Transition of Japanese commercial space: What has been lost from the commercial space?

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Abstract

This paper compares two types commercial spaces in modern Japan, which are shopping mall and “traditional” shopping district called “ShoTenGai”, from the viewpoint of commercial space as the third space in the city. Particularly, the “shopping street” has been portrayed as nostalgia in the discourse about commercial spaces in Japan. Therefore, the transition of commercial space is always accompanied the description of the “Lost”. However, there is no unanimous opinion in what actually lost in the process of this transition. In this paper, we extract the category of commercial spaces by considering focus on discourse for both places. The research papers and journal articles that with different main argument and specific data are targeted for my analysis. After extracting the social category, through the comparison of the two discourses, I reveal the nature of “Lost” that take place in the commercial spaces as the third place in the city. I also discuss how this transition relates the changes in Japanese social relationship and community.

Introduction

This paper aims to compare two types of commercial space in modern Japan which are shopping mall and shopping street (ShoTenGai), from the viewpoint of commercial space as a third space in the city under the framework of new urban sociology. Especially the “shopping street” has been portrayed as nostalgia in the discourse about commercial spaces in Japan. Therefore, the transition of commercial space is described as occurrence of “something lost”.

However, there is no unanimous opinion in what actually lost in the process of this transition. Hence, this paper focuses on discourse from the study of for both extracted categories. Also, I clarify the nature of the “lost things”, and the relationship between the changes of Japanese society and “lost thing”.

Method

In this paper, we attempt to compare shopping street and the shopping mall from the point of view of the third space. Eiichi Isomura (1959, p.83) studied the essence of the city in the development of the third space. Third space is defined as the space that is independent from the first space (re-production domain, like family) and the second space (production domain, like office). The third space exists between the production area and the re-production area, such as the resort area and entertainment district. This space is high anonymity urban space with each other. The characteristic of this space, Akihiro Kitada suggested that in the third space, people are unable to presuppose ties with others by objective economic rationality in the public area (colleagues), also by intimate ties in the private area. Hence, the possibility of connection with others to coexistence is contingent on the third space (Kitada, 2004). Furthermore, this contingency enables for people to encounter with others. For example, Angela McRobbie picks commercial space in London as it is the most diverse human gathering (Mcrobbie, 1994). Similarly, Rem Koolhaas pointed out that only one public activity that still remains today is shopping (Koolhas, 2001). This paper regards the commercial space as a kind of open coexistence space where different people can meet. And I focus on contact with a variety of cultures in a third space.

In Japan, the conversion of commercial space has occurred since the late 1990s. The decline of a “traditional” commercial space (the shopping street)
was revealed. At the same time, development of large shopping mall focusing on the suburbs was advanced. What we want to investigate in this paper is that whether the nature of the encounter with diversity has changed by the transition. In order to understand more about the issue, we collect data from books and papers relating to two commercial spaces that have been published since 1990. We analyze the changes of the configuration logic of the third space from the transition of commercial space through comparing two materials.

Result

In this section, I focus on the features from the typical discourse about the shopping street and shopping center by comparison. After summarizing the characteristics of each of them, I also pick up criticism of each type.

1. Features of the “shopping street”: the definition of shopping street

In this section, we review the major discourse about the shopping street. We can summarize the fours features of shopping street as follow: 1. propelling the retailer into the middle class, 2. the store was based on modern family and regionality as accumulation of families, 3. Commercial accumulation can function as a “town”, 4. Cooperativeness emerges due to share of common lands by arising from the livability.

First of all, I would like to clarify the definition of the shopping street. A shopping street can be defined in several ways. First, by the Small Business Administration defines that there is shopping street organizations such as a cooperative business association, a shopping street promotion organization. Besides, in the studies about shopping street, regardless of the presence or absence of the shopping street organizations, there is also an example to discuss about company accumulation as the shopping street. The former is to focus on the institutional side and the latter one focus on the spatial aspects. However, these both of viewpoints are lacking of attention to the “shopping street” that formed by the recognition of people. Since we are trying to analyze the shopping street as a social space, we adopt a definition that “Store accumulation is present time continuously, through the perception of the customer to this presence, both of the shops and consumer to obtain a gain” (Yosano, Hashimoto, 2009).

Such a shopping street is supported by the presence of continued cooperation behavior of shops.

Figure 1. Kita-Senju Nishiguchi Shopping Street (Tokyo)

Shopping street has been expected a social function in the community rather than a mere commercial accumulation, whether if scholar evaluate it positively or not. In a sense, shopping street has been recognized as the place where collaboration can be seen the most plainly in the region. Therefore, the decline of the shopping street has been captured to symbolize the decline of the local community (Miura, 2004).

However, from viewpoint that focus on the establishment of the shopping street as institution and organization, the establishment of a systematic concept had begun by the establishment of the “Commercial Union Law” in 1932. Before the enforcement of this law, even though the same trade union was recognized, union between retailers of different industries were not seen. The shopping street as a spontaneous commercial space, according to the case in traditional shopping street, they claim it was established in the Heian period, but shopping street with the both of institutional and the spatial aspects is a new one that has been formed in the 20th century. According to the Arata Masashi, a shopping street is an artifact that was born in order to respond to the need for public order of modern Japan’s urbanization and fluidization at the time (Arata, 2012). In other words, the majority of the shopping street with a few exceptions was formed as a response to the urbanization of Japanese society after World War I, so it can be recognized as product of the modernization of commercial space. The shopping street represents an invented tradition in the modernity rather than a tradition. From what have been stated above, we capture the space of shopping street as one type of responses to social change associated with the modernization of Japan.

From here while keeping in mind that such modern character of shopping street, I will make
a. Propelling the retailer into the middle class

Shopping street was organized as to achieve specialty and efficiency and entertainment and the public by accumulating shops at regional level. (horizontal department store). In order to understand this feature of the shopping street, it is necessary to understand the relationship among cooperative association, public markets, department stores in the 1930s.

First, in order to have an overview of the situation in Japan at the time, I compare the distribution of the industry population census conducted in 1920 and 1930 (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications Bureau of Statistics).

1920 primary industry 54.9% secondary industry 20.9% tertiary industry 24.2% (Wholesale and retail 9.8%) 1930 primary industry 49.7% secondary industry 20.5% tertiary industry 29.8% (Wholesale and retail 14.0%)

Within a decade from 1920 to 1930, the agricultural population has decreased by about 5 percent, the industrial population is flat, and the population of the service industry has increased about 5%. Among them, the population that engaged in wholesale and retail trade has increased 4%. It can be seen that this section had been absorbing the majority of the population of abandon farming. The migration of population from rural areas in Japan during this period had been to create a large amount of small-scale self-employed persons in the service industry, particularly wholesale and retail trade, rather than create jobs in the manufacturing industry. A low threshold of entering to retailers as compared to other industries was responsible for the increase of such small retailers. An increase in small-scale retailers that lack the expertise affected the continuity of their business. In other words, many of the shops were difficult to survive, because of the problem of unemployment of migrants in the city occurred. For this problem, system of the shopping street was formed as the form of synthesis of the best of three-advanced system at that time.

Concentration of population in the city had progressed in the 1920s affected the system of logistics and consumption, it resulted in volatility of price and distribution of shoddy goods. Such a problem for the general public was attributed the cause to retailers increased visibly. Since then, a part of the city inhabitants take a self-defense measure by organizing cooperatives. A correspondence (measure) was the establishment of collaborative commerce system by consumer. Similarly, for price stability it seemed necessary to stabilize the logistics by government intervention, so that public market is installed in many places. This aimed to establish the consumption space with the public (Hattori, 1939). In addition to the (1) Cooperative Association and (2) public market, the most significant impact on the formation of the shopping street was (3) department store. Hatsuta points out, department stores were the “space of excursion” contained such as display sales method, show window, event venue, restaurant (Hatsuta, 1999). In other words, it was a commercial space equipped with entertaining rather than the location of the simple business. These three preceding commercial institutions and urban small-scale retailers were in opposite relationship. As a countermeasure to the decrease of commercial quality and their unemployment problems in the city, shopping street was planned as a space that combines three elements of publicity (public market), cooperativity (Cooperative Association), and entertainment (department store). The intention of this plan was to transform urban micro retailers who were poor into a stable middle class.

b. The store is based on modern family and regionality as integrations of families

Shopping street was established as result of modernization, its members were also equipped with a modern nature. This type of store has been assumed that the modern family member as workers of store. It is different from the idea of the “house” of the pre-modern merchant. According to the Takashi Nakano, the most important thing for the merchant at the pre-modern period is the inheritance of family business. When the management body is in crisis, it was not rare that an outsider of family succeeded the management (Nakano, 1978). On the other hand, the modern retailer is based on a modern family as its parent body. The nature of this modern family such as decline the “sociality” and elimination of non-relatives (Ochiai, 1989) led to the significant constraint on the continuity of the business of each stores.

This management based on the family prevents shopping street from fully commercializing. Employees of shopping street regards as one family that has been living in the region, they have a sense of solidarity with the customer as well as the same members rather than mere commercial relationship. Therefore, it is expected that the shopping street has been function to maintain security in the region, such as friendly-greeting campaign. It also can be cited as an example that in the recovery process of the Great East Japan Earthquake, religions centering on the shopping street.
such as HamaYuri restaurant street (Iwate Prefecture, Kamaishi City), Ishinomaki Machinaka reconstruction Marche (Ishinomaki City, Miyagi Prefecture), the Ofunato dream Shopping street (Ofunato City, Iwate Prefecture) is successfully back to the right track compared to the suburban commercial area. In such a case, by the shopping street based on the family, it can be seen that shopping street has the side of the actors of the re-production of community.

Moreover, Arata points out in the following manner about the delay of the reconstruction in bypass area in Tagajo City, while shopping street in the Ishinomaki was revived for four months after the Great East Japan Earthquake.

Perhaps reconstruction of the bypass area in Tagajo, rather than a volunteer, only relies on the power of the AEOs and the McDonald's corporate employees. As compared with it, the shopping street in the Ishinomaki, there is a room to attract external people. Shopping street is not just a commercial accumulation district. Even after the tsunami, there are people who continue to live in the shopping street, there are people who try to return there even though their house is no longer exist due to the tsunami, and there are people who are hoping to resume the business (Arata, 2012, pp8-9).

In this way, the shopping street shares the interest for members and customers by daily living on the space of same area. In addition, it has been considered that emotional relationship which is ambiguous separation of public and private is occurred by arising from the fact sharing the interests.

Criticism towards the shopping street is to concentrate on non-purity as a commercial space. First, since the shopping street hold the function of protection for regional retail, Shopping street continued to prevent the trader entry from the outside by the management of grants for store openings permit and license. In addition, because retailers were family-run business, rights and interests for such license have been inherited among relatives. As a result, the shopping street was becoming conservatism. It was prevented an innovation of the store. For the contact with the diversity, first of all, local retail store accept others without a security check, it can be said that there are only customers well known. In other words, because they have been living in the space in a certain range, an accumulation of relationship has been created, and they share the mutual interests about the regional. Therefore, shopping street is a space that can welcome others.

Thus we can say that shopping street as the third space that is a space to accept others of the interior of a certain area by ensuring that you are living in there. Also, it is a space that constitutes the consciousness that is ambiguous the distinction between public and private by the meeting in this place.
2. Features of “SM”

In this section, we discuss about the characteristics of the shopping mall. It is necessary to clarify the definition of a shopping mall first. Japan Council of Shopping Centers defines a shopping center in the following manner.

A SC is an aggregate of business and service facilities planned, developed, owned and managed as a single entity and in many cases provided with a parking area. It has a role as an urban function being a community facility satisfying the needs of the residents by providing a variety of choices, conveniences, amenities and entertainment in accordance with its location, scale and composition. (JCSC HP)

And as JCSC’s Standards for Shopping Centers,

1. The retail space covered by retail businesses should not be less than 1,500sq m.
2. Shopping centers tenants should include, apart from anchor tenants, at least 10 tenants.
3. As for anchor tenants, their area should not exceed 80% of the shopping center area.
4. However, this restriction does not apply if the retail space of the retail businesses among the other tenants occupies 1,500 sq m or more.
5. An association such as a Tenant Board (Store Association) etc. exists in order to conduct activities of common interest such as advertising and jointly held special events.

According to the association, there are 3,195 of facilities in Japan by the end of 2015. However, this definition also included what we do not consider the sensuously shopping centers and shopping malls. The category of shopping center that I would like to particularly discuss this time is the mall-type shopping center among them. Especially large commercial facilities are increased after the “Large-Scale Retail Stores Location Law” in 2000 in the suburbs.

Hence, I particularly describe the features of such shopping mall in the following.

a. Homogeneous diversity

SM is generally pointed out that it has homogeneity. For example, George Ritzy, who is famous for McDonaldization, points out that the goods and services that a retail store in the United States is providing is homogenized. Surely even in San Francisco or New York, clothing that is sold in the GAP is very similar. And importantly, it does not mean that consumer cannot purchase a variety of products, this means that basically the same abundance is prevailing in society (Ritzy, 2005).

Experience in SM also has homogeneity as well as products. The component of a certain number of SM, has a supermarket as the anchor store, cinema complex, beauty salon, game room, food court are often included. Such a similar store is deployed in the same structure like the three-layer Galleria type or dumbbell-shaped which is connecting the both of anchor store at ends at the mall. Mikio Wakabayashi points out that because the SM not only has an objective overlapping portions but also it is arranged in the space as similar tenants and brands, it becomes a space for many of us to bring sense of well-known place while the SM to provide a variety of goods and services (Wakabayashi, 2013, pp200-201). In addition to support such a feeling, the format for the planning and development of the SM has been prepared. The conditions as a variable, such kind of the site of the area, the location, the total floor area, and construction total cost, by adapting it to the database with the each developer, SM is a semi-automatically planning and development (Nango, 2013). Among SMs, in other words there is a quantitative difference based on the specs, they are formed in accordance with the principle in the same format. It is ensured diversity by flexible accumulation of capital among a single container. In this sense, the SM has a feature that homogeneous diversity.

b. The opened enclosed space

The appearance of the SM can be characterized in the huge billboard of tenants with a large wall of the plain. Since the tenants are lined up on both sides of the Mall of the interior space, it unlike put a window by facing outside. Paco Underhill mentioned that because of such appearance is SM itself has no awareness that it is stores (Underhill, 2004). It is cut off from the outside, and it is in the closed structure inside. The more the scale of the shopping mall is expanded, the more the interior of the space is becoming independent. For example, Rem Koolhaas has pointed out the disconnection of the project of the interior of the building and the

Figure 2. An appearance of SM (Yashio, Saitama Prefecture)
outside of the building in the SM (Koolhaas, 2011). In other words, SM has high internal completeness from the point of view of space, the unification of themed are also made from the view of meaning. The most typical example of this disconnect is a Disney resort. This internal completeness constituted by the blocking of the external, shopping malls in this sense is a quite closed space.

On the other hand, however, this shopping mall is also a place that can lead to “anywhere no here”. For example, Wakabayashi describe that in the following manner by using the passage of in the novel by Mitsuyo Kakuta, Hanging Gardens. For young people who live in the suburb with a SM,

*Discovery Center is a Tokyo of this town, is a Disneyland of this town, is an airport of this town, is a foreign of this town, is a welfare facility, and is an employment office (Kakuta, 2002, 31).*

In Wakabayashi’s interpretation of this sentence, the shopping center in this suburb is called Tokyo, because there is a place that can fulfill consumer daily life similar to living in Tokyo and also is a place where you can experience the stores and brands and such as, those contained in fashion building in Tokyo. This shopping center is a sample of the digest version of the downtown area of Tokyo. In fact, this shopping mall contains the store, like Starbucks, Uniqlo, Kinokuniya, etc., that opened in department stores and fashion buildings at downtown such as Ginza and Shinjuku and Shibuya. “Homogeneous diversity” which is closed from the surrounding areas, is a huge opened space that is connected to the Tokyo and to the global beyond this town. Shopping center, it can be said that it has been closed at the level of the region. It is an open space at the global level.

c. SM as the middle of the rural/urban, ordinary/ extraordinary (semi-daily)

Up to this stage, the characteristics of the SM have been discussed by comparing with the local community. Here, we should consider about the comparison with the urban space. Jean Baudrillard describes in the ‘The consumer society: myths and structures the differences between the department store and the SM as follow. Department store is a place to sell the modern consumer goods. There is a space that customers can be walking around with a purpose. On the other hand, the mall is a space to achieve a comprehension of various consumption activities. (Baudrillard, 1998). It can be confirmed, complete progression of “Theming” described by Alan Bryman is hard in the SM. The reason of this is related to the fact that SM is “the store for displaying stores”, developers playing a principal role for the development, similar to the real estate industry. As a result, SM as a meta-store, management for each individual store tends to be loose management in comparison with the department stores and theme parks. In addition, the tenants are likely to be the chain stores and franchise stores. These shops are mentioned in Section 2, shall be tend to be configured with products that you can buy even there, not with product that you can buy only here.

These trends of incomplete theming, if we look at the issue from the glance of the enlightenment typified by department stores and exposition, there is likely to be felt unsatisfactory. Space of enlightenment presents newer and higher parts of high culture in accordance with the cultural value system. SM is a half-finished space lacking a thorough in this sense. However, on the one hand, a complete themed space to eliminate an other value system (McDonald’s is not opened in Disneyland), on the other hand SM loosely subsumes a variety of value system by its ambiguity. Hiroki Azuma evaluates the space of this gradual inclusion from a half-finished nature.

*If the town has been designed there is a Disneyland. On the other hand, if the town that has not been designed, Akihabara is the most interesting. ... (Snip)... But there are things what are overlooked in the framework of such seemingly radical discourse. It is a kind of “half-finished” thing. I think the shopping mall exactly like that (Azuma, 2011, pp.85-86).*

Azuma expresses that how to evaluate the SM is how to evaluate the nature of “half-finished.” And stated as follows.

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Figure 3. An interior of SM
There is a designer; also there is a user. SM is a thing vaguely constructed in the compromise of both of them. Do you see it as a unique, or truncate it as a lax (Azuma, 2011, pp.88)

While thus SM is oriented to space separated from the region, but it cannot be completed as choreographed space. It is not a daily space like supermarket, and it is not also a non-daily space like a department store. It can be said that SM is the space of a semi-daily.

Criticisms towards SM are often carried out with particular reference to the gentrification and globalization (Cf. Miura, 2004; Ritzer, 2005). Advocates of this position questioned the point of destroying the individuality of the surrounding area by SM. Jane Jacobs who take a little different position but also in The death and life of great American cities, stressed on the destruction of the street function by motorization and personalization. Certainly the third space called SM is based on an assumption of the elimination of people who cannot come here by a car. Because of location that is separate from the space residence, SM allows people to get there with a condition that you have private transportation. Therefore, there is no possibility to meet the poor people, such as homeless in there. In addition, there is also a possibility that the huge size is unfavorable to human beings faced difficulties in physical strength, such as the elderly (Morimoto, 2005)

But this commercial space is a space that can allow the most diverse people, for example in comparison with the local shopping street. Ergonomically correct universal design is the most widely acceptable for people with disabilities, children, and foreigners as long as they have a consumption capacity. However, most of diversity to expand in this space often do not relate to accumulation of the culture, history and relationships in surrounding place of SM. Rather, apart from the own residence, this space has a relation to the location that you know by the mass media.

The SM as a third space releases the people from the constraints of the physical proximity. Through a common activity of shopping, people constitute a consciousness of linkages with others via the mediated by the information. It means that the third space of the SM is based on common knowledge and information. And SM is a space to confirm to coexist with the virtual others, through realization of information in the material space.

Analysis

As mentioned above, it was offered the type of discourse of the two commercial spaces. This section aims to compare the category of these two discourses.

Shopping street is a space in which tie up the relationship with others by the basis of the residence to the region. There is characterized by the association for the emotional feelings that distinction of public and private is ambiguous. SM is a space to confirm the coexistence of the virtual others by the based on mediation of the mass media. At that time, shopping realizes the relationship between the virtual others by the same physical relationship for the same material.

In transition of commercial space form shopping street to SM, how it has changed the function as a third space. We are going to look at the common feature, then discuss about the difference in this section.

The common feature is that both spaces include the diversity by ambiguity. As shopping street, there is room to accept diversity by ambiguous boundary for public and private. SM plays a function as a space for synthesis of variety cultural activities by nature of half-finished coming from universal design and inconclusive theming.

Yet, we can conclude a difference between them as follows. The meaning of spatial proximity of each is definitively different. Residence within a certain range that is for shopping street has a great meaning. While spatial proximity for SM does not have meaning, ubiquitous spatially by homogenization and standardization has the big meaning. For SM, connection between others is constructed by exposed the common information and sharing the experience through relationship with the common material and the body. In this case, social interactions change from performing on the socialized space to performing on the abstract space by the media. This was greatly changing the nature of others and the range of others appearing on consciousness in the third space.

Conclusion

"Traditional" shopping street was a product of modern times. It means that SM and shopping street show two approaches to how to form the urban ordering of modern Japan. In the influx of immigrants, on the basis of the residence in a certain area, by the foundation of shared location and land, shopping street was constructed as the third space. In other words, the shopping street tries to deal with others by reterritorialization of the region. The construction of relationships with others by reterritorialization is a feature of this space.
Corresponding to the urbanization of the SM is to reduce the environmental difference as much as possible by the synthesis of objects which likely are everywhere. The universal design has the most possibility to accept the others generously, because it refused to link the individual properties. Relationship in the third space is non-binding, high anonymity, and temporary. Thus the space is easy to entry and release, there makes it possible for the people who have never been in other place to participate in the same activities in the same place'. Furthermore, the third space of the SM type is functioning as a confirmation place about the connection to abstract others of non-co-resident at the same time. They are building a relationship with the others by feeling to be positioned in a network expanding the world by the media. SM deals with the otherness problem by security of placelessness.

What does the transition from the shopping street to SM mean? What does the change of the third space from type of shopping street to type of SM? It means that relationships with others change from by coexistence in the space to by the mediated by the mass media. Considering from this trend, it is assumed that the third space has more association with information technology, and more moving toward to connect both the information aspects and spatial aspects.

Finally, I will mention about the future challenges and limitation of this paper. This paper relies its major material in the commercial space research in Japan. Whether researchers’ achievements are able to understand the feeling of the user, it must be revealed by the accumulation of future research. In addition, future challenge after awareness of the issues of this paper, it can be considered following thing. The space of SM type to form by logic of “anywhere no here” has no attachment to the place. If the relationship of SM type is going to become the center of social relations, there is a concern about the sustainability of the society. A simple specific example can be applied about this point. Strangers who meet in the shopping street, developing the relationship, and forming a family are possible. However in SM type space, the possibility of occurrence of a new relationship would be comparatively lower. If it is, when the SM type is going to drive off the shopping street type, where will we have the opportunity to begin the relationship with others?

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Notes of Picture 3

1 The difficulty of continuity of the business is known as the “successor problem” in Japan. If the store is not finding the desired successor in the family members, it is not a few cases where the will to stop the business itself. In this regard, Arata points out problem of the shopping street store is to expand the business only within a limited range of family (Arata, 2012, p.30)

2 Mango Yoshikazu expresses this point that “Shopping mall is growing in copy and paste”. He also depicts a shopping mall in the concept of “Instant City” in another place (Nango, 2013).

Endnotes

1 Alan Bryman points to the fact that the Disney theme park elements can be seen remarkably in the consumption of modern society was referred to as “Disneyzation”(2004).

2 On the other hand, as Disneyland, there may be a method of reconstructing the spatial wrapped in nostalgia by using simulacrum. We must be the most considered is whether to assess how such a simulacrum today.

3 Occurring desire to the place there is no continuity to own residence is because it is possible to know about the location through the mass media.

4 The power of environmental management type is operating by invisible way in the backside
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