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〈論文〉

Urban Redevelopment in Osaka: The More Gentrified, the Less Crafted?

Meric Kirmizi[1)]

Abstract

The case of the Horie area in Osaka's Nishi Ward provides an example of how an urban neighbourhood change was carried out through a collaboration of local actors, individual developers, and capital from Tokyo during the post-industrial era. In this paper, I represent how area businesses related to wood have experienced and are interpreting this neighbourhood change. Based on interviews with local shopkeepers and employees, my research shows that the revitalization of the area's shopping street, Tachibana Street, represents a case of partial commercial gentrification, centred on the voluntary displacement of some of the former furniture shops. Accordingly, there is less craftsmanship in the more homogenized physical environment that has emerged during redevelopment. I argue that craftsmanship rather than consumption could have provided a guiding spirit for the ideal urban and neighbourhood changes as exemplified by some of the remaining long-established businesses in Horie.

Keywords: Neighbourhood change, Osaka, post-bubble era, commercial gentrification, craftsmanship

1. Introduction

This paper examines the current environment of the Horie neighbourhood in Osaka's Nishi Ward (see Figure 1 and Figure 2) by following its change over the last 30 years, which corresponds to the period after the collapse of the asset bubble in Japan. Horie's redevelopment process was implemented by a collaboration of local actors, individual developers, and Tokyo capital. Consequently, the furniture shops that had once given the area its identity decreased to approximately one-third in number. According to Nishi Ward's residential maps, there were approximately 51 furniture, Buddhist altar, and fanlight shops (including the branches of the same company) on and around the area's shopping street in 1988, when it was called Tachibana Street. The number of such shops decreased to approximately 47 in 1994, 41 in 2000, and 19 in 2014. At the same time, the number of other service businesses, particularly apparel shops, increased so substantially that Horie's image was changed to that of a fashionable town of youth. The number of apparel shops increased from two in 1997 to 60 in 2003; in addition, ten accessory and interior shops were opened (Kawaguchi 2008). In this sense, Horie is a

good place to study the transformation of urban material culture and understand the urban change that occurred in Osaka after the bubble economy. The changing nature of area businesses is representative of both production and consumption activities in Horie.

This paper examines how area's woodwork businesses experienced and interpreted this neighbourhood change in relation to its background, factors, effects, process, outcomes, and areas of improvement. I performed interviews at eleven wood-related businesses in Horie in August and September 2014 and in March 2015 (see Figure 8 in the Appendix) and analyzed these interviews with a focus on the constraints upon family businesses and craftsmanship culture.

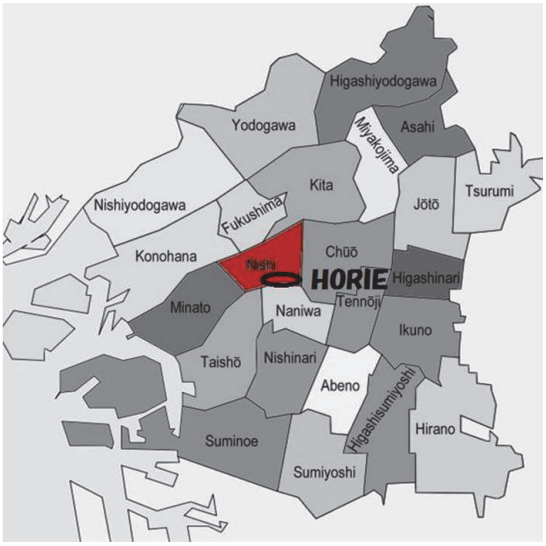

Figure 1 Horie Area in Nishi Ward, Osaka City (Source: Created from Wikipedia)

Figure 2 Close-up of Horie and Neighbouring Areas and Roads (Source: Created from Google Maps)

2. Theory

Commercial gentrification, also known as “boutiqueification” and “retail gentrification”, was defined as “the gentrification of commercial premises or commercial streets or areas” (Lees et. al. 2008: 131). As a result of commercial gentrification, “economic modernization and global consumer culture” represented a threat to local shopping streets which made up a “cultural ecosystem” with “feelings of local identity and belonging” (Zukin 2012: 281). In other cases of retail gentrification, traditional retail markets might become “shop windows for gentrified authenticity” (Gonzalez and Waley 2013: 965). The disappearance of local shopping streets and traditional markets also diminished the chances of sociability:

> Yet with more people shopping online, and many products made technologically obsolete by digital formats and changing consumer tastes, small shops, restaurants, and cafés that are traditional spaces of local sociability have disappeared. New cultures and lifestyles spawn yoga studios, espresso bars and “ethnic” food stores. What does all of this mean for the urban experience? What does it mean for the city’s social, cultural, and economic diversity? Are local shopping streets, and cities, becoming more alike—or do they remain both distinctive and different? (Zukin, Kasinitz and Chen 2015)

The new places were not for the people, who were living in a neighbourhood earlier. Schlack and Turnbull (2015) made the following remark about the retail gentrification on Caupolican Street in Italia-Caupolican, Santiago: "neither their [the new retail shops] product offer nor prices correspond to the usual lifestyle of the neighbourhood." (Schlack and Turnbull 2015: 363) Sequera and Janoschka (2015) expressed a similar viewpoint for "fashion and retail gentrification" in Triball, Madrid: "the characteristics of the new trendy fashion designer shops aspire to attract a public that is entirely different to the traditional public of the area." (Sequera and Janoschka 2015: 383) Regarding the commercial gentrification of San Telmo, Buenos Aires, Herzer, Di Virgilio and Rodriguez (2015) claimed that new amenities, targeting "other publics", caused indirect displacement (Herzer, Di Virgilio and Rodriguez 2015: 217). These other publics related to a place only by consuming its various attributes, including authenticity, as in the cases of favela gentrification of Rio de Janeiro or "Mexicaneity" (Jones 2015: 266) of Puebla, Mexico.

On the receiving side, the original inhabitants were usually dissatisfied with commercialization and touristification of their neighbourhoods. In San Telmo, Buenos Aires, they considered it as an "invasion" (Herzer, Di Virgilio and Rodriguez 2015: 213). Jones described the process of "barrios being converted in to 'Disneylandia'" (Jones 2015: 272) in Puebla, Mexico as a "sense of loss" (Ibid: 279), akin to a personalized violence by gentrification. The result of change was an "emptied space" (Ibid: 277), which contradicted with the area's earlier liveliness. Chakravarty and Qamhaieh (2015) underlined a similar contradiction in revitalizing

Abu Dhabi's city centre, which had already been vital. Similarly, this study inquired about the socio-spatial outcomes of Horie's revitalization in the 1990s as a clue to understand the process of Japanese urban change over the last 30 years.

Commercial gentrification was also conceivable in terms of a replacement of a craftsmanship culture by a more homogenized consumer culture. Craftsmanship was defined as "an enduring, basic human impulse, the desire to do a job well for its own sake" (Sennett 2008: 9). The craftsman's workshop which in the past used to be his home provided a social space where tacit knowledge was created collectively through "the thousand little everyday moves that add up in sum to a practice" (Ibid: 77). The variations, flows, and irregularities of handwork were regarded as indicators of "character" as opposed to the "industrialized simulacrum". Such variations taught modesty based on an awareness of one's limits or imperfections. The attitude of craftsmanship embraced not only its limits but also resistance and ambiguity in work because "working with resistance is the key to survival" (Ibid: 226). Craftsmanship provided people with meaning in their life through a sense of vocation.

The market in its various forms throughout history was found as significant. Accordingly, "you will only understand what the public has become if you examine the branded stores, boutiques, discount chains, and websites where we shop" (Zukin 2004: 10). Shopping was "about the self" as well as a "public realm" and provided "freedom from work and politics, a form of democracy open to all, and an exercise of skill to get the cheapest and the best" (Ibid: 34). New social space and habits of shopping reflected social change. For example, people resorted to designer's names "in the chaotic world of new products and lifestyles" (Ibid: 142) where "markets, not communities, define us" (Ibid: 266). Shopping was thus suggested as a means to the ideals of pleasure, a sharpened sense of value, and a public space.

One could develop an understanding of craftsmanship as a means to "achieve a more humane material life" (Sennett 2008: 8) or look to consumption as the search for value and realm of dreaming of "a perfect society" (Zukin 2004: 10). A comparison of these two viewpoints of social change with a focus on change in material culture, as well as human-social ideals can enlighten us in our search for the ideal urban change or city. In other words, an understanding of which source of commonality – production or consumption – was promoted by a particular case of urban redevelopment might help to identify its problems. I will apply that framework to examination of Horie's commercial gentrification in my analysis of business interviews.

3. Background of Area Businesses

Horie's shopping street, which is central to this study, used to be called *Tachibana Dori* (橘通) in the Edo Period. It changed first to *Minami Horie Kami Dori* in 1872, and then to *Minami Horie Tachibana Dori 1-6 Chōme* in 1959. The *Tachibana* name disappeared in 1978 with the introduction of new residence indicators,

which officially erased the historical names of streets. Furniture, and particularly wardrobe shops, family altar shops, and some second-hand shops lined Tachibana Street, starting from the end of Edo Period. The place flourished as a furniture market in the Meiji and Taisho eras. It had already become "the number one furniture street" (Sagara 2004: 126) in Osaka in the late 1920s. In the 1930s, *Minami Horie Kami Dori* had approximately 150 shops related to furniture business (Sagara 2004; Mittomo et. al. 2006). Some of the major furniture shops which were established on Tachibana Street in the last century are shown in Figure 3.

1919	*Kishi Tansu* shop opened
~1925	Onoe Furniture opened
~1930s	*Ichimatsu Kagu* opened
1934	*Hanasaki Kagu* Co., Ltd. was established
1951	*Horie Kagu* Co., Ltd. was established
1956	*Daiwa Kagu* Co., Ltd. was established (name changed to Cubic Style in 2000)
1987	Scale (IDEE Osaka shop) was established

Figure 3 Major Furniture Shops Established on Tachibana Street in the Twentieth Century

Furniture demand rose because the population increased and the affluent merchants bought chests (*nagamochi*), wardrobes (*tansu*), and family altars (*butsudan*). Horie furniture began to be sold to the other parts of Japan, too. Since the furniture shops specialized in different kinds of furniture, designed for different tastes, they could exist side by side on Horie's shopping street without suffering from too much rivalry. Furniture which was produced in various areas, such as Tokushima and Wakayama was carried to Osaka in a disassembled form. It was then, rebuilt and finished by upholstery shops in nearby Sangenya, Taisho Ward before being distributed to Horie's retailers (Mittomo et. al. 2006).

Horie's furniture business remained viable for 200 years. However, furniture demand decreased after the post-war reconstruction and high-economic growth periods in Japan for reasons including suburbanization, changes in living or housing style, built-in furniture of apartment houses, and changes in consumer tastes. Japan's culture of thrift, epitomized by the expression, "what a waste" (*mottainai*) transformed into a "throw-away society" (*poisute jidai*). Subsequently there was a trend toward "simple living" (*danshari*) culture as craftsmanship declined and mass production rose. Thereupon, the sense of furniture as something to buy once to last for a lifetime weakened (Mittomo et. al. 2006).

4. Area-business Downturns and Change: Factors and Effects

After the end of the golden years in wood-related businesses, between the end of the war and the collapse

of the economic bubble in the early 1990s[2)], all of the furniture shops in Horie that survived experienced some type of change in their businesses to adapt to the changing business environment. In 1991, the amount of annual product sales in the Japanese furniture retail industry was the highest since 1972 at approximately 2,740,000 Million Yen. The total number of retail furniture establishments dropped from approximately 22,000 in 1972 to 10,000 in 2007 (see Figure 4). There was also a decrease in the number of furniture manufacturing establishments from 2002 to 2012. As to the Japanese furniture trade, imports have been increasing, whereas exports have been decreasing despite an irregular, large increase in 2010.

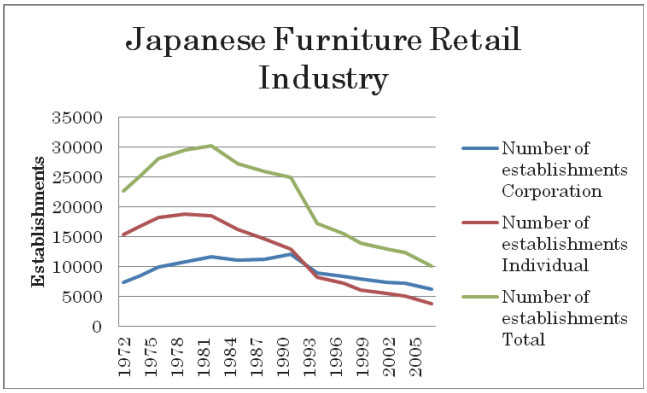

Figure 4 Number of Establishments in the Japanese Furniture Retail Industry
(Source: Created from Nippon Kagu Sangyō Shinkō-kai)

4.1. Long-established Family Businesses Facing Environmental Change

Some interviewees who were born into families that had long been in the furniture business in Horie assumed their work identity so strongly that it also became their personal identity. A female furniture shop-owner on Tachibana Street, which was a shopping street for furniture and Buddhist altar shops until the 2000s, described her work by saying, "I have been running a furniture store (business) since I was born." and "I belong to this household, not as a bride, but I was born here in this furniture store, and I am a furniture store (owner)" (C 2014). She did not make furniture, she only sold it. Unlike a carpenter who owned a wooden-toy shop at a place apart from the shopping street. Both the female furniture shop-owner and the carpenter were continuing in their family businesses which were single locations that dated back to their grandparents' era before WWII when Horie and most of Osaka were destroyed by air raids (Osakashi-shi Hensan-sho). Moreover, neither one had successors to whom they would hand over their work. Therefore, their family businesses would have to end with them. The same situation applied to a fanlight craftsman who has been continuing his father's work for about sixty years but whose son chose another profession.

The carpenter took over his work from his father who had taken it over from his own father. The carpenter's

grandfather used to make wooden boxes for stores that sold bowls and vases. The carpenter had been exposed to the business since childhood in the family house and workshop that accommodated the family and four other craftsmen. Their products and services evolved following changes in society and demand from wooden boxes for bowls to hand-painted (see Figure 5), large oblong chests for Japanese-style bedding (*nagamochi*) and finally, to wooden toys, store displays, and antique furniture renovation. Likewise, the products of the fanlight craftsman changed over time from fanlights to wooden, engraved signboards for shops because, due to the wider change in Japanese architecture, he hardly sold one or two fanlights a year which was "not enough to eat" (K 2015).

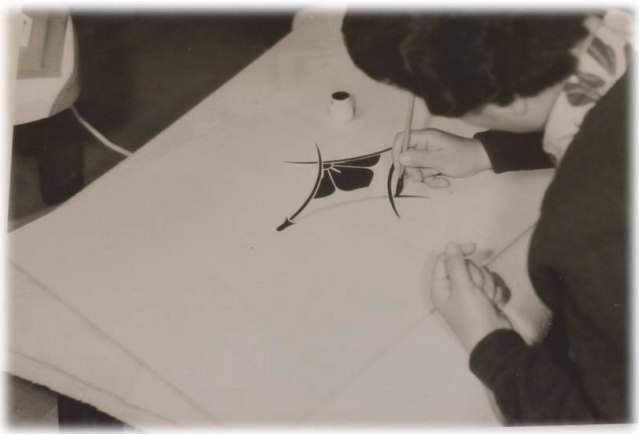

Figure 5 Hand Painting of a Design for a Chest (Source: Interviewee G)

Another interviewee, who was born into a family that owned furniture stores in Horie, belonged to the second generation of his family and hence was relatively young. It was a family business that has been run continuously for almost one-hundred years at the same location. As reflected in the shop's name, it was a furniture shop that originally specialized in wardrobes as an indispensable part of marriage furniture (*konrei kagu*), but then diversified its products at some point after growing into three neighbouring shops, depending on the market circumstances at the time. The interviewee was the son of the youngest of three brothers who collectively owned the business. He was responsible for one of the shops whose land was bought 15 years ago from a family – the private house can still be seen on 1988's residential map of the area – upon his return to Osaka after he gained experience working for a furniture maker in Chiba Prefecture. Eight employees, including four from the family, were currently working at three shops that sold marriage furniture, beds, and boards – shelves and tables – made of natural materials. Perhaps because four family members were still currently working in the business and my interviewee was still 41 years old, he did not mention the matter of succession.

The shops that changed the least were those that owned their own fixed assets – land, building, storehouse, and trucks – and therefore were not affected as much by market volatility in covering their overhead costs, such as the female furniture shop-owner on Tachibana Street. Nonetheless, even for her business "sales decreased enormously" because she was not able to sell her marriage furniture which was previously her main product along with the collapse of "one nice Japanese culture" (C 2014) of betrothal gifts. According to this marriage tradition, the bride would go to the groom's house with trucks loaded with marriage furniture and ornamented with white and red ribbons (see Figure 6).

Currently, the younger generations increasingly bought furniture of their own taste without listening to their parents' advice to buy their furniture at a certain store and thus diminished the repeat business that such old furniture stores once depended on. Moreover, the recent apartment building (called *manshon* in Japan) lifestyle neither necessitated nor provided the space for traditional, solid furniture. Furthermore, large earthquakes in the Kansai area, such as the Kobe earthquake seem to have decreased the demand for large wardrobes, but increased the demand for beds because of the rumour that wardrobes might fall down, whereas beds could help to form a triangle of life.

Figure 6 Japanese Marriage Furniture Tradition of the Past (Source: Interviewee C)

The second example of the not greatly changed furniture store was where an older salesperson originally from Horie was working. In this case, high sales volumes with inexpensive prices that were made possible by low overhead costs seemed to be the key to business continuity. The salesperson emphasized their distinction as sellers of real furniture meeting special requests because they owned the technique of mending furniture unlike the large, suburban stores that sold ready-to-assemble furniture or "use and throw-away furniture" which were for him "accessories" (I 2014) rather than furniture.

Another, 90-year-old furniture shop on Tachibana Street was renewed in 2012 in an environment of

decreasing sales. The young male salesperson who has been working there for eight years explained the decrease in sales through several factors. One factor was the decrease in the number of furniture shops on Tachibana Street. He argued that "*if we can't convince people that there are many furniture shops there [in Horie], they won't come, I think. Assuming that they do come, if it has less than ten shops, it is like, not enough.*" (D 2014) This created a type of barrier, especially for the furniture shops beyond *Naniwa-suji*, a wide road on the north-south axis that separated the lively first district of Horie close to the subway from the rest of Horie towards the west. A second factor was the decrease in demand for furniture, as people became more concerned about the price. The third factor was the appearance of large home fashion stores that sold complete product lines, including furniture, accessories, utensils, and home textiles at a single place and for cheaper prices than the dispersed shops of Horie. As a fourth and related factor, people preferred to go to department stores in the suburbs or the city centre in their free time where they could meet their various needs from leisure and recreation to shopping. Under these circumstances, the 90-year-old furniture shop "had to become a bit fashionable" and started to display some accessories in addition to "the main (item of) furniture that is to say, things that are necessary for life" to enhance the shop's atmosphere because they had been a "furniture shop for ninety years, not an accessory shop" (D 2014). This cosmetic change increased their business partners to approximately 20 more producers.

In sum, the factors behind the area and business downturns were a worsened economy, changing (marriage) customs and tastes, increased competition, shrinking number of area's furniture shops, and apartment house lifestyle, short of enough space for traditional, solid furniture. New-build gentrification in the form of condominium construction reiterated this change in the type of accommodation from single-family houses to apartment buildings. The declining furniture industry due to increased competition happened in other places as well (Scott 1996). Yet, the loss of marriage furniture culture was more specific to Japan.

4.2. Craftsmanship: The Case of the Wardrobe Shop

The furniture store that originally specialized in wardrobes or chests as a critical element of marriage furniture diversified the products of its three stores in the 2000s to include classical furniture, beds, and modern tables and shelves crafted from natural materials to cope with the change in demand. The manager of their most recent shop from the second generation of the family articulated the specific reasons that necessitated such a business change as follows: 1) Customers used to visit three stores with similar products and only purchased furniture from one of them – duplication; 2) People were deterred by the word wardrobe in the main shop's name if they were not actually looking for a wardrobe – beside the main shop's expensive display (*shikii ga takai*); 3) Traditional furniture did not appeal to the younger segments of the market. He explained that there was a generation gap in people's furniture taste: "Mother and father like X wardrobe shop, but daughter finds it old, unnecessary, and out-of-date (*furukusai*) by only hearing the name 'wardrobe shop,' yes." (F 2014)

Simply diversifying the products was not enough of a remedy because the customers continued to ask for higher quality at cheaper prices. Therefore, furniture makers who could not make profits in such circumstances were rapidly closing, downsizing or asking for higher margins from the retailer for special customer demands. The wardrobe shop's solution was to agree with small family businesses to make this type of special furniture at lower prices in exchange for constant orders. Moreover, the furniture shop-owner made small adjustments himself, without asking for these adjustments from the manufacturer. Despite such business changes, this particular furniture shop continued to gain approximately seventy per cent of its sales from repeat business without any advertising or online sales by keeping their relationships with repeat customers. For example, they sent seasonal greeting cards. These relationships also served as their safety net against market changes. Likewise, the female furniture shop-owner had her "best customers" (*otokuisan*) and gave the example: "The grandmother bought decades earlier. Her daughter bought. This time her grandchild buys. I have some customers of such a flow, yes." (C 2014)

The second generation manager of the wardrobe shop developed a wise approach in terms of his plan or vision for his business, which was more about serving customers with special requests by "thinking together and making" rather than growing by opening new branches. He wanted to "enjoy himself" while "being of service" (F 2014). Regarding the shopping street's change, he remarked: "One can't proceed by protesting the change in the surrounding condition, unless one thinks how to relate with [the new businesses that are moving into the area] and change it [the situation] towards a good direction for oneself" (F 2014). Although several other interviewees also referred to having the technique or a craftsman's mentality, the second generation manager of the wardrobe shop provided the best example of Sennett's (2008) notion that craftsmanship means having the desire to do one's job well and working with resistance. The wardrobe shop's manager explained his expectation for woodwork as:

> I think it is dull to get some Chinese products and sell only by price from left to right, but if there are individualized requests of customers, such as "I'd like this" or "if you can make that", [then I am glad and work is more interesting.] The other day for example, [a customer] who had three cats asked for a 'board' with holes so that her cats could come and go. Therefore, I opened holes. (F 2014)

Creating products with such variations based on special customer requests led to his sense of vocation.

5. Horie's Revitalization: Evaluation by the Area Businesses

When asked about Tachibana Street's and Horie's revitalization in the 1990s, most of the interviewees, ranging from old furniture shop-owners to new interior and other shop-owners and employees acknowledged

that there was an increase in visitor density. From the perspective of long-established furniture stores, the area's revitalization was neither dismissed as totally negative nor considered to be a great step-up. These stores were ambivalent about revitalization because it did not have much impact on their businesses.

The female furniture shop-owner summarized her feelings about the revitalization as follows: "To the degree of being crowded or so, entertaining, you know (...) because young people pass". Because she sold furniture for "a little higher than mid-range" and "not things that a flashy young person would come in and purchase for 1,000-2,000 Yen and say, 'hey, this is good, let's buy it!'" (C 2014), in her case it was a bit hard. For her, Horie was a relatively "refined area" until about 20 years ago; the area had a "latitude" (*yoyu*) that could be observed in the wide land area of houses. However, with "the coming of these young people, the quality decreased, even if is not coarse (...) like America Mura". America Mura is the eastern neighbour of Horie. Developed in the 1970s, it has many apparel and food-entertainment businesses, targeting youth (Amerikamura Association). Horie's closeness to downtown (*hankagai*) brought about concerns related to a decrease in its quality of life. For example, the female furniture shop-owner regretted that crime prevention with cameras became "natural" (*atarimae*).

The fanlight craftsman commented frankly that "It was better in the past." He blamed the rapid "mansionization" – referring to the speedy construction of apartment buildings – because apartment buildings themselves did not contribute anything to the town (*Biru jitai wa nanimo machi ni ikitenai*) and led to empty areas (*Machi ga karappo ni naru*) where people "returned at night, slept, and went out in the morning". For him, with apartment buildings, "only people increase, but it's different from an area's development" (K 2015). People of his age and status, who shared similar bonds with the neighbourhood, valued its social environment more than the physical environment. Even if none of them referred directly to gentrification, almost all underlined the growing number of apartment buildings, and the resulting weakening of community. Although the fanlight craftsman used to receive orders from parents coming to Horie with their daughters to buy marriage furniture, he did not see the same interest from young adult couples themselves. Not so many people took a look inside his atelier-shop either.

The second generation manager of the wardrobe shop argued that the evaluation of the effects of revitalization actually depended on one's viewpoint. Although from the viewpoint of furniture shops, it was not good (*dame*), there were "people who are happy to able to rent out [their shops]" (F 2014) because they could not make some profits from their furniture shops. Moreover, the area became busy and crowded (*kakki ga dete*). Likewise, an entrepreneur who has been doing business in the area since the late 1980s commented that doing business and staying alive there were still possible owing to Horie's revitalization, through which "Horie became one of Osaka's steady areas of youth" (H 2014). However, the entrepreneur also underlined that there was a difference in the benefits received from revitalization depending on a shop's location on Tachibana Street. His interior design shop which was located closer to the western edge of Horie did not have as much

increase in sales as some shops in the first district did because they were closer to the Yotsubashi Line. In the young male salesperson's words, "people … not reaching (*tadoritsuku*) there," (D 2014) was a common issue for the furniture shops on Tachibana Street in the second and third districts; a fact that could not be changed that easily despite their efforts to cooperate with the shopping street association or other attempts, such as increased publicity via web pages, social media, and brochures.

This location difference, which kept people away from the places in the second and third districts, was tackled by separate revitalization efforts for the west area by the carpenter, who had continued his family business before he opened a wooden-toy shop, along with three neighbouring shops since six years ago. This small group of shop-owners in the west, supported by their district's neighbourhood association, businesses, and finally, various offices of the city administration started to perform town-making activities, including illumination, map-making, a sumo convention for children, and a marathon. Although the carpenter remarked modestly, "When I say events, we can't make big things though", they accomplished in their neighbourhood bottom-up changes with a reference to the area's cultural history, such as a street sign reading *Minamihorie-dōri* and a sumo design on the pavement near Minami Horie Park in the second district (Namba Keizai Shimbun).

However, it felt as if good effects had slightly decreased since the area's peak in the early 2000s, with Horie going out-of-date compared to city places that were promoted later. This was also because "popular shops move to other places" (E 2014)[3]. The female accessory shop-owner observed that the Shinsaibashi area near Horie sagged a little with the closure of the Sogo Department Store because it was bought by the Daimaru Department Store in 2009 (Seven & i Holdings Co., Ltd.), leaving only Daimaru behind against all the more prospering Kita and Abeno wards. She noted the booms and busts of Horie, which "somehow changes too much. But even if [some brands] leave, it's surprising that other large stores come next. (...) I suppose it is still charming from the viewpoint of Tokyo." (B 2014) Therefore, the on-going entry of large stores, such as the apparel, cosmetics, and nurseries store Biotop (in the place of Shimizu furniture and French clothing store, A.P.C. in 2014) added to her optimism about the area's future.

In the face of business slowdown, the business interviewees suggested the following points as important for Horie's future: balanced residential and commercial growth; increasing the number of furniture-related businesses; aiming for business sustainability; strengthening cooperation and community, and building on area's culture and a craftsman approach.

6. Conclusion

Horie used to have many long-established family businesses which produced and traded marriage furniture, family altars, and fanlights. The area's furniture products were known to be refined, good quality, and costly. After the economic downturn, people all over Japan lost purchasing power and their tastes changed. In Horie,

price competition, arising from cheap furniture, sometimes imported from a furniture company's own factory in China (A 2014), online sales, and cheaper store rents of commercial establishments created harsh conditions for family businesses. Furthermore, the change in Japanese residential architecture from single-family houses to condominiums reduced furniture demand. Consequently, most of Horie's long-established furniture stores and their suppliers closed their businesses.

Under these circumstances, Horie was revitalized after the 1990s through new business entries, renewal of existing businesses, and area marketing or place-branding events. This neighbourhood change process (see Figure 7), centred on the area's shopping street had similarities to retail gentrification, such as the replacement of local furniture and family altar businesses with unrelated businesses from outside. Horie became a brand, and the visitor density increased. At the same time, the visitor profile changed towards younger people with fewer earnings. The new shopping environment created some resentment and/or alienation of long-term residents and businesses. In terms of material culture, the area's change corresponded to a change in the main product of the area shops that is, marriage furniture. For an interviewee, part of the problem was the disappearance of "craftsmen who owned the technique" (I 2014), leaving the field clear for salespeople only. Hence, the furniture shop's vanishing could not be helped. Marriage furniture sets which belonged to the old marriage tradition became displaced by interior design products, accessories, and apparel. Yet, apparel shops have started to close down recently as well.

At present, Horie has at best, calmed down; at worst, it is already going out-of-date compared to other newly popular areas in and out of Osaka. The remaining businesses are facing a problem of losing customers due to increased costs and competition, far away location from the city centre, and all-the-time changing and unrelated area businesses. Craftsmanship rather than consumption could have provided a better guiding spirit for the ideal urban and neighbourhood changes as exemplified by some of the remaining long-established businesses in Horie. This paper suggests following the case of the wardrobe shop as a guide for other local businesses related to wood.

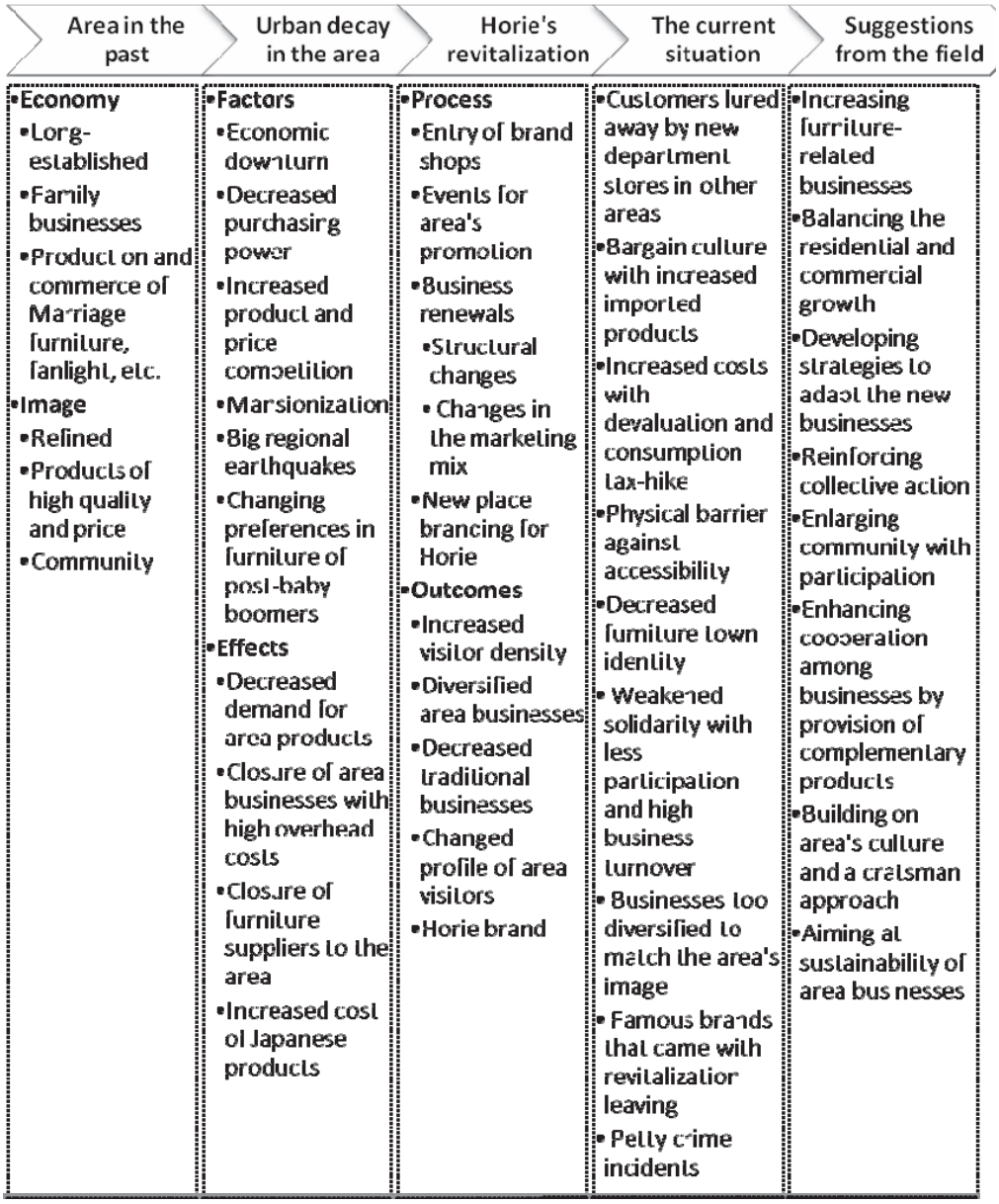

Figure 7 Horie's Post-Bubble Change from the Perspective of Area Businesses
(Created from Interviewees' Opinions)

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Appendix

The interviewees were composed of: People born into families that made or dealt in furniture and fanlights – one female, three males; entrepreneurs – two males; salespeople who have worked for various durations – one female, two males; and wooden toy and accessory shop-owners who retired from other jobs – one female, one male.

Pseudo-nym	Work	Age (2015)	Gender	Education Level	Place of Origin	Place of Residence	Interview Place-Time
A	Sales	25	F	Vocational	Osaka Pref.	Osaka City	Horie, 27 Aug. 2014
B	Accessory shop & gallery	61	F	Vocational	Nara Pref.	Osaka City	Horie, 8 Sept. 2014
C	Furniture	65	F	College	Wakayama Pref.	Osaka City (Horie)	Horie, 12 Sept. 2014
D	Sales	34	M	University	Hyogo Pref.	Amagasaki City	Horie, 2 Sept. 2014
E	Interior	39	M	Vocational	Osaka Pref.	Osaka City	Horie, 27 Aug. 2014
F	Furniture	41	M	University	Osaka Pref.	Osaka City	Horie, 11 Sept. 2014
G	Carpenter	58	M	University	Osaka Pref. (Horie)	Osaka City (Horie)	Horie, 12 Sept. 2014
H	Interior & furniture wholesale	59	M	University	Osaka Pref.	Osaka City (Horie) & Kyoto	Horie, 4 Sept. 2014
I	Sales	66	M	Senior high	Osaka Pref. (Horie)	Yao City	Horie, 3 Sept. 2014
J	Wooden toy	78	M	Unknown	Osaka Pref.	Osaka City (Horie)	Horie, 8 Sept. 2014
K	Fanlight & signboard	79	M	Junior high	Yamaguchi Pref.	Osaka City (Horie)	Horie, 3 March 2015

Figure 8 Profiles of the Shop Interviewees

大阪における都市活性化
――ジェントリフィケーションと職人の関係に注目して――

クルムズ・メリチ [4)]

要旨

本研究は、脱工業化時代に地域の人・デベロッパー・東京からの資本導入により達成した都市活性化の一つの事例として、大阪市西区堀江地区を取り上げる。本稿は、長期居住者に関する研究(Kirmizi 2016)を発展させたものである。地域の木材関連ビジネスは、堀江地区の変化に伴いどのような影響を受け、変化についてどのように捉えているかを明らかにする。地域の小売店店長と従業員への聞き取り調査から、堀江地区の商店街を通る「立花通り」の活性化の様子が、商業的ジェントリフィケーションと似た変容プロセスであることを示す。すなわち、立花通りや堀江地区の活性化により、この地域に昔から存在した家具店は閉店し、自発的立ち退きを余儀なくされた。その結果、職人の町の雰囲気は消え、均質化された雰囲気へと変化した。都市や地域のより良い発展のために必要なものは、商業的発想ではなく、堀江地区に根付く、昔ながらの職人の技能や精神の中に残っていることを論じる。

キーワード：地域の変化、大阪、バブル経済崩壊後、商業的ジェントリフィケーション、職人

Notes

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2）In the 1950s, Osaka was Japan's leading city of heavy industry or "the capital of smoke" (Sorensen 2002: 202). The 1960s were a period of regulation with a general consensus over the need for further developmental planning and control. The "boom of condominium development (the so-called Manshon boom) in the early 1970s" (Ibid: 254) caused conflicts between residents and developers. In the 1980s, with the deregulatory economic policies and resulting land speculation by businesses the land and stock prices rose from 1986 until 1990. Large projects were initiated during the bubble economy in Osaka. When the economic bubble collapsed, Japan entered into the "lost decades" with many business failures. The birth of town-making movements for the improvement of the local environment was a significant development of the 1990s.

3）According to information from two academic papers (Kawaguchi 2008; Kimoto 2012) and one online critique (Minami 2013), eleven apparel brands opened stores in Horie after the 1990s (A.P.C, And A, American Rag CIE, R. Newbold, Journal Standard, n°44, DEPT, Urban Research, Hysteric Glamour, Headporter, and Neighborhood). Seven of these brands moved out and four stayed. Since 2013, I have observed the closures of one fake designer furniture store (my interviewee E's), two wooden toy shops (my interviewees, J's and G's), two apparel and accessory shops, one children's clothing shop,

one patisserie and cafe, and one shoe-seller. The owner of the fake designer furniture store gave signs of his closure during the interview. It was difficult however, to know the actual reasons for the business failure, and whether, it could be related to the replica nature of his products. One of the toyshops seems to have closed down because its owner moved with his wife to an elder-care facility in Abeno Ward, Osaka. The other rented his spacious store with a carpentry atelier and toy's shop to a housing design firm. On the other hand, one bag shop, one bicycle and coffee shop, one nail salon, and several other bakeries and cafes opened. Moreover, a combination of goods and services at one shop, such as bicycles and coffee (Giracha Coffee), apparel, coffee and flowers (Biotop), old books and coffee (Colombo Corner shop) seems to be the new trend in Osaka as acknowledged by a real estate agent in Horie.

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