URP GCOE DOCUMENT 4

Urban Regeneration and Creativity

Urban Research Plaza, Osaka City University

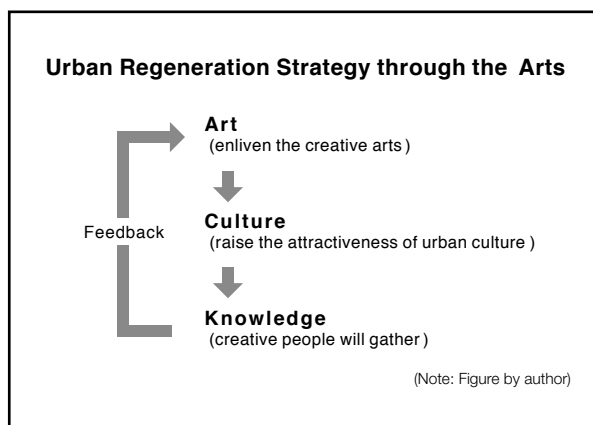# ■ Contents

1. Age of the Knowledge and Information Economy
: Cultural Amenity is One of the Keys

Why now is the topic of 'Urban Regeneration through Culture and Creativity' attracting so much attention?

The transition from the twentieth century-type of economy centered on manufacturing to a twenty-first century type of society with an economy in which knowledge and information are more important is well under way, and the engine of economic growth for cities and regions is shifting from large-scale factories to enterprises and individuals that are overflowing with creativity.

In Europe, because they suffered early from the decline and hollowing-out of the manufacturing industry, promotion of 'creative cities' that are rich in creativity in industry and culture is well advanced. For example, Bilbao, Spain, which succeeded in urban revitalization with a contemporary art museum is representative. This is the Bilbao Guggenheim Museum which opened on derelict land in the city's core in 1997. Designed by the American architect Frank Gehry, the building's facade is lavishly decorated with titanium, used in rockets and airplanes, it has a very unique form, and has been highly praised as a work of art known immediately throughout the world.

Urban Regeneration Strategy through the Arts

Art
(enliven the creative arts)

↓

Feedback

Culture
(raise the attractiveness of urban culture)

↓

Knowledge
(creative people will gather)

(Note: Figure by author)

According to public reports the construction cost was one hundred million dollars. In the five years from 1997 to 2002, it had 5,150,000 visitors. The museum directly employs 4,100 people, and indirect employment in the tourism sector, etc. increased by 40,000. It resulted in an economic effect of increasing tax revenue by 117,500,000 euros. Not only did it return the initial capital investment within five years, but it succeeded in bringing about a transition in industry from heavy industry to a knowledge and information economy-type of industry and lowered the unemployment rate.

It is already well known that in mature societies an art museum can create positive economic effects, but the example of Bilbao is highly regarded as a model case in which 'the arts can be an igniter for regeneration of a decaying city.'

Additionally, in the age of the knowledge and information economy, when knowledge and information play the major roles in the economy, individuals who are creatively active become a major element for economic development, and having an attractive urban culture that draws such people becomes key. What proved this thesis, that 'to attract such people, the power of avant-garde contemporary art would be effective' was the Bilbao urban regeneration strategy, in other words the strategy that Art leads to Culture which leads to Knowledge.

In this series, we will analyze 'new urban policies based on the axes of culture and creativity' with case studies from Europe, America, Asia, and Japan.

(Masayuki SASAKI)

2. A New Class: A Region's Power of Attraction is Important

The person who brought the focus on 'creativity' into the discussion of American urban regeneration is the urban studies researcher Richard Florida, author of *The Rise of the Creative Class*. Born in the city of Pittsburgh, filled with factory workers, he had previously analyzed the locational behavior of industries in the severe conditions of large-scale factories closing one after another and rising numbers of unemployed. Then he traced the locational behavior of the rapidly growing high tech industries that are looking for creative talent, and he maintained that the key to regional revitalization was not in attracting factories but depended on to what extent the region could attract creative talent, i.e. the creative class.

The social stratum that Florida calls the creative class is made up of two groups, the 'super-creative core' and 'creative professionals'. The former consists of specialized professionals in: 1) computers and mathematics; 2) architecture and engineering; 3) the life sciences, natural sciences, and social sciences; 4) education, training, and libraries; and 5) the arts, design, entertainment, sports, and media. The latter group is composed of specialized occupations in: 6) management; 7) business and finance; 8) law; 9) health and medicine, doctors and technicians; and 10) sales management.

Both of these groups have grown rapidly in the hundred years of the twentieth century. In 1999, there were 15 million people in the first group or 12% of the total American labor force, and when combined with the second group, the total number in the creative class reaches 38,300,000 which is 30% of the total number of those employed.

What is especially new is that in the 'super-creative core' that forms the base of the creative class, in addition to the occupations related to research and development in the natural sciences such as information technology and biotechnology, occupational groups related to the arts such as motion pictures, music, theater arts, and media arts are also included.

According to Florida, a regional relationship can be seen in the two indices which show a concentration of these two groups, the 'high tech index' and the 'gay index' (based on the association that there are many creative people among gays). In rapidly growing regions, such as San Francisco, Austin, etc. both of these indices are high. He stresses that in realizing a creative community, it is the local social atmosphere that breeds creativity, the social, cultural, and geographic environment or milieu, that is important, and it is more effective to gather personnel with creativity or 'creative capital'.

(Masayuki SASAKI)

3. The Three "T's": Local Tolerance is the Most Important

The American urban researcher Richard Florida, as a new handle on twenty-first century-type cities, drew attention to the appearance of the 'creative class' of people who use creativity in knowledge-based occupations in fields such as research and development, arts and culture, architecture, law, etc., and analyzed the characteristics of their work, their lifestyles, and the community in which they would want to live.

In addition, he showed that the types of cities and regions that the creative class preferred to live in had superior economic performance in easy-to-understand concrete indices.

Creativity Indices according to R. Florida

①Talent	1) Creative Class 2) Human Resources 3) Talent Employed in Science and Technology
②Technology	1) Innovation Index 2) High Tech Index
③Tolerance	1) Gay Index 2) Bohemian Index 3) Melting Pot Index

(Source: Richard Florida, *City and the Creative Class*, Routledge, 2005)

Florida's analyses have had a big impact on urban policies around the world. The 'creativity indices' he developed, as shown in the chart, are composed of a total of eight indices which form the 'three T's', in other words, the areas of Talent, Technology, and Tolerance. The one Florida pays the most attention to is tolerance. Among the tolerance indices, he particularly estimated regional proportions of gay and lesbian residents compared to the national average. This index is called the 'gay index' and has caused a lot of controversy. The higher the index, the more it means that the locale is one of 'tolerance' where gays living next door would be accepted and not ostracized.

It is known that there are many creative people among gays, but Florida treats other people like artists who are ahead of their time, who are not accepted by existing values, in the same way as gays, and thinks that the communities that would not exclude such talent are just the ones that are creative. For example, he showed that creativity-rich communities had characteristics that cutting-edge talent in the high tech fields found desirable and made them gather there. Silicon Valley, for one, corresponds to such a region.

Also, the indices that Florida developed have also become symbols that strongly show the concentration of social groups like bohemians, such as young artists, who could be called vagabonds.

In America, there are many bohemians. Bohemians have a culture that stands in contrast to the older European culture, as for example rock music and jazz as against classical music. In other words, because Florida's indices were measures that showed a challenging attitude towards the existing society, they had a strong impact. His theories, together with the slogan 'cities with lots of gays develop' have echoed around the world.

(Masayuki SASAKI)

4. The Role of Arts and Culture
: Drawing Out aSociety's Latent Energy

The book *The Creative City*, written by the urban researcher Charles Landry who is active mainly in the United Kingdom, was written with an awareness of the problem of how best to headline the new directions of city development. That is because the previously extant welfare state system in Western Europe was in tatters and the hollowing-out of industry was proceeding.

This same book analyzes successful cases of 'European cultural capitals' that aimed at urban planning that utilized culture together with the mutual cultural understanding promoted from 1985 onwards by the European Union, and theorized about experiments that tried to draw out the latent social energy using the creative power of the arts and culture as a 'creative cities theory'. In the cultural capitals, concerts and other arts events were carried out throughout the year. Landry gives reasons from his own experience why he fixed his attention on the 'creativity in arts and culture'.

First, he cites the fact that in cities losing heavy industry, creative industries like multimedia, video, motion pictures, etc. can be effective in replacing manufacturing in terms of growth and employment.

Second, is that the arts and culture can be influential in stimulating the city's residents with new ideas. Landry says, "What is important for the creativity of a city, is for creative problem-solving in all areas, economics, culture, organizations, finance, etc., and chain reactions to occur one after another, and a dynamism that causes existing systems to change."

Third, the cultural legacy and cultural traditions awaken in people history and memory of the city, and as something that solidifies the identity of the city, also heightens insight into the future.

'Creation' is not just a continuous stream of new inventions. It is accomplished through an appropriate 'dialog with the past', and 'tradition' and 'creation' are processes that mutually influence each other. Thus, the fourth reason: in order to create 'sustainable cities' that exist in harmony with the global environment, we can expect that culture will also play an important role.

European Cultural Capitals since 2001

Year	City (Country)
2001	Rotterdam (the Netherlands), Oporto (Portugal)
2002	Salamanca (Spain), Brugge (Belgium)
2003	Graz (Austria)
2004	Lille (France), Genoa (Italy)
2005	Cork (Ireland)
2006	Patras (Greece)
2007	Luxembourg(Grand Duchy of Luxembourg)， Sibiu (Romania)
2008	Liverpool (U.K.), Stavanger(Norway)

(Note: Designations made since 1985)

Together with Bologna, Landry takes up Helsinki, selected as a cultural capital in 2000, as a city to pay attention to. Based on a particular natural environment and cultural tradition, Helsinki promoted a unique urban regeneration strategy with the theme of 'light'. And this led to its success as a creative city.

(Masayuki SASAKI)

5. The Lineage of Creative Cities
: Jane Jacobs is the Source

When we look for the lineage of the 'creative city theory' of Florida and Landry, we can trace the source back to Jane Jacobs who passed away in 2006 at the age of 89.

For example, as a model for Florida's 'creative community' that the creative class prefers and congregates in, he calls attention to the diversity and creativity of lower Manhattan described in Jacobs' debut work, *The Death and Life of American Cities.*

At the same time, Jacobs' *Cities and the Wealth of Nations* is also widely seen as the prototype for creative cities. In this book, rather than the 'global cities' with economic influence like New York and Tokyo, Jacobs focused on the mid-sized cities of Venice and Bologna in 'the third Italy'.

Jacobs analyzed how the groups of small and medium-sized enterprises limited to specific fields that were concentrated in mid-sized cities and industrial regions (in Italy they are called craftsman enterprises) tried to achieve technical innovations and maintain a high level of labor in flexibly utilizing technology. Additionally, they promoted a graphic restructuring of the hierarchy of markets, technology, and industrial society that was common in the age of mass production systems.

Central Italian Mid-sized Cities and Industrial Concentrations

City	Industry Concentration
Bologna	packaging machinery, motorcycles
Venice	women's shoes, glass
Modena	tiles
Carpi	knitwear
Prato	textiles
Empoli	women's clothing

(Note: Figure by author)

Jacobs praised the 'flexibility, efficiency, and adaptability' shown in the network-like concentration of the small and medium-sized enterprises called craftsman enterprises, and based on their technical innovation and imaginative ability to flexibly adapt to waves of change in their environment (improvisation), she attached the label 'freely-adjusting-type economies' to them.

Jacobs' insight was in proposing a model of bold and flexible urban economics based on technical innovations and improvisation. In other words, she brought creative elements from artistic activities like music and the theater into urban economics and made them into indispensable elements. The very concept of improvisation can be said to be a concept that is a unique key to the theory of creative cities and formation of creative spaces.

We can say that Jacobs' 'creative city' is a city that has a 'creative community' rich in diversity that draws out the creativity from people and a post-mass-production-age freely-adjusting-type urban economic system that is flexible and innovative.
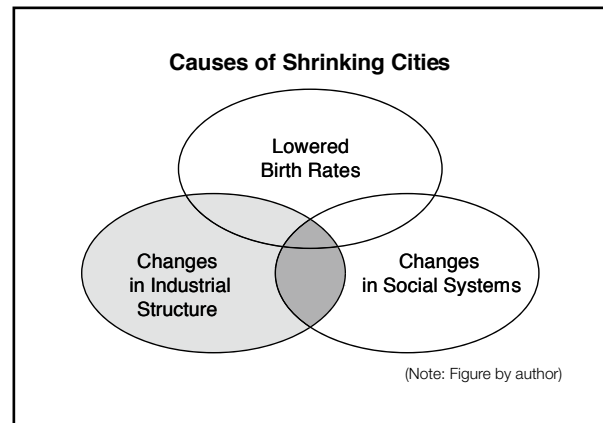
(Masayuki SASAKI)

6. Reducing Urban Scale
：Actively Groping for Creativity and Energy

Let us think about urban regeneration from the perspective of a qualitative turning point and revitalization of 'urban spaces and urban energy'. That is the policy topic of 'creative reduction of urban scale'. According to an investigation by the University of California Urban and Regional Development Research Institute, the residential population is shrinking in one sixth of the world's cities. In the U.S. in the last half of the twentieth century, 16 of the 20 largest cities have seen declines in residential population. In Europe as well, the number of shrinking cities is rapidly increasing. This is a world-wide phenomenon, and it means that cities have reached an historical turning point.

As people become economically richer, they tend to have fewer children. Additionally, the transition in industrial structure is accelerating the shrinking of cities. In the cities of England's North, the German Ruhr and parts of Saarland, and America's Great Lakes region, which have all experienced decline of large scale heavy industries and a loss of employment opportunities through the globalization of economic activities, population is rapidly declining. Japan's regional industrial cities are also entering this segment. In such cities, there is frequently talk of creative cities theory and thinking about urban regeneration based on cultural power.

Causes of Shrinking Cities

Lowered Birth Rates

Changes in Industrial Structure

Changes in Social Systems

(Note: Figure by author)

Triggered by the collapse of the socialist system, in the cities of Russia and Eastern Europe as well, economic activity is changing and there is an increase in shrinking cities. The former East German cities of Leipzig and Halle have lost 80% of their manufacturing employment over the last decade or so. There is no way to stem the flow of young people seeking employment into the former West Germany. Environmentally, there are also demands for a reduction of city size in this age. The age of destroying nature and unplanned urban development spreading out into the suburbs has ended. It is time for creation of new urban policies that preserve the existing resources of the city, uses them effectively through renewal, and are linked to the energy of the city.

Since the decade of the 1990s when shrinking cities became a policy topic, research has developed substantively. In Britain and Germany, at the forefront of this trend, the Anglo-German Industrial Society Research Fund has assembled research on *Facing the Challenges of City Shrinkage-Leipzig and Manchester* (2004). The academic journal, *German Urban Research,* has also put out a special issue (2004) focusing on the finances of shrinking cities, the reduction of the social welfare base, and decline of housing estates. The University of California's shrinking cities research is quite substantial. They have begun comparative international urban research with the participation of researchers from eight countries, looking at 30 cities in ten different countries. This is a multinational team that includes areas from the analysis of the causes of urban shrinking to policy proposals.
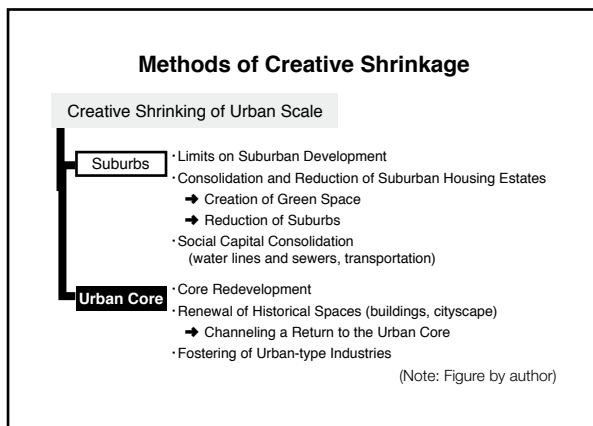
(Hiroshi YAHAGI)

7. A Structural Transition in Policy
: Thinking About Industries is Indispensable

In urban regeneration, the compact city argument has been much talked about. Compact cities are ones built to be easy to live in with the urban functions concentrated. Generally speaking, Japan's regional cities are trying to 'limit suburban development and aim towards a compact city'.

However, there is some distance between this and 'creative shrinking of the city scale'. What they have in common is the understanding that 'this is an age when we can no longer accept environmental deterioration and unplanned sprawl-type development'. On the other hand, their positions concerning the energy of growth are different. The compact city argument does research that is spatial in nature, about how urban growth energy can be channeled into a limited area of the urban region, and its concern with the urban industries that must carry the growth energy is weak.

Research on 'creative shrinking of the urban scale' is premised on the fact that the city's previously existing type of growth energy has been lost, it looks directly at shrinking cities, and channels urban form in directions that enrich the quality of life without increasing the burden on the environment. On the other hand, it is research on the paradigm shift in policy towards the 'quality of urban energy' through fostering of new types of urban industry.

Methods of Creative Shrinkage

Creative Shrinking of Urban Scale

Suburbs
- Limits on Suburban Development
- Consolidation and Reduction of Suburban Housing Estates
  ➡ Creation of Green Space
  ➡ Reduction of Suburbs
- Social Capital Consolidation
  (water lines and sewers, transportation)

Urban Core
- Core Redevelopment
- Renewal of Historical Spaces (buildings, cityscape)
  ➡ Channeling a Return to the Urban Core
- Fostering of Urban-type Industries

(Note: Figure by author)

Since 2002, the German Federal Republic's Culture Fund has been leading the way in research on shrinking cities in Germany, the U.K., the U.S., and Russia. This series of research projects, in which sociologists, folklore researchers, architects, and artists have also participated, has pointed out that in urban regeneration through 'creative shrinking of urban scale', there is a close relationship with the city's historical heritage and cultural power.

They call attention to Detroit in the U.S. and Manchester in the U.K., where new forms of music such as techno and hip-hop born in the warehouse districts of the urban core as new urban software industries, have all at once contributed to a change in the image of these declining cities, and to how Spain's steel-making city of Bilbao has achieved renewal by constructing a modern art museum.

In addition to historical buildings, etc., the historical heritage also includes the DNA that has been handed down in the region's industries, enterprises, and society, the genetic material of spiritual, cultural, and technical inheritance.

The city of Rochester on the Great Lakes, in what has been labeled the 'rust belt', is groping towards a way out through creation of high tech industries that have inherited the DNA of the old optical industry there (a retreat from mass-production type industry). The university draws on knowledge from outside the region, and in alliance with industry has become a precious local resource. This is a model of internally-generated urban-style industry.

(Hiroshi YAHAGI)

8. Youngstown's Challenge
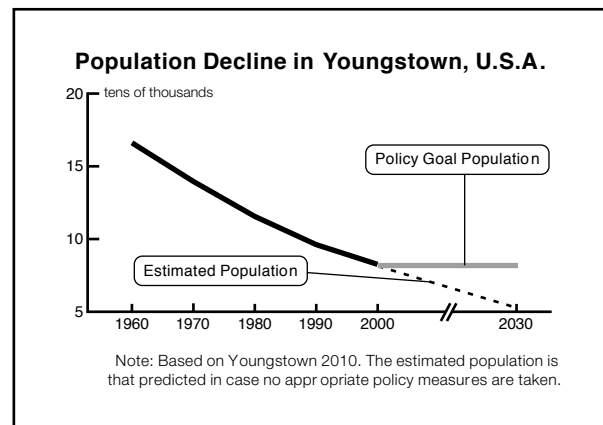## : Aiming for 'Small and Beautiful'

The Midwest American city of Youngstown prospered with a steel-making industry through the first half of the twentieth century. After that it rapidly lost its international competitive advantage, and currently the number of workers in the steel industry, which was 65,000 during the 1970s, has fallen to drastically to 4,000. The city's population has fallen by 60% compared to its past level and now stands at slightly above 80,000.

This Youngstown has put together a vision for urban regeneration. The catch phrase for it is 'smart decline'. It has brought about a shift in the citizens' thinking, turning the shrinking of the urban scale into an occasion for urban regeneration to make the city 'smaller, but beautiful'.

The shrinking city policy began with the shared harsh reality facing all the citizens. Youngstown allied with the local university and created a vision for renewal. At that time, they held meetings of the residents through the residents' associations. They set up a vision consideration committee that included participation of the residents, and worked hard to ensure they understood correctly the circumstances and shared in the plan for the future.

The American City Planning Association recently awarded their Citizen Participation Prize to Youngstown. The New York Times selected the 'smart decline' policy for their 'Outstanding Idea of 2006 Award'.

2030 has been set as the year for completion of the renewal vision. Over the next 4 to 5 years, they will demolish 1,000 vacant homes and several hundred commercial spaces and public facilities. They are also discussing the consolidation and removal of social capital, the network of water and sewer lines that has stretched out into the city's outskirts. Land where buildings have been demolished will be returned to green space, and they will build a network of green spaces across the whole city.

Population Decline in Youngstown, U.S.A.

Policy Goal Population

Estimated Population

Note: Based on Youngstown 2010. The estimated population is that predicted in case no appropriate policy measures are taken.

According to the plan, the 127 residential neighborhoods in the city will be classified as 'stable', 'past its prime' or 'in decline', and community plans for dealing with the conditions will be proposed at the rate of 30 residential neighborhoods per year over the next few years (*Wall Street Journal,* May 3, 2007). There will be active reduction in housing districts, land use regulations limiting dwellings to single use will be loosened, and the concentration of commercial establishments will be increased as ways of changing to multiple uses.

Rivers and streams polluted by smokestack industries will be cleaned up, and instead of industrial use walking paths and bicycle paths will be put in, linked to an improvement in the quality of life. On the one hand, health-related industries will be fostered under the slogan of 'green and clean', while historical buildings in the downtown core will be utilized to create a locus for artistic activities. The renewal vision is also taking up important topics in city government reform such as a revision in the number of city council members and consolidation of administrative positions.

(Hiroshi YAHAGI)

9. Cities of the Former East Germany
## : Gaps in Urban Redevelopment

After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the cities of the former East Germany experienced a severe decline in population. With the shift to a market economy, the large scale heavy industries collapsed and a large part of the labor force flowed out to the West.

Many vacant dwelling units appeared in the poor quality concrete slab-style buildings in the suburban housing estates that had been built during the socialist period. In about the year 2000, the number of vacant dwellings in former East German cities exceeded 1 million units, or 14% of the total housing.

The urban housing policy adopted by the federal government in 2001 was a large-scale project whose goals, in addition to demolishing surplus housing and adjusting demand, were: 1) improvement of the residential environment through demolishing multiple-unit housing and provision of green space; and 2) renovation of the comparatively better quality housing in the urban cores and margins, encouraging people to live in the cores, and restoration of urban core vitality.

Examples of Deconstructing Multi-unit Housing

(Note: Figure by author)
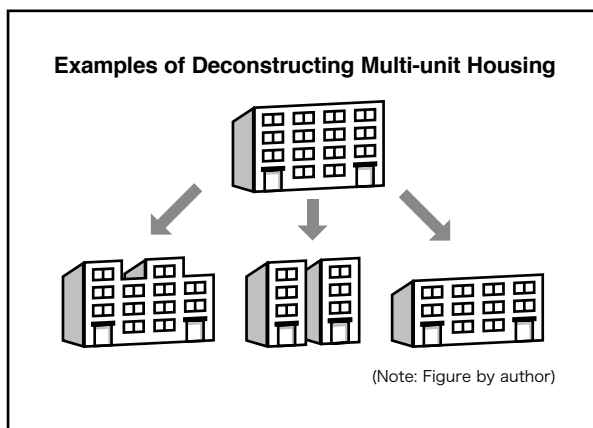
In mandating the local government to demolish or reduce in size surplus housing, the federal and state governments would each provide half of the expense, calculated at 60 euros per square meter. Consolidation of residential districts also made it necessary to provide financial aid for reduction of social capital such as water and sewer lines.

The former East German city of Reinfeld, located near the border with the former West Germany, established cement and and textile industries as part of national policy and in 1987 its population reached 16,500 people. However, with reunification, the factories were closed and the city lost 4,000 people. With the number of vacant housing units in the southern district's housing estates exceeding 25%, in 1994 a plan was developed to tie an improvement in living conditions to a reduction in the city size.

Specifically, the plan's main points were: 1) to demolish multiple-unit dwellings, increase woods and parks, and improve the environment; 2) through removing floors of buildings, to remodel them into higher quality dwellings through a design competition; and 3) to provide a base for social activities, such as building a vocational school, a Japanese garden, and care facilities for old people. Once they obtained assistance from the federal government, the process was greatly accelerated.

The policy of shrinking cities is meant to achieve sustainable cities. Consolidation of housing estates and renewal of the urban core go together as one piece. What surprises one when visiting the former East Germany is the large gap between cities like Leipzig, where urban core redevelopment is active, using culture functions as an igniter, and cities like Halle where groups of abandoned buildings have been left untouched.

Even within the city of Leipzig, the transportation base and the development of housing estates were done at different times, and so there are differences apparent between the thoroughness of the reduction policy and the fruits of the renewal policy. Research on shrinking cities has only just begun to look at problems such as explaining what is behind these widening gaps.

(Hiroshi YAHAGI)

10. The Barcelona Model
: It Features 'Punching Through the Urban Space'

The harsh reality of shrinking cities teaches us that cities are organisms like living things. As the cities of the former East Germany have experienced, the city cannot catch up to drastic changes when it loses a large portion of its population in a short time. Urban regeneration must also be a 'healing' from exhaustion (according to architect C. Alexander) and 'nurturing of spontaneous energy' (urban researcher J. Jacobs).

In Leipzig's urban renewal, the thinking of 'punching through the urban space' was put into action, such as building plazas. This meant demolishing the more difficult to renovate buildings and returning the land to little green spaces. In these green spaces small-scale public facilities are provided, such as cultural facilities or gathering places. As the architectural environment improves, people gather, vitality appears, and deteriorated buildings facing this park-like space start to get renovated. The building of these small green public spaces spreads throughout the city.

In the former West Germany as well, the government's 'rebuilding the cities of the west' is proceeding. The steel-making city of Völklingen in the Saarland, under the strong pressure of structural changes in industry, has had a dramatic drop in population. In the urban core one sees many vacant storefronts; in the city's renewal, the 'punching through' method is being employed. Vacant storefronts are being torn down and green spaces or pavement are being put in. They are tearing down buildings and building a commercial space that invites people to walk around in a triangular space surrounded by the historic city hall building and other medium high-rise buildings. This thinking of attempting to upgrade the quality of spaces by removing buildings is also being employed in Youngstown's vision for renewal.

Plazas created in the El Raval District of Barcelona

● plaza

0.2km

This method of punching through exhausted urban spaces has a successful track record in Barcelona, Spain. Demolishing decaying buildings and building plazas, the city induces cafes to open with small subsidies that they have set aside. As people begin to gather, the security improves, sprucing up of apartments in the surrounding area begins, and empty rooms fill up. This neighborhood renewal spreads to the adjoining neighborhood, and a chain of renewals occurs. There are even neighborhoods that have pushed renewal further by building art museums in the spaces that were created.

The Barcelona model of urban regeneration is called 'from parts to the whole' or 'micro city planning'. The creativity of this planning has been praised, and it has been awarded the gold medal of the British Royal Society of Architects. In that it piles up small improvements from the local society level leading to renewal for the whole, this principle also applies in the 'creative shrinking of the urban scale'.
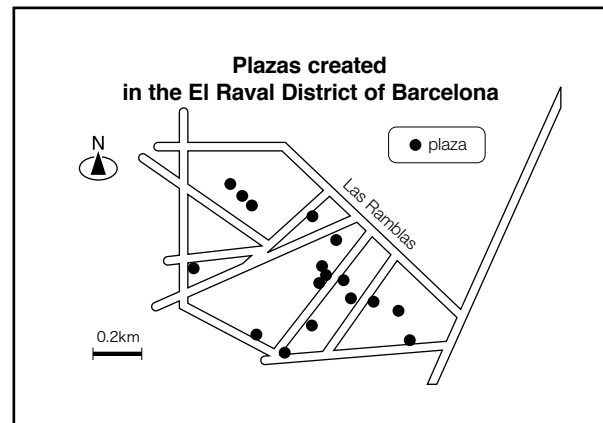
(Hiroshi YAHAGI)

11. The Asian Model
: A Background of Strong Growth Aspirations

A rapid trend towards urbanization can be seen in many parts of the world, but it is clear that it is centered in Asia. In the middle of the twentieth century, the urban population occupied 17% of Asia's total population, but it had more than doubled to 40% by the year 2005. In the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, and Transport's (MLIT) survey (*Survey on the Prospects and Issues Related to Urban Growth in the Asian Region*), they present an estimate that the Asian region's population will grow by 71% between 2005 and 2030.

In Japan, a decline in population and the aging of society are widely discussed, but if we consider an overview on the scale of Asia as a whole, it reveals a concentration of population in cities that the human race has never experienced before. And therein lies the reason that we must urgently think about building a sustainable urban system.

The discussions surrounding cities and creativity are no exception to this. Setting aside the metropolises that are continuing in a headlong expansion of their world city functions, among the cities that are the core of their local regions, there are many cases of cities depending on creative power based in their culture in trying to build attractive urban forms. For example, Kobe is putting energy into design, and Fukuoka into the game industry. Indeed, the nature of creativity manifest in many Asian cities has some different aspects compared to that in the cities of Europe, which have reached a mature social level, or the cities of America that are far ahead in knowledge resources.

Elements and Formative Factors of Asian-style Creativeness

Elements	Formative Factor[S]
1. Technical skills	concentration of high tech and knowledge industries
	traditional technologies
2. Existence and securing of talent	existence and securing of creative class
3. Tolerant societies	society highly acceptable to the creative class
	multi-cultural, multi-ethnic societie[S]
4. Regional identity	distinct traditional culture, use of cultural resources

(Note: based on the MLIT survey)

The previously mentioned MLIT survey calls attention to the various attractive cities in Asia, and posits that behind their continuing sustained growth is 'Asian-style creativeness'.

What is this 'Asian-style creativeness'? They indicate that an 'aspiration for growth', such as in raising living standards, lies behind it. For example, there are many cases of people who after studying abroad or learning technical skills at foreign enterprises, who later want to be able to work in their mother country, as is strikingly the case among Indians. This same survey calls attention to the fact that there is a trend for the talent in these cities to be more fluidly mobile and to build their own networks liberated from the outside world, rather than inducing members of the highly creative class from outside to come to the city.

In addition, the survey surmises that a reevaluation of regionally distinct 'traditional technologies' as well as a tolerance that has brought about 'multi-cultural, multi-ethnic societies' since ancient times are building-blocks in the formation of Asian-style creativeness.
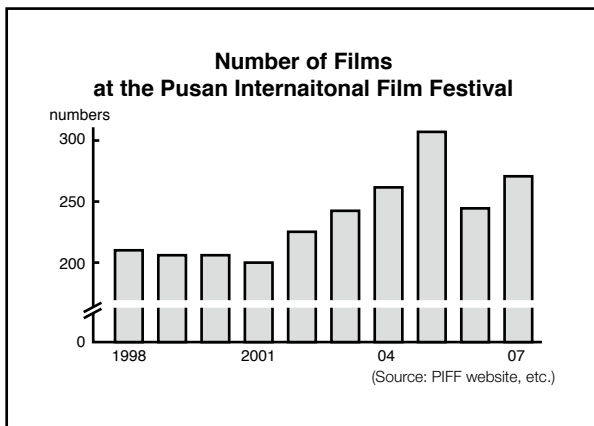
(Shinya HASHIZUME)

12. South Korea's Strategy
: State Assistance for Industries Such as Film

In Asia, Japan still acts as the locomotive of the creative industries. However, the adjacent countries of East Asia have come to put emphasis on nurturing content-creating industries as a matter of national policy, premised on the expansion of the market and the diffusion of information and communications technology (ICT). The first country to show a model of success in this was South Korea.

The Basic Law on Cultural Industries was enacted in 1998 when President Kim Dae Jung proclaimed that "culture is national power." It undertook to raise the status of the national brand and promote cultural industries. The fields of online games and mobile phone contents have been particularly prominent. Reflecting the country's high adoption rate of the Internet and internet cafes, online games have shown growth to where they occupied a 30.4% share of the world market in 2005.

**Number of Films
at the Pusan Internaitonal Film Festival**

numbers

(Source: PIFF website, etc.)

The policy of promoting video and film content, which has become an important export industry, also deserves special mention. The 'Korea Wave' (*Hallyu*) boom first took over in the Chinese-speaking world, and then spread to Japan when NHK broadcast the serial drama Winter Sonata. The locations where films were shot have been overrun with foreign tourists, and many stars have arisen who are supported beyond the country's borders. The strategy of emphasizing limited fields, and at the same time focusing on the Asian market, has been an adroit one.

The emphasis on cultural industries has been tied to new urban development. Construction has begun in Seoul of a 'Digital Media City' that aims at creating a high concentration of information and communications technology, such as digital media, and cultural industries. In Goyang City of Gyeonggi Province, a suburb of Seoul, a 'Hallyu-wood', meant to be a base for the film and video industry, is now concretely taking shape.

They are not only providing infrastructure for clusters of new industries. There are also cases, such as in Pusan, where they have adopted cultural industries as a means of urban regeneration. The very distinctive Pusan International Film Festival (PIFF), which was proposed by young people, through prominently promoting Asian films, has in just ten short years become a world-class film event and at the same time achieved the status of a business convention for the film industry representing Asia.

Through this process, they have succeeded in making a thriving movie theater district in the once hollowed-out downtown core, and proceeded with redevelopment of the harbor area where the convention facilities and the hotels which are festival opening ceremony sites are located. Pusan, whose greatest distinction has been its functions as a port city, has succeeded splendidly in acquiring a cultural city branding as a film capital.
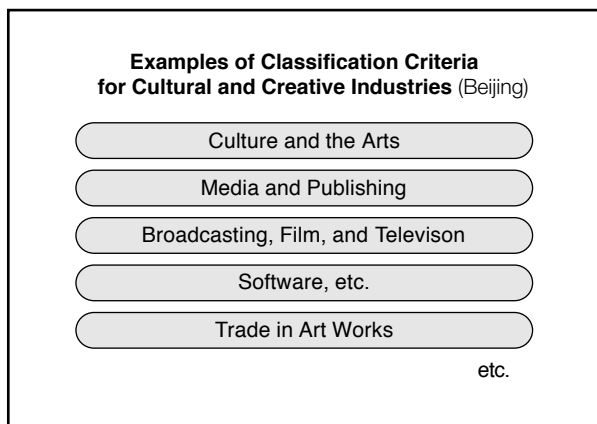
(Shinya HASHIZUME)

13. China's Cities
: Two Promotion Policies-Industry and Culture

The sociologist Lewis Mumford, in his book Cities and Culture, based on his conviction that "the city is a device for cultural memory", laid out his idea that in order to realize sustainable development, what was important was to get away from "a money economy which values profit above all else" and a shift towards "an economic system that elevates human creativity". He sees the bearers of culture in the city to be artists, scientists, technologists, singers, musicians, etc.

There are indeed counter arguments to Mumford's thesis which sees the city as a 'cultural memory device'. Cities in reality are places rather where there is ceaseless contact with alien cultures and exchanges between multiple cultures are carried out, and for just that reason they can become places where traditional culture is broken down and erased, according to one interpretation. One could take the view that because cities have this aspect of being ' a device for
erasing cultural memory', it makes the creation of a new culture possible. (See for example Iizasa Sayoko's *History of Urban Research at NIRA and Future Prospects: Mainly from the Perspective of Culture,* etc.).

Consequently, when discussing creativity in cities, it is naturally necessary to consider a balance between creativity based on the city as 'cultural memory' and creativity arising from 'cultural forgetting'.

**Examples of Classification Criteria
for Cultural and Creative Industries** (Beijing)

- Culture and the Arts
- Media and Publishing
- Broadcasting, Film, and Televison
- Software, etc.
- Trade in Art Works

etc.

In 2007, the Fukuoka Asian Urban Research Foundation has been going forward with 'Research On Japan-China Urban Cooperation in Promoting "Cultural Industries"'. This research surveys how the local regional governments are developing policy in China, where promotion of cultural industries as been adopted as national policy, and examines the possibilities for linkages with Japanese cities.

This research has affirmed the argument that is one of its premises, that depending on the city, there are differing concepts of what is a cultural industry. In Shanghai and other major coastal cities that have achieved economic growth, 'creative industries' such as design are being emphasized. In contrast, in the interior such as at Xian or in Yunnan, there is a tendency to try to promote 'cultural industries' that include some incorporation of traditional industries.

The positions of these two, the former that pushes the industrial policy, and the latter that attempts to evolve from projects under the control of the local government's culture bureau, are completely different. On the other hand, it is very interesting that in Beijing they are promoting 'cultural and creative industries' that strike a balance between the two.

(Shinya HASHIZUME)

14. China's Cultural Industries
: High Growth Draws Worldwide Attention

In the year 2000, China added promotion of 'cultural industries' to its Five Year Plan. According to *the 2006-2007 Chinese Cultural Industry Analysis and Investment Consulting Report,* in 2004 there were 9.9 million employees in the cultural industries (among whom the number of employees in individually managed enterprises was 890,000), which is 1.3% of the total number of employees nationally, or 3.8% of employees in just the urban areas. Indeed, the share contributed to GDP was no more than 2.15%.

If we look at the size of the market, in 2005 the yearly total of expenditure in education, culture, and entertainment was 830 billion *yuan*, and the total expenditure on culture for ordinary households was estimated at 415 billion *yuan*. Compared to Europe, America, or Japan, this is still not a mature market, but its growth rate is far higher than the others and has attracted worldwide attention.

The national policy is reflected in urban policies. In the large cities such as Beijing and Shanghai, one of the outstandingly noted fields is modern art. Together with the rise in incomes, there has arisen a market aimed at trading in art. On the other hand, even among the world's creators and artists, the eye-opening economic growth of China's cities causes them to be seen as stimulating places.

One thing that has become a hot topic are the examples of ruined factories being utilized, as in Beijing's '798 Art District' and Shanghai's 'M50'. The first of these was formerly a government-managed electrical parts factory belonging to Unit 798 of the People's Liberation Army. After it was closed down due to slumping business, it was used for studios by students of the Beijing National Central Art Academy who were looking for spaces in which they could create freely. From 2002 on, it was opened up into a Bauhaus-style architectural space designed by an East German architect, and Italian, German, Taiwanese, and Korean galleries opened up there. Additionally, advertising, magazine, and design-related offices have concentrated there.

In 2003 there were guidelines released to demolish the factory and aim for a concentration of electrical industries, but the people involved continued slowly but surely to organize local activities such as art festivals. The city authorities finally agreed to preserve the buildings and position the area as a base for the cultural industry.

Market Size of the World's Creative Industries

	2005 hundred million dollars	2010 hundred million dollars	growth rate (%)
U.S.	1336.85	2337.18	11.8
Europe	645.70	1427.01	17.2
Japan	220.00	427.19	14.2
China	45.98	188.73	32.6
Asia	140.28	412.11	24.1

(Source: KOREA Communications Commission information)

The ruins of a manufacturing zone, including workshops with work under way, were transformed into Beijing's most creative place. This is an example of how even in China, in the shift of industrial structure and land use in cities, cultural industries can have a significance for survival.

(Shinya HASHIZUME)

15. Digital Contents
: Making Hong Kong into a Gateway

Competition between cities in relation to creative industries and a horizontal division of labor structure are conspicuous in Asia as well. There are many cities in China that are putting energy into providing basic infrastructure for the fostering of cultural and creative industries. For one thing, the Chinese government is putting energy into the field of 'motion cartoons', in other words animation and *manga*.

According to annual reports, of the 1.3 billion people in China, at least 500 million are consumers of animation and *manga*, and the size of the market is 100 billion yuan annually. The total annual volume of animated programs broadcast on specialized animation channels and specialized channels aimed at toddlers and children, added to the television stations of provinces and cities, adds up to 260,000 units.

SWOT Analysis of Hong Kong's Digital Entertainment Industry

Strengths (S)	Weaknesses (W)
Strong specialization, competitive pricing, etc.	Lack of technicians with high level of experience and specialization, lack of capital investment in facilities, etc.
Opportunities (O)	**Threats (T)**
Online games, cell phone games, etc.	Copyright violations, small land, industries, etc.

(Source: Based on Hong Kong Productivity Council)

However, in the year 2000, the works that were produced domestically were limited to 40,000 units. By the end of 2006, though the number of enterprises related to animation and *manga* had climbed above 5,000, the number of specialized workers, as well as programs with a high level of originality, were still insufficient, and a number of problems could be pointed out such as dependence on government assistance.

The National Broadcast, Film, and Television Bureau sent out a directive to local television stations that domestically produced works must account for more than half of the total broadcast time of animation programs on the public airwaves. And a base has been established for dealing with the promotion of the animation and manga industry.

Which city will become the hub of the digital contents industry? Osaka City University's Sugiura Mikio is looking to Hong Kong to become the gateway to the growing Chinese market. Specifically, he calls attention to its 'agent function' as an international trade entrepôt that combines characteristics of East and West, its 'show window function' in holding exhibitions and fairs that attract many visitors, and its 'capital clearing house function' that comes from its nature as an international financial center. Each of these are strengths for Hong Kong.

This applies not only to digital contents. It is necessary to ponder the future of cultural industries within a wider regional network that also includes Vietnam, Thailand, Singapore, etc. In each field there will have to be a base city that shoulders the functions of a hub together with the functions of a gateway, leading the way for Asia's original creativity.

(Shinya HASHIZUME)

16. Renewing the *Machiya* Townhouses
:Using the Historical Accumulation as Part of the City's Individuality

Up until now, we have looked at cases of using the arts or music in urban regeneration. From this installment on, let us take a look at urban regeneration that utilizes history and tradition. History is not something that just happened and was finished in the past, but it is what has given birth to the present and is the basis for its existence. In Japan's cities up until now, all too much of the historical accumulation has been thrown away without regrets. It has been believed that this was just the nature of cities. The truth that the city's individuality has been built up by history has been largely overlooked.

In countries with land borders, the historical accumulation is seen as highlighting the differences with neighboring countries. Particularly historical buildings and townscapes have come to be valued as symbols of the nation and the city. One might call them devices that give rise to historical identity or a sense of belonging. However, in Japan, which is surrounded by water, this type of thinking is rather weak.

Even in Japan, a bit belatedly, the Cultural Properties Preservation Law was revised in 1975, and so-called 'townscape preservation' began with the system of preservation districts for groups of traditional buildings. At present, about 80 historical townscapes have been preserved, and they have become a precious cultural legacy. However, since townhouses and townscapes have become, in the end, targets for protection as cultural properties, there are fears that they will turn into theme parks if they become too divorced from the residents' daily life. To counter this, what has appeared is thinking about townhouse renewal rather than townhouse preservation.

Activities of the *Kyo-machiya* Renewal Research Association

Activity Heading	Content
Surveys and Research	Fabric of life, disaster prevention (fire prevention, structural damage prevention)
Carrying Out Renewal	Renewal planning and design, financial planning, renewal of *machiya* districts, renewal of alleyways
Putting Out Information	Newsletter, symposiums, etc.
Activity Coordination	With the *Kyo-machiya* Network, citizens' organizations, government, etc.

(Source: *Kyo-machiya* Renewal Research Ass'n. website)

The first group pushing for renewal of townhouses in Kyoto has been the *Kyo-machiya* (Kyoto townhouses) Renewal Research Association which got started in 1992. The idea of renewal, rather than preservation, of the *Kyo-machiya* was incorporated at the time the association was set up.

The research association has dealt with the handing down and creation of *Kyo-machiya* based on four pillars: surveys and research on the *machiya,* physically carrying out *machiya* renewal, putting out information, and coordination of activities. We want to introduce the argument made in the essay "The Contemporary Significance of *Machiya* Renewal" by the association's director, Otani Takahiko. "The *machiya* renewal represents the simultaneous coexistence of both the handing down of their historical nature and of new development, and by having them coexist in a tension that balances historical qualities and contemporary qualities, it makes possible attractive urban renewal that has both continuity and creativity," according to Mr. Otani.

(Naoki TANI)

17. The *Kyo-machiya* Boom
: A Focus on Renewal Rooted in Habitation

There is now a boom in *Kyo-machiya* (Kyoto townhouses). Some *machiya* with a distinctive character have been turned into restaurants and have young people smacking their lips over French cuisine. Since the bursting of the Bubble, there has been a lot of talk about using existing stock, and examples of changes in use for old buildings have sprung up here and there. Among these recycled *machiya,* some have become new Kyoto hot spots.

The modern appearance of the *Kyo-machiya* had taken shape by the middle of the Edo Period, and they already have a history going back 250 years. The finish level of *Kyo-machiya* is high, and they utilized what was then state-of-the-art technology, the *tatami-wari,* or positioning of pillars in accordance with *tatami* mats. Also, they excelled in clever ideas that made efficient use of limited materials, and were designed to be adapted to life in Kyoto's four-season climate.

Kyoto's *machiya* are not only important as building structures, but have great value in that they supported the conduct of everyday life and the creation of the culture. However, up until about a dozen years ago, they were seen as out-of-date relics, and except for those with cultural property status, were targets for tearing down and rebuilding. In 1992 when the *Kyo-machiya* Renewal Research Association introduced in the previous installment started up, citizens' awareness of the *machiya* was quite low, but in the wake of the existing stock use movement, gradually citizen concern was heightened.

Historical Qualities of Kyoto's *Machiya*

Kyo-machiya Characteristics	Historical Nature
Urban housing	Essence of *Kyo-machiya* is urban housing that combines residence with commercial and manufacturing uses
Living space	High level of finish as a container for living
Kyoto lattice-work	Smart design for high density
Kyoto carpentry	Employment of advanced techniques, i.e. as shown by *tatami-wari*
Townscape	Orderly appearance

(Note: Figure by author)

In about 2000, in order to pass on carpentry techniques and build a new relationship between building owners and builders, the research association helped set up the *Kyo-machiya Sakuji* Union ('*sakuji'* means building construction) and the Friends of the *Kyo-machiya* to support townhouse renewal activities. Additionally, the buying and selling of vacant *machiya* was promoted, and a *Kyo-machiya* Information Center was added to plan a revival in the use of *machiya*. In this way four different organizations evolved organic and comprehensive activities for *machiya* renewal and the process was greatly advanced.

There have been about 100 cases of *machiya* renewal projects done by the *Sakuji* Union. This is a very small number when compared to the great body of Kyoto *machiya*, but it has substantially fulfilled a vanguard role.

In general, in uses of *machiya*, there are many cases where they have been renovated into bars and restaurants or retail stores. However, we know that among projects worked on by the *Sakuji* Union, there are many that are exclusively for residential use, and renewal has been carried out that is honestly rooted in habitation.

In the fact that Kyoto's *machiya* renewal has been advanced while inextricably linked to a renewal in urban residential living, we can see a new development emerging.

(Naoki TANI)

18. Osaka's *Nagaya* (Longhouses)
: Demonstrating Rationality in Renewal

We can catch a glimpse of Osaka's economic rationalism even in real estate management during the Edo Period. The writer Ihara Saikaku, a representative of Genroku Era culture, has left behind a piece about the knack of managing rental housing whose gist is this: There is no more certain means for growing profits than buying a housing compound with land, turning it into rental housing, and collecting rent. There is the worry of fire disaster, but this only occurs about once every hundred years. With a six per cent interest rate that is compounded annually, within 14 years one can repay the principal, and the property then becomes one's treasure forever.

Numbers of Homeowners and Renters in Osaka in 1689 (Genroku Year 2)	
Numbers of homeowners	12,977
Numbers of renters	68,315

(Source: From Osaka Compiled Annual Histories: Settsu-shou)

In the housing conditions of Edo Period Osaka, the proportion of rental housing rose to above 80% and there were many residents who pursued trade in *nagaya* (longhouses) along the streets. When Ohta Nanpo, who was despatched to Osaka as an official of the Shogunate, wrote that, "In Osaka, as you can see, there are many longhouse buildings," he was referring to these street-facing *nagaya*.

Incidentally, the four-building *nagaya* complex of the Teranishi family in southern Osaka's Abeno Ward is a registered cultural property under the name of the 'Teranishi Family Abeno *Nagaya*'. A fashionable restaurant has opened there, and its vitality has been resurrected. The landlord Mr. Teranishi explains as follows: "If we were to tear down the four-building *nagaya* and put up a *manshon* apartment building, the construction cost would be 160 million yen. If we self-financed it up to 20 million, we'd have to borrow the rest from a financial institution. The annual rental income would be 12 million yen , but we'd have to pay back 8 million yen to the bank each year, and the property taxes, etc. would come to 1 million yen a year. That leaves us with about 3 million yen a year in pocket." He went on, "On the other hand, if we renovated the *nagaya,* and we could cover the rebuilding cost ourselves, we wouldn't have to borrow any money from a bank. The rental income from the four buildings comes to 7.2 million yen a year. The property tax on the *nagaya* amounts to some tens of thousands of yen. Surprisingly, renewal of the *nagaya* is a much more profitable way of doing business."

In the fall of 2007, we held a research conference at the Osaka City University Urban Research Plaza with the full cooperation of a *machiya* in Osaka's North Ward. In the middle of the compound of the *machiya* stands the landlord's house, and the *nagaya* building rental units are arranged to face the alleys. These buildings were put up in the Taisho Era and are deteriorating. So looking ahead, while the buildings are being repaired in combination with a practical class of college and graduate students, various plans for them are being considered such as a place for exchange with foreigners or for welfare activity.

In both northern and southern Osaka, we are looking forward to a renewal of the *nagaya* that makes use of a very Osaka-like sensibility.

(Naoki TANI)

19. Pre-Modern Neighborhood Codes
: Notable for Neighborhood-building Centered on the Residents

In modern cities, in order to provide for a complete urban livelihood, government administrations play a major role. Provision of public facilities, disposal of garbage and human waste, fire prevention, etc. are carried out through public works.

However, in pre-modern society there was no concept of public works, and improvement to the environment of residential areas was administered by the individual neighborhoods. A process of deciding on how to run the neighborhood government through gatherings in the neighborhood set up rules or 'codes' (*cho-shikimoku*).

Within these *cho-shikimoku* neighborhood codes, a 'manual' was established with rules about participating in meetings in a neighborhood gathering spot, procedures for the sale of houses, response to outbreaks of fire, mutual assistance for those in difficulty in the neighborhood, dealing with destructive behavior and settling disputes, and solving disputes with other neighborhoods.

A Part of the Aneyakoji Kaiwai Neighborhood Code (Heisei edition)

Item: A balance between the 'residence', 'livelihood', and 'culture' that Aneyakoji Kaiwai has carefully fostered. Let us support development while being aware of that balance, in cooperation with the local people.

Item: Let us accept and encourage people and businesses that preserve and foster that Kaiwai-like character as a neighborhood where people continue to live and business flourishes.

(Source: Aneyakoji Kaiwai Study Group)

What draws the attention of people who are involved in contemporary town-building is that rules and inducements for the appearance of houses and streets in the neighborhood were carried out by each independent neighborhood.

One finds these neighborhood codes in Kyoto, Osaka, Nara, Sakai, Otsu, and other large cities. Among the oldest is Kyoto's Niwatori-boko neighborhood code, set up more than 400 years ago. Ones that have few written lines are the ones from Nara. There was little residential mobility in Nara, so even if they weren't put into writing the codes could be enforced.

In contrast, the ones with many lines are from Osaka. In Osaka, because there were many renters, the neighborhood populations were large, and the rise and fall of trade was extreme, so there was a lot more mobility among the residents. It is thought that this is why it was necessary to leave detailed codes in written records.

In modern times as the regional system became established, there were more and more administrative matters that were handled by the prefecture or the city. Public works were seen to be the responsibility of the prefecture or the city, the self-governing functions of the neighborhood gradually disappeared, and finally the residents changed to believing that if problems arose in their livelihood they should appeal to the town or the city.

In recent years, there is a movement to enact neighborhood codes. In the neighborhood that straddles Aneyakoji Street in Kyoto City's Nakagyo Ward, in emulation of the neighborhood code that has remained here since the Edo Period, in April of 2000 they established the ' Aneyakoji Kaiwai Neighborhood Code' (Heisei edition) consisting of six sections. The southern district of the Gion neighborhood has enacted a code with 24 sections, the local sense of community is increasing, and they are taking up fire prevention activities and environmental improvements like putting paving stones on the streets.

(Naoki TANI)

20. Urban Festivals
: Utilizing Traditional Observances in Town-building

Kyoto's Gion Festival, counted among the three biggest festivals in Japan, heads toward a climax every year on July 17 with the procession of *yamahoko* (decorated wheeled towers). The giant wheeled hoko towers, assembled by each neighborhood, parade along the city's boulevards together with elegant musical bands called *konchikichin.*

On *Yoiyama,* the day before the parade, there is a folding screen festival held in the *machiya* townhouses of the *yamahoko* neighborhoods. The lattices on the house facades are removed and curtains are hung, leopard flowers are displayed, and an atmosphere of beauty is created, decorated with the folding screens which are family treasures.

The folding screen festival is residential culture for a special day that has been handed down in Kyoto's *machiya* neighborhoods. The people of the *hoko* neighborhoods put stress on traditional customs, and often will ensure that there is a space for the folding screen festival display even when a house is torn down and rebuilt into a multi-story building. In the urban core where changes are severe, it is very interesting that the folding screen festival has been handed down and not abandoned. Recently conducted tours of this festival have appeared and have become a new attraction of the Gion Festival.

Examples of *Hina* Dolls' Festivals (prefecture)

- Sakata Dolls' Highway — (Yamagata Pref.)
- Hida Takayama Festival — (Gifu Pref.)
- Castle Town Gujo Hachiman's Dolls' Festival (Gifu Pref.)
- Kurashiki Dolls' Circuit — (Okayama Pref.)
- Maana Parlor Dolls — (Ehime Pref.)

(Note: Figure by author)

Can urban festivals be the ticket for renewal of provincial cities? In 2001, Murakami City in Niigata Prefecture started the 'Murakami Townhouse Folding Screen Festival.' Originally there had been a custom of decorating townhouses with folding screens in connection with the Murakami Grand Festival, but it had been completely abandoned until the citizens restored it.

In 1979, Kurashiki City in Okayama Prefecture was designated as an 'Important District of Groups of Traditional Architecture Buildings', but after peaking in 1985, the numbers of tourists have been in a downward trend. So, based on records of displays of family treasure folding screens for the autumn festival, the citizens revived this custom in 2002 as the 'Kurashiki Screen Festival'.

The reason these two festivals succeeded was that they tied the residential culture of traditional festivals to the historical legacy of townhouses and townscapes, and connected it to town-building.

Although not as large-scale as the folding screen festivals, as examples of traditional observances being utilized in town-building, there are the Dolls' Festival events. These are where tourists go around here and there to the parlors of private homes that are decorated with *hina* dolls. For the residents, the preparation for this is easy, and since it is also effective in reviving the local area's sense of communality, recently the popular phenomenon of Dolls' Festivals has been popping up in many places.

Abandoned festivals and observances are dug up and connected to town-building. The traditions and pride of local areas that are not usually in people's awareness can be resurrected on such days.

(Naoki TANI)

21. The Homeless Problem
: Urgent Solutions are a Requisite for Renewal

There are many issues to consider when we think about urban regeneration and creativity. One of these is the problem of the homeless. A citizens' network, the Rainbow League, this year has compiled a report titled "An Alternative National Survey of the Homeless." It is the first survey that makes clear on a national level how people who have experienced homelessness are living in cities. Targeting 42 cities from Asahikawa in the north to Naha in the south, it surveyed 661 people who have escaped from homelessness. From this survey it was understood that the majority of people who have experienced homelessness are single people living alone. Also, even granting that the premises of the surveys were different, it became clear that the findings were quite different from those of the Health and Labor Ministry's survey which was carried out at the same time (see table).

Comparison of the Two National Homeless Surveys

Category	Rainbow League's National Survey	Health and Labor Ministry's National Survey
Average age	57.8	57.5
Proportion of females	7%	4%
Proportion 39 and under	8%	4%
Proportion 65 and older	27%	21%
Living in tents or shacks	33%	51%
Homeless for 3 months or less	26%	4%
Homeless for 1 year or less	46%	12%

The issues for homeless people are about their livelihood after they have escaped homelessness. How can they live in cities, and how can they continue sustainable livelihoods? The people who deal with trying to solve these problems are non-profit organizations (NPOs), volunteers, and citizens' groups. The fact that these groups have opened up another front in urban regeneration *Machizukuri* and urban renewal has gone almost completely unrecognized.

The problem for people living on the streets is that based on social disdain and prejudice, their condition of being socially ostracized has continued for a long time, without the appearance of many citizens' groups to aid in their escaping homelessness, and with little application of public assistance. One can say that public services for avoiding homelessness have been essentially zero.

The role of the NPOs and volunteers is without a doubt to inform the homeless of the steps and methods for escaping homelessness. It is to push forward the provision of new tools using creative means, while mobilizing the existing social resources, and not to rely on the public safety net which has become rigid and dysfunctional.

In August 2002 the 'Special Measures Law Concerning Aid for Self-sufficiency from Homelessness' was passed by the Diet, and dealing with these problems at the national level has begun. In the cities previously there had been words like 'rough sleepers' to describe people living on the streets, but this was the first time that the word 'homeless' was recognized in legal language.

Has this recognition of homelessness brought about any creative developments in urban policies? Let us consider the problems of urban policy and homelessness.
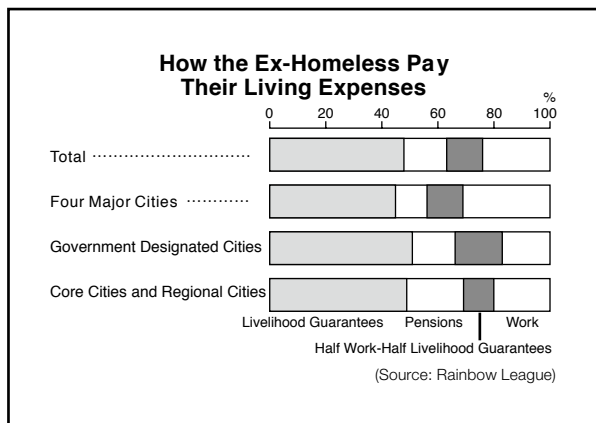
(Toshio MIZUUCHI)

22. Forms of Employment
: Stability of Employment is Key

The problem of homelessness has become an important one in thinking about urban revitalization, but concretely speaking, what should be done? If we look at the facts, we can spotlight some clues as to what kinds of policy measures should be constructed to solve the problem.

When people who have escaped from homelessness (the 'ex-homeless') live in cities, they usually live in low rent housing, and usually in disadvantaged areas. They pay for their living expenses with livelihood guarantee aid while also receiving assistance from non-profit organizations and other groups. As can be seen in the chart, among the ex-homeless, about half are living on livelihood guarantee aid, about a quarter by working, and the remainder are living on some combination of pension money, working, and livelihood guarantees.

In the four major cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Nagoya, and Osaka, the proportion who are working is high. In contrast, in the smaller cities there are many cases of people who eke out a living on pensions and livelihood guarantees without working. This is because the number of aid groups and the types of assistance vary according to locale. As for the fact that the proportion of those working is high in the four major cities, looming large in the background is the existence of Homeless Self-sufficiency Aid Centers. What is most in question in self-sufficiency assistance is, how can the pathway to employment be improved and strengthened for those who are escaping homelessness?

If we take a look at the actual types of employment (the average age being 58), 38% are in part-time or temporary work, 25% are employed full-time but without benefits such as social insurance, and 24% are working in positions of regular employment. The most numerous occupational category is watchmen, cleaners, and janitors, occupying 47%, followed by service occupations. We can see that living in low rent housing, working as guards or janitors, and supporting life in the city on a monthly income of about 150,000 yen has become the typical pattern for the ex-homeless. For the ex-homeless, what is important is not the category of work they are employed in, but the form of employment, whether they can work as regular employees with some stability.

How the Ex-Homeless Pay Their Living Expenses

(Source: Rainbow League)

Having experienced homelessness, once they start working again, it is also important whether or not they can re-enter the labor market and participate in the local livelihood. Assistance from local NPOs and volunteers, help from the staff of self-sufficiency aid facilities, as well as government assistance, are indispensable if they are to be able to continue working.

It has been made clear by the Rainbow League citizens' network survey that a high proportion of the ex-homeless who continue to work have done so with private assistance.

(Toshio MIZUUCHI)

23. Transitory Housing
: Making Them an Effective Means of Self-sufficiency Assistance

Non-profit organizations (NPOs) and volunteer groups have come to be proactive in providing transitory housing that serve as temporary dwellings for those escaping homelessness. Transitory housing prepared for assistance in homelessness self-sufficiency have come to be vital facilities in thinking about the city's future safety net.

There is no clear definition of transitory housing, and sometimes they are called transit facilities or interim housing facilities. Some specify only temporary or short-term use, and some have no restrictions on entry.

Here we want to use the words 'transitory housing' to refer to all the kinds of facilities used by the ex-homeless between living on the street and living in regular housing. The establishment of transitory housing can indeed be said to be an example of a creative type of housing policy for livelihood rebuilding.

In addition to the facilities designated by the livelihood guarantee laws and welfare laws, there is also transitory housing that have newly appeared in order to promote self-sufficiency assistance for the homeless. The names of many of these facilities are not generally well known. In contrast, the free or low cost lodging houses and facilities that offer lodging that were formerly used as transitory housing has an image as post-war-style shelters, and they have been dwindling one after another.

Looking at the actuality of the ex-homeless, 68% of them are using transitory housing. If we only look at the four largest cities, the number jumps to 84%. Over the last few years, the majority of lodging houses and rental housing, and a portion of the self-sufficiency aid centers, have been managed and run by NPOs and citizens' groups as transitory housing. The number of people dwelling in this transitory housing who applied for and entered these places on their own is small, only about 28%. In other words, most of the inhabitants have received aid from NPOs or other groups.

How have this transitory housing come about? Looking at actual cases, NPOs and other groups own housing facilities, and through the process of proving aid, their base has become transitory housing. It is not that transitory housing were provided as part of policy measures, but rather that the housing facilities that were part of the assistance being provided by NPOs came to be called transitory housing, is how they should be thought of. Actually, we now understand that the provision of transitory housing is extremely useful in aiding the homeless. This is because the housing itself is social capital, and as transitory housing, they bear the role of supporting the urban livelihood of the weak in the society.

Utilization of Transitory Housing

Transitory Housing name	Percentage of total
Self-Sufficiency Aid Centers	19.0
Free or low cost lodging	13.2
Shelter facilities	8.6
Recovery aid rental housing of NPOs, etc .	7.6
Shelters in parks or stations	3.3
Public welfare facilities	1.9
Others	14.7
Unutilized	31.7
Total	100.0

(Source: Rainbow League)

(Toshio MIZUUCHI)

24. The Self-sufficiency Assistance System
: Extending It to the Housing-Vulnerable in the Broader Sense

The building of mechanisms for self-sufficiency aid for the homeless is connected to the creative construction of the city's final safety net. Self-sufficiency aid systems, from homelessness towards ex-homelessness, have been put in place in the large cities of South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, etc. and a system was finally launched even in Japan from about 2000 onwards.

The system is outlined in the chart below. There are multiple types of assistance in accord with the different stages.

At the first stage there is outreach, which is general counseling out on the streets where the homeless sleep. This also includes patrolling and making and receiving inquiries, and activities like handing out meals. The next step is getting off the street and moving into homeless self-sufficiency aid centers, etc., that are transitory housing, until one can live in regular housing. After entering the transitory housing, there is job-finding assistance, livelihood counseling aid, housing continuance aid for people who will be living alone, follow-up assistance, etc.

Outline of Self-Sufficiency Aid System

(Note: Figure by author)
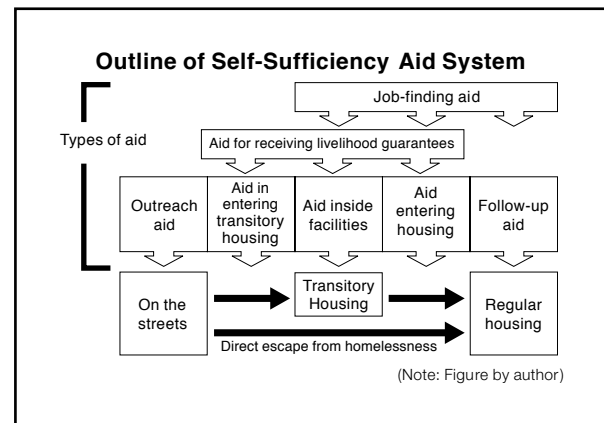
This system is filled with services which were unforeseen and haven't been in the government's policy measures manual up until now. For example, there is absolutely no precedent for aid such as outreach where one goes out on the streets to offer counseling. The same is true for job-finding assistance for rebuilding livelihood in the transitory housing as touched on in the previous installment.

In many cases, the NPOs and volunteer groups, acting on their own, have created networks of the society's resources and groped towards building mechanisms to assist the homeless while slowly reforming, bit by bit, the long-established local organizational system and the organization of social welfare.

Within the public sector, if there are personnel who can correctly pick up on these private initiatives and skillfully integrate them with government activities, then they can move forward with the construction of a self-sufficiency aid system for the homeless. However, there are very few such cities. The current activities of NPOs have played out against the dysfunctionality caused by vertically divided government in the existing public sector.

Legally, only those living and sleeping out on the streets are defined as 'homeless', but this understanding needs urgently to be revised. In reality, what needs to be the target of policy measures is a broad range of housing-vulnerable people, people on the verge of homelessness, NEETS, freeters (free part-time workers), etc. extending far beyond the legal definition of the homeless.

(Toshio MIZUUCHI)

25. A Wider Safety Net
: Issues of Substantive Public-Private Cooperation

The people who make use of the homeless self-sufficiency aid system are expanding. We can clearly see this in the Rainbow League's 'Alternative National Homeless Survey' mentioned earlier. Formerly, most of the users were the real hard-core outdoor sleepers living in tents and shacks, but now there is really a broad range of people whose homeless experience goes from those who have never slept outside all the way to those who have done it for more than five years.

Breakdown of Time Spent Living on the Streets

(Source: Rainbow League)
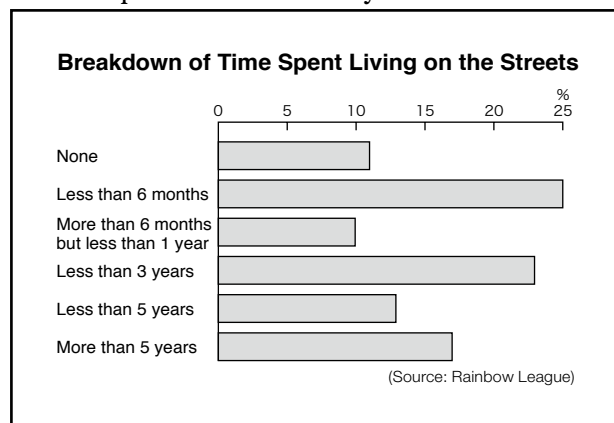
Behind the expansion of users there is the fact that the conditions of homelessness have become more varied. There are all kinds of 'homeless' people now: people with no relatives and nowhere to go who use livelihood guarantee facilities, people who are unavoidably and repeatedly in and out of hospitals, people using lodging houses as extended evacuation refuges, people who can no longer use pay-by-day basic lodgings, day-laborers who cannot use workers' dormitories or despatched employees who cannot stay in company dorms, people who have just been released from prison with nowhere to go, or people who migrate back and forth between capsule hotels, net cafes, and their friends' homes.

Through the penetration of the word 'homeless', it has become much easier than before to receive services at the associated facilities, just by claiming to be homeless in extreme cases. As the private sector leadership has expanded, a wider safety net has finally begun to emerge in Japan such that people who fear they will become homeless can avoid that danger.

As related in the previous installment, the pillars of homelessness self-sufficiency aid are the livelihood guarantees and the work of the transitory housing that have expanded through the activities of non-profit organizations (NPOs). And, while making aid in the transitory housing into the nucleus, it is vital to weave the net together with the various forms of aid such as job-finding assistance combined with counseling on the streets, housing assistance, and follow-up aid after people have found housing.

Fortunately, much effective and advanced engagement in this work has emerged from the private sector and is being tied to an improvement in the problems of homelessness.

However, many issues remain. What should be done about housing facilities for reconstructing the lives of the homeless? What to do about job-finding assistance, which must include mental health care, etc.? What to do about the welfare assistance for people who are actually sick but have not been labeled for treatment? Engagement with these problems is still awaited. In looking towards solving these problems in the future, how the bureaucracy and the private sector can cooperate, and whether a creative city can be born, depend on the flexible and imaginative efforts of the public and the private sectors.

(Toshio MIZUUCHI)

26. Culture and Arts Policies
: Results of Using a Multifaceted Approach to Society

In the realization of creative cities, urban culture and arts policies hold a special importance.

In Western Europe since the end of the Second World War, through the solidifying of the 'welfare state' policies, cultural policies have become substantial in each of the various countries. In Britain, the Arts Council system of art promotion committees advocated by the economist John Maynard Keynes was introduced. The government began supporting opera, ballet, etc. following the so-called 'arm's length' principle in which "we will give money but not give criticism."

However, in recent years the main actor in cultural policy has been shifting from the nation to the cities. The recipients of aid have also shifted, from classical arts aimed at an elite, to new genres. Behind this shift has been the emergence of new social movements in Europe since the 1970s: the ecology movement, the feminist movement, ethnic minority movements, and community movements.

Through these movements, established values have crumbled, the previous distinctions between 'high culture' and 'low culture' have been altered, and the concept of what is 'culture' has greatly expanded. The concept of 'cultural right' consisting of freedom of cultural expression and the access to culture, have come to be recognized, and the arts and culture are no longer something that belongs to a privileged class.

Cultural Policies in Europe

World War II	Cultural policies advanced together with welfare state policy
1970s	Concept of culture expanded through new social movements
1980s	Cultural policies adopted as part of urban renewal policy
1985	Urban culture promotion policy of 'European Cultural Capitals' begins
1990s	Development of creative industries

During the early 1980s, faced with long term recession and unemployment problems and also an increase in immigration, the policy makers in many cities began to include cultural policies in their plans for urban revitalization. The level of livability also came to be recognized as an important element in city rankings. International cultural and sporting events also came to occupy a decisive place in a city's attraction strategy.

Influenced by the IT (information technology) revolution since the 1990s, expectations have risen that the rapid growth in information and content industries will lead to an advance of the creative industries such as media arts. Additionally, the relationship between the arts and society has become more multi-dimensional.

For example, in Osaka, which aims to become a creative city, contemporary art creation projects are under development. Young artists have been going into the Airin District where the unemployed and the homeless congregate, and carrying out collaborative projects such as poetry writing and readings, and production of paper puppet plays (*kami shibai*). As a result, they have succeeded in providing an avenue for the spiritual rehabilitation of homeless people and others.
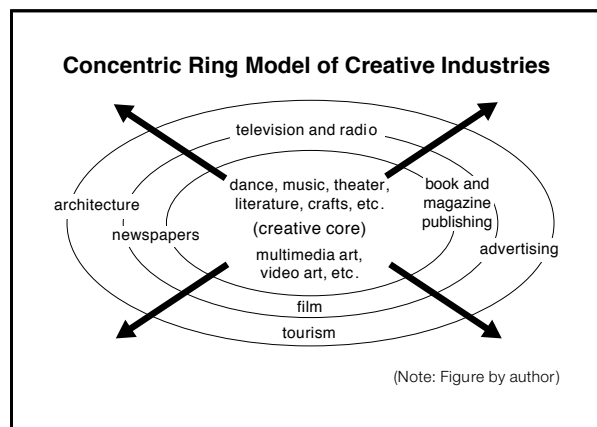
(Masayuki SASAKI)

27. Developing Creative Industries
: Importance of Supporting Policies for the Core

The promotion of creative industries is indispensable in the sustainable development of creative cities. The British Ministry of Culture, Media, and Sports defines creative industries as: "...industries which have origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property." They have designated 13 categories of industry as belonging to this, including music, theater arts, video, cinema, etc.

To promote cultural industries, one must understand their characteristics. In order to understand the structure of the creative industry, a model figure of concentric rings is useful. In the center we place the creative core or nucleus, and represent the various industry divisions as radiating outward from the core.

Concentric Ring Model of Creative Industries

television and radio
dance, music, theater, literature, crafts, etc. (creative core)
book and magazine publishing
architecture
newspapers
advertising
multimedia art, video art, etc.
film
tourism

(Note: Figure by author)

In the core are located the traditional arts of music, dance, theater, literature, etc., along with new artistic activities such as video art and performance art. In the categories that are in the creative core, there are frequently areas where, because they are avant-garde, they are hard to evaluate, and because they are low in marketability or profitability, they are classified as 'unprofitable'.

Located in the next ring outward, immediately adjoining the creative core, are book and magazine publishing, television, radio, etc. This is a group of industries that reproduces original content and produces it in large volume, and its proportion of cultural value is correspondingly lower compared to the creative core. In the next ring further outward are located advertising, tourism, architecture, etc. In the development of creative industries, it is necessary to have conditions in which artists and creators who engage in leading-edge work that may be low in profitability can still work freely.

Beyond that, whether a city will be able to foster and encourage original creative industries depends in the first place on whether or not it has effective supporting policies for the creative core. For example, it is probably necessary to have a thorough-going arts subsidy policy.

In general, when compared to existing industries, the creative industries are often limited to smaller enterprises where creativity is easily demonstrated. Because these small enterprises repeatedly do business closely with people in related work, there is a strong tendency for them to prefer places with a particular creative atmosphere, and to clump together there. Consequently, in the second place, it is important whether or not there is an environment which nurtures these small enterprises.

Additionally, there is the issue of integrating urban planning with the industrial policies of a city that aims to become a creative city. This is because the formation of spaces in which it is easy to manifest creativity are what is called for in urban planning.

(Masayuki SASAKI)

28. A Creative Society: Networking is the Key

The concept of the 'creative city' is attracting keen attention throughout the world as a goal for urban policy and as the model for 21st century cities faced with rapid globalization and truly knowledge- and information-based societies. The world's cities are trying to emulate the creative city, and are offering it as a policy goal.

In Japan in 2001, the economic interests and the citizens of Kanazawa established the 'Kanazawa Creative City Conference' and launched a movement aimed at making Kanazawa into a creative city. They renovated the brick warehouses of the old textile factories and opened up a 'Citizens' Arts Village' for year-round performances and rehearsals of music and theater. In the hollowed-out urban core they opened a twenty-first century art museum specializing in contemporary art, and are experimenting with the fusion of avant-garde design and traditional industries.

UNESCO-designated Creative Cities and Fields

Fields	City
Literature	Edinburgh (U.K.)
Music	Bologna (Italy), Seville (Spain)
Crafts and Folk Arts	Aswan (Egypt), Santa Fe (U.S.)
Design	Berlin (Germany), Buenos Aires (Argentina), Montreal (Canada)
Gastronomy	Popayan (Colombia)

(Note: In total number, 16 cities were registered by the end of 2008)

In Yokohama, which is approaching the 150th anniversary of the opening of the port, a committee of informed citizens in January 2004 proposed an urban revitalization program titled 'Creative City Yokohama'. In April, Mayor Nakada Hiroshi established the Creative City Promotion Bureau and they began serious work. Using an old bank building, the experimental project 'BankART 1929' has been entrusted to a non-profit organization (NPO) to run, and it is showing some success. In both of these examples, people have succeeded in the 'creation' of creative venues.

In Osaka City, stagnating in the midst of a long-term recession, Osaka City University has established the world's first Graduate School for Creative Cities, and new movement has begun towards proposing policies for urban regeneration and fostering young talent for the future.

Looking developments in the networking of creative cities, on the international level UNESCO has been advocating a movement for networks of cities registered as creative cities in seven different fields: music, crafts and folk arts, design, gastronomy, film, media arts, etc. Already, Bologna and Berlin, among other cities, have been registered. In Asia, Kobe is in the middle of applying, and Osaka and other cities are aiming at registration in the near future. In the future, as the movement towards creative cities expands in Japan and Asia, and as networks are formed even while the cities compete with each other in diverse developments, a 'creative society' should be brought into being.

(Masayuki SASAKI)

The End

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