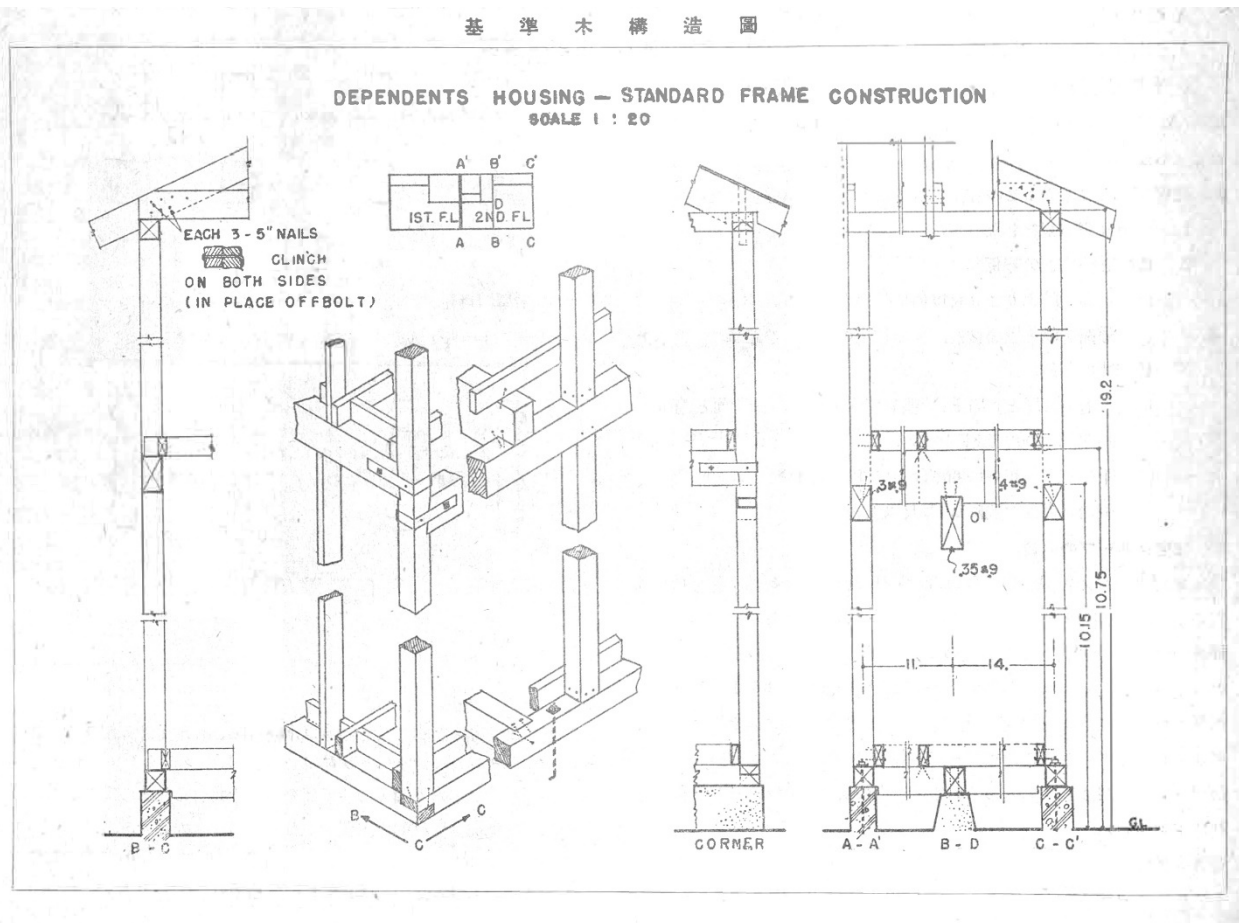
18



19

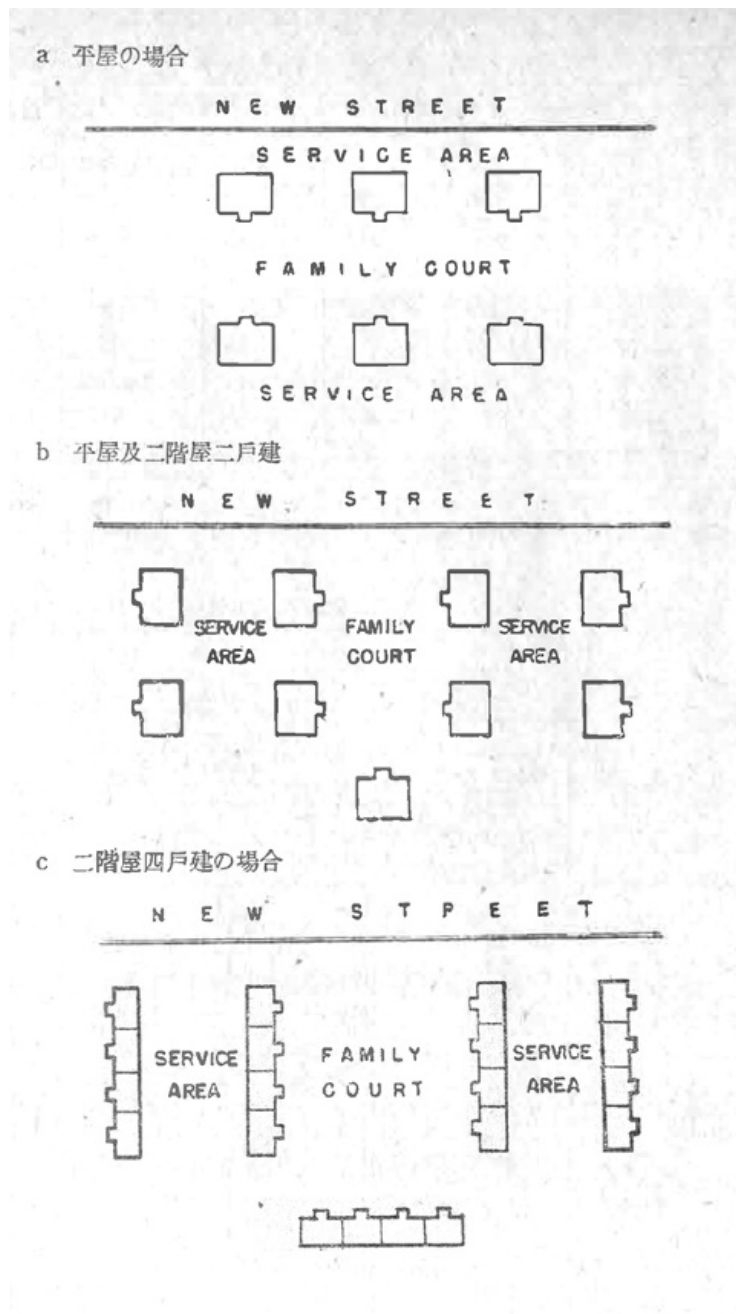
**Image 8 – Unit Types of A-1a, A-2, B-1, B-1a, B-2, B-2a, C-1**

GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff, Watanabe Yoshio. *House Types A-1, A-2, B-01; House Types B-1, B-2, 1948*. In GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff & Shōkōshō Kōgei Shidōsho, *Dependents Housing: Japan & Korea* (Tokyo: Gizyutu Siryō Kankōkai, 1948), 18, 19.



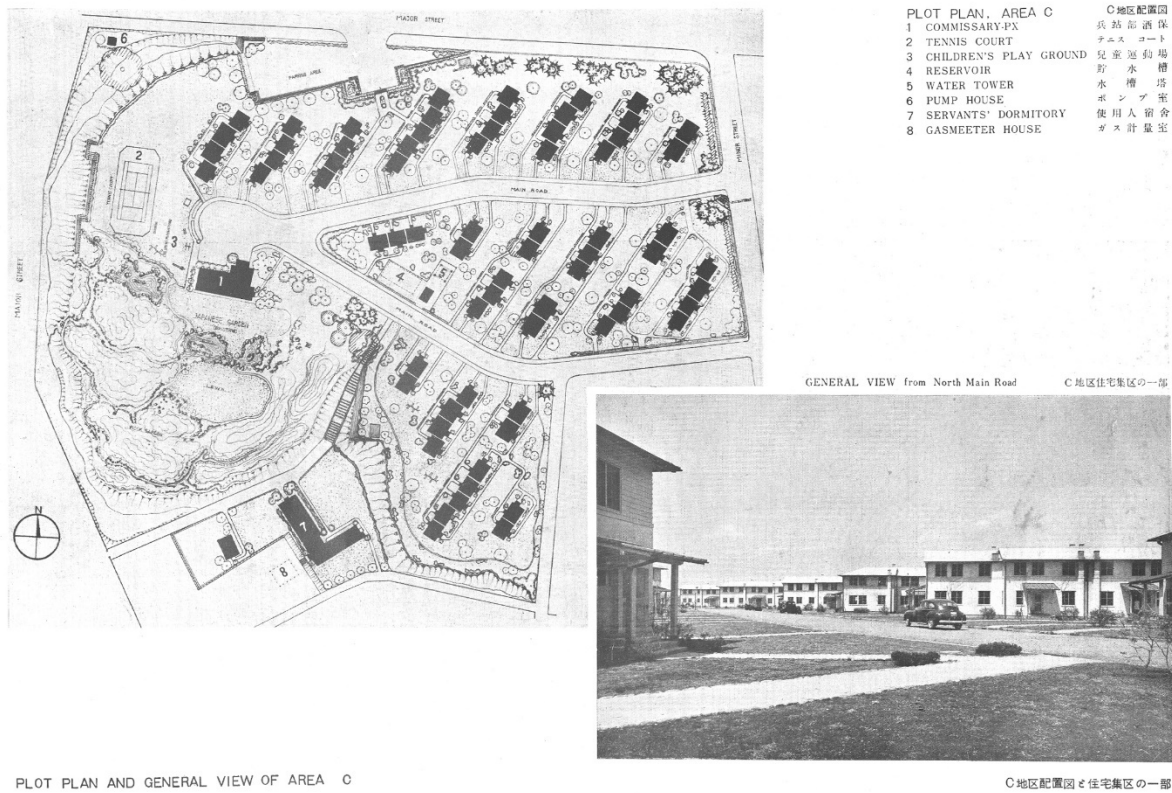
**Image 9 – Daiku framing diagram**

GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff. *Dependents Housing – Standard Frame Construction*, 1948. In GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff & Shōkōshō Kōgei Shidōsho, *Dependents Housing: Japan & Korea* (Tokyo: Gizyutu Siryō Kankōkai, 1948), 230.



**Image 10 – Daiku framing diagram**

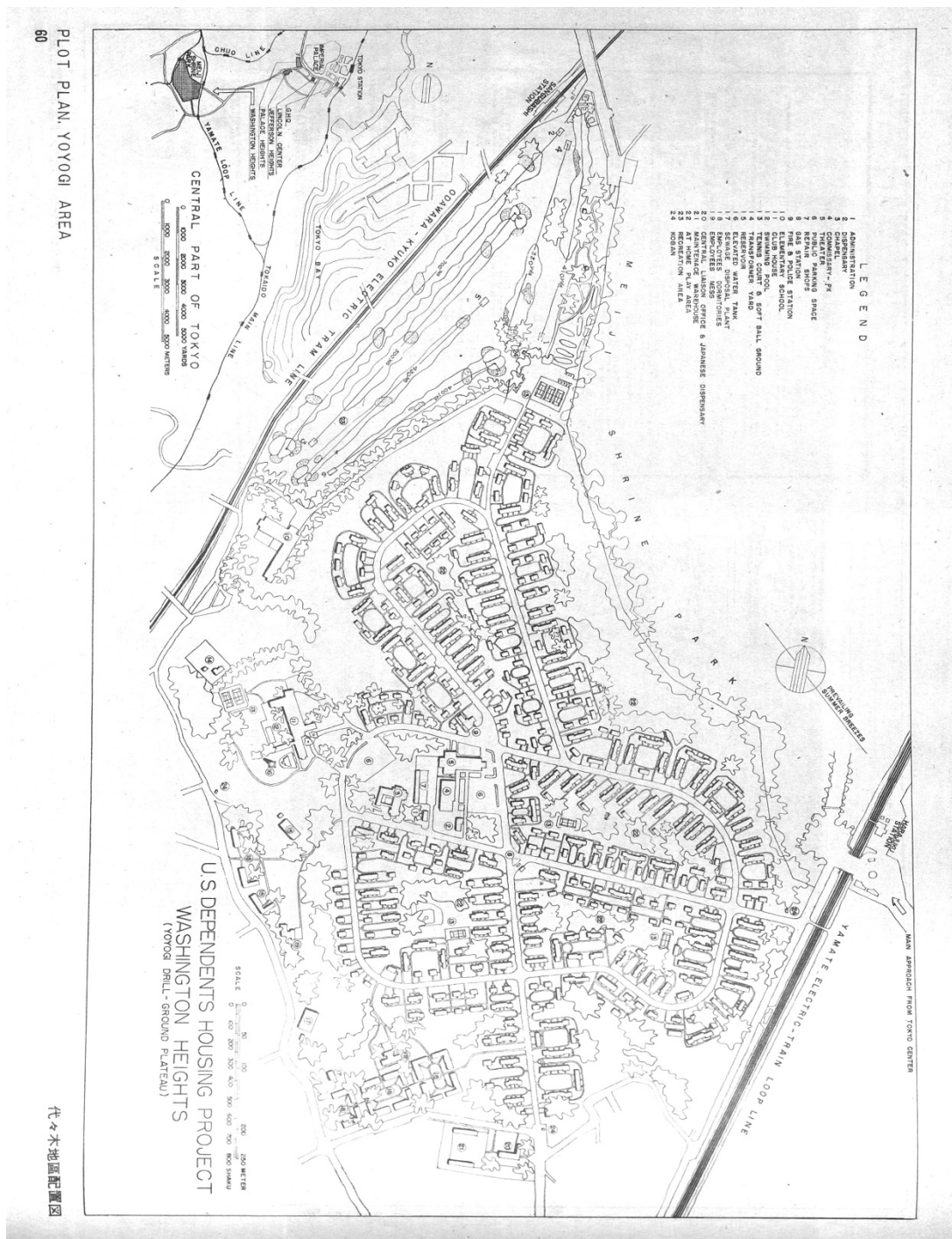
GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff. *Unnamed*, 1948. In GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff & Shōkōshō Kōgei Shidōsho, *Dependents Housing: Japan & Korea* (Tokyo: Gizyutu Siryō Kankōkai, 1948), 229.



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### Image 11 – Typical plan of DH layout

GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff, Watanabe Yoshio. *Plot Plan and General View of Area C*, 1948. In GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff & Shōkōshō Kōgei Shidōsho, *Dependents Housing: Japan & Korea* (Tokyo: Gizyutu Siryō Kankōkai, 1948), 23.



**Image 12 – Plan of Washington Heights**

GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff. *Plot Plan, Yoyogi Area, 1946*. In GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff & Shōkōshō Kōgei Shidōsho, *Dependents Housing: Japan & Korea* (Tokyo: Gizyutu Siryō Kankōkai, 1948), 60.



### 3 PROPAGANDA EFFORTS

#### Kōgei News:

*Kōgei News* (“News of Industrial Arts”) was inaugurated in 1932 as the monthly periodical of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, when the ministry absorbed the Sendai-based research agency of *Kōgei Shidōsho*, or the Industrial Arts Institute (IAI), and became an important conduit for Japanese readers to acquire information on the latest trends in foreign craft and design. In conjunction with the publication, IAI also organized annual design exhibitions and workshops with focus on exploring venues to “modernize” Japan’s manufacturing sector to compete internationally.<sup>49</sup> During the interwar era, IAI invited to Japan influential international figures such as Bruno Taut and Charlotte Perriand, an associate of Jean Prouvé, while employing domestic talents such as Isamu Kenmochi and Jiro Kosugi.<sup>50</sup> Wartime material shortage saw the institute promoting minimalist design aesthetics in line with indigenous Japanese aesthetic sensibilities, as well as furniture designs from the Third Reich, under the influence of the militarist nationalism.<sup>51</sup> After the war, IAI, through its governmental affiliation, became the agency capable to mobilize designers to provide service to the GHQ, publishing evidently pro-American articles featuring a wealth of subjects from continental United States. With the IAI being the nominal Japanese parallel to GHQ’s Design Branch, the design of Dependents Housing, and Washington Heights itself, became topics of importance for *Kōgei News*, alongside entries that focused on the reconstruction question in the subsequent years.

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<sup>49</sup> Jonathan Woodham, “Kōgei Nyusu,” in *A Dictionary of Modern Design* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, May 19, 2016), <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191762963.001.0001/acref-9780191762963-e-471>; Kitarō Kunii, “Industrial Arts and the Development of Japan’s Industry (1932),” trans. Penny Bailey, *Review of Japanese Culture and Society* 28, no. 1 (2016): 55.

<sup>50</sup> Jonathan Woodham, “Industrial Arts Institute,” in *A Dictionary of Modern Design* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, May 19, 2016), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100002120>.

<sup>51</sup> *Kōgei News* had apparently not severed tie with Germany after the exodus of Bauhaus members from the latter. According to Shikida, Nazi Germany’s attempt to re-introduce German folk/nationalist motifs on Weimar-era industrial designs were mirrored in Japan, where previously modernistic minimalist designs were internalized as indigenous to Japanese traditional cultural sensibilities. Hiroko Shikida 敷田弘子, “Wartime Functionalism and the ‘Beauty of Simplicity’ at the National Research Institute of Industrial Arts 戦時体制下の商工省工芸指導所における機能主義と〈簡素美〉,” *Bulletin of Japanese Society for the Science of Design デザイン学研究* 60, no. 6 (2014): 8.

During the period of GHQ's tenure, several Japanese architects and designers involved in Dependents Housing contributed to *Kōgei News*. Matsumoto Takashi, one the two Harvard-educated architects among Design Branch's Japanese staff, who was responsible for Washington Height's multi-faith chapel, penned a piece titled *New Architectural Materials in U.S.A.*, introducing plexiglass and *Prest-Glass* to readers. Translating the English term "laminate" as *hakei usuita* (wave-formed thin sheet), Matsumoto described the shapability and fire resistance of the new materials, their application in warplanes, and the general trend of American defense industry's realignment to service housing needs.<sup>52</sup> Amito Takeo, who was assigned to design the kindergarten and grade school of Washington Heights, wrote rather creatively for his piece, *Basic Problems in Formative Life*: beginning by zooming in from the point of view of outer space, Amito heralded a new era of exploration enabled by new technologies, and called upon new Japanese dwellings to "liberate" from "religious mysticism" of the old era in pursue of new forms.<sup>53</sup> Interestingly, and without written acknowledgement, Amito's article featured a plan of Richard Neutra's Channel Heights as well as a section and a plan of a typical Mongolian *ger*, encouraging readers to make associations with the "new" environment thus described in words. (*Image 15*) In seeing the *adaptive* potential of Channel Heights, which the American rationalized as resulting from the divorcing of "yesterday's speculative arts" from the historicist styling of buildings, Amito's inference to synthesize the Garden Suburb form of Neutra's with the dwellings of scalable and mobile convenience – ones that Amito saw as culturally indigenous to the Asian continent – therefore, revealed a possible outcome of localizing war-time American Garden Suburb's in Japan.<sup>54</sup>

The most explicit article promoting Washington Heights in *Kōgei News* happens to be an interview with the Japanese managing chief on site. The article was penned by a staff designer

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<sup>52</sup> Takashi Matsumoto 松本巍, "New Architectural Materials in U.S.A. アメリカの新建築材料," *Kōgei News* 工芸ニュース, June 1, 1948, 28.

<sup>53</sup> Takeo Amito 網戸武夫, "Basic Problems in Formative Life 生活造形の基本問題," *Kōgei News* 工芸ニュース, October 1, 1948, 6.

<sup>54</sup> Amito's call for a totally new architecture and urbanism in Japan echoes what Neutra acknowledged of Channel Heights later in his report for the first CIAM in Bridgewater: "what can be called a contemporary trend of design is markedly gaining... efforts of two decades to overcome historical imitations are evidently bearing fruit." Cohen, *Architecture in Uniform: Designing and Building for the Second World War*, 119, 120.

of IAI who worked on designing furniture and appliances for DH projects, Matuda Kazuo, and took a biography-like format on the work of Nagai Arekusan (Alexander Nagai). A former commerce attaché to the Japanese Embassy in Berlin, Nagai oversaw Washington Heights's operation and maintenance, including the managing of Japanese servants. Bestowed with the responsibility to conduct "frontline citizen diplomacy", the ex-diplomat was portrayed as an amicable bridging figure to both Japanese and Americans, whose prewar personal acquaintance with figures such as Oskar Schlemmer, Johannes Itten, and Bruno Taut, made him also, in the eyes of *Kōgei News*, qualified to speak about design subject matters.<sup>55</sup> When asked for his reflections from working at Washington Heights, Nagai was quoted as saying that Japanese civil life would need to learn from the "American-type lifestyle of Yoyogi", and that the life of the Japanese people "lacked rationality and planning".<sup>56</sup> Nagai went further on his claims in bullet points: Japanese children should adopt American-style education, which he saw as more conducive to foster the ability to "think"; Japanese workers should embrace American work culture and ethics, most notably a strict work-life separation that benefits both efficiency at work, and quality of leisure; Nagai saw the convenience of provided by private automobiles as indispensable to a new and better lifestyle, and lamented that the current "cultural" and financial wellbeing of the everyday Japanese could not yet take advantage of this convenience; lastly, Nagai observed that every American household had a telephone - "a great tool of civilization", he called - would make communication much more efficient than person visits, which he saw as time-wasting.<sup>57</sup> By promoting Nagai's accounts of life as *lived* in Washington Heights, *Kōgei News* advertised relatable, but nevertheless redacted "evidence" of American domestic culture, ostensibly determined by its designed physical environment, to the Japanese audience in compensation with the general promotion of design subjects along a *developmental* narrative, emphasizing a probable outcome of *improved* living setting domestically.

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<sup>55</sup> Kazuo Matsuda 松田一雄, "Amerika No Seikatsu Wo Tsūjite Kurubeki Jidai Wo Omou アメリカの生活を通じて来るべき時代を想う [Thoughts on the Inevitable Coming of American-Style Life]," *Kōgei News* 工芸ニュース, May 1, 1948, 18.

<sup>56</sup> Matsuda 松田一雄, 19.

<sup>57</sup> Matsuda 松田一雄, 19, 20.

## Kenchiku Bunka:

While Kōgei News functioned as a mouthpiece of the Japanese government, and by extension, of GHQ/SCAP Civil Information and Education Section's propaganda arm, the Information Division, private publications including architectural press prints, were also subject to strict censorship guidelines set by GHQ/AFPAC's Civil Censorship Division (CCD). Inaugurated in April, 1946, the *Kenchiku Bunka* ("Architectural Culture") was the flagship magazine of Shōkokusha, a publisher established in 1932 that released titles primarily focusing pre-modern era Japanese archeological sites and cultural relics, who by the end of the war saw the built environment as field with growing interest from the public.<sup>58</sup> *Kenchiku Bunka* became an instrumental channel for Japanese architects to acquire information on western architecture, and among titles in *Kenchiku Bunka* from 1946 to 1949, ideas, developments and built examples from the United States featured prominently - ostensibly in positive terms - to entertain solutions to domestic problems.

In the first essay of the second issue, published in May 1946 and titled *Minshushugi to Kenchiku Bunka* ("Democracy and Architectural Culture"), writer and cultural critic Nii Itaru envisioned a new type of urban reality for rebuilding of destroyed cities under the guidance of "*minshushugi*" ("democracy"). Broadly discrediting the prewar domestic architectural discourse as an instrument serving "feudalistic monarchism" that resulted in out-of-scale monuments for institutions of the ruling elites and uncontrolled chaos in residential settings for the general populace, Nii advocated for an urban environment that first and foremost, put the necessity of urban greenery as the primary feature of a democratic urban condition: at the flanks of arterial routes for cars and trains, sufficient spacing should exist between buildings and roads/tracks for a variety of vegetations, whose survival and maintenance should be of prime importance, to which trains travelling through should be electrified so to eliminate soot from coal-burning engines; At the pedestrian scale, instead of using fences, the ground level of residences should embrace the use of glass with careful and considerate planting as foreground "camouflage",

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<sup>58</sup> Shōkokusha 彰国社, "Kaisha Annai 会社案内 [About the Company]," accessed April 18, 2021, [https://www.shokokusha.co.jp/?page\\_id=1161](https://www.shokokusha.co.jp/?page_id=1161).

whose combination produces a balance between the practicality of deterrence to unwelcomed entries and a desirable showcasing of “democratic transparency and fairness”.<sup>59</sup> Lamenting that the 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake-induced Greater Tokyo Reconstruction Plan lacked vision, Nii urged architects to take the destroyed metropolis as a *carte blanche* to stage a new Tokyo that would be “sanitary, bright, and filled with ambience of freedom”, with “agreeable” residential life on display.<sup>60</sup>

Nii Itaru’s provocative introduction in *Kenchiku Bunka* inaugurated a string of inputs from architects on problems facing the reconstruction of Japan’s urban residential neighborhoods. One area attracting attention from multiple parties was the adoption of standardization and prefabrication of building components. In the fourth/fifth combined issue, published in August 1946, architect Iizura Gorozō called upon a coordinated effort from the highest level of the Japanese government to conduct research on prefabricated housing in an organized manner, so to insure the reconstruction effort against inflating labor costs and persistent material waste.<sup>61</sup> Iizura suggested the policy spearheaded by the US Federal Housing Administration director Wilson W. Wyatt as a probable forerunner model, which subsidized defense production plants that had not yet spun off, to produce residential construction components on site.<sup>62</sup> Comparing the potential of prefabricating housing with the American automobile industry, Iizura stated that the success of prefabricated homes would require the public’s acceptance of housing as a consumer commodity, and abandon traditional sense of attachment to land and housing thus far rooted in society.<sup>63</sup>

Iizura’s affirmation echoed with Saito Masayoshi’s title in the January 1947 issue. An engineer of Sanki Engineering, a construction and building equipment company succeeding Sanki Kūkō Kōgyō (“Sanki Aviation Industries”) after being spun off from the Mitsui *zaibatsu*

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<sup>59</sup> Itaru Nii 新居格, “Minshushugi to Kenchiku Bunka 民主主義と建築文化 [Democracy and Architectural Culture],” *Kenchiku Bunka*, May 1946, 1, 3, 4.

<sup>60</sup> Nii 新居格, 3, 4.

<sup>61</sup> Iizura Gorozō 飯塚五郎蔵, “Jūtaku No Kōjō Seisan 住宅の工場生産 [Factory Production of Houses],” *Kenchiku Bunka*, August 1946, 15.

<sup>62</sup> Gorozō 飯塚五郎蔵, 18.

<sup>63</sup> Gorozō 飯塚五郎蔵, 16.

conglomerate, Saito saw a recent GHQ order allowing selected factories under requisition to begin productions for the civilian sectors as an ideal opportunity to foster a domestic industry for standardized building products. Citing that in the United States, factory production of building components resulted in twenty percent decrease in constructed cost and 50% to 80% decrease in construction time comparing to pre-mechanized numbers, Saito advocated for former defense production plants, including the Nakaki Wooden Airplane Factory in Okawa, Fukuoka, a former Sanki Aviation plant, to produce affordable, quality-controlled building materials against those supplied by “black market” builders.<sup>64</sup> Saito was aware of the design of Dependent Housing projects, and more notably, the organizing efforts behind the production of DH household appliances, and cited such as an immediate case of success in implementing production realignment.<sup>65</sup> Cognizant of the inconsistencies in size, expertise, and sectorial origins of the various factories hereafter permitted to enter the market again, Saito advocated for the forming of *Kyōtō Seisan Soshiki*, or trade cooperatives, to ensure product consistency amongst sector players to cooperate based on each other’s specialties and capacities.<sup>66</sup>

Kenchiku Bunka, with its contributors’ collective promotion of U.S.-originated practices of prefabricated housing design, exhibited a preference for contemporaneous American political and industrial actions conducive to the enabling of mass conduction, mass deployment, and mass consumption of standardized housing. Kenchiku Bunka therefore, took an editorial stance accepting the suburban form as a solution to domestic crises, albeit more tacit than that of *Kōgei News*’s: its authors rationalized the benefits of the isolated fruits, i.e. architecture, of American wartime suburban developments, without critically probing whether the resulted suburban neighborhood forms could, or should be replicated in Japan, which nevertheless was not possible under GHQ’s censorship.

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<sup>64</sup> Masayoshi Saito 齊藤祐義, “Kokumin Jūtaku No Kyōkyū 国民住宅の供給 [Supply of Citizen Housing],” *Kenchiku Bunka*, January 1947, 3.

<sup>65</sup> The ability to produce boilers, refrigerators, and washers in short order, according to Saito, made it evident that more factories like his company’s can make building components in a similar manner “relatively easily”. Saito 齊藤祐義, 3.

<sup>66</sup> Saito 齊藤祐義, 4.

## Other Media:

Beyond architectural and design publications, other forms of propaganda were also as active in promoting American domestic life as experienced in Washington Heights. In July 1948, Sekai Nippō, a local tabloid newspaper, co-organized an exhibition titled “Exposition of Modern Interior Decoration” with the Technical Bureau of Special Procurement Agency. The organizers selected the proposal submitted by H.D. Baker & Associates, the private design practice formed by Amito Takeo and H.D. Baker, a staff architect in the American leadership during the design of Washington Heights.<sup>67</sup> The proposal called for full-scaled replicas of rooms from a “typical American house”, furnished with furniture, appliances, and small artifacts produced by IAI-affiliated designers and craftspeople typically supplied to families living in DH compounds.<sup>68</sup> The exhibition proved successful to the general public, and attracted visits from the Imperial Family: Due to be married soon to a commoner, Princess Taka, the third daughter of the Emperor, visited the show allegedly as part of “bride training” routine in preparation for her future role as a civilian housewife; the Princess, impressed by the western kitchen, stated to Sekai Nippō that “with a kitchen like the one in the model room, my cooking will definitely improve.”<sup>69</sup>

*(Image 17)*

Through propaganda efforts, Dependents Housing areas and the image of typical American family life had attracted popularity amongst women. Reflecting on her visit to Washington Heights, Uruguchi Shizuko, the editor of *Jiyū Fujin* (“Freedom Women”) magazine (*Image 18*), wrote in the article *Amerika-mura wo miru* (“Visiting an American Village”):

*“Houses grouped in threes and fours are surrounded by oval-shaped lawns. No one has hedges or walls around their homes.”*

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<sup>67</sup> Tadayoshi Fujiki 藤木忠善 et al., “The Influence of Modern American Residence Design on the Formation of the Japanese Post-War Residential Type 戦後日本の住宅形式形成過程におけるアメリカ近代住宅の影響,” *Jūtaku Sōgō Kenkyū Zaidan Kenkyū Nenpō 住宅総合研究財団研究年報 [Housing Research Foundation Annual Report]* 21 (1995): 262; Koizumi, *Senryōgun Jūtaku No Kiroku 占領軍住宅の記録 [The Chronicle of Occupation Forces Housing]*, 1:71.

<sup>68</sup> Michiji Suzuki 鈴木道次, “On the American Home Exhibition アメリカに学ぶ生活造形展について,” *Kōgei News 工芸ニュース*, November 1, 1948, 26.

<sup>69</sup> Special Collections & University Archives, University of Maryland, “Furnishing the House,” *Crossing the Divide: An American Dream Made in Occupied Japan, 1945-1948*, July 2019, <https://www.lib.umd.edu/crossing-the-divide/housing/furnishing-the-house-folder/furnishing-the-house>.

(区切られた楕円形の芝生を中心に、三戸乃至四戸の住宅が一圈をなしてみが、その集合体が村を形成して見るわけである。家の周囲には垣根や塀などはない。)

*“After stepping into home, everything appears to be clean. Every room is bright, with sunlight warming the space quickly.”*

(家の中に一歩足を入れると、まず眼をいたる驚かすのはその清潔なことである。しかも、どの部屋にも十分に光線の入る明るさがあり、快よい暖さがある。)

*“The kitchen was rationally arranged, and as a whole looked pleasing.”*

(お臺所の整理は合理化の最も行届いた個所として美しく見えた。)

*“The buildings are supposed to be very simple. But still, [seeing them,] I was shocked by the level of impoverishment we have feel into after the war.”*

(この村の建物はすべてアメリカとしては極く簡易な住宅であつて本格的のものではないが、しかも、これに驚くと云ふのは、一つには私どもが敗戦の貧乏生活に堕ちた為であらう。)<sup>70</sup>

Princess Taka and Uruguchi, though coming from very different background, voice a shared preference for the American-styled kitchen as a better *workspace*, echoing another women writer on the matter of streamlining homemaking. Titled *Amerika no Seigatsukagaku ni manabu* (“Learning from American Home Science”), Takahara Masako notice that “Americans loved to clean”, and advocated a “scientific”, scheduled approach with homemaking, using a modern kitchen equipped with various appliances in line with recommendations put forward by the U.S. Department of Agriculture’s Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economic.<sup>71</sup>

The Sekkai Nippō-sponsored exhibition and magazine articles by Uruguchi and Takahara demonstrated examples of how “citizen diplomacy”, in line with GHQ’s manager on site Nagai Arekusan’s input to the propaganda effort, could take form in diverse formats in more popular channels. In other words, an active campaign to commodify the American interior and its

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<sup>70</sup> Shizuko Uruguchi 浦口静子, “Amerika-Mura Wo Miru アメリカ村を見る [Visiting an American Village],” *Jiyū Fujin* 自由婦人 [Freedom Women], February 1948, 44.

<sup>71</sup> Takahara acknowledge the American “Wartime Homemaking Manual” as an ingenious instruction for housewives, and saw that as originated from the Western progress in homemaking as liberating women from excessive waste of time through scientifically minded management of tasks. Masako Takahara 高原雅子, “Amerika No Seigatsukagaku Ni Manabu アメリカの生活科学に学ぶ [Learning from American Home Science],” *Fujin Kōron* 婦人公論 [Women’s Review], 1946, 60.

domestic experience was waged by the GHQ, which hinged on a certain exhibitionist character of Washington Heights as a military-affiliated or not, transcribed Garden Suburb capable of cultural promotion.

### **Summary of Propaganda Efforts**

Immediately upon its commencement, Washington Heights activated its diplomatic charm offense, both a specimen of curiosity and a stage set of domestic rehearsal. Within the circle of design professions, Washington Heights was promoted explicitly in the advertisement of its own features and organization. By association, its designers and their affiliates took the opportunity to promote other related developments, such as prefabrication, which by then had formally entered course to the civilian homebuilding sector in the United States. For the public, and arguably with more precision targeting, Washington Heights fulfilled the proxy role of advertising American domestic life by both invited visits on site and externally curated exhibitions of its interior features, fulfilling a duty of cultural exportation that was nevertheless maintained by brute force. All the propaganda efforts, of course, still followed censorship protocols enforced by the GHQ's Civil Information and Education Sections, whose long list of restrictions towards publication guided the tone of mass media throughout its tenure in occupied Japan.

## Images



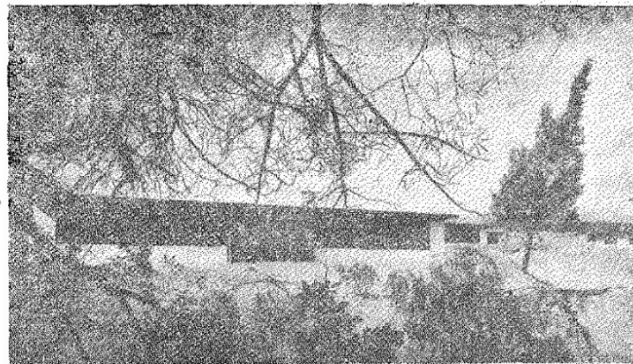
*Image 14 – Cover of Kōgei News*

Author unknown. 1948. In Industrial Arts Institute, *Kōgei News* (Sendai: Gizyutu Siryō Kankōkai, 1948), Cover.

# 生活造型の根本問題

## BASIC PROBLEMS IN FORMATIVE LIFE

建築士 網戸武夫



Richard J. Neutra, architect, Los Angeles.

して地球上の特定の地域に繁殖して行つたが、一方全く人間の住んでいない又は住むことを許されない地域が地球上の大半を占めていたにちがいない。しかし今では多種多様な人間が、この地球上の陸地と云う陸地に多様な生活を築き地球は今や、人間のために偉大な時代を約束している。人間は今や地球の兩極へまで進出して、

なくなつて來た。人間は今や偉大な時代に到達した。そして人間の生活を営む方法即ち住居の形式も偉大な進化を遂げる段階が近づきつつあるように見える。

人は一般に地上に立體空間を構えて自然の脅威やあらゆる他の迫害から身を守つてゐる。燈火のまだ用ゐられなかつた時代には、太陽の沈むと共にこの安全な休息のとれる場所に歸つて野獸の危険から身を守り、天變地變にはここが唯一の避難所となり、種族の形成繁榮はここを基として行われたのである。かく人の生命を守る生活の場所としての住居の使命は、空飛ぶ旅客機や大洋を渡る船舶や陸上を走る自動車のような日常生活の媒介物である動く機械に比べれば、

今も昔も大した變りはなく地上に固定して構築され屋根を持つた架構物であるに過ぎない。しかし現在には勿論過去に於ても時と處によつて甚だしくバラエティに富み、構築に使われる材料も色々で種族の風習や環境の相異にも影響されて、蒙古のパオ、南洋の水上住居、アイヌのトイ・デセ、スイスのシャレイなど、人の生活を盛る容器としての生活造型といつても多種多様である。そして各々

太陽系の一遊星である地球上に人間が生命の燈を點じて以來幾億年、チンパンジーに似た猿人と呼ばれるエアントロップス人が骨に穴をあけて生活した十萬年以前の地球はどうであつたらう。今日の陸地がほぼきまつたのは紀元前一萬年位だと云ふ。その頃には人間はその種族を増

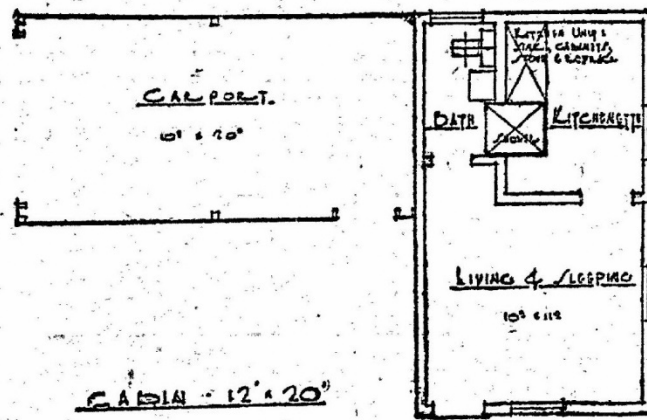
且つてはベンギンやエスキモーの住んでいた未開の僻地を開發して行く。科學の力はやがて地球上に住むに適しない處のない樂園とするであらうことも決して夢ではなくなつて來た。そしてアトムの利用は、地球を越えて宇宙の開發へまで發展するものも遠い將來のことだとばかりは云え



Channel Heights, San Pedro.

Image 15 – Amito Takeo's article in Kōgei News, featuring Neutra's Channel Heights

Amito Takeo. Basic Problems in Formative Life, 1948. In Industrial Arts Institute, Kōgei News, Volume 16, Issue 10 (Sendai: Gizyutu Siryō Kankōkai, 1948), 5.



## AMERICA から賣りに來た組立家屋

齋 藤 祐 義

貿易が再開されたらアメリカから組立家屋が輸入されるかも知れない、坪三〇〇〇圓位で建つそうだ。しかも日本の家より良質低価格の建物を耳にしたのは昨年の今頃であつたらうか？ 兎に角 PREFAB に興味を持つ人達の間には新米の客を迎える明るい好奇心と競争者に對する暗い不安とを湧き起した。私も此等の點から貿易再開に興味深く見守つて居た一人であつた。八月になり、暑さと共にアメリカから貿易使節團の第一陣が飛來した。續いて第二陣、第三陣とホテル・テイトを賑わした。八月も末頃の或る日、M・B・K・關係者を通じて日本の組立住宅に就き話し合い度いとの申込を成るバイヤーから受取つた。双方の都合良き日取が決められ初めてホテル・テイトの喫茶室で會つたのが九月初旬の或る午後であつた。新築成つた喫茶室で見た彼は映畫から抜け出た様なスマートなスタイルで眼顔に掛けた品の良い背丈の高い紳士だ。優雅な態度で應待するレファインされた國際人を見て居ると長年の戦争で國際的教養を忘れて了つた我々日本人との間の大きな開きを痛感する。溢れる微笑を湛えた顔と硬直した様な顔とが握手をする。香高き煙草の煙の中に會話が進められる。先ず日本の PREFAB の現状を説明した私の評論の英譯文が渡され、日本の求めて居る様な組立家屋がアメリカで發見出来るかどうかを尋ねた。話して居る相手は技術家ではない、一親日貿易人の、Mason 氏である。直ちに彼の持参したカタ

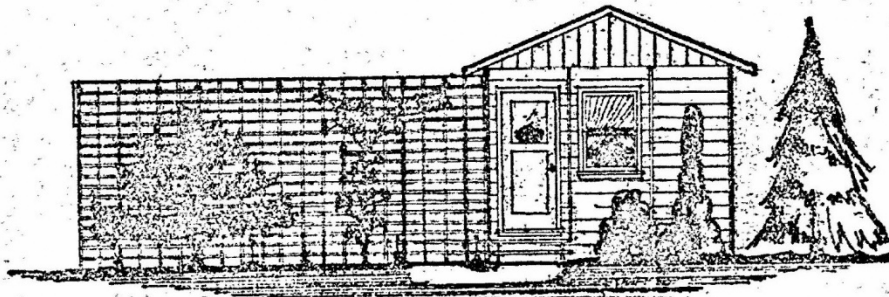


Image 16 – Saito Masayoshi's promotion of American prefabricated Housing

Saito Masayoshi. *Amerika kara uri ni kita Kumitate Kaoku*, 1948. In Industrial Arts Institute, *Kōgei News*, Volume 16, Issue 4 (Sendai: Gizyutu Siryō Kankōkai, 1948), 10.



## お臺所にて感心

孝宮さま御來場

無量に感ずる八月五日まで開期延長した  
本社主催クアメリカに學ぶ生活造形展に  
廿九日午前九時半ごろ目下紀伊郡井町の  
元侍従長白根三郎氏宅で家事員中の孝  
宮和子内親王さまが自  
武瀬治子夫人をお伴に  
薄いピンクの顔手に白  
麻のスーツといつを隨  
座なお懐いでお見えに  
なり橋田本社社長兼戸  
運合庫技師部技師主任  
らの案内で場内を見  
學された、孝宮さまは  
わが家の一主婦と  
して談話されるためか  
モデル・ルームをここ  
のほかに詳細にご覧にな  
りお歸りの際  
「大へん勉強になり  
ました、お台所は一  
番よいと思いました」  
と言葉少なにお歸りになり目武夫人がそ

の後を引續いで  
「宮様が私宅へお出でになつて二カ月  
半ほど経ちますが、このご  
では修繕のためと何から何までご自  
分でされへツカリ家内諸人となられま  
した、室内のごは勿論さまにはお買  
物までされますが、とくに台所のこ  
とはご熱心なので矢張りモデル・ル  
ムのお台所がお目につか  
れたのでしよう、お料理  
はとてもお上手です」  
の言葉に宮様は明るく笑わ  
れご返事へて間十時半過ぎ  
お歸りになつた、なおこの  
日本展の盛況をNHK  
ではマイクにおさめ今日  
午後四時十五分からの録音ニュースによ  
つて放送される  
(露城はモデル・ルームで休憩の学  
習)

アメリカ造形展

Image 17 – Sekai Nippō article on Princess Taka's visit to the "Exposition of Modern Interior Decoration"

Sekai Nippō. Odaibani Go-Kanshin, July 21-30, 1948. The Gordon W. Prange Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, accessed March 3, 2021. [https://www.lib.umd.edu/binaries/content/gallery/exhibits/crossing-the-divide/furnishing-the-house/copy-of-prange\\_module2\\_ns0882\\_1948-07-30\\_1.jpg](https://www.lib.umd.edu/binaries/content/gallery/exhibits/crossing-the-divide/furnishing-the-house/copy-of-prange_module2_ns0882_1948-07-30_1.jpg)

# カ村を見る

アメリカ

夏草やつはものどもが  
夢のあと  
元祿の詩人の詠嘆がそつ  
くり代々木原頭にもつな  
つてゐるが、それは敗戦直後の日本的な詠嘆  
であつて、今は違ふ。

浦口静子

二十二萬餘坪の警備の練兵場には、雑草の  
そよぎもなく、オイルで固められた道路が整  
然と横に走り、グレイの色も優しい清潔な  
建物が秩序ある配列で建並んでゐる。それは  
人呼んでアメリカ村といふ、ワシントン・ヘ  
イッである。

このアメリカ村には大小八百餘戸があり、  
區切られた楕圓形の芝生を中心に、三戸乃至  
四戸の住宅が一團をなしてゐるが、その集  
合體が村を形成してゐるわけである。家の周  
圍には垣根や柵などはない。日本の普通の住  
宅のやうに垣根をめぐらし柵で囲んで孤立の  
壁に閉ぢ籠るのではなく、他との連鎖による  
開放がある。

村には學校があり、醫院があり、教育があ  
り、俱樂部があり、デパートがあり、映画館  
もある。さらに洗濯屋が居り、消防署までが

設備されてゐる。日曜毎に華々しく讃美歌が教  
會の窓から流れ、共同の宴會場として俱樂  
部は重寶され、映画館は千人が樂に觀られる  
と云ふ。

家の中に一歩足  
を入れたと、まづ  
眼を驚かすのはそ  
の清潔なことであ  
る。しかも、どの  
部屋にも充分に光  
線の入る明るさが  
あり、快よい暖さ  
がある。壁紙から  
来る多分にメカニ  
ックな觀覺を感  
ずるのであるが、  
そこには不要のガ  
ラタらしきもの  
が何もないからで  
あらう。お蔭所の  
整理は合理化の最  
も行届いた傑作と  
して美しく見えた。使用具は一切備へ付けの  
戸棚に仕舞ひ込む、そして道具類は常に光つ  
てゐる。一切はガスを使用して煮たきする。  
調理臺に置かれてゐるのはコスモスを盛つた



花統一個である。

特別に、こゝが主人の部屋であるといふも  
のはなく、家族團圓の居間が懸案であり、  
書齋でもありそれに續いて食堂が花に飾られ  
て清潔である。床には色彩美しい絨氈が敷か  
れて、テリ一つ眼に止まらない、家の中でも  
ちろん靴穿きであるが、各家庭に自動車があ  
り外出は常にそれによるため轡に泥がついて  
家の中で持ち込む心配がないのであらう。  
風呂はどの家もきまつて二階に上つてゐるが、  
あり、シャワーがついてゐる。日本人の常識  
では風呂は階下といふことになつてゐるが、  
二階の寢室に近い方が便利なのであらう。  
この村の建物はすべてアメリカとしては極  
く簡易な住宅であつて本格的なものではない  
が、しかも、これに驚くと云ふのは、一つに  
は私どもが敗戦の貧乏生活に墮ちた爲であら  
う。私達の過去の生活の中にも、あの物資の豊  
富な時代の折に、もつともつと合理的な生活  
をなすべきであつたのであるが、とかく昔な  
がらの封建的な家庭の模式に甘んじた住宅で  
あつたのを思へば住宅が社會と直結に繋が  
つてゐるアメリカ村は實によい手本である。  
なほ附記したいことはアメリカの主婦が實  
によい世話女房であり、良い母親であるとい  
ふことである。

Image 18 – “My View of an American town” in Jiyū Fujin (“Freedom Women”) magazine  
Uraguchi Shizuko. Amerika wo miru, February, 1948. Jiyū Fujin, Volume 3, Number 2. The Gordon W. Prange  
Collection, University of Maryland, College Park, accessed March 3, 2021.  
[https://www.lib.umd.edu/binaries/content/gallery/exhibits/crossing-the-divide/construction-of-little-america/prange\\_module2\\_j229\\_2.png](https://www.lib.umd.edu/binaries/content/gallery/exhibits/crossing-the-divide/construction-of-little-america/prange_module2_j229_2.png)

#### 4 Suburbia as Tool for Soft Power Projection

“...the United States needed hard power to win World War II... ‘and what followed immediately after hard power? ... Soft power came in the Marshall plan... We did the same thing in Japan.’”

- Colin Powell at Davos, 2003<sup>72</sup>

“Soft Power is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcome one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment.”

- Joseph Nye.<sup>73</sup>

#### Probing Soft Power under GHQ

Conceived by political scientist Joseph Nye in 1989, “soft power” is, according to its original meaning, the ability to attract and convince others to one’s specific narrative and exists as means to achieve the speaker’s desired objective without force. The outcomes, according to Nye, usually consists of the listeners attracted to, thus emulating the examples practiced by the speaker in the venues of cultural and political institutions as results of non-military engagement.<sup>74</sup> In a narrow sense that follows the binary division of force-vs-non-force, and echoing the statement by Colin Powell in Davos, any occupation-era activities that had the duty to influence the Japanese population in favor of GHQ’s interests would be considered, in retrospect, efforts of soft power diplomacy.

This broad categorization of GHQ’s tenure as primarily soft, and by extension, the promotion of Dependent Housing’s suburban form and Americanized domestic lifestyles in general under the veiled duress of occupation as cultural diplomacy, is overly simplistic and problematic. Even by Nye’s own definition, the construction of DH was not an act of soft power, as the procurement was carried out through the coercive power of SCAPIN orders. Likewise, the publications and exhibitions promoting DH designs and American design culture at large, though soft in their appearance and openness to local engagements, happened under the GHQ’s censorship mechanism. However, as the DH and its propaganda were not themselves

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<sup>72</sup> Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means To Success In World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2009), IX.

<sup>73</sup> Joseph S Nye, “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 94.

<sup>74</sup> Nye, 95.

traditional means of coercion by *force* either, it is then necessary to evaluate the operational aspects of their soft-ness within the greater and *harder* context of a “civil reform” regime under foreign military leadership, using political scientist Janice Bially Mattern’s critical expansion of Nye’s original conception of soft power.

Centered around Joseph Nye’s own lack of definition of “attraction” for soft power projection, Mattern argues that attraction to a speaker’s narrative and consequent persuasion of the listener hinges upon the deployment of *representational force*, which is a form of power of its own that aims to endanger “the victim’s own ontological security” so to trap “the victim with a ‘nonchoice’ between compliance” and a metaphorical “death” of the victim’s own reservations.<sup>75</sup> Such attraction is not a “natural model of attraction”, but is rather sociolinguistically constructed by leveraging the lack of a truly common communicative exchange deemed necessary for leveled argument and consensual agreements.<sup>76</sup> Soft power, as Mattern concludes, is never so soft, and certainly could not be divorced from its symbiotic relation with hard forces. To evaluate the success and failure of a certain projection of soft power, therefore, rests on its success to construct a Habermasian “common lifeworld” capable of framing the speaker’s intention in translatable terms to its audience, whether genuine or disguised, while obeying the larger mission of power projection. To analyze Washington Heights’s capacity to project soft power, therefore, requires looking into the extent to which it succeeded in translating the military’s internalized understanding of Garden Suburb ideals, and consequently the GHQ’s projected imagination, to its targeted Japanese audience to induce subsequent developments.

### **Washington Heights’s Achievements**

As a successor to numerous domestic on-base housing projects and related defense workers’ housing projects, Washington Heights followed the practice of building military

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<sup>75</sup> J. Bially Mattern, “Why Soft Power Isn’t So Soft: Representational Force and the Sociolinguistic Construction of Attraction in World Politics,” *Millennium - Journal of International Studies* 33, no. 3 (n.d.): 586.

<sup>76</sup> Mattern, 595.

housing projects domestically in line with the Garden Suburb's civilian planning principles, and importantly, inherited a developmental rationale using Garden Suburb-inspired schemes as means to improve living quality and induce social change. In other words, Washington Heights had been one of the many military housing projects since 1926 that paralleled New Deal- and Lanham Act-initiated housing projects. The predecessor projects in the larger context of housing improvement, unemployment alleviation through induced labor demand, and experiments of social integration, did succeed to various degrees.<sup>77</sup> As a result, Washington Heights carried with it a certain political agency thus far invested in its form by its predecessors and was positioned by its designers as a "forerunner" for Japanese rebuilding efforts to induce "democratic" ways of life as ritualized by the suburban form.

According to architectural historian Fujiki Tadayoshi, the commercial availability of the DH design manual, the 1948 "Exposition of Modern Interior Decoration", as well as general design literatures written on American design-related subjects at the time, had considerable influence in "enlightening" (*keimō*) local architects, and are credited for introducing western-style living-dining room arrangement, also known as LDK, to domestic homebuyers in the 1950s; separate bedrooms became the norm as awareness of personal privacy rendered shared living spaces undesirable; and a backlash against *genkan*, the entrance area of traditional Japanese homes where shoes were changed, for being a "feudalistic" space.<sup>78</sup> In his analysis of different unit types using connective diagrams to show interior room hierarchy and circulation of paths, Fujiki was able to make the case for DH's immediate influence: by showing the similarity between the plan of DH A-1 unit type and those of *Saishōgen Jūtaku* ("minimal housing"), and a collection of designs published between 1950 and 1953, of private residences focused on achieving a level of

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<sup>77</sup> In addition to the hiring of workers, urban projects in particular, like Baldwin Hills Village, were early examples of urban renewal attempting for social integration at a time of upheaval. Cohen, *Architecture in Uniform: Designing and Building for the Second World War*, 113.

<sup>78</sup> The most explicit criticism of "feudalism" came from Hamaguchi Miho, the first woman registered architect in Japan and an associate of Maekawa Kunio. Hamaguchi penned a book titled "Nippon Kenchiku no Hōkensei", comparing the "democratic" layout of American living-kitchen combination with those of "feudal" Japanese historical precedents, i.e. nobility's and samurais' houses. Fujiki 藤木忠善 et al., "The Influence of Modern American Residence Design on the Formation of the Japanese Post-War Residential Type," 255; Miho Hamaguchi 浜口ミホ, *Nihon Jūtaku no Hōkensei 日本住宅の封建性 [Feudalism in Japanese Residence]* (Tōkyō: Sagami Shobō 相模書房, 1953), 43.

“cultured living while maintaining the lowest level [of material input]”, it appeared as evident that the DH design template, along with other contemporaneous cases such as Antonin Raymond’s new personal residence in Tokyo, had direct influence on the *Saishōgen* schemes, which included contribution from prominent architects such as Masuzawa Makoto, Ikebe Kiyoshi, and Sakakura Junzō.<sup>79</sup>

Of its role as a project of labor hiring and industrial mobilization, Washington Heights’s procurement and labor mobilization parallel those of state-backed civilian housing projects in the United States in mid- and late-1930s. In the case of Washington Heights, this effort involved the employment of some two million persons for its entire construction provided a channel by which funding from the Japanese government, in the form of war reparation, was effectively redistributed to civilians. Due to the sheer size of DH projects and the time constraint by SCAPIN-799, building contracts were awarded to three large construction companies with the capability to mobilize workers. Ironically, the three awardees, Shimizu Kensetsu, Toda Kensetsu, and Kajima Kensetsu, inherited their capacities from being a part of Japan’s former military industrial complex, and were supposedly also providers of reparation to the GHQ.<sup>80</sup> Further, Washington Heights’s achievement of total design, that is, as a single-phased implementation of the design and production of artifacts at *all* scales under one command, echoes the case of by Richard Neutra in Channel Heights before the end of war and more generally, the immediate postwar realignment of America’s domestic defense industry towards producing prefabricated mass housing components. Experience with this episode may have given GHQ Design Branch’s

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<sup>79</sup> Antonin Raymond himself was overwhelmingly dismissive of the DH’s design as crude, wasteful and insensitive to local realities, but offered no alternative to the GHQ. Raymond mistakenly described Washington Heights as made of “2x4 wood construction”, while “all the good carpenters left the city to starve rather than submit themselves” to the design of GHQ. It is unlikely that Raymond was ever acquainted with the publication by GHQ’s Design Branch. Fujiki 藤木忠善 et al., “The Influence of Modern American Residence Design on the Formation of the Japanese Post-War Residential Type,” 256; Antonin Raymond, *Antonin Raymond: An Autobiography* (Rutland, Vermont: C.E. Tuttle, 1973), 204, 205.

<sup>80</sup> Masao Uesuji 上杉昌男, “A Study on the Modernization of Japanese Constructors after WWII Described in Company History 社史に見る戦後日本建設業の近代化の研究” (Osaka, Japan, Osaka City University, 2012), 2, [https://dlisv03.media.osaka-cu.ac.jp/il/meta\\_pub/G0000438repository\\_111G0000009-2011-005](https://dlisv03.media.osaka-cu.ac.jp/il/meta_pub/G0000438repository_111G0000009-2011-005); Akinobu Numajiri 沼尻晃伸, “Senjiki Nihon no Kōjōyōchi Zōsei to Toshi Keikaku/Kokudo Keikaku: Tochi Shōhin no Tōsei to sono Jittai 戦時期日本の工場用地造成と都市計画・国土計画: 土地商品の統制とその実態 [Wartime Industrial Landuse Preparation and its Urban and Territorial Planning: Land Commodity Control and Its Conditions],” *Economic Review 静岡大学経済研究* 3, no. 4 (February 28, 1999): 77, 93.

Amito Takeo knowledge for his article in *Kōgei News*, as well as to Iizura Gorozō to advocate for prefabrication in Japan, as published in *Kenchiku Bunka*.

The Dependents Housing's most long-lasting legacy was the introduction of "white goods" (*shirobutsu*), or household appliances, to the public. According to design historian Ito Jun, the order of household appliances for the twenty thousand dwellings requested from SCAPIN-799 provided lifelines to business, with companies ranging from Shibaura Kōki (predecessor of Toshiba), Mitsubishi Heavy Industries, to Kobe Steel producing refrigerators and washers.<sup>81</sup> Specified by the GHQ Design Branch to be produced in the white color, these appliances were continued to be produced for the Japanese consumers after 1948, with their availability making the term *shirobutsu* synonymous with large household electronics.<sup>82</sup>

## Return and Demolition of Washington Heights

In the 1950s, the large presence of U.S. servicemen in Washington Heights began to put strain on the U.S. military's relations with residents. The conflicts in Korea saw an increasing number of single military personnel stationed in Tokyo, which saw an increase of prostitution establishments catering to these returnees.<sup>83</sup> In 1954, the construction for single officers' housing in Washington Height's northwestern corner began and immediately drew vocal opposition from locals, spurring organized meetings with government officials and representatives from the American forces voicing their concerns.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Jun Ito 伊藤潤, "The Birth of 'White Goods': The Change in the Color of Major Products in Japan in 20th Century (1) 「白物家電」の誕生: 20 世紀の日本における主要工業製品色の変遷 (1)," *Design Research 芸術工学会誌* 74 (May 2018): 97.

<sup>82</sup> Ito 伊藤潤, 92.

<sup>83</sup> According to Ozaki, the area adjacent to Washington Heights's northern corner was at the time, still predominantly residential. As a result of construction for single officers, residents worried about potential openings of prostitution establishments, and immediately organized resistance and penned petitions to the Diet. Masataka Ozaki 尾崎正峰, "A Study of the Process of Forming Sport Policy in Japan スポーツ政策の形成過程に関する一研究--オリンピック東京大会選手村の選定過程を対象に," *Hitotsubashi University Research Series: Humanities 一橋大学研究年報人文科学研究*, no. 39 (2002): 219; Tōkyō-to Shibuya-ku 東京都渋谷区, *Shinshū Shibuya Kushi 新修渋谷区史 [The New Edition: History of Shibuya Ward]* (Tōkyō: Shibuya-ku, 19), 2529.

<sup>84</sup> Ozaki 尾崎正峰, "A Study of the Process of Forming Sport Policy in Japan スポーツ政策の形成過程に関する一研究--オリンピック東京大会選手村の選定過程を対象に," 220.

In 1958, seeing Tokyo's bid to host the Olympics as an opportunity to resolve these issues, the Japanese government declared its intention to use Washington Heights as one of the hosting sites. This proposal was initially rejected by the U.S. Army, who suggested making available Camp Drake in Saitama Prefecture for that purpose instead. The government insisted on using Yoyogi's central location and large track of re-developable land as the rational for successfully hosting of the Olympic Games.<sup>85</sup> In 1961, after Japan's second and successful bid for the 1964 Games, the government secured Washington Heights' return, after receiving approval from President John F. Kennedy.<sup>86</sup>

With the demolition of the southern portion of Washington Heights to make space for the National Gymnasium, designed by Tange Kenzō, the remaining housing, as well as communal buildings were kept as the Athletes' Village. A new service center and dining hall designed by Kikutake Kiyonori complemented the existing building stock.<sup>87</sup> Upon the conclusion of the 1964 Olympic Games, the Athlete's Village, former Washington Heights, was demolished and converted to the current Yoyogi Park. One building on the eastern side was preserved to commemorate the Dutch athletes' stay in 1964, with no words mentioning Washington Heights on the plaque on site.

### **Evaluating Washington Heights's and DH's Soft Power Projection**

In hindsight, the projection of American soft power through the construction suburb-like military residential areas, with Washington Heights being the flagship project, had varying levels of success in promoting the GHQ's intention to influence the local population in adopting a new and *Americanized* lifestyle as a desired outcome of Japan's own rebuilding of its cities. The DH projects' active promotion through media exposure under the GHQ's censorship

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<sup>85</sup> Ozaki 尾崎正峰, 231.

<sup>86</sup> Azuma Hideki 東秀紀, "Tōkyō ni okeru Ibendo no Chikara to sono Shōraisei 東京におけるイベンドの力とその将来性 [The Implications and Possibilities of Big Events in Tokyo]," *Chigaku Zasshi 地学雑誌 [Journal of Geography]* 123, no. 4 (2014): 594.

<sup>87</sup> Atsushi Katagi 片木篤, *Orinipikku Shiti Tōkyō: 1940-1964 オリンピック・シティ東京: 1940-1964*, Kawade bukkusu 012 (Tokyo: Kawade Shobō Shinsha 河出書房新社, 2010), 190.

framework allowed the Japanese visitors and readers a communication platform that was, at its time, translatable, making domestic interiors and appliances items materially relatable to Japanese imagination. This explains the acceptance of the western unit layouts as well as the popularity of *shirobutsu* appliances, which were objects that could be divorced from the context of occupation and yet retain the image of advancement of American origin.

Within the architects' circle, the construction of Dependents Housing and the promotion of American practice in standardization and prefabrication provided exposure to designers and construction companies a vision of modernizing their trades in line with concurrent practice in the U.S., that is, the deployment of wartime industrial expertise and capacity to provide for the peaceful process of homeland rebuilding. In this regard, Washington Heights and its subsequent related propaganda efforts in *Kōgei News* and *Kenchiku Bunka* introduced to, or in Fujiki's term, "enlightened" the Japanese design community with a particular mode of project making in line with what Eric Mumford called "the Taylorized assembly line construction methods later often associated with the postwar Levittowns".<sup>88</sup> In other words, had Washington Heights succeeded in replicating its urban form in civilian rebuilding efforts in Japan, subsequent Japanese suburban developments would have been considered congruent in form to their contemporaneous American counterparts.

Yet ironically, in requisitioning building materials and relying on implementation through established construction companies and production plants, Washington Heights and the DHs provided lifelines to companies that were active participants of Japan's former military-industrial complex, effectively undermining the larger reform initiatives under GHQ, which envisioned complete dismantlement and restructuring of Japan's former war industrial estates.<sup>89</sup> The Dependents Housings, though conceived as vessels to promote an example of "democratic" living, had to rely on what their chief designer called "a single, economical,

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<sup>88</sup> Mumford, "National Defense Migration and the Transformations of American Urbanism, 1940-1942," 28.

<sup>89</sup> According to the Association's own history, the organization was as recent as in 1944, known as *Senji Kensetsu Dan* ("Wartime Building Group") by Imperial Decree, and largely consisted of the same members in its postwar formations. Zenkoku Kensetsugyōkyōkai 全国建設業協会 [National Construction Industry Association], "Honkai No Enkaku 本会の沿革 [History of the Association]," n.d., <http://www.zenken-net.or.jp/guidance/history/>.

structural system” of project management and delivery that nevertheless was a vestige of the former militarist state.<sup>90</sup>

Still, as a proxy of the social ideals formalized by the Garden Suburb archetype, the reality of Washington Heights as its own singular, self-contained urban *artifact* within the context of a war-destroyed urban center, displayed a scene of dramatic contrast that elicited shock from the locals. The shock enabled a reduction of Washington Heights’s presence to that of mere “Little America”, which compounded by the unequal and sometimes unstable nature of military occupation, made it especially difficult to convey the GHQ’s self-rationalized promotion of an American suburb as a solution to the occupied locals’ plight. This strategy failed because it was not able, in any communicative way, to provide a venue of “common lifework” in which the local Japanese residents, freshly deprived of shelters yet visually confronted by the occupying forces’ requisitioned material wealth, can conceivably see the scenes in front of their eyes as *attractive*, let alone as a solution. Where the Garden Suburb’s progressive ideals suffered to translate to the Japanese context though DH, lay in fact that the physical artifact of a Garden Suburb, which thus far had been internalized and deployed as an auxiliary tool in service to the military’s welfare, had been deployed much more so as an action of *hard* power.

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<sup>90</sup> What Major Krusé calls as a “remarkable” accomplishment – the system behind DH’s delivery, echoes that of labor and material mobilization for New Deal-era projects in the US, which according to Eric Mumford, “morphed into a kind of permanent defense-oriented state.” GHQ Design Branch Japanese Staff & Shōkōshō Kōgei Shidōsho 商工省工芸指導所, *Dependents Housing: Japan & Korea*, Preface; Mumford, “National Defense Migration and the Transformations of American Urbanism, 1940-1942,” 25.

## CONCLUSION

In evaluating the design, construction, and subsequent reception of Washington Heights and the design of Japan-based Dependents Housing projects in general, by analyzing the historical conditions of DH's implementation within the framework of Mattern's soft power/representational force framework, this thesis has accomplished the following: 1) A revisiting of Washington Heights as a subject of curiosity through the lens of urban design historian analytic framework. As most existing literature to date focused on factual curation of DH's design elements, as well as its influence on the development of Japan's domestic appliances industry, to which this thesis owes credit, none has yet examined its apparent Garden-Suburb-inspired form. This thesis has strived to provide a historiographical context in which Washington Heights's urban form can be analyzed further vis-à-vis other relevant evidential findings. 2) A research framework centered around the larger topic of *architecture and soft power*, one that is increasingly gaining interest both in 20<sup>th</sup> century and contemporaneous subjects. By analyzing Washington Heights and the Dependents Housing more broadly through a refined definition of soft power by political theorist Janice Mattern, this thesis serves the two-fold task of foregrounding a moment with importance in design history, of the larger and ongoing phenomenon that is the U.S.'s military presence in Japan; as well, a preemptive probing of the conceptual threshold of the so-called "soft power" and the agency of design by which built artifacts can obtain the disposition to convey messages, using the relatively well-documented but nevertheless under-articulated case of Washington Heights as a proxy for investigation. 3) With the synthesis of the two accomplishments mentioned above, this thesis lays the foundation for both a more comprehensive empirical study and methodological framework for the broader historical analysis of Dependents Housing projects elsewhere in Asia, pending locationally specific inquiries, which are of interest to the author of this thesis.

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