

Cultural Cluster and Cityscape in Kanazawa and Yokohama

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Introduction: 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 arts. These are also cities where 'the creative class' made up of high-tech experts, artists, and creators prefer to live.

The concept of 'the creative city,' 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 urban 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, 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 41

cities in the world and 4 cities in Japan, Kanazawa, Kobe, Nagoya and Sapporo are registered to the global network.

In Asia, especially Japanese 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 Japanese cities. Instead we must rethink the concept of creative cities in light of the myriad problems facing Japanese cities with the hope of creating a new urban society and a new urban theory based on Cultural Cluster, Cultural Capital and Cultural Cityscape that are appropriate to the Japanese context.

1. Rethinking Creative City Theory

The creative cities idea emerged as a new urban model with the European Union's '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 the author has put the issues of social sustainability 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 policy-makers 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 (Florida, 2005). 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 (Zimmerman, 2008; Long, 2009).

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, emeritus 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).

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, we could define the creative city as 'a city that cultivates new trends in arts & culture and promotes innovative and creative industries through the energetic creative activities of artists, creators and ordinary citizens, contains many diverse "creative milieus" and "innovative milieus", and has a regional, grass-roots capability to find solutions to social exclusion problems

such as homeless people (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, the author defined a 'cultural mode of production model' (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) This definition, however, requires further elaboration in light of the research of Ann Markusen and Andy Pratt.

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."

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,

1) 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.

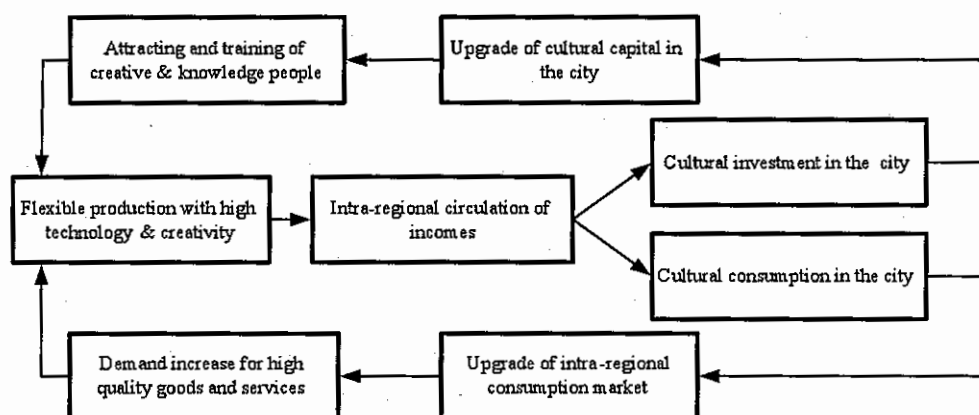


Figure1. Cultural Mode of Production Model

- (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.

In Japan and other developed societies, since a mass production/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 utilizing cultural capital."

Cultural Cluster, Cultural Capital and Cultural Cityscape

Andy Pratt, professor of City University London 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. Florida also points out the importance of the 'creative milieu,' but he does not deeply analyze the economic aspect of creative and cultural cluster.

At the same time, David Throsby, a famous cultural economist, mentioned that arts & culture may have a more pervasive role in urban regeneration through the fostering of community identity, creativity, cohesion and vitality via the cultural characteristics and practices, which define the city and its citizens. And he pointed out the importance of cultural capital which embodies and gives rise to both cultural value and economic value in the city. Consideration of *heritage or cityscape as cultural capital* can provide a means of integrating the interests of conservationist, who are concerned with the protection of cultural value, and economist, who look at heritage project as problems of allocation of scarce resources between competing ends. He emphasized good relations about cultural capital and the sustainable development of the city. In other words, he states that coexistence of preservation and the sustainable development is enabled by grasping a cityscape as cultural capital. (Throsby, 2002)

Also Landry mentioned that cultural heritage and cultural cityscape are the sum of our past creativities and results of creativity, and is what keeps urban society going and moving forward. Culture is the panoply of resources that show that a place is unique and distinctive. The resources of the past can help to inspire and give confidence for the future. Even cultural heritage is reinvented daily whether this be a refurbished building or an adaptation of an old skill for modern times: today's classic was yesterday's innovation. Creativity is not only about a continuous invention of the new, but also how to deal appropriately with the old. (Landry, 2000)

On the other hand, cultural capital and cultural cityscape form the creative milieu which attracts the Florida's creative class to the city, and foster the formation of cultural cluster, the engine of sustainable development of creative city.

We will try the evaluation of the creative city in Japan from a viewpoint of cultural cluster, cultural capital and cultural cityscape.

2. Kanazawa as a UNESCO Creative City-- Creative City Challenges in Japan (1)

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.

Table1. Characteristics of Kanazawa and Yokohama

	Population	Economic Aspects	Cultural Aspects Budget (yen/capita)	Creative City Initiative
Kanazawa (UNESCO Creative City)	450,000 Human Scale City	Small artisan & Medium-sized Companies Traditional crafts	Traditional & Contemporary art 4,000 (yen/capita)	Business Circle Citizen Group Mayor office
Yokohama 2004~	3,600,000 Modern Large City	Large Companies Port, Car, Hi-tech Industries	Contemporary art Art NPO 2,500 (yen/capita)	Mayor Office Art NPO

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 beautiful 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 cityscape 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 first 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

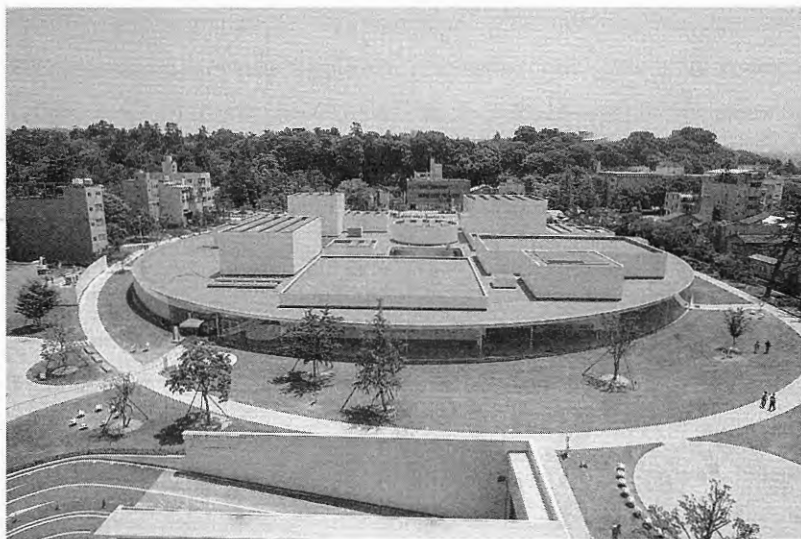


Figure1. The 21Century Contemporary Art Museum of Kanazawa

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.



1. Museum of Tea Ceremony, 2. College of Arts and Craft, 3. Museum of Gold Leafing, 4. Museum of Local Great Men, 5. The Kyoka Izumi Memorial, 6. Museum of Record player, 7. Museum of Lord Maeda, 8. The Saisei Murou Memorial, 9. Old Samurai House, 10. 21st Contemporary Museum, 11. Museum of Modern Literature, 12. Prefectural Gallery, 13. Museum of History, 14. Palace of Lord Maeda, 15. Gallery of Samurai, 16. Museum of Traditional Craft, 17. Museum of Tea Bowl, 18. Old Samurai House Garden, 19. Museum of Yuzen, 20. Museum of Entertainment, 21. Museum of old Merchant, 22. Old Samurai House, 23. Old Samurai House, 24. Old Samurai House, 33. The Syusei Tokuda Memorial, 34. Museum of Noh

Figure2. Museum Cluster in the downtown of Kanazawa

Around this contemporary art museum at the center, there locate over 30 museums, public or private, and large or small, like Figure 2. Furthermore, arts and craft shops and studios accumulate around this museum cluster.

There are 22 types of traditional arts and craft industry in Kanazawa, approximately 900 establishments, and approximately 3,000 employees. This occupies approximately 20% of establishments in the city, approximately 6% of the employees and there are a lot of extremely small establishments form cluster of craft studio and shop. In addition, a studio and 74 shop stores of 139 accumulate in radius 5km from the old Kanazawa castle located in the inner city.

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 culture based production in the contemporary creative cultural industries.

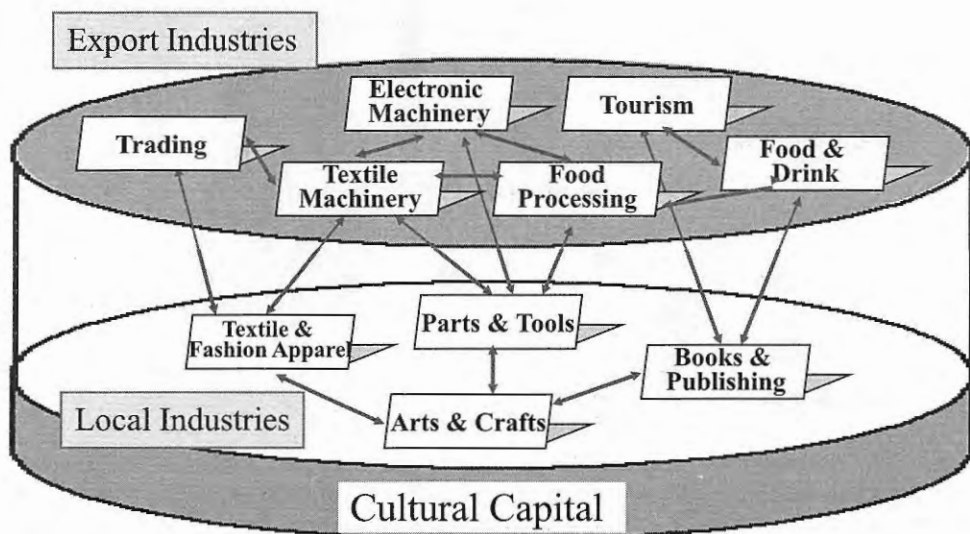


Figure3. Culture and Economy of Kanazawa City

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. October 2008 the city applied to UNESCO and was registered smoothly June 2009.

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. Former 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 leafing craftwork. I assume that diversified "Monozukuri" will pave the way for diversified 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."

Fortunately, Kanazawa City was chosen in the host city of the UNESCO Creative Cities Network Conference of 2015.

3. The Creative City Yokohama Experiment-- Creative City Challenges in Japan (2)

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 aimed to attract close to 2,000 artists and nearly 15,000 workers to its 'creative industrial cluster.'

From April of 2004 former 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 was built in 1929 and now 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.

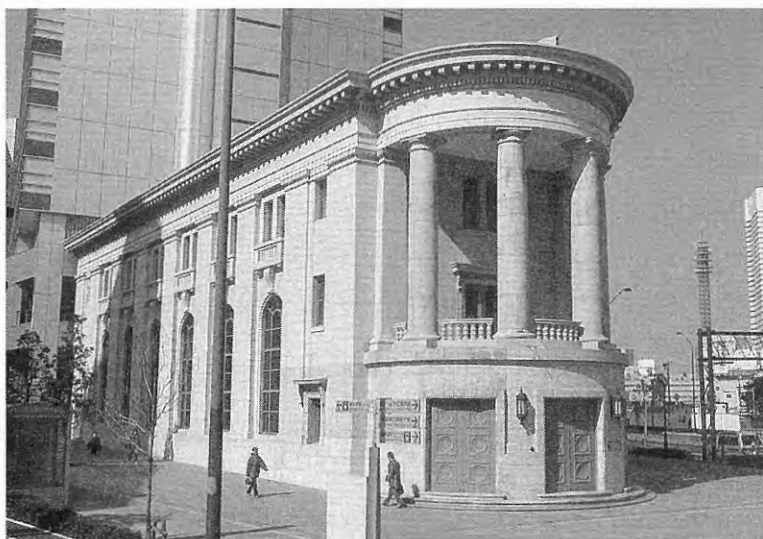


Figure4. The 'Bank ART 1929'



Figure5. Creative Cluster around 'Bank ART 1929' in Yokohama

Since its inception the creative corridors have expanded as they have incorporated numerous vacant buildings and warehouses in the vicinity. Around this symbolic Bank ART 1929 building, there locate over 150 small offices in the genre of fine art, film and picture, design, town planning, photograph, music, drama, so on. As a result, many young artists consisting of other various genres, creators gathered and formed a creative cultural cluster. The location promotion grants for films & contents production companies and for creators which were established in 2005 helped to make old vacant neighborhood filled with "creative atmospheres" effectively. 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.

And in the numerous activities that are underway in Yokohama, the experimental 'Kogane Cho Bazaar' of Yokohama, is an illustrative example. This event was in the gang and prostitution 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. Many young students and artists collaborated with local businesses in the bazaar's projects. The diversity on display during the planning sessions for this event was 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

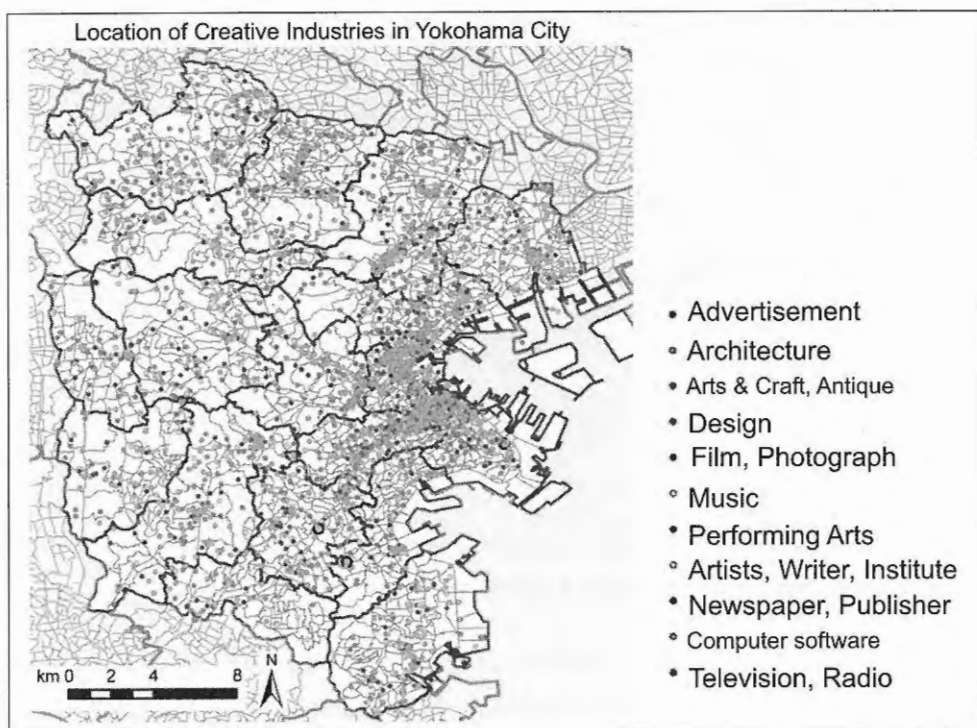


Figure6. Accumulation of Creative Industries in Yokohama City

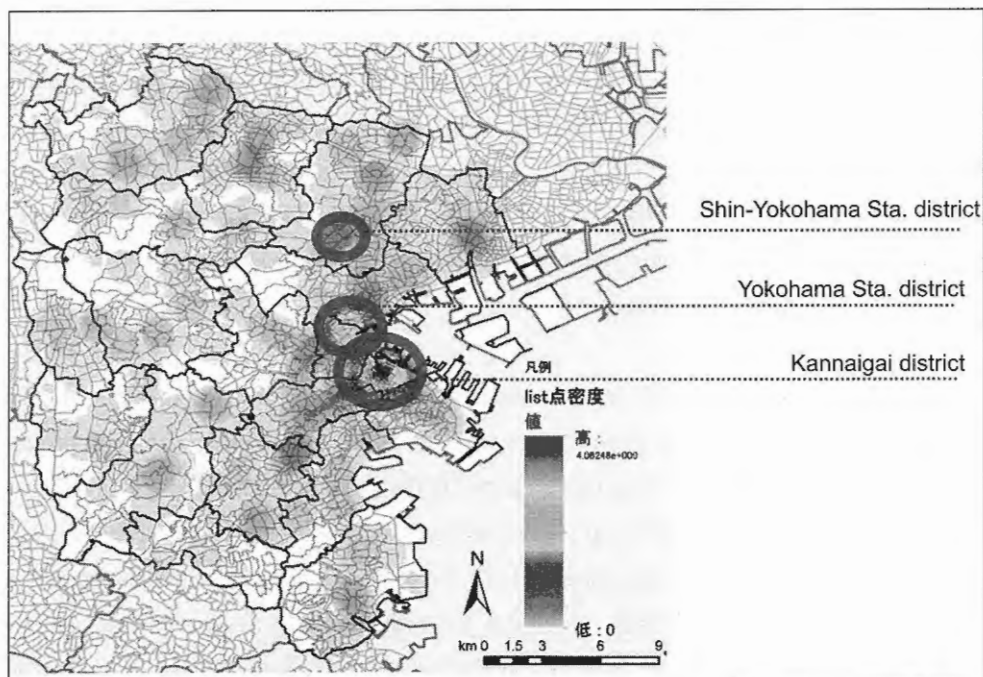


Figure7. Accumulation of Creative Industries in Yokohama City

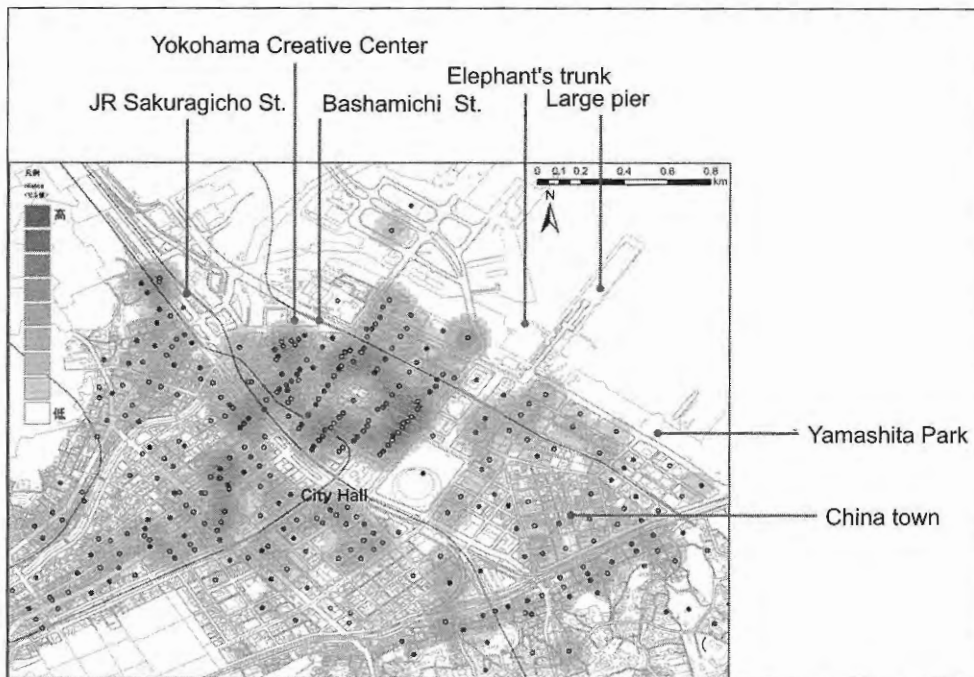


Figure8. Accumulation of Creative Industries in Waterfront of Yokohama City

specialists to create an art event to enliven an area blighted by a plethora of vacant shops.

Finally, as 2009 marks the 150th anniversary of the opening of the port of Yokohama, an international creative cities conference has been opened with a purpose 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.

Conclusion

When comparing the examples of the above two cities, a medium-scale historic city of Kanazawa is making a steady progress towards a creative city based on Bologna-type social capi-

tal 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 close partnership with local businesses. Briefly, theoretically, Yokohama is a case in which a city voluntarily chose the "cognitive-cultural" system of production (Scott, 2008) after the collapse of the Fordism and neoliberal paradigms. On the other hand, Kanazawa has experienced a more continuous and smooth evolution of historical local traditions.

In this way, Kanazawa and Yokohama became two leaders and many practical action of the creative city project in Japan has been started. Following the creative city network of the UNESCO, the Agency for Cultural Affairs started an award system from 2007, and four cities were selected every year and the time of mutual cooperation has been matured.

On the 4th February 2012, mayors and policymakers of 32 municipalities gathered in Tokyo and adopted an agenda to establish Creative Cities network of Japan CCNJ within a year.

Finally on the 13th January 2013, CCNJ was established according to this agenda and Yokohama City became a representative of CCNJ.

Also Yokohama was selected as a first East Asian City of Culture in 2014.

We can summarize some policy implications through the above case study of Kanazawa and Yokohama.

Firstly, it is necessary to conduct an intensive analysis of the embedded culture of the city, increase the shared awareness of fusing contemporary arts with traditional culture, clarify the need to become a "creative city," and elaborate a creative city concept for the future, with an understanding of the historical context of the city.

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

Thirdly, Cultural capital must be recognized as basic social infrastructures in the knowledge and information society, and strategic planning must be carried out to inspire the creativity of citizens. Specifically, diverse "creative milieu for cultural cluster" must be established in the city and creative producers must be fostered to take charge of this task.

Fourthly, for the sustained development of the creative city, the promotion of the culture cluster is indispensable. 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.

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 creative 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 'creative milieu,' to foster and insure the active participation of the citizen in urban policy (Sasaki, 2010).

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 new creative economy that equally regards cultural, social, and economic value.

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 Asian Region is established to support these activities, a new form of "Creative Asia" will emerge.

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