Urban Regeneration and the Creative City:  
Making Creative Neighborhoods in Yokohama

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Abstract
Since the 1970s, many cities in the advanced industrialized countries underwent deindustrialization accompanied by urban decline. Deindustrialization means the decline of the standardized mass production systems. The revolution of information technologies and the emergence of service economy render knowledge-creation the new source of values. Then, contemporary urban policies are likely to focus on the spatial organization of knowledge-creation economies and the articulation of the local economy with the global one. The notion of the creative city is proposed as the way in which declining cities could be regenerated through attracting and mobilizing human and cultural resources and creating local own values. Although it came from experiences in the European cities, the concept is spread in the East Asian cities.

This paper focuses on Yokohama City which launched a project of making Creative Neighborhood in decaying old downtown. In order to understand the Creative City initiative, the paper points out historical context of the city, describes the policy making process and practices of the Creative Neighborhood project, and assesses its present status. Old downtown Yokohama has suffered from the relative devaluation since the late 1990s. The Creative City initiative emerged from the strong will of the city government to preserve the symbolic urban architectures in downtown. A driving factor is to delegate the management of the project to talented organizers who are not city officials. The project goes far in attracting artists and designers and establishing the leading-edge core of the creative community. The remaining agenda is to bridge a gap between the cutting-edge artistic activities and general citizens' cultural interests.

INTRODUCTION
Since the 1970s, many cities in the advanced industrialized countries underwent deindustrialization
accompanied by urban declines. Globalizing economy triggered by the restructuring of capitalism in the Anglo-Saxon countries in the 1980s has brought about uncertainties of urban economies worldwide. The growth of the city on the basis of industrialization has become more and more difficult in the industrialized countries. Global cities such as New York and London (Sassen 1991, 2001) are exceptional, and there are not so many new industrial spaces typically represented by Silicon Valley (Castells 1989) as traditional industrial cities could be witnessed in the twentieth century.

Deindustrialization means the decline of the standardized mass production systems (Piore and Sable 1984). The revolution of information technologies and the emergence of service economy render knowledge-creation the source of values. Even the new industrializing economies in the East Asia have been required to evolve high value-added industries. And every city and region has to search for a position it can occupy in the world economy. Then, contemporary urban policies are likely to focus on the spatial organization of knowledge-creation economies and the articulation of the local economy with the global one.

The notion of the creative city suggested by Charles Landry (2000, 2008) is proposed as the way in which declining cities can be regenerated through attracting and mobilizing human and cultural resources and creating local own values. Although it came from experiences in urban Europe, the concept is spread in the East Asian cities, particularly in urban China, Korea, and Japan. There can be various interpretations of the concept of creative city, but it should be taken as a normative model along the lines of the indigenous development as Ken’ichi Miyamoto (2007) suggested1. In other words, the creative city refers to a strategy for regenerating post-industrial cities from urban decay in the globalizing age.

This paper focuses on Yokohama City which launched a project of making Creative Neighborhoods in decaying old downtown. In order to understand the Creative City initiative in Yokohama, we will look at the historical context of the city, particularly the development of urban policies in Yokohama since the 1960s, then, describe the policy-making and implementation processes of the project in detail, and assess its present status. The actual process of the initiative was so complex that the paper focuses only on the Creative Neighborhoods in old downtown and an inner city district.

**Research Organization and Methods**

This study has just begun in FY2010 as a research project in the Institute of Global Urban Studies aided by the Grant-in-aid for Scientific Research (B), JSPS, FY2010-2013. The research is being conducted with faculty members of the Institute and undergraduate students in my workshop at Rikkyo University. We collected data from books written by ex-officials, lectures by city officials,
documents of the creative neighborhood projects edited by the management body, and websites of related organizations and events as well as interviews with city officials, civic leaders, artists, architects and university students involved in the creative city projects. As the research will continue for another three years, this article indicates preliminary analysis of the findings.

**Yokohama and the Creative City Initiative: An Outline**

Yokohama is the capital city of Kanagawa Prefecture located in the south part of the Tokyo metropolitan area. The city is one of the 18 ordinance-designated cities which have almost the same authorities as prefectures. Yokohama has a population of about 3.7 million, the largest city in Japan except Central Tokyo (i.e. the area of 23 wards). Yokohama is well known for progressive urban policies during the Asukata administration from 1963 to 1978. Six big projects and urban design policies adopted by the administration made Yokohama’s urban policies distinctive and eventually affects the Creative City initiative today.

During the Nakada administration (2002-2009), the city hall started the Creative City Yokohama initiative in order to utilize historical buildings for artistic and cultural purposes. In January 2004, the Committee for Revitalization of the Urban Center through the Promotion of Arts, Culture, and Tourism released a final report, “Proposals for Building Creative City Yokohama.” It recommended establishing the “Creative Neighborhoods” as one of three strategic projects. Prior to the report, the committee released an interim report, proposing to launch experimental project to utilize historical buildings for artistic and cultural purposes in downtown. In accordance with this proposal, the city launched the experimental project to utilize two historical buildings originally constructed for banks. The management of the projects was delegated to a civic organization called BankART1929. This experiment was conducted from 2004 to 2006 and the project continued for another three years. Meanwhile, some warehouses, old buildings, and public facilities located in downtown were converted to offices and studios for artists and architects, which made the Creative Neighborhood more visible. The movements also have diffused from old downtown to inner areas. A series of the projects for making creative neighborhoods are noteworthy as public efforts for urban regeneration. Among them, this paper focuses on an old downtown area, Kannai, as the mainstream of the story, and an inner city neighborhood, Koganecho, as a derivative one.

**HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF YOKOHAMA CITY**

The history of Yokohama dates back to the mid-nineteenth century, the last days of the Tokugawa Era. In 1854, Commodore Perry landed on Yokohama and concluded a treaty of amity between the
U.S. and Japan. Four years later, the U.S. and Japan concluded the treaty of amity and commerce so that Japan promised to open four ports. Among them was Yokohama (exactly Kanagawa), where the first modern urban planning were implemented to build a foreign settlement, now called the Kannai area. The port was opened in 1859 and the City of Yokohama was founded in 1889. About 116 thousands people lived in the area of 5.40 square kilometers. Since then, the identity of Yokohama has been one of the open-port cities in modern Japan.

The history of Yokohama has been principally the history of urban growth for one hundred and fifty years. There were, however, some hardships we must note in understanding contemporary Yokohama. Firstly, the Great Kanto Earthquake struck and destroyed the city in 1923. Thus, almost all historical buildings now exist in Yokohama were constructed after the earthquake. Secondly, in 1945, the last year of the Pacific War, the U.S. air raids destroyed the city again. Thirdly, main buildings in the central area were condemned by the U.S. military forces after the defeat in the war. Even worse, the occupation lasted longer than the other Japan’s cities and the condemned premises were returned back a bit at a time. This situation critically delayed the planning of reconstruction in the central area, suggesting why Yokohama City planned six big projects in the mid-1960s.

Six Big Projects
Understanding the six big projects of Yokohama City is indispensable for understanding this city in general and the creative city initiative in particular. As a Socialist Party candidate, Ichio Asukata, was elected mayor in 1963, he asked a consulting company, the Center for Developing Environments, to propose urban planning for Yoisho (Tamura 1983, 2006). An urban planner in the Center, Akira Tamura, proposed the original plan of the six projects. In 1965, the city hall released the six big projects as the Future Plans for Urban Development. The six projects involve 1) consolidating the central area (discussed below), 2) reclaiming the south shore, Kanazawa, in order to secure space for urban redevelopment, 3) developing Kohoku Newtown in a suburban area of the city as a growth management strategy, 4) constructing expressways (including changing the plan from the elevated to underground route by big negotiations with the Construction Ministry), 5) constructing a subway system in order to promote the centrality of downtown Yokohama against railroad lines linking directly to Central Tokyo, and 6) building Bay Bridge in order to divert traffic from the city center and to become a symbol of the port of Yokohama (Tamura 1983, 2006; see also Noda 2008:22-23).

In 1968, amongst the second term of the Asukata administration, the mayor set up the Planning and Coordination Office in the government and recruited Akira Tamura for implementing the projects. As usual in Japan’s local governments, the city administration was segmented by departments and divisions which were respectively controlled by the counterpart divisions of the
Ministries of the national government. The mayor intended to break this vertically segmented system and make the administration work autonomously as a whole. Often conflicting with the conventional bureaucrats in both the national and local governments, Akira Tamura played a critical role for changing the administrative structure, according to his autobiographical books (Tamura 1983, 2006). The six projects were visible outcomes for showing the autonomous development of the city.

Among them, consolidating the central area is specifically related to the contemporary Creative City initiative. At that time, an old downtown area, Kannai, was underdeveloped due to the prolonged occupation of the U.S. forces as mentioned above, and the vicinity of Yokohama Station became a commercial area attracting department stores, retail stores, and many restaurants. Between both areas located the Shipyard of Mitsubishi Heavy Industries. The plan was to relocate the shipyard to the Kanazawa area and to reclaim that shore in order to build a new business district connecting with both old downtown, Kannai, and the commercial district around Yokohama Station (Tamura 1983, 2006). The new business district has emerged as Minato Mirai 21(MM21) by the 1990s. Then, the Kannai area, taken as the symbolic urban space of the open-port city, was declining again around 2000 as discussed later.

Urban Design

Another characteristic of Yokohama's urban policy is its emphasis on urban design. In 1971, after Asukata elected mayor at the third time, Tamura recruited two young professional urban designers and organized an urban design team in the Planning and Coordination Office (later, grew up to the Urban Design Office). They designed sidewalks, subway stations, and the skyline of MM21 and so on (Tamura 2006). The Urban Design Office proclaimed seven objectives of urban design (Urban Design Office Website, see also CCY 2009: 30). Among them, “to take care of the city’s architectural patrimony and cultural resources” is directly related to the Creative City initiative. The City has always tried to preserve historical legacy. The most popular example is Aka Renga Soko, or Red Brick Warehouse Complex, located in the port. It was opened in 2002 as a complex of a shopping mall, restaurants, and halls. We will look at some other cases later. The urban design practices have created a distinctive tradition of the urban planning in Yokohama and the city hall becomes sensitive to preserving historical architectures and landscape. In addition, the professionals in the Urban Design Office come to play an important role in building Creative Neighborhoods. One of them describes himself as “an official never wearing tie!” As professionals, they have an affinity with artists and architects.
Cultural Policy
The cultural policy in Yokohama has gradually shifted from the policy for cultural enlightenment to cultural enrichment of the citizens. Conventionally, public cultural projects were conducted by the education board under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. They were considered as education for adult citizens and independent from the administration controlled by the mayor. However, in the late 1970s, progressive local governments such as Yokohama City began to develop “cultural administration” conducted by some mayoral division (Matsushita, 2003). The mayor Asukata appointed an officer in charge of cultural projects in the Planning Bureau in Yokohama City in 1976, and the Cultural Office was established in the Civic Affairs Bureau in 1982 under the Saigo administration. Finally, under the Takahide administration, the Division of Civic Culture was established in the city hall in 1991 and absorbed the Division of Cultural Projects in the education board in 1995 (Noda 2008: 45). The City of Yokohama began to hold the Yokohama triennale in 2001 together with Japan Foundation, NHK, and the Asahi Shinbun. Also, it set up Yokohama Arts Foundation in 2002, which manages the art museum, theaters, and other public facilities for cultural activities. These would be resources for the creative city initiative later.

THE CREATIVE CITY YOKOHAMA INITIATIVE
Declining Old Downtown and Preserving Historical Architectures
The Kannai-Yamashita area was declining around 2000. While vacant office spaces were increasing, the construction demand for residential apartment houses and condominiums were growing (Noda 2008: 60-61). One causal factor was the opening of the Minato Mirai railroad line in 2003, which connects the area and MM21 to Shibuya, the Central Tokyo, directly. Another factor was so called “the 2003 problem” which means the expected over-supply of office spaces in Tokyo in 2003 (YCC 2009: 10). In addition, a series of consolidations of banks made some bank branches unnecessary. Old bank buildings were likely to be sold and rebuilt. The city hall took these conditions as disturbing urban landscape and losing historical architectures in old downtown and managed to preserve them at least in appearance. When the Nippon Koa Bashamichi building was rebuilt in 1989, only part of the exterior of former building that had constructed in 1922 originally for the Kawasaki Bank Yokohama branch was preserved (YCC 2009: 32). When the building of the former Tokyo-Mitsubishi Bank Yokohama Chuo branch was sold and redeveloped as a condominium, only the part of exterior was preserved in 20043. The building of the former Daiichi Bank Yokohama branch, constructed in 1929, was partly restored in the redevelopment of the Yokohama Island Tower in 1995 and purchased by the city hall later (Noda 2008:90). Also
the building of the former Fuji Bank Yokohama branch was purchased in 2002 and preserved by Yokohama City (Noda 2008:90). Then, they raised a problem: how to utilize them?

**Proposals for Creative City Yokohama**

In 2002, Hiroshi Nakada defeated the incumbent Hidenobu Takahide in the city’s mayoral election. Takahide was backed by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), Komeito, the Social Democratic Party (SDP), and New Conservative Party. Nakada was supported only by a fraction out of the DPJ and a small local party. Nakada lost in the inner areas but won in the suburbs (Noda 2009:62-63). This resembled the situation when Asukata won at the first time, though both are very different in ideological position each other.

The new mayor, Nakada, appointed Takeru Kitazawa, a professor of urban engineering at the University of Tokyo as one of two advisors. Kitazawa was a disciple of Akira Tamura, promoted to the head of the Urban Design Office and then turned a university professor. As Kitazawa recommended the mayor to preserve the building of the Daiichi Bank, the mayor asked him to propose how to utilize it as well as its preservation. Thus, the Committee for Revitalization of the Urban Center through the Promotion of Arts, Culture, and Tourism, which Kitazawa chaired, was organized in November 2002 (Noda 2009: 74-75). The committee released an interim report in March 2003, proposing to start up an experimental project to utilize historical buildings for artistic and cultural purposes in downtown. It was clear that the historical buildings meant the premises of the former Daiich Bank and the Fuji Bank. The city hall launched the project immediately as mentioned later. The committee released a final report, Proposals for Building Creative City Yokohama, in January 2004. It referred to establishing Creative Neighborhoods as one of three strategic projects. In order to promote the Creative City Yokohama initiative, Yokohama Art and Culture City Creative Headquarters (APEC and Creative City Headquarters at the point of writing) was established in the city hall in April 2004.

**Experimental Project and the Making of Creative Neighborhoods**

In accordance with the interim report of the committee, Yokohama City launched the experimental project of utilizing two old buildings. When the city hall began to seek management groups publicly under the title of Yokohama Creative City Center Project in October 2003, twenty four groups applied. Among them, the city determined to adopt ST Spot Yokohama and the YCCC Projects in December 2003 (Noda 2009: 93). The former is a NPO that manages a public theater, ST Spot Yokohama, located at the west exit of Yokohama Station. The latter is a unit led by Osamu Ikeda, the head of the PH Studio. The two amalgamated to form a management group called BankART1929. 1929 alludes to the year in which two buildings were constructed (YCC 2009: 13).
Thus, the project launched by February 2004. The former Daiichi Bank and Fuji Bank premises were opened as BankART1929 YOKOHAMA and BankART1929 Bashamichi respectively. However, since the Fuji Bank premises were to be used by the Graduate School of Film and New Media, Tokyo University of the Arts, BankART1929 Bashamichi had to move out by October 2004 and relocated to the Nippon Yusen Kaigandori Warehouse renamed BankART Studio NYK in February 2005 (Noda 2009: 96-97). The city hall leased the vacant warehouse from a shipping company, Nippon Yusen.

The project was composed of various activities: display of works of art, theatrical performances, giving lectures on arts, leasing rooms, and running cafés, pubs, and book stores. The number of events amounted to about six hundreds, attracting over 170 thousands visitors for three years (Noda 2008: 99). The experimental project concluded in March 2006 and was decided to continue for another three years. Members of ST Spot retired, then, and BankART1929 became an incorporated non-profit organization chaired by Osamu Ikeda. After the end of the three-year project in 2009, the Daiichi Bank premises come to be utilized as Yokohama Creative City Center managed by the Yokohama Arts Foundation and BankART Studio NYK, leased by the city hall, continues to be managed by BankART 1929.

**Emerging Creative Neighborhoods**

During the experimental projects went on, a real-estate company, Mori Building Co., asked BankART to utilize the two old buildings for eighteen months until their redevelopment works began (CCY 2009:74). The site was near the Daiichi Bank. There located four warehouses and two office buildings used by Teisan Warehouse Company since 1926. Mori Building purchased the site from Teisan Warehouse after the latter's relocation, and set up a committee for redevelopment with nearby land owners (KBW 2006). Mori Building agreed to rent the two buildings to BankART and other artists and architects at a nominal rate. Thus, Kitanaka BRICK&WHITE opened in May 2005. Osamu Ikeda solicited residents from his large circle of artists and architects. About fifty groups or 240 individuals decided to utilize the buildings as their offices or studios. Majority of them moved from Tokyo. Its impact was great. A city official said “one positive outcome from this 18 month period was that all the residents artists and designers organized and participated in the ‘Kitanaka Open Doors’ so that the general public could freely visit their studio and atelier spaces. In so doing, they not only opened up a channel of communication with the city residents but also amongst themselves.” (CCY 2009: 74).

After completed the Kitanaka B&W project, the city hall and BankART did never want to let the residents return to Tokyo (ShigokiBon 2009: 15). The city intended to accept them at ZAIM, which was originally constructed in 1928 as an office and a warehouse of a textile company, condemned
by the U.S. military after 1945, and then owned and used by the Kanto Finance Bureau and Labor Standards Office (ZAIM 2010: 21). The city hall acquired it from the national government in 2002 and temporarily utilized it as the office for the Yokohama Triennale 2005 (ZAIM 2010: 22). The city government determined to utilize the buildings for promoting culture and art under the management of the Yokohama Arts Foundation. By August 2006, 25 studios and offices moved into ZAIM (ZAIM 2010: 23), among which ten were relocated from KitanakaB&W. They organized an open doors event, “ZAIM FESTA,” annually. ZAIM has been used until March 2010. (The city closed it because it was heavily aging. ZAIM 2010: 9)

Yet, the architects in Kitanaka hesitated to move there because they were asked to sign one-year contract at ZAIM. The period of contract was too short to run architectural design offices. Then, Osamu Ikeda struggled to search for alternative premises and fortunately found Honcho Building, a privately owned building located just near KitanakaB&W since 1929. The owner had look at what was going on in Kitanaka B&W and was interested in the project. He kindly offered the fourth and fifth floors of the building as the equal conditions with Kitanaka (ShigokaiBon 2009: 15). Thus, the floors were renamed “Honcho Building 45 (shigokai).” Eventually ten offices moved from Kitanaka. Seven of them were architects. The lease agreements were renewed again and again (ShigokaiBon 2009: 14-15) and the building had been in use till September 2010, when the offices were relocated to the fourth floor of Utoku Building due to the closing of Honcho Building because of its reconstruction.

After closing ZAIM in March 2010, the artists and designers staying there dispersed around the old downtown area including Kannai and surrounding Kangai. Now, those artists, designers, and architects who located their offices and studios in the old downtown organize and participate in “Kannai-Kangai Open Doors,” which makes the creative community more visible.

Koganecho: Regeneration from Red-light District

The movement of making Creative Neighborhoods spread from the old downtown to the inner areas. A public wedding hall were converted to a studio for theatrical performance (Steep Slope Studio); dismantled Sakuragicho Station of the Tokyu Toyoko line were temporarily utilized as spaces for displaying arts (Creative Space 9001); a private owned warehouse were converted to a complex of an art school and design offices (Bankokubashi SOKO). Among others, most noticeable is a project launched in the Koganecho (Hatsuko-Hinodecho) area.

Decades ago, the sex industry concentrated under the elevated railway tracks of the Keikyu line between the Hinodecho and Koganecho stations. In 2002, since the elevated structures had to be reinforced against earthquakes, the eating and drinking establishments were relocated to the vicinity. This brought about the diffusion of the sex businesses, attracting female entertainers
from overseas and growing in number. On the other hand, the local citizens stood up and set up the Hatsuko-Hinodecho Environmental Cleanup Association (Kogane-X) in November 2003 and the prefectural police cracked down on the illegal businesses in January 2005 (YCC 2009: 82; Suzuki et al. 2010: 59; see also the website of Kogane-X). As a result, almost all establishments were forced to be closed. The city hall planned to rent all the vacant premises. However, ownership relationships are so complex that only a few premises are rented. Nevertheless, the rented premises were converted to surveillance facilities and studios. At first, BankART Sakuraso opened in 2006 (YCC 2009: 82) and then Kogane-X Lab did in 2007 (Suzuki et al. 2010: 62). The latter is a small complex of a local brand stores, a café, and a meeting place run by Kogane-X and a laboratory of the Yokohama City University. And, as an art event, Koganecho Bazaar was held during the period of Yokohama Triennale 2008. All these efforts aimed to prevent the locality from a resurgence of sex-related industries.

The present conditions of Koganecho are still ambiguous. Several studios and artistic stores are located in the area, but a lot of vacant premises remain. Thus, the fear of the resurgence of illegal businesses could not be denied. The public order is maintained mainly by the police operation. The local citizens are likely to hope that the locality will be liberated from the stigma of the red-light district. However, they could not understand, at least in the earlier stage, that art will revitalize the neighborhood. Sexual expressions by artists are criticized. Arts being reminiscent of a red-light district are taboo in this area. The artists understand local citizens’ feelings, but some assume ambivalent attitude to the phrase “environmental cleanup” and the former mayor’s strong commitment to it. The “creative” projects in Koganecho are walking a narrow path.

**DISCUSSION**

A background that affected the proposal for building Creative Neighborhoods was the decline of old downtown, which was caused by the relative devaluation of the tangible assets triggered by the over-supply of office spaces in Central Tokyo. Also, the consolidations of banks from the 1990s onward brought about by the restructuring of financial capitalism in the globalizing economy made some old buildings for the bank branches unnecessary, which were another immediate causes. In the long run, the buildings constructed after the Kanto Great Earthquake were becoming the time of renewal one by one. This is the third factor that prompted the proposal. Finally, anticipated opening of the Minato Mirai line from Sakuragicho to Motomachi-Chukagai (China Town) promoted the supply of residential buildings in the old downtown area.

Under these conditions, the city hall did not want to increase the apartment houses and condominiums in downtown. As seen in the notion of the consolidated urban center in the six big
projects and urban design policy to preserve historical architectures, it is clear that Kannai has been considered as Yokohama’s symbolic urban space. Therefore, the committee conceived of making the creative neighborhoods, at first, in order to utilize historical architectures, the idea probably stem from the model of the loft living and soon extended to the concept of the creative city during the discussion in the committee. Thus, one driving force of the projects has been a strong will of the city hall to preserve the area as the symbolic urban space of the historical port town.

Another, more important driving force is that the city hall delegates the management of the projects to talented organizers who are not city officials. This is not the first time to adopt the public and private partnership. The management of ST Spot Yokohama was the preceding case. This time, recruiting Osamu Ikeda was the key to attract various artists, designers, and architects to the projects. He links to a circle of artists through, Tadashi Kawamata, an artist who was the director of Yokohama Triennale 2005, and Furamu Kitagawa, an art director, as well as a circle of architects through Hiroshi Hara, an architect, and indeed involved hundreds of these people in the projects. Particularly, the KitanakaB&W project proposed by Mori Building triggered the concentration of artists and architects in the locality, which increased the density of the social networks in the creative neighborhoods and made the community visible. Then, the “Kitanaka Open Doors” has developed into the “Kannai-Kangai Open Doors.” Thus, the project of making Creative Neighborhoods goes far in making the leading-edge core of the creative community. Art-related activities have vitalized the old downtown.

In Koganecho, however, regeneration from the red-light district by using art walks a narrow path. At present, art-related activities effectively prevent Koganecho from the resurgence of illegal businesses. But, the fear has not been removed. The public order is secured largely by policing and the artistic expressions are ethically constrained by local citizens’ feelings.

Besides Koganecho, collaborations of the artists with general citizens are limited. It is necessary to link between the creative community in downtown and citizens living in suburbs where civic cultural activities are active. This also requires the organizational linkage between the cultural policies of the Civic Affairs Bureau and the creative city projects of the APEC and Creative City Headquarters (It is announced that the organizational reform of the Headquarters will be done by April, 2011). The remaining agenda is to bridge a gap between the cutting-edge artistic activities and general citizens’ cultural interests.

Notes
1 Miyamoto (2007) takes Bologna and Kanazawa as the examples. Both cities are often labeled as creative cities (Sasaki 2001).
References

Abbreviation
Urban Regeneration and the Creative City: Yasushi MATSUMOTO

URL
Akarenga Soko (Red Brick Warehouse complex):
Kogane-X:
http://kogane-x.koganecho.net/info/info.html (In Japanese)
Urban Design Office, Urban Development Bureau:
http://www.city.yokohama.lg.jp/toshi/design/m01/ (In Japanese)