Creative Cities in Japan
Cultural Diversity and Networking

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1. From *Global City* to *Creative City*

The global society of the 21st century is undergoing a major paradigm shift, "from the nation state to the city". The "century of the city" is starting. The cities attracting attention in this process are not only the major urban centers known as "global cities" that monopolize global functions in economics, politics and culture, and which stand atop the global urban hierarchy system. People are also taking an interest in "creative cities" that cultivate creative art & culture and foster an innovative economic base.

The recent global financial crisis provided an opportunity to reconsider the trend of globalization based on market fundamentalism. As a result, many people have taken a more critical view of global cities like New York and expressed a preference for the alternative globalization based on mutual recognition of cultural and social diversity. Many cities are now attempting to stimulate and encourage their citizens by promoting creativity in art & culture and encouraging innovation in various areas to revive their economies.

From *Global City* to *Creative City*

■ **New urban Model under Globalization and**

   Knowledge Economy

The historical turning point is the 11ᵗʰ Sept.

Global City →9.11→ *Creative City*

global hierarchy	9.15	horizontal network
financial center		creative industry
bubble economy		urban sustainability
social risk		creative milieu

1. The Era of *Creative City*

The concept of "creative cities" has become firmly established as one of the representatives topics in the urban debates of the beginning of the 21st century, along with global cities, sustainable cities, or compact cities. Already it has become a principal topic in related world academic circles through the works of Peter Hall (Hall, 1998), Charles Landry (Landry, 2000), Richard Florida (Florida, 2002) . 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).

In recent years, especially in countries with severe economic depression such as China, South Korea, and Taiwan, cities that are making the promotion of the creative city and creative industries into policy goals are increasing, and they have started aiming towards city making with the high quality of life that is preferred by the creative class.

Global Network of *Creative Cities*

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, and developing countries throughout the world.

Prior to this, UNESCO performed the "Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity 2001" for the purpose of restraining standardization of the culture under the current globalization. Now 19 cities in the world and 3 cities in Japan, Kanazawa, Kobe and Nagoya are registered to the global network.

The author played a positive role to network creative cities in Japan.

Creative Milieu and the Creative Class

R. Florida

Creative People and Creative Class

new urban economy is driven by the location choices of creative people who prefer places that are rich in cultural diversity, nice amenity, tolerance to avant-garde and gay people.

Social Structure of Creativity

**new systems for technological creativity and entrepreneurship
new and more effective models for producing goods and services
a broad social, cultural and geographic milieu conducive to
creativity of all sorts.   (*The rise of the creative class*, 2002)**

Creative industries, the Creative Class

Creativity Indices according to R. Florida

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

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

Impact of Florida's theory

   Florida has 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. 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(Florida, 2005). .
   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.

Rethinking Creative City

But, attracting people of the "creative-class" does not automatically make a creative city.

As Allen Scott 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).

Ann Markusen attaches importance to the role of the cultural and economic sectors of the city in these days of the knowledge/information-based economy. 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).

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Culture Based Production Systems

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).

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Jacobs and Flexible System of Bologna

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.

Number of Models

Global Market

Mass Production

Flexible Specialization

Craft Production

Local Market

Number of Types

Post-Fordist Flexible Specialization
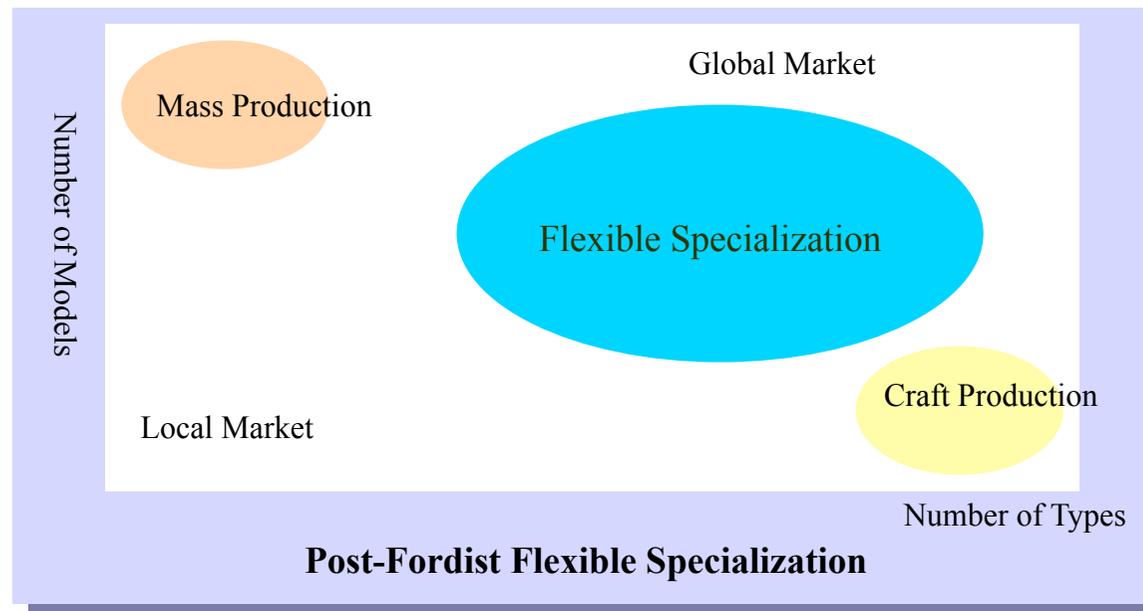
Cluster Policy for Creative Industries

  Andy Pratt 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).

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"Cultural Mode of Production System"

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.(Sasaki, 2007)
We can call this method of developing new industry for the development of the city economy through high-quality cultural capital the "cultural mode of production utilizing cultural capital."

In Japan and other developed societies, since a mass production and consumption system of cars and hi-tech electronics has declined in current global economic crisis, it seems that a shift towards creative economy based on the cultural mode of production becomes the urgent problem.

Cultural Mode of Production in the Creative Cities

Attracting and Training
of Creative Talents

Upgrade of Urban
Cultural Capital

Flexible Production with
High Tech and Creativity

Intra-regional Circulation
of Incomes

Cultural Investment and
Cultural Consumption

Demand Increase for
High Quality Goods

Upgrade of Urban
Consumption Market
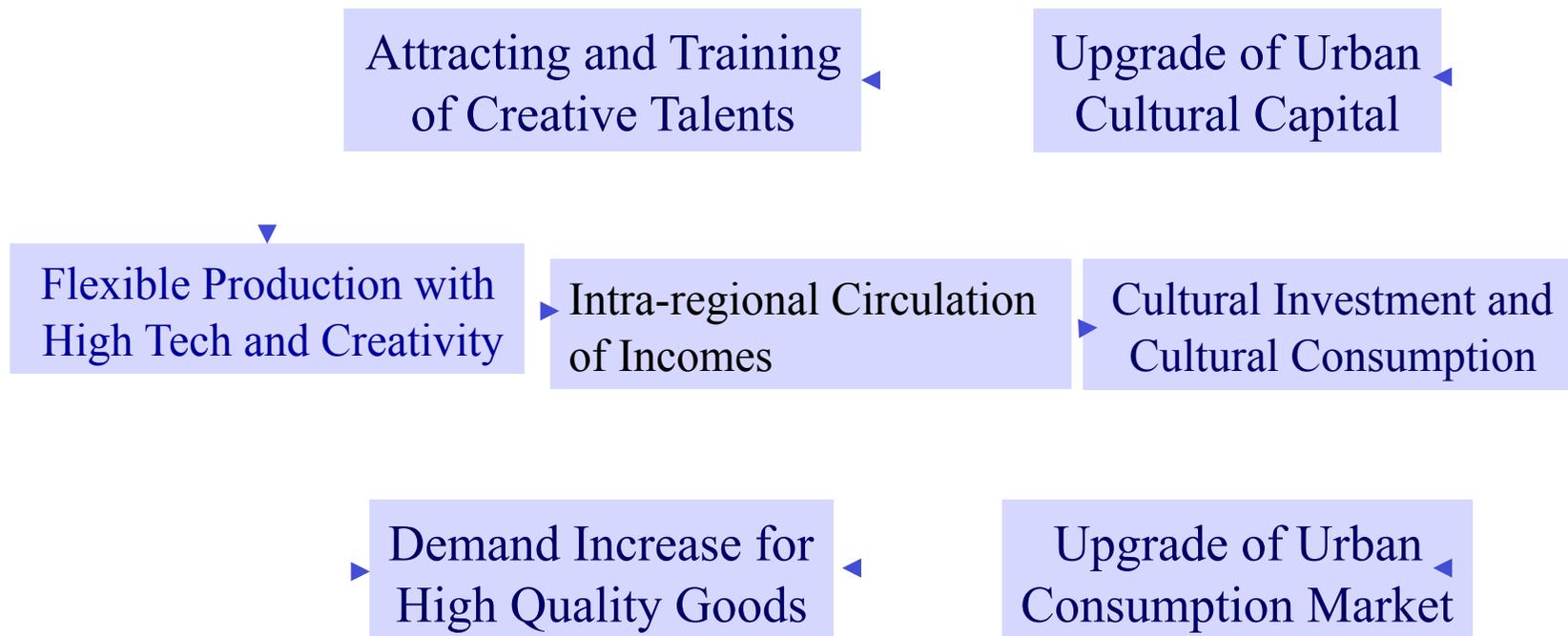
Creative Cities and Social Inclusion

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.

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 Amaratya Sen.

Creative Cities and Social Inclusion

Furthermore, as social inclusion has become an important theme in discussions of urban regeneration, Bianchini and Landry have stressed the need to foster the social independence and reintegration of the homeless peoples (Bianchini, 1997 ; Landry, 2000).

On the other hand, Florida's creative class seems the elitist notion and tends to raise social tensions .

In Japanese creative cities, some social experiments and practices of social inclusion through art projects just have begun.

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What is a Creative City ?

Through discussion with many scholar and specialists, the author defined the Creative City as follows :
   Cities that cultivate new trends in arts and culture and promote innovative and creative industries through the energetic creative activities of artists, creators and ordinary citizens,
   are rich in many diverse "creative milieus" and "innovative milieus",
   and have a regional, grass-roots capability to find solutions to social problems such as homeless peoples.

The author summarized *Creative City Indices* ;

Six Element of Creative City

First, not only artists, scientists, workers and craftsmen should involve themselves with creative work, but also all citizens should evolve (or expand) their free creative activity. As a result, they are able to feel satisfaction with their lives.

Second, the citizens should enjoy a high quality of life, and ordinary life of citizens should be artistic. To do so, it is necessary to ensure enough income and free time to be well off. In addition, reasonable price of high quality consumption goods should be supplied and arts & culture like the performing arts should be appreciated with low price.

Third, universities, technical schools, research institutes, theater, library, and cultural institutions which support creative activity of science and art in a city have to function as the creative support infrastructure.

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Six Element of Creative Cities

Fourth, the environmental policy is crucial. It preserves historical
heritage and a city's environment and improves amenity.
Consequently, citizens enhance their creativity and sensitivity.

Fifth, a city has to have the well-balanced economic basis
which supports sustainable and creative region.

Finally, in terms of public administration, the Creative City is
composed of the creative integrated urban policy,
unified cultural policy with industrial policy and environmental policy
under the democratic management of the public finance.

1	Creative Talents	the number and activity of artists, scientists, engineers and craftsmen
2	Quality of life	the wealthy of personal income, free time and expenditure for cultural affairs and entertainment ; richness of urban environment and amenities
3	Creative Industries	the number of firms and employments in the cultural creative industries, such as film, video, music, art and craft et.
4	Creative Support Infrastructure	the number and availability of universities, technical schools, research institutions, theaters, libraries, and cultural institutions
5	Heritage and Cultural Asset	the number and the preservation condition of tangible and intangible cultural assets which are documented by the public sector
6	Citizen's Activities	the conditions of NPO activities and women's participation in society
7	Creative Governance	positive citizen participation, ability of policy making and financial independency.

2. Creative City Challenges in Japan

Kanazawa, a creative & sustainable city

✓**Endogenous Development of Textile and Machinery Industries**
✓**Well Balance of Culture and Economy**

Kanazawa as a UNESCO Creative City

The City of Kanazawa, a "human scale" city of approximately 450,000 people, spreads out from the quiet rows of houses and the black luster of their tile roofs in the old urban district.

The clear water of the twin Sai and Asano Rivers flows through the city surrounded by a lifestyle that fosters traditional arts and crafts, blessed to sit within a lush and fertile natural mountain environment. In such a context, Kanazawa has been valued as a sustainable Creative City which maintains the high quality of life, and a balance between culture and the economy.

Creative Artisan Firms in Kanazawa City

Ishino Factory Ltd.   Automatic Sushi Conveyor System

Creative Artisan Firms in Kanazawa City

Hakuichi Ltd.

Gold Leafing, Design of Craft http://www.hakuichi.co.jp/top.htm www.takaitofu.com/index.htm
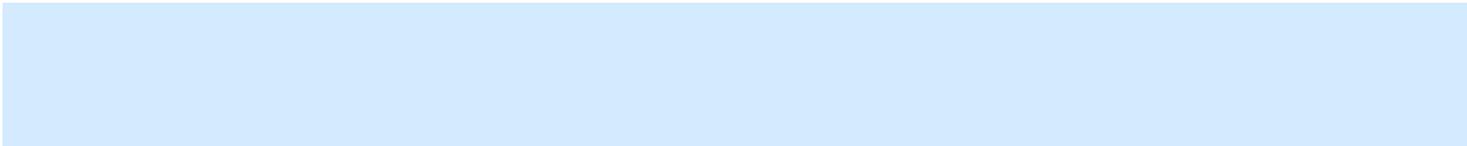
Challenge of Kanazawa Citizen's Art Village

Kanazawa is famous for preserving traditional arts & crafts and culture, but it is entering a new phase with this praiseworthy attempt to convert the discarded remains of modern industry into a "creative milieu" with the active participation of its citizens.

Citizen's Art Village

Challenge of Kanazawa Citizen's Art Village

In response to public opinion, old warehouses of textile factor yard designed to be used freely "24 hours a day, 365 days a year".

The buildings were remodeled to serve as space for performance as well as practice, and directors of these facilities were chosen

from ordinary citizens.

Kanazawa Citizen's Art Village

Drama

Old Warehouse

Contemporary Art and Creative Talents

Kanazawa 21st century Museum
"An art business is an investment to the future and training for a future creative talented person"
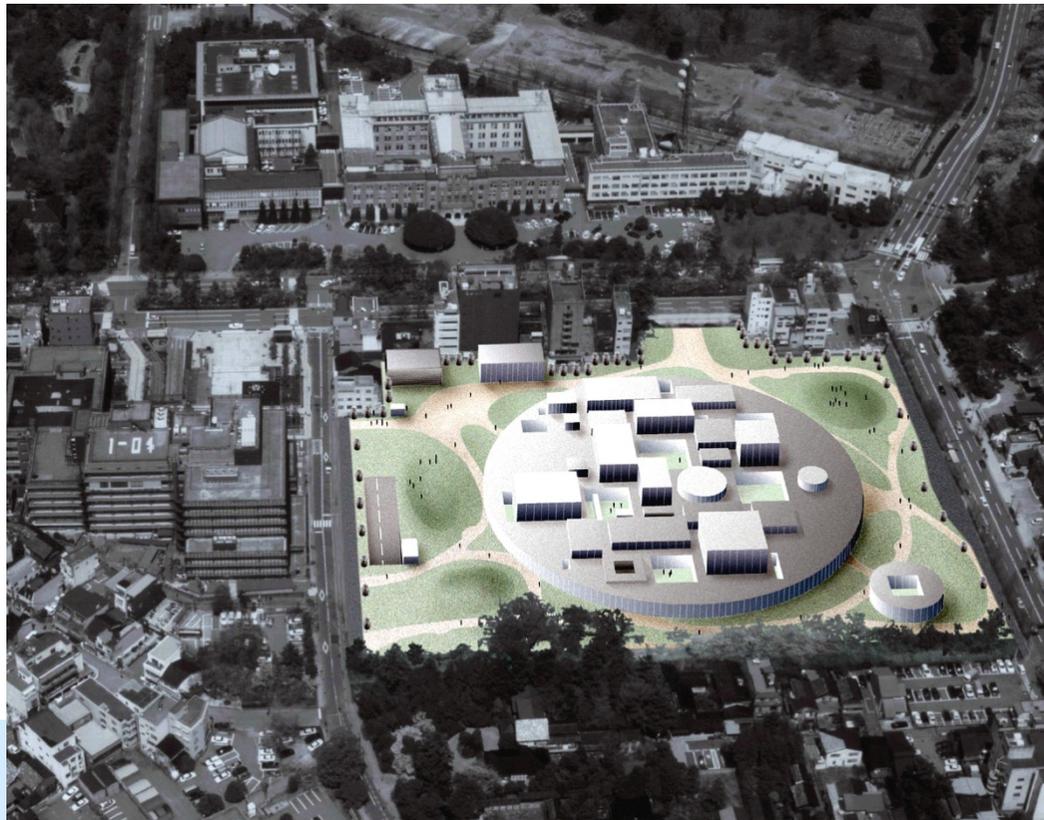
21st. Contemporary Art Museum

（Opened Nov. 2004）

Cultural Mode of Production in the Creative Cities

Attracting and Training of Creative Talents

Upgrade of Urban Cultural Capital

Flexible Production that applies High Technology

Intra-regional circulation of incomes

Cultural Investment and Consumption of Incomes

Demand Increase for High Quality Goods

Upgrade of Urban Consumption Market
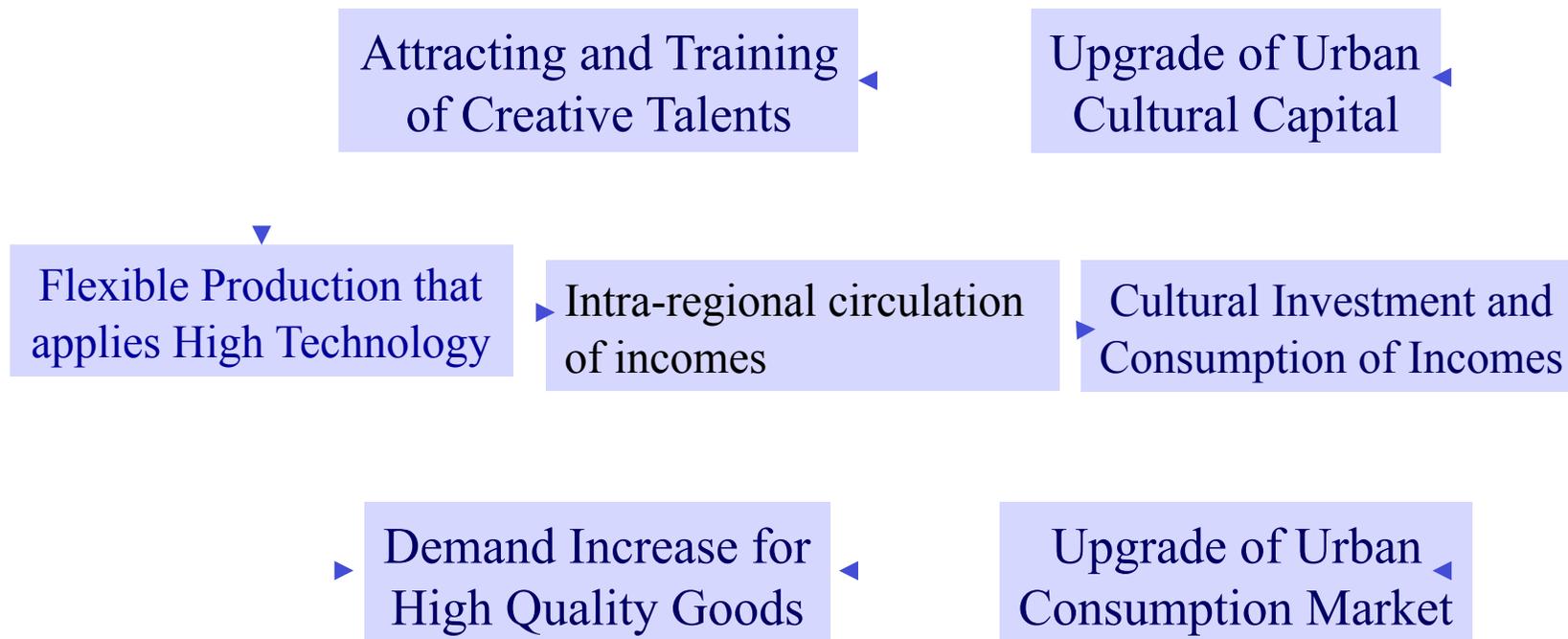
Culture and Economy of Kanazawa City

Export Industries

Electronic Machinery

Tourism

Trading

Food & Drink

Textile Machinery

Food Processing

Textile & Fashion Apparel

Parts & Tools

Books & Publishing

Local Industries

Arts & Crafts

Cultural Capital
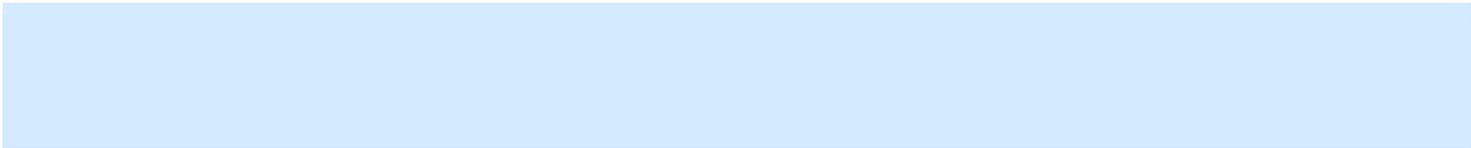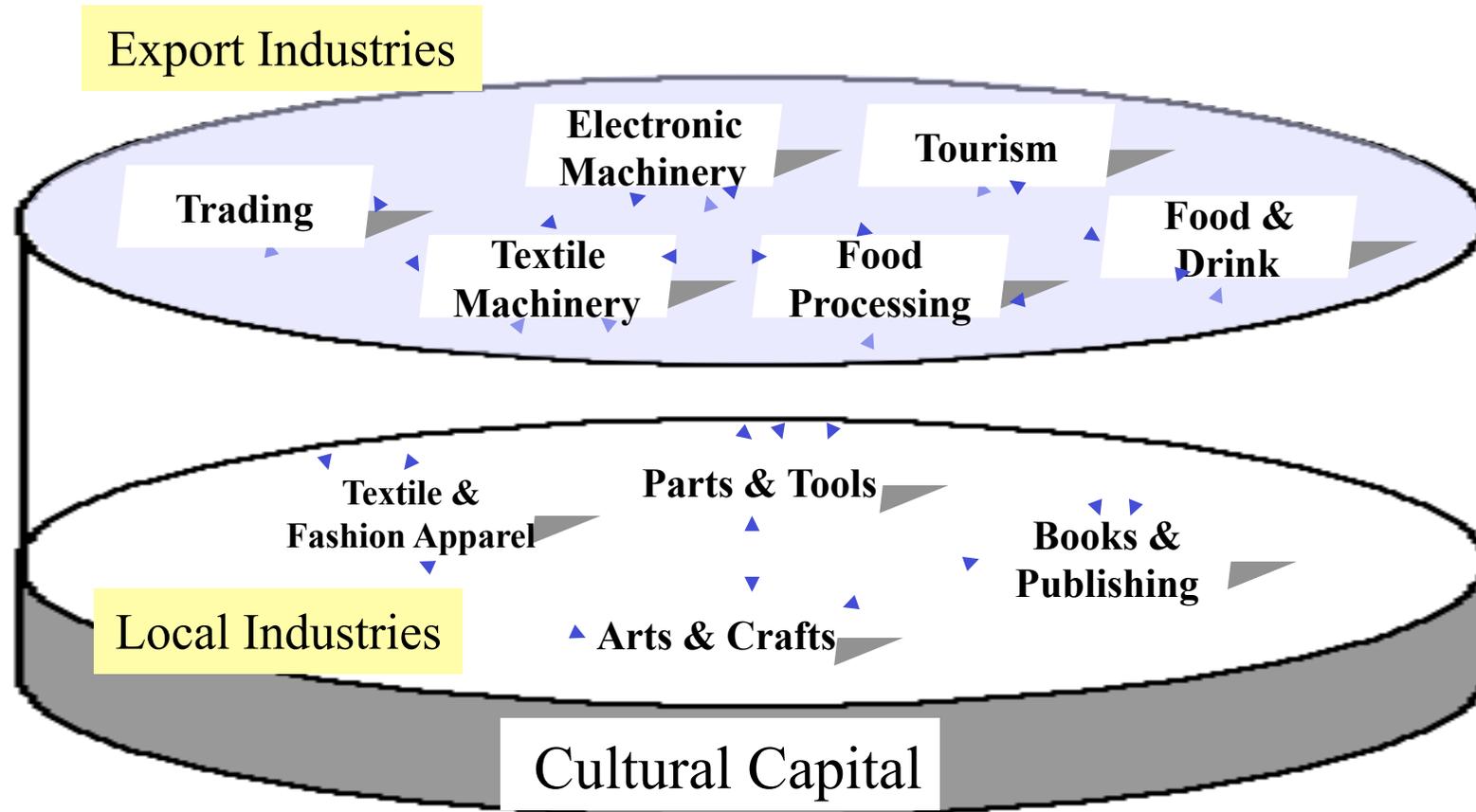
"Monozukuri Ordinance" (2009) and
the milieu of craftsmanship

Mayor of Kanazawa describes its aims as follows:

"I think that the present society has lost sight of the meaning 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."

Creative City Yokohama Experiment

Mayor founded the headquarters of creative city project in April, 2004 and started an action to "creative city Yokohama".

① Making the creative milieu for artists and creators

② Economic revitalization by fostering the creative cluster

③ Utilizing urban cultural resources

④ making the creative city through citizen participation

Goal until 2008

Creative City Yokohama

BankART1929 Yokohama
（ex. No.1 Bank）

BankART1929
Basyamichi（ex. Fuji Bank）

Social Inclusion through Art & Culture

　　Then an attempt to achieve social inclusion through art and culture has already started in various regions in Japan. In autumn 2008, an experimental event entitled 'Koganecho Bazaar' was held in the city of Yokohama, in conjunction with the 'Yokohama Triennale 2008'.
This event was hosted by Hatukou and Hinode areas where 250 special adult entertainment shops had concentrated since the chaotic days of the post-war era.
　　The special committee featured the participation of local residents, experts from universities and young artists played a central role in organizing an art event converting vacant stores into creative spaces.

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Osaka, a Socially Inclusive Creative City

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 Graduate Scholl for Creative Cities and Urban Research Plaza, and by 2006 Osaka City adopted a creative city strategy. However, in the fall of 2007, Mayor Seki, who had embraced these policies and incorporated them into his campaign platform, lost the mayoral election.

And next Mayor 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 situation there are still some notable grassroots movements in the realm of what could be called a socially inclusive creative city strategy.

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Osaka as a 'Creative City too Soon'

Osaka was once the foremost industrial city in Japan as well as a national center of finance and commerce. Today, however, it has the highest unemployment rate in the country.

The number of homeless people is increasing rapidly, factories are moving overseas, and headquarters of large corporations are moving to Tokyo.

Osaka's economy is rapidly deteriorating, and the city is in a historical period of decline.

Osaka as a Grassroots Creative City

There are many artists and creators in Osaka, but there is a shortage of talented producers and facilities for the incubation of creative industries (creative cultural infrastructure).

A number of private theaters have closed after the bursting of the economic bubble in Osaka.

In spite of these trends, I am keeping an eye on two ventures that have value as creative infrastructure and "creative milieu".

Osaka as a Grassroots Creative City

One is Outenin temple, a Buddhist temple that support a non-profit little theater for young actors using the main temple building as a theater, and Mebic Ogimachi, a creative business incubator opened 2003 in an old water bureau building in downtown Osaka.

It is necessary to develop emergency programs to foster creative people and to make "social structure of creativity" in Osaka.

Osaka as a Grassroots 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 toward the creative Osaka.
   And in 2007 a '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.

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Kanazawa, Yokohama and Osaka

When comparing the examples of the above three cities, a medium-scale historic city of Kanazawa is making a steady progress towards a creative city based on Bologna-type social capital with the initiative of the local businesses and citizens, involving the municipal government, while Yokohama is succeeding in forming an attractive and creative neighborhood to invite Florida-type creative class, and also has attained a positive outcome in the administrative efforts with mobility and cross-sectional cooperation led by the Creative City Headquarters. However, Yokohama has yet to establish a partnership with local businesses. On the other hand, Osaka is now creating a third model of creative city attempting to achieve social inclusion from the grassroots level although faced with an unexpected halt in the planned promotion of creative city due to the replacement of mayor. Its approach is expected to gain much attention as a new Japanese creative city.

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Lessons from Japanese Creative Cities

1. It is necessary to conduct an intensive analysis of the urban crises and problems, increase the shared awareness of citizens, clarify the need to become a "creative city," and formulate a creative city concept based on its embedded culture and cultural diversity.

2. In developing concepts, "artistic and cultural creativity" must be recognized as factors that have an impact on many other areas, including industry, employment, the social system, education, medical care, and the environment. In order to link cultural policy to industrial policy, urban planning, and environmental policy, the vertical administrative structure must be made horizontal, ordinary bureaucratic thinking must be eliminated, and organizational culture must be changed.

Lessons from Japanese Creative Cities

3. Art and culture must be recognized as central social infrastructures in the knowledge and information society, and systematic planning must be carried out to bring out the creativity of the city's people. Specifically, diverse "creative milieu", "space for industrial and cultural creation" must be established in the city and creative producers must be fostered to take charge of this task.

4. Promotion of creative policy cannot be continued effectively if it is limited to the city government. It is essential to obtain the cooperation of a broad selection of citizens, including business leaders, and NPOs, perhaps in the form of a Creative City Promotion Council. The most important thing for the promotion of creative cities is the establishment of research and educational programs for developing the necessary human resources.

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

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Conclusion

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.

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Towards Creative Asia Pacific Region

In order to realize and to develop creative cities, not only do we need the global level inter-city network promoted by UNESCO, but we also need to learn from partnerships seen at the Asia Pacific regional level or the national level as well.

When a creative city network in Asia Pacific Region is established to support these activities, a new form of "*Creative Asia Pacific*" will emerge.

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Introduction

In the midst of the greatest worldwide depression since 1929, global society is on the verge of a turning point, away from the existing social and economic system, and there is also an urgent need for re-examination of existing theories in the disciplines of the humanities and social sciences

The underlying causes of the current worldwide depression are, first, that the system of mass production and mass consumption of durable consumer goods such as automobiles and high tech consumer electronic devices, etc. have reached a complete impasse in advanced countries. Second, a rampant surge in money capitalism, and enormous sums of spurious 'virtual' capital gave rise to bubbles in various world cities, throwing the real economy into confusion, and deepening the crisis. Third, these economic crises resulted in a fiscal crisis for governments, bringing about a change of course within the policy apparatus away from a welfare state system and towards a competitive society based on market principles, and through the expansion of employment insecurity and the shrinking of the safety net, this had the effect of exacerbating the social crisis. Global society has fallen into a compounded crisis that will be difficult to solve in a short time.

Introduction

    For these reasons, if we are to really undertake a change in the system, I believe that we must consider the following issues: First, a transition away from globalization based on market principles, where finance is at the core, to an alternative globalization that recognizes cultural diversity; second, a transition to a 'creative economy' based on 'culture-based production' and away from a system of mass production and mass consumption; third, the revival of creative work that produces 'authentic value' that is backed up by cultural values, and the emergence of 'culturally creative individuals' who can create their own lifestyle culture, transcending spurious consumption booms; and fourth, a systematic blueprint for an inclusive and full-engagement society where each and every citizen can fully develop their creativity while being guaranteed a basic income, unlike the forms of welfare provision up until now.

    One model that has attracted attention of the new cities that have emerged in this period of systematic transition is the 'socially inclusive creative city.'

1. The Era of *Creative City*

With a major shift toward globalization and knowledge-based economy, the industrial city is already declining. A great deal of attention is being given to the development of a new type of city, "the creative city".

These cities are characterized by the formation of clusters of creative industries, such as film, video, music, and art. These are also cities where "the creative class" made up of high-tech experts, artists, and creators prefer to live.

This wave of development has reached the cities and regions of Japan and Asian Pacific Regions. The goal of becoming a "creative city" has been espoused by cities like Kanazawa, Yokohama, Sapporo, Fukuoka, Kyoto and Osaka in Japan. The number of such cities is multiplying rapidly.