A creative city planning framework by a private company: Case study of the development of Futako-Tamagawa by Tokyu

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Abstract: While most studies of the creative city focus on the policy of government or local government, we study the creative city framework led by a private company. Concretely, we study the creative city planning framework by Tokyu Corporation on the Futako-Tamagawa area in Setagaya Ward in Tokyo. Based on the three “T’s” framework, which was advocated by Florida, we examine how the private company develops a creative city. Moreover, we address how the government and local government support it. Thereby, we reveal the actual conditions of the private company work on the creative city and suggest a private company strategy and a governmental measure of urban development.

1. Introduction
Recently, there have been serious problems such as decrease in population and a hollowing out of the industry in Japan. As a countermeasure for these problems, urban planning is being explored and a creative city planning framework is being focused upon. Florida (2005a, 2005b) points out that a creative city able to gather talents can create new values and become a source of innovation. He also argues that the innovation caused by the creative city leads to the economic and social development of a region.

In Japan, a creative city planning framework is being promoted. The city of Yokohama established “the creative city promotion division”; the city of Osaka established “the creativity of art and culture and tourism promotion action plan of the city of Osaka” and the city of Kobe developed a “declaration on the creative culture city of Kobe.” These are cases where local governments have worked to
revitalize the local area and such instances are increasing. On the one hand, cases in which private companies work on the creative city planning framework are rare and seldom studied. We explore this in detail in Section 2.

In this study, we examine urban development by a private company in Japan by descriptive study. Concretely, we study the creative city planning framework on Futako-Tamagawa area in Setagaya Ward in Tokyo by Tokyu Corporation, a major private railway company in Japan. Based on “the three T’s framework” advocated by Florida (2005a, 2005b), we examine how the private company develops a creative city. Moreover, we research how the government and local government support it. Thereby, we reveal the actual conditions of private company work on the creative city and suggest a private company strategy and a governmental measure of urban development.

2. Literature
In this section, to discuss the creative city, we summarize the connections between the city, innovation and creative classes. Moreover, we introduce studies on creative city planning frameworks in Japan.

2.1. Studies on the connection between cities and innovation
Schumpeter (1934) insisted that economic development is defined such that only changes in economic life as are not forced upon it from without but rather arise by its own initiative from within. Schumpeter (1934) noted that innovation appears discontinuously and that, consequently, the phenomenon characterizing development emerges. Also, Jacobs (1970) points out that the innovating economies expand and develop whereas economies that do not add new kinds of goods and service, but continue only to repeat old works, do not expand much or develop.

As the driving force of this economic growth and innovation, Florida (2002) indicates that the presence of such high human capital individuals in a region in turn attracts and generates innovative technology-based industries. Discussing the relationship between the city and the human capital, Knudsen, Stolarick, and Florida (2005) indicate that the creative milieu which consists of artists, musicians, and other creative people, increases creativity and innovation by providing stimulus and inspiration. Moreover, Knudsen et al. (2005) note that the role of dense cities is to compact these people into a space in which interactions and spillovers can occur. Musil (2011) analyses the real estate development and community interaction aspects of US shopping malls and indicates that communities stimulate development and rehabilitation of adjacent areas.

Glaeser (2011) asserts that cities force people to swarm and be near and provides the opportunity for interaction and the combination of ideas with technology. This allows for new ideas and innovation to be created. Also, Glaeser (2011) insists that people should know the function of amenity of cities and the success factors of consumer cities to understand the reason behind cities continuing to prosper in the future. In this context, Lloyd (2002) mentions that cities concentrate diversity and create unique opportunities for cultural production. Moreover, Lloyd and Clark (2001) explain that the city becomes an Entertainment Machine, leveraging culture to enhance its economic development. The Entertainment Machine is characterized by the presence of restaurants, shops and other cultural facilities. Studying specialty coffee bars in Amsterdam (2016) suggests a positive correlation between urban areas involved in the cognitive cultural economy and the new urban consumption spaces.

In this way, the creative environment is essential to create innovation. For this purpose, it is pointed out that it is necessary for cities to focus, in order to concentrate diversity and offer cultural services. In this study, based on the situation in Japan, we examine how urban development is performed to create innovation within the city.

2.2. Creative class
Florida (2005a, 2005b) advocates the Creative Class, defined as creative people and also summarizes systematically the conditions in which cities gather these people. We summarize Florida’s theory below.
The distinguishing characteristic of the Creative Class is that its members engage in works whose function is to create meaningful new forms of innovation. The super-creative core of this new class includes scientists and engineers, university professors, poets and novelists, artists, entertainers, actors, designers and architects, as well as the thought leadership of modern society: nonfiction writers, editors, cultural figures, think-tank researchers, analysts and other opinion-makers. Members of this super-creative core produce new forms or designs that are readily transferable and broadly useful. Beyond this core group, the Creative Class also includes creative professionals who work in a wide range of knowledge-intensive industries such as high-tech sectors, financial services, the legal and health care professions and business management. These people engage in creative problem-solving, drawing on complex bodies of knowledge in seeking innovative solutions.

Florida (2005a, 2005b) also insists that the members of the Creative Class take root in places that possess Technology, Talent, and Tolerance (the three T's of economic development). Each is a necessity, but by itself an insufficient condition. To attract creative people, generate innovation, and stimulate economic development, a place must have all three. Technology is a function of both innovation and high technology concentration in a region. Talent is defined as that which those with a bachelor’s degree and above possess. Tolerance is defined as openness, inclusiveness, and diversity to all ethnicities, races, and walks of life.

In this study, we consider the cases of the creative city planning framework performed by a private company in Japan under Florida’s three T’s framework of economic development.

2.3. Study of creative city planning frameworks in Japan
In this subsection, we summarize studies on the creative city planning framework in Japan.

Kakiuchi (2016) mentions that the creative city concept was introduced as an urban planning tool with the potential to alleviate social and economic problems related to cities in Japan. Kakiuchi (2016) examines Kanazawa city in Japan and indicates that the traditional craft industries helped to increase the attractiveness of the city. Similarly, Sasaki (2010) examined Kanazawa city and indicates that it is necessary for the creative city to be a culture-based production system, incorporating the well-balanced system of cultural production and cultural consumption that takes advantage of accumulated cultural capital.

Ogawa (2010) examines the effectiveness of the creative city planning framework of Yokohama city in Tokyo and found that local government led a development that involved changing industrial cities into artistic and cultural cities and planned for their revitalization using an urban regeneration plan. Similarly, Egami (2002) examined Yokohama City and insisted that problem of the city planning framework is that not connecting from urban to the suburbs is limited merely by the policy of the local government. Moreover, Sasajima (2013) examined the redeveloped urban spaces in Yokohama city in Japan and indicated that creative city projects created artistic spaces, but were nonetheless homogenous and sanitized rather than being diverse and reciprocal.

Furthermore, Koizumi (2016) examined the social roles of creativity in a shrinking society, using the case study of the Water and Land Niigata Art Festival. Koizumi (2016) mentions that Art Projects provide strong connections with community revitalization in a shrinking society and that citizen’s creativity plays a significant role, not just the creativity of the “creative class,” such as artists through those processes. Patel and Vlamis (2006) indicate that the Art Cafe in Senba, Osaka, as an example of urban regeneration through culture and the arts, makes a contribution to the reconstruction of the urban community.
As we have seen above, most studies of the creative city planning frameworks focus on art and culture through tourism resources and policies designed by local government. In this study, from a business point of view, we focus on a creative city planning framework developed by a private company.

3. A creative city planning framework in Futako-Tamagawa

In this section, we explain Tokyu, the creative city planning framework in Futako-Tamagawa which Tokyu pushed ahead with. We also discuss the reason Futako-Tamagawa was selected as a model area.

3.1. Tokyu

Tokyu is a major railway company and has the railway line in the southwest area of Tokyo and the eastward area of the Kanagawa prefecture. From the financial statements of Tokyu, consolidated sales of Tokyu in the fiscal year 2015 amounted to 1,091 billion yen. The core business of Tokyu is the railway, but other businesses have developed alongside. Looking at the breakdown of the consolidated operating revenue of Tokyu (see Table 1), it can be seen that life service business accounts such as department stores, chain stores, and shopping centers account for approximately half of these businesses, while the transportation business including the railway accounts for about 18%. However, the operation profits of transportation and real estate are about 40% and that of life service is only about 18%.

In the background, Tokyu has worked on urban development combined with the building of railways, the opening of commercial institutions and the supplying of housing. A typical case is the Tokyu Den-en-toshi development along Tokyu railway line. Tokyu Den-en-toshi is located in the southwest of Tokyo, 15–35 km out from the center of Tokyo. The total area of this development is about 5,000 ha and it is one of the biggest urban developments that have been led by a private company. Tokyu adopted the land rezoning project system which is designed to rezone and make better use of land through establishment and improvement of public facilities such as roads, parks, and riversides. Tokyu established the railway as a residential environment which balanced nature with a well-proportioned streetscape. This has allowed the railway, which runs along Tokyu Den-en-toshi, to be recognized as the major line connecting the center of Tokyo and lush greenery and quiet residential area. As a result, Tokyu succeeded in increasing the population in Tokyu Den-en-toshi from 20 thousand to 600 thousand among 60 years from its developmental starting point. For details of this development, refer to Shinkenchiku-Sha (2013a).

Figure 1 shows the organizational chart of Tokyu. With reference to the development of the city, the city creation headquarters have exerted strong leadership both consistent policy and integrated
administration in developing the area after initial development. The life creation headquarters and transportation business headquarters support their efforts. In this way, the organization of Tokyu is optimized for development and Tokyu has a strong leadership in its development of cities.

3.2. A creative city planning framework
Recently, Tokyu held up as “the best in Japan” and developed its business as a new urban development. Concretely, Tokyu planned to change Shibuya to an entertainment city which is observed with interest by the rest of the world and change Futako-Tamagawa to a creative city which gathers office workers. As a result, Tokyu try to realize its ambition of being “Tokyu railway line, which is the best railway line that Japan people want to live along, Shibuya where the best place in Japan people want to visit in and Futako-Tamagawa where the best place in Japan people want to work at.” Toward achieving these goals, Tokyu has taken the lead in establishing the enterprise association as a “Creative City Consortium” which tries to create urban environments to accumulate creative industries to Futako-Tamagawa (Creative City Consortium, 2015). The executive committee members of the Creative City Consortium include Tokyu Corporation, Culture Convenience Club Co., Ltd. Kokuyo Co., Ltd., Dai Nippon Printing Co., Ltd., Nikken Sekkei and Mitsubishi Research Institute, Inc.

The purpose of these works is to develop Futako-Tamagawa as a next generation business city in which people can choose a new working style, a cooperating office area in Shibuya and in the center of Tokyo and residential area around Futako-Tamagawa. If Tokyu succeeds in the invitation of enterprises, it will obtain profit not only via rental arrangements from offices but also by offering railway services as a means of worker’s transportation by supplying worker’s housing and by offering consumer services such as retail stores and restaurants. As we have explained, because Tokyu has run a broad type of business, it has comprehensive business chances by a creative city planning framework.

3.3. Futako-Tamagawa
We consider the reason why Tokyu chose Futako-Tamagawa as a model area for a creative city planning framework. First of all, Futako-Tamagawa is derived from “Futako-no-watashi” which is a ferry...
on the Tama River from the Edo period. In 1907, Tamagawa Electric Railway was opened and the end of this line is Tamagawa station (currently Futako-Tamagawa Station). At the time, the main purpose of this line was the transportation of pebbles to the center of Tokyo which were later taken riverside of Tama River to be used as building materials. In 1934, taking the pebbles of Tama River was prohibited and the Tamagawa Electric Railway was changed, becoming a passenger transportation business.

The first suburban shopping center in Japan, Tamagawa Takashimaya SC, was opened in 1969, with Futako-Tamagawa being changed into a commercial area. From 1922 to 1944, 1954 to 1985, and 1992 to 2000, there was an amusement park on the east side of Futako-Tamagawa Station. The recent redevelopment of Futako-Tamagawa was based on the former site of it and is called Futako-Tamagawa Rise. For details of the history of Futako-Tamagawa (see Shinkenchiku-Sha, 2013a, 2013b).

Recently, the area connecting Futako-Tamagawa, Shibuya and Jiyugaoka has been called the “Platina triangle” and forms a large consumption market (see Figure 2). In this area, the percentage of highly educated people is over 30% (the average for Tokyo prefecture is 25% and the average for Japan is 7%). This trend existed before Futako-Tamagawa was selected as the model area.

From the above-mentioned considerations, Futako-Tamagawa was seen as satisfying “talent” in the three T's of economic development advocated by Florida (2005a, 2005b). Moreover, the reason Futako-Tamagawa was chosen rather than Shibuya and Jiyugaoka in the platinum triangle is that it has a rich natural environment such as the Tama River while also having room for the building of new office buildings and residences through redevelopment to accept population inflow. In fact, the use of natural environments, such as Tama River and redevelopment, has contributed to realizing the creative city planning framework. We examine this commitment of Tokyu in the Section 4.

**4. Realization to creative city in Futako-Tamagawa**

In this section, we examine the commitment of Tokyu to realize the creative city involving enterprise association, such as the creative city consortium and administrative office under Florida's three T's of economic development frameworks.
4.1. Technology

To improve “Technology: a function of both innovation and high technology concentrations in a region” in the three T’s of economic development, the following implementation measures were introduced. First of all, Tokyu constructed a shopping center, residence, and business office. Concretely, in 2010 Tokyu built a new commercial facility, Futako-Tamagawa Rise Oak Mall and Futako-Tamagawa Rise Birds Mall and completed a new condominium, Futako-Tamagawa Rise Tower and Residence. Moreover, in 2011, it constructed a large shopping center in two buildings, including Futako-Tamagawa Rise Shopping center (1st stage) and a new commercial facility, Futako-Tamagawa Rise Dogwood Plaza and an office building, Futako-Tamagawa Rise Office. It has become a complex facility including not only shops and restraints but also the branch office of Setagaya ward and, finally, a post office, nursery school and clinic. The number of visitors to the Futako-Tamagawa Rise in 2013 is 18.29 million and rose, in 2014, is 19.16 million. Tokyu became an owner of the floor in Futako-Tamagawa Rise Office and opened “Catalyst BA” which is a studio and collaborating workplace. The purpose of Catalyst BA is to provide a connection point between people and information and that of the knowledge studio which creates the new values and also plays the role of incubator for the realization of the value. Now, Catalyst BA is the base for the creative city consortium. Moreover, Catalyst BA performs not only actively with respect to its consortium members but
also interacts actively among community residents, creators, and innovators in order to accelerate innovations that are unlikely to occur from the inside.

The project “Cuomo” of the creative city consortium influenced the realization of driving Segway on a public road, which is the first deregulation by the private company’s initiative (see Figures 3 and 4). In 2016, Tokyu and Segway JAPAN started “Segway tour in Futako-Tamagawa” with the cooperation of the Traffic environment purification promotion council and Setagaya Ward. In the tour, participants travelled the 5.6 km course including public roads (sidewalks), parks, and riverbeds. This program is a part of the evaluation of the next generation compact city which requires small mobility robots such as Segway.

Another feature of this project is the use of the Corporate Field Exception Tests System based on the Industrial Competitiveness Enhancement Act. If the regulations prevent the realization of the business idea of a company, then The Corporate Field Exception Tests System admit the exception for each company with a condition such as safety assurance. From the result of the “Public road experiment in Tsukuba mobility robot special district”, this project is applied in The Corporate Field Exception Tests System and can be managed by private corporations. In this way, Tokyu can be committed to the next generation urban development with new technology accompanying deregulation by the policy-maker.

4.2. Talent
As mentioned above, Futako-Tamagawa had already satisfied “Talent: those with a bachelor’s degree and above” in the three T’s of economic development via the existence of the platinum triangle connecting Futako-Tamagawa, Shibuya, and Jiyugaoka.

Moreover, in 2015, Tokyu constructed a new shopping center in two buildings, namely Futako-Tamagawa Rise Shopping Center (2nd stage) and an office building, Futako-Tamagawa Rise Tower Office. The conventional urban developments by railway companies are mainly limited to individuals.
but Tokyu has expanded the business to include companies. It succeeds the head office of Rakuten, Inc. (from now on referred to as “Rakuten”) which runs the biggest internet shopping mall in Japan and has since moved into the Futako-Tamagawa Rise Tower Office. The space of occupation by Rakuten is called “Crimson House” and was designed as an open office, its space is 63,449 m² and the number of workers is about 10 thousand. In this way, Tokyu is fortunate to have gathered new talent.

Furthermore, in 2015, the branch of the Setagaya municipal library was established in Futako-Tamagawa Rise Shopping Center, where citizens can borrow and return books. Also, “Futako-Tamagawa dream campus,” the branch of Tokyo City University, which is in Tokyu group and was established in 2015, often opens workshops in which citizens can participate. In 2015, the iTSCOM studio hall in Futako-Tamagawa Rise which is in Tokyu group was established and sends out information, culture, and entertainment associated with Futako-Tamagawa. In a variety of ways, Tokyu raises the cultural level in the area and positively gathers talent to Futako-Tamagawa.

4.3. Tolerance
In this subsection, we examine the way that Tokyu improves “Tolerance: opened inclusiveness and diversity to all ethnicities, races and walks of life” in the three T’s of economic development. In 2015, Setagaya ward, including Futako-Tamagawa, started to certify pledges for same-sex couples and issue certified documents. In Japan, local governments performing in this effort only included the Shibuya ward and the Setagaya ward in 2015 (see Murai, 2015). Therefore, this area is an advanced area with respect to same-sex couples.

However, the population in Setagaya ward is about 874,000 and that of foreigners in Setagaya ward is 16,000, about 1.8% of the population and this is the lowest in Tokyo’s 23 wards. Moreover, Futako-Tamagawa is a blank area with regard to art and culture. In 2015, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government decided on “Tokyo vision for arts and culture” (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 1934), the base guideline for future art and culture promotion, looking ahead toward the Tokyo Olympics and Paralympics and after them. Figure 5 presents areas with distinctive arts and cultural resources. Figure 5 proves that Futako-Tamagawa is a blank area with regard to arts and culture.

From what has already been mentioned, it can be seen that improving the residential environment, shopping center and infrastructure, Futako-Tamagawa can be recognized as the living base in a great area but not as an arts and culture base. However, to become a truly creative city, Futako-Tamagawa must develop as an arts and culture base and satisfy tolerance in the three T’s of economic development.
Therefore, in 2016, Tokyu, as a proposer with the Culture Convenience Club, Toshin Development Co., Ltd. Rakuten, held the art festival “Tokyo Art Flow 00” around the Futako-Tamagawa Station. The purpose of this festival was to recognize Futako-Tamagawa as not only a living base in a big area but also as an arts and culture base in the world.5

The theme of the first festival held in 2016 was “Human’s nature” and the art program was performed on the area from shopping facilities near the Futako-Tamagawa station to the riverbed of Tama River. This festival emphasized on the use of a riverbed as a symbol. The representative artwork was “Beautiful Bridge #2” by the two-person Swiss art unit, Lang/Baumann (see Figure 6). It is a public installation art piece and used the bridge piers of National Route 246 which is an important highway in Tokyo. Moreover, the artwork “Drone × Art HOTAL” was able to show drones flying around the riverside of Tama River like fireflies and collaborated with drones and art. These uses of the bridge piers of National Route 246 and riverside were influenced by the support of Keihin Office of River, Kanto Regional Development Bureau in Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism. In the future, the executive committee sends out the information relating to an art festival as advanced collaborative works with city and art all over the world to recognize Futako-Tamagawa internationally as a cultural base.

5. Discussion and conclusion
While most studies on the creative city focus on the policy of government or local government, we studied the creative city framework being led by a private company. Concretely, under the three T’s framework of the economic environment which is advocated by Florida, we examined how the private company creates the creative city and what it accepts in terms of government or local government during its development process. We focus on the case of development of the Futako-Tamagawa area, whose development was led by Tokyu.

First of all, Tokyu’s work on the creative city development framework required a corporate strategy in order to be successful in attracting companies. If Tokyu succeeds in attracting enterprises, it obtains profit not only through office rent but also by offering railway service means for worker’s transportation, by supplying worker’s housing and by providing consumer services such as retail stores and restaurants. The primary reason Tokyu chose Futako-Tamagawa as the model city is that Futako-Tamagawa already satisfied the “Talent” of the three T’s of economic development advocated by Florida. The other reasons are that Futako-Tamagawa has a rich environment including the Tama River and there is room for increasing the population to expand office buildings and residences by redevelopment.

Also, to realize the creative city planning framework, Tokyu gathered new talent by constructing new infrastructure and offering an activity base of open innovation. Moreover, accepting public support such as deregulation and permission to use public facilities, Tokyu completed the art festival including traveling public roads by Segway and the bridge piers of National Route 246. With these commitments, Tokyu intends to fulfill the three T’s of economic development. However, the art festival is still the first time in 2016 and sends out information now and how much people all over the world recognize this art festival is unknown. Therefore, the “Tolerance” of the three T’s of economic development is at a developing stage in Futako-Tamagawa.

However, the case in which a private company involves the administration and other companies to develop a city is rare. The point that indicates the method which changes a living base in a big area into an arts and culture base is an advanced case. Figure 7 summarizes Tokyu’s commitment to change Futako-Tamagawa to the creative city.

We find that the success factors relating to Tokyu’s ability to construct the creative city are as follows:
• It follows the basic theory faithfully which is advocated by Florida.
• It uses the support of corporate alliances and government and local government.
• It commits to creative city planning through strong leadership.

We examine the results of redevelopment of Futako-Tamagawa up to the present as follows. Figure 8 shows that the number of population of Tamagawa area in Setagaya Ward including Futako-Tamagawa at the end of fiscal year and the average number of passengers getting on and off the Futako-Tamagawa Station. The number of population is increasing gently, and the growth rate of population from 2010 to 2015 is about 5.9%. The average number of passengers was increased sharply in 2011 when it opened the 1st stage of Futako-Tamagawa Rise and 2015 when it opened the 2nd stage of it. The growth rate of population from 2010 to 2015 is about 45.8%.
Figure 9 shows that the land prices near the Futako-Tamagawa Station and the average land price of whole Tokyo per square meter. Both prices moved in the same way.

As a result, it founds that Tokyu succeeds in the increasing the population of Futako-Tamagawa and the passengers getting on and off the Futako-Tamagawa Station, but not succeed in raising the land prices yet. Just getting started the Tokyu’s commitments to change Futako-Tamagawa to the creative city, the results of them may appear some years later.

We reveal the actual state of working within the creative city planning framework as a private company. The problems of the urban development by the government or local government leadership are pointed in Section 2.3. In the Futako-Tamagawa creative city planning framework, Tokyu provides the traffic infrastructure and makes it possible to expand from urban to suburbs. In addition, by establishing a large enterprise federation called Creative City Consortium, the Futako-Tamagawa creative city planning framework is being carried out by 64 companies including railway, construction, real estate, manufacturing, IT communications, mass media, think tanks, and so on. These points are major contributions of creative city planning framework led not by government or local government, but by private company.

This study indicates what is important when constructing a creative city. It contributes not only to the proper planning of the corporate strategy to the private company when performing urban development, but also to policy-makers engaged in administration. Moreover, this study focuses on the construction of a creative city as a source of innovation and suggests a method for developing a city that is innovative.

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Notes
1. For the detail of the organization of Tokyu, refer to “Tokyu company information”, urlhttp://www.tokyu.co.jp/company/index.html
2. 2010 Population Census in Japan.
3. For details of this act, refer to “Industrial Competitiveness Enhancement Act” in Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry in Japan, urlhttp://www.meti.go.jp/english/
policy/economy/industrial_competitiveness_act/index.html.
4. For details of this campus, refer to “Futako-Tamagawa dream campus”; http://yumecampus.tcu.ac.jp.
5. For details of this art festival, refer to “Tokyo Art Flow 00”;
urlhttp://tokyoartflow.jp/.
6. The data is sourced from the Setagaya ward office.
7. The data is sourced from the website of Tokyo;
urlhttp://www.tokyo.co.jp/railway/data/passengers/.
8. These prices are the standard land prices investigated by the administrative division of Japan. The data is sourced from the “Land General Information System” offered by Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism;
urlhttp://www.land.mlit.go.jp/webland/.

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