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Boston and Kyoto : City versus Suburb in Two Civilizations

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Boston and Kyoto: City versus Suburb in Two Civilizations

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1. COMPARING CITIES

Let me begin by posing the paradox which arises from first impressions. How is it that Boston has at the same time such beautiful and spacious residential suburbs and (at least from a Japanese point of view) a central city in such an unbelievable state of decay? For the Japanese who closely observes Boston, the coexistence of these two opposed environments is a matter of considerable perplexity. This perplexity is more than a matter of understanding Boston itself: it also challenges the intuitive conceptions which Japanese have about cities. True enough, Japanese cities have both slum-like areas and wealthy residential districts. But rarely does one find in Japan large slums right near the center of the city. And wealthy residences in Japan are more likely to be scattered around the central part of the city than to be concentrated in the suburbs.

This essay is an effort to use the comparison of Boston and Kyoto in order to uncover such differences between Japanese and American cities, and to describe their historical evolution and current status by using the method of the comparative study of civilization. So first some methodological observations are in order. The term "civilization" has been defined and approached in various ways, but I will here use it to indicate a form of meta-historical idea which is revealed in specific physical arrangements. So defined, "civilization" can serve as a conceptual tool to elicit specific social features which lie beneath the surface of historical change. This approach excludes any direct treatment of such matters as religion and ideology which are not concretized in physical arrangements, but at the same time, it does enable us to say something about conceptions of the city or of city-dwellers in terms of the influence of city plans and residential layouts.

I should also stress that although this essay compares Boston and Kyoto, it is not particularly concerned with delineating the peculiar features of these two cities. The aim is to uncover the broader "civilization" which lies behind each city rather than the special character of the cities themselves. In the argument that follows, I will therefore de-emphasize the idiosyncratic aspects of each city in order to seek out the commonalities which each has with other cities in the same civilization.

2. THE TYPICALITY OF BOSTON AND KYOTO

In the case of the United States, it has been stressed by R. J. Johnston in *Urban Residential Patterns* [JOHNSTON 1971: 136] that the old industrial cities of the Northeast have more pronounced class segregation in the suburbs than do the cities of the South and the West. Boston thus shares this characteristic with New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Chicago. All of these cities, with the exception of Chicago, began as colonial cities and by the end of the nineteenth century had assumed the basic form which characterizes them today.

One might even argue that these cities of the eastern seaboard, which evolved in an era when English influence was still strong, are really more "Anglo-American" than American cities. Johnston suggests that not only in the United States, but in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada as well, there are certain urban characteristics shared with the English homeland. In Boston, for example, the wealthy and refined upper-class "Boston Brahmin" elite had as its ideal the suburban life of the English country gentleman, an ideal which then spread by a process of imitation to the middle classes, eventually resulting in a major reorganization of the city during its most dramatic period of growth, in the second half of the nineteenth century. In this sense, one might see England and the eastern United States as constituting a common "Atlantic" urban civilization, with Boston as a classic example.

The case of Kyoto is more complicated. As everyone knows, Kyoto enjoys a highly unique place among Japanese cities. As the imperial capital planned along Chinese lines in ancient times, and continuing on through medieval into early modern times as a political and cultural center of the entire nation, Kyoto was like no other city. Most other major Japanese cities had their origins as castle cities (*jōkamachi*), so that Kyoto seems best considered as an exceptional case.

But this special character of Kyoto emerges mostly in comparison with other cities within Japan, and a more basic type of comparison, between Kyoto and cities in other civilizations, reveals rather the many broad commonalities between Kyoto and other Japanese cities. One might even argue that Kyoto is in fact the classic form of the Japanese city, precisely because it was not a castle city, and hence revealed earlier and in purer form those features which castle cities came to display following the collapse of the Tokugawa system of enforced spatial segregation by social class.

In the case of the suburb-center relationship which is the theme of this essay, the major Japanese cities, in comparison with America, did not develop any spacious

suburbs, but rather simply saw a gradual expansion of the urban periphery, to which the term “suburbs” (*kōgai*) was in time attached. In the Japanese case, there appeared neither the middle-class propensity to seek out “nature” in the suburbs, nor any antipathy towards mixing with other social classes. In the case of Kyoto, nothing which could really be called “suburban residential districts” appeared until the period of rapid economic growth after the Pacific War. The dynamics of urban formation and growth in Kyoto, despite differences of degree, are basically the same as in other Japanese cities.

3. BOSTON AND KYOTO BEFORE MODERN URBANIZATION

To compare Boston and Kyoto, we need go back no further than the nineteenth century. Boston was founded in 1630, but even as late as 1810, it was still a small city with a population of less than 70,000 (ranking third in the United States). From the 1840s, the New England region grew rapidly, particularly with the development of water-powered textile industry, but also with the manufacture of glass, musical instruments, clocks, rope, and wooden crafts. As the hub of the New England region, Boston had reached a population of 200,000 by the year 1850.

But it was after this point that the really dramatic growth of Boston occurred. In 1880, its population had reached 360,000, then to 450,000 in 1890, and to 560,000 by 1900. If one includes the suburban population within a three-mile radius (the distance within which one can walk to work), then the population in 1900 was 700,000, and if one calculates the total population within the SMSA's (Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas) of contemporary Boston, it had already passed 1,300,000. Yet in comparison with other large American cities, Boston's rate of growth was not unusual. In the decade of the 1880s, the natural increase was 20,459 persons and the social increase was 65,179, for a total increase of 24 percent.

This seemingly steady statistical increase, however, as Stephan Thernstrom points out in *The Other Bostonians*, took place against a background of constant and large-scale mobility [THERNSTROM 1975: 16–18]. According to statistics which Thernstrom compiled from Boston city directories, 157,816 families (about 800,000 persons) migrated to Boston in the 1880s. This was about an increase of about one hundred percent in the number of families living in the city. Various types of factories were located in and around Boston, and these new industries created new employment opportunities that led to rapid in-migration. This large influx was to a considerable extent counter-balanced, however, by a large outflow of population, a level of mobility far greater than in the case of Kyoto. This worked to break down the form of the traditional city of Boston, with its confined settled area centered around the port.

In Kyoto, the population in 1880 was 190,000, and by a decade later, in 1890, it had grown to 370,000, an increase of 29 percent. Thus both Boston and Kyoto experienced a net increase in population during the 1880s of about 80,000 people, an apparent similarity in terms of stable growth. In the case of Kyoto, however,

in-migrants numbered 72,457, while out-migrants totaled only 25,930—in contrast to Boston's 800,000 in-migrants and 700,000 out-migrants. The household registration statistics on which these figures are based were often incomplete, so that the total number of both in- and out-migrants may well have been substantially higher; in terms of the comparison with Boston, however, the mobility of the Kyoto population in the 1880s was certainly less. At the same time, it is necessary to correct the popular belief that the great majority of the population of Kyoto has always been Kyoto-born and Kyoto-bred: statistics by place of origin show that at least for the years 1920, 1930, and 1950, barely one-half of the Kyoto citizenry was actually born in Kyoto.

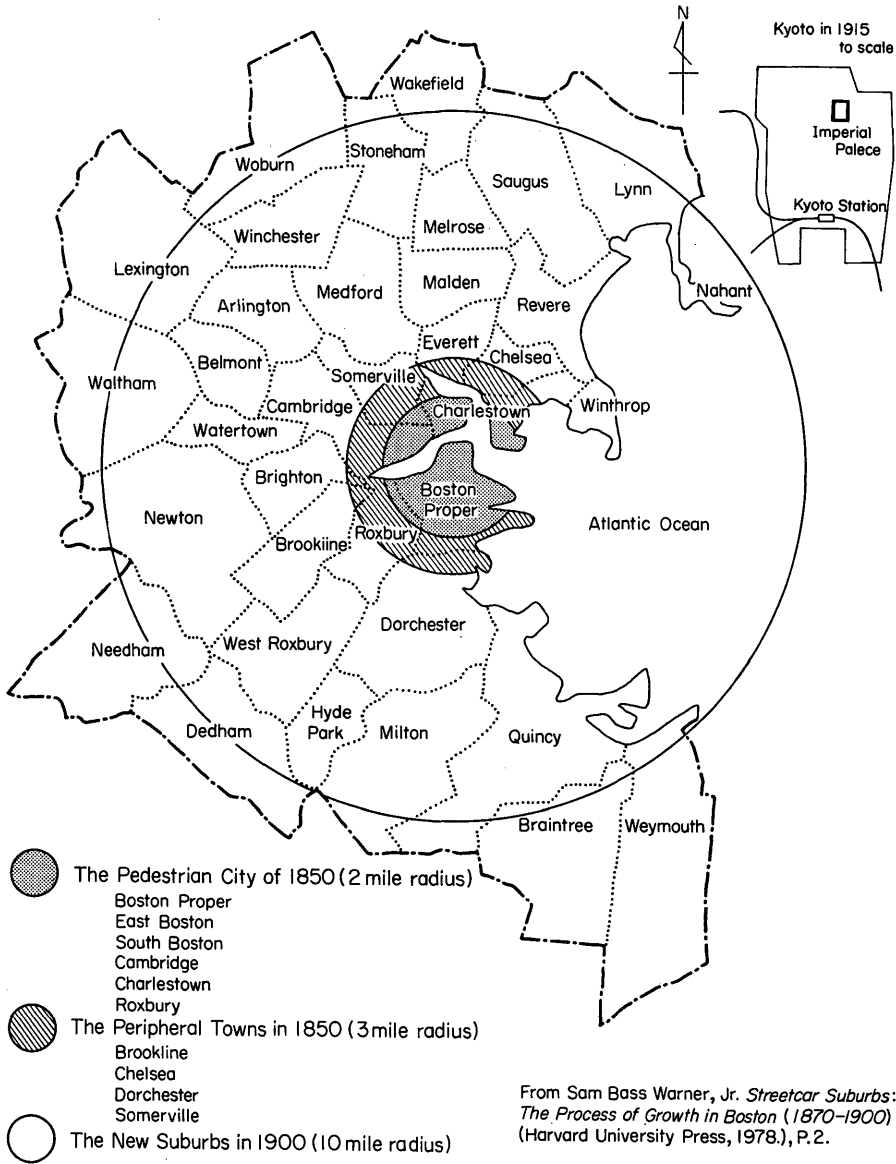
Boston first developed on a small peninsula extending into Massachusetts Bay. It was attached to the mainland by a narrow neck separating Back Bay on the north and South Bay to the south, but with the rapid expansion of the urban area which began in the later nineteenth century, these two small bays and adjoining marshes were gradually filled in. As of 1850, all Boston occupied an area which could neatly fit inside a circle of three-mile radius (See Map 1). This includes not only the adjoining (but administratively separate) towns of Charleston, Cambridge, and Somerville, but also the further settlements of Brookline, Chelsea, and Dorchester, which were within walking distance. As for Kyoto in this same period, the population was about the same as Boston, and the settled area slightly less, a relatively minor difference.

Residential class segregation also seems to have been relatively undeveloped in Boston of about 1850. The spatial limits imposed by primarily pedestrian movement meant that place of work and residence could not be far separated. With the exception of a small minority of wealth and leisure who were freed from the need to work, there was no alternative to the mixing of classes within a small and densely settled urban area. In eastern American cities of this period, before the beginning of full-scale modern urbanization, it was not uncommon to find wealthy and successful merchants living on the second story above their shops while day laborers settled in the alleys behind them [THERNSTROM 1964: 37].

In this respect as well, there was no fundamental difference between Boston and Kyoto. Thus in the period before the beginning of full-scale modern urbanization, when pedestrian movement was the norm, Boston and Kyoto were fundamentally alike, both in the area of settlement and in the degree of the spatial mixture of social classes. But although the point of departure may have been similar in both cases, the pattern of future development would prove very different.

4. THE IMPACT OF THE STREETCAR

Over the next fifty years, Boston experienced a phenomenal expansion of its settled area, which by 1900 had a radius of thirteen miles. This was far larger than the entire Kyoto basin (which has a radius of about six miles), over ten times the size of the urban area in Kyoto in the same year, and even three times larger than the area of contemporary Kyoto. Note that this contrast dates from the year 1900, revealing



Map 1. The Expansion of Boston.

that the expansion of Boston pre-dated the automobile [SCHNORE and KNIGHTS 1969: 249-250]. This shows that there was some powerful dynamic in Boston, but not in Kyoto, one which worked to expand the settled area at a very rapid rate. Let us try to discover the nature of this peculiar dynamic.

The minimum condition for the existence of a city as a unified entity is a system of smooth and rapid intraurban transportation. It thus goes without saying that any major change in the system of urban transport will have a decisive impact on the

scale and structure of a city. In the case of Boston, the stagecoach, which had begun earlier as a means of inter-city transport, was first introduced for public transportation within the city in 1826. Until that time, only private owners of carriages had been able to enjoy such a convenience, and the introduction of the public horse-drawn carriage became the first step in the emerging revolution in urban transport.

The steam railway first came to Boston as early as 1835, but this was a single inter-city line with only a few trains each day and consequently of very limited potential for expanding the urban area. The pivotal change in Boston's transport system came rather in 1853 with the introduction of the street railway. The first of these were horse-drawn, but after 1887 they were electrified. With the establishment of this network of electric streetcars, the dramatic expansion of Boston's urban area had begun.

But does the introduction of the electric streetcar necessarily produce an expansion of the urban area? The influence of streetcars on the urbanization of Kyoto—a city of about the same scale as Boston and one which introduced streetcars at just about the same time—suggests that such expansion may be a peculiarly Bostonian, or perhaps rather American, phenomenon.

Kyoto's first electric streetcar—the first in all Japan—began operation in 1895. This was only seven years after the electrification of Boston's streetcars [HAYASHIYA 1975, VIII: 457]. In surveying the history of the streetcar system in Kyoto, one is struck by one major peculiarity: it was never extended to the suburbs. The streetcar lines simply connected the major commercial districts of the city, rather than radiating out to suburban terminals. The first line was built in 1895 for the Fourth National Industrial Exposition, joining Shichijō Station (the present JNR Kyoto Station) and the exposition grounds at Okazaki. In the course of the Meiji period, the system was extended to include terminals at Kitano, Demachi, Nanzenji, Inari, and Chūshojima.

This first system, which was privately operated, was then put under public management by the city of Kyoto in 1912 and expanded in a pattern that is of particular interest. Trolley lines were laid along all of the major avenues in the Taisho period (1912–26), and the system was finally completed in 1943 with a circumferential line which was built along the four avenues of Higashi-Ōji, Kita-Ōji, Nishi-Ōji, and Kujō-dōri, thus effectively closing off the suburbs. Although there was no particular grand design for the municipal streetcar system, one cannot help feeling on seeing the completed network that a certain sense of the city lurks within it. That sense is nothing more nor less than a revival of the plan of ancient Kyoto, which had first been laid out as the Heian capital in the late eighth century on a rectangular grid plan.

Two principles seem to have served as the basis for the street plan of modern Kyoto. First was the “lateral expansion” (*kakufuku*, in the official language of the time) of Karasuma Avenue, which joined Shichijō Station, the railway point of entry to the city, with the Imperial Palace, the city's cultural symbol and spatial centerpoint. The second was the “expanded construction” (*kakuchiku*, that is, the widening and extension) of several of the main avenues which had their roots in the plan of the Heian capital.

It was along these lines that the municipal streetcar system (as opposed to the earlier private system) was constructed. In other words, the streetcars ran along these widened thoroughfares and came to form the basic framework of Kyoto's modern form, in distinct contrast to the Boston pattern of radiating lines to the suburbs. Kyoto's street plan worked rather to shut off the city from its suburbs. The key feature here was the circumferential avenue. Whereas the major modern avenues of central Kyoto were created simply by widening existing roads, the circumferential avenue was laid out entirely anew through outlying farmlands. Hence the main avenues run from the center of the city outwards, eventually terminating at the circumferential road. This urban plan of modern Kyoto, which was taking shape in exactly the same years that Boston was rapidly expanding outwards, highlights the contrast between the two civilizations.

As we have seen, the pattern of modern population increase in Boston and Kyoto was almost the same. But whereas Boston's area of settlement expanded in a short period of time by almost ten-fold, the rate of area expansion in Kyoto was much more gradual. The preference in Kyoto remained, as in the past, to live in the center of the city, so that even with an increase in migration into the city, the newcomers tended to settle either in the city center or close to it. Whereas in Boston the desirable residential areas always tended to be "outward" to the suburbs, in Kyoto the inclination was rather consistently "inward," toward the center of the city. Only when the center became filled would settlement spread outward, and then only by small stages. The tendency of urban expansion in Boston was thus centrifugal, while that in Kyoto was centripetal. What sustained this "inward" orientation in Kyoto was the ideology by which cultural (if not necessarily economic) prestige varied inversely with distance from the center.

Thus it was, whether consciously or not, that the municipal streetcar system came in the end to function as a dividing line between the "*miyako*" (capital) and the "*hina*" (country). The concept of the *miyako* on the one hand served as a force which drew people toward the center, while that of the *hina* (which naturally included the suburbs) was a force insufficient to lure people outwards. In *The Great Mirror*, a chronicle of the Heian period, there appears the proverb "humble but near the capital" (*gerō naredo miyako no hotori*) [McCULLOUGH 1980: 66], an apt expression of the contrasting Japanese evaluation of the city (conceived of as the capital) versus the non-city. In Japanese civilization, the further one moves from the capital, the lower the value attached to a place. The municipal streetcar system was a latent expression of this kind of value system.¹⁾

Boston is at the opposite end of the spectrum from Kyoto. The expansion of the streetcar network in the late nineteenth century proceeded along radial lines out from the center. The streetcar was above all a way of directly linking the city center

1) In Kyoto in the same years, one does find the construction of suburban electric lines, but it was only in the postwar period that suburban residential communities came to be constructed along them.

with the suburbs. What were the values underlying this pattern, and what were the end results?

Boston's first electric streetcar line passed through the narrow Roxbury neck and continued on to the southwest. Along this line were the three towns of Roxbury, West Roxbury, and Dorchester, which became Boston's first residential suburbs and which were incorporated into the city of Boston at the end of the nineteenth century. In the earlier nineteenth century, this area had been the site of the spacious estates of such upper-class Bostonians as John Hancock who sought to realize the ideal of a pastoral country life.

Before the coming of the street railway, these towns were mainly inhabited by farmers, and with the exception of a handful of wealthy upper-class families, there was little connection with the city of Boston. The two were first brought together in a rather unexpected way. The Massachusetts Horticultural Society, which had been founded in 1829 by a small group of upper-class citizens enamoured of country life, decided to build a cemetery in the country which in its lack of geometrical and "artificial" planning would express the romantic rural philosophy. This concept was realized in 1835 with the opening of Mount Auburn Cemetery on a small rise overlooking the Charles River just west of Boston. This was the first "rural cemetery" in the United States, and it was followed in 1870 by the expansive Forest Hills Cemetery in West Roxbury to the south.

During these years, the urban area of Boston saw little expansion despite a growing number of newcomers, and living conditions within the city progressively deteriorated. People began to escape from the city on weekends in search of nature, and it was thus that the first terminals chosen for the electric streetcar were these new types of cemeteries and parks like Forest Hills and Grove Hall. Even before the streetcars, in the 1840s, many Bostonians had already become accustomed to going out to the suburban cemeteries for recreation. According to a newspaper of the time, in the period from April to November of 1848, there were 30,000 visitors to Laurel Hill Cemetery in Philadelphia, over 30,000 to Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery, and several times that number to Greenwood Cemetery in New York [REPS 1965: 326].

Subsequently, the opening of the street railways made it much easier for people to get to the suburbs. This enabled those who could commute to work in the city to live in the suburbs, in imitation of the ideals of the upper classes. These were people whose working hours were short enough to allow them the time for commuting and who had the financial resources to buy or rent a suburban house. It was in this way that the social class distinction between the city and suburbs in Boston began to evolve.

Edward Sylvester Morse, who was living outside of Boston in Salem at the time he wrote *Japanese Homes and Their Surroundings* in 1886, remarked on the basis of his earlier experiences in Japan that "In nearly all the cities . . . you will find the houses of the wealthy in the immediate vicinity of the habitations of the poorest." The reason, he speculated, was that the poor in Japan did not live in such "inutterable

filth and misery” as those in the “nearly all the great cities of Christendom.” “Certainly,” he added, “a rich man in Japan would not, as a general thing, buy up the land about his house to keep the poorer classes at a distance” [MORSE 1972: 5–6]. The Japanese case was clearly different from what was evolving in Boston in the 1880s.

5. RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION BY SOCIAL CLASS

Let us turn to a brief survey of the class structure of Boston in the late nineteenth century. The upper classes constituted five percent of the total population, and consisted of the elite “gentlemen of wealth and leisure” (one percent), followed by such well-to-do types as large merchants, successful factory owners, brokers, and lawyers. The uppermost elite had built its fortunes in maritime trade, textile manufacturing, and railroads, acquiring additional wealth from its role in developing major financial institutions. As of 1860 the top one percent of the adult population of Boston held forty percent of the city’s taxable wealth [STORY 1980: 3]. Their political and economic power set them clearly apart from the middle classes and established their lifestyle as a model for the classes below them.

The middle classes consisted of an upper stratum of downtown merchants, lawyers, clergymen, sales agents, and contractors, constituting fifteen percent of the city’s population. Below them were petty shopkeepers, skilled craftsmen, and clerks, accounting for another twenty to thirty per cent. Their ideal of the desirable life was modelled after the upper-class elite, the social consequence of which was the flight of about half of Boston’s population to the suburbs. Thus began the characteristically Bostonian (but at the same time characteristically American, or perhaps more accurately Anglo-American) phenomenon of the spatial distinction between city and suburbs in accord with the social class order.

In the later nineteenth century, houses for the middle and upper classes were built on and near the main avenues along which the streetcars ran from the center of Boston: Tremont Street, Centre Street, Washington Street, Blue Hill Avenue, and Dorchester Avenue. In a schematic way, the relationship between city and suburb was such that the further one proceeded away from the city, the more pastoral was the setting and hence the greater the desirability. And in point of fact, the near suburbs were inhabited by the lower middle classes, while the more distant ones were settled by the higher classes. In terms of house form as well there was a complex hierarchy, ranging from lavish mansions sited in spacious grounds, to detached “singles” with a front and back yard, and on to two-family houses and tall narrow “three-deckers” with an apartment on each floor.

As this pattern of residential segregation proceeded, the very area in which one lived came to function as a kind of status symbol. The urban exodus of the middle and upper classes in search of the pastoral ideal thus made manifest the divisions between classes, and worked to exacerbate class conflict. Edward Bellamy in his

utopian novel *Looking Backwards* (1888), which envisions a communistic Boston in the year 2000, described late nineteenth century Boston as follows:

... it must be understood that the comparative desirability of different parts of Boston for residence depended then, not on natural features, but on the character of the neighboring population. Each class or nation lived by itself, in quarters of its own. A rich man living among the poor, an educated man among the uneducated, was like one living in isolation among a jealous and alien race. [BELLAMY 1951: 7]

Once such a situation has developed, residential segregation by social class tends to become more pronounced; rarely if ever does it diminish. As the urban population continues to swell, the residential districts of the middle classes close to the center of the city are gradually encroached upon by the lower classes. Hence the more affluent of the middle class move outward to the more distant suburbs, and this kind of process continues in a vicious circle. The appearance of residential suburbs of an expanse inconceivable on a Japanese scale was not simply a matter of the physical spaciousness of the United States, but was as much a product of the centrifugal force created by the nineteenth century phenomenon of residential segregation by social class.

This was precisely the opposite from the case of Kyoto, where a centripetal force worked to encourage people to live in the center of the city. In Kyoto there did not exist any class of economic influence comparable to the "Boston Brahmins." The powerful merchants known as the "*machishū*" were affluent, to be sure, but their wealth was not of such magnitude as to overshadow the other classes. Moreover, they lived in the city itself, and had little longing for a pastoral lifestyle. They did of course have an inclination for the creation of a natural-like environment within their homes and gardens, but this was not a yearning for nature in the wild. The Kyoto *machishū* not only had relatively less economic power than the Boston elite, but in terms of cultural power as well they did not function as an anti-urban influence. Although the influential *machishū* of Kyoto did serve as a model for other classes, their influence was a centripetal force, working to draw people to the center of the city.

The rapid growth of Boston in the second half of the nineteenth century created a pattern of residential segregation by social class. No similar phenomenon occurred in Kyoto, but this is not to say that class discrimination was absent. Throughout the history of self-government at the local *machi* level in Kyoto, as in other Japanese cities, there runs a tradition of clear-cut discrimination by social class. First of all, participation in local *machi* government was limited to the landlord class, a tradition that persisted until the end of World War II. As Tsuji Michiko points out, *machi* self-government was sustained by "a traditional belief extending over three centuries that local autonomy was possible precisely because it was limited to a homogeneous social group within the community" [TSUJI 1984: 282-283]. Tenants had no voice in *machi* government; on the contrary, it was only with the consent of the landlord class that they could even become tenants. Among the tenants themselves,

furthermore, status within the community depended on whether one rented a house on the front street or along a back alley. Thus relative wealth, as reflected primarily in the patterns of house ownership, tended naturally to be converted into the status order of the community. Class order thus worked to sustain the tradition of local government by the Kyoto *machishū*.

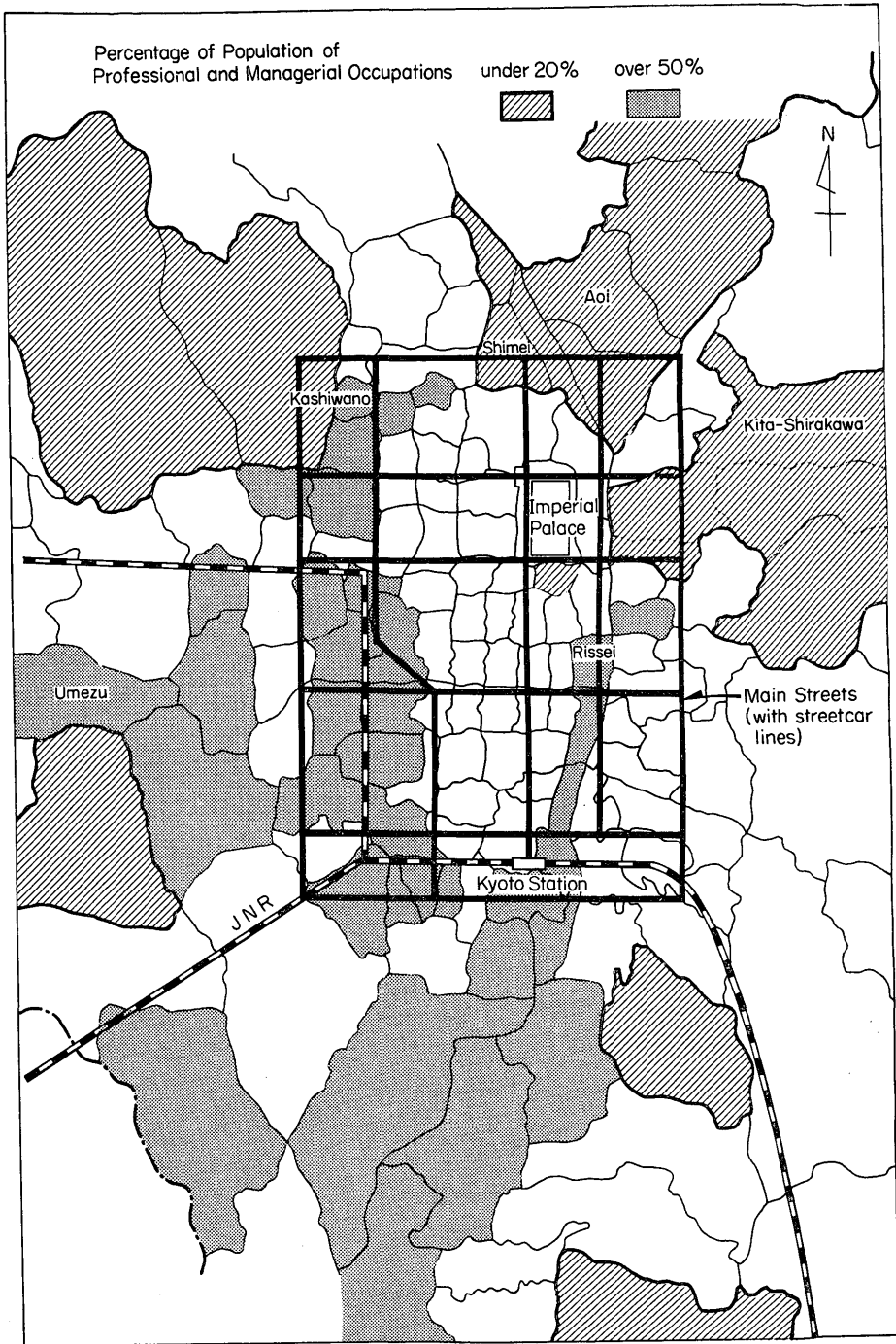
Kyoto had one similarity with other cities in Japan in terms of house-owning patterns. In the Tokugawa period, many castle towns had populations with as much as seventy percent living in rental housing. In Kyoto as well, a survey of 1890 revealed that 28.2 percent were house-owners, 40.8 percent were front-street renters, and 31.0 percent were back-alley renters. Moreover, as a study of Hokomachi (a *machi* in central Kyoto) over the last three centuries demonstrates, there were relatively few examples of landlord families which continued over several generations [MORIYA 1980: 67–70]. Although no precise statistics are available, it would appear that mobility between classes was very high. It was this kind of fluid population which inhabited the dense and heterogeneous neighborhoods of Kyōto.

In order to compare the pattern of residential segregation in Kyoto with that in Boston, let me offer the evidence of statistics based on school districts. These school districts were established in the early Meiji period and became an essential geographical unit of community life in the modern city.²⁾ Map 2 is based on statistics by school district for the year 1970, and shows those districts which had over twenty or under ten percent of their population in professional and managerial occupations, corresponding in general to the higher social strata [KYŌTO SHI TŌKEI SENTAA 1972: 14–91]. For the city as a whole, these two groups account for 14.0 percent of the population, so that over twenty percent in a particular district represents a relatively high percentage and under ten percent a relatively low one.

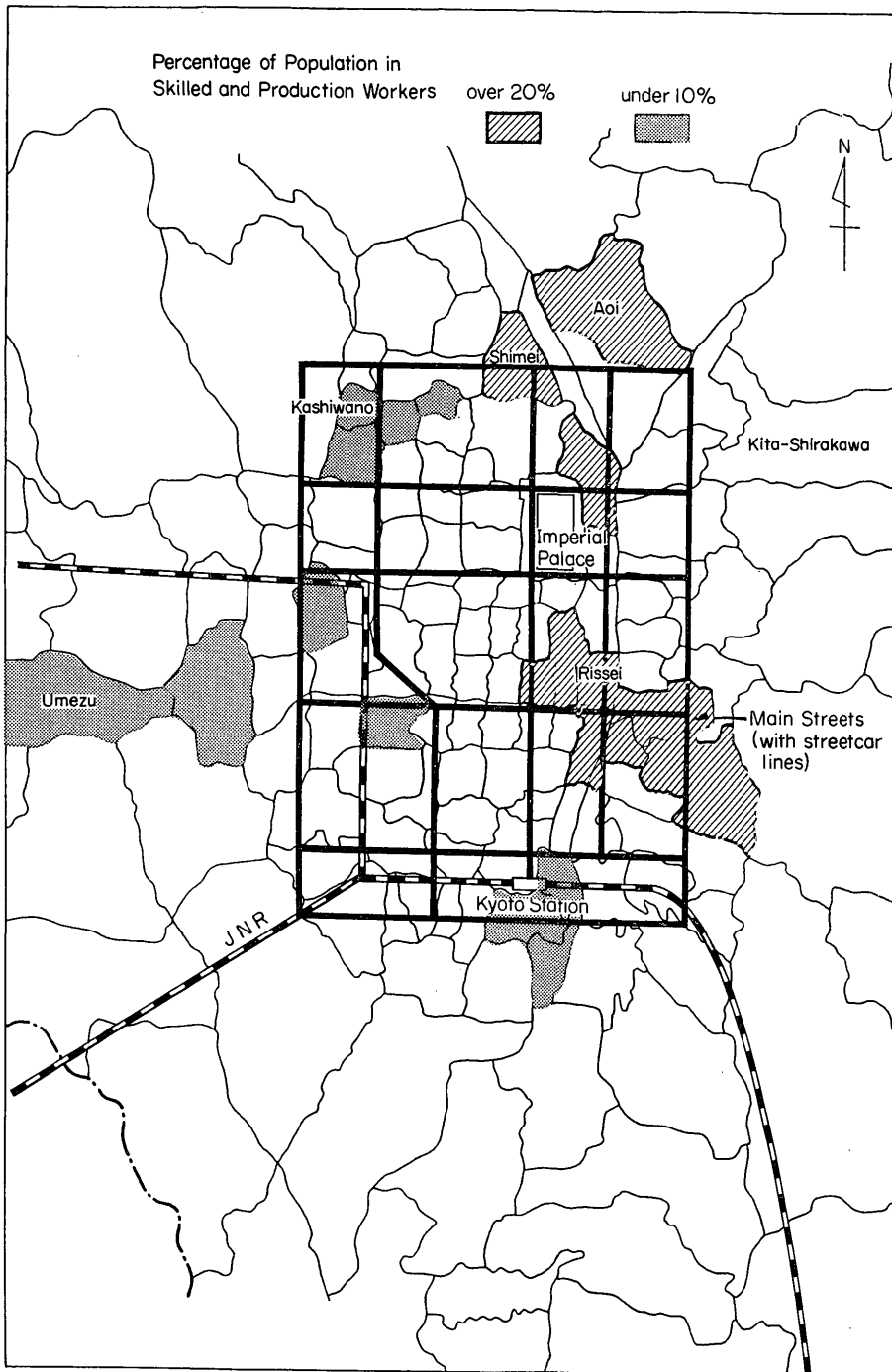
This map reveals a tendency towards above-average densities in the northern part of the city and below-average in the south. But the most revealing characteristic is that most of the districts in the city center and in the suburbs of Yamashina to the southeast and Ukyō and Nishikyō to the west fall within the average range, between ten and twenty percent. The only area which corresponds to the Boston pattern by which the middle and upper classes congregate in the suburbs is the residential area in the northern part of Kyoto (although even this area is densely settled and not really a “suburb” in the American sense). Even here, the district with the highest figure of all, that of Kita-Shirakawa, consisted of only 28.7 percent professional/managerial classes.

Map 3 shows those districts for which the percentage of the working class (in the

2) Until the Pacific War, the school districts served not only as a unit of school administration, but also as an organizational unit for local self-government (*jichi*) within the city of Kyoto, with each district comprising a number of *chō*, the smallest unit of local *jichi*. In 1942, when new school districts were established for educational purposes, the old school districts survived as units of local *jichi*, now called *moto-gakku* (“former school districts”). The figures which follow are thus based on the *moto-gakku* rather than on postwar school districts.



Map 2. Distribution of Population in Professional and Managerial Occupations in Kyoto. (Based on KYŌTO SHI TŌKEI SENTAA 1972)

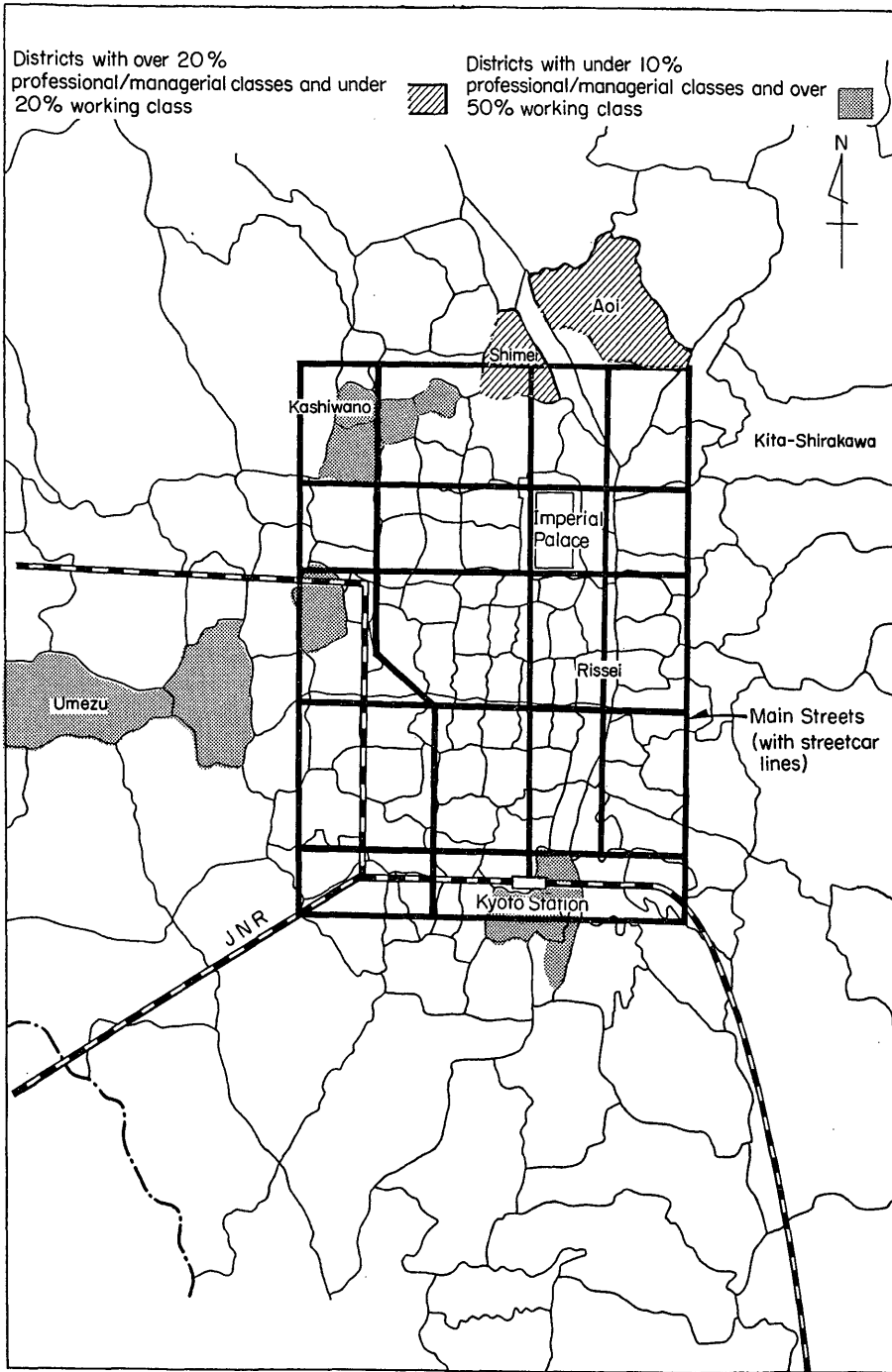


Map 3. Distribution of Population of Skilled and Production Workers in Kyoto. (Based on KYŌTO SHI TŌKEI SENTAA 1972)

language of the statistics, “skilled and production workers”) falls under twenty percent or over fifty percent; the average for the entire city is 36.4 percent. The areas which have an above-average percentage of workers are Nishijin and Higashi-Kujō in the central part of the city, and Umezu in the western suburbs. The highest proportion is 62.9 percent, in the Kashiwano school district in the Nishijin area. The lowest proportion is the mere 3 per cent found in the Rissei school district which extends from Kawaramachi Sanjō to Shijō in the city center, an area in which fully 80.5 percent of the population is engaged in commerce or in service industries. As the map makes clear, the districts with both the highest and the lowest proportions of workers are located in the central part of the city.

Finally, Map 4 combines the information in both of the two previous maps, showing on the one hand those districts which have over twenty percent professional/managerial classes and under twenty percent working class, and on the other those districts which have under ten percent professional/managerial classes and over fifty percent working class. This reveals which school districts are most biased in terms of class distribution. Those with the greatest bias for the top of the social spectrum are the two districts of Aoi and Shimei. The Kita-Shirakawa school district, which as we have seen has the highest percentage of the professional/managerial classes, also has a working-class population of 21.9 percent, excluding it from the “biased” category. Those biased to the lower end of the social scale are the three areas of Nishijin, Higashi-Kujō, and Umezu in which we have already seen the working class to be the most numerous. The majority of the school districts of Kyoto, however, are in the middle category (appearing in white on the map), showing no pronounced bias towards either end of the social scale. These statistics suggest a clear tendency to the intermixing of social classes in most of the residential areas of Kyoto.

There are no comparable data for all of contemporary Boston, but statistics for the West End district in the central part of the city are suggestive. According to a report published in 1973, the percentage of workers (skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled) living in the West End, an area with almost no black population, was fully 79 percent [FRIED *et al.* 1973: 111]. Although there is no data on the distribution of the entire working-class population of Boston, it would seem that the early twentieth century situation, in which the lower classes tended to live near the center of the city, continues unchanged today. This may be deduced from some available data on the distribution of the middle classes. For example, the 1980–81 edition of Harvard University’s *Directory of Faculty, Professional, and Administrative Staff* lists 388 persons beginning with the letter A; excluding 68 visiting faculty members and those whose permanent address is unclear, only 51 persons (13 percent) lived in the city of Boston, while the remaining 269 (69 percent) lived in such typical residential suburbs as Arlington, Belmont, and Watertown. The clear majority of Harvard faculty and staff, who are middle class or above on the social scale, are residents of the suburbs.



Map. 4. Combination of Information in Maps 2 and 3.

6. CENTRIPETAL VERSUS CENTRIFUGAL URBANIZATION

In Boston, with the introduction of a mode of transport which enabled people to escape from the city, a centrifugal force took effect, resulting in the segregation of social classes which had previously been mixed together in the central city. This phenomenon occurred because, in a situation in which the upper classes had overwhelmingly superior economic power and cherished a nostalgic ideal of country life, the middle classes tended to ape their betters and flee from the city in search of "nature" and status. The deterioration of the inner city in Boston is the natural outcome of a century of continued centrifugal urbanization of this sort. Boston is a classic case of a city in which the ideals of the "good and the beautiful" are sought in the suburbs, and in which the ugly and the undesirable are concentrated in the city center.³⁾

Kyoto is at the opposite extreme. Both elegant residential areas and slum-like districts are spread uniformly throughout the city, differentiated only at the lot-to-lot level. Beauty and ugliness alike are found in equal concentrations, or at least so it appears in comparison with Boston. The closer one gets to the city center, the more urban beauty one finds, and the further towards the suburbs (if we can actually call them "suburbs"), the more desolate it is. This is the result of the centripetal urbanization which characterizes Kyoto, which so prides itself on being the only Japanese city with any real pedigree.

What are the implications of these conclusions for the comparative study of civilization in general?

First, it should be stressed that the contemporary differences between Kyoto and Boston are not a direct reflection of the character of the two cities before the process of modern urbanization. At least in terms of the factors of urban area and class differentiation which we have analyzed here, both Boston and Kyoto were very similar in the mid-nineteenth century. This key point challenges theories of civilization which emphasize the particularistic tendencies of any given society. The particularities of Anglo-American civilization versus those of Japanese civilization were not apparent in either Boston or Kyoto in the pre-industrial era. Each civilization developed its own distinctive form only as a result of population movements spurred by industrialization, of mounting class conflict, and of the introduction of modes of transportation which enabled rapid expansion of the urban area.

The distinctive characteristics of a given civilization thus do not always appear in their most recognizable forms throughout history. Under any given situation of historical change, the actual mix of the particular characteristics of a given civilization

3) I realize that I am in danger here of over-simplifying the realities of Boston, where it is true of course that one can find in the center of the city such prestigious and wealthy sections as Beacon Hill and Commonwealth Avenue, and where redevelopment and gentrification have recently tended to reverse historical trends. For the uses of a general comparison with Kyoto, however, I think that the generalizations which I make here are justified.

will likewise change, and will manifest itself as the special character of a particular civilization at a particular time in history. In the case of England, for example, if there had been no urge on the part of the urban bourgeoisie to conform to the cultural ideals of an aristocracy which had its base in the countryside, then the pattern of urbanization and suburbanization in England and, by extension, in Boston, may well have been different.

Secondly, we must not overlook the fact that there is considerable variation among individual cities in any given civilization. In Tokyo, for example, suburbanization took the form of an extension of the former daimyo lands (*bukechi*) of the Yamanote. The people who lived there were white-collar workers, clearly differentiated in terms of social class from the working-class majority. In comparison with Kyoto, residential segregation by social class was pronounced in Tokyo. But if we compare Tokyo with Boston, we find that it was relatively more like Kyoto, exhibiting an overall mosaic pattern of social class. This is clear from the response of one of the *chōnaikai* members which is recorded by Kunihiro Narumi in his article in this volume: "our membership is a virtual microcosm of society in general, bringing together members of every class from aristocrats and state ministers to civil servants, businessmen, small merchants, and artisans, and on down to manual laborers." Residential segregation by social class in Tokyo thus appears as a secondary phenomenon within a general pattern of mosaic-like class distribution.

This essay began with my impression of the beauty of the Boston suburbs, but let me now conclude with another personal image of the Boston environment. Running south from the center of Boston is Route US 1, which began in the late nineteenth century as Centre Street, one of the main avenues radiating from the city center. Just outside the city, the street turns into a beautiful, green tree-lined boulevard, winding among low hills, streams, and ponds. Parallel to this and separated by a row of low hills runs Washington Street. In the nineteenth century, Washington Street was in fact the most important artery leading out of Boston into its suburbs. Today, an elevated MTA line runs over the street, both sides of which are lined by burned-out and abandoned apartment buildings. The people one sees are mostly Blacks. The street is strewn with garbage. Here, on opposite sides of a single hill, are two separate worlds. It is this image that keeps coming back to me as I write, and I begin to wonder whether, in spite of my candid distaste for Kyoto, I have not somehow become seduced by the Kyoto ideology that it is the ideal city!

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