

Self-Sustainability and Formation of the Public Sphere in Community Development Movement : One perspective exploring the mechanism of regional regeneration using a creative city policy

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1. Introduction

Recently the concept of a creative city has been increasingly drawing attention as a method of regenerating or revitalizing local communities. However, because the concept of a creative city does not have an established definition to which those concerned agree, policies and projects involved in culture and/or creativity in some way are included in the overall definition. Among these policies we find a variety of types, such as those aiming to develop cultural industries or to develop local communities, either government-led or private actor-led.

Regarding this policy, much concern has been directed towards the utilization of culture and art for regenerating a city or developing cultural industries, but what matters is how to bring about local activities using culture and art, and is the process that leads to the invigoration of the entire local community, as is seen in Charles Landry's basic assertion. While discussing what a creative city is and the policies needed for regenerating a regional area, we have to see how local activities take shape and develop via the policies.

This essay tries to explore something about the mechanism of a regional regeneration or revitalization employing a creative city policy. To do so, it takes up and examines community development activities initiated and

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promoted by the private actors involved, in terms of what is necessary for the activities to develop in a self-sustainable way with a focus on the role that culture and art, which are thought to be an important element in a creative city policy, play in this context.

2. Issue to be explored and perspectives

2-1. Issues to be explored

A creative city can be viewed as city that aims to be autonomously governed by civil creativity. Based on this view, the community development movement initiated and promoted by private actors can be regarded as one of the typical methods by which it realizes the regeneration or revitalization of a local community.

This essay takes up as one of the exemplars, the community development initiated and promoted by private actors, which is characterized as follows: an initiative originating in private actors, not in government sectors; not based on a definitive overall plan, but emergent; more concept-oriented and less interest-oriented. The reason why the essay takes up this private actor-led community development is not only because the mechanism of the development can be the framework for the supposed dynamism of a creative city mentioned above, but also because the public sector-led or -related development lacks the dynamism of revitalizing a local area and does not generate expected effect in many cases, as is indicated by Yabe (2010). However, some questions arise as to this kind of community development activities. Why is it possible for those activities, despite not being planned by the public sector but emergent and promoted by the initiative of private actors, to go on in a self-sustainable way? Where do their driving forces come from and how are they sustained? In this regard, the attention turns to the role of culture. As many cultural planners or theorists like Landry

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advocate, culture is thought to have some power to move people. The essay examines the mechanism of community development mainly in terms of how culture is involved in producing the driving forces needed for community development and forming the basis or framework to support it. For this purpose the essay employs the study of community development¹ from the perspective of culture as well as its involvement in the process.

2-2. Perspectives for the study

2-2-1. Driving forces for community development

Though being private, some of community development activities have a public aspect. What drives private actors to such public activities and promote them? This is a matter of where spontaneity and autonomy arise. This can be discussed in terms of their motivation for the activities. To consider what motivates private activities in community development, we can name 1) profit and 2) vision or philosophy. First, because community development activities by private actors are literally private, though having a public aspect, profit is an important motivation for their activities, as is the case with private business activities in general. Second, on the other hand, a wish or passion by those involved to improve or change their local community is thought to be a main motivation for these activities, but they are practically expressed more formally as a vision or philosophy. In forming a vision or philosophy, because they aim mainly at improving a local community, local identity or problems of the local community is thought to affect it in some way.

According to studies done on motivation there are two types, extrinsic and intrinsic². Based on these categories profit is categorized as extrinsic, while vision or philosophy is seen as intrinsic. Extrinsic motivation is the one given by outside stimulus and so on and does not last a long time. On the

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other hand, intrinsic motivation like spontaneity comes from within an individual and is thought to be important for the activities to last. The question I present is how can the self-sustainability of private activities be explained by such driving forces? Also if culture is introduced into community development, how is it involved and what role does it play? In the case of the activities with public orientation, a vision or philosophy is thought to play some role as a driving force, but can the activities be self-sustainable with only that? As to the involvement of culture; local identity that affects the formation of a vision or philosophy is thought to have something to do with it. In practice what role does local identity play?

2-2-2. Formation of the public sphere as a platform or basis for community development

Community development activities have to develop in a self-sustainable way in order to affect other actors so that they may bring about change to the local community. For activities to develop in a self-sustainable way, not only driving forces but also the framework to support the activities is needed. Therefore, it is necessary for the basis or platform for the activities to be formed in the local community. This is supposed to play the role of fostering and supporting individual activities and to produce cooperation and collaboration for community development. It functions as a kind of incubator for new activities or projects³.

The basis or platform is sustained by cooperative and collaborative relationships among actors engaged in community development that is formed by sharing a public purpose such as a regeneration or invigoration of a local community. As to how the cooperative and collaborative relationship should be, various forms and methods are discussed. This is a common area among actors, which does not exclude the public sector's participation, and is

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regarded as a kind of public sphere. Though there are various discussions over the concept of publicness or public sphere, this essay considers the public sphere based on the concept of a 'new publicness' which appeared and prevailed during the 1990s in Japan (Hayashi 2000). It does not mean the publicness that the government sector assumes in an absolute position, but one in which NPOs, citizens and others also assume an important role. Their contribution to public issues has been gradually recognized and the acceptance of this has changed the concept of publicness. The notion of public sphere used in this essay is predicated on the concept of new publicness. This is a framework based on the cooperation and interactions among members of a local community for public purpose beyond their individual interests and by which the members collectively govern the community by themselves⁴. What matters in this framework or public sphere is not that all members in the local community who are concerned with community development have to participate in the public sphere but that it has to be open to all members⁵. In this regard it is not strange that public sphere is in practice led by a small group of actors who have a strong concern and will to improve the local community⁶.

The questions I present are: what factors matter when the public sphere forms through private activities, what is the momentum and how is culture involved? We can see various arguments about the formation of public sphere, in which Nakai presents a noteworthy argument. Considering this issue as that of public conjunction, he argues, based on the survey of preceding arguments, that the fundamental point lies in how to understand the relationship between private and public interests (Nakai 2000). He examines the formation of a public conjunction using the following two points: 1) fundamental drive and 2) momentum⁷. As to the fundamental drive, he dismisses the thought that an individual has a public and private aspect and that

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publicness is formed when individuals interact with each other and their public parts get together, and employs the thought that publicness is formed based on each individual's interest. Building on this thought, he insists that the best condition for public conjunction is when the utility of each individual is maximized. He goes on to argue that if each individual reserves a part of his right to construct a commons, it can increase public interest and thereby each individual's utility will rise. This can be translated into diverting a part of private activity to a public purpose. Regarding community development, it is thought that if a private actor redirects part of his private activity to a public purpose and in turn cooperation or collaboration arises among actors with same purpose, public sphere can be formed⁸. His assertion is the basis of this essay when addressing the formation of public sphere. Nakai, as to the matter of momentum, demonstrates the importance of leadership and argues how it should be. Considering the culture's role with which this essay is concerned, if it is involved in the formation of public sphere, that is thought to be associated to the matter of momentum. A public purpose or vision for the community has to be shared among actors for cooperation and/or collaboration to arise in these activities. Then how is culture involved there?

3. Case study

In order to examine the mechanism for the community development, this section takes up 2cases, Nagahama and Beppu city. It examines the driving forces and public sphere for community development activities by private actors mainly from the perspective of the involvement of culture.

3-1. Nagahama city⁹

3-1-1. Outline of community development in Nagahama

Brief summary

A public-private enterprise, but in reality led by the private actors, called “Kurokabe” appeared in the deteriorated central shopping area of Nagahama city in the end of 1980s and has substantially changed and revitalized the local community through its activities.

Location, population, industry

Nagahama city is located in the central part of Japan, near Kyoto. Total population is about 120,000. Developed as a merchant town, but in recent years it has been growing due to its acceptance of manufacturing industry.

Initial situation (background)

As is the case with almost all of central shopping areas in provincial cities in Japan, that area in Nagahama had been in decline since the 1970s for a complex set of reasons. Despite various efforts made by the local governments and related bodies, the decline continued. By the end of 1980s a majority of shops had closed.

3-1-2. Kurokabe’s activities and their effects

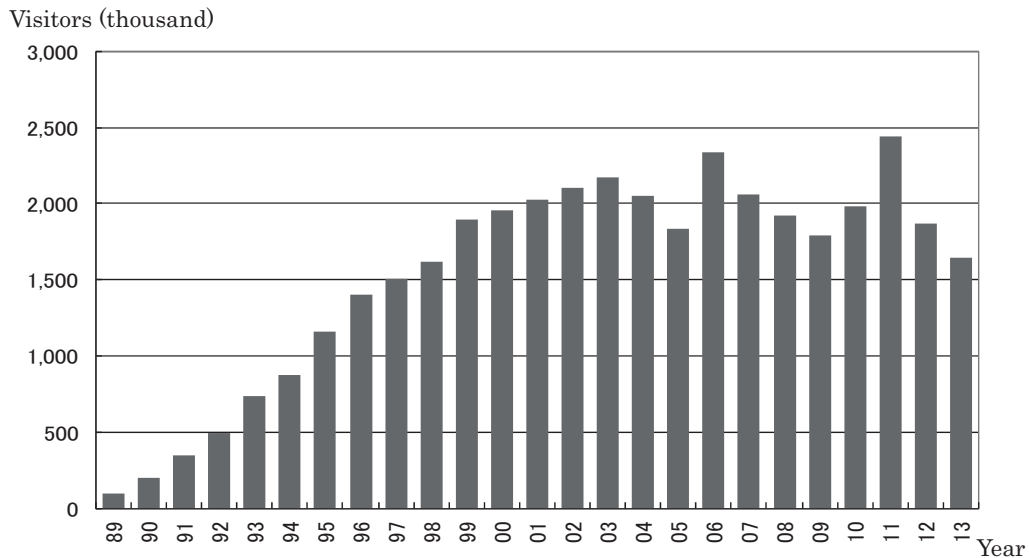
Process

Kurokabe initially took over a historical building with a value for preservation then refitted it for a glass-working manufacturing, display and sales business. Kurokabe’s activities are not simply aimed at pursuing a glass business, but at preserving and regenerating the townscape of Nagahama city through reusing purchased buildings for shops and other businesses. It can be said that Kurokabe performs a public aspect of activities as well as a private one. Kurokabe opened three shops in 1989, and then added four more shops

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in 1991. Thereafter, actors who shared in this vision within or outside the city joined Kurokabe’s businesses and Kurokabe formed their group which now consists of more than 30 shops and other businesses.

Graph: Change in the number of visitors to the area



Source: Kurokabe Co.’s URL, <http://www.kurokabe.co.jp/about/company.html>, 16/July/2014

Due to Kurokabe and its associates’ activities, visitors (including tourist and consumers) to the area gradually increased. Initially, in 1989 the number of visitors to the area was about 100,000, but surpassed 2 million in 2000 and reached 2.5 million in 2011. Accordingly as visitors increased, Kurokabe’s income rose, further sustaining the public aspect of its activity. Other shops and businesses were positively impacted by the success of Kurokabe and many of the owners or managers changed their attitude towards businesses and became positive. Consequently empty houses and closed shops considerably decreased.

Culture’s involvement

Kurokabe’s main purpose is to maintain and support the large traditional

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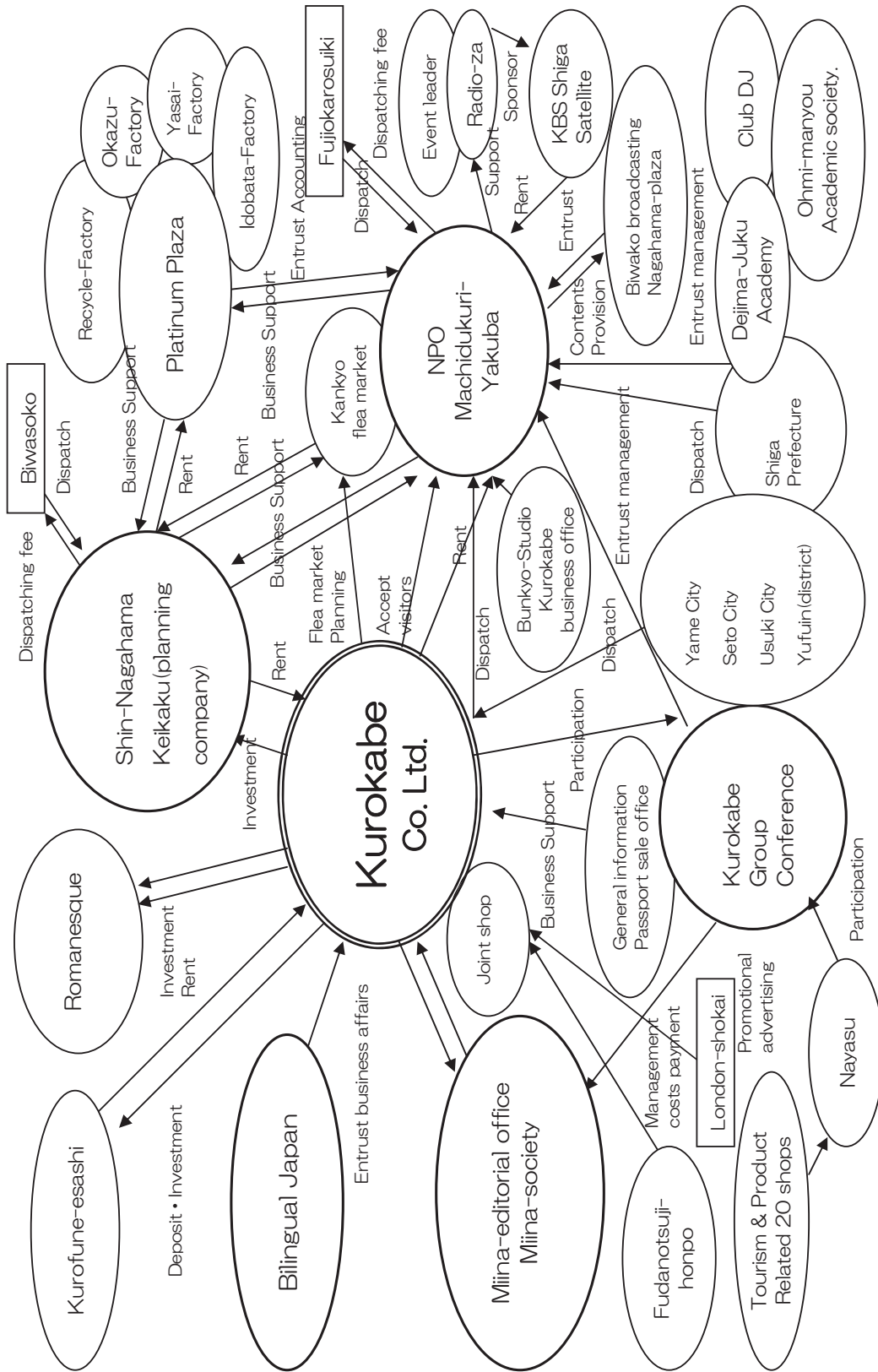
event, Hikiyama Festival and preserve the townscape in the central area. These are distinctive cultural aspects symbolic of Nagahama. Hikiyama Festival had traditionally been supported by merchants since the founding of the city in the 1570s, but if the central area had continued its decline, which means the number of merchants decreases, that festival could not have been maintained. That was also true of the townscape. In order to maintain the two forms of culture the city's central area had to be revitalized.

3-1-3. Networking among actors in Nagahama's central area

Kurokabe not only operates its own businesses but also plays a leading role in community development in Nagahama. Impacted by their activities, many civic organizations were established and an encompassing network for community development was formed with Kurokabe at the center.

There are various social networks in Nagahama. Previously they engaged in their respective activities separately, but things changed in 1995 when a large event in which many citizens participated was carried out. After that, these networks became connected to each other and Kurokabe played an important role in the process. Now this newly connected network covers community and business activities in the city's central area and new activities are born and being developed within the network. Among them are Machidukuri-Yakuba, Platinum Plaza and Dejima-Juku Academy, which are now playing a leading role in the community development.

Figure: Relation among actors engaged in community activities in Nagahama city



Source: Kurokabe Co.'s URL, <http://www.kurokabe.co.jp/about/company.html>, 16/July/2014

3-2. Beppu city¹⁰

3-2-1. Outline of community development in Beppu

Brief summary

Stimulated by community development of private actors to revitalize Beppu city, an NPO venture called “Beppu Project” started its art activities and in turn impacted other actors. There are multiple activities operating separately, but those involved are communicating and collaborating with each other, thus forming one movement as a whole.

Location, population, industry

Beppu city is located on the island of Kyushu in the southwestern part of Japan. Total population is about 120,000, nearly the same as Nagahama city. Tourism is the single most important industry in the city. Hotels, entertainment venues, shops and other service businesses are heavily dependent on tourists visiting the local hot springs.

Initial situation (background)

Because of its abundance of hot springs Beppu was originally developed as a tourist city, but as Japanese society has matured Beppu’s old fashioned tourism has gradually lost its popularity. The decrease in tourists has considerably impacted the city’s local economy and community. The decline has been particularly evident in the central area where many shops and various kinds of commercial facilities gathered.

In order to prevent the further decline of Beppu city and revitalize it, various community development activities, among which Hattoh Onpak and Hattoh Trust have played a leading role, started around the year 2000. In many cases these activities were associated to the use of hot springs for tourism or the preservation of historical buildings.

3-2-2. Beppu Project's activities and their effects

Process

Encouraged by community development in Beppu city, NPO Beppu Project was set up in 2005 with the mission of 'bringing out the potentiality of art for society' (NPO Beppu Project 2015) and tried to carry it out through practicing art activities in Beppu city. Beppu Project promoted and implemented the International Contemporary Art Festival 'Mixed Bathing World' in 2009 and 2012 with the cooperation of local governments and private actors engaged in community development. The festival is triennial and will next be held in 2015. Beppu Project is also implementing a yearly event called Beppu Art Month, which provides venue for cultural programs by residents including exhibitions, dances, traditional singing events, film screenings and so on.

In accordance with the policy for the revitalization of the city's central area, Beppu Project and the city local government have set up several hubs for residents' art and other various activities. Since Beppu Project started its activities, the number of cultural activities by local people has increased and community development as a whole has been more active, though visible economic gains have not been realized as yet.

Culture's involvement

People in Beppu city, particularly actors engaged in community development, place a high value on hot spring bathing as culture. Beppu Project brought art into the local community. The art itself is entirely new to the local culture, but Beppu Project values hot spring bathing as well as other forms of culture and has tried to associate art with the local culture, thus making people active in art.

3-2-3. Networking among actors in Beppu's community development

The main events, Mixed Bathing World and Art Month, which Beppu Project plays a central role in promoting and implementing, are supported with the cooperation of other actors such as private actors engaged in community development, local governments (Beppu city, Oita prefecture) and Beppu chamber of commerce. Almost all of the same members are involved in the planning of the revitalization of the city's central district as well as other activities. In this capacity they virtually form a network as a whole.

They not only have formal forums for exchanging information and ideas such as the conference for the revitalization of the city's central district and the executive committee for Mixed Bathing World, but also many and various informal forums as well.

4. Analysis

This section analyses the two cases described in the previous section in accordance with the viewpoints discussed in section 2. We try to make an interpretation as to why and how unplanned but emergent private activities in community development without a public sector's initiative are driven and self-sustained.

Preceding the analysis, we organize the characteristics of community developments in Nagahama and Beppu and show them in the below table.

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Table: Characteristics of community development in Nagahama and Beppu

	Nagahama	Beppu
population	121,000	122,000
main industry	retail, manufacturing	tourism
area in question	central district	central district and its neighboring areas
key player	Kurokabe Co., Ltd.	NPO Beppu Project Hattoh Onpaku Hattoh Trust
main activities of the key player	glass production and sales; preservation and reuse of historical buildings	art activities: projecting and implementing art festivals, design in product development; hot spring tourism and related projects; preservation and reuse of historical buildings
appearance and promotion of community activities	basically unplanned, emergent, organic	basically unplanned, emergent, organic
relationship among actors	network relationship	network relationship
forums	mainly informal ones around the key player with formal committees	mainly ad hoc formal committees with many informal ones around the key players
local government's involvement	not main actor; engaged in creating the basis including infrastructure improvements	not main actor; engaged in creating the basis including infrastructure improvements
driving forces	philosophy, profit	vision (mission)
role of local identity	stimulates philosophy of the main activities	stimulates local cultural activities
role of local culture	stimulates philosophy of the main activities	stimulates local cultural activities; affects the formation of the basis for the public sphere
role of art or non local culture	initially not involved	stimulates local cultural activities
relationship between profit and non profit activities	strong link	indirect relationship

4-1. Driving forces

In section 2, the essay considered 1) profit and 2) vision or philosophy as a driving force for private activities in community development. It also discussed the issue that local identity or problems of the local community have much to do with the formation of the vision or philosophy.

In the case of Nagahama, Kurokabe acted as a central player for

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community development and initiated its activity for the purpose of maintaining and supporting local cultural legacies. Local culture has shaped the local identity of Kurokabe, which has considerably affected the development of the activity's philosophy. In this respect, local culture can be regarded as a main cause of triggering activities. The non-profit or public aspect of Kurokabe's activities affected citizen's civic activities yet on the other hand, the success in business stimulated business for shop owners, managers and other business actors. In the case of Beppu, a vision or mission is the driving force for Beppu Project's activities. When its activities inspired other actors, local culture and identity has contributed to facilitating those activities.

In both cases a vision or philosophy played an important role as a driving force, and we can see the involvement of each city's local culture or identity. However, for those activities to continue, other things are required, most notably profitability. In the case of Nagahama's Kurokabe project, local identity initially drove its activities. It engaged in preserving or renovating the townscape, thus making the city's public space attractive, and as a consequence, increased visitors. This has in turn brought about more income for Kurokabe's businesses, which has led to sustaining the public aspect of the activities. In this consideration public space can be regarded as a kind of commons. There we can see the circulative or mutually interdependent relationship that non-profit activities, driven by local identity or public purpose, improve cultural attractiveness of public space and sustain profit-oriented ones and that then the income earned by profit-oriented activities sustains non-profit ones.

This relationship can be more easily understood by using the concept of cultural capital and cultural value propounded by David Throsby (2000). In accordance with those concepts, we in this essay interpret public space with

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a traditional cultural legacy and landscape seen in Nagahama as cultural capital and regard cultural attractiveness it produces as cultural value. In this essay we derive one particularly important aspect of Throsby's assertion and that is that cultural capital has cultural value and that in some cases cultural value produces economic value. Applying this to the case of Nagahama, we can explain the relationship as follows: performing a public aspect of a private activity = investment in cultural capital (public space) → the rise of cultural value → the increase or securement of business profit → investment in cultural capital.

This formula is also true of the case of Beppu, but in a less conspicuous fashion.

The mutually interdependent relationship between for-profit activities and non-profit ones can be one explanation as to the self-sustainability of private activities. Yet, for activities to develop so that they can change a local community, a platform for sustaining and facilitating further activities is needed in community development. That is public sphere.

4-2. Formation of public sphere and culture

In both cases, not publicly planned but emergent private activities, while pursuing their own purposes respectively, share a common purpose of regenerating their local communities with other activities and public bodies. They have cooperative and collaborative relationship between them and govern their local communities by themselves based on that relationship, thus forming a kind of public sphere¹¹. The public sphere in either case plays the role of providing a basis for private activities and functions as a kind of incubator for new activities or projects.

In the case of Nagahama, the community development movement created by Kurokabe has formed the network. As a result of a large event in the

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city, various networks sharing the same purpose of invigorating the city have linked with each other using Kurokabe's network as a center. This led to an enlarged network of local activities, thus forming the basis for public sphere. Culture's involvement in the formation of public sphere in Nagahama is unclear and is not easily explained. A passion or philosophy regarding local culture, which has played a driving force for the activity, is shared among actors surrounding Kurokabe. However, in cases where the network has become too large it is unreasonable to think that the passion for local culture can still be shared among actors in that enlarged network.

In Nagahama public sphere has been formed around the network of the community development movement initiated by Kurokabe and so it has been practically led by Kurokabe. But, some activities, which were generated in the regional invigoration (created by the above mentioned large event), have gradually developed and now to assume the role of a nucleus, making the public sphere multinucleate. The public sphere does not have its own particular organization, but various opportunities for numerous interactions within the network virtually form public sphere in which the NPO Machidukuri-Yakuba, (Community Development Office), plays a central role in managing the interactions.

In the case of Beppu, the hot springs are the most important economic resources and hot spring bathing is regarded by local people as an important part of their local culture. Previous actors engaged in community development have been loosely linked with each other through their involvement with this local culture. Then Beppu Project brought in art in this situation. Art has made local people rediscover the attractiveness of their local culture and its meaning for the community and stimulated local identity. Beppu Project's activity and art, which has been associated with the public purpose of regenerating or invigorating a local community, have not directly

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but consequently made individual community activities interact with each other, leading to the creation of the network encompassing various local activities, on the basis of which public sphere has been formed. In this process local culture has played the role of common language and associated actors with the public purpose.

It is thought that the public sphere in Beppu's community development was formed during the momentum created by Beppu Project's participation in existing community development activities. Therefore the public sphere is sustained by plural organizations including Beppu Project as a key player. As is the same with Nagahama, the public sphere does not have its own particular organization, but the network has various formal or informal opportunities for interactions among actors and they virtually functions as public sphere.

In the above two cases of community development, private activities, which have a shared public purpose and a non-profit aspect in accordance with that purpose, cooperate and collaborate with each other and thus form public sphere. In this regard, as Nakai argues, if actors reserve a part of their private right or profit in a private activity and redirect it to an activity with public purpose it can build a foundation for the formation of public sphere (Nakai *op.cit.*). This argument is applicable in both Nagahama and Beppu's cases. It is thought to be partly because public sphere can directly contribute to the profits of private activities due to the relatively small size of their cities. There the potential of local culture to produce economic value was made visible by being addressed by a main actor, Kurokabe in Nagahama or Beppu Project in Beppu and thus appealed to other actors, consequently having led to the cooperation and collaboration for the public purpose.

If public sphere directly contributes to private activities, some momentum

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is needed for it to be formed. There is a different explanation as to local culture's involvement in the formation of public sphere. The association of local culture with public purpose is explained by the concept of cultural value. According to Throsby, cultural value comprises various elements and among them is social value (Throsby *op.cit.*)¹². Throsby explains that it is associated with a sense of connection with others and may contribute to a comprehension of the nature of the society in which we live and to a sense of identity and place (Throsby *ibid.*, p29). From this argument it can be deduced that social value of local culture can turn people's attentions to social matters in the local area and appeal to their local identity thus associating people with public purpose.

5. Conclusions

This essay explored the mechanism of a regional regeneration or revitalization which a creative city policy seeks to realize and for this purpose examined community development activities by private actors in terms of how culture is involved in producing the driving forces needed for community development and forming public sphere as the basis or framework to support it. In other words, it explored why and how unplanned but emergent private activities without a public sector's initiative are driven and self-sustained.

To examine the above issues the essay took up two cases, Nagahama and Beppu city. In the two cases a vision or philosophy has played an important role as a driving force, where we can see the involvement of local culture or identity. However, for activities to continue, another factor is required. Profitability is the main one. One possibility is the circulative or mutually interdependent relationship between the public aspect of activities and the private one. It evolves when non-profit activities, driven by local identity or

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public purpose, improve the cultural value of public space as a commons, which leads to sustaining for-profit activities. Then the income earned by for-profit activities in turn sustains non-profit ones.

Community development activities, which have a shared public purpose and a non-profit aspect in accordance with the purpose, cooperate and collaborate with each other and thus form the basis or platform for those activities, a kind of public sphere. To build the foundation actors have to reserve a part of their private right or profit of a private activity and redirect it to an activity with public purpose. The reason why it was realized in the two cases is thought to be partly because public sphere can directly contribute to the profits of private activities due to the relatively small size of their cities. In this regard, a main actor in either case addressed local culture and made visible its economic value, which appealed to other actors and led to the cooperation and collaboration for the public purpose associated with the local culture. If public sphere directly contributes to private activities, some momentum is needed for it to be formed. In both cases local culture is also involved in the formation of public sphere in that social value of local culture can turn people's attentions to social matters in the local area and appeal to their local identity thus associating people with public purpose.

These findings are drawn from limited cases and to some extent dependent on the unique situations in each of the cases. Therefore it is difficult to deduce generalized insights from the above case studies. With regards to public sphere, the detail of what it is in concrete terms has to be examined as to whether it really functions. And concerning its formation, the detailed process has to be analyzed. For this purpose, we advocate introducing two concepts: network organization¹³ as a framework for examining the governance aspect of public sphere and 'ba' or interactive field¹⁴, to analyze the dynamic relationship among actors that constitute public sphere.

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- 1 In Japan there are various types of discussion about community development. However, this essay has a particular concern with the relationship between a public and private aspect of community development and therefore uses as a reference mainly Hayashi (2000), Satoh & Soda (2005) and Satoh (2011).
 - 2 There are other categories based on other classifications. Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation are based on the incentive theory (Mino & Oishi 2007). The reason why I use this theory is that profit, vision and philosophy is thereby well explained as a driving force for community development.
 - 3 As to the platform, there are many arguments mainly in urban planning field, because it is thought to be an important element constituting the governance for community development.
 - 4 In other words, (a) to share a public purpose and (b) to have cooperation and interactions among actors can be regarded as the conditions of the basis for the formation of the public sphere that this essay takes up.
 - 5 As seen in many assertions like Hashizume (2000), openness is regarded to be the most fundamental condition for public sphere.
 - 6 The issue of legitimacy and fairness has to be discussed sufficiently, but it is beyond the capacity of this essay.
 - 7 In addition to these two points, Nakai refers to apparatus to maintain and continue public conjunction and discusses it as a matter of organization (Nakai 2000).
 - 8 Kokuryo (2001) argues that Linux, an operating system for personal computers, which is open to the public was born and has developed in the same logic. The system has been developed by the volunteer contribution of many engineers through computer networks. It is supposed that the cooperation of the engineers has been sustained by the thought that the development of the system would activate their business field and consequently lead to their own profit.
 - 9 The description of this subsection is mainly based on the interview conducted with

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Hiroko Yamazaki (September 9th 2005 and 22nd March 2006) and the following literature: Yabe (2000, 2001), Nakagawa (2001), Dejima (2003), Yamazaki (2002), Nojima & Matsumoto (2001), Nojima (2001), Kurokabe URL (2014) and Machidukuri-Yakuba URL (2014).

10 The description of this subsection is mainly based on the interview conducted with Kumiko Aramaki (June 9th and July 14th 2014), Kuniaki Kadowaki (June 9th and July 14th 2014) and Shigeaki Ono (July 14th 2014) and the following literature: Chiikisouzou (2010, 2012), Ogiwara (2012), Makita (2010), Koizumi (2010), Yoshimoto (2012) and Beppu Project URL (2014).

11 In both cases the two conditions for the formation of the public sphere indicated in footnote 4 can be regarded to be satisfied.

12 Throsby describes 6 values as important constituent elements of cultural value: (a) Aesthetic value, (b) Spiritual value, (c) Social value, (d) Historical value, (e) Symbolic value, (f) Authenticity value (Throsby *op.cit.* p28-29).

13 Network organization is one framework for relationships where various actors – individuals, groups or organizations – are connected to each other horizontally and flexibly in order to achieve a specific and common purpose. And by doing so, each actor can make decisions in an autonomous and self-governing way. This concept can explain the structure of governance in public sphere created by community development activities.

14 Ba is not a structure of organization, but denotes the relationship found in the process of activities and sets out to discuss the dynamism. According to Takayuki Itami, one of the leading advocates of this theory, ba is a framework for the situation in which people participate, make casual observation, communicate, understand, reach out and have common experiences with each other. There, people have frequent and meaningful interactions and exchange information with each other in various ways, thus influencing their overall understanding or perspective (information aggregate). The whole process can be regarded as information

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interaction and ba is the container of such interaction.

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