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From Area Branding
To Neighbourhood Commons

The Change of an Osaka Neighbourhood
after the High Economic Growth Period

by

Meric KIRMIZI

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the
degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Human Sciences
in
the Graduate School of Human Sciences of Osaka University

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March 2017
Abstract

The research question of this study is where to locate Japan in the literature on post-industrial urban change and gentrification through the study of an empirical case. The debate regarding the various forms of urban change and particularly gentrification in the Global North and the Global South centered on the issues of growing social inequality, social polarization, and a loss of place identity. However, Japanese urban change after the 1990s, which Japanese scholars studied mostly under the name of re-urbanization (saitoshika) or “return to the city centres” (toshin kaiki), was little understood abroad. To fill this gap, and to locate Japanese-style gentrification in contemporary urban theory, the Horie neighbourhood in Nishi Ward was selected and studied as an example of post-bubble neighbourhood change. This Osaka case was notable for its dual residential and commercial characteristics, increasing appeal to new residents, and social diversity and activism.

Horie, which had prospered as an entertainment district and an area of timber and furniture businesses before, was revitalized in the 1990s to reverse the decline it experienced after the collapse of the bubble economy. The aim of this study was to account for Horie's past revitalization and present situation from the perspectives of different social groups, who have been affiliated with the area in some way for different time lengths. The research was based on a three-year long qualitative field study in Horie. Altogether 51 people were interviewed. Interviews were made with 15 long-term residents – including three people who have been long affiliated with the area without actually residing there, twelve newcomers – including eleven mothers and one husband, eleven wood-related businesses, seven cultural entrepreneurs, three real estate agents, and three representatives of local
organizations. In addition, the researcher participated in local activities and events from August 2013 to August 2016 to observe the social interactions among the different social groups in Horie.

In this study, firstly, a literature review with a focus on the concept of gentrification was made to define post-industrial change and gentrification in theory and practice that is, their forms in different geographical contexts. Secondly, Horie's history since the Edo Period, including the development of furniture businesses on Tachibana Street, was provided to better understand Horie's changing place identity after the collapse of the bubble economy. Thirdly, statistics, prepared from the national population census and data from a Town Development and Social Life Questionnaire, with respect to Horie's present demographics and the recent population change were shown to indicate the embourgeoisment or gentrification (kōkyūka) of Horie. Fourthly, the story of area branding in Horie was reconstructed from the viewpoint of long-term residents; their criticisms towards Horie's renewed identity after Tachibana Street's revitalization were elaborated.

Next, Horie's woodwork businesses' experiences and interpretations of the Horie neighbourhood's change in relation to its background, factors, effects, process, outcomes, and areas of improvement were represented with a focus on the constraints upon family businesses and craftsmanship culture. The furniture shops which adapted to the changing business environment well were the ones that preserved their unique product offers by a craftsmanship approach. Sixthly, the ideas of cultural entrepreneurs and real estate agents from Horie were presented in the context of homogenization and commercialization of culture as remedies for contemporary urban problems to reinforce the idea that Horie, which had already
possessed a historical place identity, did not need an infusion of culture from outside. Finally, interviews with a small group of mothers, living in Nishi Ward, were analyzed to shed some light on mothers’ views about their daily life experiences in the revitalized Horie area. It was revealed that mothers could represent a good case of positive or feminine gentrification, only if their presence in Horie was not so temporary.

It was found that the attitudes of these various social groups to Horie’s revitalization were connected to the type and intensity of their relationships with the area. For example, long-term residents and cultural entrepreneurs were mostly regretful about the Horie brand that was a product of the area’s revitalization. On the other hand, business owners and newcomers occupied a more ambivalent position. Some corresponding theories, which help explain various attitudes towards area revitalization, are summarized in a table in the discussion. It was also found that although Horie's social groups did not have overt conflicts, the long-term residents felt that newcomers did not participate enough in the local community. Among the newcomers, mothers were the most accepted group by local community groups and administration. Furthermore, this study showed that the number of newcomers was growing with the speedy “mansionization” or condominium construction in the area. The condominium construction was recognized as the dominant form of gentrification in Horie at present.

Horie's lack of irresolvable social tensions over revitalization indicated a major difference between Japanese post-industrial urban change and other gentrification models of the Global North and the Global South. A second table summarizing and comparing the gentrification processes in the Global North, South and Japan is
provided in the discussion. Accordingly, the Japanese model of post-industrial urban change is separated from other countries in its change factors, processes, and outcomes, as well as timing, despite a growing trend of urban neoliberalism in Japan which is also seen elsewhere. It is possible to think the Japanese case as having evolved from a higher resemblance to the Global South in the post-war reconstruction era to approximating the gentrification examples in the Global North with the advance of economic neoliberalization. The study concludes by suggesting the notion of “neighbourhood commons” as a socially balanced alternative to the prevailing area branding and marketing schemes. Yet, a more complete picture of Japanese post-industrial urban change and gentrification required further comparative research.

**Keywords:** Post-industrial urban change, new-build gentrification, shopping street revitalization, neighbourhood commons, Japanese cities
Table of Contents

1 Introduction .................................................................................................................... 9

2 Post-Industrial Urban Change ................................................................................... 13
   2.1 Urban Neoliberalism and Gentrification in the Post-Industrial Society ............... 17
      2.1.1 Commercial Gentrification ....................................................................... 18
      2.1.2 Women, City Spaces, and Gentrification ..................................................... 22
      2.1.3 Gentrification of the Global North and South ............................................ 26
   2.2 Creativity and Culture in Urban Theory ............................................................... 30
   2.3 Evaluations of Urban Revitalization and Gentrification ....................................... 32
   2.4 Japanese Neighbourhoods and Gentrification ..................................................... 35
   2.5 Theory Summary .................................................................................................. 38

3 Methodology ................................................................................................................. 39

4 Horie’s History ............................................................................................................. 43
   4.1 Osaka’s Development ........................................................................................... 43
   4.2 Horie’s Development ............................................................................................ 45
   4.3 Tachibana Street’s Development ......................................................................... 50

5 Present Demographics ................................................................................................. 53
   5.1 Statistics based on the National Population Census ............................................. 53
   5.2 Statistics from a Town Development and Social Life Questionnaire ................. 63

6 Branding of Horie from the Viewpoint of Long-Term Residents ......................... 68
   6.1 Horie’s Change during and after the Bubble Economy ....................................... 69
      6.1.1 A Change in the Demand for Furniture ...................................................... 71
      6.1.2 Changes during the Bubble Economy ......................................................... 73
      6.1.3 Agents of Revitalization ............................................................................... 74
   6.2 Community Ties ................................................................................................... 76
      6.2.1 Familiarity ..................................................................................................... 76
      6.2.2 Aversion to Outsiders .................................................................................. 77
      6.2.3 Empathy ....................................................................................................... 79
   6.3 Horie’s Revitalization: Reactions of the Long-Term Residents ......................... 79
   6.4 Large Business Interests Putting Local Interests in the Shade ............................ 84

7 Urban Redevelopment in Osaka: The More Gentrified, the Less Crafted? ............ 85
   7.1 Area-Business Downturns and Change: Factors and Effects ............................... 87
      7.1.1 Long-Established Family Businesses Facing Environmental Change ........ 89
      7.1.2 Craftsmanship: The Case of the Wardrobe Shop ...................................... 95
   7.2 Horie’s Revitalization: Evaluation by the Area Businesses ............................... 98
7.3 Horie's Vanishing Furniture Shops and Craftsmen ........................................ 102

8 Whose Culture is Promoted by the Creative City Policies?.............................. 103
  8.1 The Revitalized Horie: Culture Missing or Missed Out .............................. 105
  8.2 Local Neighbourhood Culture Instead of the Creative Recipes .................. 116

9 Motherhood in a Gentrifying Neighbourhood in Osaka ................................ 118
  9.1 Mothers as Middle Class Urbanites with Dependent Children .................... 120
  9.2 Mothers as Residents of a Revitalized Area ........................................... 122
  9.3 Mothers' Daily Life and Interactions in the Area ...................................... 126
  9.4 Mothers' Opinions about Area Characteristics ......................................... 132
  9.5 Mothers' Temporary Liaison Function ..................................................... 137

10 Discussion ........................................................................................................ 139
  10.1 The Types of Relationships of Different Social Groups with Horie .............. 139
  10.2 The Types of Attitudes to Neighbourhood Change .................................... 142
  10.3 Japanese Post-Industrial Urban Change in Comparison .............................. 146

11 Conclusion ........................................................................................................ 152

12 Acknowledgements .......................................................................................... 156

13 References .......................................................................................................... 158

14 Japanese References ......................................................................................... 171

15 Appendices ........................................................................................................ 177
  15.1 Appendix 1 .................................................................................................. 177
  15.2 Appendix 2 .................................................................................................. 178
  15.3 Appendix 3 .................................................................................................. 179
  15.4 Appendix 4 .................................................................................................. 180
  15.5 Appendix 5 .................................................................................................. 181
Table of Figures

Figure 1 Horie Area in Osaka City, Nishi Ward .......................................................... 10
Figure 2 Close-up of Horie and Neighbouring Areas and Roads ............................. 11
Figure 3 Horie in the Edo Period ............................................................................. 46
Figure 4 Horie Bon Dance Festival ......................................................................... 48
Figure 5 Horie among the Post-War Rehabilitation Areas .................................... 50
Figure 6 Standardized Changes in the Total Populations of Nishi Ward and Osaka City ..................................................................................................................... 53
Figure 7 Standardized Changes in the Total Female Populations of Osaka's Central Wards .................................................................................................................. 54
Figure 8 Age Groups in Nishi Ward and Osaka City ............................................. 55
Figure 9 The Types of Nuclear Family in Nishi Ward ............................................. 56
Figure 10 Standardized Changes in the Types of Households in Nishi Ward and Osaka City ................................................................................................................. 57
Figure 11 Occupations in Nishi Ward and Osaka City ........................................... 59
Figure 12 Standardized Changes in the Types of Households in Horie and Nishi Ward ........................................................................................................................................ 61
Figure 13 Occupations in Horie ............................................................................... 62
Figure 14 Age Groups in Horie, Nishi Ward, and Osaka City ............................... 63
Figure 15 A Fanlight Shop as an Old Business ......................................................... 82
Figure 16 Apparel Shops on Orange Street .................................................................. 83
Figure 17 Number of Establishments in Japanese Furniture Retail Industry .... 89
Figure 18 Hand Painting of a Design for a Chest ....................................................... 91
Figure 19 Japanese Marriage Furniture Tradition of the Past ............................ 93
Figure 20 Post-Industrial Urban Change .................................................................. 182
Table of Tables

Table 1 The Types of Urban Redevelopment Schemes................................................ 16
Table 2 A Comparison of the Gentrification of the Global North and South.............. 29
Table 3 Major Furniture Shops Established on Tachibana Street in the Twentieth Century ................................................................................................................. 51
Table 4 Reasons for Moving with Family into One’s Current Area of Residence ... 67
Table 5 Examples of Horie’s Revitalization Activities ............................................. 70
Table 6 Horie’s Post-Bubble Change from the Perspective of Area Businesses..... 87
Table 7 Dwelling Statistics of Nishi Ward and Osaka City..................................... 111
Table 8 Horie’s Social Groups based on the Type of Relationships with the Area 140
Table 9 The Attitudes of Different Social Groups towards Area Revitalization ... 143
Table 10 The Gentrification Processes in the Global North, South and Japan .... 147
Table 11 Long-Term Resident Interviewees............................................................ 177
Table 12 Area Business Interviewees................................................................. 178
Table 13 Creative Entrepreneur and Real Estate Agent Interviewees ................. 179
Table 14 Mother Interviewees ............................................................................. 180
Table 15 Ungrouped Interviewees........................................................................ 181
1 Introduction

Most cities around the world underwent a deindustrialization process, altering their economic, social, and spatial structures after the 1970s. This post-industrial urban change with significant social outcomes has been the major topic of urban research since then. It is a critical theme not only for comprehending the larger societal changes behind urban changes but also for becoming aware of how these urban changes have impact on our daily lives as individual city dwellers. However, even studies of East Asian urbanization (Lees et. al. eds. 2016b) have not paid attention to Japanese post-industrial urban change and gentrification. To fill this gap in understanding, I selected post-industrial urban change in Osaka, Japan as my research theme. My purpose is to locate Japan in the literature on post-industrial urban change and gentrification through the study of an empirical case. The focus of this research is to understand the process of Japanese urban change over the last 30 years through analysis of the example of Horie, a downtown neighbourhood, located in Nishi Ward, Osaka City. Since 2013, I have studied Horie as an example of post-bubble neighbourhood change in Osaka. My main research question is: Where should Japanese post-industrial urban change be located in urban theory? I will attempt to answer this theoretical question by looking for answers first, to my more empirical sub-question of what are the socio-spatial outcomes of Horie's revitalization in the 1990s.
The Horie neighbourhood is one of the 14 districts of Nishi (meaning west) Ward in Osaka City. Nishi Ward is in turn, one of the 24 wards in Osaka City (a total area of 223.00 km² and 2,685,218 people in 2014). The ward had an area of 5.20 km² and a total population of 87,006 as of 2013. What makes Horie appropriate for this study? Why does Horie represent a good example of post-industrial urban change in Osaka, Japan? Before elucidating my reasons for selecting this particular area, I want to explain how I arrived there in the first place. Once I had realized the inadequacy of work in English on Japanese urban restructuring, and having written a M.S. thesis on the changing form, usage, and meaning of a symbolic public square in the central Istanbul before, I started to search for an appropriate place to study in Osaka City. In addition to looking into the census data, I spent a month...
walking in Osaka City one year after my arrival to Japan. As my Japanese was still poor at the time, I had to depend more on my sense of observation. I walked mostly in the central city wards. With their increasing populations, they were different from the current Japanese demographic trend of depopulation caused by an aging population and a declining birthrate nationwide.

My first impression of Osaka when I arrived to the lighted up central business district, Umeda with the airport limousine bus in April, 2012 was that it was an ugly city of high, gray buildings. My initial disappointment continued with my discovery of the uncommonness of red tiled roofs, which were so much taken-for-granted in European city culture. Functionality and robustness rather than aesthetics seemed to dominate Japanese cities except for some small, peripheral and historical cities. The efficient public transport and particularly, the

**Figure 2 Close-up of Horie and Neighbouring Areas and Roads**  
(Source: Created from Google Maps)
trains in Japanese cities provide the best example to these urban policy priorities. The kind of place I envisioned for my study during my walking tours in Osaka had both residential and commercial functions, and would appeal to the prototypical gentrifiers: young to middle-aged, well-educated, single or couple, and professional households with high income and consumption levels. Moreover, I was searching for a modern place with an international atmosphere rather than interesting, but all too Japanese places, such as Kita Ward’s Nakazakicho and Chuo Ward’s Karahori districts in Osaka. Horie of all places that I visited became prominent as an accurate place. In addition to the area’s similarity to a gentrifying neighbourhood in terms of population demographics, accessibility, and street atmosphere, a revitalization scheme was actually implemented there in the 1990s. This previous experience of neighbourhood change would enable me to study an example of Osaka’s recent change processes and evaluate its outcome. Furthermore, Horie was perceived as Osaka’s one of the most expensive central city areas in terms of housing costs. For these reasons, I chose Horie as the research site for my study.

Regarding the thesis structure, I start by making a literature review of gentrification and creativity among various forms of post-industrial urban change, and related issues, such as gender, and continue with the research methodology. Secondly, I make a summary of Horie’s history from the Edo Period until the late twentieth century before the area’s revitalization and provide some geographical and demographical information on Horie at present. Thirdly, I present the analyses of my interviews of long-term residents, area business owners and employees, cultural entrepreneurs, and mothers, respectively. Fourthly, I discuss my findings from these four groups of interviews by comparing them to each other.
and the theory in order to answer my research question concerning the characteristics of Japanese post-industrial urban change. Finally, I conclude with my suggestion of “neighbourhood commons” as a possible alternative to area branding and/or gentrification. It is an attempt to envision a whole neighbourhood as commons\(^1\) instead of its individual parts, such as a community garden or a public park.

2 Post-Industrial Urban Change

As capitalist societies shifted from agricultural economy to industrial economy, and then, to service economy, and finally, what Scott (2006) described as the “new economy” – also known as creative, symbolic or knowledge economy, their cities also changed from town to industrial city to post-industrial city and neoliberal city. It is

\(^1\) David Harvey defined commons by arguing against Garrett Hardin’s theory of “the Tragedy of the Commons” which supported a private property regime to use limited natural resources efficiently. Harvey questioned the private ownership of commons, ranging from natural resources to cultural products, by claiming, “The real problem here, it seems to me, is not the commons per se. It is the failure of individualized private property rights to fulfill our common interests in the way they are supposed to do.” (Harvey 2011: 104). Could a neighbourhood which has a social life, including environmental and cultural elements that are less dominated by private property relations be envisaged? Harvey gave some clues about neighbourhood commons, too, when he interpreted gated communities as “an exclusionary commons” (ibid: 103) for the rich or mentioned gentrification as:

A community group that struggles to maintain ethnic diversity in its neighborhood and to protect against gentrification, for example, may suddenly find its property prices rising as real estate agents market the “character” of the neighbourhood as multicultural and diverse as an attraction for gentrifiers. (Harvey 2011: 105-106)
however, important to note that these processes of economic and urban change were neither linear nor the same everywhere – in terms of time and characteristics. The post-industrial city was characterized by “a new visibility and domination of the finance and service sectors in the city’s economy and urban landscape” (Candan and Kolluoğlu 2008: 12).

Since the 1970s, a process of deindustrialization started to evolve in the cities of industrialized nations, resulting in a post-industrial society (Bell 1973; Harvey 1990; Smith 2007). Cities have been in decay since deindustrialization. Deindustrialization was followed by the problem of inner-city decline or urban decay, defined as “the degeneration of the buildings and infrastructure in an urban area” (Oxford English Dictionary). Both people and capital left the city centres for suburbs, and thus, led to the phenomena of “urban sprawl” and hollowing out of cities (どんatsuka genshō). The resulting void in the inner-city has been refilled through various forms of post-industrial urban change under the schemes of urban restructuring, revitalization, redevelopment, and so on since the 1970s, but these schemes have also produced their own issues.

Post-industrial urban change was given various names in urban literature. Some of these names, including a bunch of words with a “re-” prefix, pointed to the problems of urban decline or decay, such as: revitalization, regeneration, redevelopment, renovation, repair, and rehabilitation. Some names referred to the spatial dimension of change – e.g. compact city, while others referred to the social class dimension – e.g. gentrification and creative city. Still others had environmental or technological connotations – e.g. sustainable city, green urbanism, eco-city, smart or intelligent city, and innovative city (See Figure 20 in Appendices
The solutions, constructed to deal with the problem of urban decay were roughly based on market or social equity principles. The solutions based on social equity principles will be explained when evaluations of urban revitalization and gentrification are discussed. From the market solutions, the ultimate “global city” and “world city” described the “command centers” (Sassen 1991) and “the ‘basing points’” (Friedmann 1986: 69) of the global economy. The less powerful cities could strive at becoming neoliberal or entrepreneurial cities by privatizing social services and commercializing urban spaces. These lower ranking cities of the global urban hierarchy could become compact cities “with clearly defined boundaries, in which the residential and commercial districts are relatively close together, forestalling the development of rural land and reducing the need to commute by car.” (Oxford English Dictionary) In parallel, they could aim at smart growth as a kind of “development which aims to enhance the quality of life of inhabitants by providing improved infrastructure, facilities, etc., esp. in a compact urban area, and seeks to be environmentally sustainable” (ibid.). Another option would be sustainable cities “to minimize environmental degradation, with facilities (such as transport, waste management, etc.) which are designed so as to limit their impact on the natural environment, while providing the infrastructure needed for its inhabitants.” (ibid.) Furthermore, they could boost their “creative climates” (Landry 2016) to become creative cities or develop urban forms called fantasy cities which were “located at the intersection of leisure, consumption, tourism, and real estate development.” (Hannigan 2007) Lastly, they could adopt one of the following urban redevelopment schemes:
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<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Sub-term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<tr>
<td>Revitalization</td>
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<td>Variety of efforts undertaken by urban planners, civic leaders, and real estate developers to “revitalize” city centres by making them attractive places to visit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Renovation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Work undertaken to restore, repair, or develop a building which is old or in a poor condition</td>
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<tr>
<td>Urban regeneration</td>
<td></td>
<td>Improving derelict or dilapidated districts of a city, typically through redevelopment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban renewal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Redevelopment of areas within a town or city, typically involving the clearance of slums or derelict sites</td>
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<tr>
<td>Redevlopment</td>
<td></td>
<td>Clearance and rebuilding of structures that are deteriorated or obsolete in themselves or are laid out in an unsatisfactory way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rehabilitation of structurally sound buildings that have deteriorated or lost their original functions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reuse</td>
<td></td>
<td>Reuse of the land for new purposes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservation</td>
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<td>A protective process designed to maintain the function and quality of an area, for instance, by requiring or assisting adequate maintenance while preventing inappropriate development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Large-scale real estate projects</td>
<td></td>
<td>Such as building of stadia and convention centres, and the redevelopment of older warehousing and retailing districts</td>
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Table 1 The Types of Urban Redevelopment Schemes
(Sources: Created from Britannica Academic; Oxford English Dictionary; Cook 2007; Crowley 2007)

Yet, gentrification of all types of post-industrial urban change implicated a sense of agency most strongly. Gentrification was defined as “the reinvestment of real estate capital into declining, inner-city neighborhoods to create a new
residential infrastructure for middle and high-income inhabitants” (Patch and Brenner 2007) or "a process ... in which a marked change in social composition is accompanied by a substantial reinvestment in the physical condition of the urban fabric" (Bondi 1999: 265). Gentrification underlined the social class dynamics of urban change much more than the other urban regeneration schemes. The other schemes of urban change referred directly to environmental physical upgrading or their promises, such as creativity, compactness, and sustainability. Another difference among these forms of post-industrial urban change lies in the geographical scale of the place concerned – e.g. cities, areas, neighbourhoods, streets, and buildings.

2.1 Urban Neoliberalism and Gentrification in the Post-Industrial Society

After the 1980s, the capital that had once fled from the city, returned and began “extracting value from the city” (Weber 2002: 519) through “gentrification, high-end condo construction, and ‘Disneyfication’” (Harvey 2012: 35). Cities followed the neoliberal path, including a shift to a service economy, consumerism as a way of life, homogenization of urban spaces, socio-spatial polarization, and urban entrepreneurialism. Neoliberal urban policies, also known as “urban neoliberalism” (Wilson 2004), “neoliberal urbanism” (Peck et. al. 2013) or “neoliberal city” (Hubbard 2004; Kern 2010), were meant to adapt cities to the free market ideology. In this way, the principles of capital began to outweigh people’s right “to reinvent the city more after their hearts’ desire.” (Harvey 2012: 25)

The more specific phenomenon of gentrification as a social upgrading of the inner city manifested itself in, for example, increasing property prices and new
service establishments for the new-middle class. The core elements of the gentrification process consisted of “(1) reinvestment of capital; (2) social upgrading of locale by incoming high-income groups; (3) landscape change; and (4) direct or indirect displacement of low-income groups” (Davison and Lees 2005: 1170). Although some actors gained from the process of gentrification, this did not correspond to a general rise in social welfare. Therefore, gentrification was also considered a “neighborhood expression of class inequality” (Lees et. al. 2008: 80).

Nonetheless, gentrification was not a single, homogeneous phenomenon, but rather had different types and characteristics that depended largely on geography. For this reason, scholars have criticized hegemony of the “Northern/Western experiences of gentrification” (Lees et. al. eds. 2015: 2). Residential and commercial gentrification come to the fore as the two kinds of gentrification among others, such as inner-city gentrification, provincial gentrification, rural gentrification, new-build gentrification, super-gentrification, studentification, gay gentrification, tourism gentrification, state-led gentrification, and municipally managed gentrification (Lees et. al. 2008: 129-135).

2.1.1 Commercial Gentrification

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, such as Utrechtsedraat in Amsterdam, which made up a “cultural ecosystem” with “feelings of local identity and belonging”
The “intangible cultural heritage” (ibid: 283) of shopping streets needed to incorporate “old traditions” and new elements to be preserved (ibid: 291).

In other cases of retail gentrification, traditional retail markets might become “shop windows for gentrified authenticity” (Gonzalez and Waley 2013: 965). City centres which were revitalized after the 1980s in line with the commercial gentrification principles were sanitized places “where visitors could walk, browse, eat, shop, and be entertained without much worry about personal safety.” (Cook 2007) Yet, commercial gentrification as a disappearance of local shopping streets and traditional markets also diminished the chances of sociability:

Gentrifiers’ consumption patterns, translated into boutiques, cafes, and bars by new retail entrepreneurs, clash with those of long-term residents, and act as both a visible sign of safe capital investment and a force of cultural displacement. New retail establishments and trendy restaurants create a perfect storm of commercial gentrification that is just as influential as its residential twin. (Zukin 2010: 232)

The new places were not for the people, who were living in a neighbourhood earlier. For example, 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” (Sequera and Janoschka 2015: 387) 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." (ibid: 383) Regarding the commercial gentrification of San Telmo, Buenos Aires, Herzer, Di Virgilio and Rodriguez (2015) claimed that new amenities, targeting "other publics" (Herzer, Di Virgilio and Rodriguez 2015: 217), caused indirect displacement. 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. For example, 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 into '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 inquires about the socio-spatial outcomes of Horie's revitalization in the 1990s from the perspectives of different social groups involved, 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.

2.1.2 Women, City Spaces, and Gentrification

Roughly speaking, in gentrification, women could assume the roles of gentrifiers (Patch 2008; Kern 2010) or the disadvantaged who were either displaced or pressurized by the changing conditions of city living (Kern 2013; Ronald and Nakano 2013). In terms of the former role, Patch (2008) studied the role of women entrepreneurs as gentrifiers in "street gentrification" of Williamsburg, Brooklyn after the 1990s, when the area was in decay with ethnic conflicts and environmental and safety issues due to deindustrialization. Patch argued against the solely negative view of gentrification which was mostly seen as causing "social emptiness, aesthetic homogenization, and class conflict" (Patch 2008: 109). He pointed to the socially-inclusive role of women gentrifiers as store-owners for other newcomers who could not attain local knowledge otherwise. The women store-owners, described as "faces on the street" attracted people to their stores and neighbourhoods like magnets differently from the conventional dominance of men, represented as "guys on the street" over the public space. While the women entrepreneurs created teaching social occasions for instance, for mothers in their stores as "quasi-public spaces" (Ibid: 112), they also contributed to the safe and clean image of their neighbourhoods. In that sense, they made up the good and feminine face of
gentrification. New residents could be new public characters in a neighbourhood rather than a “faceless, indistinguishable” (Patch 2008: 122) group of people. Patch (2008) saw the differences between various local groups as explicable by: life-cycle stage, race, class, and division of space and labour. Despite promoting an inclusive gentrification approach, the author did not study the quality of the interaction of incoming women entrepreneurs and other local groups, such as long-term residents that this study involves.

New-build gentrification in the form of apartment building construction was recognized as an escalating housing trend in the cities. Kern (2010) analyzed “the condominium-led residential intensification strategy ... as part of the neoliberalization of the city” (Kern 2010: 214) by focusing on its gender, freedom, fear, and revitalization elements. She argued that “the neoliberal makeover of the city” (Ibid: 210) was gendered: it was a gendered actually-existing neoliberalism. The transition from the masculine city of the modern era into a feminized and eroticized post-industrial city of consumption resulted in a revanchist, "scary city" (Kern 2010: 211). Patch (2008) interpreted this transition differently as an evolution of mixed-gender, quasi-public spaces out of male industrial and female domestic spaces. The feminized city became "a commodity, as available twenty-four/seven for pleasure, and as waiting to be possessed and consumed." (Kern 2010: 220) Women continued to be commoditized as in condo advertisements for the male gaze. Yet at the same time, they could be consumers of the safe condominiums besides other urban services of the revitalized city. Likewise, Bondi (1999) argued that (lone) women had an important role in gentrification as purchasers of residential property if not as professional members of the community: the latter because, gender
differences in occupational status prevailed despite women's similar education levels.

Women gentrifiers as single, professional condo-owners in the gated communities of borderline neighbourhoods considered the dangerous city outside their homes part of the fun of urban experience. Their own middle-class identities were created in comparison with the nearby, "seedy" (Kern 2010: 221) other. Bondi (1999) referred to the widely-held argument for women's emancipation through city life regardless of social class. However, Kern (2010) criticized the supposed freedom of women in the revitalized city with increased security and surveillance. The consumerist ideal of the neoliberal city, being far from "feminist and social justice-oriented visions of city building and urban life" (Kern 2010: 225) depended on a reciprocating play of fear and freedom to open up new spaces of capital accumulation. The emerging "moral ordering of space" (Ibid: 215) was not calling for the freedom and equality of all women. To restate Kern's argument, the feminized city was a consumerist city, but not a feminist city. In a more recent article, Kern (2013) looked at Toronto's gradually gentrifying Juvenile neighbourhood, but this time from the viewpoint of women in precarious work conditions. By revealing the conflicting opinions and positions of women business owners and employees regarding the area's retail gentrification, she underlined the inequalities of the neighbourhood gentrification process or "the paradoxical production of gendered precarity in the context of gentrification." (Kern 2013: 522).

The gender category of mothers was studied more in terms of its consumption-related and recreational experiences of urban space than gentrification. Johnstone and Todd (2012) studied mothers in the private or
quasi-public space of retail environments or servicescapes to show the connection between women's life cycle stages and consumption behaviours. Accordingly, consumption behaviours were transitional, depending on changing social duties in time, and the different phases of a certain social role, such as motherhood. Mothers who were mostly "constrained by time and/or money and/or their children's moods" (Johnstone and Todd 2012: 448) tended to pick familiar, predictable, and "child-friendly retail environments" (ibid.).

Retail store choice was more about convenience than loyalty and attachment for mothers with young toddlers. Moreover, some retail environments, "such as supermarkets and children's clothing stores" (Johnstone and Todd 2012: 449) were deemed more legitimate for a mother's role based on social expectations. Yet, mothers with children were not welcome by all stores alike. They could be rendered marginalized and "invisible" (Ibid: 448) by ignorant customers and sales assistants in some stores, whereas they had the opportunity for social encounters in other stores which helped smooth out their identity changes. In this way, mothers coped with daily stress by socializing in familiar stores which functioned as "second places" after home.

In a study of low-income mothers' leisure behaviour in Dublin, Quinn (2010) regarded home as a highly ideological and gendered place about womanhood and motherhood, similar to Kern's (2010: 213-214) descriptions of “a gendered actually-existing neoliberal urban project” and “a feminized city of consumption, home and leisure”. The link between the social and the spatial could be understood by studying "ordinary, everyday spaces and activities" (Quinn 2010: 761). Women's "daily routines and mobilities" (Ibid: 764) were centred highly on children in a local
environment which was assumed to be dangerous. Women had limited mobility in the vicinity of local shops, playgrounds, and schools, except for regular trips to far away family members. They interacted mainly with their small circles of family and close neighbours. Fathers looked after the children sometimes at the weekends.

Women who identified so much with their domestic roles could not know what to make of their "self-space" (Quinn 2010: 765) in their children's absence. Other women enjoyed their short breaks from motherhood obligations by "experiencing and practicing being in an everyday, familiar place in a completely new way" (Ibid: 768), even if it was as simple as going to a known place or visiting a friend on their own. Low-income mothers' "minute vacations" were thus, usually composed of "informal, unstructured, inexpensive or free activities" (Ibid: 769). Quinn (2010) revealed that powerful social ideologies and inequalities were concealed by the "apparent banality and ordinariness" (ibid: 771) of homes.

I will use these arguments from the feminist urban and gentrification research as a guide to the analysis of my mother interviews to examine how Japanese cities and urban change were related to gender, motherhood, freedom, security, and consumption issues.

2.1.3 Gentrification of the Global North and South

Smith and Williams (1986) compiled theoretical and empirical – single area or comparative – studies from the Global North in their book, Gentrification of the City. Smith (1986) examined the link between urban space and economy through the concepts of “urban/gentrification frontier”, “social Manhattanization”, and the central “bourgeois playground”. Williams (1986) interpreted gentrification as a class
making via residence – in line with Jager’s (1986) study of Victoriana as a symbolic representation of the new middle class in Melbourne – or a creative destruction of the built environment and social classes. If the process of urban restructuring for economic restructuring was explained by produced – not natural – changes in the housing market (Hamnett and Randolph 1986), its social consequences, more spatial and class conflict than social integration, were analyzed in terms of displacement (Marcuse 1986; LeGates and Hartman 1986).

The resulting city was not equalitarian, but characterized by new hierarchies related to the society, geography, and international division of labour. Smith and Williams (1986) equated gentrification with a significant housing problem that intensified social inequality at an unprecedented level. They argued that the only real solution to gentrification was to render housing a right, instead of a commodity, that is, a privilege. In Global Gentrifications: Uneven Development and Displacement, Lees et. al. (2015) compiled research from what they called “atypical contexts” (Lees et. al. eds. 2015: 9), including cities of poorer countries of the European Union, Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, and South and East Asia. Despite this geographical diversity, their unifying definition of gentrification comprised class polarization, investment in urban regeneration, and displacement in a wide sense.

How is the gentrification of the Global South different from the Global North? (See Table 2) Firstly, in most of the cases in the volume of Lees et. al. (2015), the start of gentrification was marked as the 1990s, therefore, about two decades later than the cities of the Global North. Secondly, the major urban areas and actors of gentrification were different. State-led gentrification in informal settlements was
often observed in the cities of the Global South, whether they were called barrios, gecekondu, favela, clandestinos, barracas, labour villages, hutong, or other names. The harshness of the urban restructuring was associated with either a lack of the state, as in the U.S. (Williams 1986: 63) or an existence of an over-dominant state as in Syria (Lees et. al. eds. 2015). Thirdly, gentrifiers’ identity and income differentials from the gentrified were also different in the Global South. There the gentrifiers were represented as the global, super-rich, neoliberal elites, plus night/weekend visitors, who related to a place only by consuming or having an “instrumental relationship” (Lees et. al. eds. 2015: 382) with the place. Fourthly, these studies made a deeper analysis of the disadvantaged of the post-industrial urban change process. On the other hand, studies of the Global North treated the gentrified more like numbers, as opposed to individuals, for estimating the degree of displacement.

Therefore, case-studies from the Global South provided a better insight into the demand or consumption-side of gentrification, in addition to the unique types of gentrification, such as tourism gentrification, favela gentrification – an example of Marcuse’s (1986) argument about the simultaneity of gentrification and abandonment – and retail or commercial gentrification. According to Lees et. al. (2015) resistance to gentrification was more active in the cities of the Global South, in proportion to the aggressiveness of change. Finally, gentrification in the Global South was interpreted as a more incomplete, punctuated, scattered, and limited process, and for that reason, instilling hope.
### Table 2 A Comparison of the Gentrification of the Global North and South

(Sources: Created from Lees et. al. eds. 2015; Smith and Williams eds. 1986)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Global North</th>
<th>Global South</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Places</td>
<td>Australia, the US, Britain, Canada</td>
<td>Poorer EU cities, Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, and South and East Asia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Characteristics</td>
<td>Class making via residence, creative destruction of the built environment and social classes, a significant housing problem</td>
<td>Class polarization, investment in urban regeneration, displacement in a wide sense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Initiators</td>
<td>Capital via changes in the housing market (and the state as a facilitator)</td>
<td>State-led gentrification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Gentrifiers</td>
<td>The bourgeois (white, young, singles/couples, professional &amp; managerial occupations, high-incomes)</td>
<td>The global, super-rich, neoliberal elites and visitors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The disadvantaged</td>
<td>Blue-collar workers with lower-middle income levels</td>
<td>Immigrant workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Areas</td>
<td>Abandoned, central areas</td>
<td>Informal settlements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Time</td>
<td>1970s onwards</td>
<td>1990s onwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Aggressiveness</td>
<td>Low/medium</td>
<td>Medium/high</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The volumes of Smith and Williams (1986) and Lees et. al. (2015) compiled various researches from diverse settings. Apart from their focus on different cities, another major difference between these volumes is their divergent emphasis on questions of: structure-agency, theory-practice, and search for patterns or multiplicities of various case studies. On the other hand, their commonality lies in their criticism of gentrification as a significant form of post-industrial urban
restructuring. While Smith and Williams (1986) acknowledged that authors of their collection were mostly opposed to gentrification, Lees et. al. (2015) pointed out the neoliberal attack as a common threat to cities across the world.

### 2.2 Creativity and Culture in Urban Theory

The recent cultural turn in post-industrial societies deemed culture the means for economic growth and the prescription of socio-spatial problems. The origins of the concept of creative city were built on an assumption that cultural investments would lead to economic growth by attracting the creative class (Florida 2002; Landry [2000] 2008). The creative industries of the new economy included "high-technology industry, neo-artisanal manufacturing, business and financial services, cultural products industries (including the media)" (Scott 2006: 3) and functioned through "networks of producers", depending on a two-tier labour market of the creative class and low-wage, unskilled workers (ibid: 5-6). This industrial division of labour projected to the city:

Thus the employment in these places tends to be dominated by high-end segments of the new economy; cultural amenities (in the guise of museums, art galleries, concert halls, multifaceted entertainment districts, and so on) are almost always present in some abundance; and the visible form of the city is generally dominated by up-scale streetscapes, expensive shopping facilities, and well-appointed residential enclaves, the latter frequently coinciding with gentrified inner city neighborhoods. (Scott 2006: 4)
The creativity paradigm was aggrandized in urban theory and policy not only for its assumed link with economic growth, but also its potential cure for social ills, such as growing urban inequality and segregation. Culture and creativity were associated with social inclusion, hybridity, and diversity (Kana 2012; O'Connor and Shaw 2014). Since the creative sector kept the social inequalities instead of reducing them, the effect of culture on social inclusion was controversial. Moreover, the creative city as a form of urban entrepreneurialism was criticized for its leaving the binary of production and consumption intact (O'Connor and Shaw 2014; Pratt 2008). More importantly, culture-led urban regeneration schemes were considered a mere extension of the profit-seeking capitalism to the extent that they ended up in commercialization of culture (Harvey 2012; Rautenberg 2012) through processes, such as branding of cities, heritagization, museumification, and poverty tourism. About the close link between rent and culture, scholars remarked, "It [the creative city-economy] is handmaiden not handbrake for urban real estate development" (O'Connor and Kate 2014: 169).

Lees et. al. (2016a) interpreted creative city policy as one important aspect of the global gentrification blueprint together with zero-tolerance policing policy and mixed communities policy. The authors considered the creative city policy a "big business", involving "policymakers, activists, council and government officers, cultural entrepreneurs, researchers and academics" (Lees et. al. eds. 2016a: 137), and a perfect match with "the neoliberal development agenda ... based on competition, gentrification, middle-class consumption and place-marketing" (Ibid: 134).
Hence, the common question arose: Whose culture is promoted by the creative city policies? The suggested alternatives to the creative city contained: a balanced development of diverse economies and culture (Pratt 2008; Scott 2006; Vanolo 2015), an imaginary of "the good city and urban citizenship" (O'Connor and Kate 2014: 169), "new cultural forms and new definitions of authenticity, originality, and tradition" (Harvey 2012: 111-112), and a locally-embedded sense of culture against official culture (Dinardi 2015; Pratt 2008; Rautenberg 2012).

2.3 Evaluations of Urban Revitalization and Gentrification

The literature regarding the forms of post-industrial urban change contains supportive arguments (e.g. Caragliu et. al. 2011; Sumka 1979; Thomas and Bromley 2000), criticisms (e.g. Dinardi 2015; Gordon and Richardson 1997; Vanolo 2014) and in-between papers (e.g. Miles and Paddison 2005; Pratt 2008; Scott 2006). The supporters associated urban revitalization by means of “smartmentalisation” or “creative clusters” with urban growth (Caragliu et. al. 2011; Sumka 1979) in line with Richard Florida (2002). They also expected enhanced “vitality and viability” (Thomas and Bromley 2000: 1404) or “conviviality” and “camaraderie” (Scott 2006: 15). More concretely, the supporters of urban revitalization showed physical upgrading, recovery from deprivation, social balance or mix, class mobility, and local tax income as its benefits (e.g. Cortright 2015; Sumka 1979).

On the other hand, social costs of these urban revitalization processes, such as social inequality and polarization were criticized (Caragliu et. al. 2011: 68; Scott 2006: 12). Further problems were indicated as responsibilization and social control (Vanolo 2014), naturalization of the existing political-economic system (MacKinnon
and Driscoll Derickson 2013), and a neglect of local contexts or false sense of universally applicable recipes for urban problems (Gordon and Richardson 1997; Miles and Paddison 2005; Pratt 2008). The externalization or alienation of local urban communities from their area’s change process was underlined in the related literature (Dinardi 2015; Miles and Paddison 2005; Rautenberg 2012). These “urban imaginaries” were “powerful devices ... to justify political choices and trigger new economic paradigms” (Vanolo 2014: 885-886). Likewise, a summary of the negative outcomes from the gentrification literature made a lengthy list, including: embourgeoisement; price inflation; displacement; socio-spatial polarization; uneven development; dispossession – homes and jobs; exclusion; social tension – intolerance; privatization – enclosures; commercialization; homogenization; touristification; alienation, and surveillance.

Lees et. al. (2016a) argued that gentrification policies, including the creative city policy were not solutions, but parts of the problem; real creativity would come from bringing alternatives to them. Theorists and practitioners occupied themselves with the problems of post-industrial urban restructuring in search for better alternatives. The threats of neoliberalization of the city were agreed upon, but different methods and actors of change were suggested. A range of solutions were created from radical change to improvements by good urban planning or simply, holding one’s ground. The conceptual alternatives contained right-to-the-city (Harvey 2008), just city (Fainstein 2011), commons (Deverteuil 2015: resilience as commons; Harvey 2012: urban commons), resilient city (Deverteuil 2015), and resourcefulness (MacKinnon and Driscoll Derickson 2013). Lefebvre’s understanding of the right to the city was actually different social groups’ rights to
difference and not to be excluded socio-spatially (Ryan 2007). Harvey’s (2008) right to the city was a collective right that could be fulfilled by gaining a collective power over urban processes. Just city described a city which was organized according to the tenets of diversity besides equity and democracy (Fainstein 2011). Harvey (2012) interpreted the concept of commons as a collective ownership of a collective product, such as urban spaces that was achieved by collective, political, and non-commodified activity. Public goods and spaces of a city were not commons, unless citizens came together for political action to appropriate them.

On the other hand, resilience was explained as "holding on to previously hard-won gains, yet using them (through the spatial manifestation of the service hub) as the basis for challenging the status quo and holding out for incremental change." (Deverteuil 2015: 18) MacKinnon and Driscoll Derickson (2013) suggested the concept of resourcefulness as an alternative to resilience which they considered to be a conservative, externally defined imperative with scalar mismatch between its local solution and the global threat. Resourcefulness “focuses attention upon the uneven distribution of resources within and between communities and maintains openness to the possibilities of community self-determination through local skills and ‘folk’ knowledge.” (MacKinnon and Driscoll Derickson 2013: 15) The basic difference lies in how radical or reformist their offer is.

The question remains: What is the ideal, attractive or good city? Is good city compact or smart? Is it just? Resilient or "common"? Is it where children’s education and health services are for free as in the slogan of the new Osaka Mayor? The answer perhaps depends on the balance of social and economic needs of the city in question. Economic and social needs of the contemporary cities require different –
including scale, and often contradictory solutions. This research is an attempt to find a solution in the Japanese context based on earlier work on gentrification in Japanese cities.

2.4 Japanese Neighbourhoods and Gentrification

The theoretical discussion regarding the appropriateness of the concept of gentrification for the non-western contexts (Lees et. al. eds. 2015) was developed further by Japanese research on urban regeneration and decline in Osaka (Fujitsuka 2005; Mizuuchi et. al. eds. 2015). Japanese scholars have conducted research on both gentrification and the underclass areas of Japanese cities, such as Osaka City (Fujitsuka 2015; Mizuuchi 2006) and Yokohama City (Yamamoto 2014), in addition to doing fieldwork abroad, such as in New York (Sasajima 2015) and in cities in France (Kawaguchi 2016; Kawano 2008). While human geographers were primarily concerned with the spatial outcomes of urban restructuring, such as affordable housing, urban sociologists were more interested in the social impacts. This choice affected the language of each discipline. Japanese sociologists didn't refrain from labelling certain cases of Osaka's post-industrial restructuring as gentrification, whereas geographers adopted the "re-" concepts, such as renovation, rehabilitation or Deverteuil's (2015) social and spatial resilience. Nonetheless, there were some overlapping interests, such as homelessness and poverty (Paugam [2005] 2013).

On the other hand, foreign scholars conducted studies in Japanese neighbourhoods, observing the “often subtle and muted struggles between insiders and outsiders over those most ephemeral of the community’s resources, its identity
and sense of autonomy” (Bestor 1990: 2). Paugam (2016) proposed that Japanese poverty shifted from a “marginal poverty” during the high-economic period to a “disqualified poverty” after the 1990s. This shift was simultaneous with economic neoliberalization – increasing unemployment, precarity, and flexibilization of work. Paugam (2016) argued that the strong work ethic in Japan might have resulted in higher victimization of social welfare recipients. This victimization of the poor by private actors was also partially valid for Osaka’s poor areas such as Nishinari. Therefore, social changes in perceptions and experiences of wealth and poverty were complemented by the changes in Japanese urban form.

Regarding gentrification, Japanese scholars often studied the phenomenon of re-urbanization (saitoshika) also known as “urban core revival” or “return to the city centres” (toshin kaiki) after the late 1990s. They either analyzed singular Japanese cities, such as Tokyo (Takagi 1999; Yabe 2003) and Osaka (Tokuda et. al. 2009; Ajisaka et. al. 2010; Ajisaka and Tokuda 2011) or made comparisons between Japanese cities (Ajisaka et. al. 2013; Yagi 2015). Accordingly, Japanese re-urbanization differed from the Western gentrification because of the social mix of returning population, including single female and dual-income households as expected, but also low-income groups for example, in Tokyo’s Minato Ward (Yabe 2003: 94). On the other hand, housing costs and nursery incapacities deterred nuclear family households from coming into the city centres. Another difference was that the gentrifying areas might lack suitable commercial facilities for gentrifiers, as exemplified by the ARK Hills and Waterfront city development projects in Tokyo’s Minato and Chuo wards (Takagi 1999: 35).

Tokuda et. al. (2009) indicated a population increase trend after the 1980s in
Osaka’s six central wards as opposed to the peripheral wards with a more stable or declining population (Tokuda et. al. 2009: 19). The authors also found that the 20-24 year old, female population and single households increased in particular in Osaka’s central areas (ibid: 23-24). They explained that private housing sector dominated Osaka’s re-urbanization process after the 1990s much more than Tokyo, where the availability of public housing in central city areas assured the achievement of a certain social mix (ibid: 28-29). Therefore, Osaka’s special housing condition heightened the possibility of gentrification (ibid: 34).

Regarding the comparative research, Yagi (2015) revealed that the central wards of Sapporo, Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, and Fukuoka had high levels of population movement as in-migrants from and out-migrants to other prefectures. Yet, the general trend of excessive outmigration to the Kantō region was observed less in these cities’ central wards. Furthermore, the female employee population increased in these five cities between 2000 and 2010 (Yagi 2015: 71). This finding was parallel to Tokuda et. al.’s (2009) finding for Osaka. Yagi (2015) concluded that the re-urbanization phenomenon, which was visible in all of Sapporo, Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, and Fukuoka, occurred however, in different forms, depending on the population movements of the whole urban areas (Yagi 2015: 78). Ajisaka et. al. (2013) investigated the effects of re-urbanization on the local communities in urban cores of Sapporo, Fukuoka and Nagoya. The authors verified some differences with respect to the leaders of re-urbanization and situations surrounding the downtown areas through interviews and analysis of administrative documents.

Other Japanese research on the social effects of re-urbanization pointed out a lack of interaction between long-term residents and new residents of apartment
buildings in the central city areas. While the newcomers usually refrained from participating in community-based organizations (Ajisaka et. al. 2010; Maruyama and Okamoto 2013), the long-term residents felt anxious about accepting their participation, too (Ajisaka et. al. 2010: 85). Although the development of the local community in metropolitan core areas was evaluated to be an unlikely prospect (Maruyama and Okamoto 2013), a few positive examples of community-building at the unit of apartment buildings were presented (Ajisaka et. al. 2010: 85).

2.5 Theory Summary

Gentrification can be considered as one of the urban regeneration schemes that were applied to the problem of urban decay as a consequence of deindustrialization and suburbanization after the 1970s. Gentrification prevailed in the Global North and South, and had significant impacts on physical and social geographies. Its basic categories were residential and commercial gentrification, even though it expanded to incorporate different types in time. While residential gentrification referred to a physical and social class change in housing, commercial gentrification meant a replacement of local businesses with expensive establishments, having a different clientele.

Middle- and upper-class women among gentrification's multiple actors have become prominent either as consumers or business entrepreneurs for both types of gentrification. Furthermore, families with children and particularly, mothers influenced the gentrification process with their choices of consumption and schooling. Urban revitalization schemes, including gentrification could create positive or negative outcomes in neighbourhoods. For example, economic growth
and social diversity were emphasized as positive outcomes, whilst increasing social inequalities and polarization were major points of criticism. Urban theorists and practitioners made attempts to search for better urban change alternatives.

How to interpret Japanese post-industrial urban change best and whether to designate it as gentrification were controversial topics among Japanese scholars as well. One of the suggested conceptual alternatives was a simple definition of re-urbanization or “return to urban areas” (toshin kaiki). However, Japanese gentrification research has remained closed to international debates for the language barrier (Lees et. al. eds. 2016b). This research will contribute to Japanese urban research in English by defining the Japanese case of post-industrial urban change and gentrification in comparison with international urban theory.

3 Methodology

This research was based on a three-year long qualitative field study in Horie. It departed from previous studies of Horie, which focused on economic, cultural, and historical aspects (Kimoto 2012; Kawaguchi 2008; and Yoshikawa 2008), by seeking to understand the post-bubble socio-spatial changes in Horie from the viewpoints of people who were affiliated with the area in some way for different time lengths. Altogether 51 people were interviewed.

Firstly, following initial contact with the area’s neighbourhood association, semi-structured interviews were conducted with Horie’s residents in 2013. Twelve long-term residents, accessed by snowball sampling, were interviewed. My entree to the area was the office clerk (O1) of Horie Neighbourhood Association. Additionally,
three people who were not residents at present but observed the area’s change from different standpoints were interviewed (see Table 11 in Appendices). These interviewees knew the area before the change, and they are considered representatives of the use value of space, in contrast to the area’s commercialization. Secondly, I performed interviews at eleven wood-related businesses in Horie in August and September 2014 and in March 2015 (see Table 12 in Appendices). These eleven 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.

Thirdly, a few interviews were conducted with people who were not so easily categorized as resident or business-owner. These seven interviewees, deemed creative entrepreneurs, evaluated Horie from a less affiliated standpoint. Their ideas highlighted Horie's current position in terms of popularity and cultural appeal. Considering the close relationship between urban creativity and real estate business in recent years, opinions of three real estate agents from Horie were also included (see Table 13 in Appendices). Fourthly, eleven mother interviewees participated in this research (see Table 14 in Appendices). Ten of these mothers were participants of Horie Children’s Association’s monthly activities for mothers with small children. The interviews were all made in the Horie Neighbourhood Association hall. The eleventh, single mother interviewee was introduced by a local café owner, and the interview was made in her coffee shop. The analysis of this small sample illuminated Japanese mothers’ daily activities within a revitalized
neighbourhood, experienced as freedom and/or fearful or scary. In addition, four
interviews were made with the Nishi Ward Mayor, the chief priest of a Buddhist
temple in Horie, and two mid-aged men – husbands of two mother interviewees (see
Table 15 in Appendices). One of these men was an active PTA member and juvenile
instructor (seishōnen shidō-in) who worked in close cooperation with the Horie
Children’s Association.

The creative entrepreneur – except for the interviewees H2 and Y (see Table 13
in Appendices) – and mother interviews were analyzed through coding software to
reveal area-related and individual-related categories. Regarding the creative
entrepreneur interviews, the individual-related categories included information on
the subcategories of one’s hometown, age, and educational background, place of
residence, family, and use of free time. The individual-related subcategory of work,
divided into one’s previous work and current work, was analyzed in detail. The
information on the current work was examined in terms of the story of
establishment, staff, sales, membership of trade organizations, suppliers, the
workplace and its ownership, customers, and owner’s intentions to continue doing
the same job in the future. Finally, the area-related categories comprised the
interviewees’ ideas on the research area in comparison to different areas in Osaka
and other Japanese cities.

Regarding the mother interviews, the individual-related category contained
information about the personal identity of mothers within their social groups under
the subcategories of self-introduction and social network. The self-introduction
category included codes about mothers’ personal background and children. The
social network category contained codes related to the types of relationships
mothers had, their geography of social networks, and frequency of socialization. Overall, these categories helped indicate the gender, social class, and life cycle characteristics of the study participants. The area-related category included subcategories of: residence, mothers’ daily life in the area, interaction with local inhabitants, and opinions about area characteristics. The first category of residence contained codes with respect to: reasons of moving in Nishi Ward, place and length of residence, and ideas about future residence. The second category of daily life in the area comprised codes related to mothers’ routine activities based on space – inside vs. outside – and time – weekday vs. weekend. The third category of interaction with local inhabitants had codes, concerning opinions about neighbourliness, transactions with local shops, and participation in neighbourhood activities. The fourth category of opinions about area characteristics is subdivided into the codes of neutral, good, and problematic aspects of the area.

The long-term resident and business interviews provided information with regard to Horie’s change, whilst newcomer interviews – mothers and husbands – helped to understand area’s current situation and degree of attractiveness. Therefore, I consider the former groups’ stories of Horie’s change revealing with respect to the supply side of area’s revitalization. Two interviews with representatives of local organizations complemented the picture of Horie’s history, change, and present situation. On the other hand, newcomers’ ideas on Horie were informative in terms of the demand side of revitalization. In addition to semi-structured interviews, I participated actively in local activities and events of various scales. These were mostly regular occasions, including: 1) Neighbourhood organization and/or the ward office events – e.g. sports events, traditional Japanese
festivals, and commercial organizations 2) Small group gatherings – e.g. group lessons of tea ceremony and English conversation 3) Managerial and social meetings in Takakiya Neighbourhood Hall. The interviews and other research activities revealed the nature of area’s change with respect to the attitudes and interactions of different social groups in Horie. Therefore, the study’s methods delivered valid answers to the research questions, concerning the socio-spatial outcomes of Horie’s revitalization as a clue for Japanese post-industrial urban change and gentrification.

4 Horie’s History

After its formation during the Tokugawa period, Osaka as the “kitchen of the world”, developed into a centre of commerce. The city had prominently commercial and commodity distribution functions that were more important than its productive functions during the Edo Period. Osaka was a river mouth port city of merchants of various goods, coming from all over Japan by ships through the canals of the city.

4.1 Osaka’s Development

In the early seventeenth century, city development was mainly within the planned castle town area in Osaka. The historical city (Osaka sangō) had three parts, later to become four simply rearranged by the direction of north, south, east and west in the Meiji period: Northern Ward, Southern Ward, and Tenma Ward. The early modern Osaka was organized based on the district (cho) system. The cho are defined as "self-governing organizations that were formed by landowners living on either side of a shared street and had their own internal rules and regulations."
The three districts of Osaka had approximately six hundred twenty neighbourhood organizations.

The city was divided into well-clustered residential segments with different socioeconomic functions within the urban society and pertaining to different social status groups, including: warrior compounds, shrine and temple complexes, townsman quarters, and outcast (eta, hinin) enclaves (Tsukada 2012: 3). The area around the castle was designated as the residential area of soldiers (samurai), who resembled today's salary men in social class. Other merchants and craftsman were also segregated according to the town plan within designated quarters. The Senba area in the Northern part was the centre of business and the merchants' area. Townsmen who were located in the historical city also organized in the form of guilds or trade organizations for various occupations, such as pharmacists, sake brewers, dealers – e.g. fish, produce, fruits and vegetables, stevedores – and artisans – e.g. carpenters. Day labourers in miscellaneous urban job sectors and tenants of back-alleys formed the urban lower class of the time.

Osaka's historical centre nearly completed its expansion during the eighteenth century, and its population reached a peak of over a half million. The socio-spatial areas of the traditional city underwent change with the Meiji modernization. After the Meiji Restoration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the central, historical city assumed economic, administrative, and military functions. Following the orders of the new Meiji Government, military facilities, such as the arsenal, were established to the east of the castle, whereas industrial activities were concentrated in the surrounding inner-city and Osaka Bay area by the newly emerged industrial capitalists (for a history of Osaka's development from Osaka
Port’s construction in 1897 till the opening of Kansai International Airport in 1994, see NHK ed. 2003).

4.2 Horie’s Development

Horie was developed by the Osaka government (Osaka bugyo) of the Edo period (Edo bakufu) latest in the south-western side of the historical centre, except for smaller, fringe area developments. Horie ‘new frontier town’ (shinchō) started to develop towards the end of the seventeenth century, after Kawamura Zuiken excavated in 1698 the Horie River, which connected the Nishi Dotonbori and Kizu rivers. According to historical maps from the second half of the seventeenth century, there were still few settlements; Horie was at that time dominated by agricultural areas and shrines. After the excavation of canals and reclamation of land for settlements, Horie started to be built up and urbanized. The area was surrounded by the: Nagahori River, Nishiyokobori River, Dotonbori River, and Kizu River, until after the Second World War (WWII) as shown below.
In 1625, the Nagahori River (Nagahori Street at present) was excavated. At its intersection point with the Nishiyokobori River (Hanshin Highway at present), Yotsubashi, a unique waterway crossroads with four bridges was made. Since Horie, located at the entrance to Edo Period’s Osaka, was the centre of commodity distribution through the Kizu River, a lot of products, such as timber were concentrated on both banks of Yotsubashi. Therefore, a year-long timber market was established near the Nishinagahori River. It functioned for more than 300 years before it was closed after WWII. Amijima (2016) examined the failure in the development of a historical industrial district of timber business, centred on
Nishinagahori Street. Osaka had multiple centres of timber trade from Meiji to Taisho periods, and yet “From the 17th century to the late 19th century, Nishinagahori Street prospered as the center of the timber product trade.” (Amijima 2016: 327). The changed routes of timber distribution in the twentieth century – Amijima (2016) showed the translocation of timber business from north-east to south-west of Osaka on 1910, 1924, and 1935 maps (ibid: 311-313) – and the resulting disputes between various timber trade associations prevented the development of the timber market near the Nishinagahori River (ibid: 327-328).

Moreover, Horie was officially designated as one of four entertainment districts of the historical city. In the past, entertainment was one of the town-making strategies of the city administration. A lot of hairdressers and dyed-goods shops for kimono (kimono no somemonoyasan) in Horie's second and third districts targeted geisha girls. The tea houses in the same area appealed to the area's tradesmen, involved in timber and sea transport businesses. Osaka's representative folk songs (minyo), such as Horie Bon Uta and Kawachi Ondo began to be performed in Horie's licensed quarter in 1930 (Yunosuke et. al. eds. 2006).
In terms of Horie’s historically embedded cultural assets, Japanese ballad drama (jōruri) developed in the Northern Horie. There were some playhouses (shibai goya) on Uwajimabashisuji (Ichinogawa) street near today’s Kita Horie Hospital. The first admission-charging sumo shows in Osaka started in Minami Horie’s Takakiya Hashi Tachibana Dori around the late seventeenth century, after sumo had been prohibited for being against public morals by the Edo government. The Bon dance festival and rice-cake making festival represent similar cultural events in Horie at present. Furthermore, some old shops related to traditional crafts and culture still exist in Horie, including: a Japanese confectionery store (Daikoku since 1805); a Japanese fanlight shop (Yamada Ranma since 1955); a home-made noodles shop (Horie Yabusoba since 1965), and a tea shop (Shigeyuki Tsujis shop since 1960).
In terms of Horie’s physical historical assets, especially place-based religious spaces, Namba Shrine’s (place guardian deity) resting place for a portable shrine (otabisho) was enshrined together with Horie Shrine in 1907. However, the site got smaller with the construction of apartment buildings in the post-war period. Tosainari Shrine, affiliated with Fushimiinari Shrine in Kyoto is well-known for its cherry-blossoms. The place had been a warehouse (kurayashiki) of the Tosa Domain (Tosahan) from Kōchi Prefecture in the 1700s. Iwasaki Yataro, founder of Mitsubishi Company sponsored the rebuilding of this shrine in the Meiji period. Wakōji Temple, a temple of the Jōdo sect of Buddhism has Amida Pond (Amida-ike or Amidaike-san) with a famous legend about Honda Zenkō rescuing Buddha Amida from this pond.

Osaka was bombed several times during WWII. The central, historical part was almost totally destroyed. Horie was also burnt completely by the great air raid on 13-14 March 1945. As a result, almost all of western Osaka, including the Nishi Ward, went through planned land readjustment. These rehabilitated areas had been drawn with wider streets and boulevards than some undamaged or no readjustment areas, such as in Chuo Ward. The Horie River was filled in to expand the city area and to dispose of the debris of war in 1960. In the latter part of the twentieth century, the commercial activity concentrated in the Osaka Port, and Osaka’s water transport system gave way to road transport. Hence, inner-city waterways lost their importance (Mizuuchi 2016).

There were many municipal tramways (shiden) in Osaka until the 1950s. Yotsubashi hosted a central tramway terminal, which gave way to subway in the 1970s. The roads running north to south (nanbokusen) are called suji and the ones
running east to west (*tozaisen*) are called *tōri* in Osaka. The street name *Yotsubashi-suji* has existed since the Edo Period, but other arterial boulevards, such as *Naniwa-suji, Shin-Naniwa-suji, Nagahori-dōri, and Hanshin Highway* were more recently constructed. Following these infrastructural developments, Horie's landscape and atmosphere changed dramatically and extensively in the second half of the twentieth century, and little remains of previous historical assets.

![Figure 5 Horie among the Post-War Rehabilitation Areas](image)

*Figure 5 Horie among the Post-War Rehabilitation Areas*

-Colored areas show war-damaged areas. (Source: Created from Mizuuchi 2006)

4.3 Tachibana Street’s Development

The district names used in Horie during the Edo Period were changed later. The area’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; Yunosuke et. al. eds. 2006). Some of the major furniture shops which were established on Tachibana Street in the last century are shown in Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Shop Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td><em>Kishi Tansu shop</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~1925</td>
<td>Onoe Furniture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~1930s</td>
<td><em>Ichimatsu Kagu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Hanasaki Kagu Co., Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>Horie Kagu Co., Ltd.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Daiwa Kagu Co., Ltd. (name changed to Cubic Style in 2000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Scale (IDEE Osaka shop)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 Major Furniture Shops Established on Tachibana Street in the Twentieth Century
(Prep. by the author)

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 (Yunosuke et. al. eds. 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" (mottaina) transformed into a "throw-away society" (poisute jida)². 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 (Yunosuke et. al. eds. 2006).

In a study of the relationship between scale and heritage, Harvey (2015) referred to the concept of “dissonance” (Harvey 2015: 579). It meant the different meanings and identifications attributed to tangible and intangible heritages depending on the geographical scale, such as a nation-state or a local community. These contradictory meanings of heritage arose from divergent place identities. I provided the pre-war histories of Osaka and Horie with a focus on their cultural and historical heritages to grasp Horie’s changing place identity after the collapse of the bubble economy better.

² The throw-away culture affected other small businesses as well. For example, the traditional coffee shops (kissaten) in Japanese cities were among the sufferers. The owner of a 41-year old coffee shop in Tokyo’s Yanesen area commented: “We’re a disposable culture now. We throw everything away, even buildings. We tear them down and build high-rise apartments. After I’m gone they’ll probably tear all this down, too. It’s a shame, but ...” (Henderstein 2016).
5 Present Demographics

5.1 Statistics based on the National Population Census

Nishi Ward (NW) had a population of 83,058, corresponding to three percent of the Osaka City (OC) in 2010. NW ranked fifth among 24 Osaka wards in terms of population turnover, indicated by migrants moving from and to other prefectures in 2014. The high population mobility indicated that NW was considered as a temporary place of residence. The NW population has been increasing especially after 1995 in contrast to the stagnant situation in OC:

![Figure 6 Standardized Changes in the Total Populations of Nishi Ward and Osaka City](source)

In 2010, NW's population was divided into 47 percent male and 53 percent female. NW's total female population increased by approximately 32 percent (OC: three percent) between 2000 and 2010, whereas total male population increased by
approximately 30 percent (OC: two percent). This particular rise in NW's female population confirmed the feminization trend of major Japanese cities, including Sapporo, Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, and Fukuoka that was manifested in Japanese re-urbanization literature (Tokuda et. al. 2009; Yagi 2015).

![Figure 7: Standardized Changes in the Total Female Populations of Osaka's Central Wards](image)

(Source: Created from Statistics Bureau; Sōmu-shō Tōkei-kyoku)

The majority of NW residents were Japanese with only three percent foreigners. Ten percent of the ward population was under 15 years old; 74 percent between 15-64 years old, and 15 percent was 65 years old and over. 13 percent of the NW population were 0-19 years old (OC: 16 percent). The middle-aged group had the biggest share of the NW population, whereas elderly residents were fewer than OC as shown in Figure 8. With respect to aged households, NW had a relatively small percentage of both aged-couple (NW: four percent < OC: eight percent) and
aged single-person households (NW: eight percent < OC: 13 percent). The higher increase in NW's female population applied to its populations under 15 years old and between 15-64 years old. In case of the population 65 years old and over, the male population increased more (NW: 46 > OC: 37 percent increase) than the female population (NW: 39 > OC: 33 percent increase) between 2000 and 2010. The remarkable, 42 percent increase in NW's population 65 years old and over (OC: 35 percent increase) during this ten-year period could be interpreted as NW's tendency for aging. However, NW's populations under 15 years old (NW: 18 percent increase vs. OC: six percent decrease) and between 15-64 years old (NW: 31 percent increase vs. OC: five percent decrease) also grew.

Figure 8 Age Groups in Nishi Ward and Osaka City
(Source: Created from Statistics Bureau: Sōmu-shō Tōkei-kyoku)

According to the 2010 population census, the total number of ordinary or private households in NW incorporated 40 percent relatives households (OC: 51
percent), 58 percent one-person households (OC: 47 percent), one percent households including non-relatives (OC: one percent), and 0.002 percent unknown (OC: 0.1 percent). NW ranked the fifth highest among the 24 OC wards in terms of the ratio of one-person households. 91 percent of the relatives households in NW were nuclear families (OC: 91 percent). The distribution of nuclear families in NW was shown in Figure 9 below. Accordingly, 39 percent of the nuclear families in NW were a married couple only (OC: 35 percent), whereas 44 percent were a married couple with their child(ren) (OC: 46 percent). NW had the fourth highest ratio of a married couple only households among the OC wards. On the other hand, only five out of 24 OC wards had a smaller ratio of a married couple with their child(ren) households than NW.

![Figure 9 The Types of Nuclear Family in Nishi Ward](https://example.com/nuclear_families.png)

(Source: Created from Statistics Bureau: Sōmu-shō Tōkei-kyoku)

About the change in the types of households between 2000 and 2010,
one-person households (NW: 105 percent > OC: 37 percent increase), aged-single-person households (NW: 76 percent > OC: 61 percent increase), and aged-couple households (NW: 33 percent > OC: 25 percent increase) increased the most in NW. They were followed by nuclear family households (NW: 20 percent vs. OC: no substantial change), father-child(ren) households (NW: ten percent increase vs. OC: 24 percent decrease), and mother-child(ren) households (NW and OC: seven percent increase) as shown below. The increase in nuclear family households in NW as opposed to the stagnant situation in OC signified an augmenting entry of families with children into the area.

![Standardized Change in Types of Households](image)

**Figure 10 Standardized Changes in the Types of Households in Nishi Ward and Osaka City**
(Source: Created from Statistics Bureau; Sōmu-shō Tōkei-kyoku)

Regarding the education level, the number of people who completed college and
universities in NW (17 percent) outnumbered OC (13 percent) based on the 2010 population census. Again, the total numbers of kindergartens (NW: 35 percent > OC: 27 percent), elementary schools (NW: 45 percent > OC: 41 percent), elementary school pupils (NW: 55 percent > OC: 40 percent) and junior high school students (NW: 23 percent > OC: 22 percent) were higher than OC in 2014. NW has been dealing with the crowdedness of its elementary and junior high schools by reconstructing the school buildings.

According to the dwelling statistics of 2013, 93 percent of the dwellings occupied by households in NW were apartment houses (OC: 72 percent) and seven percent were detached houses (OC: 25 percent). In terms of tenure of dwelling, 38 percent of principal households living in dwelling houses were living in owned houses (OC: 39 percent) and 57 percent were living in a rented house owned by private company (OC: 40 percent). Principal households who were living in rented house owned by prefectural and municipal corporations, rented houses owned by the urban renaissance agency and housing corporations, and housing for company employee and civil servant added up to as small as three percent in NW (OC: eleven percent).

According to the labour force and employment status statistics of the 2010 population census, NW population was divided into 94 percent employed (OC: 91 percent) and six percent (OC: nine percent) unemployed persons. Among the employed persons, approximately 72 percent were employees (OC: 73 percent), eleven percent directors (OC: six percent), seven percent self-employed persons who were not employing others (OC: seven percent), four percent self-employed persons who were employing others (OC: three percent), four percent family workers (OC:
three percent), and three percent persons who were doing piece rate work (OC: seven percent).

In terms of the major industrial groups based on the 2010 population census, 79 percent of the employed persons in NW worked in the tertiary industry (OC: 69 percent), 15 percent in the secondary industry (OC: 21 percent), and only 0.04 percent in the primary industry (OC: 0.09 percent). Therefore, NW’s working population was highly occupied with doing services, whereas OC population was involved in manufacturing and construction in general. In terms of occupational groups, the top five occupational categories in NW and OC alike were: 1) Clerical workers 2) Sales workers 3) Professional and engineering workers 4) Service workers 5) Manufacturing process workers. The occupational distributions in percentages are indicated in Figure 11.

**Figure 11 Occupations in Nishi Ward and Osaka City**
(Source: Created from Statistics Bureau: Sōmu-shō Tōkei-kyoku)
According to the small region statistics of the 2010 population census, 27 percent of the NW population lived in Horie as the most highly populated of NW's 18 areas. Horie's population has been increasing based on the last three censuses (2000, 2005, 2010) and more rapidly than NW between 2005 and 2010. The Horie population was divided into 46 percent male (NW: 47 percent) and 54 percent female residents (NW: 53 percent). Contrary to the feminization trend in NW and OC, Horie’s female population increased less (26 percent increase) than its male population (30 percent increase) between 2000 and 2010.

In 2010, Horie hosted 28 percent of the total households in NW. Forty one percent of Horie’s nuclear families were a married couple only (NW: 39 percent) and 43 percent a married couple with their child(ren) (NW: 44 percent). Fifty seven percent of Horie’s ordinary/private households were households with one person (setai jin’in ichi nin) (NW: 58 percent). In terms of the change from 2000 to 2010, the increases in Horie’s ordinary households with a member above the age of 65 (Horie: 47 percent > NW: 40 percent increase), a married couple only households (Horie: 41 percent > NW: 37 percent increase), and ordinary households with a member below the age of six (Horie: 34 percent > NW: 28 percent increase) were remarkable. Horie was getting more popular among couples and families with small children and elderly members.
In terms of occupational groups based on the 2010 population census, Horie outnumbers NW and OC in its population percentage, working as sales workers (Horie: 20 percent > NW: 19 percent > OC: 15 percent), professional and engineering workers (Horie: 18 percent > NW: 17 percent > OC: 13 percent), services workers (Horie: 15 percent > NW: 14 percent > OC: 13 percent), and administrative and managerial workers (Horie: 5.16 percent > NW: 4.78 percent > OC: 2.59 percent). On the other hand, Horie’s percentage of manufacturing process workers (seven percent) is smaller than NW (eight percent) and OC (twelve percent). Horie’s occupational groups are shown below:

Figure 12 Standardized Changes in the Types of Households in Horie and Nishi Ward
(Source: Created from Statistics Bureau: Sōmu-shō Tōkei-kyoku)
In terms of age groups based on the 2010 population census, Horie's age distribution was similar to NW. However, Horie had fewer elderly residents who were 65 years old and above (Horie: 14 percent < NW: 15 percent < OC: 22 percent). On the other hand, Horie's population above the age of 65 had the highest increase (men: 53 percent and women: 40 percent increase) from 2000 to 2010.
In sum, the present residential population of NW was comprised of highly-educated, young to middle-aged men and women who lived mostly alone or with their partners – and child(ren) – in privately rented apartment houses. They worked as employees and directors in clerical, sales and service jobs, if not as professionals and engineers in the tertiary industry. The Horie neighbourhood followed suit with high percentages of clerical, sales, professional and engineering, and services workers.

5.2 Statistics from a Town Development and Social Life Questionnaire

The “Town Development and Social Life Questionnaire” (Kawano ed. 2014b) was included as part of the Sociology Practice I and II courses in the 2014
curriculum of the Sociology Department, Graduate School of Literature and Human Sciences, Osaka City University. This resident attitude survey was applied by mail in five areas – including three main and two areas with affluent and working class populations for reference – in Osaka.³ I will share some interesting findings based on my cross tabulations from the survey data and final report of the course students (Kawano ed. 2014a).

Firstly, 35 percent of Minami Horie respondents were living in Horie for less than five years (all areas: 26 percent) and 28 percent for more than 20 years (all areas: 37 percent) at the time of the survey. Therefore, there were many newcomers in Minami Horie, which was only surpassed by Nakazaki and Kita Tenma areas (46 percent). The majority of Minami Horie respondents had been living either in or outside the Kinki Region, when they were 15 years old, whereas only four percent (all areas: 14 percent) had also lived in their current address, when they were young.

Secondly, Minami Horie had 37 percent couple only (all areas: 23 percent), 30 percent couple and child (all areas: 34 percent), and 19 percent one-person households (all areas: 23 percent). Fifty seven percent of Minami Horie’s respondents (all areas: 25 percent) lived in condominium apartments, and 35

³ The survey areas were comprised of: Nakazaki and Kita Tenma in Kita Ward; Karahori in Chuo Ward; Minami Horie in Nishi Ward; Shikanjima, Baika, etc. in Konohana Ward; Tezukayama, etc. in Abeno and Sumiyoshi Wards. The target respondents were selected by random sampling from the basic resident registers (jūmin kihon daichō) of these target areas. The response rate was approximately 30 percent – 298 respondents out of a sample of 1000 people (Kawano ed. 2014a). Area distribution of the respondents was: Nakazaki and Kita Tenma (54), Karahori (60), Minami Horie (55), Baika and Shikanjima (56), and Tezukayama (73).
percent (all areas: 26 percent) lived in private rented apartments. Just two percent of Minami Horie respondents (all areas: 31 percent) lived in an owned detached house, and none (all areas: three percent) lived in public housing. Moreover, eleven percent of the Minami Horie residents (all areas: 14 percent) occupied in doing housework. Apparently, a dual income, private apartment lifestyle dominated the Minami Horie area.

Thirdly, in terms of place of errands, such as shopping, going to a bank, post office, hospital and pharmacy or for a walk, the majority of Minami Horie respondents – and more than the rates of all survey respondents for each case of activity – did these activities inside their residential area. Yet, when it came to meeting friends and acquaintances or eating out, Minami Horie residents did these social and recreational activities either mostly outside the area or half inside and half outside. This might indicate that areas for living and socialization separated for Minami Horie residents. It might also point to a lack of good restaurants in Minami Horie. The residents also went to a movie or a concert mainly outside the area perhaps, for the same reason of a lack of such cultural venues in Minami Horie.

Fourthly, there was a general lack of civic engagement for all survey respondents in terms of participating in politics-related organizations, trade associations, volunteer groups, civic and consumer movements, religious or sports groups, and PTA, except for the neighbourhood and residents’ associations. Forty six percent of Minami Horie residents (all areas: 42 percent) participated in neighbourhood associations of their area. The Sociology Practice I and II course students made a multiple regression analysis to determine the factors associated with the frequency of participation in local organizations. They found that the
frequency of local participation was associated with the size of one's social network – number of friends – and age, but not necessarily with one's gender, area of residence, type of employment, job description, and annual household income (Kawano ed. 2014a: 64-67). This finding might undermine the general excuse of not participating for a lack of time.

Fifthly, about the social homogeneity of areas, 37 percent of Minami Horie residents (all areas: 42 percent) did not agree that Minami Horie's people resembled themselves. On the other hand, 66 percent (all areas: 62 percent) considered that their area had a distinct character from other areas in good terms. Therefore, Horie could be assumed to preserve a unique character in spite of social diversity. For example, based on a cross tabulation by the course students, 55 percent of Minami Horie residents – the highest among survey areas – acknowledged that their area had many fashionable (osharenä) shops. When the course students searched for the possible factors of this fashionable area identity by applying a logistic regression analysis, they found that Minami Horie area itself and the recognition that young people have been increasing were associated with the area's character of having many fashionable shops, regardless of respondents' individual identities (Kawano ed. 2014a: 68-72). This finding might indicate that the Horie brand was deep-rooted in the residents' minds independently of any other influence.

Sixthly, with respect to the changes in one's area of residence for the last five years, 42 percent of Minami Horie residents (all areas: 20 percent) thought that affluent people (yūfuku sōna hito) increased in their area. The respondents who thought that rent rates (yachin no sōba) rose totalled to 39 percent for Minami Horie (all areas: 24 percent). Regarding the increase in apartment buildings, 95
percent of Minami Horie residents (all areas: 80 percent) agreed that the number of apartment buildings in Horie actually increased. Moreover, fifty four percent (all areas: 23 percent) thought that Minami Horie became more vital. These percentages could be interpreted that Minami Horie was turning into a more expensive, residential area with amenities for the rich perfectly in line with gentrification.

Seventhly, when asked about the reason for moving into the current area of residence, convenience for commuting to work and school, area’s good image, and general transport convenience, in addition to area’s reputable schools became prominent for Minami Horie residents as shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Good image</th>
<th>Afford. housing</th>
<th>Commute</th>
<th>Transport</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Social network</th>
<th>Born there</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M. Horie</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All areas</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4 Reasons for Moving with Family into One’s Current Area of Residence**  
(Sources: Created from Kawano ed. 2014b)

Finally, 31 percent of Minami Horie residents (all areas: 24 percent) accepted that the recent urban policies – after 2000 – were developing in a favourable way (yōi hōkō), and 27 percent (all areas: 19 percent) thought that these policies had a good impact on their residential area directly. Furthermore, 61 percent of Minami Horie residents (all areas: 60 percent) supported the One Osaka scheme, and 68 percent (all areas: 66 percent) supported the previous Osaka Mayor, Toru
Hashimoto as the owner of this plan. Hence, Minami Horie residents came out to be politically supportive of the neoliberal urban policies after the 2000s. Again, this finding could strengthen the argument of embourgeoisment or gentrification (kōkyūka) for the case of Horie.

6 Branding of Horie from the Viewpoint of Long-Term Residents

Horie's transition from production and sales of furniture and timber to provision of other goods and services after the 1990s can be interpreted as a partial commercial gentrification. The change from wood craftsmanship to services induced a change in the area's residential environment. Building of apartments is designated as “mansionization” in this research, based on the meaning of manshon as apartment building or condominium in the Japanese context. New construction of houses increased by approximately 198 percent in Nishi Ward from 2007 to 2012 (Statistics Bureau). In addition, Nishi Ward was one of the centrally located wards with a growing population: the ward population increased for more than 20,000 people from 1990 to 2010. Horie in Nishi Ward was interesting for both its young, growing population and its similarity to the western examples of neoliberalized, gentrified neighbourhoods, with its up-market apartment buildings, western-style cafes, and specialty stores committed to fair trade.

This chapter analyzes the change in Horie to answer the following question: What were the consequences of Horie's post-bubble changes in terms of the physical and social – neighbourhood community – aspects from the perspective of people who had a long-term affiliation with the area? How did the long-term residents interpret
area’s revitalization? Did they consider Horie’s residential and commercial gentrification in a more positive or negative manner?

6.1 Horie’s Change during and after the Bubble Economy

At the time of Horie’s business-related decline, the second generation of the furniture shops formed the "Tachibana Street Activation Committee (1991)" (Tachibana Dōri Kasseika Iinkadō), and took action for Horie’s revitalization and branding (See Table 5). 4,000 people gathered for the first flea market event. Tachibana Street, once dominated by furniture shops, changed its name to Orange Street and became more diversified with service-sector businesses.

In Horie today the furniture shops were outnumbered by apparel stores, interior design stores, accessories shops, and cafes. According to official statistics of Japan, there were: 1,161 retail stores (including 294 dry goods, apparel and accessory retail stores, 272 foods and drink stores, etc.) and 1,161 eating and drinking places, in addition to 24 large-scale retail stores in Nishi Ward in 2011. Orange Street attracted particularly the young. People belonging to the category of 20 to 39 years old increased the most in Nishi Ward in 2000-2010 (Sōmu-shō

4 Horie’s revitalization was modelled after cities, such as Paris and Milano, where a good affinity was created between furniture and fashion. The outcome of the revitalization was the successful Horie brand. After the revitalization, the furniture shops changed; at the same time, many cafes, boutiques, and galleries were opened. Because they sought after an area where people dressed up and went out, the shops had a high threshold (shikii ga takadō), meaning expensive prices. Horie Union was formed in 2002 as the next step to manage the possible risks of area regeneration. The Union’s 100 members consisted of the young shop managers, government and local elected officials, the police, residents’ association, and women’s association. They adopted slogans, such as “refined urban development” or “peaceful and fashionable urban development with safety and security”. The Union activities included: cleaning, patrol car (against purse-snatching), and making sure that area shops followed the local business rules (Kitatsuji 2004: 28-29).
Tōkei-kyoku).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Tachibana Street Activation Committee formed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Tachibana's nickname publicly decided as &quot;Orange Street&quot;, flea market organized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Orange Street Furniture Festival ’96 convened for the first time</td>
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<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>Muse Osaka café opened, A.P.C. opened in the place of Shimizu Furniture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-2001</td>
<td>Other apparel brands opened – e.g. American Rag CIE, Journal Standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Horie Union for safe and peaceful town-making formed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>HORIE X’mas HIKE2003 held for the first time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Horie Tachibana Street Furniture Competition held for the first time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>I love Horie campaign began, the area character Hory was born</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>Safety Movement Crime-Prevention, Horie Halloween organized for the first time, Horie Manners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>Charity Bazaar for Eastern Japan Great Earthquake convened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Horie Design Week organized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013</td>
<td>Northern pavement of Minami Horie Park designed with a sumo mosaic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014</td>
<td>Biotop Osaka opened in the place of A.P.C.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 5 Examples of Horie’s Revitalization Activities**
(Source: Created from Horie Union 2012; Kimoto 2012, and field observations)

Horie’s increased appeal to the young population even triggered the place to be a set for a late-night (*shinya*) Kansai TV drama for a young male audience. The drama’s producer spoke about how they selected Horie:
You know, we had this idea like let's make a drama, using young girls in an Osaka area ... we considered which area was the most suitable at the time. The Horie neighbourhood was slightly separate from the South, and it was about the time, when shops for the young were opened: there were many apparel shops, but also cute accessories shops, and restaurants here and there ... (Appendix 3 Y 2015)

Although the early 1990s marked the beginning of redevelopment efforts, the reasons for the changes were rooted in earlier, political-economic changes that triggered social changes in Japanese people’s lifestyles.

6.1.1 A Change in the Demand for Furniture

The change in Japanese people’s lifestyles created a shift in demand for furniture. Previously, there had been a perceptual shift from furniture as luxury – before the Meiji period – to furniture as necessity with rapid urbanization. Therefore, Minami Horie had become a “big supplying base for furniture” according to an NPO founder (Appendix 1 M1 2013). Additionally, wood was indispensable for post-war reconstruction; a liquor shop-owner commented that “people in the business became rich, and Horie, getting its way, was redeveloped and enlivened” (Appendix 1 N1 2013) at that time. People used to buy marriage furniture as a tradition. They could buy marriage furniture only in Tachibana, Sennichimae, and Nipponbashi in Osaka (Appendix 1 M2 2013). Many customers bought furniture at Tachibana Street. Although Tachibana’s furniture was high-priced because of the restricted supply, it was of high quality.
After the 1970s, furniture became less necessary. The trivialization of furniture was related to a change in the government’s housing policy: “Public Housing Corporation was established in 1955, and big housing estates have been built all over Japan since 1965,” remarked the NPO founder (Appendix 1 M1 2013). For example, Nishinagahori Apartment (the so-called Mammoth Apartment) was built in Kita Horie’s fourth district in 1958. It represented the early examples of mass housing. The change in the type of housing removed the need for some furniture items, such as wardrobes for kimonos (tansu) because wardrobes were built-in in apartment houses. Therefore, the history of furniture in Japan saw furniture first as a luxury; next as a necessity; and finally as an unnecessary commodity.

A second factor in decreasing furniture demand was heightened competition with the entry of large players into the furniture market, such as large roadside stores in the suburbs. This development was related to the liberalizing changes in the Japanese law concerning the large-scale retail stores (Wikipedia 2014a). The resulting price competition reduced the flow of customers to furniture shops inside the city. The entry of large companies was not only a threat to individual furniture shop-owners, but also to any type of small business according to the liquor shop-owner:

With [economic] liberalization … because large businesses as our rivals also enter, the way of life of the individual commerce gradually narrows down. It was not limited to liquor shops, but concerned all retail businesses. (Appendix 1 N1 2013)
6.1.2 Changes during the Bubble Economy

The bubble era was a rapid turnover period in terms of people, housing, and businesses. When “Horie’s prosperity gradually collapsed” (Appendix 1 M2 2013), furniture shop-owners whose businesses were struggling sold their houses, and moved to the suburbs. Hence, they adopted a lifestyle of working in one place and living in another, which was different from the past. The chief priest of a Buddhist temple in Horie commented: “Because, they [Horie’s shop-owners] are not living in the houses here now... They live in a different place, even if they have a shop here. Hence, they do not understand the neighbourhood” (Appendix 5 I4 2016). According to official statistics of Japan, the percentage of people who left Nishi Ward (40.29 percent) outnumbered those who came in (17.55 percent) in 1999-2012. Moreover, people “working in the same city, town or village (including working at home)” decreased by approximately 23 percent in Nishi Ward in 1980-2010. Apartments were built on the land the furniture shop-owners left behind. Nevertheless, some could not adjust to suburban life. A retired timber dealer returned to Horie from Kobe, where he moved in approximately 1965, because he “couldn’t live without a car, since shopping places and hospitals were not available in the vicinity” (Appendix 1 A1 2013). Those whose houses had already passed into other’s hands (Appendix 1 K4 2013) could not return.

Some interviewees who continued to reside in Horie after the bubble rebuilt their single family houses so that they could rent the first floor as a shop. Or, they reconstructed their houses into apartment buildings, where they continued to live and began to rent. Still others resisted the “mansionization” of their properties by developers, who made money by a “crash and build” strategy. For example, an
interior design business owner said: “In our case, there was also talk like, ‘Would you sell for three billion yen?’ but we kept this building by enduring” (Appendix 1 M2 2013). The retired timber dealer also rejected such negotiators because he was “too old to pay back a loan” (Appendix 1 A1 2013) for reconstruction on his land, where he lived in a three-storey house with a storehouse. However, the land prices bubble brought only trouble to the people who stayed in the area without change because of the increased property tax. Accordingly, the bubble’s influence on Horie’s residents depended on whether they stayed in or sold their properties at that time.

After the bubble burst, many local business owners retired and rented their shops to other service businesses. An interviewee who had owned a Japanese confectionery store in the past was now “living on rent” (Appendix 1 T1 2013) from his building on the nearby Yotsubashi Street. The interviewees had different opinions regarding business closures. The neighbourhood hall’s office clerk and yoga teacher argued, “For the furniture shop-owners who were troubled for not being able to sell, I think it was good that they rented” (Appendix 1 O1 2013). The interior design business owner interpreted such new business adventures by furniture shop-owners during the bubble as, “seeking comfort in rent” and “dabbling in other professions”. They were doomed to failure otherwise: “They received money, but lost their jobs” (Appendix 1 M2 2013).

6.1.3 Agents of Revitalization

With almost no customers on Tachibana Street towards the end of the economic bubble, Horie began to decay. Under these circumstances, the second generation of furniture businesses became prominent in initiating the redevelopment process.
They organized themselves under the umbrella of the Activation Committee. They began with a naming campaign, followed by other marketing events. According to the interior design business owner: “... it was not something done by big capital like in Kita or Abeno Wards; [but] ... worked in a guerrilla style” (Appendix 1 M2 2013). This statement contradicted with the chief priest’s interpretation of Tachibana Street’s revitalization, and hence, presenting it as a natural, unavoidable development:

This is natural occurrence. I don’t think that it was done with an intention to revitalize here. ... Only ... rendering it [Horie] so that buying and selling of land would go smoothly. And for that, raising the brand value ... They made an effort for raising [the brand value]. (Appendix 5 I4 2016)

Other important agents got involved. For instance, financial institutions provided loans for building. It was a gesture regarded as a sign of their confidence in the rising popularity of Horie, but they also put pressure on the furniture shops to rent or sell. Additionally, Tokyo capital eventually entered the area through some apparel brands at the initiative of the Activation Committee. Individual agents, as trend-setters of the process, were represented by a woman business developer, Higiri-san, who was well-known for developing the neighbouring America Mura [Village], before rolling up her sleeves for Horie. The interaction between these various agents determined the nature of Horie’s redevelopment.
6.2 Community Ties

According to official statistics of Japan, “self-employed, employing others” and “family workers” decreased by 53 percent and 69 percent respectively, and “employees” increased by 46 percent in Nishi Ward in 1980-2010. During the same period, while “persons employed in the secondary industry” decreased by 24 percent, “persons employed in the tertiary industry” increased by 20 percent. Horie’s identity was once built on similarity. The liquor shop-owner said it was, “... a merchant’s town, with people having similar interests, loss and gain relations, positions, lifestyle” (Appendix 1 N1 2013). But it lost its foundation under the pressure of growing diversity in employment. This diversity created conflict of interests or simply a lack of interaction among residents.

6.2.1 Familiarity

Many interviewees mentioned knowing others and being known by them, and how this reciprocal knowing was seen as natural in the past, unlike “the privacy issue at present” (Appendix 1 A1 2013). The head of Horie Women's Association suggested that the reciprocal knowing was now replaced by “a feeling like, what is the neighbour doing?” (Appendix 1 K1 2013) The retired insurance company agent explained: “If it’s an apartment, one meets with somebody in front of the elevator in the morning” (Appendix 1 K4 2013). For those who left the area for the suburbs during the bubble, there was a general consensus about negative experiences, including loneliness, nostalgia, illness, and even early death because of a loss of their social network. Among the long-term residents however, the old familiarity still continued to some degree.
The local social network not only helped residents’ psychological well-being, but was also helpful materially, such as in providing childcare support or assisting local business survival. The interviewee whose liquor shop suffered from supermarket and convenience store competition said, “In the past, there were shops, and residents had a tendency for familiarity. We could also sell through such feeling” (Appendix 1 N1 2013). He defined the long-term residents with local sensitivities as the “Indians of Horie” in analogy to Native Americans who had to fight with white people that arrived as people of reclamation. Likewise, Horie, which was built by people who have been living there since the past, received various immigrants in time.

The liquor shop-owner commented that this entry of newcomers created frictions, such as: “Why should we ask the opinions of mansion dwellers about width? There is no need to listen to their ideas.” The retired Japanese confectionery store owner interpreted this sensitive attitude of the long-term residents as “repayment for kindness” (Appendix 1 T1 2013) by assuming local duties, when it was their turn. However, he assumed that young people who were not born in Horie were more indifferent to area matters because they lacked affection for Horie.

6.2.2 Aversion to Outsiders

The lack of communication with newcomers was explained by their lack of participation in the neighbourhood association and area events – for a comparative analysis of Horie’s long-term residents and newcomers see Kirmizi 2015. One reason for the non-participation of newcomers could be the difficulty of entering the in-group, formed by long-term residents. In other words, familiarity for one could be
aversion for another. An engineer who was a newcomer, young father admitted his lack of participation by saying: “... When she [his baby daughter] goes to kindergarten and enters the elementary school ... I might have exchange with other parents. I don't have it [exchange] yet” (Appendix 5 K7 2014). Interestingly, even people who lived in the area for ten to 20 years did not fully participate. A tea ceremony teacher who came from Okayama said, “There is ... an association if I come to the English conversation group, but not with people from inside the same apartment” (Appendix 1 J1 2013).

The possibility of exclusion of outsiders was acknowledged by the head of Horie Children's Association who was born and raised in Horie: “Only, if we are too close, it becomes hard to enter [the in-group]. ... When there are newcomers from here and there, it gets difficult [for them], if we are not careful” (Appendix 1 K3 2013). Therefore, long-term residents who actively assumed local duties were aware of the in-group versus out-group problem. The head of Horie Joint Association recommended an integrative approach to all people living in the area, regardless of their length of residence:

Among people living in apartment houses, there are some who don’t want their lives to be interfered with. ... There are such people among those who have been here since the past too. Yet, living long helps form relationships. Being the head of all, I want to make events by integrating. (Appendix 1 I1 2013)
6.2.3 Empathy

Local people who also conducted business in the area did not fully associate themselves with the long-term residents or the newcomers. Although they belonged to the former group, their businesses depended on the new young families as target customers. The interior design business owner described the clash between these groups as “the conflict of native races” (Appendix 1 M2 2013). He argued that the long-term residents created and maintained a “safe and peaceful city”, and thus, had some vested rights, whereas people who came in by buying an apartment house with their money considered living there as natural without being aware of the former group’s sensitivities. His recommendations were empathy and effort by all of the parties to get along with each other.

6.3 Horie’s Revitalization: Reactions of the Long-Term Residents

The redevelopment of Tachibana Street was not without conflict. According to the interior design business owner, “The area’s community is divided into two” (Appendix 1 M2 2013) as proponents and opponents of revitalization more or less corresponded with Minami Horie and Kita Horie, respectively. He suggested that their “businesses got a little better” (Appendix 1 M2 2013) thanks to the revitalization. The head of Horie Children’s Association, living in Kita Horie, supported her superior (senpai) from junior high school by claiming that “[furniture shops] would have quitted probably, even if fashion shops hadn’t come” (Appendix 1 K3 2013). However, the entry of Tokyo capital into Tachibana Street through apparel shops like A.P.C. was considered a negative outcome of the redevelopment. The interior design business owner commented that it simply led to “people gather[ing]
out of purpose there” (Appendix 1 M2 2013) that did not help the struggling furniture shops.

Criticism of Orange Street (former Tachibana Street) was more widespread among residents without any business interests in the area. This group was more conservative in the sense of maintaining historical place identity, community ties, and public facilities, in comparison to the city administration’s neoliberal policies of privatization and unification. For example, the interviewees preferred the old name Tachibana to the “more fashionable” (Appendix 1 R 2013) Orange Street of foreign origin. They unconsciously distorted the new name by saying “Orange Road” (Appendix 1 K1 2013) or the “so-called Orange Street” (Appendix 1 N1 2013) as a signal of their dislike. These people cared for older, representative place names to the point of feeling frustrated with administrative changes in street names that the neighbourhood hall’s office clerk and yoga teacher found “without taste, emotion, or that place’s image” (Appendix 1 O1 2013).

The resentment over Tachibana Street’s revitalization into Orange Street arose from a sense of unfairness toward furniture shops, discrimination against the elderly residents, and Orange Street’s role in rendering Horie a brand. A critique of the transition was that it was not managed well enough to achieve the intended results by initiators. The retired insurance company agent who used to buy furniture at Tachibana Street argued that he could not see the old Tachibana Street in Orange Street. He did not feel like going there anymore, now that the atmosphere had become closer to the downtown’s (Appendix 1 K4 2013). It echoed the feeling of the watching coordinator for the elderly; she just “passed [from Orange Street] on the way to shopping” (Appendix 1 K2 2013) in department stores.
like Takashimaya in Namba or Daimaru in Shinsaibashi.

The NPO founder interpreted Orange Street as a mistake because it did not turn out to be the “reactivation wished for by the furniture dealers”. He likened the situation of the furniture dealers who closed down or rented their shops to “squeezing one’s own neck” (Appendix 1 M1 2013). The initiators of change were now trying to correct the mistake, through measures such as Horie Union’s efforts to prevent unrelated businesses from coming in further. Another criticism was related to the efforts to render Horie a brand to attract people and sell commodities or apartments, often having Horie in their names. The head of Horie Children’s Association remarked: “It is called popular Horie in flyers of apartment houses. ... As residents, we don’t think it is so [that Horie became popular], but it is considered in that way” (Appendix 1 K3 2013). The Nishi Ward Mayor supported the idea of Horie brand by saying:

Taking the example of outsiders, when said Horie brand, they come [here] to have fun out of curiosity. For residents, Horie brand directly equals, links with living pride, I think. Therefore, I think that it is a very good thing after all, yes. (Appendix 5 T4 2014)

Yet, defining Horie as a brand, and thus, rendering the place a product to be sold and profited from, excluded long-term residents. It diminished Horie’s social element, and emphasized only its exchange value. The liquor shop-owner argued strongly against such a place branding approach for Horie:
We feel that the consciousness of “Let’s live all together” is fading away. I think that it is a great mistake, if young people come with the idea of Horie brand. ... It might not match with the goodness that Horie has had until now. We might not agree. (Appendix 1 N1 2013)

The area had always been a bit expensive, compared to Osaka’s other areas. However, the wife of a temple priest thought that the [area’s cost of living] rose more recently (Appendix 1 S 2013). Rent was quite expensive, especially in the newly built apartments. The retired Japanese confectionery store owner argued that “it is a difficult place to live for the elderly” (Appendix 1 T1 2013) because there were not many shopping alternatives in reach, except for department stores. The branded Horie area was described as more expensive than the area west of Nishi Ward as in this comment of the liquor shop-owner: “Kujō is cheaper. [In Kujō] Life standard is lower, too.” (Appendix 1 N1 2013) The closer one got to Yotsubashi Street, the higher the prices became. However, the retired nurse remarked: “I feel
like [recognition] is now moving more to the north of Horie, from Yotsubashi to around Naniwa line: various shops are being opened [there].” (Appendix 1 I2 2013)

The long-term residents were also concerned about a possible deterioration of the area, related to the loss of place identity and function. The city administration’s neoliberal policy approaches intensified worries regarding the loss of historical and cultural place identities following Horie’s promotion as a brand. The residents feared the possibility of higher rates of crime and an intensification of the schools’ capacity problem, if the area became more popular and crowded. Furthermore, they worried about young residents of the newly built apartments, who they thought were prone to think, “Why should I pay neighbourhood expenses, when I don’t participate?” (Appendix 1 I2 2013). Unless older members were replaced by newer members for neighbourhood duties, the interior design business owner claimed that it would be difficult to keep the “safe and peaceful city, created and maintained by the efforts of the old people” (Appendix 1 M2 2013).

![Apparel Shops on Orange Street](image)

**Figure 16 Apparel Shops on Orange Street**
(Created by the author)

Long-term residents were not completely opposed to change. They were aware
of the inevitability of change. For example, the head of the Women’s Association stated: “New things can’t begin, unless old things disappear” (Appendix 1 K1 2013). Moreover, the interviewees were hopeful about Horie’s future based on their confidence in the efforts of the community because “everything is related to people” (Appendix 1 K1 2013).

### 6.4 Large Business Interests Putting Local Interests in the Shade

Urban redevelopment was likely to bring about commoditized and homogenized spaces in the current context of neoliberal urbanism. The historical place identity was lost because the exchange value of space dominated its use value creating alienating and exclusionary spaces. Redevelopment triggered questions of survival against large capital. Even if an urban redevelopment process arose from the place concerned, the intended, grass-roots type of town-making was not guaranteed. Tachibana Street’s redevelopment was initially a bottom-up redevelopment because of the local actors involved. Nevertheless, when outside capital was incorporated into the process, the direction of town-making changed. Large business interests began to put local residents and businesses in the shade, just as the apartment buildings left single-family houses without sunshine. Eventually, the area resembled visually any gentrified area. The homogeneous community of furniture shop-owners was replaced by social diversity, but at the cost of spatial homogenization.

I interpreted the revitalization of Tachibana Street in Horie as partial commercial gentrification because it demonstrated the “necessary conditions for gentrification” (Lees et. al. eds. 2015: 8) to a certain extent. Tachibana Street's
revitalization led to a more homogeneous shopping environment without signs of its earlier identity. On the other hand, Horie did not have a class polarization, although Kawano (2016) represented Osaka as a socially segregated city throughout the history. Moreover, the furniture shops which were displaced after the area’s revitalization seem to have actually gained from business closures. Therefore, Horie’s post-bubble change meant both an opportunity and a problem – with unintended consequences – for people with a long-term relationship to the area. Horie’s incomplete story of change was evolving towards “a renewed identity and economic function” (Appendix 1 M1 2013).

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

Horie’s revitalization 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 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.

In this chapter, I will represent how area’s woodwork businesses experienced and interpreted this neighbourhood change (see Table 6) in relation to its background, factors, effects, process, outcomes, and areas of improvement with a focus on the constraints upon family businesses and craftsmanship culture. In this way, I continue to construct Horie’s story of change from the perspectives of its inhabitants as a clue to my efforts to understand Japanese post-industrial urban change and gentrification.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area in the past</th>
<th>Urban decay in the area</th>
<th>Horie's revitalization</th>
<th>The current situation</th>
<th>Suggestions from the field</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economy</strong></td>
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<td>• Long-established</td>
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<td>• Family businesses</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Production and commerce of marriage furniture, fanlight, etc.</td>
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<td><strong>Image</strong></td>
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<td>• Refined</td>
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<td>• Products of high quality and price</td>
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<td>• Community</td>
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<td><strong>Factors</strong></td>
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<td>• Economic downturn</td>
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<td>• Decreased purchasing power</td>
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<td>• Increased product and price competition</td>
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<td>• Mansionization</td>
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<td>• Big regional earthquakes</td>
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<td>• Changing preferences in furniture of post-baby boomers</td>
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<td><strong>Effects</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>• Decreased demand for area products</td>
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<td>• Closure of area businesses with high overhead costs</td>
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<td>• Changed profile of area visitors</td>
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<td>• Horie brand</td>
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<td>• Customers lured away by new department stores in other areas</td>
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<td>Increasing furniture-related businesses</td>
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<td>Balancing the residential and commercial growth</td>
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<td>Developing strategies to adapt the new businesses</td>
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<td>• Physical barrier against accessibility</td>
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<td>Reinforcing collective action</td>
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<td>• Decreased furniture town identity</td>
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<td>Enlarging community with participation</td>
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<td>• Weakened solidarity with less participation and high business turnover</td>
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<td>Enhancing cooperation among businesses by provision of complementary products</td>
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<td>• Businesses too diversified to match the area's image</td>
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<td>Building on area's culture and a craftsman approach</td>
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<td>• Famous brands that came with revitalization leaving</td>
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<td>Aiming at sustainability of area businesses</td>
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Table 6 Horie's Post-Bubble Change from the Perspective of Area Businesses
(Created from interviewees' opinions)

7.1 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\textsuperscript{5}, 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 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 17). There was also a decrease in the number of furniture manufacturing establishments from 2002 to 2012. As to Japanese furniture trade, imports have been increasing, whereas exports have been decreasing despite an irregular, large increase in 2010.

\textsuperscript{5} 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.
Figure 17 Number of Establishments in Japanese Furniture Retail Industry
(Source: Created from Nippon Kagu Sangyō Shinkō-kai)

7.1.1 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)" (Appendix 2 C1 2014). She did not make furniture, she only sold it. Unlike a carpenter (Appendix 2 G 2014) 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 (Appendix 2 K5 2015) who has been continuing his father's work for about sixty years but whose son chose another profession. The chief priest indicated the change from Japanese patriarchal (kafuchōseido) system of first child inheritance (isshi sōzoku) to property division (zaisan bunyo) as one reason for the furniture shop closures on Tachibana Street. He explained:

It had been the first child inheritance [system] so far. Therefore, [if there are four children, for example] it has to be divided into four [now]. Then, one [child] cannot inherit a shop, but changes the property into money. The land is thereby sold. (Appendix 5 I4 2016)

The carpenter (Appendix 2 G 2014) 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 18), 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 change in Japanese architecture,
he hardly sold one or two fanlights a year, which was "not enough to eat" (Appendix 2 K5 2015).

Another interviewee (Appendix 2 F1 2014), 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

Figure 18 Hand Painting of a Design for a Chest
(Source: Interviewee G)
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 because my interviewee was still 41 years old, he did not mention the matter of succession.

Schlack and Turnbull (2015) suggested that the type of commerce, the shop’s relationship with the community, and its potential for reaching out to new customers determined an old shop-owner’s adaptability. The shops that changed the least in Horie 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 (Appendix 2 C1 2014) 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” (Appendix 2 C1 2014) of betrothal gifts.

According to Japanese 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 19). The chief priest suggested for the pre-war period: “It seems that one did not purchase new furniture or dolls (ningyō). Those things [were brought] by the bride as property to the other house, because it was [considered to be] a marriage between families” (Appendix 5 I4 2016). After people’s furniture as
family property were burnt during the war, the tradition altered into buying marriage furniture.

Figure 19 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 (Appendix 2 I3 2014) 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" (Appendix 2 I3 2014) rather than furniture.

Another, a 90-year-old furniture shop on Tachibana Street was renewed in 2012
in an environment of decreasing sales. The young male salesperson (Appendix 2 D 2014) 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." (Appendix 2 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" (Appendix 2 D 2014). This cosmetic change increased their business partners to approximately 20 more producers.

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. 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 lifestyle neither necessitated nor provided the 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. 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. 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.

7.1.2 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 (Appendix 2 F1 2014) 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 (tansu) 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 (furukusad) by only hearing the name ‘wardrobe shop,’ yes.” (Appendix 2 F1 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, the wardrobe shop continued to gain approximately seventy percent 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 [here] decades earlier. Her daughter bought. This time her grandchild buys. I have some customers of such a flow, yes.” (Appendix 2 C1 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" (Appendix 2 F1 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" (Appendix 2 F1 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. (Appendix 2 F1 2014)

Creating products with such variations based on special customer requests led to his sense of vocation and success.
7.2 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 older 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!'" (Appendix 2 C1 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 it 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. Horie's closeness to downtown (hankagai) brought about concerns related to a decrease in its quality of life. For example, she regretted that crime prevention with cameras became "natural" (atarimae).

The fanlight craftsman commented frankly that it was better in the past. Although he 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. He blamed the rapid “mansionization” 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" (Appendix 2 K5 2015). People, who shared similar bonds with the neighbourhood, valued its social environment as much as its physical environment. Almost all underlined the growing number of apartment buildings, and the resulting weakening of community. For example, a construction materials trading company manager assumed that there was a relationship between the increases in mansions and crime: “..., you don’t understand, if someone is a resident of the same apartment, do you? That means, even if a suspicious person comes, you think that he might be from this apartment” (Appendix 5 F2 2014).

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]" (Appendix 2 F1 2014) because they could not make some profits from their furniture shops. Moreover, the area became busy and crowded (kakki ga dete). Likewise, the 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" (Appendix 2 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," (Appendix 2 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 western area by the carpenter (Appendix 2 G 2014), 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" (Appendix 2 G 2014), 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.

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" (Appendix 2 E 2014). 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 – 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." (Appendix 2 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

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6 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, J2'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. 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.
following points as important for Horie’s future: balancing 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.

7.3 Horie’s Vanishing Furniture Shops and Craftsmen

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 (Appendix 2 A2 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 apartment houses 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, 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, furniture. Marriage furniture sets which belonged to the old marriage tradition became displaced by interior design products, accessories, and apparel. For an interviewee, who could mend furniture himself, part of the problem was the disappearance of "craftsmen who owned the technique" (Appendix 2 I3 2014), leaving the field clear for salespeople only. Hence, the furniture shop's vanishing could not be helped.

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. Therefore, apparel shops have started to close down recently as well. 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.

8 Whose Culture is Promoted by the Creative City Policies?

"All that is solid melts into air" in the neoliberal city of the creative economy – also known as the symbolic or knowledge economy. The production of goods has long retreated from cities such as Osaka that were characterized by smoky manufacturing in the past. The de-industrialized city under decay became a testing
ground for various schemes of urban regeneration – with a focus on spatial, environmental, technological, and social class dimensions – by public and private actors after the 1970s. The creative city was one of these revitalization schemes, having a covert reference to the social class dimension of post-industrial urban change along with gentrification. The creative city promoted creative and cultural industries for growth, and depended on the work of a creative class in fields such as arts, publishing, and design.

The creative city idea as a seemingly less ideological and controversial scheme of urban change than for instance, urban renewal or gentrification, was adopted in Japan at the city or neighbourhood level.\(^7\) On the other hand, the topic of this dissertation, the Horie neighbourhood in Osaka’s Nishi Ward, was not one of these culture-led neighbourhoods, because its revitalization after the 1990s was closer to retail gentrification which replaced the old, furniture shops with interior design, apparel, and accessory shops, beauty salons, and cafes. Nevertheless, Horie’s popularity has recently dimmed with the departure of brand stores and promotion of Osaka’s other areas and neighbourhoods. Below I present the voices of insiders and outsiders regarding the commercialized Horie’s lack of an appealing culture.

\(^7\) Whereas, major historical cities – e.g. Yokohama, Kanazawa – were members of a creative city network (2013), art and cultural projects have been implemented in Osaka’s inner-city neighbourhoods in collaboration with universities, local municipalities, private enterprises, and local communities since the early 2000s. For instance, artists collaborated with real estate agents in Osaka’s Kitakagaya and Baika neighbourhoods or the Hosono Building, which was a Japanese modern building of the Shōwa era (built in 1936) in Shinmachi, has been used recently for exhibitions, such as the 66 Exhibition (‘66 Ten’) on sixth of June every year.
For instance, a photographer who was working in the area once said that “there is not much culture” in Horie, since everything was about turning things into money.

This chapter asks: what is the role of “culture” with respect to urban regeneration policies? The goal of this investigation is to underline the top-down and commercial nature of culture in urban upgrading policies. The ideas of cultural entrepreneurs and real estate agents from Horie were interpreted in the context of homogenization and commercialization of culture as remedies for contemporary urban problems in a wide geography. The argument of the chapter was developed based on participatory observation of local events, deemed potential sources of "counter-narratives" (Mortimer 2016) of culture.

8.1 The Revitalized Horie: Culture Missing or Missed Out

A previous insight from the long-term resident and area business interviews was that the kind of relationship one had to the area, residential or commercial, affected one’s narrative of Horie’s change, centred on the shopping street. The local residents were concerned about an erosion of the furniture area identity because of place-branding and the non-participating residents who came to live in the newly-built apartments. Still, Tachibana Street’s revitalization into Orange Street after the 1990s was represented as a success story in general. For example, the chief priest (Appendix 5 I4 2016) assumed that people associated Horie with Tokyo’s Daikanyama for its cool shops, westernized image, and visitors, who shared a certain “brand loyalty” (burando shikō). Moreover, Horie’s young and fashionable image was reaffirmed later by local TV productions, such as “Horie Boogie Days” (KTV 2012), that was intended to be “a drama form, which was closely attached to
an area” (Appendix 3 Y 2015). The drama’s producer explained their initial motivation as:

I feel that it was not really a drama made for boosting (moriageru) an area, such as Horie that was decided from the beginning. Only, there was that if we had the area boosted, while making the drama, we could also have our program, drama seen. (Appendix 3 Y 2015)

Horie neighbourhood was commonly deemed a good place to live by the interviewees. The area was close to downtown, but still maintained a residential quality. It had many parks, which were highly valued public spaces in the central city without much greenery. Good people lived in the area. A hairdresser who considered Horie’s people, and especially its elderly residents, to be kind and composed remarked: “Osaka [people] originally have a hot blood, kind of noisy [laugh]. It feels like Osaka, Osaka! Horie feels mellower” (Appendix 3 C2 2015). A music wholesaler assumed Horie’s elderly residents to have concentrated in area’s old apartments (Appendix 3 T2 2015). The hairdresser saw the present area as “settled” and “normal” as opposed to fashionable, despite the neighbourhood’s “fashionable young mothers” (Appendix 3 C2 2015). Yet, Horie in the mid-1990s had been “fashionable in an exciting way” (ibid.), just after the revitalization efforts took off. A second-hand bookstore owner who lived in Horie previously made a similar observation: “Now, Horie has perhaps already become quieter.” (Appendix 3 W 2015)
Now there is a need for a flashback to understand what happened between the point in time 30-years ago, when Horie became fashionable, and the current time, when a somewhat unflattering portrait could be assembled by weaving together individual stories and descriptions of the neighbourhood’s change. For example, Horie’s now dimmed popularity was interpreted as a “transient thing” (Appendix 3 M3 2015) by a café & antique accessories shop and gallery owner who utilized the area’s upcoming regeneration to form her own business. She explained why she chose Horie for her café with two reasons. Firstly, she heard about a plan to make an underground shopping arcade on the Yotsubashi Line.8

Secondly, the café & antique accessories shop and gallery owner realized that while Kyoto and Kobe had small, individual shops at the time, Osaka did not. At that time, the small, individual shops existed only in Osaka’s America Mura and Minami Senba areas. Although a TV producer suggested otherwise for Horie’s present situation: “[Horie] is a town to go as a couple; it has a different atmosphere. Doesn’t Horie have more street-level shops? … There are many smallish, but popular brands in Horie after all” (Appendix 3 Y 2015). Minami Senba and America Mura resembled Horie in terms of their transient popularity, but differed in the age group of their visitors: America Mura with a younger and Minami Senba with an older visitor profile. Deverteuil (2015) labelled the city areas where the gentrification process has just started recently as "pioneer gentrified areas", and the areas where gentrification developed much earlier as “established gentrified areas”. America Mura and Minami Senba 20-30 years ago could be regarded as Osaka’s

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8 One must be familiar with “the Japanese psyche” (Murakami [2001] 2003), accustomed to living underground, to assess the importance of such a development nearby.
established gentrified areas, while Horie at the time was still a pioneer gentrified area.

The cafe & antique accessories shop and gallery owner’s 20-year-old shop was a representation of her lifestyle, filled with mementos of her frequent visits to European antique markets, and her previous work as a clothes designer at a Kobe-based company. This approach of turning one's hobby into a job was also adopted by a second-hand bookstore owner (Appendix 3 W 2015) who opened his first shop in the Shinsaibashi area after quitting from his finance work which he did not want to continue doing for a life-time as in the traditional Japanese employment style. Once free, he travelled to the U.S., where he bought some designer-related books for his graphic designer wife. That’s how he first got the idea of opening a second-hand bookstore. The road to creativity in Japan seems to pass from an experience with the establishment by becoming an office employee at first. His current second-hand book and coffee corner-shop was located strategically in a business area near Minami Senba with many design-related offices whose employees were his regular customers.

The hairdresser who liked going out to live music bars at night used to go to America Mura more often in the past until his taste changed as he got older. In the meantime, America Mura which had once been an “interesting” (omoshirokatta) or “exciting” (exciting as pronounced in the Katakana alphabet) place and had “power” (Appendix 3 C2 2015) turned into a place with “chaos”. Horie having few bars, he now frequented Umeda clubs, which had nice events, but also strict noise regulation and young visitors who belonged to a culture more individualistic and non-communicative about music and other things. He was not the only one who
opted for Umeda for having fun. The redevelopment projects in the Northern and Southern Osaka, finalized during the last years, attracted many people to the new commercial establishments there. Therefore, they created an effect of being pulled at both ends for the commercial areas in mid-Osaka such as Shinsaibashi.

The cafe-accessory shop & gallery owner argued: “People’s flow is declining with the redevelopment in the South and North. Together with that, I think, the land values are also decreasing.” (Appendix 3 M3 2015) A home care worker expressed the competitive pressure by the commercial facilities of big capital and other newly-made creative city areas by saying: “Since not only Horie, but many such fashionable towns exist now in various places, it [customer demand] is divided into various places, isn’t it? ... Shops are made in haste around Tanimachi or Nakazakicho.” (Appendix 4 O 2016) Area revitalization by place branding could only last so long.

Japanese people’s busy life-style and tendency for convenient places around train stations, as well as Japan’s volatile weather conditions added to this preference for moving within the limits of the central business districts. Simply, rain worked against the Horie neighbourhood, which required some walking from the nearest subway stations on Yotsubashi or Midosuji lines. The further a shop’s location from these main axes, the fewer the number of visitors. Therefore, as a local real estate agent who has been working in Horie since 1997 said, “The situation in the second district and the like is that many [shops] get sold, and after that apartments are built.” (Appendix 3 K6 2015) The construction of condominiums and super-condos was regarded as the most prominent housing trend in Horie. The new construction of rental houses increased by approximately 28 percent in Nishi Ward
whereas, it decreased by approximately four percent in Osaka City from 2000 to 2012 (See Table 7). Likewise, many high-rise, high-density apartments were constructed by "joint redevelopment projects" (Seong-Kyu 2015: 168) of the government, homeowners, and construction companies in Seoul in the 1980s. The housing boom in Seoul created a change in the sense of housing from housing for living to housing for investment.

According to a young real estate employee in the area, the continuous housing construction in the case of Horie did not correspond to a “Horie fetish” (Appendix 3 N2 2016) in rental housing demand that might indicate a thinning of the place attachment, found in the area’s long-term inhabitants. Yet, the same real estate employee also added that Horie “belongs to the category of the most expensive [central city] areas” (Appendix 3 N2 2016) in terms of housing costs. The monthly room rent for exclusive housing – housing dedicated only to residential function (sen’yō jūtaku) – was indeed higher in Nishi Ward (67,405 Yen) than the Osaka City average (55,755 Yen) in 2008 (See Table 7). The following table could be a good indicator of Horie’s residential gentrification as “mansionization” because of the relatively high increase in the number of new construction in rental housing in Horie. Looking at the decrease in the number of retail stores, it could be argued that the commercial gentrification which happened during area’s revitalization in the 1990s has now been replaced by a residential change process as construction of apartment buildings.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dwelling statistics</th>
<th>Nishi Ward</th>
<th>Osaka 24 Wards</th>
<th>Tokyo 23 Wards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vacant house increase/decrease (2003 – 2008)</td>
<td>+79.67%</td>
<td>-0.09%</td>
<td>+10.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owned houses increase/decrease (1983 – 2008)</td>
<td>+59.89%</td>
<td>+42.27%</td>
<td>+40.25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented houses increase/decrease (1983 – 2008)</td>
<td>+160.95%</td>
<td>+27.80%</td>
<td>+23.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New construction of houses increase/decrease (2000 – 2012)</td>
<td>+55.00%</td>
<td>-16.63%</td>
<td>-4.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New construction of owned houses increase/decrease (2000 – 2012)</td>
<td>61.90%</td>
<td>-45.39%</td>
<td>-17.45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New construction of rented houses increase/decrease (2000 – 2012)</td>
<td>+28.23%</td>
<td>-3.81%</td>
<td>+5.90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail stores increase/decrease (2009 – 2011)</td>
<td>-10.14%</td>
<td>-8.92%</td>
<td>-9.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail stores without a store increase/decrease (2009 – 2011)</td>
<td>+181.08%</td>
<td>+169.35%</td>
<td>+126.39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly room rent for excl. housing increase/decrease (2003 – 2008)</td>
<td>-5.57%</td>
<td>+2.94%</td>
<td>+7.70%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly room rent for exclusive housing (2008)</td>
<td>67,405 ¥</td>
<td>55,755 ¥</td>
<td>86,742 ¥*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly rent per matting (~1.5m²) for exclusive housing (2008)</td>
<td>5,084 ¥</td>
<td>3,638 ¥</td>
<td>5,942 ¥*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 7 Dwelling Statistics of Nishi Ward and Osaka City**
(Source: Created from Statistics Bureau: Sōmu-shō Tōkei-kyoku) *Calculated based on the average of 23 Wards*

We now have to run the tape back to when a famous French apparel brand A.P.C opened a store on Orange Street (former Tachibana Street) in place of a furniture store in 1998. The local real estate agent acknowledged that he had to “persuade” (Appendix 3 K6 2015) A.P.C for about two years to lease the Schimizu furniture store in Horie to the company. As a major player in Tachibana Street’s...
identity-change operation, he explained his style of business by saying that he waited for the right time to approach furniture stores he knew whose businesses were shaky for various reasons, including a lack of successor. Guaranteeing thus the reclaim of properties of the interested furniture shop-owners, he then visited Tokyo-based powerful brands, which had their own customer portfolio and “would match this area [Horie] well” (Appendix 3 K6 2015). He tried to convince them to open a store in Horie. Sectoral references and brand suggestions of potential customers also influenced the neighbourhood change process.

On the other hand, the real estate agent was careful about not placing any tenant or in his words, “poor tenants” (Appendix 3 K6 2015), such as noisy eating and drinking places or cheap apparel shops which sought customers as in the neighbouring America Mura. This doorkeeper role was not just assumed by local real estate agents themselves; sometimes it was attributed to them by long-time shop-owners. An accessory shop and gallery owner considered it wrong, if “real estate agents only cared about their own profits, and put in any tenants” (Appendix 2 B 2014), without thinking whether they were fit to the area.

Nevertheless, the long run-after apparel brand A.P.C did not stay in the area. It moved to a shopping mall in the nearby Namba area in 2013, and its Horie premises were rented this time, to a Tokyo brand of clothing, cosmetics, nurseries, and food store in 2014. According to another local real estate agent, many street-level shops moved from Horie to “commercial establishments in Umeda or Namba Parks or Abeno Q's Mall” (Appendix 3 T3 2015) after the Lehman shock. The number of retail stores decreased by approximately ten percent in Nishi Ward and nine percent in Osaka City from 2009 to 2011. On the other hand, the number of retail businesses
without a store increased by more than 150 percent for both Nishi Ward and Osaka City for the same period (See Table 7).

The hairdresser interpreted the come and go of Tokyo brands as: “If one considers renting [a store] in Tokyo Harajuku, it’s much more expensive ... Tokyo people came suddenly to the close and cheap Horie and Namba. Then, they also left hurriedly. Only rents increased. Horie [now] is not interesting at all.” (Appendix 3 C2 2015) Likewise, the owner of a men’s hip-hop clothing store on the second floor of a side street on Orange Street commented: “Because rents are too high on Midosuji, [next choice is] Amerika Mura nearby; even if one goes there, rents are [again] too high in Amerika Mura, [so] one goes to Minami Senba, and so on” (Appendix 3 H2 2016). The observation about area revitalization through reinvestment of outside capital was acknowledged by another interviewee, who was born in Horie. As a dancer, he was involved in a communal living project of artists called “Firebird Village” (*Hi no Torimura*) just before the neighbourhood’s revitalization. He left the area after the closure of the building. He remarked:

When Tokyo, Daikanyama’s brand A.P.C enters suddenly, various Tokyo capitals also come in rapidly, saying that here will do, and land value there rises. This is the general pattern. And in general, they go back again, after earning as much money as possible. It is now such a condition, and perhaps, rents are also decreasing ... and then, vacant shops are increasing in Horie, yes. (Appendix 3 A3 2014)
The interviewees’ explanations of area revitalizations in relation to the level of store rents reminded of Neil Smith’s rent-gap theory of gentrification, which was based on the concepts of ground rent and potential ground rent:

Under its present land use, a site or neighbourhood is able to capitalize a certain quantity of ground rent. For reasons of location, usually, such an area may be able to capitalize higher quantities of ground rent under a different land use. … This concept [of potential ground rent] is particularly important in explaining gentrification. (Smith [1979] 2010: 90)

Apart from the redevelopment of other city areas, the competitive business conditions also arose from the rising popularity of online sales. The same forces which had once forced out Horie’s furniture stores were now threatening the new Horie stores that, “sold things”, including “apparel or furniture or accessories” (Appendix 3 T3 2015). Therefore, the local real estate agent who was actively involved in Tachibana Street’s revitalization asked: “Besides, today, how far [it goes] with fashion and interior around there? Shall we say that it is disappearing in fact?” (Appendix 3 K6 2015) He expected instead an increase in mixed stores, selling clothes, accessories, and coffee at the same time, such as Biotop, in addition to coffee shops and organic food stores geared to young mother residents.

The business prospects about serving young mothers were aligned with the 2016 Nishi Ward Administration Policy which also contained a main strategy of “Making an environment for childcare at ease” as an extension of the Osaka City administration. It was also a reasonable business plan, considering that Horie was
“unique” in the sense that “the number of children continues to increase” (Appendix 3 K6 2015) because of “the old, historical elementary school and childcare-friendly environment” (Appendix 3 C2 2015). The ward mayor observed that the area's consumer profile has already been changing from young people to adults who pushed strollers (Appendix 5 T4 2014). In addition, foreigners, such as Chinese and Korean, have also started coming recently according to the owner of hip-hop clothing store (Appendix 3 H2 2016).

The high turnover of shops was expressed by several interviewees, beside a wish for long-lasting businesses in the area. The home care worker who lived in a one-room apartment in Kujō with her mixed race daughter commented: “Isn't the boom past? ... Many shops close and there are vacant shops ... the shops keep changing pretty much. Visitors don't come, isn't it so?” (Appendix 4 O 2016) The sustainability of shops was considered vital for a mutually-supportive relationship between area shops and their higher involvement in local matters, such as residents’ activities. Hence, an important question was how to achieve business continuity.

The hairdresser remarked: “Yet ... fast fashion can’t be sold in Japan now, so, isn’t it better to have personality and style of one’s shop to do it for long?” (Appendix 3 C2 2015) However, it was difficult for individual entrepreneurs to afford the high rents of Horie’s street-level shops compared to commercial establishments and areas where one paid cheaper rents in return for doing their renovations themselves, such as in Nakazakicho, Karahori and Kitakagaya. One case in point was the men’s hip-hop clothing store. The shop-owner, who liked hip-hop, reggae and clothing
himself, moved his store from Awaza to Horie for a better location, and yet, cheaper rents than for example, Amerika Mura about 20 years ago.

The owner of hip-hop clothing store showed the reason for his long-lasting, special apparel business as: “I had the feeling that if one did a pleasant thing, customers would come” (Appendix 3 H2 2016). Although he has been doing business in Horie for about 23 years, he did not get involved with any local matters including area businesses, because he found it “troublesome” or “didn't mind” (ibid.). Therefore, only business continuity did not make a complete solution. The hairdresser suggested that it was cleverer to emphasize the good qualities of Horie, such as greenness and quietness, rather than propagating the “fashionable Horie” image or brand. In other words, Horie’s normality was to be rendered “cool” (Appendix 3 C2 2015).

8.2 Local Neighbourhood Culture Instead of the Creative Recipes

After the glittering years of shopping street revitalization, Horie was considered to have already calmed down, if not uninteresting altogether. I have recently found out that three former interviewees closed down their businesses of a large store of fake designer furniture on Horie’s revitalized shopping street, Tachibana or Orange Street, and two wooden toy shops in the area (See “Horie’s Revitalization: Evaluation by the Area Businesses”). Therefore, such a negative assessment about Horie’s diminishing appeal might have some truth. This paper argues that it was the same for the city neighbourhoods: adopting the cultural-creative recipes for revitalization or economic growth rendered the whole endeavour to be limited to an artificial and short-lived urban prosperity (Miles and
Paddison 2005). In other words, the already applied urban change paradigms, focusing on growth, revitalization or gentrification, and creative city, resulted in an artificial, temporary, and even disillusioning revival before certain death. That was the dilemma of Horie’s Orange Street, and in fact, many other cases of place-branding based on neoliberal or urban entrepreneurial policies.

In the case of the Horie neighbourhood, its local culture could provide an exit from the convergent commercial or cultural routes of urban redevelopment. The Horie neighbourhood, taken as a whole, had its own culture which was both a historical material culture, centred on wood, and an intangible neighbourhood community culture, enlivened through area events, such as festivals (del Barrio et al. 2012). The former was diluted with the entry of businesses from different sectors into the area and a new residing population of company employees into the newly-built apartments. These inflows of people and businesses culminated in a change of area’s place identity. Still, a few representatives of the old businesses, such as a wardrobe (tansu) shop (Appendix 2 F1 2014), marriage furniture shop (Appendix 2 C1 2014), and an artisan’s shop of Japanese fanlight (Appendix 2 K5 2015) remained. They managed to survive not because of the neighbourhood’s revitalization or even despite it by self-help efforts, such as business restructuring and land ownership.

I can say that Horie’s community culture was resilient and here to stay based on my active participation in regular and one-time area activities, including rice-cake making convention (2013-5), Bon dance festival (2014-5), and Osaka Gochiso marathon (2015), as well as a private group’s tea ceremony lesson (2014-2016). Yet, even for the local events, there was a different atmosphere in the
neighbourhood associations’ events which were bottom-up and had a deeper sense of cultural commons versus the Nishi Ward Office's events which were top-down and more commercial, let alone the different nature of each district’s events, such as folk singers, performing only in the Horie district’s Bon dance festival. Even though the neighbourhood associations and the ward office often collaborated, there was an organizational contradiction between Osaka City Nishi Ward Town-making Centre (2013) of the ward office and neighbourhood promotion alliances (rengō shinkō chōka). Despite these organizational duplications, Horie’s districts managed to maintain a rich and inclusive community culture that embraced even a foreign researcher.

9 Motherhood in a Gentrifying Neighbourhood in Osaka

Gentrification was explained initially by two theories: production-side theory and consumption-side theory. Production or supply-side theory explained gentrification by its underlying economic causes (Smith 1979). Consumption or demand-side theory researched the socio-cultural aspects of gentrification, related to the consumer tastes of a new middle class (Ley 1996). Gender, along with race, ethnicity, language, and culture belonged to culturalist perspective of the consumption-side theory; whereas economic perspective of the production-side theory put greater emphasis on the social class dynamics of city space.9 What is the

9 Studies of gentrification from a gender perspective appeared to be less common than studies on a gender-neutral gentrification process. That there were few studies on gender and gentrification was surprising, considering that the topic of women and the city was even taken up by popular TV series about career women in large cities.
role of women in gentrification? Would gender or social class associations dominate over women's experiences of the city? Furthermore, how would the particular gender category of motherhood affect women's role in gentrification? How did the mothers' experiences of an urban neighbourhood affect – and how were they influenced by – the process of urban upgrading?

The existing literature on gender and gentrification discussed issues regarding gender and class practices in changing city neighbourhoods (Bondi 1999), as well as the emancipatory potential and revanchist character of these renewed environments for women (Patch 2008; Kern 2010; Kern 2013). Bondi (1999) studied gender and gentrification processes in three areas of Edinburgh. She argued that these processes needed to be explained by interlinking gender, class and life course dimensions. The gender egalitarian sentiments of gentrifiers for instance, did not so much depend on the type of urban area as their life cycles. A significant finding of Bondi was that gentrified or gentrifying neighbourhoods which were not considered to be suitable for child-rearing were thus, seen as tentative places of dwelling. Gentrifiers' level of attachment to their current neighbourhoods depended on the "kinds of professional careers" (Bondi 1999: 278) they had and their preferences for proximity to family members.

This chapter explores the relationship between contemporary urban motherhood and revitalized city space. I present the analyses of my interviews with a small group of mothers, living in Nishi Ward, Osaka to shed some light on mothers' views about their daily life experiences in the revitalized Horie area. I address the question of how liberating or threatening was Japanese post-industrial
urban situation depending on the gender, social class, and life cycle and revitalization factors.

9.1 Mothers as Middle Class Urbanites with Dependent Children

The average age of the interviewees was 38 in 2015. The average length of residence was eight years, ranging from one year to 24 years as of 2013. Eight mothers had a single child (five of them were considering having another), and three mothers had two children at the time of the interview. Five of the mothers graduated from a vocational school and junior college, and five from the university (one unknown). All mothers had work experience mostly in clerical, sales and service jobs, except for three professionals. At the time of the interview, three mothers were using parental leave, two continued working flexitime and one full-time together with childcare. Only two mothers benefited partially and fully from the area nurseries. Four mothers were originally from Osaka. A mother who was Taiwanese-Japanese and three others had foreign husbands (Chinese Indonesian, French, Turkish, and an Indian ex-husband) (See Table 14 in Appendices).

Interviewees’ family or natal homes were located in the main island of Japan (Honshu) and Shikoku, the farthest being in the Chūbu region and the nearest in the Kansai Region. The places of husband’s family home ranged from as close as the neighbouring ward to the much further places – e.g. East Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. The wide dispersion of the family homes affected how often mothers could meet with their families as an important part of their social networks. Depending on the distance, mothers did not meet their families at all, met them once or twice a
year during major Japanese holidays or more frequently.

A pharmaceutical chemist said: “I always go with this child to my husband’s parents every night, because they are very nearby” (Appendix 4 FC 2013). Her husband who was very active in the Horie Children’s Association was working for his family business at family home. Some mothers not meeting their family in Osaka Prefecture might point to a disconnection. At the other end, a retired computer software instructor who was married with a Turkish man “talked a lot on Face Time” (Appendix 4 KK 2013) with his family in Turkey. Psychological distance mattered as much as physical distance in socializing with the family.

The interviewees were asked about the first ten people whom they met at least once a month to understand their social networks better. Seven mothers replied hesitatingly that they did not meet so many people every month. The pharmaceutical chemist being one explained her lack of sociability with: “not being able to meet people with her child” (Appendix 4 FC 2013). A home care worker and a single mother found it “troublesome” (Appendix 4 O 2016) to socialize with for instance, other mothers from her daughter’s nursery, because it would be a child-centred and forced relationship. She explained her thinking as: “If we were originally friends, and my friend gave birth, then, it would be fine to have fun together, but I don’t like it particularly, when parents have to become good friends just because their children are good friends” (ibid.). The retired computer software instructor contacted “many people by email, phone or met every other month” (Appendix 4 KK 2013).

Mothers’ social networks contained the following groups of people: 1) Colleagues or customers from current or past workplace (eight mothers) 2) Other mothers, met
recently at the children's association or area parks (seven mothers) 3) Family members, including the husband's family (five mothers) 4) Friends from graduated schools or hometowns (four mothers) 5) Hobby-related acquaintances and local shop-owners (three mothers) 6) Others (two mothers). The majority of these social networks lived in: Osaka City wards (approximately 40; Nishi Ward being the highest, and lacking anybody from mostly borderline wards); Osaka Prefecture, excluding Osaka City (15); other prefectures, such as Hyogo (four), Wakayama (two), and Kagawa (one). Overall, mother interviewees had primarily, same-sex, centrally located social network of friends and family, centred on the main activity of childcare.

The finding that mothers in this study interacted mostly with a small circle of friends and family was congruent with Quinn's (2010) study where mothers' social networks were composed of family and neighbours. The interesting point in terms of this research was that the interviewed mothers had limited communication with different social groups in Horie such as the long-term residents and local businesses. Next, I will share in detail the findings regarding mothers’ daily lives and interactions in Nishi Ward.

9.2 Mothers as Residents of a Revitalized Area

When asked about the reasons for moving into Horie, mothers substantiated their choice with one of the following: 1) Marriage or giving birth and buying a flat 2) The area’s good image 3) Familiarity with the area 4) Preferences about children’s school, and closeness to work, family, and friend circles. Closeness to work meant in most of the cases closeness to the husband’s work except for a couple of
dual-income interviewees. FC’s (Appendix 4 2013) husband, who managed a family business of selling construction materials in the neighbouring Naniwa Ward, confirmed this preference for closeness to men’s work: “Well, we went there because there were many residential areas in Horie, a lot of apartments were built, and it was very near from my place of origin, Saiwaicho” (Appendix 5 F2 2014).

Five of the mothers were retired. From the working mothers, three mothers were on parental leave; one mother worked freelance from home; one was a home care worker, and one had her own café business. Some interviewees had already been familiar with Horie before, through friends or relatives who were living there or through previous visits. An environmental analyst who “hanged around here a lot before moving for playing tennis in Utsubo Park in Nishi Ward” realized during her earlier visits that “there was a good atmosphere with many parents and children” (Appendix 4 US 2013). A baby massage therapist referred to the well-known elementary school as her motive: “She has a grade-schooler, elder brother. As Horie elementary school was really great, we came here so that I could send them there” (Appendix 4 KS 2013). The good image of the area for its parks, public order, convenience, schools, and child-friendliness that were conveyed through the media, such as the KTV drama “Horie Boogie Days”, and word-of-mouth communication helped mothers’ decisions of moving in.

In terms of area of residence, eight mothers were living in Horie and three mothers in other districts of Nishi Ward in 2010. I included the latter three into this

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10 Horie Kindergarten and Elementary School was a well-established educational institution, having a history of more than 120 years. In 2013, the total number of students was 740 for the elementary school (Osaka City Horie Elementary School) and 113 for the kindergarten (Osaka City Horie Kindergarten).
study because they participated in children-related events in Horie. In general, they had lived alone or with a partner in a different, central part of Osaka before except for a few cases, who had lived together with their family in suburban areas. In that sense, their moves were not a back-to-the-city movement by people from suburbs as often claimed by proponents of gentrification. Six mothers lived in Nishi Ward for less than five years; two mothers lived for six to ten years; and three mothers lived for more than ten years. Therefore, the majority were newcomers. They were living in rental (three or more mothers) or owned (about four mothers) apartment houses which were: from five to more than 30 years old; from ten to 36 floors that is, a tower apartment building, from 40 to 400 households, and from one room to multiple rooms. Condominium construction deemed a rising housing trend by Kern (2010) was valid for Nishi Ward, too. Only, apartment demand by family households was as significant as the demand by single professionals in Horie.

Thinking about the future area of residence, five mothers felt good as it is in their current place of residence, also for their old age. The pharmaceutical chemist considered: “When we get old ... we can go anywhere we want; we can receive treatment, if we get ill. I find it convenient, yeah” (Appendix 4 FC 2013). Some mothers had more independence than others in wishing to live: in a larger flat in the same area for the children (one mother); closer to the family home in the suburbs (one mother) or somewhere safer, more green, with better air, and cheaper rents, even if within the city (two mothers).

On the other hand, a retired Credit Union employee who was married to the eldest son of a Japanese family remarked: “More than a matter of wanting to live where in the future, it has already been decided that we will live in my husband's
family home” (Appendix 4 SS 2013). Traditionally in Japan, the eldest son moves into his family home to take care of the family.\footnote{11 Anthropologists call it “primogeniture, where the eldest child, and usually the eldest son, inherits the family, everything to do with the family, and the rest of the children have to find their own way in the world.” (Bestor and Hardacre 2004a)} The same, unspoken rule applied to a mother who had worked first, as an office employee, and then, contingent worker, before she retired (Appendix 4 IK 2013), although she was living in an expensive flat in a recently-built, tower apartment in Horie currently. The retired computer software instructor (Appendix 4 KK 2013) thought of living in Turkey with her husband’s family in the future as well. However, their obligatory move had to wait until their children graduated from at least, junior high school or the husband’s parents needed elderly care. Children’s school was most critical for deciding the future area of residence for a retired hairdresser who had a mixed race daughter. She commented: “The father graduated from a Chinese school. Nephew and niece are also going to a Chinese school in Kobe. She might go there as well” (Appendix 4 IY 2013).

The home care worker was living with her Japanese-Indian daughter in an old, one-room apartment in a more affordable part of Nishi Ward. Having no strings attached to a certain place except for her daughter’s elementary school, she spoke:

Because I am not particularly obsessive about a place to live, it is good even if not in Osaka. I don’t care much about the environment, I guess (laughs), as I am used to visiting different places for work, and having worked outside Osaka in the past, too. Yes, I feel like I could live anywhere. (Appendix 4 O 2016)
The Horie case showed that a newcomer’s current place of residence could be tentative for reasons – such as extended family obligations – other than its suitability for childcare as a major handicap which was revealed in Bondi’s (1999) work on Edinburgh’s gentrifying neighbourhoods. She mentioned Stockbridge’s “geographically ‘footloose’ households” (Bondi 1999: 276) whose work careers in the international labour markets and life course stages in terms of having dependent children or not shaped their housing careers. However, mothers of this study evaluated residence in Horie positively in general especially for the life stages, corresponding to children’s primary education, except for some mixed race children, and empty nester.

9.3 Mothers’ Daily Life and Interactions in the Area

The findings about Horie mothers’ daily routines had many parallels to Quinn’s (2010) findings in Dublin regarding home as a gendered place, mothers’ limited mobility and social contacts, their occasional, short breaks from childcare, and fathers’ rare child-rearing support. Quinn found that the sense of motherhood duties, embedded in the ideological space of home was so strong that it sometimes curbed mothers’ leisure opportunities.

Mothers’ daily routines in Horie were analyzed temporally and spatially. Temporally, their activities could differ from weekdays to weekend, depending on the availability of their husbands at the weekends. Spatially, mothers spent time with their children inside and outside, each with their corresponding routines. Mothers’ weekday routines were influenced by their work conditions, and whether
they sent their child to a nursery school. If they did not work, the mornings were mostly spent inside. Mothers got up early with a few exceptions, such as a café owner who was working only at the weekends in her café at the time. She admitted almost guiltily: “We are very late compared to other families. We get up around 8 o’clock. Everyone usually gets up at 6 a.m. or so, yes. ... Ours is around 8 a.m. when my husband also gets up and goes to work” (Appendix 4 TM 2013). After mothers saw their husbands off to work, they usually did some housework, and fed their children. The retired hairdresser (Appendix 4 IY 2013) took her daughter to and from the nursery three days a week, whereas the home care worker “went to work until evening during the weekdays”, and therefore, her daughter also had to stay at “the nursery until past 6 p.m.” everyday (Appendix 4 O 2016).

Weekday afternoons, sometimes following a nap were the time for going out simply for a walk, shopping in the area or to a local park with children. A hotel employee explained why she did not go so far away as: “because we are just two of us in the weekdays,” (Appendix 4 KA 2013). Mothers’ outside activities overlapped to a large extent, including: unspecified shopping (six mothers), supermarket shopping (five mothers), going to a park (five mothers), walking around (five mothers), eating out (four mothers), joining children’s circles (three mothers), part-time or full-time work (three mothers), and visiting family (two mothers). Some mothers also mentioned visiting nearby locations with large commercial facilities, such as Shinsaibashi, Namba, and Aeon Mall, compared to Horie’s street-level stores and boutiques.

Mothers’ preferred means of transport was: on foot, followed by on bicycle, with train or car (only three mothers) used only if going to faraway places. Husbands
took the family out by car at the weekends. The retired Credit Union employee said: “We often go out by car on my husband’s holidays when we go to either his or my parents’ house” (Appendix 4 SS 2013). Exceptionally, the pharmaceutical chemist (Appendix 4 FC 2013) could drive to the mall with her baby daughter who could not get on a bicycle with her mother yet. The two most common outside activities were supermarket shopping and walking around. Especially walking provided mothers with self-time even if with children. The café owner made the most of it: “My time. We go together though. Depending on that day’s mood … I change the place to go every day” (Appendix 4 TM 2013).

The weekend routines were both similar to and different from weekday routines, depending on husbands’ availability at home. At the weekends, six mothers went out with their husbands and/or children; one mother entrepreneur worked at her café; four mothers followed the same routines as weekdays, because their husbands were away either on work in and out of the city or for their social duties in the neighbourhood. The environmental analyst explained almost complainingly: “He’s not working [on the weekend], but has often been away on business trips recently, and has nothing to do with parenting” (Appendix 4 US 2013). The pharmaceutical chemist accounted for her husband’s absence at home differently: “My husband organizes area events at the weekends … Now he is a member of the PTA … also the head of children’s association. Therefore, he’s busy, and not around” (Appendix 4 FC 2013). Her husband “spent his time by carrying out local activities in Horie …, going for a drink in the … neighbourhood’s restaurants, and eating with friends from Horie in such places” (Appendix 5 F2 2014) after he finished his work at around 6.30 p.m. He acknowledged that “there is mostly such an event of children’s
association and so at the weekends” (ibid.) The retired computer software instructor (Appendix 4 KK 2013), whose husband might work at the weekends, sometimes remained at home alone when her husband entertained their daughter outside on Sundays. Even then, she spent her time for cleaning. Nevertheless, mothers were less isolated at the weekends than weekdays, except for when they joined children’s events in neighbourhood halls.

One counterfactual case to the absentee husband on holidays was the café owner (Appendix 4 TM 2013), who was working in her café at the weekends at the time. The Nishi Ward Mayor also assumed that women played an important role in the area’s economy as not only as consumers – considering that women spent money of the household in Japan – but also as shop-owners (Appendix 5 T4 2014). However, since non-commercial activities, such as going to the parks, and occasional visits to the sanitized commercial facilities around Horie had a major place in mothers’ daily routines, local shops might have benefited less from their consumption activities. Therefore, Horie mothers were more influential as residents than consumers, considering their daily lives in this revitalized area.

Social interaction in the gentrification literature was discussed in relation to the concept of social diversity, which urban planners and developers aimed at often by creating socially mixed neighbourhoods. However, urban researches were mostly pessimistic about these social mixing strategies that resulted in “social tectonics”, social closure, and social concealment (Atkinson 2016; Jackson and Butler 2015). They meant that different social groups existed in the same place without much interaction. On the other hand, social diversity studies also revealed that middle-classes built their own social identities in relation to different others around
Moreover, there were some fractions within the middle-class who were more prone to “social boundary crossing” via for instance, parental activities and schooling (Weck and Hanhorster 2015).

 Mothers in this study had diverse opinions regarding the interaction among Horie's local inhabitants. Some mothers considered area neighbourliness favourable, whereas others found it weak. Yet, mothers mostly agreed that there were no problems in particular (ten mothers). The mothers who were positive about local relationships expected little. Thus, they were satisfied with a greeting level communication. Elevators and supermarkets provided the space for such artificial but friendly communication, which was initiated mostly by elderly women directed to mothers with small children. The neighbourly openness took the hotel employee by surprise because she had expected otherwise: "... it's an urban area after all. Still, when the same apartment's residents get on the elevator at the same time or so, they chat; there seem to be various exchanges among residents" (Appendix 4 KA 2013). The retired Credit Union employee belonged to the group which found the neighbourhood communication weak, and interpreted the situation differently:

 I meet people at the chorus, and my husband is member of the apartment's administrative board. Therefore, we have some relationship, but when I talk with friends, they say that they don't know neighbours except for their faces, because people don't greet, and so on. I guess it's more of a distant feeling. (Appendix 4 SS 2013)

 Mothers explained the lack of "intimacy" in Horie by restrictions imposed by the
burdens of childcare, not having any chance to meet the long-term residents, and the increasing entry of new people to the neighbourhood environment. The baby massage therapist commented about the relationship between newcomers and long-term residents as: "I don't know, because I don't have any friends who have lived [here] since the past. Well, to the extent of wondering, if there are any people who have been for long" (Appendix 4 KS 2013). She still thought that area's communication was good enough for the busy, dual-income households.

In terms of mothers' own participation in area activities, the retired Credit Union employee realized that unless one went out to join some neighbourhood activities, communication was scarce (Appendix 4 SS 2013). The café owner, being aware of this connection made an effort to join as many local events as possible to meet people (Appendix 4 TM 2013). On the other hand, the home care worker, who used her different work area and lack of need to relate to the area community as excuses for not participating, argued that there were not so many events in Nishi Ward (Appendix 4 O 2016). The pharmaceutical chemist thought otherwise. She found Horie's events, organized by for instance, children's association or women's association, much richer than in her hometown of Wakayama. She benefited from the children's association because her son was well taken care of after membership (Appendix 4 FC 2013). Her husband agreed that Horie, which had many children, was very satisfactory (買う効果的) in terms of children's events, and hence, “a very good environment for looking after and raising children” (Appendix 5 F2 2014).

The most attended events were the children-related gatherings in the area neighbourhood halls and community centres. Mothers joined these parent-child commons approximately one to three times a month to go out and "talk or consult
about children's conditions, and hear good information of around here," (Appendix 4 KS 2013) commented the baby massage therapist. A couple of mothers became friends through these child-centred gatherings, and sometimes met outside, too. Johnstone and Todd (2012) argued that for stay-at-home mothers:

... some servicescapes could be viewed as second places as opposed to third places, a concept that was first coined by Oldenburg and Brissett (1982), whereby first places are homes, second places are work places, and third places are informal public places that host people beyond the realms of the home and work environment but are at the heart of a community's social vitality. (Johnstone and Todd 2012: 446)

The neighbourhood’s children activities functioned as "second places" for Horie's mothers rather than workplaces or women's shops. Yet, they could only interact with other mother residents that is, similar others through these events. Hence, Horie’s second places for mothers did not create a connection between different social groups of the local community such as long-term residents and newcomers. Mothers were physically existent in Horie, but socially, they were divided between various areas. Nevertheless, they were still better connected than for example, some of their salary man husbands for whom Horie functioned only as a bed town.

9.4 Mothers’ Opinions about Area Characteristics

Mothers' opinions about Horie were sorted into categories of neutral (147
statements), good (112 statements), and problematic (32 statements) aspects. The neutral aspects included their observations regarding Horie’s living costs, inhabitants, and popularity. Mothers’ opinions on the area’s popularity depended on what kind of popularity: residential or commercial. For Horie’s residential popularity, the baby massage therapist referred to demand by saying: "I have many friends who would like to live in Horie" (Appendix 4 KS 2013), while the café owner pointed to the connection between popularity and rents:

As it is getting more and more popular, rents are different from, for example, what I am told by friends from Hirano Ward. I guess people will increase further, because new apartment buildings are being constructed rapidly. (Appendix 4 TM 2013)

Regarding Horie’s commercial popularity, the home care worker saw dim prospects: "Hasn't the boom already passed? Compared to an earlier point, isn't it less so, I wonder?" (Appendix 4 O 2016) She underlined the frequent shop turnover and closures in Horie due to the customers, being lured away to other, newly made "fashionable towns" in Osaka. On the other hand, there was a time, when fashionable areas in Osaka had still been few:

Now, areas, such as Nakazakicho and Shinmachi in Nishi Ward, are pretty much getting young [that is], becoming places, where young people go. When we shot Horie Boogie Days, there weren’t any other areas like that. [However] Horie have begun to be quite popular. (Appendix 3 Y 2015)
In terms of residents, mothers thought that Horie had a wide scale of age and life-cycle, including various kinds of households, such as working singletons, couples, families with children, and empty nesters. However, several mothers thought that residents from younger generations dominated the area population. What demographic groups lived in the area was also considered in relation to the type – construction year, ownership – and location – district – of residences. The older the apartment building which existed many in the west that is, fourth district, the more it was likely that it had elderly people as owner residents. The new apartments, closer to the major road axes in the east were associated more with the profile of young families with children. The residents were deemed ordinary, clean-cut, well-educated, and perhaps, a bit fashionable people. These descriptions of area residents were congruent with the ward mayor’s positioning of Horie as “a place for wealthy living” (kurashi o yutaka ni suru tokoro) (Appendix 5 T4 2014).

The kind of people who were unseen in Horie was "suspicious" people or "vagrants". The pharmaceutical chemist admitted: "There are few homeless walking ... I think that those people would not do anything bad, but I'm afraid. One sees such people in Horie very little; so, it's good" (Appendix 4 FC 2013). The most marginal that could be seen in Horie were "night-workers and single mothers" (Appendix 4 TM 2013). Horie's mothers separated from the adventurous, single professionals in Kern's (2010) study in how they viewed the dissimilar other. She found that the women gentrifiers were relatively confident and comfortable “in ‘seedy’ areas” (Kern 2010: 224) because of feeling secure in their highly controlled private residences. On the other hand, a couple of Horie mothers mentioned being
afraid of people, coming from outside at the weekends.

In terms of Horie’s living expenses, the commodity prices were not seen as being so different from Osaka’s other areas because of the availability of shopping alternatives for daily needs. Still, three mothers complained about a lack of cheaper marketplaces and small shops instead of supermarkets with fixed prices. Despite the tempting shops around, mothers found it possible to make ends meet in Horie, depending on consumption choices and willingness to accept a lower standard of living, such as a narrower dwelling. Only rents were evaluated as being comparatively high (nine mothers) to the degree that the retired sales assistant included "rent becoming cheaper" (Appendix 4 NY 2013) as a reason for her wish to move out to suburbs later. High rents must be related to Horie’s residential popularity and central location, close to commercial areas that was described by mothers as feeling like the city unlike a suburban bed town.

Living in Horie was appreciated by the mothers mostly for the area’s convenience (ten mothers), child-friendliness (seven mothers), simultaneous novelty - fashionableness and quietness (seven mothers), and safety (six mothers). On the other hand, the problem areas included: rents (four mothers), public nursery and school capacities (three mothers), small crime (two mothers), drug dealing and littering by outsiders (two mothers), and air-noise pollution (two mothers). Overall, Horie’s good aspects outweighed the trivial problems, raised in resident mothers’ accounts.

Horie’s convenience or ease of living arose from its abundant shopping, transport, administrative, recreational, and health facilities. Public transport convenience (seven mothers) and the existence of many local parks (five mothers)
were especially valued by the mothers. Although Horie was conveniently located, it was not too much downtown. The child-friendliness from the mothers' perspective was related to the residence of many other, similar families with children, good education facilities, public care, and a lack of adult entertainment in the area. The retired office employee and contingent worker who had once enjoyed Horie's fashionableness together with her husband undermined the argument of Horie's child-friendliness for the difficulty of giving one's child to the nursery, unless one was a working mother. She also knew someone who had to move away for the same problem (Appendix 4 IK 2013).

About Horie's social diversity or the co-existence of different lifestyles, the retired Credit Union employee mentioned: "In first district, there are stylish apparel and accessories shops, and as one goes from second to fourth district, there are ordinary places for a calm living. One can have both at once" (Appendix 4 SS 2013). Yet, the environmental analyst (Appendix 4 US 2013) and the retired computer software instructor (Appendix 4 KK 2013) witnessed theft in their surroundings. The hotel employee (Appendix 4 KA 2013), the baby massage therapist (Appendix 4 KS 2013), and the retired Credit Union employee (Appendix 4 SS 2013) worried about drug dealing, littering, and noisiness by outsiders. Mothers’ stance against outsiders was similar to “a cloaked co-presence” whereby for example, wealthy residents applied “selective engagement” strategies, including “residential locational choices and choreographed mobilities … to avoid negative aspects of daily life in the city (visible poverty, potential danger, spaces of social and ethnic difference)” (Atkinson 2016: 1302).

The mentality reflected from mothers’ opinions about Horie was a bit different
from the typical gentrifier in the Western gentrification literature. Most of these mothers as newcomers to the area’s apartment buildings were part of the residential change process, but they also had simple life expectations, such as cheaper prices and quietness. In that sense, I think that Gonen’s (2015) definition of “the regentrification of slightly deteriorated middle-class areas” (Gonen 2015: 149) explained the social class dynamics of Horie’s revitalization well. Accordingly, a middle-income group of company employees and their families regentrified or revitalized Horie, which had once been again a middle-class, but merchant’s area.

9.5 Mothers’ Temporary Liaison Function

Young to middle-aged mothers who have been living in Horie for relatively short periods of time differed from the single, professional, women gentrifiers in the Western gentrification literature. Even though Horie’s mothers fancied the novel and fashionable atmosphere of their neighbourhood, they expected more from a living area than stylish shops and cafés. More specifically, these mothers also looked for a quiet, safe, clean, and green environment, preferably with more affordable housing prices. Moreover, Horie’s mothers did not have deep relationships with the long-term residents, but were not in conflict with the local community either. They were rather open to communication, except for with underclass groups, and willing to participate in local affairs within the limits of their primary childcare duties. The more local activities were related to children, the more likely they were to participate.

Horie’s local inhabitants were aware of the possibility that they could communicate with the family residents in the new apartments via children. The
neighbourhood community has already been targeting at mothers with small children as consumers and residents for developing Horie economically and socially. The long-term residents, area business owners and real estate agents, local organizations such as the children's association, public schools and PTA, and a local Buddhist temple all took part in fostering this communication. The local administration also backed up these efforts by adopting child-friendly policies, similar to those introduced by Van den Berg (2013) who interpreted Rotterdam’s urban planning for a child-friendly city based on replacing existing dwellings with new, larger ones for families as “genderfication”. Horie’s genderfication was primarily residential and then, commercial.

Parental care was mentioned at least eight times in the responses of the ward office in a local administrative document entitled, “Responses to the Comments Received about the 2015 Nishi Ward Administration Policy”. Japanese mothers in Horie and throughout the country received public support in a national context of aging and declining birth-rate (Boling 2015). Hence, they did not have to resort to the “transgressive maternal practices in the city” (Babourkova and Yon 2016). On the contrary, Horie’s mothers had public, quasi-public and/or private spaces to socialize outside their homes. Still, they had a schooling problem akin to, but not as intense as the gentrification-induced educational displacement found by Butler et. al. (2013) in East London. Only, Horie’s nursery and school capacity was inadequate.12 Again, some mothers lacked sufficient child raising support from their husbands who were most of the time absent for work and other activities.

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12 According to a local source, the Horie Kindergarten would move out and be privatized in 2.5 years to open up some extra space for the elementary school.
Despite Horie's mothers' openness to neighbourly communication and their potential bridge function between newcomers and long-term residents, their level of attachment to Horie was still another story. Approximately half of this study's participants planned to leave Horie in the future for discretionary or obligatory reasons, related to the area characteristics and their life cycles. Therefore, even if Horie's young to middle-aged mothers could provide another good case of positive or feminine gentrification, if there was really such a thing, their influence on the neighbourhood might be short-lived. On the other side of the coin, the family and child-friendly Horie at present remained closer to a consumerist city than a feminist city from a gender perspective.

10 Discussion

The research question that motivated this dissertation was where post-industrial urban change in Japan should be located in urban theory based on the more empirical sub-question, concerning the socio-spatial outcomes of Horie's revitalization in the 1990s. In this chapter, I will make a structured discussion of the study findings.

10.1 The Types of Relationships of Different Social Groups with Horie

The different social groups have different types of relationship or interest, and levels of place attachment and participation with respect to an area. The relationships of different social groups with Horie were summarized according to this study’s interviews and other research activities in Table 8.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Groups</th>
<th>Sub-groups</th>
<th>Types of Relationship or Interest</th>
<th>Level of Place Attachment</th>
<th>Level of Social Participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A) Residents</td>
<td>Long-term residents</td>
<td>Residential (communal)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newcomers</td>
<td>Residential (individual)</td>
<td>Low to medium</td>
<td>Low to medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long-term resident business owners</td>
<td>Residential and commercial</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium to high</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Previous residents</td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) Visitors</td>
<td>Shoppers</td>
<td>Consumptive</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Activity participants</td>
<td>Recreational</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Users of public facilities</td>
<td>Leisure, educational, cultural</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Temporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C) Non-residing business owners and employees</td>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Low to medium</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D) Local administration</td>
<td>The ward mayor and public officers</td>
<td>Provision of public goods based on taxes</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 Horie's Social Groups based on the Type of Relationships with the Area  
(Created based on interviews)

The table above shows that the people, who have been residents of Horie for a long-time, also had high levels of place attachment and participation. However, when one’s interest from Horie became purely commercial as in the examples of business people and visitors for shopping, levels of attachment and participation lessened. Ideally, the Nishi Ward office had to provide public goods equally by using...
tax earnings. Hence, the local administration was again, highly involved in area matters. Yet, the recent administrative initiatives such as the imminent privatization of the Horie Kindergarten might lead to suspicions about the local administration’s traditional welfare role.

The stances of the business owners, who were at the same time long-term residents, and newcomers were somewhere in between the two ends of high and low attachment and participation. Horie’s newcomers were comprised of groups with high levels of satisfaction from the area, and therefore, an intention to stay, as well as others, who planned to move out sometime in the future. For example, some of the mother interviewees planned to leave because of what they could foresee about their future family life stages or simply, they wished for less expensive housing in a greener area. A retired office employee and mother had liked residing in Horie with her husband as a couple more than after having her baby daughter (Appendix 4 IK 2013). Her changing taste provided a good example to Bondi’s (1999) argument that life-stages had as much impact as social class and gender on women’s, and their families’ residential decisions. In that regard, newcomers were more footloose about their choices of residential area that also rendered them freer of the local community.

The situation of Horie’s residing business owners, who were at times divided between their residential and commercial interests, was resonant of women business owners in Toronto’s Junction neighbourhood (Kern 2013). For example, an interior design business owner (Appendix 1 M2 2013) joined in the Horie Union’s (the Shopping Street Association) meetings and activities for his shop on the Orange Street. As a resident of the Takakiya district, he also attended the
neighbourhood association's meetings. When these two associations sometimes had
a conflict of interest, he felt troubled.

10.2 The Types of Attitudes to Neighbourhood Change

Horie's different social groups' varying degrees of place attachment and local
community participation were in turn, linked with their attitudes towards the
neighbourhood's change. People's attitudes to Horie's revitalization in the past were
also influenced by their degrees of immunity from economic crises and urban decay
in the area. This immunity depended on whether they pursued any monetary
interests in the area and in case they did, if they owned the land. Attitudes to the
neighbourhood’s change ranged from a strong protectionism to a celebration or full
support of the area’s revitalization. These varying attitudes were presented
together with the applicable theories of post-industrial urban change in Table 9. To
put flesh on the bones of the ideas and concepts in the table, I will elaborate on
them by providing some empirical vignettes from Horie.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Groups</th>
<th>Sub-groups</th>
<th>Attitudes to the Revitalization</th>
<th>Corresponding Theoretical Concepts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>A) Residents</strong> (Local community)</td>
<td>Long-term residents</td>
<td>Protectionist</td>
<td>Conservation • Right to the city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newcomers</td>
<td>Beneficiary</td>
<td>Residential gentrification • Social diversity • Social tectonics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long-term resident business owners</td>
<td>Ambivalent / Promoter</td>
<td>Loss of craftsmanship • Resilience • Bottom-up revitalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Previous residents</td>
<td>Neutral / Critical</td>
<td>Cultural homogenization • Displacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>B) Visitors</strong></td>
<td>Shoppers</td>
<td>Beneficiary</td>
<td>Commercialization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Activity participants</td>
<td>Beneficiary</td>
<td>Rejuvenation • Creative city • Fantasy city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Users of public facilities</td>
<td>Neutral / Disadvantaged</td>
<td>Privatization • Urban commons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>C) Non-residing business owners and employees</strong></td>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>Ambivalent / Promoter</td>
<td>Retail gentrification • Loss of place identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Housing (e.g. real estate sector, construction companies, land and homeowners)</td>
<td>Promoter</td>
<td>New-build gentrification • Renovation • Rehabilitation • Redevelopment • Renewal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>D) Local administration</strong></td>
<td>The ward mayor and public officers</td>
<td>Promoter</td>
<td>Municipally managed gentrification • Neoliberal urbanism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 9 The Attitudes of Different Social Groups towards Area Revitalization**
(Created based on interviews and the literature review)

The suggested match between the attitudes to urban change based on resident and other groups’ area-related interests and the concepts of post-industrial urban...
change does not indicate an imperative relationship. It is a *mutatis mutandis* proposition, arising from the case of this research, Horie. It means that not all long-terms residents are conservative and not all newcomers benefit from an area’s gentrification. It’s enough to think of the Syrian refugee issue, affecting the Turkish and European cities at present. Yet, considering the neighbourhood change in a big city of an advanced country, it is reasonable to expect that the long-term residents will have different sentiments regarding their area’s change than the newcomers. In addition, the local businesses will probably struggle to survive or look for resilience in the changing business environment, whereas other local businesses might take the lead in revitalizing their neighbourhood. That’s how it happened in Horie back in the 1990s.

Regarding previous residents, some earlier residents such as the artists, who initiated a communal living project, *Hi no Torimura* (Horie Vestibule) in a dilapidated apartment building in Horie’s second district, had to leave. The artists and other former resident cultural entrepreneurs did not feel the need to go to their old neighbourhood after its commercialization. When it comes to shoppers, young people lined up willingly in front of Horie’s branded clothing stores for new arrivals or campaigns. Yet, they did not show the same attention to the furniture shops, as the fanlight craftsman remarked (Appendix 2 K5 2015). Therefore, the shoppers contributed to Horie’s further commercialization, whereas, area’s old businesses continued to depend on their long-term, regular customers for profits. In this way, they managed to be resilient, despite area’s loss of craftsmanship. About activity participants – excluding local participants, the researcher caught sight of foreigners, carrying guidebooks or who were accompanied by their Japanese friends for
example, in the Takakiya district’s Bon dance festival. The tourists either watched from outside or stepped in the dance with idiosyncratic moves. Could it be a sign of Horie’s touristification following its commercialization, also considering that the Chinese and Korean customers have been increasing recently according to the owner of hip-hop clothing store (Appendix 3 H2 2016)?

Regarding the users of public facilities, such as a library, park, and school, the Osaka Municipal Library in Horie’s fourth district served graduate students, such as the researcher, but also residents with small children, as well as retired men, who were perhaps, social-welfare recipients. About the use of Horie’s multiple public parks, for example, the participants of the Horie Neighbourhood Hall’s English conversation lesson enjoyed cherry-blossoms of the Horie Park, while eating the pink-designed lunch-boxes of Takashimaya every year. They always kindly invited the researcher to the now customary occasion. About Horie’s popular public schools with a capacity problem, a mother resident of a mansion next to the Horie Elementary School shared with her elderly neighbour, who was the researcher’s tea-ceremony teacher, the worry about not being able to send her second child to the privatizing Horie Kindergarten. She would suffer directly from this privatization.

The local real estate businesses sought new ways – and products – of promoting the Horie brand or regenerating the extinguished Horie boom. An innovative, local real estate agent, having access to Horie’s and Tokyo’s business networks, accentuated the idea of stores with a combination of goods and services, and stores targeting at mothers. In the meantime, some apparel stores, such as Par Avion, a French-like women’s clothing shop on the Orange Street moved away, whereas new
apartment buildings continued to mushroom all over Horie. Accordingly, retail gentrification proceeded along with the prevailing process of new-build gentrification. The ward mayor tried to give an ear to all of the Horie inhabitants, while supporting the shopping street association’s efforts to distinguish Horie from other popularized areas. Public officers joined local activities, such as graffiti cleaning, for improving Horie’s public order as an indispensable element of gentrification. In this way, they fostered a kind of municipally-led gentrification or at least, supported it.13

10.3 **Japanese Post-Industrial Urban Change in Comparison**

I conclude this chapter by suggesting how Japanese post-industrial urban change compares with the gentrification of the larger moulds of Global North and South (Table 10).

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13 The local administrative support for Horie’s branditization could also be explained to some extent by the local fear that their area could come to resemble Osaka’s declining areas. These decline areas are often stated to create overburdens on the national welfare budget because of having a high rate of unemployed, aging population, and not being able to attract any private capital investments. The private capital is said to avoid areas, such as Nishinari Ward and Ikuno Ward, due to their social composition in terms of age and ethnicity (Mizuuchi 2006: 125), and sometimes, the dominant house ownership structure. Another reason for local administrative support for area branding and revitalization could be the worsening Japanese economy since the collapse of the economic bubble. Japan’s so-called “lost decades” could be expected to create higher pressures on the city government to retreat from its welfare functions by replacing them with locally-invented solutions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Global North</th>
<th>Global South</th>
<th>Japan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Places</td>
<td>Australia, the US, Britain, Canada</td>
<td>Poorer EU cities, Latin America, the Middle East, Africa, and South and East Asia</td>
<td>A wide array of areas from the countryside to the metropolis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Characteristics</td>
<td>Class making via residence, creative destruction of the built environment and social classes, a significant housing problem</td>
<td>Class polarization, investment in urban regeneration, displacement in a wide sense</td>
<td>Returning to urban areas (toshin kaiki) after the bubble economy via housing construction and infrastructure development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Initiators</td>
<td>Capital via changes in the housing market (and the state as a facilitator)</td>
<td>State-led gentrification</td>
<td>Local government, local organizations, developers, companies, banks, local community actors, architects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Gentrifiers</td>
<td>The bourgeois (white, young, singles/couples, professional &amp; managerial occupations, high-incomes)</td>
<td>The global, super-rich, neoliberal elites, and visitors</td>
<td>Middle-class, single and family households, Chinese investors (tower apartment buildings), creative class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The disadvantaged</td>
<td>Blue-collar workers with lower-middle income levels</td>
<td>Immigrant workers</td>
<td>The long-term residents, old shopkeepers, lower-income groups, rough sleepers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Areas</td>
<td>Abandoned, central areas</td>
<td>Informal settlements</td>
<td>Central and peripheral areas with or without historical buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Time</td>
<td>1970s onwards</td>
<td>1990s onwards</td>
<td>1990s onwards (post-bubble economy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Aggressiveness</td>
<td>Low/medium</td>
<td>Medium/high</td>
<td>Lowered in time</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 The Gentrification Processes in the Global North, South and Japan
(Sources: Created from Lees et. al. eds. 2015; Smith and Williams eds. 1986; Mizuuchi 2006, and field observations)
Similar to the case of Seoul, South Korea, the Japanese case comes out differently from the gentrification of the Global North and South. Seong-Kyu (2015) revealed that "aggressive" urban renewal in Seoul differed from the western cases because of: its cause – a housing shortage and poverty, timing – due to later suburbanization, actors – the state and family gentrifiers, the recent inclusiveness of the government and the socio-economic buffers against "neoliberal projects of renewal-induced gentrification" (Seong-Kyu 2015: 177-178).

In the Global North, the motivation behind post-industrial urban change was rent-gaps and creating a supply of housing for the new-middle class taste, and in the Global South, the process was entangled with developmental agendas. In the Japanese case, a trend of returning to urban areas (toshin kaiki) could be observed on both sides of housing supply and demand in Japanese cities after the bubble economy. This city return could be explained by “the construction of public and private housing ... [for] population recovery, followed by the opening of new subway stations” (Yabe 2003: 292) and Japanese urban policy-makers’ adoption of the sustainable and compact city discourses. The city return could also be related to socio-economic shifts regarding family patterns, the gendered division of labour, and residential area preferences (Izuhara 2010; Ronald and Nakano 2013).

The gentrification of the Global North took place mostly in abandoned, central city areas, whereas the gentrification of the Global South was often observed in informal settlements. Japanese urban change occurs in both central and peripheral areas with or without historical buildings in one of the following forms: urban redevelopment (toshi saikaihatsu), regional revitalization (chiiki kasseika), town
development (machizukuri), new town, special (business) zones, condo and office developments – new-build gentrification, revitalization of shopping streets – such as my case of Horie, renovation of wooden houses, and art management. Mizuuchi (2015) developed a factor-based classification of town developments in Osaka, depending on an area’s situation after the Second World War, and the nature of its town development (Mizuuchi 2015: 8).14

The private capital and the state dominated the post-industrial urban change processes in the Global North and South respectively. In Japan, the local government as the dominant actor of the post-war transformation of cities gave way to private actors, including developers, companies, banks, local organizations, local community actors, and architects towards the end of the twentieth century. When considered from the perspective of different actors, the needs and solutions regarding urban and economic restructuring might be different in Japan, similar to the cases abroad. Mizuuchi (2015) represented town development process as an interaction among landowners, homeowners, real estate industry, facilitators, managers, producers, and users (Mizuuchi 2015: 12). Considering these different actors and interests, the question of area revitalization amounts to the issue of "whose collective memory, whose aesthetics, and whose benefits are to be prioritized." (Harvey 2012: 106) Except that there might be some overlapping

14 In some cases, the vacant houses, arising from an area’s loss of its former productive functions, met the supply of gentrifiable housing such as in Kitakagaya (Chishima Foundation for Creative Osaka). Since Horie lacked historic buildings, except for a few Showa era buildings, and furniture storehouses, which were renovated as shops, the renewal of Horie’s housing stock was mainly through new-build gentrification or “mansionization”. Moreover, I have been noticing recently news about commercial gentrification in Tokyo for the coming Olympic Games.
interests, the answer depends largely on the negotiations based on power relations of these various actors and their organizations – neighbourhood associations, shopping street associations, and craftsman and trade associations.15

Japanese state was more hesitant to get involved in local revitalization efforts than its northern and southern counterparts. Over time, Japanese urban change has become less aggressive – applying soft power more – and problems of uncompensated displacement – coercion – are hardly noticed at present. In that sense, Japanese post-industrial urban restructuring was deemed less harsh than the Global North and South in terms of for example, displacement. In the past, there were cases of displacement due to road construction and land speculation (jiage). Yet, the “forceful evictions” (Mizuuchi 2006: 115) of the 1950s were replaced with compensated and voluntary displacements, such as the former furniture shops in Horie, or social mixing approaches for the aging city areas. Among the incentive mechanisms to attract newcomers, there were tax discounts for families with small children and low-rent housing in exchange for do it yourself (DIY) housing repairs for the members of the creative class. In other words, neighbourhood change was based on consensus with area inhabitants, and therefore, resembled the recent bottom-up and inclusive way in Seoul rather than aggressive gentrification in other cities of especially, the Global South.

15 Based on my fieldwork in Horie, the local community of long-term residents was highly concerned about maintaining their area’s historical identity and culture. In the local political discourse, references to innovative city, "One Osaka", and comparisons to Tokyo were observed. The agenda of Osaka’s businessmen and architects contained: urban renewal (machizukuri), town management directed at local revitalization, sustainable city, compact city, business improvement district, town centre organization, knowledge capital, area development projects, area brand-making, and local food (Kaga 2014).
The effect of Japanese urban change was mostly limited to the area's historical-cultural identity and further, "vertical densification" (Lees et. al. eds. 2015: 207) of the city centre, as in Buenos Aires or Athens. Unlike the gap between the bourgeois – or the global super-rich – and the blue-collar workers – including immigrants – in the Global North and South, in the Japanese case, the newcomers’ social class was not so different from the existing middle-class residents, unless they belonged to the global elite, such as Chinese investors of tower apartment buildings. This is because of the once ensured “homogeneity of Japanese society” (Bestor and Hardacre 2004b).16 Otherwise, it could be argued that areas of poverty and wealth in Japanese cities were separated subtly.

In the Global North and South, gentrification harmed the social environment of blue-collar workers with lower-middle income levels, including immigrant workers. Small businesses, called mom-and-pop stores in the Western gentrification literature, epitomized the disadvantaged in Japan, since they lost their protective shield after the deregulation of the 1990s. In addition, “mansionization” caused the problem of a lack of communication between long-term residents and newcomers in urban areas. Urban upgrading processes also affected free public space users, such as rough sleepers, because they intensified public space surveillance.

Overall, contemporary Japanese post-industrial urban change was distinct from the gentrification patterns of the Global North and South in terms of its characteristics, actors, and consequences. Yet, it is possible to think the Japanese

16 Yet, Sugimoto (2010) interpreted the contemporary Japanese social structure differently: “... social divisions in Japanese society today derive not so much from the unequal distribution of commonplace and mundane industrial goods as from that of prestigious and stylish cultural goods.” (Sugimoto 2010: 8)
case as having evolved from a higher resemblance to the Global South in the post-war reconstruction era to approximating the gentrification examples in the Global North with the advance of economic neoliberalization.

11 Conclusion

This qualitative research examined post-industrial urban change in Japan through a neighbourhood example from Osaka. The Horie neighbourhood's post-bubble change was represented by adopting a critical sociological perspective. Therefore, the story of change from the viewpoints of Horie's people was not regarded solely as a success story; points of dispute were also manifested. The purposes of this research as locating Japanese post-industrial urban change in urban theory and endeavouring to search for the ideal, attractive or good city justify the choice of a critical approach. Yet, that does not necessarily mean that Horie's revitalization centred on its shopping street after the 1990s with the initiative of local business owners was wrong or failed. Horie area was considered a good place to live by most study participants. Furthermore, it provided a good case for its dual residential and commercial characteristic, increasing appeal to new residents, and social diversity and activism.

What is teaching about the story of Horie's revitalization is that gentrification, residential – which I called "mansionization" in this research, and Rosen and Walks (2015) referred to as "condo-ism" in theirs – and commercial, was not the sole recipe for urban rejuvenation. City areas could find their own developmental paths instead of compromising with the outside capital's template solution of privatization and
homogenization. In other words, planners, researchers, policy-makers, area businesses and residents could try to think out of the revitalization construct from now on. The new construct must consider the issues of maintaining the area’s historical place identity, lived space or use value of space, such as housing, and neighbourhood community cultures, including the material and intangible cultures. “In a world of cookie-cutter regeneration and serially reproduced urban landscapes” (Deverteuil 2015: 251), the local neighbourhood culture needs to be defended against an oxymoronic "gentrified authenticity" (Gonzalez and Waley 2013: 965), which was also given prominence by the creative-city policy. Likewise, creativity and culture should not be conceived as the sole means of an economic strategy to uplift neighbourhoods under decay. The need to defend the local neighbourhood culture is not because of an inherent value of the local, but an increasingly important and urgent urban question of whose culture – and right to the city – is to be promoted. Harvey (2012) and Smith (1979) underlined that the process of gentrification was more concerned about the profits of capital than the desires of people as urban citizens.

The current urban redevelopment schemes depended mostly on an area’s development via construction and consumption. First, the place itself was rendered a fashionable brand. Secondly, cool cafés and shops were opened so that the young newcomers could feel at home with "pacification with cappuccino". In Horie’s case, apparel brands were also part of the game, as famous boutiques were invited in from Tokyo. Yet, the brand flight in the later years indicated that these apparel brands actually had no attachment to the Horie neighbourhood except for business. Moreover, based on the case of an approximately 25-year old hip-hop apparel shop
in Horie, certain shops which depended on their own customer portfolio from outside could therefore, perceive themselves as totally independent from area matters. A social awareness has already been created in this regard. Horie’s local business owners, including real estate agents have already realized that the period of the area’s facelift through apparel and accessories was coming to an end.

The example of Osaka reiterated how the neoliberal solutions to post-industrial urban decay continued to have the major issues of: unequal development between city areas; temporariness of “spatial fixes” in the lucky areas, and increased social inequality and polarization. If history unfolds dialectically and not linearly, there must be some ways of exit from the cycle of urban neoliberalism and its tools – gentrification, area revitalization, and other urban redevelopment schemes. 17

Different alternatives to neighbourhood change were also experimented in Osaka’s other neighbourhoods, such as Nakazakicho in Kita Ward. My suggestion of moving beyond an understanding of place branding towards creating a “neighbourhood commons” was inspired by these alternative attempts.

Few studies seem to have used together the concepts of neighbourhood and

17 In Horie’s case, long-term residents could become politically active, mobilizing against mansionization and retail gentrification in support of their rights to the city. Horie mothers could fight against the privatization of the Horie Kindergarten, and render it a site of urban political struggle – an urban commons. Horie’s old shop-owners could increase their resilient efforts against further “pacification with cappuccino” at the expense of the area’s craftsmanship. They could make a claim that Tachibana Street did not have to become a replica of the other gentrified shopping streets such as Italia Caupolican or Utrechtesstraat (Schlack and Turnbull 2015; Zukin 2012). The possibility of these emancipatory urban struggles were bound by Japanese (political) culture, just as the area revitalization schemes were cast in a different mould in Japan. In case active politicization of the Horie people proved to be infeasible, local organizations such as PTA and neighbourhood associations could provide the means to protect local interests.
urban commons, such as “neighborhood common spaces” (Kuo et. al. 1998), “neighborhood commons”, referring to the case of dog parks (Noonan et. al. 2016) or landscape design for low-income neighbourhood communities (Wikipedia 2014b; Linn 2007), and “neighbourhood commons governance” (Teck et. al. 2016). These notions in the previous works connoted basically the physical spaces of urban commons and their giving rise to opportunities for development of social ties, neighbourhood attachment, voluntarism, resilience, and governance of public open spaces. What I mean by neighbourhood commons is a local environment, providing for the collective spaces and activities for meaningful social encounters and interaction that are free from the compelling logic of urban neoliberalism.

Based on my observations, Horie had this potential with its already rich community and get-togethers for doing things – e.g. tea ceremony, English, yoga, and research – or enjoying things – e.g. a classical music concert in a local Buddhist temple, traditional festivals, and a women’s gathering at a local café. I argue that the active and repetitive nature of such participation had more in common with a craftsmanship culture than a consumer culture. Neighbourhood commons would support a more meaningful individual and urban social life. Hence, my understanding of neighbourhood commons attributes as much importance to the intangible elements of community culture as the material culture and the availability of open public spaces. After all, a sense of place was created not so much by building space as its social production or relationality (Harvey 2015).

Regarding the limitations of this research, first of all, my restricted Japanese ability and cultural understanding might have decreased the amount of information which I solicited through the interviews and secondary data sources. On the other
hand, this cultural difference was perhaps, helpful in terms of gaining the respondents’ confidence. Secondly, it could have become a more complete ethnographic research if I lived in my research area Horie. I simply could not afford to live in this one of the most expensive areas of Osaka with a graduate student and part-time researcher’s budget. Thirdly, a more comparative approach which was not allowed for the time and language barriers might have provided better knowledge for the study’s purpose of locating the Japanese case in the theory of post-industrial urban change. Yet, future studies in English on other places in Japanese and East Asian cities can complement the picture. Furthermore, international comparisons, such as comparing the Horie case with the unlike, for example, a gentrifying neighbourhood in Istanbul, Turkey as a developing country can lead to interesting findings.

12 Acknowledgements

I received a lot of support from various people throughout this research which was made possible by the research scholarships provided by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan and “URP Platform for Leading-Edge Urban Studies Special (Young) Research Fellow” program of Osaka City University (OCU). First of all, my academic advisor, Prof. Hiroshi Yamanaka (Osaka University-OU Graduate School of Human Sciences) helped me very much in the initial stages of setting up my research, having access to Japanese statistics, in addition to making the first contact with my field. He has been supporting me at every stage ever since then. Prof. Scott North (OU Graduate School of Human
sciences) as my second advisor, kindly read and commented on my thesis chapters, and gave me many academic hints. Prof. Toshio Mizuuchi (OCU Urban Research Plaza) as my employer and third advisor taught me about the historical and present Osaka, in addition to giving me the time and appropriate environment for finalizing my PhD thesis.

My interviewees from the Horie and Takakiya districts of Nishi Ward were very friendly and helpful in introducing me with the local people and area matters, and they always kindly invited me to nice local events. It was a real pleasure to get to know them and hear their stories. Nishi Ward Mayor Ken Takano kindly gave me an appointment in a busy schedule, and shared his opinions about his area of responsibility. Yoshihiro Fujitsuka (OCU Graduate School of Creative Cities, and Urban Policy) always informed me about his new research on Osaka’s and London’s gentrification. Eiji Kawano (OCU Graduate School of Literature and Human Sciences) kindly accepted me to his sociology training course in 2014. Prof. Akira Kawabata (OU Graduate School of Human Sciences) accepted me as a teaching assistant for his Human Sciences Methodology course in fall, 2015, and thus, exposed me to qualitative data analysis software.

Researchers affiliated with OCU Urban Research Plaza, including Tetz Hakoda, Geerhardt Kornatowski, Natsuki Tatemi, Johannes Kiener, Son Mikyoung, Yuichiro Nishino, Matthew Marr and participants to Prof. Mizuuchi’s graduate seminar, Eunhwee (Uni) Jeon, Shintaro Okada, and Takafumi Kumano shared their own knowledge and experiences regarding urban research. Moreover, I owe many research insights to enjoyable research consultations with Hideaki Sasajima (OCU, Graduate School of Literature and Human Sciences), Shisei Kimura (Konan
Women’s University Faculty of Human Sciences), and Kosuke Hishiyama (Kindai University Society and Mass Media Studies).

Felipe Nunes Coelho Magalhães (Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil) and Joselito Ranara Jimenez (OCU Urban Research Plaza) gave me valuable, written feedback. The department secretary, Ms. Akiko Sakamoto and graduate students from OU Sociology of Culture, including a librarian, Toshiyuki Suwa (D4), and my former tutors, Hiroto Shimizu (D2) and Yuki Umekawa (D2) supported me in both research and life matters. Similarly, the office of OCU Urban Research Plaza, the library personnel of OCU Media Center, where I wrote my dissertation, and the workers of the library cafeteria who made Orange-Pekoe tea available for my afternoon breaks were always very kind.

Finally, my family, friends, professors from Turkey, and Prof. Nick Prior (Edinburgh University, Sociology) supported me going through the path to PhD. I thank them all warmly.

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Horie at Present and in the Past]』大阪：なにわ堀江 1500.
## Appendices

### 15.1 Appendix 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudo-nym</th>
<th>Age (2015)</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Work condition (As of 2013)</th>
<th>Residence-year approximately</th>
<th>Interview time-place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Retired timber dealer</td>
<td>Former head of Horie Joint Association</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Horie, 12 July 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I1</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Retired office employee</td>
<td>Current head of Horie Joint Association</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>Horie, 5 Aug. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I2</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Retired nurse</td>
<td>Not working</td>
<td>35 (Lives in Shinnachi)</td>
<td>Horie, 7 Oct. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J1</td>
<td>~65</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Tea ceremony teacher</td>
<td>10 - 20</td>
<td>Horie, 4 Oct. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K1</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Head of Horie Women’s Association</td>
<td>62 - 63</td>
<td>Horie, 7 Aug. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K2</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Watching Coordinator for the elderly</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Horie, 26 Aug. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Head of Horie Children's Association</td>
<td>Born in Horie</td>
<td>Horie, 26 Aug. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K4</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Retired insurance company agent</td>
<td>Not working</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Horie, 21 Oct. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Retired company employee</td>
<td>NPO founder</td>
<td>Only worked in Kita Horie until retirement</td>
<td>Horie, 11 Oct. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M2</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Interior design business owner</td>
<td>Working</td>
<td>Born in Horie</td>
<td>Horie, 18 Oct. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O1</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Neighbour. hall’s office clerk + yoga</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Horie, 7 Aug. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>English teacher</td>
<td>Working</td>
<td>50+</td>
<td>Horie, 8 Aug. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Wife of a temple priest</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Horie, 18 Oct. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Retired Japanese confectionery store owner</td>
<td>Building renter</td>
<td>Born in Horie (Lives in Nara)</td>
<td>Horie, 30 Aug. 2013</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 11 Long-Term Resident Interviewees**
## 15.2 Appendix 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Age (2015)</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Education level</th>
<th>Place of Origin</th>
<th>Place of Residence</th>
<th>Interview place-time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Accessory shop &amp; gallery</td>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>Nara Pref.</td>
<td>Osaka City</td>
<td>Horie, 8 Sept. 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>College</td>
<td>Wakayama Pref.</td>
<td>Osaka City (Horie)</td>
<td>Horie, 12 Sept. 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Hyogo Pref.</td>
<td>Amagasaki City</td>
<td>Horie, 2 Sept. 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Osaka Pref.</td>
<td>Osaka City</td>
<td>Horie, 11 Sept. 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Osaka Pref. (Horie)</td>
<td>Osaka City (Horie)</td>
<td>Horie, 12 Sept. 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Interior &amp; furniture wholesale</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Osaka Pref. (Horie) &amp; Kyoto</td>
<td>Osaka City (Horie)</td>
<td>Horie, 4 Sept. 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I3</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>Senior high</td>
<td>Osaka Pref. (Horie)</td>
<td>Yao City</td>
<td>Horie, 3 Sept. 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J2</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Wooden toy</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Osaka Pref. (Horie)</td>
<td>Osaka City (Horie)</td>
<td>Horie, 8 Sept. 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K5</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Fanlight &amp; signboard</td>
<td>Junior high</td>
<td>Yamaguchi Pref.</td>
<td>Osaka City (Horie)</td>
<td>Horie, 3 March 2015</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 12 Area Business Interviewees

178
### 15.3 Appendix 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Age (2015)</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Current job</th>
<th>Education level</th>
<th>Place of resid.</th>
<th>Place of orig.</th>
<th>Place &amp; time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Dancer-café</td>
<td>Vocational sc.</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>Osaka (Horie)</td>
<td>Nakazakicho, 8 April 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Hairdresser</td>
<td>Vocational sc.</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>Kyoto</td>
<td>Horie, 7 July 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K6</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Real estate agency</td>
<td>(Unknown)</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>Horie, 21 April 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M3</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Cafe-accessory shop &amp; gallery</td>
<td>Vocational sc.</td>
<td>Kobe</td>
<td>Nara</td>
<td>Horie, 30 June 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N2</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Real estate (employee)</td>
<td>Technical university</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>Horie, 12 February 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Music wholesaler</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>Osaka (Horie)</td>
<td>Horie, 29 Sept. 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T3</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Real estate agency</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>Osaka (Horie)</td>
<td>Horie, 2 July 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Second-hand bookstore</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>Kyushu</td>
<td>M.kyuhojimachi, 9 April 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H2</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Hip-hop, reggae-style men’s clothing shop-owner</td>
<td>Vocational sc.</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>Tottori</td>
<td>Horie, 11 July 2016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>TV producer</td>
<td>Vocational sc.</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>Toganocho, 1 April 2015</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13 Creative Entrepreneur and Real Estate Agent Interviewees
### 15.4 Appendix 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Age (As of 2015)</th>
<th>No. of children</th>
<th>(Previous) Occupation</th>
<th>Education level</th>
<th>Residence-year-approx.</th>
<th>Additional info</th>
<th>Interview time - place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KK</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Computer software instructor</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Turkish husband, Tokushima, Japanese</td>
<td>Horie, 29 Nov. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IK</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Contingent worker (2 yrs), office employee at a company (10 yrs.)</td>
<td>Junior college</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ishikawa, Japanese</td>
<td>Horie, 6 Dec. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Baby massage therapist (Cont.)</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>3 (Shinmachi)</td>
<td>Osaka, Japanese</td>
<td>Horie, 25 Nov. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IY</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hairdresser</td>
<td>Vocational school</td>
<td>8 (Awaza)</td>
<td>Chinese Indonesian husband, Hyogo, Taiwanese-Japanese</td>
<td>Horie, 29 Nov. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KA</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hotel employee (parental leave)</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Osaka, Japanese</td>
<td>Horie, 22 Nov. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Environmental analyst (parental leave)</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Gifu, Japanese</td>
<td>Horie, 13 Dec. 2013</td>
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<tr>
<td>TM</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Café owner (Cont.)</td>
<td>University (In England)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>French husband, Nara, Japanese</td>
<td>Horie, 29 Nov. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NY</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sales assistant in apparel</td>
<td>Vocational school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gifu, Japanese</td>
<td>Horie, 25 Nov. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FC</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Pharmaceutical chemist (parental leave)</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>15-16</td>
<td>Wakayama, Japanese</td>
<td>Horie, 29 Nov. 2013</td>
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<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Credit union employee</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Osaka, Japanese</td>
<td>Horie, 22 Nov. 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Home care worker (Cont.)</td>
<td>Vocational school</td>
<td>13 (NW: 13 years; now Kujō)</td>
<td>Divorced from Indian husband, Osaka, Japanese</td>
<td>Horie, 23 Apr. 2016</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 14 Mother Interviewees**
# Appendix 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Age (2015)</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Education level</th>
<th>Place of Origin</th>
<th>Place of Residence</th>
<th>Interview place</th>
<th>time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I4</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Chief priest of Banfuku-ji</td>
<td>University</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>Osaka (Horie)</td>
<td>Horie Banfuku-ji, 19 Aug. 2016</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Manager of a construction materials trading company</td>
<td>High school</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>Osaka (Horie)</td>
<td>Saiwaichō, 27 Jan. 2014</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K7</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>Graduate school</td>
<td>Fukuoka</td>
<td>Osaka (Horie)</td>
<td>Horie, 8 Feb. 2014</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15 Ungrouped Interviewees
Agricultural economy...Industrial economy
Towns...(WWII)...Industrial city...

Service economy.........................Creative, symbolic, knowledge economy
Post-industrial city..........................................................Neoliberal city

Figure 20 Post-Industrial Urban Change
(Created by the author)

Deindustrialization & Urban sprawl

Inner-city urban decay

Developmental-economic outlook - the 1960s onwards
Gentrification
Conservation
Revitalization
Restoration, renovation, repair
Rehabilitation
Reuse
Urban renewal
Urban redevelopment
Urban regeneration

Environmental outlook - the 1970s onwards
Sustainable development/city
Compact city
Smart growth/city
Green urbanism
Eco-city

Consumptive outlook - the 1990s onwards
Creative class/economy/city
Fantasy city
Cool city, Innovative city, etc.

Positive:
Physical upgrading
Recovery from deprivation
Social balance or mix
Class mobility
Local tax income
Safety

Negative:
Embourgeoisement
Price inflation
Displacement
Socio-spatial polarization
Uneven development
Dispossession (homes and jobs)
Exclusion
Social tension (intolerance)
Privatization (enclosures)
Commercialization
Homogenization
Touristification
Alienation
Surveillance

Theory:
Just city
The right to the city
City with social equity
Resilient city
Urban commons

Praxis:
Resistance
Social movements

Limits of gentrification

Actors:
Local government
Private investors
Real estate sector
Construction companies
Landowners, homeowners
Gentrifiers (individual, family, artists)
Local community
NPOs