



URP GCOE DOCUMENT 7

Managing Sustainability and Creativity:
Urban Management in Europe and Japan

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INTRODUCTION

Evelyn Schulz¹ and Hiroshi Okano²

This volume is a result of the one-day workshop *Issues of Sustainability and Creativity of Urban Planning and Management: Case Studies from Europe and Japan*, which was hosted at the Ludwig Maximilians University (LMU) Munich's Japan Center, in Germany, and was sponsored by Urban Research Plaza, Osaka City University in March 2008.

The workshop was organized on the occasion of a visit by Hiroshi Okano and Masayuki Sasaki who were supervising a group of students from Osaka City University travelling to Germany as well as to the United Kingdom. The idea of taking up the general topic of the Osaka City University's Global Center of Excellence (G-COE), that is "From Osaka – Recreating the Cities of the 21st Century through Cultural Creativity and Social Inclusion", in the form of a workshop in Munich was realized at very short notice.

Nonetheless, the spontaneous idea of bringing together people from various countries (Germany, Italy, Japan) and from various fields of academic research irrespective of their academic degrees as well as local practitioners resulted in a lively and intense workshop with nine presentations total and a series of discussions. All of these presentations and discussions took up two admittedly rather intangible yet definitely very important keywords of our time, namely sustainability and creativity. Their relation to and relevance for urban planning processes and management strategies, both highly complex issues, was examined. The question of how urban life ideally ought to be designed in order to be sustainable is one of the key issues in the 21st century.

In this respect, Munich was an appropriate location for this kind of workshop for several reasons. As the third largest city in Germany, after Berlin and Hamburg, Munich (population of the City of Munich: 1.35 million; population of the Greater Munich Area: approximately 2.4 million) is said to be successful in keeping up with the ever increasing speed and challenges of globalization. Munich's image is that of an easy-going city with a high standard of living; it is often considered to be the most attractive major German city, despite the fact that the cost of living is much higher than in many other parts of Germany. As a result of its popularity, Munich has been dubbed "the Secret Capital of Germany", "Cosmopolitan City with a Heart", "Athens on the Isar", and "Village of a Million". It especially has a long record as one of Germany's foremost cities in regard to culture, as is manifest in its current rich cultural life as well as pride in its history. Munich's true inhabitants, the Bavarians, as well as newcomers from other parts of Germany, and a considerable number of tourists enjoy participating in – in many cases commercialized – local traditions such as the annual Oktoberfest. Munich is also a highly multicultural city, as evidenced by the existence of countless ethnic restaurants, mosques, and a Japanese kindergarten, just to name a few examples. Approximately 25% of its population does not hold German citizenship. Another major factor contributing to Munich's attractiveness is its vicinity not only to the Alps but also to Austria and Italy. It is also important to note that one key strength of Munich lies in its focus on business related to various fields of design. More than 160 publishing houses are located there, the city is said to be third worldwide as a

center of media, and it is also the seat of the European Patent Office. In the past, the city has made continuous efforts to also strengthen its position as a city of learning and to encourage the nurturing of knowledge. However, even Munich can be said to be shaken by the current global financial crisis and, therefore, its institutions and people have to adapt to and deal with the ups and downs of an economic environment which is not as stable as it once used to be.

This volume starts with two introductory articles on general issues. Mathias Hamp (LMU Munich) provides a profound overview on *Creativity and Mass Production in Urban Context: In Search for New Vocabulary*. Masayuki Sasaki (Osaka City University) takes *Employment Opportunity through Cultural Creativity and Social Inclusion in Japan-from a Perspective of Creative City* as an example to point out the benefits of developing urban networks.

Four presentations of the workshop were dealing with issues related to Munich and its environments. Anthonia Loeffler (Munich) presented recent examples of innovative building design in the Alpine region (published here as *From the Alps to the Adriatic Sea – Alpine Idylls: Examples of New Building Techniques and Styles in the Mountains*). The architect Stefan Hichert (Munich) talked about the challenges posed by the renovation of the German Alpine Club's alpine huts and lodges in a sustainable and environmentally friendly way. Unfortunately though, we were not able to edit his lecture on *Renovating Alpine Lodges: Issues of Sustainability* for this volume. Stefan Hichert died very unexpectedly in an avalanche when returning from work at an alpine lodge in April 2008. The architect Hannes Roessler (Munich) gave a lecture on the international architecture competition regarding the redesign of the so-called Werkbundsiedlung Wiesenfeld. This competition, held in 2007, was won by the Japanese architect Kazunari Sakamoto. However, due to divergent opinions and political constraints at the local level, Sakamoto's design was not realized. Please, visit <http://www.werkbundsiedlung.com> for further details. Walter Buser from the Department of Urban Planning of the City of Munich gave an overview of *Munich's Reaction to Disparities in Knowledge and Standard of Living* (included in this volume).

Another set of presentations addressed topics related to Japan. Eri Shibata (Osaka City University) presented her PhD research on *An Aspect of Osakan Modernist Culture - A Focus on the Activities of Kawai Dance*. Kawai Dance is a particular performing art representative of Osaka's modern culture of the 1920s (cf. Shibata's article in this volume). Julia Obinger (LMU Munich) summarized the results of her M.A. thesis on *Homelessness in Urban Centers of Japan and Creative Strategies to Escape Homelessness* (cf. Obinger's article in this volume). Due to its connections with the overall theme of this volume the article on *Green Isles around the Corner: The Role and Design of Small Local Parks in Sapporo, Japan* by Christoph Rupprecht (LMU Munich) has additionally been included.

Maria Lusiani and Luca Zan (Italy) have taken up issues of urban management and cultural heritage in their case study entitled *Heritage Malta: Institutional Transformation and Managerialism in Cultural Heritage*.

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1. CREATIVITY AND MASS PRODUCTION IN URBAN CONTEXT: IN SEARCH FOR NEW VOCABULARY

*Mathias Hamp*¹

*“Every period in the history of [humankind] seems to need its own forms of creativity”
but “our current obsession with creativity is the result of our continued striving for im-
mortality in an era when most people no longer believe in an after-life.” (Greed 1999:
195; Stassinopoulos 1973: 101)*

1. Introduction

Since its beginnings a core activity of city administrations around the world has been to meet with the various problems that affected the civil populations they were in charge of. Natural and human disasters such as earth quakes, fires, floods, epidemics, criminality or war calamities combined with an ever increasing density of urban dwelling may stand among the main and repeatedly occurring administrative issues. To address those problems and enhance security in the urban habitat most city authorities could rely on increasingly sophisticated measures using hard as well as soft infrastructural solutions. This resulted in a continual raise of the living standards and – in more indirect ways – increasing price levels in many cities worldwide. In this respect Japan and Germany are no exception.

Most real estate prices in the business centres of those large urban agglomerations in Japan exceed the range of the affordable and count among the most expensive places to live in the world.² Even in those times other major urban economies faced periods of recession or economic slowdown – Japanese cities, driven by an unprecedented period of rapid financial growth, showed a continual development. Despite temporary setbacks these cities have been attracting more and more people from rural and even peripheral areas throughout the Pacific Rim especially after the end of the Second World War (See Douglass and Roberts 2000).

The result is a phenomenal urban sprawl spreading without interception over several hundreds of kilometres interconnecting more and more cities and people through their adjacent suburbia. In the tongue of its inhabitants, Japanese urbanity might be best described as a desert made of concrete. However, the development of urban economies in Japan recently knew a certain slowdown. After the economic downturn of the mid 90ies and the major earthquake in Kobe 1995 hitherto unknown problems in post-war Japan started to affect Japanese cities. Like at other places and times the recessionary economy manifested itself primarily in industrial centers like Osaka where a growing number of citizens need help by the state. Questions of social welfare had traditionally only been addressed in rather superficial ways. Besides in times of rapid growth Japanese authorities simply didn't have to think about social welfare so much.

But, since those times the urban public of many cities in Japan kept in worries for adapted solutions and a sustainable development of their urban communities. Welfare policies began to gain importance in the daily political discourse and therefore attracted an increasing attention by all kinds of Medias. The private sector for its part followed the trends of globalization and started to spread its business to oversea territories where unexploited market opportunities and favorable production environments waited to be developed. On the other hand, many foreign

governments pushed the movement being eager to court foreign investments, hence granting subventions, relatively lax environmental regulations or cheap labor wages that promised easy profit raises.

In the meantime domestic economies went through a phase of important structural transformation. The relocation of labour intensive industries abroad was, if not to say had to be linked with a shift of the very ways how urban societies earned their livelihood. But without appropriate training or educational background not anyone could or dared the leap towards more service oriented and creative activities. At this point many public authorities worldwide see their status as urban business location at stake and therefore started to address their concerns jointly through forums and networks in quest for what they came to call the creative city.³ For instance the UNESCO initiated a creative city network in the year 2004 and a listing of resources about worldwide creative industries (UNESCO 2008).

Creativity surely is an important issue for cities and its administrative structures. In the present situation of global economy inter-urban competition “depends increasingly on the generation of knowledge through creativity and [...] being a base for knowledge-intensive firms and institutions, such as universities, research centres or the cultural industries, has acquired a new strategic importance” (Landry and Bianchini 1994: 12). However, in more general ways creativity as the skill to match ever changing environmental conditions must be seen as the essential question for every single human being seeking for longevity and self-fulfilment. Thus, how can environments, in our case urban ones, be designed in a way to secure their inhabitants the best possible probability to reach satisfaction of these intentions?

In my opinion, the city in itself harbours the answer to this question. Collaboration, rationalization of production technologies, thus more generally specialization in all fields of human life have gained considerably in importance since the advent of the industrial revolution. The development of these abilities yielded an unprecedented prosperity of urban environments expanding as archetypical places of modern lifestyles. Creativity is the condition to the very existence and further development of urban environments, it might even be called its lifeblood (Landry and Bianchini 1994: 11). The purposes of cities as well as the intentions of urban dwellers are creative processes which result in the creation of “manufactured landscapes.”⁴ In other words humankind can’t help but be creative unless it is affected of problems. Admitted, an overly strong argument, but how else can creativity be defined and what may be the nature of these problems? To investigate this question I suggest a case study that won’t lead us neither to Japan nor to Germany but to a very particular city. It is a model-city lesser complex and therefore easier to speak of.⁵ The following model will only speak on a level where economic cycles are carried out through direct commodity exchange. The discussion of any virtual capital forms of money based economies are postponed to following occasions. At the present moment the virtual visit of this city here can help us synthesize and deduce some new vocabulary to address the various problem of modern urbanities in more accurate terms.

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2 It is said, that in pre-bubble times the nominal value of the land covered by the Imperial Palace in Tokyo allegedly was worth the value of all real estate of California (Sorensen 2002: 285).

3 Actually the term “creative city” by Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini coined many discourses about creativity in urban contexts since the early 90ies.

4 These words reflect the recent contribution by Jennifer Baichwal who addressed the problem of creativity in her documentary entitled *Manufactured Landscapes* of 2006.

5 The following model will only speak on a level where economic cycles are carried out through direct commodity exchange. The discussion of any virtual capital forms of money based economies are postponed to following occasions.

2. Seeking for Urban Habitat: A Long Journey

The visit starts in a pre-urban history when a majority of people lived of the riches of nature. The cause for this remote access to our model-city is that searching for its defining properties implies to think about what it might not be. And it is a rather confirmed commonplace that the urban habitat is not rural since “what fundamentally distinguishes the urban settlement is that its economy is centred in non-agricultural activities” (Kinsbruner 2005: 3). High-density in population and buildings, both usually found in urban environments, plainly hinders the cultivation of land like in rural areas.⁶ Therefore cities rely on rural spaces for their ability to produce vital resources that are indispensable to most of their inhabitants. The creation of cities has therefore to be intimately connected with a development that took place in rural environments.

In pre-urban times rural majorities having developed from hunter and gatherer societies were – and it seems more than trivial to say – mainly subsisting on agricultural activities. Their agrarian lifestyle requested large arable territories and a widespread knowledge for its cultivation with domesticated animals and plants. Their cultivation was usually carried out by large collective groups. Besides being burdensome, the low specialization levels usually found in these agrarian societies implied a comparatively high vulnerability to all kinds of hazardous events. Despite its inherent risks many rural societies worldwide managed through a very long time to develop in total autarchy, knowing somewhat painstaking but fulfilled lifestyles.

However, an irresolvable problem to those societies was the management of difficulties, especially when their members had to face existential crisis. And among others like contagious diseases, fires or floods, famines were especially serious and conflicting cases (Arnold 1988). When the demand of victuals exceeded the offer, people literally had to face the limits of their growth. Whether because of the emergent misfortune or out of egoistic opportunism, in these situations the human showed an astonishing ability to abstract from his inconvenience on behalf of his fellow-humans whom he started to discriminate as a means of a solution. Yes, spatial segregation might even be considered as the natural way to deal with calamities even in preventive ways – the essential question having since long been the choice between evasion and chase.⁷ Consequently seen from the evasive side, some people also wittingly choose an auto-discriminative stance and untied their social bonds to their equals in hope for better conditions somewhere else.

In either way, because of population pushes rural societies increasingly met individuals who couldn't rely on territorial possession for a living; automatically turning thereby to outsiders. In opposition to the more settled communities, these deprived people were left to strand around in search for food and shelter. And as such they were compelled to develop alternative lifestyles – other than those consisting of the cultivation of farm land or cattle breeding.

Ever since their advent, these dispossessed persons took advantage of their social or residential detachment and ‘entertained’ those who possessed and themselves with their for-

eignness in the sense they capitalized upon their strangeness. As Yuri Slezkine (2004: 30) has shown in his recent contribution, in many societal contexts around the world this meant a transgression of boundaries; over whose limits commodities changed with or without consent of their proprietor. Surely any act of transgression is correlated with risks and more than often proved pretty dangerous, but through a long period of such repeated and slowly organizing transgressions these disadvantaged often discriminated groups had developed a remarkable ingenuity to adapt to their deplorable condition as dispossessed people. Virtually facing collapse every day, their approach to their constant existential problem was twofold:

A first pattern, are those transgressions that can create laughter or any other kind of service that pleased or was useful. And indeed, seen from the present perspective a great diversity of specialized services can enhance the work in the fields of those who agree to remunerate their endeavours with vital commodities of their surplus production (Fujita 1993: 34-45). The alternative to this pleasing solution of the invariably existential problem was the way of the most desperate. Having suggested laughter as a mean to please, swindlers, for their part, are not saying please – they take what they need. Their business includes all acts of disagreed commodity exchange. Whether rural societies were compelled to harmful trades in exchange of nothing or some virtual security service, this activity sector has been complementary to the first one.⁸ Not without sacrifices, both swindle and laughter have successfully proven of their capacity to secure even the most desperate and dispossessed a sustainable existence.

In rare cases swindle as well as laughter could even be a source of great wealth despite the rather unfavourable origins of their bearer institution motivations. In other words, despite having no specific immobile as asset but a very flexible knowledge about how to ‘comfort’, first forms of a mobile capital grew as a result of a creative process one should generally see as the will to survive. Either the nature of the relationship to rural communities, all members of the roaming folks “were non-primary producers specializing in the delivery of goods and services to the surrounding agricultural or pastoral populations. Their principal resource base [thereby] was human, not natural, and their expertise was in ‘foreign’ affairs” (Slezkine 2004: 30). With the development into such a period of swindle and laughter the visit of the prehistoric evolution of the suggested model-city is reaching its first preliminary end, for the reason that these alternative societies growing older started to show tendencies to develop urban lifestyles. The process and conditions of this progress is the object of the next points.

3. Birth of an Urban Model: Sedentary of the Dispossessed

Irregardless the nature of service offered, since the target of this emerging urban societies developing from scratch was human, ways and methods of controlled access to possessing societal strata had to be found. This was an absolute prerequisite for the subsistence of the increasing numbers of territorial detached individuals. Since exchange with vital commodities

6 Since urban agriculture concepts are developing around the world the grounds of this differentiation are questionable. Raquel Pinderhughes (2004): *Alternative Urban Futures: Planning for Sustainable Development in Cities throughout the World*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. 185-218.

7 To justify discriminative approaches different societies worldwide developed an important variety of arguments that range from impurity to other evils. Whether as pretext or as a biological necessity these stances helped the stronger to subsist through those situations of extreme misfortune (See Hawkins 1997: 151-290).

8 It is only to the interest of the extorting groups to protect their source from the influences of third parties making the origin of security not dependant of any altruist impetus but self-interest. (See Tilly 1997: 165-192).

was a primordial objective its accessibility and controllability were crucial planning criteria. Interestingly harmful and useful service sectors showed the same penchants and tendencies:

In both cases people gathered at strategic favorable places that implied certain pattern of geomorphic precondition: For instance, elevated locations were good for control but offered poor access conditions, positions near widespread waterway systems were perfect in matters of access and control but suffered from heavy risks in flooding. In either way, case by case, locations were found at places that were adapted to the bearer institutions means. Once found, strategic favorable locations attracted people of various specializations seeking for more secure habitat forms. Because of the various synergy effects between folks of a common interest and condition urban environments developed a considerable attractiveness.

The result was a beginning spatial differentiation of activities. Sure, people of rural areas still conducted to a certain degree the same industrious activities now starting to concentrate in emerging urban spaces. It is a commonplace to situate industrial activities in an urban context. However, the history of industrious activities begins in times prior to the birth of urban habitat forms. The etymology of the term industry goes back to Latin. There it meant a burdensome activity. To cultivate fields is sure painful but the burden is carried by nature. Usually industrious activities were all services carried out by slaves since the Roman citizen didn't care to work. Nevertheless, their endeavour couldn't prevent the birth of specialized industries that traded their services or products for those of other fields and especially the riches of agricultural provenance.

4. Infinite Fields

In this context is to be understood the idea of urban environment opposed to the rural environment. Whereas urban lifestyle could be characterized as a conglomerate of specialized activities that tend to gather around certain activity fields, people of rural areas, in contrary, living from agriculture had to diverge into their fields in the very physical sense of the word. There, they grew food embracing riches which were not dependant of their own creativity but rather of the innovation of existing natural growth or breeding processes. In the cities the creative processes built upon the very necessities and problems of the human in his daily livelihood. According to Charles Landry (2000: 36-47), the density and diversity of the urban environment can be seen as an important condition for efficient breeding grounds enhancing the formation of new alternative business solutions.

But whatever the nature of the solution, it couldn't prevent the constant criticalness of the urban condition. In the emerging urban activity centres most people were absolutely dependant of the supply of those vital services only adjacent rural populations could offer. In other words, whatever accomplishments the urban dweller gains of their professional field, it has

absolutely to be exactly the value it takes to trade them successfully with products or services of any other field especially agrarian ones.⁹

Therefore the city is to be seen as the immobile centre of activities that develop and extend in fields over urban, suburban and even rural spaces (Habraken 1998: 326). Whereas the urban habitat has for a long time been understood as the very opposite to rural ones – the former being a innovation source and the later conservative by nature inhibiting the further growth of cities – the urban dweller not unlike his rural counterpart still keeps doing nothing else than cultivate fields for a living. Actually, his efforts are carried out in various fields: Knowledge, industries and all those services it takes to sustain livelihood in urban, suburban as well as rural habitat spaces are nothing else than the infinite fields of one particular activity: Life.

After all, the respective increase of efficiency and specialization gradually jeopardizes the commonplace differentiation between rural and urban environments. Moreover it may even question the grounds of the division into three economical sectors (agricultural, industrial, and service) as the next paragraph shall clarify.

5. Agriculture versus Agoraculture: Revolution in two Sectors

The holistic interpretation of agriculture above is problematic, indeed. It simply loses its differentiating meaning. Is there still use to speak of agriculture when every field of human activity converges into one global market? There surely is, but our understanding of it has to be modified.

Speaking of agriculture one should understand any act of extraction or reclamation in a very broad sense. Hereby not enough emphasis can be put on the fact that most vital resources are gained out of fields that have a finite extension: For instance mining industries, mixed farming or the development of any other scarce commodity including regenerative energies have physical limits. However, the contents of these fields are traded at market places with the services and products of processing industries that bear unlimited capacities. Located at the core of the urban habitat these industries have the capacity to repeat the production of their particular contents to the infinite, unless the primary resources meet exhaustion. If we call agriculture all those activities that imply the commodity extraction of finite fields all those products of the processing industries should be called agoraculture since they are destined to be traded at market places.

6. Mass Production and its Ends

Some words to the aforementioned criticalness of the subsistence of urban communities: To secure their subsistence urban communities had to strengthen their relationship with rural environments, since the very continuity of these habitat forms is the object of a constant

9 In this context some authors even spoke of essential and non-essential goods whereby the former may be seen as agricultural goods (See Backhouse 1995: 91).

crisis. Sustainable agoraculture depends on the persuasiveness of its products since any further development in the cities can only be assured through a steady supply of vital resources. However, the rural folks had for long time known a self-sufficient livelihood that didn't request much help from third parties. Therefore the specialized service urban dweller could offer them were pretty limited. Conservative stances of those in possession could prevent or even inhibit the further development of any specialized forms of livelihood. In those times even slight diminishment in the appeal of agoracultural content could unveil the fragility of any urban habitat. To avoid any fiasco whose apogee would be the complete dissolution of urban societies, a key issue of agoraculture has ever since been to create dependency through the offer of advantageous solutions that promised competitive advantages for those who traded their surplus production against the oddities of a growing trade market.

Some of the findings proved extremely valuable because they could enhance the productivity of rural communities. But, their resistance to more innovative stances definitely fell apart when the first benefits of collaboration were concretizing.¹⁰ Collaboration between specialists simply proved more effective since it allowed among others the reduction of non-productive effort wasted in transition from one to another activity or faster innovation cycles through accumulated experience. Specialization in general fosters a variety of advantages in comparison to the all-rounder approach of rural tradition.¹¹

Since then a consecutively growing number of these solutions gave to more and more people opportunities to make a living of specialized services in a multitude of activity fields, all centred on exchange markets. This was the beginning of intensive agoraculture in urban fields. And when those agoracultural societies finally began to enter the era of mass production rural societies could rely on large bulks of solutions that all enhanced their livelihood. But in the meantime they had lost considerable parts of their self-sufficiency. All participants of collaborative work processes grew dependent of commodity exchange. Various market mechanisms in this exchange finally helped to secure relationships between rural and urban societies founding more integrated forms of society where the cities stood as essential definition points.

In this sense, the agoracultural mass production has strengthened the relationship to rural spaces to a degree that large masses of interrelated individuals could consolidate to larger groups that shared and communicated through central places: That is creative communities in the first place and created communities in a rather historical perspective as Benedict Anderson has so eloquently shown (Anderson 1991). As a first conclusion one should speak of mass producing mass production. The masses of urban dwellers can only subsist in their nonagricultural habitat through the production of large bulks of any valuables they can use to connect their livelihood with those they need but cannot produce.

7. And the result? A Post-urban History

Having by now visited the core of the suggested model-city the time has come to recapitulate its more memorable characteristics: In our visit we saw how the development of urban habitats is triggered by a specialization that gradually encompasses former agrarian livelihoods. Through their integration in global economical cycles rural, suburban and urban spaces form market places where material and immaterial products of different fields are exchanged. It is in this exchange that the urban habitat is to be found since specialization in general fosters the way of the least resistance. This implies the creation of habitat forms where the inhabitants live in geographic proximity.

For this reason urban habitats have to be seen a consequence of industrious and specialized activities but not their precondition, since the conglomeration of specialized activities is a rational approach to the deplorable situation of dispossessed communities. A German saying exemplifies this in three words “*Not macht erfinderisch*” (need makes inventive). It means creativity is the consequence of misfortune. Through their collaborative subsistence territorial detached people have proved the benefits of specialization (Woude, Hayami and Vries 1990). In this sense the creation of cities itself exemplifies human creativity.

On this account collaboration and specialization between rural and urban economies allowed a considerable increase in efficiency and helped their supportive societies to find more sustainable approaches to their environment. In fact the mass production of efficient solutions established the urban as a sustainable and creative habitat form, because it helped to integrate large masses of people within the cycles of urban based exchange economies. Actually, despite its inherent fragility – the principally dead – urban habitat has known a universal success as the recent report of the United Nations Population Fund could show (UNFPA 2008). Those solutions were traded for the subsistence of its singularly not liveable bearer. Astonishingly this works so well, that a continually decreasing amount of world population is relying on the former self sufficient lifestyles of rural tradition. Usually, this development is valorized through its effects on human lifetime expectancies and the growing world population.

10 Basically, the circumstance of a beginning societal specialization can be naturally stimulated by market mechanism. However, many cases exist in which rural societies were forced to collaboration – especially in colonial history.

11 These thoughts have first been conceptualized by the economist David Ricardo and his theory of comparative advantages and trade (See Ricardo 1817).

8. Postscript: Probable Problems

However we should also deduce some negative aspects of our model-city: Nowadays, an increasing amount of people living of agricultural activities can not manage or even afford to be self-sufficient. Having yield autarky for more and more efficiency, rural societies became dependant of market mechanisms. Through their integration to exchange economies they continuously loose their independence and cultural particularities – implying particular and fundamental skills of self sufficiency. Besides market economy is forcing more and more people to leave their old habitat and seek refuge in alternative lifestyles of urban contexts, because the wealth of this habitat promised the solution of an emerging rural poverty problem. A further reason for this migration from rural to urban spaces is that the development of agoraculture brought a clear paradigmatic shift of the meaning of dispossession. Owning fields but cultivate them with inappropriate approaches lacking of specialized means has proven of less valor than owning a special cultivation skill. Plainly said, demand creates supply. This meant for self-sufficient livelihoods that neither demand nor supply a peaceful existence. However, an increasing demand of their productive force has driven them to a dependency of the supply of third parties.

A serious consequence of this transformation from a self sufficient to a specialized activity based societal concept is a spreading urban sprawl. In many cases urbanization went to such extents the usual horizontal dwelling forms had to be revolved into the vertical because of lacking development space. At any rate, the growth of urban environments does have a direct impact on the quality and quantity of vital resources. Especially after the human found means to escape a certain amount of self-regulative mechanisms that hitherto had prevented overgrowth more deregulated forms of growth are affecting earth. Through the history of agriculture the vulnerability of monoculture has repeatedly proven an important object of concern. Unfortunately, such an understanding lacks in agoracultural context which reveals of vulgar homo-centrism. However, the predominance of the human in the fragile terrestrial ecosphere comprised a wide range of negative effects on the stability of our environment including a shrinking biodiversity, climate change, and the loss of valuable and scarce resources.

Evil didn't begin with urbanization. Even since the beginnings of agriculture human-kind has started to create manufactured landscapes which mattered to a point the growth of agrarian societies knew their first limits. The consequences were the creation of specialized services giving birth to urban environments. As these environments knew their first limits colonies were founded. After colonialist stances proved inappropriate, humans are stranding for new solutions. Sure colonizing and reclamation of new territories is a logic consequence to increasing population pressure, but shouldn't we first question the primordial human behavior pattern: relocate in case of encountered difficulties or claim sustainable activity fields? Both reaction schemes might endanger the sustainability of human life forms.

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2. EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY THROUGH CULTURAL CREATIVITY AND SOCIAL INCLUSION IN JAPAN - FROM A PERSPECTIVE OF CREATIVE CITY

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1. Introduction

The concept of 'creative cities,' both in theory and in practice, is at the heart of this paper. This concept refers to a mobilization of the 'creativity' inherent in art and culture to create new industries and employment opportunities. In addition to addressing the problems of homelessness and the environment, it is believed that such an approach can foster a comprehensive urban regeneration.

In academia this concept first attracted attention through the works of Peter Hall, an internationally renowned authority on urban theory, and Charles Landry, an international consultant (Hall, 1998; Landry, 2000). In Japan and Asia, the author has played a leading role in promoting this concept in both theory and practice through his research and policy work (Sasaki, 1997, 2001).

Part of the broader diffusion of the creative cities ideal has come through the launch of UNESCO's "Global Network of Creative Cities" in 2004, and interest has quickly spread beyond the confines of Europe and America to Asia, Africa, South America, and developing countries throughout the world.

In Asia, Asian cities, with their long history of bureaucratically led developmentalism at the center of urban and regional politics, have suffered as neoliberal globalization has transformed industries and threatened social welfare systems. Environmental, employment, and housing crises have also become more acute in this era of neo-liberalism. At the same time, the businesses and families that have been central to coping with social crises in the past are no longer functional these days. In these times of crisis and recession, it seems that the time for fundamental social reconstruction from the grass roots has arrived.

While promoting global research on urban problems from the perspective of creative cities, we must be careful not to force a Western conception of the creative city ideal on our study of Asian cities. Instead we must rethink the concept of creative cities in light of the myriad problems facing Asian cities with the hope of creating a new urban society and a new urban theory based on culture, creativity and social inclusion that are appropriate to the Asian context.

2. Rethinking Creative City Theory

The creative cities idea emerged as a new urban model with the European Union's 'European City of Culture' and 'European Capital of Culture' projects. In these cases the creativity inherent in art and culture were utilized to create new industries and employment opportunities while also tackling environmental problems and homelessness. In short, this was a multifaceted attempt at urban regeneration. And the work of Charles Landry and Masayuki Sasaki has put the issues of minorities, homelessness, and social inclusion at the center of their respective visions of the creative city. In addition, Richard Florida has suggested that US cities should

deploy policies to attract the type of people he defines as a 'creative class' and sees as needed to sustain the new creative industries (Florida, 2002).

Florida has also advocated his own creativity index consisting of eight indices in three fields: talent, technology, and tolerance. This index has created a stir among urban theorists and policymakers throughout the world. Among these three categories, Florida himself has stressed tolerance. Especially sensational has been his gay index, in which the regional proportion of gays and lesbians to the entire nation is measured by location quotient. His gay index has become a symbol strongly suggestive of the creativity of social groups like the open-minded, avant-garde young artists called Bohemians. Florida contends that this group displays the American counter cultures fundamental opposition to highbrow European society, as in American musicals compared to European operas and American jazz and rock versus European classical music. The impact of Florida's unconventional theory has led to the common misperception that cities prosper as people of the creative-class, such as artists and gays gather (Florida, 2005).

Creative Cities and Culture Based Production Systems

Other theorists, however, have noted that attracting people of the creative-class does not automatically make a creative city. As Allen Scott, professor at UCLA, maintains, for the development of creative industries that serve as economic engines for a creative city, it is imperative to have a large workforce with specific skills and the necessary industries to support that workforce (Scott, 2006). And if the city's economy does not have a marketing capability that enables it to develop on the world market, sustainable development will prove elusive. University of Minnesota Professor, Ann Markusen, like Scott, attaches importance to the role of the cultural and economic sectors of the city in these days of the knowledge/information-based economy. At the same time she criticizes Florida, saying that his argument lacks a development theory applicable to particular local economies. She contends that although export-oriented economic theories have long been in the mainstream as development theory for local economies; in this era of knowledge/information based economies, economic development in import-substitution industries is more desirable (Markusen and Schrock, 2006).

Markusen credits Jane Jacobs as the pioneer of this theory, and contends that cities pursuing export-oriented economic development through mass-production are liable to have insufficient consumption within the region and limited fields of industries. On the other hand, she advocates an import-substitution model that is centered on cultural industries to enhance consumption in the region, bring about a diversified workforce and more sophisticated human capital to develop new knowledge/information-based industries. Therefore, Markusen insists, it is important to analyze the role artists play in creative cities on multiple levels - socially, culturally, and economically (Markusen and King, 2003).

And, based on her own investigations in the state of Minnesota, Markusen takes notice of the existence of artists' centers where artists periodically get together, practice, give public per-

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performances, and communicate openly with older artists and audiences. Then she demonstrates empirically that investing in such centers attracts artists, stimulates cultural consumption in the region, and combined with medical and healthcare industries, stops the trend of population exodus. Such an approach to urban regeneration, then, helps declining downtown areas to recover and gives rise to a socially inclusive environment, which can help tackle problems in low-income communities (Markusen, 2006). She points out that it is local arts councils that were established in a spirit of autonomy in numerous communities and states that have served as the leaders of spontaneous regional cultural policies.

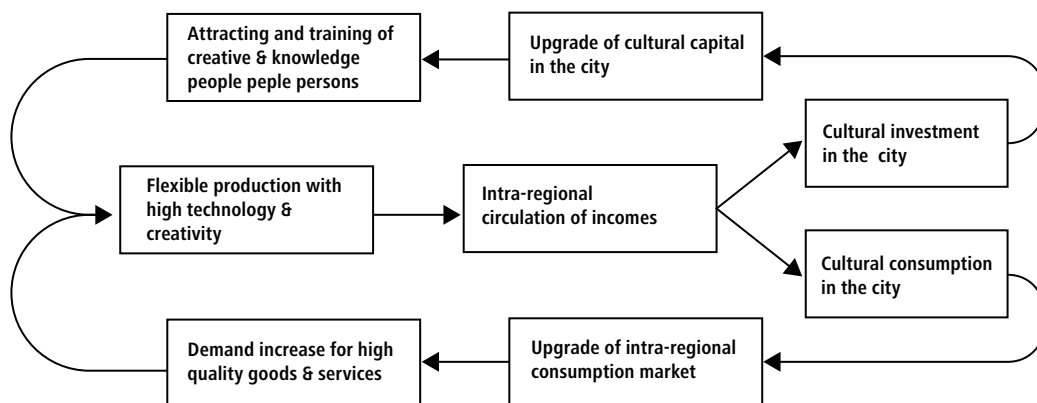
Andy Pratt, at the London School of Economics is a specialist on cluster policies for cultural and creative industries, and he notes that family-operated and small-sized businesses are in the absolute majority in such cultural industries. And, in order to survive on world markets, it is imperative for these industries to have a network of horizontal cooperation with each other. He points to three characteristics in comparison with ordinary industrial clusters. The first is the importance of the qualitative content of the networks of the entities constituting the cluster, especially the process of ‘tacit knowledge’ exchange and its spillover. The second is that, among corporate transactions that are part of the cluster, the importance of non-monetary transactions based on relations of mutual trust increases. Third, for the formation of the creative cluster, it is important to analyze not only its economic and social contributions, but also how such industries fit in the broader cultural context of the city or region (Pratt, 2004, 2008).

In other words, for creative industries, whose ‘lifeblood are the creativity, skill, and talent of individuals,’ to form a cluster, it is imperative to have a ‘milieu’ in place where creativity can be nurtured and flourish. In creative city theory it is the ‘creative milieu’ and ‘social structure of creativity’ and, above all the social, cultural, and geographical context that are truly vital for the effective integration of industrial, urban, and cultural policy.

Jane Jacobs’ analysis of Bologna provides a good illustration of these principles in practice (Jacobs, 1984). Bologna is a city with a flexible network system of small scale production facilities that has repeatedly demonstrated a faculty for innovation and improvisation. With these principles in mind, it seems we could define the creative city as ‘a city that is rich in creativity in culture and industry thanks to the freely creative activities of its residents, that it possesses an innovative, flexible urban economic system, and has a rich creative milieu where creative solutions appropriate to the local, regional, and global environment can emerge (Sasaki, 2001).’ For further clarification of the six conditions needed for the realization of a creative city, see note 1.

Based on empirical analyses of Bologna and Kanazawa, I hope to define a ‘culture based production system’ (refer to Figure 1) as the well-balanced system of cultural production and cultural consumption that takes advantage of accumulated cultural capital to produce products and services high in economic as well as cultural value in a system where consumption stimulates production. This definition, however, requires further elaboration in light of the research of Ann Markusen and Andy Pratt.

Figure 1: A Culture Based Production Model



We can call this method of developing new industry for the development of the city economy through high-quality cultural concentration the “cultural mode of production utilizing cultural capital.”

The “cultural mode of production” at which Kanazawa aims consists of the following.

1. Produce goods and services with high cultural value added, through the integration of the skills and sensibilities of the artisans with high-tech devices in the production process,
2. Create a tightly knit, organic industry-related structure of companies developing endogenously in the region, ranging from the cultural-goods industry to the high-tech, software and design industries, in order to
3. Circulate income obtained outside the region within the region, with an aim toward new cultural investment and consumption.
4. The cultural investments would go to the construction of museums and the support of private design research centers and orchestras, etc., and the increased cultural concentration in the city would result in the development and establishment in the region of high-tech/high-touch creative human resources, the players in the cultural mode of production.
5. Cultural consumption upgrades the quality of local consumer markets and stimulates the demand for the cultural mode of production through consumers who have the ability to enjoy goods and services that have abundant cultural and artistic qualities.

Creative Cities and Social Inclusion

At the same time that we are facing the hardships of the worst global crisis in eighty years, we must ensure that the disabled, the aged, the homeless, and refugees are not excluded, and that we overcome all forms of discrimination as the new knowledge and information based society takes shape in this era of globalization. Creative city theory must confront head on and offer creative solutions to the problem of social exclusion in our times.

In the EU, it is understood that socially excluded populations have suffered poverty and discrimination and have also lacked sufficient educational opportunities. As a result of inad-

equate education, employment, and income, not to mention discrimination, these populations have been driven into a corner socially. This, in turn, has created a situation where individuals can easily come to feel powerless, and therefore may find it difficult to function as active members of society and their communities. On the other hand, a policy of social inclusion should allow for all members of a particular region to participate economically, socially, and culturally in their communities. Such a policy should provide a basic standard of living and welfare, as well as the necessary opportunities and resources, to guarantee the basic human rights of the residents of a given community.

In other words, a policy of social inclusion should bring an end to the factors that lead to social discrimination in the first place, and promote the social participation and interaction of individuals. These guiding principles are quite congruous with new ways of thinking about social discrimination that emerged in Western Europe in the 1980s-1990s. This new paradigm went beyond regarding a requisite level of income support and social-welfare as adequate inputs to insure social inclusion. Instead, the social participation, identity, and empowerment of socially disadvantaged individuals have increasingly come to be seen as important factors in the formation of policy. Such thinking is also consistent with the stress on 'capabilities' and their unequal distribution in the writing of Amartya Sen. Furthermore, as social inclusion has become an important theme in EU discussions of urban regeneration, Landry and others have stressed the need to foster the social independence and reintegration of the homeless (Landry, 2000).

3. Creative City Challenges in Japan – Cases of Kanazawa and Yokohama

Experimental new policies in Kanazawa and Yokohama are representative models that have materialized in Japan at the same time that the creative cities trend has gained currency in the West.

Kanazawa as a UNESCO Creative City

In terms of population, surroundings, and defining characteristics, the city of Kanazawa has much in common with Bologna, an example that will be treated elsewhere in this volume. Kanazawa is a human scale city of 450,000 that is surrounded by mountains that are the source of two rivers that run through the city. Kanazawa has also preserved its' traditional cityscape and traditional arts and crafts. As a mid-sized city Kanazawa has maintained an independent economic base while also maintaining a healthy balance in terms of development and cultural and environmental preservation. At the end of World War II Kanazawa soon established the Kanazawa Arts and Crafts University. In addition to nurturing traditional arts and crafts, the city has also produced leaders in industrial design, and local talent that have become innovators

in the traditional crafts. Kanazawa has also become a national leader in historical preservation, as is evident in the meticulous preservation of the Tokugawa era castle town district.

In addition to preserving the historical landscape and traditional arts and crafts, Kanazawa has also produced leading orchestra conductors and chamber music ensembles. Other civic achievements in the area of cultural creativity include the nurturing of local artists through the establishment of the citizens' art village and the twenty-first century contemporary art museum.

At the same time that the trend toward globalization quickly intensified in the latter half of the 1980s, the textile industry that sustained Kanazawa's high growth rates through the years went into decline. In September 1996, however, the Kanazawa Citizens' Art Village opened in a vacated spinning factory and adjacent warehouses. The mayor of Kanazawa opened this twenty-four hour facility in response to citizen requests for a public arts facility that they could use in the evening-mid night hours after they had finished their daytime responsibilities. The facility itself is composed of a drama studio, a music studio, 'eco-life' studio, and art studio that occupy four separate blocks of the old spinning compound. Two directors that are elected by the citizen oversee the management of each studio. The active use and independent management of the facility is a remarkable example of a participatory, citizens' cultural institution in contemporary Japan. In sum, through the active participation of the citizenry, abandoned industrial facilities were used to construct a new cultural infrastructure, a new place for cultural creativity.

Another example of reimagining existing facilities and utilizing them in creative ways in Kanazawa would be the Twenty-First Century Art Museum that opened in October of 2004. The art museum is in an area of the central city that many feared would lose its vitality when the prefectural offices moved from this area to the suburbs. In addition to collecting and exhibiting contemporary art from throughout the world, the new museum also began to solicit and feature locally produced traditional arts and crafts. In addition to this fusion of the global and the local along with the modern and traditional, the new museum also pursued a policy of stimulating local interest and talent in the arts. To this end the museum director, Mino Yutaka, solicited local schools and the general citizenry to participate in educational tours he dubbed 'museum cruises.' At the first year, the museum attracted around 1.5 million visitors - three times the population of the city. Furthermore, the revenue generated from these tours exceeded ten-billion yen. From 2008 the museum also sponsored open-air exhibits, which livened up a relatively quiet part of town and allowed people to view the work of local artists and studios that produced both contemporary and traditional works. Such policies are a shining example of creatively fusing the traditional and the modern through culture as part of urban regeneration.

With the museum at the center of industrial promotion efforts in the area of fashion and digital design, the city of Kanazawa has been promoting development in the creative industries. Thus we can see how the promotion of art and culture has led to the development of new local industries in contemporary Japan.

The city of Kanazawa is an excellent illustration of how the accumulated creativity in a city with a high level of cultural capital can be used to promote economic development. With a history as a center of craft production in the Edo era, Kanazawa also clearly illustrates the historical stages of economic development from craft production, to fordism (mass production), and finally to a new era of craft production (culture based production) in the contemporary creative cultural industries.

The creative city strategies of Kanazawa also demonstrate the importance of citizen and government collaboration in forums such as the creative cities council that brought together experts from various fields, and people from inside and outside of government to deliberate on and decide on matters of public policy. Such a forum and mode of deliberation and decision making is clearly congruous with the ideal of urban creativity. The experiences of Kanazawa that have been delineated above are befitting a UNESCO Creative City in the craft category. And in 2008 the city applied to be designated as such.

In 2009, facing the challenges posed by the current global financial crisis, the city of Kanazawa has implemented the “Monozukuri (craftsmanship or art of manufacturing)” Ordinance for the protection and promotion of the traditional arts and crafts, and other new industries. Mayor of Kanazawa describes its aims as follows:

“I think that the present society has lost sight of the meaningfulness of work and the basic way of life. In such an age, we should re-evaluate and cherish the spirit of “Monozukuri” which leads to the creation of values. Without such efforts, we might lose our solid foundation of societies. Fortunately, the city of Kanazawa has a broad base of “the milieu of craftsmanship” handed down from the Edo Period. The arts of Kanazawa’s traditional craftworks include, among other things, ceramic ware, Yuzen dyeing, inlaying, and gold leafing. We aim to protect and nurture the traditional local industries while working to introduce new technologies and innovative ideas. We also applied to UNESCO’s Creative Cities Network for Crafts and Folk Art category. The Ordinance is intended to recognize anew “the importance of Monozukuri” and “the pride in Monozukuri” so that the region as a whole can support “Monozukuri” industries in order to realize “the lively city, Kanazawa.” The Ordinance applies to the fields of agriculture and forestry as well. Therefore, we are planning to develop an authorization system for Kanazawa brand agricultural products and to open the Kanazawa Forestry Academy. We are also aspiring to build cooperation between businesses and universities through the opening of institutes for research and promotion of Kaga-yuzen silk dyeing and Kanazawa gold leaf craftwork. I assume that diversified “Monozukuri” will pave the way for diversified “Machizukuri (urban development).””

As described above, in the city of Kanazawa, both mayor-led administrative and private efforts are ongoing as what is called “two wheels of one cart.”

The Creative City Yokohama Experiment

In stark contrast to the image of Kanazawa as an Edo era castle town with a long and rich history, is the image of Yokohama, a port city that is 150 years old and has become one of Japan's largest urban centers. At the height of the bubble economy the city of Yokohama pursued a large-scale waterfront development project to create a new central business district with the aim of shedding its image as a city of heavy industry. However, with the collapse of the bubble economy and subsequent construction boom in central Tokyo, Yokohama suffered a double blow. From the beginning of 2004, however, Yokohama embraced a new urban vision and embarked on a project to reinvent itself as a 'creative city of art and culture.'

The contents of this new urban vision were fourfold: 1) To construct a creative environment where artistic and creative individuals would want to live; 2) to build a creative industrial cluster to spark economic activity; 3) to utilize the city's natural assets to these ends; and 4) to utilize citizen initiative to achieve this vision of a creative city of art and culture. By 2008 the city had attracted close to 2,000 artists and nearly 15,000 workers to its' creative industrial cluster. In addition, cultural and tourist related attractions increased from 85 to 100 places and the number of people utilizing the city's cultural amenities increased from 2.5 million to 3.5 million.

From April of 2004 Mayor Nakada opened a special 'Creative City Yokohama' office. At the center of the new offices activities has been the establishment of several 'creative core' districts in the general vicinity of the port. These creative cores utilize numerous historic buildings such as old bank buildings, warehouses, and vacant offices to house new 'creative spaces' for citizen artists and other creative individuals. The 'Bank ART 1929' project was the start of this ambitious undertaking. This project is under the guidance of two NPOs that were selected via a competitive process and are in charge of organizing an array of exhibits, performances, workshops, symposiums, and various other events that have attracted participants from Tokyo as well as Yokohama.

Since its inception the creative corridors have expanded as they have incorporated numerous vacant buildings and warehouses in the vicinity. As of March 2007 the economic ripple effect of the creative corridors for the local economy is estimated to be in the range of twelve billion yen. And in July of 2007 an arts commission composed of public and private individuals and institutions was established to support and attract artists and other creative individuals to the region. Finally, as 2009 marks the 150th anniversary of the opening of the port of Yokohama, an international creative cities congress has been scheduled for this year with the hope of building a creative cities network in Asia.

The case of Yokohama is remarkable in the sense that the policy aim of utilizing the creativity inherent in art and culture for the purpose of urban regeneration also led to a restructuring of the politics related to cultural policy, industrial policy, and community development. In other words the new organizations that emerged to revitalize Yokohama as a city of art and

culture transcended the bureaucratic sectionalism that typically plagues policy formation and administration in the fields listed above while also constructively engaging NPOs and citizens in the formation and administration of policy. Throughout Japan it seems that urban policies and projects based on art and culture have given rise to a socially inclusive politics.

4. Osaka and the Challenge to be a Socially Inclusive Creative City

From the stimulating creative city success stories of Kanazawa and Yokohama, we now turn to the example of Osaka. Osaka has experienced many years of economic decline and has a municipal government facing a tremendous financial crisis. Amid such daunting challenges, in 2003 Osaka City University opened a Creative Cities Research Center, and by 2006 the center had devised a creative city strategy for Osaka. However, in the fall of 2007, Mayor Seki Jun'ichi, who had embraced these policies and incorporated them into his campaign platform, lost the mayoral election. And his replacement, Mayor Hiramatsu has failed to articulate a clear vision with regard to development and has shelved the creative city strategy referred to above. Despite this less than ideal political environment there are still some notable grassroots developments in the realm of what could be called a socially inclusive creative city strategy.

Osaka as a 'Creative City too Soon'

As early as the seventh century, when Osaka was known as Naniwa, the Osaka area has served as a center for water transport. Furthermore, Osaka's Uemachi Plateau is the site of one of Japan's oldest Buddhist temples, Shiten'noji. Thus we can see that Osaka has a long history as an economic, cultural, and religious center. In the Edo period Osaka was the center of the national rice trade, and developed an elaborate canal system ideally suited for trade. Furthermore, the traders and money lenders that facilitated this trade gained a level of economic power that was expressed in cultural terms in their support of regional cultural forms such as the bunraku puppet theater. After growing to become a modern metropolis in the Meiji years, Osaka became the national center of finance, manufacturing, and distribution following the disruption of the Great Kanto Earthquake that devastated Tokyo in 1923.

However, today Osaka has alarmingly high levels of unemployment and a homeless population that is growing rapidly. The movement of many large-scale manufacturing facilities overseas, together with the movement of many corporate headquarters to Tokyo has been a double blow that has had a hollowing effect on the cityscape. The worsening economic situation of Osaka seems to have led to an overall decline for the city and region.

With expectations of becoming an Olympic host and a global city in the 1990s, Osaka embarked on an ill-conceived series of port and waterfront developments. The construction of a nearly vacant 'World Trade Center,' is perhaps the best illustration of the failure of urban

policy in post bubble era Osaka. Indeed the problem of excessive debt in the city's finances has made the task of urban regeneration seem nearly impossible.

In light of the city's near bankruptcy city hall has professed to be pursuing thorough reform and streamlining its' operations. And in the midst of a fiscal crisis, in April of 2006 the city moved toward a 'creative city strategy,' as the former Mayor Seki Jun' ichi directed mid-ranking workers from all sections of city government to assemble 'creative city teams' and come up with a 'creative city vision.' However, with Seki's electoral loss in the fall of 2007, the city government's support for a creative city approach to the city's problems has waned.

Barcelona and Montreal are world famous creative cities that have had to change their urban visions as a result of serious crises facing these cities. And whether or not a given city can confront the challenges that threaten to derail a creative city strategy depends upon a host of factors. These factors range from the boldness of the urban vision and urban policies of city government to the capacity for the city as a whole to embrace the creativity inherent in art and culture to create new industries and employment opportunities while also including and empowering the unemployed and homeless populations as part of a 'bottom-up' and inclusive urban vision.

Mobilizing the Creativity of Art and Culture for Industrial Promotion

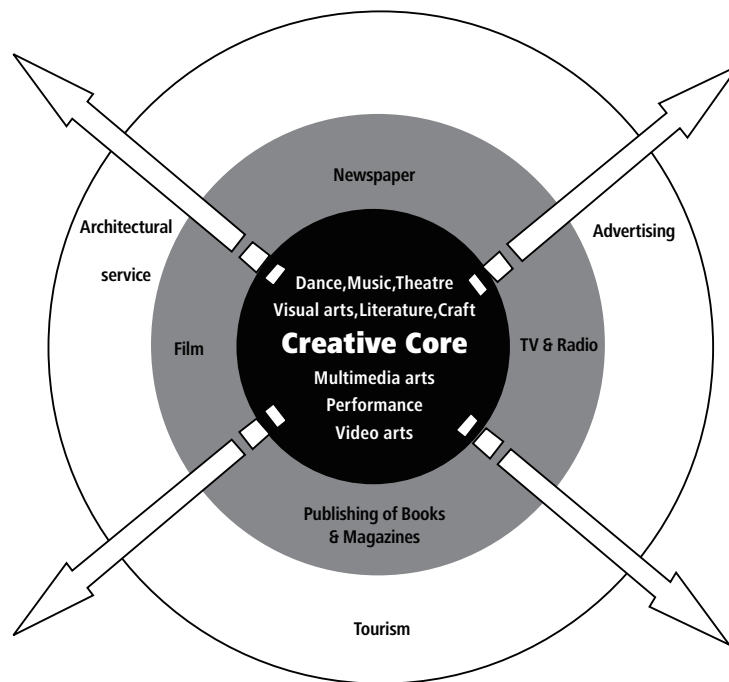
If we take the example of England under Blair's 'New Labor' we see a transition away from the policies of the Thatcher era and toward a new focus on the creative third sector in the area of economic development. The main point in this new look was to promote social creativity through a stress on the arts in cultural policy. For example, with the inauguration of Chris Smith as the new minister of the DCMS, which oversees policy related to culture, media, and sports, there was a new policy orientation (evident in two separate policy papers from 1998 and 2001) and a new task force was put in place to promote creative industries (DCMS, 1998, 2001).

This new policy orientation saw individual creativity, and skill as the source of intellectual property, through which wealth and employment, and new creative industries could be developed. In more concrete terms these industries include music, theater, photography, movies, fashion, design, crafts, art and antique merchandising, architecture, television, radio, publishing, advertising, and software.

According to London, a Cultural Audit published by London Development Agency, as for all these industries combined, 271,000 persons were employed in 1995. However, when the workers in other industries engaged in comparable 'creative' work are included, the number increases to 403,000 or five percent of the entire work force. In 2005 the number of workers in these sectors reached 553,000. Also, the annual average growth rate (in GAV) of UK economy as a whole from 1992 to 2004 was 5.5%, and of these, the creative industries reached 6.8% while the banking and finance sector was slightly only 2.8%. This clearly indicates that the creative

industries have played a significant role as an economic engine. Here we can clearly see the effectiveness of promoting creative industries.

Figure 2: Concentric circle model of culture industries



In figure 2 a concentric model depicts the distinctive structure of the creative industries. At the center of the model are music, dance, theater, literature, visual art, and crafts. Yet, at the same time, video art, computer and other multimedia art forms are also part of the nucleus. Such a 'creative core' is therefore in many ways hard to adequately categorize and evaluate since it clearly contains some sectors that are more profitable than others.

On the very periphery of this creative core are industries such as the publishing, movie, radio, and television industries. These are industries that essentially reproduce and distribute culture. And in comparison to the artists at the core, the cultural value of these peripheral industries is relatively low. The next ring in this model includes culture related fields such as advertising, tourism, and architecture. At the core of this concentric model of creative industries is the creative idea that radiates outward to the peripheral industries that reproduce, market, and distribute culture. However, the artists, and other creative individuals at the center that animate this whole structure are not necessarily commercially motivated.

In essence, the success of the creative industries in a given city depends upon whether or not that city has the proper policies in place to support and nurture the creative core. His-

torically we have seen that the success of scientific and technological promotion policies is contingent upon the level of cutting edge research. And in Japan the government typically funds such industrial policy through development subsidies and tax incentives. Cutting edge business ventures are typically promoted in the same way. Yet in Japan the fields of art and culture the same level and manner of support has been lacking.

Osaka as a Grassroots Creative City

Osaka is not wanting in the area of young, artistic, or otherwise creative individuals. However, Osaka does lack the adequate urban cultural policy on 'places of creativity' to nurture this talent. In recent years businesses such as department stores and newspaper publishers that have supported culture in the past have been closing their cultural facilities, such as stage theaters. And in the area of broadcasting, local television producers have been relocated to Tokyo as nearly all television production is now in Tokyo. Large scale advertising and public relations agencies as well as other mass media outlets have also moved to Tokyo. These events, then, have led to a decline in creative occupations, and the relative impoverishment of the creative class in Osaka.

However, the declining fortunes of Osaka have not led to only pessimism and bankruptcy. Indeed, in the midst of the myriad challenges facing Osaka, a new grassroots movement has been born.

Part of a creative city strategy conceived of in 2001 has been implemented to promote and support the arts in the area around the Tsutenkaku Tower and the adjacent Shinseikai shopping arcade, and Festival Gate Amusement Park. The city has cooperated with four NPOs to convert empty storefronts in the area into an experimental 'arts park' to foster the production of contemporary music, art, and dance. And with the cooperation of the shops of the shopping arcade, new life has been breathed into local events like the Bon Odori (Buddhist All Souls Celebration). Furthermore, in the nearby Kamagasaki neighborhood a host of new facilities and services have emerged to serve the large homeless population there. These facilities and services have come to life through the efforts of NPOs and grassroots activists working in collaboration with the city. Creative strategies in Kamagasaki include facilities that offer both consultative services and lodging, and the employment of elderly residents as open air *kami shibai* storytellers.

Unfortunately, due to the city's budgetary crisis and changing leadership in the Mayor's office, city support for the arts park has ended. And suffering a similar fate has been one NPO run consultation center in Kamagasaki, which has had to relocate to an abandoned storefront in a shopping arcade in the nearby Nishinari Ward due to budget cuts.

Another example of grassroots action in Osaka would be the NPO-like work of Oten' in temple, which has converted its' main hall into a small theater to support, and provide a venue for public performances for young artists in the area. In this same area of the Uemachi

Plateau, traditional, wooden nagaya, or long houses, that have survived from the prewar years have been preserved as 'cultural commercial space' as a showcase of the culture and artwork of the area. The success of this project was facilitated by the efforts of the shops of the Karahori Machi area shopping arcade.

In neighboring Korea town, the success of the Seoul Olympics and the World Cup has served as a catalyst in making the area a center of Korean culinary and popular culture in an era when national interest in things Korean is quite high. And the Korea town neighborhood and community still possesses an air of the warm and casual interpersonal relations that have long been considered a defining characteristic of the old downtown. In these respects Korea town seems to be a creative success story in preserving both cultural diversity and the charm of old downtown Osaka.

Another notable project is the 'Ogimachi Incubation Plaza,' or 'Mebic Ogimachi,' which has close ties with the Osaka City University Urban Research Plaza. The Mebic Mebic Ogimachi was opened in May of 2003 in the Ogimachi branch of the Osaka City Water Works Bureau. The retro architecture of this building that was built in the early Showa era, provides the perfect ambience for the creative work of the plaza which, through two 'creativity managers,' aims to build networks in the fields of art and high-tech industry. The aim of this network building is the construction of a creative industry cluster in the Ogimachi area where over 2,000 small creative companies locate, that will allow for the creative talent that is still in Osaka to continue working, despite the ongoing concentration of the creative industries in Tokyo. And by harnessing creativity through such clusters of creative industries such as design and modern art it is hoped that Osaka can be reborn as a 'creative city.'

With the aim of building a creative city through grassroots citizen participation a 'creative café' was opened in April of 2006 as a place for discussing all manner of issues relevant to the stated aim of the café. And in 2007 'Creative City Osaka Citizens Council,' was convened to put together a plan to build a network of such discursive 'creative places' in neighborhoods throughout Osaka. The vision of the plan has grown to become a plan to not merely develop 'creative places,' but to develop a 'nexus of creativity' where individual citizens are empowered to contribute to the revitalization of Osaka. It has been very encouraging to see that more citizens have participated in the construction of these 'creative places' than was originally expected, and as a result a wider 'ring of creativity' is already beginning to materialize.

In the above cases we can see how artistic and cultural activities can stimulate social inclusion. And in the numerous creative city activities that are underway in Japan, the experimental 'Kogane Cho Bazaar' of Yokohama, is an illustrative example. This event was in an area that had developed from the chaotic period of the immediate postwar years to become a shopping district that has over 250 shops. In recent years however, many shops had closed down and the area was in decline. Therefore the bazaar's main supporters were mainly businesses from the Hakko and Hinode area that includes Kogane Cho. The diversity on display during

the planning sessions for this event are a clear illustration of how cultural projects can lead to social inclusion. Indeed, these planning events featured the participation of local residents, university students, artists, and all manner of specialists to create an art event to enliven an area blighted by a plethora of vacant shops.

In general, however, the cultural policy and urban policy related to Japanese creative city projects seem to lack the strength and coherence of similar policies in the West. This in turn suggests that Japanese cooperatives, social enterprises, art related NPOs, and other such organizations do not have the same level of social prestige and influence as their Western counterparts. However, as we have seen, there are definite signs that a grassroots movement in the area of creative urban policies is definitely gaining steam throughout Japan.

5. Conclusion

Developments in the creative cities field in Japan in the midst of worldwide crises and drastic social and economic restructuring suggest some new issues to consider in the field of creative cities theory.

One issue to consider is the movement away from a mass production industrial society toward a society of cultural based production where cultural value and economic value are united. A related issue is the high level of cultural diversity required for this social transformation.

Furthermore, with regard to cities in Asia with their shared history of large scale heavy industries at the heart of economic development policies, we must consider the necessary transition toward more compact cities. At the same time, we must also come to understand, appreciate, and preserve the tangible and intangible cultural capital inherent in the traditional urban culture of each individual city

The second issue to consider is the need to face the problem of social exclusion directly, and provide the social infrastructure, including real and diverse 'places of creativity,' to foster and insure the active participation of the citizenry in urban policy.

The need to create a social system that respects and promotes both individuality and creativity to the utmost degree is vital to the success of tackling both of the issues enumerated above. Building an educational and industrial system that foster and promote creativity will be central to the construction of businesses that equally regard cultural, social, and economic value. In addition, the reconstruction of urban space is a subject that is closely related to these issues.

Note

The six conditions requisite conditions of a creative city are as follows:

Firstly, it is a city equipped with an urban economic system in which not only artists and scientists can freely develop their creativity, but where workers and craftspeople can also engage in creative, flexible production, and in the process withstand the threats of global restructuring.

Secondly, it is a city equipped with universities, vocational colleges, and research institutes which support scientific and artistic creativity in the city, as well as cultural facilities like theaters and libraries. It also has a very active non-profit sector featuring cooperative associations and establishments through which the rights of medium-small craftspeople's businesses are protected. Such a city would also have an environment where new businesses can be set up easily and creative work is well supported. Above all a creative city will have the necessary social infrastructure to support creative individuals and activities.

Thirdly, it is a city in which industrial growth improves the 'quality of life' of the citizens and provides substantial social services. Therefore it stimulates the development of new industries in the fields of the environment, welfare, medical services, and art. In other words, it is a city with a well-balanced development of industrial dynamism and cultural life, where production and consumption are also in harmony.

Fourthly, it is a city that has a right to stipulate the spaces where production and consumption develop, and where the urban environment is preserved. It is a city with beautiful urban spaces to enhance the creativity and sensitivity of its citizens.

Fifthly, it is a city that has a mechanism of citizen participation in city administration that guarantees the versatility and creativity of its citizens. In other words it is a city with a system of small-area autonomy supported by large-area administration that can take charge of large-range management of the region's environment.

Sixthly, it is a city equipped with its own financial administration that sustains creative, autonomous administration along with personnel who excel in policy formation.

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3. FROM THE ALPS TO THE ADRIATIC SEA – ALPINE IDYLLS: EXAMPLES OF NEW BUILDING TECHNIQUES AND STYLES IN THE MOUNTAINS

*Anthusa Löffler*¹

“Pure utilitarian form and absolute ardour behave in a diametrically opposed and yet at the same time complementary fashion; the mechanistic style cools, soothes, and relieves while the imagination is cast out into the diasporas, becoming all the more homeless, beginning to dissipate, and finally to die.” (Ernst Bloch, The Principle of Hope)

1. Introduction

The idea of the genius loci refers to the way particular traditions and places influence visions as well as the real design of architecture.

The castle was converted into a museum with four freestanding pylons of 170 tons of steel, installed in the core of the complex, the keep (German: *Bergfried*). The geometrically complex figure carries 22 display zones and extends through a height of nearly 30 meters. The museum has become a popular destination for excursions as well as an example for revitalisation of an old castle. The predominant material used for the exterior of the castle is untreated larch, while stone and rusted steel dominate the interior.

The Alps are the highest mountains of Europe. Its geographical surface extends across France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Liechtenstein, Austria, and Slovenia. The highest elevation of the Alps is the 4.792 meters high Mont Blanc at the border between France and Italy in the western Alps.

The Alps developed approximately 35 to 30 million years ago, when the African continental plate drifted to the north and collided with the Eurasian plate. The high mountains were formed by the resulting upward push, which still continues to this day. The present Alps received their shape by erosion, particularly by the sweeping activity of the glaciers during the ice ages.



Picture 1: Castle South Tyrol Museum of Cultural and Regional History near Merano, Northern Italy; designed by Markus Scherer, Walter Angonese, Klaus Hellweger 2004



Picture 2: Southern Alps and vineyards

From a tectonic point of view the Alps belong to the young fold mountains of the Alps mountain type, to which the Caucasus and the Himalayas also belong. Based on the geological research of the past century it is assumed that a formerly more than 1000 km wide ocean with continental edges, deep sea basins, and middle oceanic back was restricted to an area less than 100 km broad. This area is now known as today's Alps.

2. Cultural History of the Alps

Mountain Economy

Self-reliant economies developed differently in the northern and southern Alpine regions. While in the Germanic area cattle breeding clearly dominated, agriculture was equally strong in the Roman area. This led not only to different nutritional habits but also to differences in family and settlement structures.

Between 1600 and 1850 an independent mountain peasant culture developed in the northern alpine region. This led, among other things, to the building of magnificent farmhouses made primarily from wood. Such buildings also emphasized the lasting, sustainable use of nature and natural products as protection from natural dangers. While the industrialization of the 19th century also affected the alpine region it was not until the 20th century and the emergence of a strong service industry that agriculture became less predominant.

Tourism brought money into the alpine valleys, forcing the now redundant agricultural workers to emigrate due to rising economic pressure. In recent years, the once huge variety of agricultural businesses and forestry have started to disappear altogether in the Alps, despite the fact that they can now be conducted much more easily due to the invention of modern equipment and methods.



Picture 3 and 4: The Manicor vineyard in Caldaro (Northern Italy) is an example for the use of modern equipment and methods; designed by Walter Angonese, Silvia Boday and Rainer Köberl (2004).

1 Professor of building design at the Leipzig University of Applied Sciences; head of an architecture office in Munich; email: a.loeffler@loefflerweber.de

The Goess-Enzenberg family wanted to counteract the increasing shortage of space in their wine cellars. The architectural concept was based on the idea that the character of the cultivated landscape is shaped by vineyards. The architects' goal was to integrate the Manicor vineyard into the historically developed structure of the vineyards around the lake of Caldaro (Lago di Caldaro).

The wine cellars were attached to the existing Renaissance building. In order to avoid any impression of the large building of several storeys disturbing the landscape the wine cellars were located below ground level. Only some incisions were made to allow for approach routes. The roof slab was lifted to form a viewing terrace in another attempt to mimic the natural environment.

Cultural and Language Group

In the early Middle Ages the Alps gradually became the linguistic and cultural border between Germanic language groups in the north, Roman language groups in the south and west, and the southern Slavic Slovenes at the eastern alpine edge. Due to the long isolation of the valleys there remains a small variety of dialects until today. Despite competition from the German and the Italian language minority languages such as Rhaeto-Romanic, Ladino, and Friuli were able to survive in certain areas of the Alps. A linguistically interesting historic phenomenon is the Alemannic Walser dialect, which was spoken from the Upper Valais (Switzerland) up to the border of Tyrol (Austria and Italy), and which had resulted from the appropriation and cultivation of highly elevated pastureland between the 13th and the 14th century.

Customs

Festivities and customs in the alpine region are deeply rooted in history and religion. They often developed in connection with traditional poetry, legends, and narrations, which frequently dealt with gods and demons. Humans wanted to invoke and propitiate the elemental powers of nature in order to protect themselves from the associated dangers. When Christianity entered the alpine area in the Early Middle Ages, heathen customs mixed with Christian celebrations. The rural, or rather agricultural, element always played an outstanding role in alpine customs and music; prominent examples are the alpine pastoral blessing, the return of livestock from high alpine summer pastures in autumn, yodeling, and alpine folk music.

Tourism

During the course of the 20th century the Alps have been very intensively developed for tourism. Since its beginnings in the late 19th century alpine tourism has undergone several stages of transformation. Already in the 19th century the English had coined the phrase „Alps – The Playground of Europe“. Since the heydays of the *Belle Époque* well-designed and luxurious hotels have been built in health resorts. Since the mid 1960s the tourism connected with winter

sports, its mountain railways and lift systems, have been of the greatest importance for the Alps, in particular in areas such as the Kitzbuehel Alps (Austria), Davos, Arosa, Zermatt, Saas-Fee, St. Moritz (all Switzerland), Dolomites (Italy), the Savoys (France). Moreover, various kinds of alpine tourism evolved: mountain climber tourism, recreation at alpine lakes, tourism in cities near the Alps (Innsbruck in Austria, Zurich and Lucerne in Switzerland, Ljubljana in Slovenia, Merano, and Aosta in Italy), and tourism for various kinds of extreme sports (Chamonix).



Picture 5 and 6: The lobby and the restaurant of the Vigilus Mountain Resort, in Lana near Merano (Italy). Designed by Matteo Thun (2004).

Vigilius Mountain Resort is a 5 star hotel with 35 rooms, 6 suites, a library, 2 restaurants, a lounge, a conference room, and a spa, all 1500 meters above everyday life. It can be reached only by cable car and interacts in a particular way with the surrounding nature. Made of wood, stone, clay, and glass it is an elegant machine, a record-breaking mix of healthiness and sustainability. The hotel offers an infinite view of the South Tyrolean Mountains.

The Pergola Residence differs considerably from a standard hotel, as there is neither a need for a lobby, nor a restaurant, nor a bar. It consists of 14 suites, a breakfast room, and a spa. The apartments have been placed on a sunny slope in between surrounding vineyards with four terraces. Their external appearance establishes a direct visual association with the local “Pergln”, a kind of pergola over which vines are trained. The interior is a functional and contemporary interpretation of a Tyrolean house. The pergola residence is an example for the visual adaption to the surroundings.



Picture 7: Pergola Residence in Algund near Merano, designed by Matteo Thun (2004).

Advantages and Dangers of Mass Tourism

One of the most important advantages of mass tourism are the jobs it creates and the regional incomes it generates, thus helping to reduce the emigration due to unemployment in the respective area. However, tourism is very often entirely exclusive to only certain villages, cities, and ski departments in the Alps. In the larger, less mountainous areas no kind of mass tourism exists and heavy emigration occurs. Indeed, it can often be observed that some areas enjoy tremendous privileges from tourism while others are a tourist wasteland. This applies particularly to the Italian alpine area.

People in the Alps depend on mass tourism to such an extent that all areas of life are affected by the real impact of as well as the expectations connected with mass tourism. Regional peculiarities as well as characteristics very often become reduced to a mere cliché. Besides this, the working conditions are often unattractive in the tourism industry (changing and odd working hours, small wages, and often only seasonal employment). People who are not willing to submit to these conditions are usually forced to emigrate or commute due to a lack of employment alternatives.

True mass tourism also leads to ecological problems such as those connected with garbage and wastewater disposal, traffic congestions, and pollution as well as to „visual pollution” by technical infrastructures such as aerial lifts.

The visitors of the adventure museum are led around a rock that lies at the centre of the complex. Since there are the ruins of a church on top of the rock the scenery resembles that of a “holy museum”.

The visitors can walk from tower to tower along the enclosing walls. No new elements were introduced with the exception of the entrance building and an extension to the restaurant. Exhibition facilities, visitor ramps, and staircases were made of steel and inserted into the existing structure. The individual steel elements were simply screwed together, thus creating a tower within a tower. Externally the steel rusts gradually with the effect that the colour will match that of the existing reddish porphyry in the near future.



Picture 8: Messner Mountain Museum Firmian, Castle Sigmundskron, Bolzano (Italy), designed by Werner Tscholl (2001 – 2006), an example for revitalisation by using contrasting materials in harmony.

“**New Building in the Alps**” is the name of an architecture award for contemporary buildings and building projects in the Alps. In the early summer of 1989, the tourist office in Sesto, a tourist spot with 1800 inhabitants and 5000 guest beds in the Southern Dolomites of Italy, organized the beginnings for the initiative „Sesto Culture” under its president Willi Rainer. The goal of this initiative was to offer guests and natives alike an opportunity to reflect on the relationship between humans and nature, as well as that between urban and rural areas, and that between architecture and alpine nature.

One year later, in the summer of 1990, on the occasion of the event „Architecture, Nature and Technology” and during the course of the necessary preparatory research, it became clear that it was quite difficult a task simply to identify new buildings. Ensuing from the discussions between the organisers, advisors, and interested parties, it was decided that a prize for modern architecture – the “New Building in the Alps” – should be awarded. This award was issued for the first time in 1992 and then again in 1999. The award was endowed with prize money amounting to 20 million lire (today approx. 10,000 €). One goal of the award was, and actually still is, to recognize exemplary buildings and projects in order to promote both avant-garde building in the Alps on the one hand as well as to make modern architecture an important cultural interest accessible to a broader public on the other hand.

Award winners:

Roland Gnaiger (1992)

Peter Zumthor (1999)

Jürg Conzett (1999)

Gion A. Caminada (2006)

Rainer Köberl and Astrid Tschapeller (2006)

New Building in the Mountains Torn between Alpine Idyll and Urbanized Landscape

„Even thirty years ago, I could gain nothing from high mountains. Why it drove my parents again and again in the summer in Bernese the upper country, to summits and glaciers, was foreign to me. Those of my generation, who were seeking an experience of far horizons, went to the sea. To drive to the Alps, in order to get a view of the distance from some washed out cliff was not something any of us would have ever thought or wanted to do. At that time a secret dislike of everything that was connected with the mountain world prevailed. Had we not experienced the mountains from the ‘alpine fortress’ of the Nazis, did they not also belong to the mountain climber films with Leni Riefenstahl and Luis Trenker as well as Hitler’s ‘mountain yard’ at the Obersalzberg? The Alps were politically polluted and occupied, among others by yodelling architecture, which we found simply ridiculous.”

Wolfgang Jean Stock (Writer and journalist)



Picture 9 and 10: Vigilius Mountain Resort in Lana near Merano (Italy). Designed by Matteo Thun (2004).

3. Conclusion

Imagination and creativity in continuity with old traditions and regional differences, in other words, the conjoining of old and new and the use of elegantly contextualised modern elements and materials lay the basis for sustainable architecture in the Alps.

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4. MUNICH'S REACTION TO DISPARITIES IN KNOWLEDGE AND STANDARD OF LIVING

Walter Buser¹

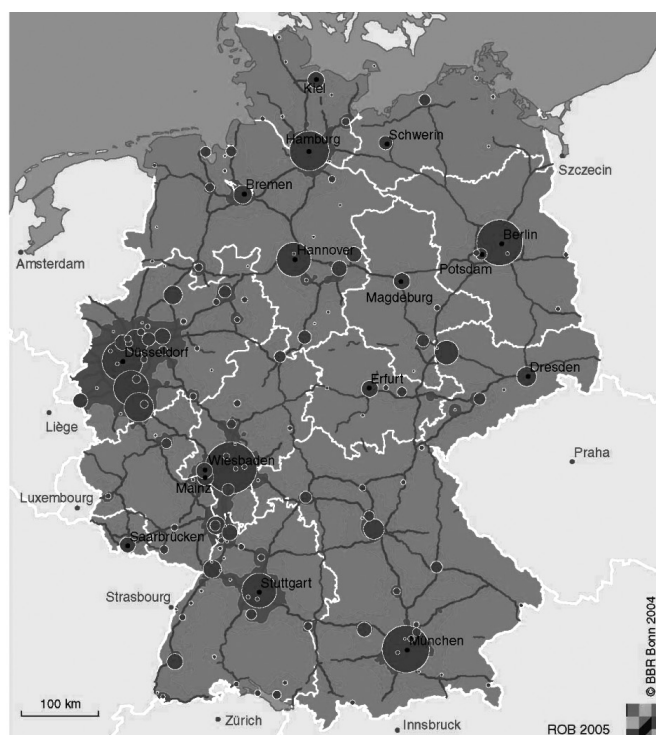
1. Introduction

Munich has developed into a city of knowledge; it features a high average level of qualification of employees, several institutions of higher education, as well as research institutions, high-tech and knowledge-based industries, and a strong service sector. However, it still faces a number of challenges, such as little supply of jobs in sectors like manual labor and production for workers less qualified, a high cost of living, pressure in the housing market due to the attractiveness of the city, and growing disparities in standard of living. Therefore, there is a need for integrated approaches to urban development planning.

2. Facts and Figures

Aspects of Munich's Economic Situation

The Greater Munich Area, covering approximately 5,500 square kilometers, includes the City of Munich and 8 counties with 185 municipalities. It has 2.5 million inhabitants. Half of them live in the City of Munich and 23% of these are not German citizens. The region has generated 1.1 million jobs with social insurance, two thirds of them in the City of Munich. In 2004, the GDP per capita of the Greater Munich Area and that of the City of Munich were € 45,500 and € 52,400 respectively.



BBR(2005):Raumordnungsbericht 2005.Berichte Bd.21,Bonn.

Figure 1: This map shows Germany's metropolitan areas. Munich is in the south.

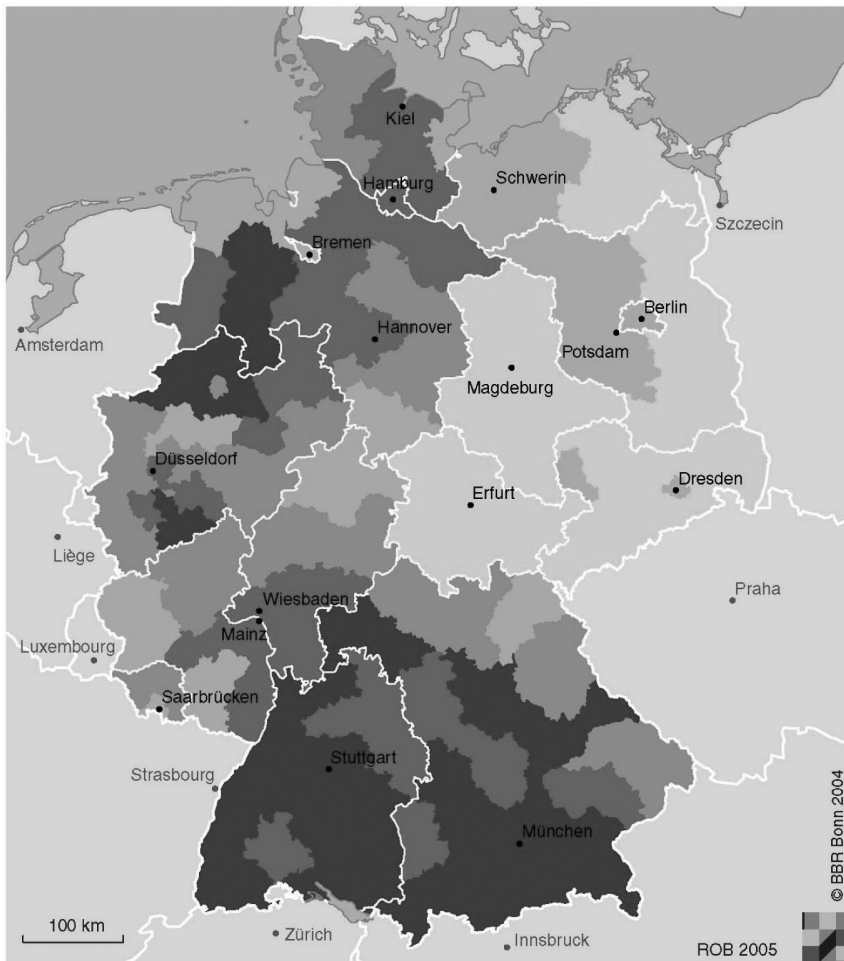
Attractiveness of Munich

The high attractiveness of the Munich region as place of residence is also mirrored in the attitude of its inhabitants. Illustrations 2 and 3 below show the people's satisfaction with their life and living environment in Germany. This map clearly shows a north-south as well as an east-west divide.

Satisfaction of life in the region

Satisfaction of life in the region in 2003(in %)

- Under 45
- 45 to under 70
- 70 to under 75
- 75 to under 80
- Over 80



According to city rankings from 1994 to 2003, Munich (München) ranked second behind Cologne (Köln).

Figure 2: BBR(2005):Raumordnungsbericht 2005.Berichte Bd.21,Bonn.

1 Walter BUSER is head of the Department of City Planning and Urban Development Planning of the City of Munich.

City-Rankings 1994 - 2003:

Rang	Städte	FOCUS 10/1994; Umweltqualität	FOCUS 13/1995; Arbeitsplatzperspektiven	FOCUS 22/1995; Freizeitwert	FOCUS 49/1995; Steuern und Gebühren	BIZZ 7/1999; Arbeitsmarktu. Wohnen	FOCUS 16/1999; Existenzgründungen	Impulse 9/2000; Mittelst. Unternehmer	FOCUS 50/2000; Wirtschaft,	Capital 7/2001; Prognose für Wirtschaft	Capital 2/2003; Prognose für Wirtschaft	Mittelwert
1.	Köln	14	5	4	6	1	1	2	2	5	4	4,4
2.	München	3	1	1	12	4	3	17	3	1	2	4,7
3.	Hamburg	2	4	2	18	10	6	13	1	4	3	6,3
4.	Bonn	5	6	10	11	8	2	3	11	9	7	7,2
5.	Essen	13	13	15	2	2	4	5	6	7	8	7,5
6.	Hannover	7	2	9	3	7	10	14	8	10	9	7,9
7.	Stuttgart	9	8	6	10	5	12	15	5	6	4	8,0
8.	Nürnberg	4	11	7	9	9	7	10	9	8	12	8,6
9.	Düsseldorf	20	3	8	16	15	9	9	4	2	1	8,7
10.	Bielefeld	6	9	13	7	13	8	1	20	12	15	10,4
10.	Frankfurt	17	7	5	13	11	14	16	12	3	6	10,4
12.	Berlin	10	12	3	1	16	17	7	7	17	17	10,7
13.	Bremen	1	14	12	14	3	20	19	15	15	11	12,4
14.	Mannheim	11	16	14	20	12	5	11	13	14	10	12,6
15.	Bochum	15	10	19	5	6	16	20	14	16	16	13,7
16.	Dresden	12	18	11	8	19	13	12	18	18	18	14,7
16.	Wuppertal	19	19	18	17	14	11	6	16	13	14	14,7
18.	Leipzig	16	17	17	4	20	15	4	19	19	19	15,0
19.	Dortmund	8	15	16	19	18	19	18	17	11	13	15,4
20.	Duisburg	18	20	20	15	17	18	8	10	20	20	16,6

Table 1: Source: BAW-Institut für wirtschafts for schung; Monatsbericht2, Februar 2003

3.Challenges

Age Pyramid for Munich

Population of Munich in 2005

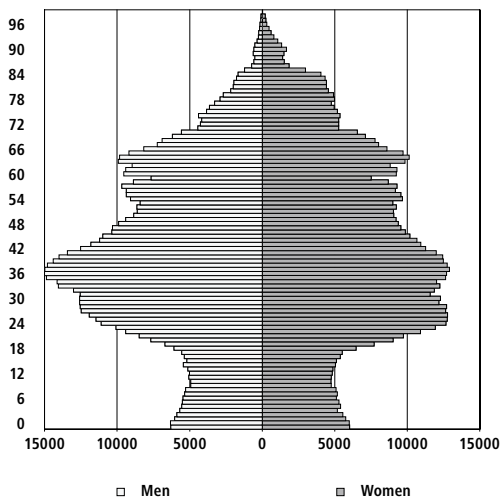


Figure 3: Source:LHM,Statistisches Amt,ZIMAS

Population of Munich in 2020

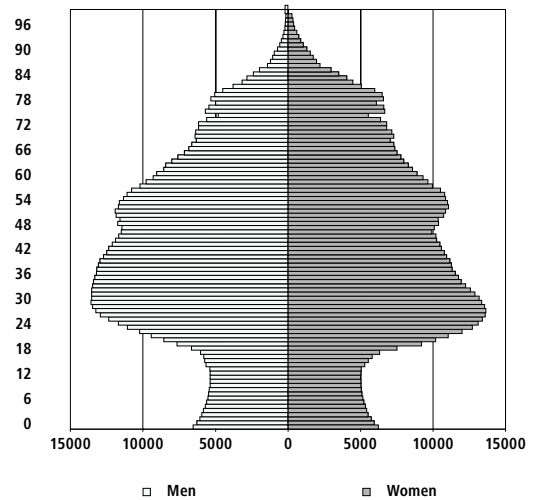
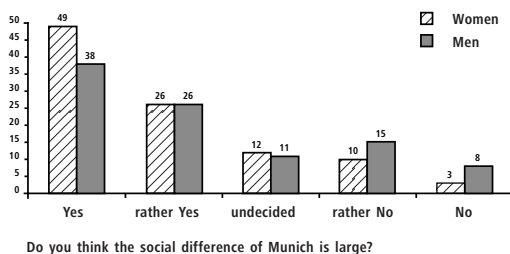


Figure 4

Social Disparities

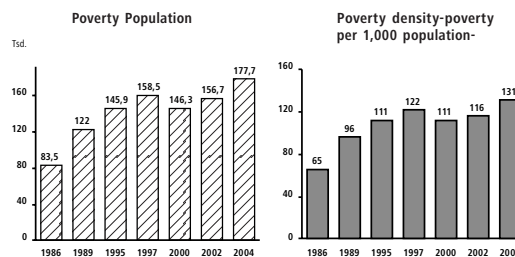
The majority of Munich's inhabitants is worried about growing social differences in the city. The following data indicates the inhabitants' estimation concerning social disparities in Munich. 49% of the interviewed women and 38% of the men are of the opinion that social disparities are too large already.

Figure 5: Estimate of social differences and gender(in %)



MÜNCHNER ARMUTSBERICHT - FORTSCHRIBUNG 2004

Figure 6: Trend of Poverty 1986-2004



Poverty

Poverty has risen in Munich and already had even before the beginning of "Hartz IV."² The biggest risk factor possibly leading to poverty is long time unemployment. Migrants, less qualified workers, and the elderly are particularly disadvantaged on the employment market.

Figure 6 (above, on the right) shows the growth of people living in poverty from 1986 to 2004; the diagram on the right shows the development of poverty density during the same period of time.

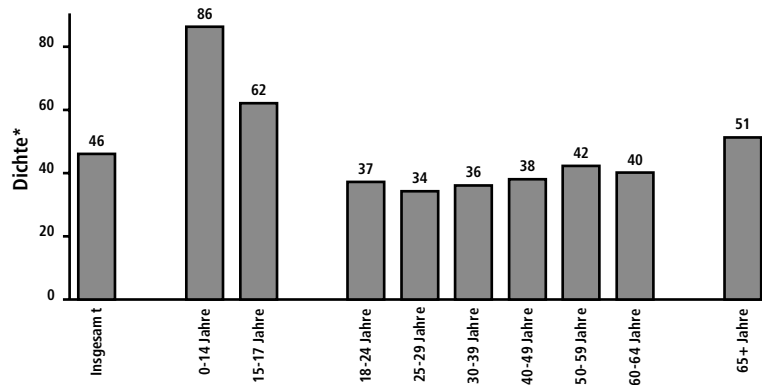
Poverty and Age

There is a direct relationship between poverty and age. While 38 out of 1.000 adults between 18 and 64 years of age live on social welfare the share of poor children and young people is twice as high; 76 out of 1.000 live on government aid. Also, of the older people, 51 out of 1.000 receive government aid, which is the highest quota among all adult age groups.

The data on the right indicates the age structure of welfare recipients.

2 The Hartz IV reform was voted in by the Bundestag on December 16, 2003 and by the Bundesrat on July 9, 2004; taking effect by January 1, 2005. It brought together the former unemployment benefits for long term unemployed ('Arbeitslosenhilfe') and the welfare benefits ('Sozialhilfe'), leaving them both at approximately the lower level of the former 'Sozialhilfe'. The current (July 2008) level for a single person is €351 per month plus the cost of 'adequate' housing. Couples can receive benefits for each partner as well as their children. Prior to 2005, a period of 12 to 36 months (depending upon the claimant's age and work history) of their full unemployment pay (60 to 67% of the previous net salary) were followed by Arbeitslosenhilfe (unemployment benefits, 53 to 57% of the last net salary). Since 2005, reception of full unemployment pay (renamed Arbeitslosengeld I) has been restricted to 12 months in general and 18 months for over 55 year-olds. This is then followed by (usually much lower) Arbeitslosengeld II, if the claimant fits the requirements. By January 2005, the number of people who count as unemployed had risen by about 222,000 due to new statistics being introduced with Hartz IV and by about 300,000 because of seasonal factors (unemployment is traditionally much higher during the winter). These factors pushed the official total beyond the psychologically important 5 million mark to 5,037,000, the highest number since January 1933. The Hartz IV reforms continue to attract much criticism in Germany, despite a considerable reduction in short and long term unemployment. This reduction has led to some claims of success for the Hartz reforms. Others say that the old and recent unemployment figures are actually not comparable because many people work part time or are not included in the statistics for other reasons, such as the number of children that live in Hartz IV households, which has risen to record numbers. (cf. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hartz_concept [download: 22.5.2009]).

Figure 7: Elderly Structure of Social Security recipients



*HLU/GSI-EmpfängerInnen (Jahresende) pro 1.000 EinwohnerInnen der entsprechenden Gruppe

Poverty and Nationality

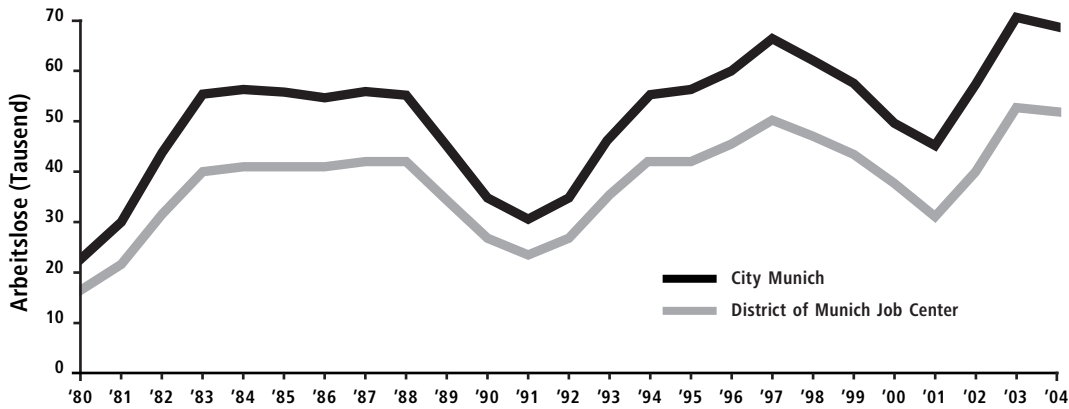
A direct correlation can also be recognized between poverty and nationality. The disparities between immigrants and natural-born citizens have increased since 1995. Immigrants rely significantly more often on welfare (80 out of 1.000) than those without a migration background (36 out of 1.000). In 2004, the unemployment rate of non-Germans (12,5%) was more than twice as high as the rate of Germans (5,6%) in Germany.

Poverty and Unemployment

Poverty and unemployment are major challenges for the city of Munich. In recent years, an increasing number of people are facing the risk of unemployment. Lack of qualification, structural changes in the economy, and a general reduction of industrial jobs are major reasons for unemployment. An increase in unemployment can lead to poverty.

The data below indicates the changes of unemployment in the city of Munich (gray line) and the complete area for which the employment bureau of Munich (*Arbeitsamtsbezirk München*) is responsible (black line).

Figure 8: Trend of unemployed 1980-2004



Challenges in Education

The City of Munich is also facing various challenges in education. A high number of young people is leaving school with severe deficits in basic knowledge (reading, writing, math). A high quota of high school dropouts can be found among immigrants (23% of non-German students; 11% of German students). In addition, non-German students only account for a low share of those seeking higher education. Youth unemployment is becoming a serious problem. Further problems that can be identified are deficits in day care centers as well as other facilities for young children and a declining willingness of companies to accept new trainees.

Housing Situation

As for the housing situation, Munich's housing market is still under pressure. Since 1999 rents have risen sharply, peaking in 2002. Since then rents have slightly decreased. The lack of affordable apartments is still increasing though. The number of completed housing units per year has declined from 6.000 (1996–2000) to 4.500 (2001–2005). The general lack of affordable housing makes the city less attractive for families as well as for foreign students and scientists.

4. Policy Response in Munich

Perspective Munich

Munich's integrated strategic concept since 1998, the *Perspective Munich* urban planning concept³, is as follows:

1. Protect and promote employment and economic prosperity
2. Improve co-operation in the region – enhance competitiveness of the economic area
3. Protect social harmony through social local government policies
4. District development
5. Future-oriented area structure “compact-urban-green”
6. Preserve form and appearance of Munich – promote new architecture
7. Maintain and improve mobility for all

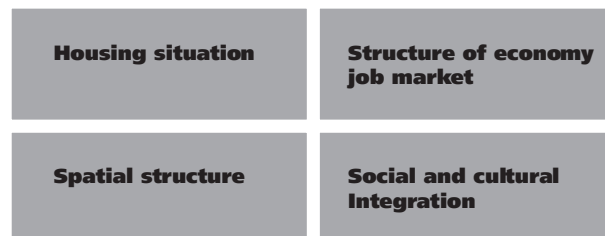
Perspective Munich urban planning concept – new principles:

8. Social cohesion and safety through local security, social, educational, and cultural policies
9. Benefit from and promote new media
10. Develop ecological standards and safeguard natural resources
11. Protect Munich's leisure and recreational value
12. Promote culture and create conditions for innovation and experiment

Integrated Urban Development Planning

Fields of action for integrated urban development planning are as follows:

Figure 9



Housing – Munich's Housing Policy

A special municipal program called *Housing in Munich IV* was launched in 2006 with the aims of reviving the interest of investors in housing construction on the one hand and of assisting those looking for affordable housing on the other. The program provides a municipal housing policy including the definition of targets, measures, and framework conditions for the period until 2011.

The Program Munich Model

The *Munich Model* program particularly promotes the construction of affordable housing for families with children.

Unemployment – Munich’s Employment Policy

For communities, a main instrument for fighting poverty is their employment policy. It is especially crucial to fight long time unemployment in order to fight poverty. The city of Munich takes into account that qualification is a key factor leading to employment. Therefore, *Munich’s Employment and Qualification Program (MBQ)* has been launched.⁴ Its projects and activities promote the occupational and social integration of people who are at a disadvantage on the broader labor market. Its major goals are the promotion of the secondary labor market, support for structural change, the creation of a Munich special youth program, and equal employment opportunities. In this context, Munich’s so-called “*Gewerbehofprogramm*” is of special importance as it supports small and medium sized businesses.⁵

Strategies in Munich – Socially Integrative City Program

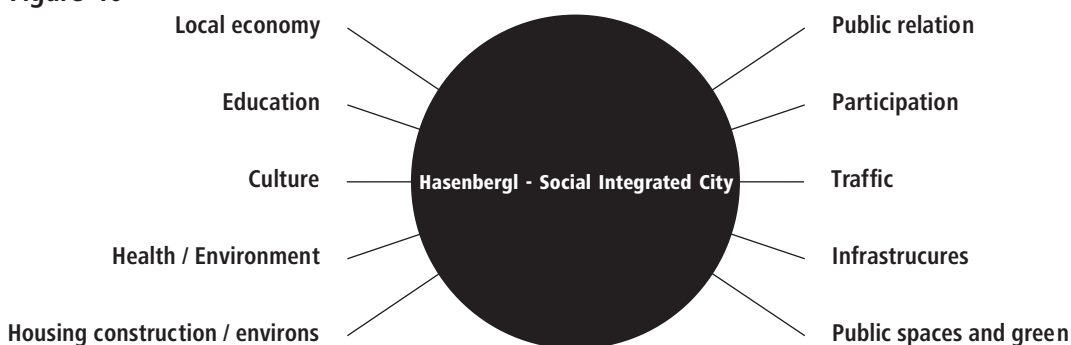
The Socially Integrative City Program is a joint program of all levels of government for districts with special development needs since 1999. A particular target area of this program is Hasenberg, a district located in the north of Munich. Hasenberg is generally considered one of the least desirable areas to live in in Munich. Most of it was built in the 1960s, including a couple of high-rise apartment buildings. The area is known for its social problems. The unemployment rate is one of the highest in Munich, 50% of its inhabitants live in subsidized low-rent housing or emergency accommodations, and due to unemployment a large number of those living there receives social welfare assistance. Furthermore, the share of those inhabitants with a migration background rose from 12.2% to 26% in just 20 years. Now, people from more than 30 nations live there.

3 http://www.muenchen.de/Rathaus/plan/stadtentwicklung/perspektive/pm_en_m/41525/index.html (download: 22.5.2009).

4 <http://www.muenchen.de/Wirtschaft/labormarket/181553/index.html> [download: 22.5.2009]

5 In contrast to huge industrial and commercial areas that generally are located in the outskirts of a city a *Gewerbehof* is located in the inner city and houses up to 15 companies sharing the site. Its buildings are often arranged in a compact manner, thus fitting into the existing city structure. The concept of the *Gewerbehof* has its roots in the European city of the middle ages. A famous example of such a business and trade building that has been revitalized very successfully are the so-called *Hackesche Höfe* in Berlin (<http://www.berlin.de/tourismus/sehenswuerdigkeiten/en/00055.html>; download: 22.5.2009).

Figure 10

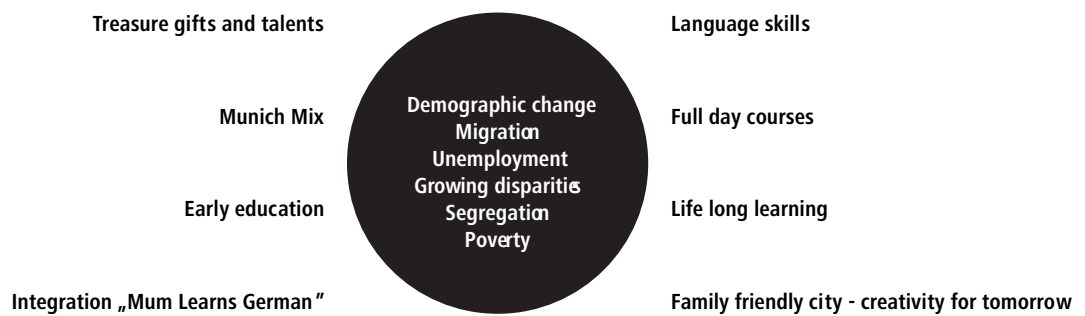


5. Looking Ahead

Responding to the challenges of a knowledge based society and economy, the *Perspective Munich* process proposes the following new steps: Action Program, Socio-demographic Change, Local Education Policy, City of Knowledge, Local Family Policy, and Integration Concept.

Policy fields

Figure 11: Munich: Actions for a Competitive AND Inclusive City



6. Conclusion

Munich's strong economic position is deeply rooted in its knowledge economy. The city's position can only be secured by actively tackling the challenges discussed above. Munich can build on and will further develop its integrative approach to maintain a balanced development of the city.

5. HOMELESSNESS IN URBAN CENTERS OF JAPAN AND CREATIVE STRATEGIES TO ESCAPE HOMELESSNESS

*Julia Obinger*¹

1. Introduction – What it means to be homeless

Worldwide, there are over one hundred million people suffering from homeless, and more than one billion people with insufficient shelter. (Wright 2000: 29) With an official estimate of 25.000 homeless people, Japan does not seem to have a critical problem with homelessness, especially when compared to other industrialized nations. However, what has disturbed many scholars is that the number of homeless people in Japanese urban areas has been rising disproportionately for the past 15 years. Japanese welfare organizations estimate that the number of people living on the streets has increased fivefold within the past few years. (Japan Housing Council 2004: 24) Typical homeless shelters made from blue plastic sheets can be found in parks, under highway bridges, and in train stations in nearly every Japanese city. Homelessness is not a new issue for Japan, but rising numbers and higher visibility of homeless people has led to a significant increase in coverage by both national and international media, the most recent reports focusing on the new phenomenon of “internet café refugees”, young people who can't afford renting an apartment on their low-wage jobs.

It is clear that many Japanese are aware of the growing problem of homelessness, but do they realize what it actually means to be homeless in one of the richest nations on earth? Of course, when one has never experienced homelessness, it seems hard to really grasp the meaning of this lifestyle. Still, there are some basic facts that one should keep in mind when thinking about the issue of homelessness in Japan.

By definition, being homeless means to illegally lead ones daily life in public areas such as parks, riversides, roads, railway stations, and the like. Those who are homeless are deprived of economic security; they often lack emotional stability and physical well-being. Furthermore, they experience a total absence of privacy. (Somerville 1992: 530) Homelessness, however, does not only mean to lack shelter or a place to live. The state of homelessness also involves the absence of normal social relations.

Generally speaking, those who don't reach, or who withdraw from, the material status of the dominating class in any society are discriminated against, as their way of life significantly differs from the mainstream. “[...] the average residents of a community consider the poor not only different, but indecent. [...] They are degraded for, in the literal sense, that they live outside the grades or categories which the community regards as acceptable.” (Galbraith, cited in Chūbachi and Taira 1976: 391)

Japanese society is often described as “homogenous” or “middle class society”. Therefore, possibly more than in any other society, group membership (e.g. in a company) is crucial to attaining a “normal” identity in Japan. In turn, if an individual cannot establish membership he or she invariably suffers from personal and social deprivation.² Homeless people, who usually lead solitary lives detached from family and “normal” society, are not seen as proper members of Japanese society, and therefore suffer from both an ideological and physical marginalization. “To be socially ignored in the tightly knit community of Japan in many

ways resembles perhaps a fate worse than death – it is, in fact, something like living death.” (Taylor, cited in Guzewicz 2000: 11) The condition of homelessness is in fact made even worse by a lack of compassion and understanding from members of “normal society”. Partly, this discrimination stems from the ideology that everyone who just tries hard enough will succeed. Many Japanese believe that there is equal opportunity regarding economic upward movement, so those who don’t manage to improve their situation by their own achievements are stigmatized as social failures. (Amamiya: 37) It would be wrong, though, to assume that this is a phenomenon exclusive to Japan. Resentment and (involuntary) discrimination is a universal attitude towards homeless people wherever they live.

Who are “the homeless”?

According to IMIDAS, there are about 25.000 homeless living in Japan, a number that rose steeply in the last five years. (IMIDAS 2005: 652 and TMG 2004: 1) However, by nature, it is hard to officially “count” the homeless, and the numbers cited vary significantly according to different sources. Some estimates speak of 10.000 homeless people in the city of Ōsaka alone and even the Japan Housing Council considers the number of homeless people in Japan to be roughly 1,5 times higher than shown in the statistics by the *Kōseirōdōshō*. (http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/spl/hi/asia_pac/04/japans_homeless/html/1.stm and Japan Housing Council 2004: 24) In addition, when comparing homelessness statistics on an international level, one must not overlook the difference in definitions. While unstable housing, such as living in a cheap hotel room or staying with friends, does count as being homeless in the U.S.A., this is not the case in Japan. (Hasegawa 2005: 141, Aoki 2003: 361)³ Due to the narrow definition applied in Japan, the problem is of course, statistically speaking, being diminished.

When trying to analyze the “people behind the statistics”, we should be aware that “the homeless” is not a homogenous group, and “[...] homelessness is not a characteristic of people, but rather a condition in which people find themselves at some point in time.” (Blasi, cited in Wright 1997: 1) Still, some general common characteristics can be identified within the Japanese homeless population. Most of the Japanese homeless are single men, as homeless women are a rather rare phenomenon on Japan’s streets. When threatened with the prospect of becoming homeless, most women choose to stay with a partner who provides shelter, return to their parents’ house, or take up work in the sex industry in order to support themselves. (Japan NGO Report Preparatory Committee 1999)

The average age of homeless men in Japan is 55.9 years, which is determined by two factors: After having reached the age of 50, most workers are too old to find a sufficiently paid job on the regular job market and are, at the same time, too young to receive state pension or welfare payments. Therefore, this age group is most prone to becoming homeless. Homeless people who have reached an age beyond 65 years are rare, as at this crucial age,

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2 However, one should keep in mind that the concept of a “homogenous middle class society” is being contested in the recent discourse: Yamada stated in 2004, that the Japanese society is a “society of unequal chances” and not all Japanese citizens can be considered “equal” in status. Miura even goes a step further by asserting that Japan is on the way to an underclass-society. It is evident that the valuation of “different” lifestyles has been changing recently in Japan. “Increasingly, other Japanese resist or cannot meet established norms for membership in ‘mainstream society’. They are dissatisfied with the status quo and refuse to conform to the cultural categories of employee, husband, wife, Japanese citizen, etc.”. (Stevens 1997: 16). Nevertheless, the discrimination against those at the very bottom to society still prevails.

3 see also the definition by the Special Measures Law Concerning Support for Self-sustaining Living of the Homeless (ホームレスの自立の支援等に関する特別措置法), promulgated in 2002: „The term ‘the homeless’ herein means people who illegally live and lead daily lives in such facilities as city parks, riversides, roads, railway stations, etc.” It remains in question whether the extensive media coverage in 2007 on the net-café refugees changed the perception of policymakers and the official definition of homelessness will be amended.

they can finally receive public assistance. Others, due to harsh living circumstances, simply die early. (Hayashi-Mähner 2004: 100)

Roughly 90% of all Japanese homeless people live in the metropolitan areas of Ōsaka, Tōkyō, Nagoya, Kawasaki, and Yokohama. This is not only because 80% of all Japanese citizens live in urban areas, but in general, homelessness is seen as “[...] particularly an urban phenomenon. Homelessness is especially urban because the cities are the endpoint of industrial and urban decline.”⁴ (Conrad, Saaler 2001: 25 and Timmer 1994: 4) According to a survey by Okamoto, most of the homeless population finished only compulsory school and only one third have ever been married. Furthermore, the number of ethnic minorities, Burakumin, and foreigners (especially Koreans) is thought to be disproportionately represented among the homeless in Japan. A majority (25%) among the homeless who were surveyed in 2001 by the Tōkyō Metropolitan Government had lived between one to three years on the streets, 19.6% had already been homeless for three to five years, and 17.2 % had already spent up to ten years on the streets. (Okamoto 2000: 4, TMG 2004, Hayashi-Mähner 2004: 114)

Most homeless people began their life on the streets after the recession hit Japan in the mid 1990s, about half of the homeless had their last occupation in the building industry, and only about 40% of those were in regular employment. (Okamoto 2004 b: 4 and TMG 2004: 3) Therefore, most homeless in Tōkyō, Yokohama, or Ōsaka are described as *old homeless*, a category of homeless people who formerly worked as day laborers (*hiyatoi rōdōsha*⁵) in the construction industries, and who have a history of insecure jobs and insecure housing. When most of these day laborers lost their jobs, due to recession after the bubble, younger or foreign competition, or because they were simply too old to work on building sites, they slipped from insecure housing or temporary homelessness into permanent homelessness. As they live at the very end of the hierarchy chain, and barely manage to sustain their livelihood on a day-to-day basis, day laborers are especially vulnerable to changes in the labor market. Unable to accumulate savings and excluded from jobless-insurance they immediately lose their housing when they lose their job. However, there is another category of homeless people, which is generally called “New Homeless”. This group is made up mostly of poor single senior citizens or well-qualified „middle-class“ workers who recently lost their jobs due to outsourcing, offshoring, deindustrialization, and the general shift towards casual labor within Japan. The New Homeless, who make up about one third of all homeless in Japan, usually have no history of long-term homelessness, unstable housing, or insecure jobs. (Guzewicz 2000: 75 and Kodama 2004: 20) Their recent economic hardship and experience of homelessness brings to light some major structural deficits in Japanese social policy.

Structural reasons for rising homelessness

The process of globalization, structural changes in the Japanese economy, deindustrialization, and casualization of labor have all been identified as crucial factors contributing to the rise of homelessness in Japan in the past 15 years.

Globalization, with its intensified international competition has led to a continuing process of outsourcing by larger companies, which in turn puts many smaller and medium-size companies in jeopardy, as they mainly operate as sub-contractors to the larger companies. Notably, since 1991, due to outsourcing and the burst of the bubble, the number of small and medium size businesses declined continuously; between 1996 and 2001 by as much as 5.5 %. For businesses, in order to survive and to compete on an international level, service cost needed to be reduced and employees had to be used in a more flexible way. As a consequence, a large number of employees were laid off and regular jobs were converted into temporary, flexible and cheaper jobs. This process is dubbed “casualization of labor”. While during 1991 and 2001 the number of regular, mostly male employees shrank by 1.4%, the number of female workers in the service industry rose by 1.6% during the same period. (Okamoto 2004 a: 8 and Japan Housing Council 2004: 15) Previously engaged in full-time regular work, many employees now have to settle with temporary or irregular jobs. In 2005 already 3.6 million Japanese worked in irregular jobs and 1.06 million only held a temporary job. These numbers have doubled from 2003. (Masaki 2006) This “casualization of labor” leads to further polarization between high and low income workers, as the “casual” jobs offer neither bonus payments, nor security in terms of unemployment. Additionally, these types of jobs do not provide workers with any bargaining power, leaving them in a generally weak economic position.

It is evident that many of those low income “working poor” are on the verge of becoming homeless. Without the possibility to save up money, losing their job, bankruptcy, or reduction of income directly results in the loss of their housing as well. In some cases, problems within the family, weak health, or even a combination of these factors add up; without a safety net more and more Japanese workers end up being homeless.⁶ (Hōsaka, Shimokawa 1999 and Japan Housing Council 2004: 28; Marr 1999: 59)

Social Security in Japan

In addition to structural economic changes, significant problems within the social security system of Japan can be identified as underlying reasons for homelessness. In order to understand the current social security system, one should become familiar with its historical and ideological background. In 1979, Prime Minister Ohira renounced previous, western-oriented welfare policies by presenting the concept of the “Japanese welfare society” (*Nihongata fukushi shakai* 日本型福祉社会). The fundamental idea behind this *Nihongata fukushi shakai* was the reduction of cost by achieving a return to the traditional informal Japanese family welfare

4 This, however, does not mean that there are no homeless people in rural areas of Japan: according to the Kōseirōdōshō (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare) the homeless can be found in all of Japan's prefectures, and the number of homeless people rose in recent years also in smaller cities.

5 Extensive information on the history, lifestyle, and work situation of day-laborers is provided by Gill (2001), Marr (2000), Fowler (1996), Manzenreiter (1999), Hayashi-Mähner (2004).

6 A survey conducted in March 2003 by the Kōseirōdōshō (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare) among 2155 homeless revealed the following top reasons for homelessness (multiple answers possible): reduction of work/loss of job: 35,6 %; bankruptcy/joblessness: 32,9 %; sickness/injury/age-related inability to work: 18,8 %; reduction of income: 16,4 %; inability to pay mortgage: 15,2 %; inability to pay rent for hotel or doya: 8,2 %. (Japan Housing Council 2004: 28)

“*zaitaku fukushi*” (在宅福祉) and neighborhood council system “*jichikai*” (自治会)⁷ where every citizen was responsible for caring for their family and neighbours. According to the concept, public aid was only made available if self-help and family support were not sufficient. (Fürstenberg 2003)

“The new welfare society that Japan should aim at will be a ‘Japanese-type welfare society’ in which – while founded on the self-help-efforts of individuals and the solidarity of family and neighbourhood communities that the Japanese possess – an efficient government guarantees appropriate public welfare according to priorities.” (Economic Planning Agency, 1979, cited in Thränhardt 1993: 47, 58)

From today’s point of view, a social security system that strongly relies on family ties and neighbourhood support in an increasingly urbanized society like Japan, where most citizens live either by themselves or only within a nuclear family, seems quite impractical. The shift from a traditional family life to an ever-individualized lifestyle weakens family support systems, and problems stemming from recession, globalization and structural changes in the economy cannot be countered by *zaitaku fukushi* alone. (Fürstenberg 2003) Only those members of society who are part of a group structure have access to help mechanisms offered by their family or neighbourhood alliance. Homeless or day-laborers, who live outside these communities, have virtually no access to *zaitaku fukushi* and have to get by with the minimum of public social support. Although there are systems of social aid in Japan, most people who are eligible for public support won’t receive any. Firstly, many homeless people simply don’t ask for private or public aid, as they are ashamed to bother their family or to confront the welfare officers. If an agency official believes that his relatives can support the applicant, public support will be denied, which leads to a high deterrence rate among those eligible for support. “I don’t want my family or community to know where I am. I don’t want to bring any shame to them. That’s why I don’t want to apply for public assistance.” (Sakuraisan, homeless, cited in Guzewicz 2000: 117) Particularly homeless are deprived by the stipulation that public assistance can only be applied for in the district where one is registered. As most homeless people moved to urban areas and have no fixed address, they cannot access public assistance. (Brandes 1995: 87). Also, many homeless citizens simply don’t know about their rights, or are afraid to ask for help from public officers who might not understand or be willing to help.⁸

In conclusion, the access to public support is limited by high bureaucratic hurdles and challenging obligations on one side, and the reluctance to ask for aid on the other side. It is estimated that only one fourth of all eligible Japanese actually receive public support. (Manzenreiter 1999: 288; Guzewicz 2000: 117; Aoki 2003: 372)

Housing problems through urban renewal and gentrification

As has been stated before, Japan's rising homelessness problem is mostly due to the ongoing recession caused by the burst of the bubble economy in the 1990s, and its consequences on the labor market. Housing problems, however, do not only correspond with an individual's joblessness or inability to earn enough money for rent or mortgage. Equally significant are processes of urban development, such as urban renewal and gentrification, which play an important role in the current housing problems. According to Hasegawa there is a direct correlation between former Prime Minister Nakasone's deregulation and privatization policies in the 1980s and rising homelessness in recent years.⁹ Nakasone's strategy included the promotion of "urban redevelopment by lifting construction restrictions, making vast land available for private use, and prioritizing high-income households in provision of housing loans." (Hasegawa 2004: 87) In order to fulfil the rising demand for office buildings and high-rent estates in urban areas, large-scale building projects were carried out, while the Tōkyō Metropolitan Office simultaneously lowered spending for public housing.¹⁰ As a consequence, rents and real estate prices skyrocketed, and by supporting high-rent prestige objects, inner city low-rent housing was gradually eliminated. Low income workers thus were forced to move to areas outside the city center, where affordable housing became increasingly scarce. (Hasegawa 2004: 10, 81) Today, even in the *yoseba*, cheap hostels (*doya*) are being transformed into high-rent business hotels that cater to foreign backpacker tourists or businessmen.

Homeless life: Location

Although there are homeless people who never spend two nights at the same place, most of the homeless, by a majority of 85%, settle down in fixed areas and build substitute housing by themselves in the form of tents and huts made from recyclable material. With typical blue plastic "houses" settling in parks, under highway bridges or along riversides, the homeless in Japan are usually highly visible, and are, by now, a constant sight in most Japanese urban areas. From a survey in Tōkyō, it is known that 61.9 % of homeless people sleep in parks, 16,1 % along riversides, 15,3 % on the streets and 3,7 % in railway stations. (Aoki 2003: 364) But why do the homeless chose those areas for staying? Firstly, when staying in railway stations or typical roofed shopping streets, they find protection from weather. With the high density of restaurants and other shops, these areas usually provide easy access to food, alcohol, and sanitary facilities, and many homeless people find it easier to earn money by doing odd jobs close to the railway stations. Still, evictions are a constant threat to this kind of living arrangement.

In contrast, when the homeless settle down in parks and riverbeds, they are usually less threatened by evictions, and can maybe even experience some sense of home by building their own private space. Some homeless people collect household items, furniture, or even

7 Jichikai (自治会) replaced the previously used but ideologically charged *chōnaikai* (町内会), which can be roughly translated and understood as a "neighbourhood association". Jichikai can be translated as "neighbourhood council" where membership is semi-compulsory and each household in the neighbourhood must pay a certain fee. These neighborhood associations can be understood as a form of „grass-root“-organisations that assume certain administrative tasks. (see Kreitz 1989: 46)

8 Kodama cites a 50-year old homeless, who relates his experiences: "I am homeless and live in Nishinari park since 1999. I was trying to find a job in Kamagasaki, and also trying to get support from the metropolitan welfare office. I was asking for help there in a polite manner, but the official said things like: 'Don't behave like a fool! Go and get a job!' I replied that I came to him, because I couldn't find any work and didn't want to be rejected like this. However, I didn't receive help from him. I'd rather get no support than be treated like an idiot again!" [translation by J. Obinger] (Kodama 2004: 36).

9 The background and consequences of the "bubble economy" and its burst in connection to Nakasone's policies cannot be explained in detail here, however Hasegawa sums up: "In the end, Nakasone's deregulation and privatization efforts worked to depress rather than boost domestic demand. In 1989, the Bank of Japan tightened money supply, putting an end to the asset-inflated 'bubble economy'. The government then began to reintroduce Keynesian policy based on public works projects. This failed, too, however, because the conditions for huge public works projects were gone for some time now – conditions such as a large manufacturing sector [...]" (Hasegawa 2004: 90).

10 Public Housing has never been a big issue in Japan, as there are only about 256.000 public housing units in Tōkyō, about 2 Million in all of Japan, while about half of these buildings are in bad condition. Only 6.5% off all housing is publicly financed or supported. (Nakamura Akemi 2005)

decoration for their “houses”. A few even have pets and grow vegetables in their “backyard”. In addition, most parks offer free access to basic sanitary facilities, and settling in loose groups in parks provides some protection for the homeless. (Nakamura Satoshi 1998: 66; Murata 2006: 61, 167; Iwata 2005: 119) As a large number of the homeless also live in or close by day laborer areas like Kamagasaki in Ōsaka or Sanya in Tōkyō, it is evident that many try to survive by doing odd jobs in the building industry offered in these areas.

Homeless life: survival strategies

Being homeless, day-to-day survival is not an easy task and the majority of homeless persons spend most of their time searching for a chance to make money and enough food to survive. In many areas, the homeless can receive food handouts from volunteer groups or the Japanese food bank, “Second Harvest Japan” on a regular basis. Whereas the latter provides food donations from shops and restaurants, the former usually buys food using cash donations. However, in both cases, the quality of the food provided is rather low. Some homeless people even built an individual network for receiving leftover food from fast-food restaurants or convenience stores (Murata 2006: 42, 69):

“You’d be amazed how much perfectly good food and drink the restaurants dump every night. We’d get to know the staff at each place when we made our nightly rounds. Some were pretty decent. They’d have a can of leftovers waiting for us. Others – well, you find a rotten apple in every barrel. [...]” (Shimizu, a 70-year old homeless, cited in Fowler 1996: 122)

There is also assistance from welfare offices: they hand out bread, milk and instant-ramen as a form of emergency relief.¹¹ (Iwata 2005:123) However, by far not all homeless people can or want to depend on donations and handouts. Most have to provide for themselves, working several hours a day to earn money using quite surprising and creative strategies.

According to a survey in Ōsaka, about 80% of all homeless were able to earn at least a little income. Most did so by collecting recyclable material like aluminium cans, plastic bottles, or cardboard, which they sold to wholesale recycling-companies. Around 35 % of homeless people doing so were able to earn between 10.000 und 30.000 Yen a month, and 19 % earned up to 50.000 Yen. Some homeless people sell objects they find on the streets in a kind of mini flea market, while others specialize in collecting used *manga* books and magazines to resell. Yet, this kind of work is physically extremely exhausting, the competition for material is immense, and the income earned is barely enough to secure daily nutrition. (TMG 2004: 5; Kodama 2004: 7; Okamoto 2004 c, Hayashi-Mähner 2004: 116, Japan Almanach 2005: 85, Fukuhara 2000)

In theory, one might think that the homeless could “work their way out of homelessness” by doing these odd “jobs”. However, it is quite clear that this kind of activity only provides for meagre day-to-day survival, and for most homeless, not even a single night in a *doya* or business hotel is affordable, not even speaking of saving up for “key money” and expenses needed to rent a regular apartment. In addition, these “jobs” are by nature dead-end without any chance of development or upward mobility. According to Marr, the longer people live on the streets and pursue irregular jobs, the more their autonomy is endangered, as their chances of finding regular work decline rapidly. (Marr 1997: 241)

Homeless life: Marginalization

In addition to living under precarious conditions, the homeless do suffer from a latent exclusion by “normal members” of society. As has been mentioned before, they are excluded from the prevailing group-structure of Japanese society and are stigmatized as lazy, unhealthy, and dirty. Although some members of Japanese society do understand the hard economic situation of Japan as one reason for homelessness, many Japanese citizens believe that “[...] [homeless are] lazy and choose to be homeless. If they really wanted to change their conditions, they would get jobs.” (Marr 1997: 235) This shows that there is hardly any compassion for the homeless.

But why does society (and not only in Japan) have such a bad image of homeless people and try to “shut them out”? Firstly, as all members of society, they are mostly judged by their outward appearance. Logically, life on the streets with lack of sanitation leads to an appearance that is perceived as unpleasant. In addition, many people fear that the homeless transmit contagious diseases or are mentally ill and therefore dangerous.

Moreover, many homeless people collect their recyclables at night; when they are observed sleeping in parks during the daytime, the image of homeless people as “lazy bums” is reinforced. Other people assume that most of the homeless population chose their lifestyle deliberately and therefore won’t accept compassion or support. (Fukuhara 2000)

“Perhaps one reason why most Japanese do not feel any great urge to help homeless doya-gai dwellers may be this view that they are pursuing a different path through life which is not necessarily inferior to their own.” (Gill 2001: 176)

Consequently, general support for the homeless is low. This is proven by a survey in which 77% of those questioned stated that they encounter homelessness on a regular basis, but only 15% said that they feel somehow moved or concerned by the sight and wanted to offer support. (Kodama 2004: 5)

In addition, the homeless dwellers’ legal status is difficult: As the homeless lack private spaces of their own, and neither legally own nor rent the space they occupy, they are not

11 According to Guzewicz the standard ration in Tōkyō is eight slices of bread and 200ml milk. He gives no explanations, as to why bread and milk, rather untypical for Japanese diet, are handed out. (Guzewicz 200: 118)

urban dwellers in the conventional sense and therefore won't be recognized as legitimate cohabitants. (Snow, Mulcahy 2001: 155 – 156) In fact, many Japanese feel disturbed by the presence of homeless, as “the rough sleepers issue has become a social problem precisely because of rough sleeping in public spaces.” (Okamoto 2004 b) This means that many do not see a problem with the existence of poor people living under precarious circumstances on the streets, but they do see a problem with homeless disturbing their lives by the choice of their location. Their settling in public spaces like parks and railway stations is therefore a constant source of conflict, as “normal” citizens and shopkeepers often feel that the public order or business is being disturbed. In a survey among citizens of Ōsaka, 57% said that they had experienced trouble with the homeless in their daily life. 78% stated that they feel inhibited in their use of public areas by the existence of the homeless. 6% thought their pleasant view was being disturbed and 30% felt bothered by the homeless handling garbage. (Kodama 2004: 23) Therefore, most citizens ask their city government to fight homelessness in a way that simply removes the homeless from their sight and therefore “protects” the public from those perceived as dirty and dangerous:

“Evicted from the private spaces of the real estate market, homeless people occupy the public spaces, but their consequent presence in the urban landscape is fiercely contested. Their visibility is consistently erased by institutional efforts to move them elsewhere – to shelters, out of buildings and parks, to poor neighbourhoods, out of the city, to other marginal spaces. Evicted people are also erased by the desperate personal campaigns of the housed to see no homeless, even as they step over bodies in the street”. (Smith 1993: 89)

However, this raises the question of where homeless people can actually live. Most people do agree that the homeless should be enabled to live in a shelter *somewhere*, but simply didn't want them in their neighbourhood. Hence, despite physical contiguousness, the divide between “normal” citizens and the homeless is immense.

Creative strategies to fight homelessness

After analyzing the situation of homelessness I would like to give two examples for strategies that are intended to provide paths out of homelessness. Although there are quite a few organizations in Japanese urban areas that were initiated by homeless people themselves, I will use *Nojiren* [渋谷・野宿者の生活と居住権をかちとる自由連合(のじれん) *Shibuya nojukusha no seikatsu to kyojuuken wo kachitoru jiyuurenkai (nojiren)*], translated as “Shibuya Free Association for the Right to Housing and Well-being of the Homeless”, one of the more widely known and better organized associations of the Tōkyō homeless, as an example for how these organizations work and what projects they pursue.¹²

Around 400 homeless people in Shibuya founded *Nojiren* in March 1998 to express their solidarity and to gradually establish projects for self-support. Their basic goals are

“to pay more attention to the housing rights and to stop the evictions, to promote proper programs of assistance for self-reliance of the homeless, including shelters and jobs on national level. [...] Nojiren is not seeking charity. While we will oppose all forced evictions, our goal is not simply to defend living on the streets. The homeless themselves are by no means satisfied with mere day-to-day survival on the streets”. (<http://www.jca.apc.org/nojukusha/nojiren/e-home/>)

Therefore, *Nojiren* basically seeks social security and finding job opportunities for its members. As *Nojiren* became exceptionally well-organized, it now runs several projects, such as food distributions and night patrols in the area of Shibuya, on a regular basis. Additionally, the group produces pamphlets, maintains a homepage, sends out a regular newsletter, and organizes marches and demonstrations. They hold regular meetings and support each other by job-hunting or applying for public support. In addition, *Nojiren* seeks networking with similar groups nationwide, and helped initiate Food Bank Japan (which today is called Second Harvest Japan). (Shimokawa 2000)

One of *Nojiren's* major achievements was the foundation of a self-managed support-fund, which is primarily used to cover the members' job application expenses. Donations to the fund come on the one hand from *Nojiren* members, and on the other hand from fundraisers. In 1999 for example, members of *Nojiren* designed and produced fashionable T-Shirts which they sold in street-stalls at Omotesandō. (Shimokawa 2000) It is most important to notice that the homeless themselves initiate all of *Nojiren's* activities, which means that they turned from passive “victims” of their circumstances to autonomous activists. However, *Nojiren* is still a rather small organization and their activities are very limited, due to insufficient funding. Nevertheless, for most members the positive experience of being part of a group is invaluable.

Another project that strongly relies on the determination to self-help is the street magazine *The Big Issue Japan*. After being widely successful in London, the idea of *The Big Issue* project was imported to Japan, where it was launched in 2003 in Ōsaka. Initially being managed only by a few volunteers on a limited scale, *The Big Issue Japan* has evolved into a quite famous street magazine that can be bought in most major Japanese cities.

The magazine covers a broad range of topics including arts, culture, entertainment, and social problems, adapting articles from the London issue. Additionally, *The Big Issue Japan* provides the homeless with a voice in the media, as the homeless themselves write some of the articles published.

12 Other organizations are for example: CHS, Day Laborers Union, Sanya Workers' Welfare Hall (山谷労働者福祉会館 Sanya rōdōsha fukushi kaikan), etc.

“Every two weeks, we strive to create an opinion magazine that cuts deep into social issues and tackles negative social conditions with a positive attitude. The magazine also aims to entertain, and with its alternative arts section focused on younger readers, it attracts readers from a broad spectrum of society”. (www.bigissue.jp/english/index.htm and Kushida 2004: 53)

The fundamental aim of the project is to aid the homeless by encouraging them to sell the magazine in order to support themselves, instead of simply relying on donations or handouts. Moreover, *The Big Issue* also offers services that aim to improve the general well-being of the homeless, such as counselling sessions and regular group meetings. (Domokos 2006, Kushida 2004: 50) The system of *The Big Issue Japan* transforms the homeless into independent entrepreneurs: As a start, they receive ten copies for free, which they sell at 200 Yen each. From the initial profit of 2000 Yen, the sellers can invest in further copies, which are sold to them at 90 Yen per copy. Therefore, each seller can make a profit of 110 Yen per magazine sold. As unsold copies cannot be returned, each seller must manage his own strategy and budget. *The Big Issue Japan* does not exert influence on how the earned money is spent: “The Big Issue believes that all people must take responsibility for themselves, and homeless people have as much right to spend their earnings as they wish as anyone else”. (www.bigissue.jp/english/index.htm)

The Big Issue Japan-strategy to end homelessness includes basically three stages. In the first stage, the homeless can afford to stay in a cheap hotel by selling 25-30 copies a day. After that, if someone manages to sell around 40 copies per day, up to 1000 Yen a day can be saved. Over a period of seven to eight months, the key money for a regular apartment is supposed to be saved up. In achieving this goal, the formerly homeless person gains an address that will help him find regular work, which would be the third stage according to *The Big Issue Japan*-strategy. According to *The Big Issue Japan*, many homeless made it to the second stage, and some even reached the third stage.¹³ (www.bigissue.jp/english/index.htm and Kushida 2004: 70-76, 103)

However, this can only be a solution for very few homeless, as this plan demands absolute discipline and does not account for sickness or other unforeseen occurrences. In addition, most homeless people have no experience in selling and some can't handle the latent rejection by the public. Still, according to Sano Miku, Editor in Chief of *The Big Issue Japan*, the mere presence of the sellers in the streets can help change the attitude towards the homeless. Also, the magazine does provide a platform for positive interaction between the homeless and the buyers. As one homeless person puts it: “customers chatting and offering encouragement can be worth as much as the 110 Yen to the vendors [...]”. (Domokos 2006)

2. Conclusion - Outlook

Although the general public still tries to shut the homeless out of their daily lives, and homeless citizens suffer from latent marginalization, the rising number and constant presence of homeless people in public does lead to heightened awareness. Rising media coverage, both nationally and internationally, in turn reflects this awareness, as more and more books, articles and even web videos are published concerning homelessness in Japan. In addition, several projects representing the homeless' point of view, such as the magazines *Shelterless* or *Naniwa Rojō* [なにわ路情] aim at bridging the gap between "normal" citizens and the homeless. It is, however questionable, if this gradually rising awareness among the Japanese will lead to a fundamental change in attitudes, and even more important, to a change in social security policies. Only if the gaps and obstacles in the social support system are eliminated, Japanese homeless can hope on a real improvement of their situation.

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13 Kushida gives several arithmetic examples of income and spending of homeless who sell different amounts of copies and who spend their income on different things. All homeless cited manage to save up some money (between 2.500 and 26.100 Yen a month in those cases), but we must keep in mind that these are average

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6. GREEN ISLES AROUND THE CORNER: THE ROLE AND DESIGN OF SMALL LOCAL PARKS IN SAPPORO, JAPAN

Christoph Rupprecht¹

1. Introduction

The urban environment has been known for a long time to play an important role in citizens' satisfaction with their neighbourhood (Savasdisara, 1988). However, there are relatively few cities that systematically check the effectiveness of their parks. In a 2006 survey among 1,174 citizens of Sapporo the major reason for liking their city was "the greenery and the abundant nature" (Sapporo City, 2006). As these are important factors for many other cities' inhabitants as well, it affects more than half of the human population in 2007, and will affect more than two-thirds in 2050 (UN HABITAT, 2006). Even though widespread slums present a urgent problem in developing countries, ways of creating a sustainable and healthy urban environment need to be researched as well.

Urban parks are one of the major providers of environmental and recreational services. Large urban parks, though, are as rare as land prices are high within the city. Therefore, only the smallest category of parks can make up a dense network providing these services, especially in the city centre. Also, even during or after intense urban development small parks can be established by the city with a reasonable amount of effort. This makes them an important choice for cities in developing countries and industrialized cities wanting to shift toward a greener landscape. As the network of local parks in Sapporo was built during the last 50 years (see Chapter 2 "Materials and Methods") of growth, when Japan progressed from a ruined country to the world's second strongest economy, these parks provide an excellent model.

The fieldwork for this study was conducted from August to October 2007. The goal was to check whether Sapporo's local parks fulfil the various roles they must play, and as such can act as a role model for city planners concerned with these services. Are the parks providing sufficient recreational and environmental facilities for citizens? Do they serve as gathering points, providing refuge and emergency supplies in case of a catastrophe? Are they available as habitats for urban flora and fauna?

To answer these questions, 20 local parks were analysed using 10 different criteria such as integration into surroundings, seating or balance of human use and nature, grouped into three different categories of accessibility, usability and environmental aspects. These criteria provide a concise method of analysing the vital aspects of park design for recreational use, basic infrastructure and wildlife habitats.

2. Materials and Methods

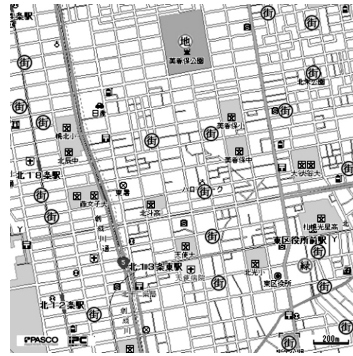


Figure 1: Map of samples (marked with 街) Source: Sapporoshi "Kōen Tanken Shisutemu"

A sample of N=20 parks of the category *gaiku kōen* [街区公園, local parks] according to the Sapporo greenery system was analysed. This system consists of three categories for *jūku kikan kōen* [住区基幹公園, residential area parks]: *chiku kōen* [地区公園, district parks] with an average area of 4 ha, *kinrin kōen* [近隣公園, neighbourhood parks] with an average area of 2 ha, and *gaiku kōen* with an average area of 0.25 ha. The parks were inside a 4km² square in the centre of the city. This area belonged to the two districts *Kitaku* [北区, North District] and *Higashiku* [東区, East District]. All visited parks are marked on the map by the character 街 (Figure 1). The mean size was 1,800m², with the samples ranging from 581-6,968m². The urban structure of the area is a mix of residential and business use, where apartment buildings may reach up to 20 floors but single family detached houses can also be found.

The parks were established between 1957 and 1992. During this time its population more than doubled, especially from 1955 (around 420,000 inhabitants) to 1970 (over one million inhabitants), as Sapporo prospered as a result of Japans high economic growth period (Sapporoshi Kyōiku Iinkai, 2002, p. 11). An important event in the history of the city were the Olympic winter games in 1972, the first time for the winter games to be held in Asia. Today, the city web page cites a population of 1.8 million inhabitants (Sapporo City, Internet). A big part of the fresh water supply for Sapporo is drawn from the mountainous regions in the East. This area became a designated part of the city through merging the growing city with surrounding villages, which were "swallowed" by the rapid development. The city area grew from 280km² in 1955 to 1100km² in 1970 (Sapporoshi Kyōiku Iinkai, 2002, p. 12). Unlike other big Japanese cities like Tōkyō, Ōsaka or Nagoya, city development in Sapporo happened not other centuries, but in a few decades. Therefore its rapid growth in size and population makes Sapporo a good role model for this study. Many cities in developing countries have to cope with similar short-term population growth while ensuring their citizens health and recreation possibilities.

Each park was examined using 10 criteria. For each passed criterion one point was given, so the maximum score was 10. The criteria used were as follows:

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Accessibility:

1. Barrier-free
Wheel chairs and push chairs had to be able to enter without problems. There was no strict check for barrier-free criteria based on official guidelines.
2. No use restrictions
Use restrictions such as “no ball-throwing” led to point loss.
3. No artificial obstacles
Fences protecting flower plantations or grass and similar constructions were counted as artificial obstacles. These are known reasons for public parks to fail to attract visitors (Project for Public Spaces 2007a, Internet).
4. Integration into surroundings
The placement and surrounding of the park was the main factor here. High-traffic roads beside parks or neighbouring high-rise apartment buildings led to point loss.

Usability:

5. Seating
As stated on the Project for Public Spaces web site, seating has to be provided in suitable number and position to attract visitors (Project for Public Spaces 2007b, Internet).
6. Play grounds
7. Toilet facilities
8. Drinking water fountains

Environmental aspects:

9. Balance of human use and nature
For this criterion a rough 70%-30% or better proportion of land for human use and nature was important. This means, at least 30% of the park space should be available for nature, for example in the form of trees and bushes. These are a necessary shelter for animals, especially birds (Gilbert, 1994). Additionally, a lawn instead of hardened ground was a prerequisite.
10. Local tree species
Detailed biodiversity analysis requires a large amount of resources (Purvis, Hector, 2000). Therefore, native tree species were used as an easy to recognise indicator for diversity, as they provide a habitat for many other species. Species used were regionally abundant (Umeki, 2001) members of important families: *Abies sachalinensis*(Fir), *Acer mono*(Maple), *Picea jezoensis*(Spruce), *Quercus mongolica*(Oak), *Sorbus commixta*(Rowan) and *Tilia japonica*(Linden).

3. Results

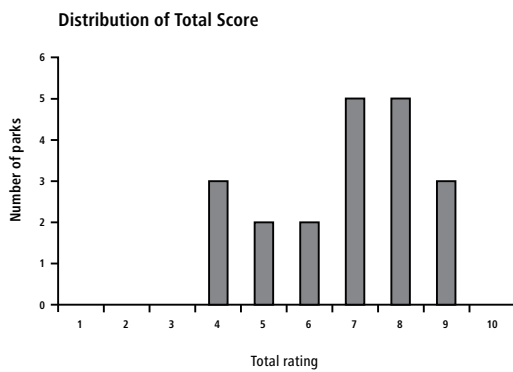


Figure 2: Distribution of total park score

Note: The distribution of total park score in points out of 10.

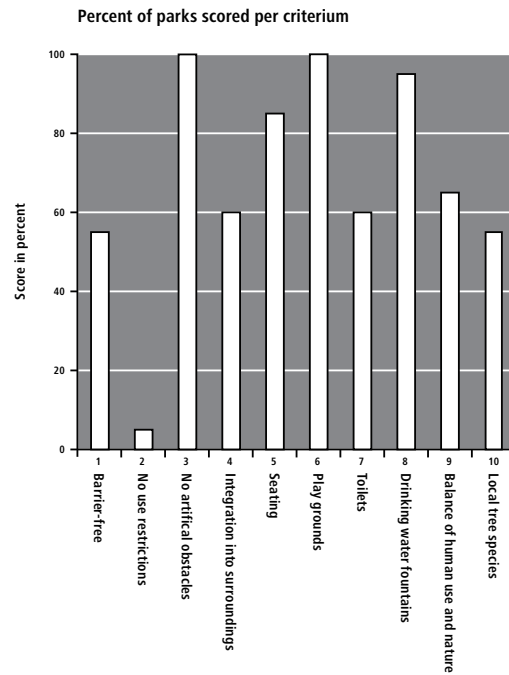


Figure 3: Percent of parks scoring per single criterion

Note: The percent of parks scoring per single criterion according to legend on the bottom.

The distribution of total score for the analysed parks showed most parks scoring 7 or 8 points out of 10 (see Figure 2), or 70-80%. The mean total score of all parks was 68%. The mean for accessibility was 22% (maximum 40%), for usability 38% (maximum 40%) and for environmental aspects 12% (maximum 20%). There was a suggestive negative correlation of size and age of a park ($p=0.051$) and a correlation of size and rating on environmental aspects ($p<0.05$), but no correlation of size and total score ($p>0.7$).

4. Discussion



Figure 4: *Hokuei kôen*

Note: Picture of *Hokuei kôen* in October 2007.

Source: Photography by author

The results show that with an average score of 68% the local parks analysed do their job of providing basic services and infrastructure quite well. Accessibility and environmental design could be optimized by avoiding use restrictions, enhancing barrier-free access, and planting more local trees. The general park rules found almost in every park prohibit ball throwing, which causes the very low score on the use restrictions criterion. The mediocre rating on human-nature balance was in part due to wide use of hardened sand instead of grass as the main surface substrate. This leads to a strongly reduced area usable by plants and wild life.

The usability however is where the strength of this category of small parks lies. With 90% providing drinking water, they represent a dense network of emergency water supplies. Further emphasising the omnipresent nature of this network, a study by the City of Sapporo shows that more than 80% of Sapporo residents live less than 250m away from a park (Sapporoshi Machizukurikyoku Kikakubu Tōkeika, 2003, p. 62). Therefore, access to parks is independent of private or public motorised transport.

The negative correlation of size and age of the parks suggests that the scarcity of land in the city centre restricts the construction of larger parks because of ongoing urban development, even though public opinion would be in favour of such projects (Sapporoshi Sōmukyoku Kōhōbu Shimin no Koe o Kikuka, 2006, p. 360). Size and environmental aspects rating correlate probably because larger parks simply leave the designer with more space to use for planting after fulfilling the basic requirements. Interestingly, however, park size and total score do not correlate, meaning big parks don't necessarily score better than small ones. This shows that a city planner does not need large areas of space to provide decent recreational service and infrastructure.

5. Outlook

This study showed that Sapporo's small local parks play an essential role in providing the community with a variety of basic services from recreation to emergency supplies. The independence of size and total score also makes them an ideal model for urban development facing rising land prices. But small local parks are only one part of the puzzle. Parks of all sizes are important factors in building a greenery network that allows an urban system to reach sustainability. We have only begun to see the city as a strongly interconnected ecological system. A next step would be to analyse not only the benefit of parks for humans, but also the role they play within the cities ecology and resource fluctuation. As of yet, we know too little about our green isles around the corner.

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7. AN ASPECT OF OSAKAN MODERNIST CULTURE: A FOCUS ON THE ACTIVITIES OF KAWAI DANCE CULTURE

Eri Shibata¹

1. Introduction

In 1925, Osaka city consolidated with the surrounding counties and formed into the largest metropolis in Japan. At that time, people sometimes called Ôsaka “Dai-Ôsaka”. This name means “great and glorious Ôsaka”. Ôsaka flourished very much as a modern city. Social and cultural phenomena can serve as an indicator for the prosperity. Throughout the Dai-Ôsaka era the original modern culture progressed rapidly. It exhibited a balance between the cultural tradition of Ôsaka and western culture.

However, it is a pity that nowadays most people do not know that Ôsaka used to be Dai-Ôsaka, not even the citizens of Ôsaka. It is problematic when inhabitants forget their own cultural heritage. It may deprive them of all their cultural confidence. Actually, under the present conditions, Ôsaka can hardly be identified as a remarkably cultural and creative city. Recently, the mass media have reported a rather unfavorable image of Ôsaka, which has led to prejudices especially among people overseas. In my presentation I will investigate a particular phase of the modern Osakan culture, taking a dance company called *Kawai Dance* as an example. One purpose of my research is to improve the image of Ôsaka and to contribute to a deeper understanding of cultural activities at the time of the Dai-Ôsaka era.

2. Outline of the History of *Kawai Dance*

Kawai Dance was established by Kawai Koshichirô. He ran a *chaya*² called *Kawai* in So-emonchô, one of the famous entertainment districts in Ôsaka. It is interesting that this dance troupe consisted of geishas. According to its own publication, the *Kawai Dance Gurahikku*, the company started its activities in 1921. On the way to a westernized Japan, Kawai actively made his geisha learn western culture to keep up with the times. At the beginning, his intention was to let them perform operetta and comedy mainly in western costumes. However, he soon changed this course, trying to form a professional dance company.

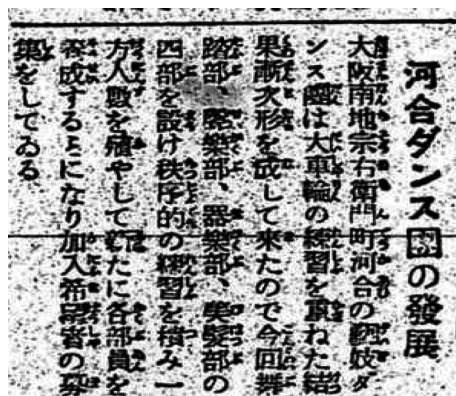


Figure.1: “The Development of *Kawai Dance*” *Ôsaka Mainichi Shinbun* December 21, 1922

Figure.1 is an article from *Ôsaka Mainichi Shinbun* which appeared on December 21st, 1922. It mentioned the establishment of *Kawai Dance* as a dance company. In summary, it said that this dance company practiced dance very hard and was seeking new members in order to develop and to grow.

Kawai Dance gave its first performances on June 18th and 19th, 1923, both of which were well received. The event was not recorded. The pictures (Figure.2, Figure.3) as well as the program (Figure.4) suggest that the members of the group probably performed dance based on ballet methods.



Figure.2: *Vengel* (a postcard)



Figure.3: *Amarilla* From *Kawai Dance Grahikku* vol. 3 (Collection Hida Kôzô)

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2 The word consists of two kanji. Cha (茶) means “tea” and ya (屋) means “house”. The most direct translation of *chaya* into English would be “tea house”. In fact, a *chaya* is a place where people enjoy traditional Japanese dishes and are entertained by geishas.

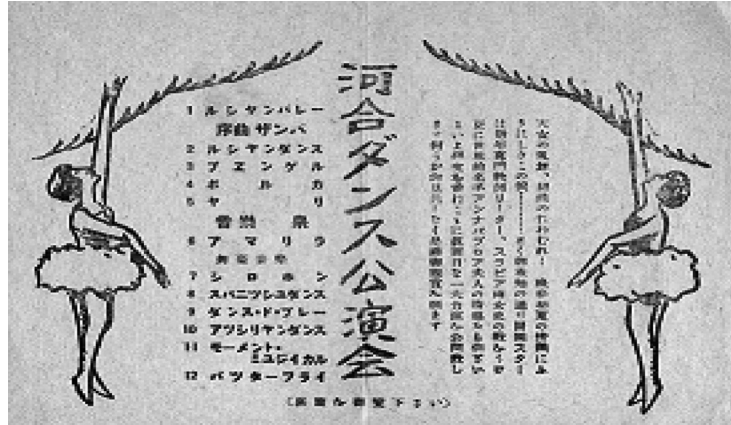


Figure.4: A program of the first performance in Ōsaka (Collection Hida Kōzō)

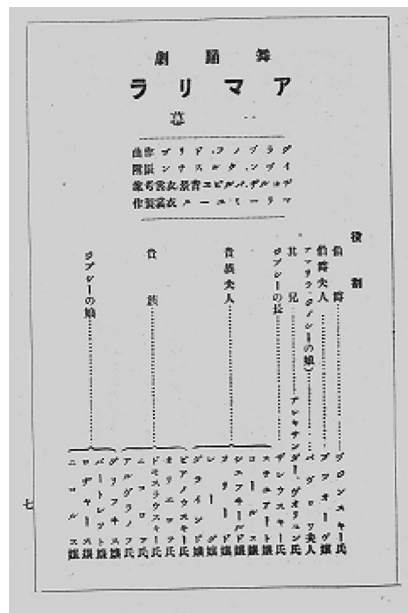


Figure.5: *Amarilla* A pamphlet of Anna Pavlova's tour of Japan in 1922 (Collection Hida Kōzō)

Figure.6 is a comment in the newspaper Ōsaka Mainichi Shinbun about their show. It says that *Kawai Dance* has made remarkable progress in spite of some criticism geared towards it. Some people were not able to appreciate this dance company, because they thought a geisha was not suited to be a ballet dancer. Although *Kawai Dance* was likely to be considered to be no more than a geisha's pastime, it succeeded contrary to the expectations of the public opinion. Eliana Pavlova, the famous ballet dancer, who contributed to introducing classical ballet into Japan, appreciated its endeavors and praised its performance enthusiastically.

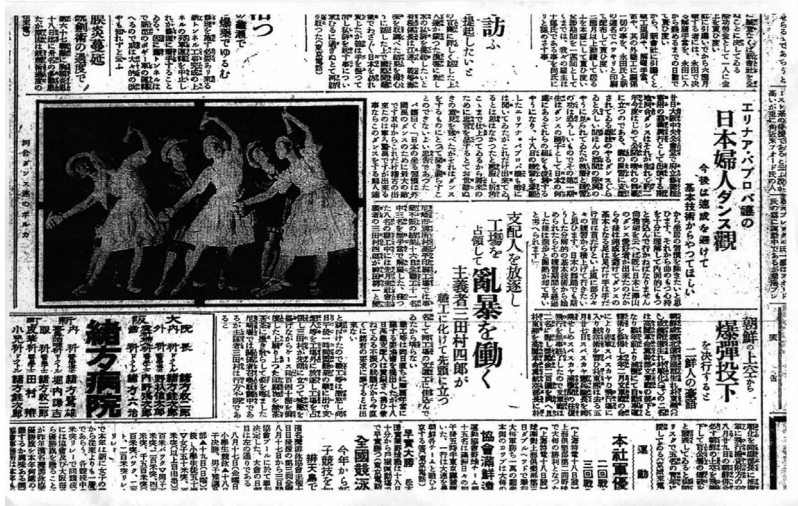


Figure.6: "Eliana Pavlova's comment on Kawai Dance" From Ōsaka Mainichi Shinbun June 19, 1923

About one month later, *Kawai Dance* was invited to play in Tokyo. The group did not remain in Ōsaka but rather toured Japan continuously. For example, it visited Gifu, Nagoya, Toyohashi, Tottori, and Fukuoka, as well as Tokyo. Despite its tight schedule the troupe can be said to have always been managed soundly. Besides its road shows, this dance company tried to perform periodically in Ōsaka. Although it did not have its own theater, various suitable stages enabled them to fulfill this desire.

While *Kawai Dance* gained experience steadily, it had one constant problem. It was not recognized easily as a professional dance company. The bias against geishas interfered with its actual achievements and its wish to become a legitimate dance group. To change this reputation, Kawai Koshichirō dedicated himself to supporting the technical and artistic improvement of *Kawai Dance*. For instance, he allowed the prima ballerina Komagiku to stay in France to gain further experience in the field of European dance (figure.7). When she toured there, he accompanied her. He then incorporated the latest trends of the international dance scene into the *Kawai Dance* show.



Figure.7: "Komagiku is going to Paris" (from Ōsaka Mainichi Shinbun May 7, 1929)



Figure.8: The Russian Dance Coach's Portrait (from *Kawai Dance Grahikku* vol. 3)



Figure.9: Komagiku and the Sacharoffs (from *Kawai Dance Grahikku* vol. 3)

Moreover, after the invention of the tap dance and its introduction to Japan, Kawai integrated this particular dance style into the repertoire of *Kawai Dance* (figure.10). He often took drastic measures for the progress of his company. Especially the fact that Kawai decided to make the members of the formation quit their jobs as geisha in order for them to concentrate on dance was an act worth mentioning. In addition, he left the management of the *chaya* to his employees, devoting himself entirely to *Kawai Dance*. His decisions were capable of causing substantial financial losses. The possible weight of the consequences was exceptional in the *Karyūkai*, the world of entertainment to which the geishas belonged and still belong. Therefore, the newspapers at that time reported his actions (figure.11).



Figure.10: Tap Dance (from *Kawai Dance Grahikku* vol. 3)

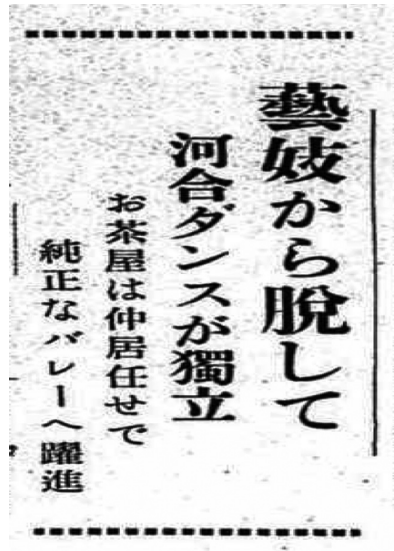


Figure.11: About Kawai's Decision to Make the Members of his Company Quit Their Jobs as Geishas (from *Ōsaka Asahi Shinbun* December 13, 1930)

As a result, after ten years' activities, *Kawai Dance* became a dance company well known for its professional technique, rather than as a company of geisha ballet dancers. By the way, *Kawai Dance* was also active in the world of music (figure.12). Kawai Koshichirō showed a strong interest in jazz, which was coming into vogue. He even planned forming a jazz band of ex-geishas (figure.13). At that time, Ōsaka's modern people enjoyed playing and listening to jazz. Many jazz musicians of various nationalities lived and worked in Ōsaka. Kawai Koshichirō invited one of them to his dance company as a teacher. His band was as highly praised as his dance company. Its music was broadcasted and its performances were recorded.



Figure.12: Xylophone (from *Kawai Dance Grahikku* vol. 3)



Figure.13: Jazz (from *Kawai Dance Grahikku* vol. 3)

But the energy of *Kawai Dance* began to decline. First, Komagiku, the star dancer, retired from the company because of illness. Although every dancer was accomplished, Komagiku had led the troupe. Her absence was a great loss to *Kawai Dance*. Above all this was a blow to the motivation of Kawai Koshichirô. Following this, the general social situation worsened due to serious, now historical, events, including an economic slump influenced by the Great Depression and the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–45). It was a time when whole nations, including Japan, were drawn into World War II. In Japan, the government controlled entertainment very strictly, especially modern and entertainment perceived as American. It was quite difficult for *Kawai Dance* to survive. The company performed at the Kokumin kaikan in Ôsaka from June 2nd to 4th, 1934. There is no trace of any activity of theirs after that. Such matters finally forced *Kawai Dance* to end during World War II. At the present time, we suppose that it happened in 1938, as this was the year when general mobilization orders were issued in Japan. In this connection, even the Tenjin Matsuri festival, a classic and annual event in Ôsaka, was discontinued in that year.

3. Ôsaka as the Cradle of Cultural Progress

It's worth mentioning that the westernized geishas, such as the members of *Kawai Dance*, were called *modan geisha*. *Modan* is the Japanese pronunciation of "modern". *Modan geisha* were trained not only in traditional Japanese performance arts but also in those of the West. They were trendy and flexible, one of the symbols of adaptation to western culture in Japan.

Kawai Dance was by far the most popular among such groups. At that time, Hanazono Utako, one of the famous *modan geisha*, published a book about the *Karyūkai*, in which she referred to *Kawai Dance* as a representative example of the *modan geisha*. What enabled *Kawai dance's* outstanding development? Although this question is open to dispute, it is certain that the character of Ôsaka inspired *Kawai Dance*.

For a long time throughout history, Ôsaka was the commercial capital of Japan. Therefore, Ôsaka's population consisted to a large percentage of merchants. These merchants were also highly influential in the fields of politics and culture in Ôsaka. They were farsighted and had a sharp sense of the currents of the times. Most of them were men of culture, acting as patrons, critics, and artists. They were often innovative, embracing various fresh cultural developments, thereby contributing to the broader cultural progress in Ôsaka against the background of its economic potential. It almost goes without saying that Ôsaka's modern culture matured under such an appreciative climate. In fact, *Kawai Dance* also enjoyed the patronage of the customers at Kawai, the *chaya*. The company was to a certain degree indebted to them for its development.

Since the Meiji period, in the process of adapting western culture, a new individual culture was created which was inherently Ôsakan. *Kawai Dance* was one concrete manifestation of this culture. In the Dai-Ôsaka era, Ôsaka was not only famous as a highly modernized city, but also as a place sending original modern culture to other cities, including Tokyo. Incidentally, from the viewpoint of urban studies, Ôsaka is often compared with Tokyo. How was Tokyo at that time? Tokyo, Japan's capital, has been a center of government and cultural forerunner for a long time. However, when Ôsaka was in its Dai-Ôsaka era Tokyo, in contrast, was facing a crisis. A catastrophe, the Great Kantô Earthquake, struck Tokyo in 1923, and brought utter destruction to the city. For quite a while Ôsaka took over a number of Tokyo's political and economic functions. This development promoted the growth of Ôsaka. Tokyo's dire problems also assisted Ôsaka to prosper culturally. After the earthquake, many people, including noted figures of culture, escaped from Tokyo to Ôsaka. It is evident that the modern culture of Ôsaka matured under the inspiration of this, almost accidental, cultural exchange. For example, some local mass media, such as the studio Teikoku Kinema and the publisher Platon Sha, influenced Japan's modern culture. Ôsaka played an important role in the making of Japanese modernism.

However, regarding scholarship of modern culture in Japan, cultural activities in the Tokyo area have generally drawn the most attention. Those activities in other cities are hardly apt to even get mentioned. Obviously, Tokyo has been a center of government, leading other cities as the capital of Japan, in most any respect for a long time. However, the case of Ôsaka

suggests that multiple centers of outstanding cultural activity developed throughout Japan. Finally, in my opinion, further research on other cities than Tokyo is needed, in order to get a more differentiated perspective on modernization and especially the process of how modern culture was created in Japan.

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8. INSTITUTIONAL TRANSFORMATION AND MANAGERIALISM IN CULTURAL HERITAGE: HERITAGE MALTA

Maria Lusiani¹ and Luca Zan²

1. Introduction

The transformation of the public sector is a worldwide phenomenon that has emerged over the past decades in various countries, both at different speeds and in different ways. The general phenomenon has been extensively addressed by management literature (the whole research area on New Public Management: see for instance Lapsley 1988; Hood 1995; Bowerman 1996; But & Palmer 2000; Flynn 2000,2005; Gruening 2001; Lindkvist & Llewellyn 2003).

Common aspects of such a transformation include the reduction of funding for welfare purposes, more stringent rules for financing and reporting, and reforms in budgeting procedures. One of the recurrent issues is “privatization”, sometimes referred to in the true sense of the expression (selling assets to private actors) and sometimes merely in evocative terms, aiming at introducing private-like mechanisms into the management of public organisations (“privately run but publicly owned”, as a World Bank document stated using this awkward expression, World Bank 2005). The transformation itself of the governance structure is one of the crucial elements often associated with similar processes, whether the entity maintains its public status or not. Fostering “managerialism” is, in fact, always coupled with an institutional transformation aiming at higher levels of economic responsibility and accountability (World Bank 2005).

In this context, cultural organisations also have been the object of serious pressures for change, especially in countries where the arts were traditionally supported by the State (typically in Europe, compared to the more “market driven” American model). Major changes have occurred since the 1980’s in the UK and a decade later in many other countries (Di Maggio 1986; Wilson 1989; Feldstein 1991; Kavanagh 1994; Pearce 1991; Boylan 1992; de Jong 1993; Moore 1994; Fitzgibbon & Kelly 1997; van Hemel & van der Wielen 1997; McLean 1997; Cannon-Brookes 1998. For a reconstruction cf. Wu 2002; for the Italian debate cf. Zan 2000, 2002, 2006; Zan, Bonini Baraldi, Gordon 2007).

Unfortunately, most of the literature focuses on “cultural policies” rather than on actual impacts on managerial conditions for individual entities, to be found through field research extending further than a mere naïve reference to managerial transformation in the arts sector as a general trend. An in-depth analysis is desperately needed for understanding specificities and commonalities in institutional transformation processes in different organisations and different cultures.

Moreover, an international comparison is virtually missing in terms of managerial impacts, whereas a contrast between different administrative systems is likely to emerge – as in general in the entire NPM literature. While “managerialism” in English-speaking countries seems to be an inner phenomenon, in Roman code countries it is ambiguously associated with the dynamic of existing bodies of administrative rules, giving rise to an interesting conflict between managerialization and juridification (see for all: Hood 1995; Bonini 2007).

Our previous research focused particularly on managerialization processes of “venerable institutions”, including the British Museum and the Superintendence of Pompeii (Zan, 2000, 2002). These studies provided evidence for the existence of serious differences in managerial transformation experiences; moreover, they can be a starting point in international comparisons.

This paper focuses on the transformation of the management of national cultural heritage in Malta. More specifically, it aims to analyse the establishment and the recent evolution of Heritage Malta, the national Agency for the conservation and management of the Maltese cultural heritage. What makes the case interesting is not only the fact of Heritage Malta is an additional case of managerial reform in the arts sector per se, but also that the Maltese cultural and administrative traditions somehow fall “in between” the Anglo-Saxon and the Mediterranean cultures, thus making it an interesting comparison with both the British Museum and the Pompeii cases.

The paper is structured as follows: section 2 will provide a brief description of HM at present. Given the importance of the processes themselves in shaping and understanding change, the context, antecedents and the institutional transformation steps will be reconstructed in section 3, while financial and activity results will be examined in a dynamic perspective in section 4. Finally, specificities and consistency of managerialism at HM and a comparison between it and the managerial transformations of the British Museum and Pompeii will be discussed in section 5.

2. Heritage Malta at present

In 2002, a major reform concerning cultural heritage took place in Malta. Through a legislative act (*Cultural Heritage Act*, chapter 445/2002), Maltese cultural heritage – previously administered by a branch of the Ministry for Culture and Education (the Museums Department) – was entrusted to a national Agency set up by the same law: *Heritage Malta* (HM or “the Agency” hereinafter). HM was established as the Government’s operating arm in charge of the management, conservation, operation, marketing, study and presentation of the 25 national museums, heritage sites and collections in Malta and Gozo.

The Agency operates through a composite set of activities: curatorship and research, exhibitions, interpretation and visitor services, restoration, conservation and maintenance, academic and vocational teaching in conservation and cultural heritage management. Presently, it has about 250 employees, yet it is still completing the process of recruitment.

Reporting to the Ministry for Tourism and Culture, HM’s organisational structure is composed of a Board of Directors (9 members – including the Chairman appointed by the Minister – with a background in heritage management and conservation), a Chief Executive Officer and five operational divisions; a) Curatorial; b) Visitor Service, also in charge of human resources management (interestingly enough, at present a separate division for human resources

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does not exist, despite the centrality given to human resources management as showed below); c) Finance; d) Conservation; e) Academic and Vocational Studies (the former Institute for Conservation and Management for Cultural Heritage, established in 1999 by an agreement with the University of Malta and now incorporated into the HM structure).

According to the management team, the establishment of HM in the cultural heritage scene brought about a number of major changes compared to the previous Museums Department's administration. The first aspect concerns the way of interpreting effectiveness in cultural heritage: according to the former CEO Antoinette Caruana and the Head Curator Kenneth Gambin, the conservative mentality of the Museums Department has been substituted "by a more outward-looking one" open to new initiatives and focused on reaching out, instead of considering museums as elite places, meant to be visited and enjoyed only by experts. Since its birth, HM has embraced a proactive approach in differentiating, increasing and improving its activities in order to better meet visitors' needs.

Differences in the set of competences characterizing the Museums Department and HM also show the profound cultural change brought about by the new organisation. Under the Museums Department, the top management was composed of curators (mainly archaeologists), whereas the structure of HM presents a differentiation of skills: curatorial and conservation functions are accompanied by managerial, administrative, business and marketing functions. Indeed, one of HM's strengths outlined by the SWOT analysis lies in the fact of "having on board highly technical and professional curators, conservators and managers, and complementary team members specialized in different fields" (Business Plan 2006-2009, p. 21).

However, the main change in the organisational culture regards the internal policies established by the CEO. Great efforts have been made in order to substitute the bureaucratic "civil servant" mentality of the Museums Department with a human resources policy based on "transparency, responsibility, delivering and empowering" (Antoinette Caruana). Moreover, some of HM's leaders affirm that the Museums Department was characterized by a high level of individualism and by a lack of cooperation and internal communication between the museums; HM is working hard to improve teamwork and cooperation both within the organisational structure and between museums.

Finally, HM introduced a strong planning mentality, as opposed to the lack of planning and of a long term perspective that characterized the ministerial bureaucracy. The stress on planning is largely witnessed by the policy documents, the annual strategic plans and the entire planning system in general³.

This shift in the organisational culture between the Museums Department and HM is outlined by Head Curator Kenneth Gambin in highly dichotomic, symbolic (and very rhetoric) terms summarised in table 1.

Table 1 – Museum Department and Heritage Malta

Museums Department	Heritage Malta
Inward looking, conservative mentality	Outward looking, open to new initiatives
Individualisms	Team work
No cooperation, internal communication, information or resources exchange between museums (even jealous competition)	Cooperation, coordination, connection between museums
Museums as elite places, meant for experts	Focus on reaching out
No attention on resources	Focus on efficiency, resource management
Inert financial dependence by government	Active in finding new forms of income
Centrality of the curatorial function. Prevalent archaeological skills among the curators: biased	Differentiation of skills among the seniors: curatorial AND managerial, administrative, marketing ...
No planning processes; no long term perspective; ministerial bureaucracy	Strong planning mentality
No specific and innovative human resources policy; bureaucracy	Stress on human resources policy, continuous evaluation and self-evaluation meetings; consultative processes in decision making, etc.
Inertia (few events per year)	Dynamism (1 big event per month in average; 1 activity every second day)

At the same time, HM’s management also recognises some weaknesses and threats concerning the Agency’s activity (the SWOT analysis, Business Plan 2006-2009):

- (a) the difficulties in harmonising different organisational cultures of employees coming from different backgrounds (Museums Department, Ministry of Gozo, private sector, etc.);
- (b) being fully owned by the Government and having been set up by an Act of Parliament limits HM’s autonomy, as it is obliged “to carry out a number of activities and functions which would usually not have been adopted if it had been a commercial organisation” (p. 22);
- (c) the lack of proper and sufficient technical, financial and human resources compared to the size and richness of the cultural heritage;
- (d) the Maltese public and tourists have higher expectations from their visits; and
- (e) tourism statistics show an entrenched decline over the past four years.

Finally, on the side of financial performance, the Agency closed its last financial year (September 30, 2006) with a surplus of 157,366 Lm (table 1)⁴. Almost half of HM’s costs were covered by its earned income (entrance fees and other). Government subvention was particularly high as well, having reached the amount of 1,8 million Lm in 2006, “fully meeting all financial needs of every division” (Antoinette Caruana).

3 Just to give an example, the Ministry for Tourism and Culture produces a general National Strategy for Cultural Heritage (general issues, needs and roles of all entities involved in the cultural heritage sector) and recently published an additional planning document (Culture Policy for 2006-2010) which incorporates more operational objectives for each of the entities involved. HM annually publishes its Strategic Plan for Action (under the striking titles of “Building the foundations”, “Strengthening ourselves to achieve our vision”, etc.) and just before the end of the first CEO three-year mandate it drafted a Business Plan for the triennium 2006-2007/2008-2009.

4 All amounts will be expressed in Maltese Lira (Lm). The exchange rate for 1 Lm is 2,1571 € or 3,4072 US\$.

Table 2 – HM’s financial results (financial year 2005-2006)

	2005-2006
Earned income	1.452.879
Consolidated fund (recurrent)	1.842.863
Income	3.295.742
Operational costs	2.598.337
Admin. Expenses	543.014
Costs	3.141.351
(Deficit)/surplus before interest	154.391
Interest receivable	2.975
(Deficit)/surplus	157.366

Source: Heritage Malta, Annual Report and Consolidated Financial Statements 30 September 2006

3. Disentangling the institutional transformation

A more systematic interpretation and assessment of HM and its functioning and outcomes can be better conducted by revisiting the evolutionary process of the organisation as a whole. The rationales/implications of the cultural heritage reform in Malta and the process through which HM in particular has so far interpreted and put into practice the reform need to be further investigated.

Context and antecedents

The significant involvement of the public sector within the cultural heritage field is a recent phenomenon in Malta. Up to the 1990’s, little attention was placed by the Government on issues concerning preservation and care of cultural properties (beforehand only a simple framework for the protection of antiquities existed, the *Antiquities Protection Act, 1925*) and even then, most legislative acts focused on protection and inventory of the assets with no mentioning of measures of administration, access and actual management of cultural heritage. By the end of the 1990’s, a growing awareness of these issues emerged along with the need for a new legislation, for a national agency specialized in cultural heritage management and for the separation between operational and regulatory functions (table 3).

Table 3 – The reforming process in the cultural heritage sector

DATE	DOCUMENT/INITIATIVE	CONTENT
1925	Antiquities Protection Act	Simple framework provided for the protection of antiquities. Establishment of an Antiquities Committee which advised Government on the protection of heritage assets
1991	Environment Protection Act	Minister responsible for the Environment can declare any natural or cultural site as protected.
1992	Planning Development Act	Introduction of modern planning procedures, also establishing a central planning authority. Under this act the Authority was obliged to prepare and from time to time review a list of areas that are to be scheduled for conservation.
1995	Operational Review of the Museums Department	Museums Department to be restructured; public program and Finance & Administration functions in preparation of eventual migration into a Government Agency
1996	Heritage Bill	A Government Agency, Heritage Malta, to replace the Museums Dept and superintend Malta's cultural heritage. A Heritage Committee to be set up as the formal interface between HM and the PA to grant permits and make recommendations for the inclusion of cultural heritage in the PA's list of scheduled properties
1997	Strategic Review of the Museums Department	Assessment of situation following change of Government.
1997	Human Resources Audit	Identified critical functions in Museums Dept which needed immediate re-engineering. Reiterated view that Museum Dept should migrate to an agency.
1997	Policy Direction for new reform process	Assessment of Change programmes to date and proposals for improvement within parameters of new Government policy.
1998		Assessment of situation following change of Government.
		Resumption of reform process and consultation.
1999	Heritage Seminar	Proposal to divide heritage functions into Regulatory-centralized functions and Operational-decentralized functions.
1999	Cultural Heritage Committee	Drafting of new draft legislation.
2000-2002	Cultural Heritage Act 2002	Final drafting process of the Cultural Heritage Act.
2002	Cultural Heritage Act 2002	Enactment of the Cultural Heritage Act 2002.
2003	New Entities	Setting up of the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage and of Heritage Malta in replacement of Museums Dept.

Source: adaptation from Superintendence of Cultural Heritage, 2005, State of the Heritage Report, p. 50-51

In 2002 the *Cultural Heritage Act* was promulgated. It replaced the *Antiquities Protection Act*, suppressing the Museums Department and establishing some autonomous organisations instead, each one with a distinct legal personality: the Superintendence of Cultural Heritage, Heritage Malta, the Committee of Guarantee, the Malta Centre for Restoration (already established in 1999 by the Ministry for Education and the University of Malta, and later amended in 2005, due to its incorporation into HM).

The Superintendence would be the regulatory entity, “ensuring the protection and accessibility to cultural heritage” (Cultural Heritage Act, part III, art. 7.) through surveillance, advisory, authorization functions concerning conservation, excavations, planning permissions, etc. Heritage Malta would be the operating agency, ensuring “that those elements of the cultural heritage entrusted to it are protected and made accessible to the public” (Cultural Heritage Act, part III, art. 8) by directly managing, coordinating and administering museums and sites. The Committee of Guarantee –composed by representative members from the Ministry and from the different entities – would serve as the link between the Government and the entities under the coordination and advisory functions. Finally, the Malta Centre for Restoration (MCR) was re-established as a “centre of excellence for the teaching, training, research and practice of conservation, restoration, maintenance, management and presentation of the cultural heritage” (Cultural Heritage Act, part III, art. 10), also providing “conservation and restoration services and consultation as may be required by other bodies, both public and private” (*ibidem*).

Given the turning point in cultural heritage administration fostered by the Cultural Heritage Act, some preliminary considerations are necessary. The reform definitely embodied a step forward in the public administration of cultural heritage in Malta. However, while the Act defined the functions to be undertaken by the new entities in detail, it only drew generic guidelines for the transformation, and it was not followed by more specific guidelines for a better definition of the change process for the new institutions.

The Act is vague about the re-allocation process of the personnel from the former Museums Department, only stating that “the Prime Minister may, *at the request of an entity, from time to time* direct that *any public officer* shall be detailed for duty with the entity” (emphasis added). No structured analyses of human resources needs within the new agencies were conducted.

The Act is also ambiguous about the concrete level of autonomy granted to the new institutions. First, the entities are apparently given autonomy through the appointment of personnel, however every decision about employment, remuneration and terms and conditions shall be determined by each entity with the approval of the Minister. Second, a certain level of financial autonomy is formally bestowed to the entities by law, but all estimates and accounts shall be submitted to the Ministry for approval as well. What is worse, article 20 is deliberately ambiguous on the destination of financial surplus of the entities, as it introduces the Ministry’s right to take over the surplus:

“Any excess of revenue over expenditure shall, subject to such directives as the Minister, after consultation with the Minister responsible for finance, may from time to time give, be applied by each Entity to the formation of reserve funds to be used for its purposes, and without prejudice to the generality of the powers given to the Minister by this sub-article, any direction given by the Minister as aforesaid may order the transfer to the Government, or the application in such manner as may be specified in the direction, of any part of the fees, rates and other payments levied in accordance with subarticle 2 or any such excess as aforesaid.

“Any funds of an Entity not immediately required to meet expenditure may be invested in such manner as may from time to time be approved by the Minister” (Cultural Heritage Act, art. 20. subarticles 4 and 5; emphasis added).

Actually, every year it is up to the Ministry to decide whether the excess of revenue is kept by the entity who realized it, or if it should be transferred to the Government. This definitely restricts the entity’s effective financial autonomy and responsibility, since it does not provide any incentive mechanism for an efficient use of resources which a real financial autonomy is expected to give.

These examples show that even after the reform, the Government’s control is much higher than it might seem, despite the rhetoric of autonomy and decentralization of functions which inspired the Cultural Heritage Act.

Heritage Malta change process (2003-2006)

In this context, the developing process of HM since its foundation deserves attention, focusing on two phases that can be outlined: the birth and preliminary steps and the expansion and absorption of the MCR.

Phase 1: Birth and preliminary steps (2003-2004)

At the time of the foundation of HM (2002-2003), all work had to be initiated: no real structure for HM had been planned, no ongoing projects were taking place and no business plan of any kind had been thought of.

In 2003-2004, the Agency started to take shape through an enthusiastic, incremental growth. In 2003, a Chairman, a Board of Directors and a Chief Executive Officer were appointed to HM. The Agency inherited, along with cultural assets, a big portion of the former Museums Department’s personnel (about 140 people out of 160) and rapidly started a recruiting process for additional key actors⁵. A first operational structure was designed and a vivacious planning activity was put in place in the very first months of activity.

By mid-2004 a rather complete management team of professionals had been set up and the organisation started to take shape.

⁵ For instance, the head of Finance and Business development was recruited in 2004 (one and a half years after HM started operating!). The Finance and Business division has been long understaffed though, being composed of only one professional accountant until September 2005.

Phase 2: Expansion and absorption (2005-2006)

In 2005, while the Agency was still in the process of “finding its own feet” (Antoinette Caruana), a major change occurred: through a Government act, the Malta Centre for Restoration would no longer exist, and instead be incorporated by HM. With the Cultural Heritage Amendment Act, the MCR was amended and the broadened “mission” of HM was “to ensure that those elements of cultural heritage entrusted to it are protected and made accessible to the public. *The Agency also operates a division for conservation, restoration, research and the training of conservation scientists and conservators*” (Cultural Heritage Amendment Act, 2005, emphasis in the original).

The decision came top-down, first announced by the Ministry at the end of 2004, without any discussion or negotiation process with the leaders of the two concerned organisations (indeed, even HM’s CEO and the MCR’s top management heard about the incorporation from the media). The consequences of such a sudden and unexpected change had traumatic repercussions on the institutions. For both organisations, the announcement was followed by a transition period (November 2004-March 2005) of uncertainty and turmoil, until the actual take over of the MCR by HM.

For HM, the absorption implied the creation of a new division in conservation. Throughout 2005, HM’s Board of Directors and the CEO went through re-designing the previous organisational structure according to the new functions and needs (repeatedly submitted to the Ministry for approval), through a major recruiting process for new key positions (especially addressed to the MCR’s former employees) and through the reconsideration of contractual issues due to divergent and individual contracts in force at the MCR. The CEO recalls the absorption as a challenging, difficult and totally unplanned/unexpected process.

The absorption entailed the expansion and diversification of the Agency’s areas of activity. Besides exhibitions and events, HM also became involved in the care of its vast heritage, especially in enhancing capital, rehabilitation and maintenance work, research and conservation, acquisitions, and European and other international projects.

For the MCR the change implied a not always well-accepted scrambling of the former hierarchy, a new definition of roles and responsibilities, and a quick adaptation to new chiefs and a new organisational culture. In fact, the MCR people were offered, in most cases, less convenient work conditions due to the need to harmonise them with the ones in force under HM (lower salaries, lower hierarchical positions, more working hours). Only in very few cases did the change lead to an improvement in the working conditions. As a consequence, many former MCR employees quit – mainly the maintenance staff (due to the less favourable conditions in terms of working hours) and 8 out of 9 foreign conservators (due to reduced salaries) – while all of the 15 teachers, local conservators and former MCR managers joined HM.

The rationales for the transformation included managerial reasons such as the will to consolidate and better coordinate – by merging – the management and conservation of the

national cultural heritage. This would entail cost cutting, simplification in the planning, controlling and managing functions of two entities whose degree of cooperation and interaction was already very high (some employees from HM previously worked part-time in MCR educational programs, for instance). The opportunity of a merge of the two organisations seems pertinent in this framework, but the question of who should have absorbed whom has no obvious answer at all: HM was less than 1½ year old and was already well into its start-up process, whereas the MCR – although also young– was more solid and experienced as an organisation (counting on 6 years of continuous activity). Hence the decision about the absorption apparently contains a dose of irrationality and/or some implicit political or personal agendas.

The long integration process initiated by the change is still ongoing. After two years of turmoil, most of the hostile situations – although still existing – seem to be under resolution. HM is striving to manage the change, particularly focusing on team building and cooperation through the training programs it provides to its management team. However, some employees point out that much less is done for the lower-level staff.

Today, HM is cooling down after its volcanic, controversial, and yet successful beginning. Enormous efforts have been made to initiate the organisation– an organisation including over 20 museums and sites and almost 250 employees – and some positive outcomes have been achieved. According to the management team, the Agency seems to have found its identity and credibility and should now be more focused on coordinating and consolidating itself, both from an internal and external perspective.

4. Major results and achievements

If at a first glance HM presently appears as an “elegant” case of the implementation of the cultural heritage reform, revisiting the entire process suggests a more complex and problematic situation. Such a less optimist view is grounded on a longitudinal analysis of performances (both financial and in terms of visitors).

HM’s financial results (2003-2006)

Before commenting on HM’s financial results (2003-2006: table 4), a methodological preamble is needed. HM’s accounting system works on an accrual basis, regularly presenting its Annual Reports. It is interesting to note that a financial expert (Pierre Sammut, the present Head of the Finance and Business division) joined the organisation only in mid 2004, i.e. two years after HM’s foundation: before that, only inexperienced cash-based accounts had been kept. This obliged the new Head of the Finance and Business division to begin the complex process of reconstructing ex-post the accrual accounts for the two years prior to his arrival, in order to have a complete and reliable picture of HM’s economic results.

Furthermore, every consideration on income and cost trends will have to consider two particular circumstances. First, HM's financial year begins in October, as the Agency was legally founded in September 2002. However, the first financial year is composed of only 9 months, as HM began to actively operate in January 2003. Such a circumstance does not allow direct comparisons between data from the first financial year and the following years. Second, it also needs to be underlined that up to mid-2005, the Malta Centre for Restoration had not been incorporated into HM; thus the last financial year, 2005-2006, is the first one referring to HM's expanded activity after the change.

The whole picture reflects a positive financial performance. All amounts increased: the progressive increase of costs (+126%), government funding (+115%) and earned income (+130%) testify to HM's expansion. HM closed its first financial year with a 96,156 Lm surplus and its fourth year with a 154,391 Lm surplus (table 3). Such results are indeed positive, especially considering the structural deficit often characterising cultural organisations.

In spite of positive trends of HM's financial results, the financial year of 2003-2004 registered a 500,000 Lm deficit (1.7 million US\$). This loss was due to the enlargement of HM's activity: this generated a considerable expansion in its costs, not compensated by a parallel increase in public appropriation, but instead accompanied by a reduction of public funds⁶.

In the following year, 2004-2005, the Agency realized outstanding performance, generating a surplus of almost 260,000 Lm (about 886,000 US\$) – indeed remarkable, especially considering the deficit situation of the previous year. However, that was mainly due to the notable intensification of public funding and only secondarily to an increase in earned income. The latter, although increased as well, would still not have been sufficient to break even. Data for 2004-2005 testifies to considerable efforts in efficiency as well: if the income indicated a 51% increase, costs showed just a 4% increase, thanks to the new attention on the use and control of resources since the establishment of a proper Finance and Business division.

Data confirms, thus, that HM is effective in generating resources, but also shows that its performance strongly depends on government funding variability over the years.

Table 4 – Income and costs accounts (2003-2006)

	2003	2003-2004	2004-2005	2005-2006
Earned income	629.673	923.866	1.284.499	1.452.879
Entrance fees	625.050	909.249	1.230.810	1.370.181
Publications	416	676	12.716	12.015
Service charges	2.314	712	4.515	2.076
Donations and other	1.893	4.759	2.341	107
Rentals	0	8.318	9.926	
Filming and seminar	0	152	575	
Royalties	0	0	2.105	1.967
Other income events	0	0	20.785	65.898
Tender fees	0	0	726	635
Consolidated fund (recurrent)	857.000	730.500	1.221.493	1.842.863
Tot income	1.486.673	1.654.366	2.505.992	3.295.742
Operational costs	1.241.269	1.853.461	1.962.415	2.598.337
Bonuses to tour operations				3.530
Salaries and wages	1.061.166	1.626.136	1.681.314	2.130.833
Cleaning	8.943	15.746	13.211	40.330
Repairs and maintenance	26.404	41.450	26.411	44.296
Police security	58.515	19.727	36.247	78.107
Water and electricity	36.878	24.245	36.964	57.288
Telecommunication	20.343	36.261	37.438	38.736
Ticketing expenses	7.945	16.943	22.635	22.125
General staff costs	1.301	6.998	4.144	8.157
Exhibitions and events	9.875	10.947	15.001	20.910
Medical expenses	256	258	462	1.601
Libraries	791	4.269	1.697	6.005
Acquisitions and restorations	8.852	34.244	13.230	73.251
Exhibition costs	0	10.941	42.019	66.339
Publications	0	5.296	11.642	5.438
Premium paid	0	0	20.000	1.391
Admin. Costs	149.762	302.396	285.526	543.014
Directors fees			16.260	16.800
Transport expenses	12.474	18.793	21.358	22.858
Telecommunication expenses	914	2.358	3.606	6.795
Printing, postages and stationery	3.997	14.869	7.780	11.985
Rent	74.250	103.805	110.965	109.092
Hospitality and accommodations	3.465	14.188	14.213	26.807
Subscription and membership fees	672	3.729	683	1.437
Professional and audit fees	6.479	24.669	18.267	31.299
Sundry expenses	1.763	3.373	2.107	2.439
Depreciation	29.107	76.327	103.918	246.566
Bank charges	60	319	926	1.246
Fines	16.581	0	0	0
Staff training	0	1.554	1.863	10.983
Hagar Qim competition expenses	0	38.412	0	0
Marketing costs	0	0	2.218	9.998
Gain on exchange	0	0	-2.378	-2.767
EU costs				18.462
Lecturing expenses				11.683
Provision for impairment of debtors				17.331
Total costs	1.391.031	2.155.857	2.247.941	3.141.351
(Deficit)/surplus before interest	95.642	-501.491	258.051	154.391
Interest receivable	514	514	1.420	2.975
(Deficit)/surplus	96.156	-500.977	259.471	157.366

Note: amounts expressed in Maltese Liri, Lm

* 2003 accounts refer only to the nine months comprised between January and September.

Source: adaptation from Heritage Malta, Annual Reports and Consolidated Financial Statements (2003, 2003-2004, 2004-2005, 2005-2006)

6 Pierre Sammut admits that in the complex process of reconstructing ex post economic accounts referring to the first two financial years, it is likely – due to the lack of appropriate documentation – that some expenses actually referring to 2003 were entered in the 2004 account instead, thus escalating 2004 expenses.

A focus on the mechanism regulating public financial intervention for HM deserves particular attention, as it allows for some reflections on the issue of autonomy of the Agency. Government subvention is transferred to HM on the basis of the presentation of a specific estimate (budget and annual plan) within the wider three-years business plan; the forecast of the Agency must then be approved by the Ministry for Tourism and Culture, together with the Ministry for Finances. As previously observed, a (deliberately?) ambiguous passage of the law concerns the destination of any potential financial surplus, which can alternatively remain at HM's disposition or be absorbed by the Government. In this regard, it must be noted that in the last financial year 2005-2006 HM was allowed for the first time to keep its own surplus in order to re-invest it in the activities of the upcoming financial years. This fact, although positive, is a result to be negotiated every year with the Ministry, more than something explicitly and univocally recognized by the law. Indeed the most critical point is that such a system is everything but an incentive for efficiency in HM: if the Agency is, as shown, efficiency-oriented, it is only thanks to common sense of its financial and top management team.

HM's attendance performance (2003-2005)

Effectiveness will be considered here in the Agency's performance in organising activities and in reaching the public. Between 2003 and 2005 (table 5), HM marked a considerable increase in its activities (+116%): 86 events (exhibitions, lectures and other events) in 2003, 171 in 2003-2004 and 186 in 2004-2005 – an average of one activity every two days – both in the country (in all museums/sites) and abroad. The increase particularly affected the number of lectures and other events. Exhibitions increased less markedly (+34%): in particular, HM increased the hospitality and participation in exhibitions held by others, while it organised fewer “in-house” exhibitions. Such performance is surprisingly high, considering both that HM was still in its very infant phase and compared to the performance of the Museums Department administration. Reports from the Museums Department activity in 2000 and 2001 attest a participation of the Maltese museums in no more than 9-10 exhibitions and very few other events per year, mainly organised, participated or hosted by the National Museum of Archaeology and by the Fine Arts Museum.

Table 5 – Heritage Malta’s events (2003-2005)

	2003*	2003-2004	2004-2005	Δ % 2003-2005
Exhibitions	32	48	43	34,4
organized by HM	12	15	8	-33,3
organized by HM in collaboration with others	8	22	10	25,0
participated by HM	6	3	8	33,3
hosted by HM	6	8	17	183,3
Lectures	21	67	63	200,0
organized by HM	5	23	30	500,0
hosted by HM	16	44	33	106,3
Events	33	56	80	142,4
organized by HM	9	16	28	211,1
by HM in collaboration with others	10	27	45	350,0
hosted by HM	14	13	7	-50,0
OVERALL EVENTS	86	171	186	116,3

* Events in 2003 refer only to the nine months comprised between January and September.

Source: adaptation from Heritage Malta, Annual Reports and Consolidated Financial Statements (2003, 2003-2004, 2004-2005)

Table 6 offers an overview of the number of visitors in all of HM’s museums and sites opened to the public between 2003 and 2006. In general terms, Maltese cultural heritage attracts a large audience, welcoming every year an average of one million visitors. This should not be taken as an achievement specific to HM, since the average audience performance is in line with that registered by the Museum Department before the foundation of HM (Department of Museums Report, 2001). Actually, table 6 shows a considerable decrease in visitors’ attendance during the four years of activity (-12% between 2003-2004 and 2005-2006).

Table 6 – Total visitors per site (2003-2005)

MUSEUM or SITE	Location: Malta/ Gozo	YEAR 1 (2003*)	YEAR 2 (2003-2004)			YEAR 3 (2004-2005)			YEAR 4 (2005-2006)			D visitors Year 2 and Year 4
		TOTAL	Free	Paying	TOTAL	Free	Paying	TOTAL	Free	Paying	TOTAL	
Ggantija Temples	G	120.332	11.012	157.884	168.896	3.986	152.635	156.621	2.543	151.035	153.578	-9,07%
Palace State Rooms	M	67.609	2.639	108.187	110.826	2.598	144.813	147.411	2.479	127.267	129.746	17,07%
Tarxien Temples	M	80.495	7.357	102.264	109.621	1.945	98.773	100.718	2.075	103.117	105.192	-4,04%
Hagar Qim Temples	M	85.009	11.492	119.019	130.511	4.025	123.669	127.694	573	102.378	102.951	-21,12%
Palace Armoury	M	89.675	5.720	107.598	113.318	3.402	77.172	80.574	4.336	81.282	85.618	-24,44%
National Museum of Archaeology	M	60.109	6.318	82.445	88.763	2.707	80.204	82.911	2.659	80.885	83.544	-5,88%
St.Paul's Catacombs	M	71.723	3.883	93.569	97.452	2.551	97.201	99.752	2.330	78.449	80.779	-17,11%
Ghar Dalam Cave and Museum	M	55.900	6.618	70.449	77.067	4.354	68.512	72.866	3.604	55.641	59.245	-23,13%
National War Museum	M	45.610	5.180	55.062	60.242	2.492	55.386	57.878	2.852	47.737	50.589	-16,02%
Mnajdra Temples	M	0	10.169	49.480	59.649	3.066	45.807	48.873	32	37.270	37.302	-37,46%
Inquisitor's Palace	M	28.064	5.226	42.993	48.219	488	50.006	50.494	3.062	29.465	32.527	-32,54%
Domvs Romana	M	0	0	0	0	2.374	19.339	21.713	1.694	24.928	26.622	
Hypogeum	M	15.733	842	20.323	21.165	0	21.541	21.541	412	23.358	23.770	12,31%
Malta Maritime Museum	M	20.504	3.676	24.453	28.129	2.326	25.294	27.620	2.865	17.184	20.049	-28,72%
National Museum of Fine Arts	M	18.732	1.475	22.111	23.586	535	22.296	22.831	1.064	17.801	18.865	-20,02%
National Museum of Natural History	M	13.054	4.919	12.834	17.753	4.517	15.669	20.186	3.411	15.224	18.635	4,97%
The Old Prison	G	10.470	2.050	10.971	13.021	1.186	14.206	15.392	760	12.238	12.998	-0,18%
Museum of Archaeology	G	14.759	3.019	13.791	16.810	1.019	11.876	12.895	751	9.820	10.571	-37,11%
Ta' Kola Windmill	G	15.727	3.817	8.703	12.520	2.151	7.788	9.939	1.498	6.977	8.475	-32,31%
Folklore Museum	G	14.309	2.492	11.067	13.559	1.640	10.190	11.830	727	7.678	8.405	-38,01%
Natural Science Museum	G	7.307	2.345	7.542	9.887	1.268	6.603	7.871	654	6.110	6.764	-31,59%
TOTAL		835.121	100.249	1.120.745	1.220.994	48.630	1.148.980	1.197.610	40.381	1.035.844	1.076.225	-11,86%

* Visitors in 2003 are registered only for the nine months comprised between January and September.

Source: adaptation from Heritage Malta, Annual Reports and Consolidated Financial Statements (2003, 2003-2004, 2004-2005, 2005-2006)

Moreover, HM is not satisfied with the composition of its audience: “Visitors are about one million, but the Maltese component is negligible, except for the schools. Our national cultural heritage is taken for granted; it is not enough appreciated by the local population yet” (Mario Cutajar, head Visitor Service division). Also, in the SWOT analysis drafted in the Business Plan 2006-2009, the Agency recognises that tourists seem to have higher expectations from their visits to museums and sites.

All together, HM’s effectiveness results are not as high as claimed: the Agency largely increased its activity, but this did not meet (yet?) an adequate response from the visitors’ side – not in terms of increased audience, nor of its composition (still mainly tourists), nor of visitors’ satisfaction.

5. Discussion: Managerialism at HM?

An assessment of the transformation at HM will be carried out under a double perspective. On the one hand, specificities and inconsistencies of the managerial transformation will be pointed out in order to de-emphasise a view which is perhaps too optimistic. On the other hand, a comparison with analogous processes of institutional transformation in the cultural heritage field will be developed.

Some internal inconsistencies

Some possible internal inconsistencies in the discourse about management can be addressed with reference to HM, the notion of autonomy, and more in general the overall reform.

The Cultural Heritage Act formally conferred a considerable level of managerial autonomy to the new Agency, i.e. the faculty of directly administering crucial issues (such as personnel and scientific activities) at national museums/sites and “getting rid” of public sector bureaucratic procedures. As previously stated, human resources management is central in HM’s internal policies and is probably one of the most evident aspects of privatisation in the management style of the cultural heritage sector in Malta. Nevertheless, in our viewpoint, the real level of autonomy in human resources management is still limited: first, a large portion of HM’s employees were civil servants directly transferred from the Museums Department without constraints, budgets or plans for human resources needs for skills and posts; second, all human resources policies concerning recruitment, upgrades, restructuring of the organisational design, etc., although promoted by HM, must be always submitted for ministerial approval.

The law also called for financial autonomy for the entities. HM indeed established its own financial and business division and its own accountability system. However, all budgeted and actual expenses keep falling under government control and approval. What is more, as underlined before, the destination of surplus is “clearly ambiguous”, preventing any incentive mechanism in efficiency and limiting the actual level of financial autonomy and responsibility.

Thus far, the reform has been assessed only focusing on HM's experience – the protagonist of this institutional change and the target of this small study. For a more complete picture it must be noted that, if the reform seems to have been – in spite of all – successful for HM, this is not exactly the case (not yet?) for the regulatory entity established under the same law and under the same conditions in terms of autonomy: the Superintendence. The Superintendence is composed by no more than 10 members, all public officers reporting to the Ministry for Tourism and Culture. The lack of planning for human resources during the reforming process on the one hand, and the fact that no recruitment process has been undertaken by the entity (even though additional personnel has been repeatedly requested to the Ministry) on the other, are causes for the present understaffed situation. Moreover, the activity of the Superintendence is 100% dependant on Government's funding, since this institution did not develop any form of entrepreneurial initiative, mainly due to the fact that the nature of its functions is only regulatory (the Superintendence is in charge of surveillance, inventory and advisory activities). Therefore, in procedural terms, if the HM financial autonomy and the autonomy in human resources recruitment/organisation are limited yet existent, in the case of the Superintendence, no form of financial or organisational autonomy exists at all. In substantive terms, the expansion of HM – one could argue – happened at the detriment of the Superintendence, at least in terms of human resource.

Comparing HM and the controversial experiences of the British Museum and Pompeii

To what extent can the transformation of the Maltese cultural sector be relevant in relation to the introduction of some NPM principles? In addition, to what extent is there anything specific in the HM case history regarding the general echoing of managerialism in the museum sector? In this regard, a comparative analysis is worthwhile. All in all, managerial changes are such “soft processes”, always dressed with similar managerial rhetoric which can hide differences in various situations. Based on previous research, the benchmark for our comparative analysis will be the British Museum (hereinafter BM) and Pompeii (Zan 2000 and 2002).

The BM was largely consumed by the new wind of managerialism in public sector organizations in the 1990's. The turning point was a report on the museum's management situation (Edwards Report, 1996), which led to substantial changes towards a more private-like business model. The BM rejected some radical changes suggested in the Report (e.g. the introduction of an entrance fee, or drastic staff reduction), but it implemented many of its recommendations regarding contracts, reporting and accounting systems, commercial activities etc. All in all, the process led to some positive results, but also to a crisis in 2000, due to a contingent reason – unforeseen current expenses and additional human resources needs related to the opening of the Great Court – and also to, more in general, internal conflicts, confusion in roles, responsibilities and identity of the institution.

The *Soprintendenza* of Pompeii became an “Autonomous Superintendence” by decree in 1997. At a formal level, it moved from the State administration (with centralized, bureaucratic administrative procedures and archaic forms of financial accountability) to a more autonomous administration. In this view, the transformation had a highly innovative potential. However, the main limitation of the reform was the fact that personnel management (i.e. 2/3 of the budget) firmly remained in the hands of the Ministry.

A comparison between the three cases will be drafted on the base of some milestones characterizing managerial transformation of public sector institutions (table 7).

a) Institutional design and organisational structure

- Origin: law-driven for Pompeii and HM, based on practice and consultancy report for the BM; while Pompeii and the BM were already existing entities, HM was created in the process (as cultural heritage formerly administered by the Museum Department, a branch of the Ministry itself);
- Legal status: still a local branch of the Ministry for Pompeii; a NDPB (Non-departmental public body) sponsored by the DCMS for the BM; a National Agency ("body corporate having a distinct legal personality"), functioning as the operating agency of the Ministry for Tourism and Culture for HM;
- Top management and governance structure: a controversial dual structure at the BM (the introduction of a managing director parallel to the director, at least until 2002, when the two positions were unified again) within the Board of Trustees governing body; a board of (three) directors for Pompeii, composed by a Superintendent and another archaeologist, plus the “City Manager” with managerial and finance skills; a board of directors (composed by five to nine individuals with backgrounds in heritage management and conservation), the establishment of a non-executive Chairman, and the introduction of a CEO with managerial competences rather than scientific for HM. Interesting to note, the BM and HM share a more radical view of managerialism, with relatively less power given to professionals at the top level, in comparison to Pompeii. Controversies have been extensive for the BM, with serious tension with unions, harsh criticism by specialists and debates in the press. Similarly, serious criticism can be found for Pompeii, particularly in terms of the actual implementation of the reform, with a persistent intrusiveness of political influences (the second “city manager” was a retired Air Force General, a rather bizarre background for such a position). Very little controversy, on the contrary, seems to have taken place in Malta, showing a deeply rooted legitimating process.

Table 7 – Managerial transformation in cultural heritage: an international comparison

Issues	POMPEII	BRITISH MUSEUM	HERITAGE MALTA
<i>a) Institutional design and organisational structure</i>			
Origin	Law driven. Reform of pre-existing entity.	Consultancy report. Reform of pre-existing entity.	Law driven. Brand new entity.
Legal status	Local branch of the Ministry.	Non Departmental Public Body.	National Agency.
Governance structure	Three directors (Superintendent, Senior Archaeologist, City Manager).	Dual structure: director + managing director (then unified). Board of trustees.	CEO with managerial skills. Non-executive Chairman. Board of directors (managerial and conservation skills).
<i>b) Accountability, “business model” and incentive mechanisms</i>			
Accountability	Partial accountability: financial statement not including personnel costs.	Full accountability: ordinary accounting system.	Full accountability: ordinary accounting system.
Information disclosure	No access to documents.	All documents are publicly available (website).	All documents are available on request.
Business model	“Messy”: income from tickets (used for extraordinary expenses); ministerial grant for part of current expenses; personnel expenses accounted for and controlled by Government.	“Elegant”: one-block-grant.	“Traditional”: Yearly application for public funding + earned income from tickets and other.
Incentive mechanisms	Partial responsibility (top management not accounting for 2/3 of the budget, i.e. personnel costs). Perverse mechanism: outsourcing would benefit the Ministry while charging the Superintendence.	Top management fully responsible for surplus/ deficit. Full incentive mechanism.	No incentive mechanism: continuous bargaining process with the Ministry for public grant, destination of surplus, HRM decisions.
<i>c) Human resources and managerial discourse</i>			
Human resources management	Totally upon Government.	Private-like	Private-like, yet ministerial control.
Managerial rhetoric	Poor.	Redundant.	Redundant and partly misleading.

b) Accountability, “business model” and incentive mechanisms

The concept of accountability is central in a genuine NPM transformation. Through the process of change following the Edwards Report, the BM established an ordinary accounting system (interesting to stress that this occurred so late!), producing an annual report according to accounting standards. HM also presents an ordinary financial statement, yet the first two years were managed without an ad hoc accounting director, with significant delays in the development of such crucial documents. Pompeii presents a “partial accountability”, with a financial statement that does not consider personnel costs. In all cases, the initial situation of centrally-itemized budget is overcome.

Information disclosure – normally associated with similar processes – presents striking differences: the BM financial statement can be easily downloaded from the museum’s web site (in addition to the minutes of the board meetings!); you receive what you ask for from HM, generously also referring to internal documents (not just a publicly available financial statement, but the three-year plan, the budget etc.). It is impossible to receive anything from Pompeii (documents are not available to public; even trade unions were unable to attain them).

Indeed the “business model” – here intended as the financial mechanism of income and costs characterizing each entity according to its institutional design – is very different in the three cases:

- the very “elegant”, highly consistent solution of the one-block grant for the BM (where the museum receives money from the government according to a unique, long term decision, i.e. is largely funded by public resources, plus some individual commercial activities, as a long-term strategic choice);
- the incredibly messy solution of Pompeii, where the entity earns resources from tickets, to be used for extraordinary expenses (restoration), while the Ministry still covers (a few) current expenses, and where personnel expenses do not appear in Pompeii’s budget, being completely accounted for and controlled by the Ministry;
- the more traditional solution at HM, where the entities apply to the Ministry for public funding through a regular yearly budgeting procedure, then integrating it with additional income earned by tickets and other initiatives.
- Moreover, the variety of solutions in terms of incentive mechanisms is surprising:
- Once again, the most “elegant” solution is the one-block grant by the BM: top management is totally responsible for surplus/deficit, having total autonomy in deciding how to manage resources to fulfil results.
- Pompeii provides an example that could appear to be of partial responsibility (the top management is not in charge of personnel costs, about 2/3 of the overall resources spent in the site). However, there is a perverse mechanism in this solution, whereby any outsourcing decision aiming at increasing efficiency would benefit the Ministry budget (reducing personnel costs) and be a penalty in the Pompeii financial statement (expenses for outsourced services would then be charged to it).
- The reform gives HM a considerable but controversial level of autonomy, due to the ambiguity of the law: whether savings will be turned to (and deficits covered by) the government is not a stable rule. In this respect, HM is totally accountable for 100% of its resources; however, the extent of responsibility and autonomy actually depends on a continuous bargaining process with the Ministry (for the amount of public funding, the destination of surplus, and many HRM decisions), making the whole reform more ambiguous than it claims to be.

c) Human resources and managerial discourse

If possible, differences in terms of human resources management (HRM) between the three cases are even greater, despite the alleged similarity in managerialization processes (new patterns in managing human resources being one of the triggering elements in most of the transformation processes in the current public sector):

- HRM in BM is totally taking advantage of private-like rules and styles (e.g. the direct ways in which the top management was able to solve the so-called “shoe allowances” issues);
- Pompeii totally lacks this opportunity: the only change regarded the introduction of the city manager himself, yet without the power to hire anyone nor to bring with him his own “team”, being that the personnel is totally managed at the Ministry level, according to public open call rules;
- HRM has showed to be controversial at HM: on the one hand the reform accorded autonomy to the CEO in introducing private rules and styles and redefining numbers and skills of employees, in constant expansion over time; on the other hand human resources policies are subject to ministerial control.

Accordingly, efficiency as such was one of the major issues in the case of the BM (with serious survival threats at certain points in time), yet was a non-issue in Pompeii (no one could even think of an alternative organisation of labour to reduce costs), and was also not an issue at HM, where effectiveness achievements in managing current operations were what makes it possible to attain additional resources (partly from earned income, but still with generous funding by the central government).

Operating mechanisms differently reflect the diffusion of managerial discourses, with the generous production of strategic plans for action, business plans, institutional reporting on the private corporate model, although formal and redundant rhetoric themselves in many aspects, yet capable in addressing attention and setting priorities. Interestingly enough, this occurred at HM perhaps more than at the BM, but certainly nothing of this kind can be found in Pompeii. Likewise, frequent management and staff meetings and efforts for trainings can be found at HM.

Surely, management style aspects are involved, particularly at HM, where we noticed a diffused and redundant rhetoric in all of the interviews: “to be outward looking”, “to welcome our guests, instead of admitting visitors”, “challenges and not weaknesses”, “mission statements”, “to build teamwork versus individualism within the organisation”, “from object-based culture to a people-based organisation”, etc. In this regard, HM seems much closer to the BM style – see the Edwards Report, a typical example of best practices and “general management handbook prescriptions”, where some of the same expressions were used (and later criticized), e.g. “strategic approach”, “modern managerial practices” “outward/inward looking”, “flat organisation”, etc. – and maybe to the Anglo-Saxon managerial culture more in general. The Pompeii transformation is much less rhetoric-driven.

6. Conclusion

Although it would be naïve to assess shortly whether one of the three solutions works or not (indeed, important improvements in customer services can be found in all three cases), in terms of accountability, responsibility and actual autonomy, the impression is that of a more consistent pattern for the BM, an incomplete/contradictory solution for Pompeii, and a more undetermined one for HM. Rather than trying to rank the value of the three solutions, however, some important implications could be developed by such a comparison.

First, though within similar pressure towards a change in the public sector, a huge variety in solutions can be found under the general label of managerial transformation. In this sense, it could apparently seem that HM is closer to the BM and the Anglo-Saxon tradition, from the “arm’s length principle” to the New Public Management movement. However, there are also signs pointing to the other direction: HM is close to a more Mediterranean/Italian culture as well, with a law-driven, incomplete transformation – more formal than substantial when it comes to complete responsibility – still centralized and within a process that did not solve serious problems of regulation and preservation inside the Superintendence. Furthermore, both HM and Pompeii suggest the possibility of forms of hybridisation between “new” trends and local administrative trajectories, particularly in countries with a tradition of direct involvement of the State in the administration of the Arts.

Second, our analysis confirms how understanding change is not easy, particularly “in real time” reconstructions, aiming at “catching reality in flight” as stated by Pettigrew (1985). Such efforts end up with less elegant story telling compared to “official” ones, where mistakes, unintended consequences, surprises, etc. are widespread (in a sense, revisiting HM in these pages is echoing the more famous work by Pascale, 1984, on Honda’s success). In any case, understanding specificities and problems might help in managing change (rather than the obsession with “best practices”, another “buzz-word” phrase commonly used in managerial rhetoric).

Third, such processes of institutional transformation of public sector entities are not only incredibly difficult and controversial in any case, but they are even difficult to fully understand and compare, wherein the effectiveness of managerial rhetoric can be questioned. The very abuse of managerial rhetoric is something the authors are not sympathetic with, although – admittedly – in the context of HM it seemed to have had some impact. The feeling is that there is a condition in the HM transformation, hidden or at least difficult to acknowledge in its importance: the institutional discontinuity, wherein designing a totally new entity allowed for it to “play the game” and manage change, while at the same time extinguishing constraints (in terms of position and skills). More in general, however, it is interesting to underline how managerial rhetoric in itself, rather than helping in understanding differences, has the tendencies to hide them under such a generalist (and sometimes largely meaningless) language.

In conclusion, what emerges is the need for a new research agenda in the field of arts management. On the one hand, there is the need to expand to (well beyond what was done in

this paper) a more systematic international comparison, which is virtually missing at present. To what extent different archetypes/patterns and “models” can be identified – with their pros and cons – is something requiring significant field research efforts. In parallel, how “ideal types” tend to become hybridised or “bastardised” is an additional important empirical issue, which would help this understanding.

On the other hand, all this seems to call for the rediscovery of historical perspective in arts management – a perspective itself beyond mainstream management and its redundant rhetoric. In particular, a historical understanding seems to be needed at two different levels, as the three cases discussed in this paper suggest. First, a longitudinal perspective is needed in order to critically revisit short-term processes of these organizations (such as the evolution of the BM, Pompeii or HM in the last years/decade). Instead, moreover, a long-term understanding of administrative evolutionary processes (or administrative trajectories/inertia) is also needed, to better understand constraints, pitfalls and risks of change processes, or simply their sustainability.

This is likely to question a hidden assumption that seems to dominate the international debate in English speaking journals – that is, the unquestioned superiority of the Anglo-American tradition in this area, and in any case its status as sort of an “end of the road”, which all administrative traditions should aim at arriving to. Such a hidden assumption of natural isomorphism could be falsified by critically comparing arts management within an international perspective.

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