A Thesis for the Degree of Ph.D. in Engineering

From Personal Space to Intimate Space: A Socio-Spatial Study of Domestic Urban Environments in Contemporary Tokyo

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Abstract

Despite an inevitable and constant presence of others, everyday life in a metropolis tends to be described as solitary and alienated. Such paradoxes are among the main features of the complex urban conglomerations which attract more and more individuals. How attached to these complexities can we become? To what extent is our attachment and, consequentially, the lifestyles and habits, imposed by the characteristics and the affordances of the spaces we dwell? And is it possible for planning to generate urban spaces that afford interaction? This research addresses these questions through the set of multidisciplinary explorations of intimate spaces which emerge from the relationship between the self and the city.

An integrated methodological approach, which originate from different research fields, addresses those arising questions within the context of contemporary Tokyo. The conceptual framework is defined and selected methods customized for two distinct segments of the research: the sociological and the ethnographic methods are used to define socio-cultural and spatial characteristics of the concept under examination. The sociological study helps define the network of significant places which construe the dispersed home and, within this network, it identifies “another place” (also defined as the “fourth place”) - the place of rest and solitude where people do not necessarily interact with others. The ethnographic study exposes two predominant meanings of “another place”, as an intimate space in Tokyo downtown area, which are defined as the utilitarian and the decorative.

Intimate spaces, as meaningful spaces within metropolises, afford engagement with the environment through a broad range of activities. This research uses concrete socio-spatial characteristics of such spaces for an exploration of their possible integration into the planning practices. The key conceptual aspects of a hypothetical, culturally sustainable metropolis are compared with the existing multi-levelled planning system of Tokyo. An integrated methodology, aimed at introducing the potential for planning to make places imbued with meanings useful to practitioners and decision-makers, is developed. As an example of possible application of that tool, intimate spaces in Taito Ward are identified in the Geographic Information System (GIS) and inserted as an additional layer into the Land Use Plan. That is in recognition of both (1) an existing phenomenon which needs to be acknowledged and (2) the necessity for its strategic inclusion in spatial planning of a sustainable metropolis.
Acknowledgments

It is a demanding task to name all those who directly and indirectly participated in and are embedded into this research. My gratitude is beyond the Acknowledgments, and I will carry it along as a part of my *self*.

Coming to Japan, my research and studies were supported by the Japanese Government Scholarship and my deepest gratitude goes to them because it made me learn how to appreciate and prioritize the essential over unnecessary. All the following is a consequence of this notion.

I express my deep gratitude to my supervisor Professor Darko Radovic for constructive discussions and fruitful conversations. His merit is meeting other students, members of the laboratory, who became my colleagues and friends. Especially Jessica, Alice, and Ana, who besides sharing their knowledge and expertise, found my (occasionally) lost motivation and gave it generously back to me. Their presence made my research days less solitary, “inside” and “out” of our temporarily shared space.

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*The distance* between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Japan, that at times seemed invincible, diminished thanks to my friends and colleagues in Banja Luka: Natasa and Isidora, among many others. Without their spoken and unspoken but constant support, writing the thesis would remain only an attempt.

During this (extended, expanded and excessive) time my thoughts were partially in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with my family, my sister and my father, who support me undoubtedly in all my actions. And my dreams were constantly taking me back to my *shelter, my place of rest and comfort*, to a small house on the top of the hill, a house that I call Home.

In Yokohama and Tokyo, the cities where I am losing my *self* and finding my *other self*, January 2019.
# ABSTRACT

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Explanatory note

The principal aims of this project are simple: (1) to develop a better understanding of an important, existing but commonly overlooked phenomenon - fragmentation and disintegration of the traditional home in contemporary metropolis, and (2) to develop an integrative, multi-disciplinary method for exploring that phenomenon and its impacts on the quality of urbanites’ life, without compromising its ultimate complexity.

The structure of this Thesis had to be correspondingly complex. Multidisciplinarity demands levels of expertise that can confidently cover the contributing fields of study, while application of the proposed methodology implies sufficient familiarity with the contexts explored. On the top of that, the nature of the investigated, profoundly subjective and deeply personal, phenomena provide additional and unconventional nuances to the complexity of the study itself.

In response to such demands, this Thesis is structured as follows:

1. Theoretical framework served as a ground for the sociological and spatial studies which were conducted simultaneously but with the application of different methods. While seemingly disconnected, separate studies in two parallel Tokyo realms give a more complete understanding of the phenomenon. Therefore, discrete chapters are dedicated to the key academic disciplines engaged in the project: Urban Sociology in Chapter 4, Ethnography in Chapter 5 and Spatial Studies in Chapter 7. The structure of those chapters is identical: their place within the overall project is introduced in the chapter Preface, followed by an introduction to the related literature and terminology, and by detailed presentation of empirical data, analysis, discussion of the findings and conclusion.

2. The familiarity with the context is accomplished through thorough and multifaceted investigations of the case study in Chapter 2. Tokyo and its unique characteristics were used for customizing the methodology (as such customization is essential to the relevance and the promise of quality results). As direct result of customization, the specific scales emerge as of particular relevance for the particular segments of qualitative research. The sociological stage of the study, introduces Tokyo as an experiential construct, a network within which individuals constantly traverse administrative borders at the large, metropolitan scale, while in the spatial study, observational and mapping techniques are applied and an in-depth study of the selected urban block in Taito ward was conducted on the detailed, architectural scale.

While avoiding subjectivity in research which focuses on intimacy and privacy would be dishonest, the subjective interpretations which generate legitimate parts of the material need to be rigorously grounded. Hence, a self-awareness of the researcher investigating own experiences needs to be both seen as an advantage and subjected to relentless scrutiny.
In order to establish clear distinction between the theory-based terminology and that produced by the research itself, the key terms are listed and cross-referenced with the body of the Thesis in the following table.

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INTRODUCTION

Context

The world of everyday life has its own standard time based on the temporal sequences of nature, the socially established calendar and inner time which is intersubjectively available (Berger and Luckmann, 1991). A synchronisation and coordination of activities with the produced urban daily rhythm are necessary in urbanized areas, where the everyday lives of more than half the world’s population take place. Industrialization, which to a significant extent altered traditional ways of living brought this need to modern societies. Further acceleration and alteration in daily rhythm came with the era of digital technologies. Today technology, science and engineering continue to redefine the physical world and cities are becoming engineered systems where people need to adapt (Poovendran, 2010). These alterations are extreme in metropolises, the engineered spatio-temporal systems where an individual has to adjust his or her own rhythm with the rhythm of the city and has to adapt and to act within its constraints. It could be said that we are living in a time of hyper-mobility, at faster speeds and covering longer distances (Un-Habitat, 2013).

Furthermore, the increased use of the Internet, as a new tool in communication and networking, makes a significant impact on communication and social needs in general. The notion of public space and interaction between person and person and person and space is once again altered. The online world (Donath and Boyd, 2004) of the networked self (Papacharissi, 2010) becomes a part of the milieu. In urban and social environment it influences and alters individuals’ ways of acting and operating (Sweetman, 2009) and as a consequence, one’s images of self and sense of place are changed (Meyrowitz, 1986).

A self-other boundary regulation process in which an individual wants to be separated from others or in contact with others is privacy; a dialectic process with the presence of both forces, the one that makes us feel like being with others and the one that makes us feel being away from others. From these two forces arise two opposed states, those of isolation and crowding, both undesirable and coming out of the domination of one force (Davis and Palladino, 2007; Namazian, 2013).

In contemporary cities, the constant (inevitable) presence of distant others takes two extreme forms: the constant movement and the refusal of movement. The city provides and accommodates movement and distribution of goods and, by providing it, it allows isolation and refusal of the city; refusal of motion. On the one hand a number of persons who with the use of services and information technology live in physical isolation is increasing despite higher level of connectedness. On the other hand, institutions

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1 The Japanese term hikikomori refers to people who avoid personal or social contact and live in self-imposed isolation for an extended period—six months or longer, as defined by the Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare. In September 2016, the
and working environment impose upon people and force them into the constant movement – on a daily basis and in the long term. On a daily basis traveling and commuting became an inevitability and in a longer temporal span, urbanites move their home and their belongings frequently. They are forced to re-define and re-create their homes and to re-establish their habitual systems; to adapt to new and different milieus. And, as a result of the interaction with multiple spatio-temporal systems, individuals’ habits and personalities change.

Spatio-temporal systems and interactions with the physical environment are main concern of this study, as well as the habitual actions that are creating unique spaces assembled into a lively urban realm; an environment that becomes a milieu which alters our ways of being and operating in the real world and – which we need to develop the ability to manage.

\[
\text{PERSON} \quad \text{appropriates} \quad \text{CITY} \quad \text{imposes upon} \quad \text{PERSON} \quad \text{creates} \quad \text{CITY} \quad \text{re-define and re-establish their habitual systems; to adapt to new and different milieus. And, as a result of the interaction with multiple spatio-temporal systems, individuals’ habits and personalities change.}
\]

\[\text{Figure 0-1: A recursive relationship between a person and a city}\]

In all their undeniable varieties, digitally and technologically advanced metropolises do not seem to produce the diversity of lifestyles. Constant migrations to big cities and metropolises have been causing a shift in living conditions. Life in urban areas is equally challenging for individuals born in urban environments and for individuals moving from rural to urban environments: the change and movement are constants and, as a result of movement - restlessness. The majority of contemporary metropolitans are urban nomads and nomadism is an inevitability, with variations in intensity and dynamics (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988; Gustafson, 2001). In this context, the complexity and richness of the urban realm arise from actions of its temporary inhabitants. Through a recreation of their own habits, temporary residents create a dialogue with the city altering their proximate (urban) realm. A multitude of individuals rebuild their experiential and personal cities within the administrative borders; they are subjects who create their lifestyles through the self and other relationship (Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Barth et al., 2002). This research focuses on such personal relationships and explores them from varieties

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Cabinet Office released the results of a survey conducted in December 2015, estimating that the number of hikikomori nationwide is on the order of 540,000. Source: http://www.nippon.com/en/currents/d00332/  

2 Office workers in the greater Tokyo area (including the prefectures of Chiba, Saitama, and Kanagawa) commute 102 minutes every day (the NHK survey in 2015) or 118 minutes (the At Home survey 2014). Source: https://resources.realestate.co.jp/living/average-work-commute-time-japan/  

3 The urban population of the world has grown rapidly from 746 million in 1950 to 3.9 billion in 2014. Asia, despite its lower level of urbanization, is home to 53 per cent of the world’s urban population (UN). In 1990, there were ten “mega-cities” with 10 million inhabitants or more, which were home to 153 million people or slightly less than seven per cent of the global urban population at that time. In 2014, there are 28 mega-cities worldwide, home to 453 million people or about 12 percent of the world’s urban dwellers. Of today’s 28 mega-cities, sixteen are located in Asia. Source: http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/news/population/world-urbanization-prospects-2014.html. Accessed 03.07.2018.  

4 For details on experiential city or city as a mental construct see Chapter 6: From a space and a place to a (personal) city
of perspectives. It seeks the recognition of the often overlooked individuals as actors who experience, live and physically alter fragments of metropolises they engage with.

![Diagram: PERSON appropriates SPACE affords ACTIVITIES leave TRACES become ARTEFACTS]

**Figure 0-2: How to study engagement? From person to urban artefacts.**

**Intentions**

Relationships between an individual and environment, between subject and object, have been explored theoretically through the concepts of personal space (Hall, 1966), habitus (Bourdieu, 2005) and body-subject (Merleau-Ponty and Smith, 1996; Seamon, 2015). They were explored (1) through distances between objects and subjects and the boundaries of the self extended beyond the body; (2) as a set of culturally determined bodily dispositions which have no representative content and at no stage pass through consciousness (Bourdieu, 2005) and (3) through a body-subject that learns through repetition and requires time to familiarize itself with the world in which it finds itself, the body that learns through actions (Csordas, 1990, 1994; Featherstone and Burrows, 1996). In the fields of architecture and spatial studies theoretical framework and awareness of the need for a multidisciplinary approach exist. But in spite of the theoretical and methodological efforts, very few architects have dealt with the possible social and psychological implications of their design. Researchers, on the other hand, have been studying alternative ways of living, and alienation caused by constant movement, temporality and attenuation of family bonds (Geis and Ross, 1998) in relation to planned and designed environments. These studies are usually related to urbanity and megacities, global cities and metropolises, such as Tokyo, New York and London (Boyer, 1992; Cervero, 1998; Soja, 2000; Castells, 2011; Sassen, 2005) and ways these cities became actors which alter ways of living. On their ways towards the envisioned (more) sustainable future, contemporary architects and researchers address existing socio-spatial issues at different scales and their design embodies new socio-spatial forms of living. The newly emerging relationship of the individual to family, community and their “dispersed” space is explored through the collective housing and collective living (Kitayama et al., 2010) on the architectural scale. The concept of single-family home is questioned and the concept of a future living, which overcomes the idea of a compact architectural volume and disintegrates within the city, is proposed (Ohno, 2009). Peter Eisenman has sought to evoke “light architecture,” an architecture planned so that it can be added to, or revised internally in the course of time as the needs of habitation change (Sennett, 2010). At the city scale, the existing social issues (such as shrinkage, population decline, aging population etc.) are addressed by envisioning reorganization of traditional planning techniques based on the premise of economic growth and massive consumption (Hildner, 2013).
While trying to bring research and practice together, this study takes a multidisciplinary approach and focuses on the physical world and socio-spatial characteristics of urban space within a specific culture. Culture here is a concept that refers less to a unified entity than to the mundane practices of everyday life (Alonso, 1994). Nation, which is often closely connected with ideas of ethnicity and is often seen as spatially bounded natural entity, is not discussed. Natural nation in context of this research would be an “urban nation” which would not be “symbolized by mountains or deserts, shifting seasons, flowers, mammals, or birds (Tetsuro, 1996).” It would be symbolized by urban artefacts and standard time\(^5\), which is at the intersection between cosmic time and the socially established calendar (Berger and Luckmann, 1991). Hence, culture is separated from the nation, the image of the nation, ethnicity and ethnic groups and this research does not consider ethnic and national issues which are often used interchangeably with culture (Sugimoto, 1999).

Socio-spatial characteristics are explored from the perspective of an individual at the city scale (in an urban environment, in a public space). Socially, activities and habits of Tokyoites, their habitual actions, significant places and the ways of engagement with the environment are explored. Within the sociological study a concept of home, as the most significant concept for the exploration of the relationship between the self and the city with the strongest sense of attachment, is discussed. Spatially, ethnographic methods were applied in order to better understand the existing qualities and characteristics of appropriated spaces. Physical space and ambiences that are simultaneously results of individuals’ activities and consequence of the land use policies and planning regulations are further investigated and, culturally, values and meanings of appropriated spaces within the specific context (in this case Tokyo Metropolis).

This research focuses on the aforementioned, with two main objectives:

(1) to develop (methodological) approach, that integrates methods from different fields of study; a methodology that is multidisciplinary and one that deals with multi-layered urban environments and explores them from different perspectives simultaneously, without compromising or simplifying their (undeniable) complexity.

(2) to apply the developed methodology and to define spatial characteristics of intimate places and their meanings, and to use the aforementioned scientific methods in a process of identifying specific locations with similar qualities in Tokyo.

Theoretically, it positions intimate spaces as meaningful spaces in a real world, as spaces that create identity and atmosphere through an un-institutional involvement and participation of individuals and as such are sustainable. Methodologically, it develops an approach that puts intimate spaces on the Land Use Map and makes them useful to practitioners and decision makers.

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5 Glossary, p. 196
Hypothesis and Research Questions

On the one hand, the city with its own corporeality and as a spatio-temporal system imposes upon individuals and their habitual actions. On the other hand, individuals through recreation of practices and engagement create a complex urban realm. From this recursive relationship arises an unpretentious temporary urban landscape\(^6\) imbued with meanings that gives an immeasurable value\(^7\) to the living environments.

This research investigates leftover\(^8\) spaces in the city; urban spaces which mediate between the self and other in a metropolis characterized by movement and flow. It juxtaposes intimate spaces to socializing places and indirectly investigates solitude by investigating intimacy.

In general, hypotheses of this research are:

- That individuals engage with the environment and create meaningful cityscapes through their everyday practices and habitual activities.
- That certain specific spatial conditions afford engagement and therefore generate the emergence of personal space in the city.
- Spatial conditions are a consequence of planning practices and therefore city plays significant roles in defining personal space; it imposes upon a person.
- It is (only) possible to investigate and address the emergence of these fragile environments with an integrated multidisciplinary approach and with the application of scientific methods that are both qualitative and quantitative.

And more specifically:

- In a contemporary city public spaces accommodate attributes usually embodied in the home.
- Personal space develops in a relationship with the city.
- The dynamics of contemporary life impose frequent relocations and constant movement, which further affect individuals’ sense of self. Subjectivity becomes a term significant for the investigation and understanding of city’s complexity on the one hand and its planning and design on the other.
- As movement and flow become predominant characteristics of contemporary city, it is necessary to integrate them into the planning practices.

\(^6\) For details see Glossary, page 189

\(^7\) Immeasurable values as opposed to the globally established set of values and the ruling economic model that quantifies them. Radovic, D. 2013b. Mn/M workbook 2 Tokyo derive - in search of urban intensities, Tokyo, Japan, IKI (International Keio Institute) & Flick studio.

\(^8\) Leftover spaces are interstitial spaces at the border between public space and private space that accommodate personal belongings. For details see Chapter 4.
In order to explore these hypotheses in a metropolis, this research opens different questions at different stages. The first group of general questions explores theoretical and abstract concepts and their relationships. These are useful for the understanding of and defining the phenomena within cultural and spatial contexts.

General theoretical questions are:

1. Do individuals or citizens (in a contemporary city) engage with their environment and to what extent?
2. Do personal spaces exist in contemporary city? And if they do, what are their spatial characteristics?
3. What are the meanings of these personal spaces in Tokyo’s context?
4. How does the planning practice address these places and does it implement them into the planning documents?

Questions one and two were explored with the application of sociological and ethnographic methods in the qualitative part of the research and questions three and four were explored in the second part of the research where the implementation of the findings is discussed. In chapter 7, while focusing on Tokyo on two different scales, this study tries to answer:

1. How to reinforce residential functions in Tokyo Metropolis?
2. How to plan sustainable Tokyo, which affords individual participation, without the institutionalization of activities and actions?

The second group of questions is more specific and they question scientific methods and the possibility of their application to similar studies. They are useful for the translation of theoretical knowledge into the planning practice.

Methodological questions are:

1. How to use theories and theoretical concepts in studies of cities and built environment?
2. How to connect and establish (or strengthen if already existing) relationships between the theory and practice and between visionary and executive planning documents? How to make theories operational and useful to practitioners?

By answering the aforementioned questions, this study addresses the main question: to what extent are our habits imposed by the characteristics and the affordances of the space that we use in our everyday life? And how to create public spaces with spatial characteristics that generate and afford engagement and interaction in an inherently unsustainable metropolis?
Methodology

In urban studies, new methodologies are developing towards the integration of qualitative and quantitative methods. Commonly, they are socio-spatial studies which apply questionnaires in the social part of the study and observations and spatial analysis in the spatial part of the study (Hillier and Hanson, 1984; Gehl and Svarre, 2013). These and similar efforts are commonly applied to the studies of place, place attachment and home which are all multidimensional concepts with distinct personal, social and spatial characteristics.

At the city scale, qualitative studies are not as frequent as studies of city’s smaller administrative units: districts or blocks (if studying residential districts and dwellings) and squares, plazas or streets (if studying behaviours in public spaces) (Whyte, 1980; Gehl, 2011). At the neighbourhood scale, life in the suburbs is investigated from the viewpoint of lifestyles and habits and as a consequence of planning (Jacobs, 2016). But when dealing with the home, the urban scale is commonly replaced with the architectural scale. Group living in public housing (Kiuchi and Inouchi, 1976) or private residential buildings are investigated on one hand (Chan et al., 2002) and detached houses on the other (Taut, 1958; Morse, 1986; Sand, 2005). A relationship between public spaces and the concept of home are commonly investigated within the absence of homelessness (Okamoto et al., 2004; Iwata, 2010). Methods used for the architectural analysis focus on spatial layouts of homes in different cultures, patterns of their usage and behaviours within the dwelling (Smith, 1981; Monteiro, 1997; Daniels, 2001). Only recently have urban artefacts and urban archaeology became more significant for the investigation of cities and anthropological methods have been applied to the studies of urban environments and public spaces (Knappett, 2002; Pink, 2013). A common method in those studies is the ethnographic observation that includes long stay (Daniels, 2008). However, in the time of mobility and within the proposed concept of home, where an urbanite continues to move, the question is how to study the home? One of the methods is a multi-sited ethnography which reformulates conventional methodology and studies societies in motion. This type of research implies moving around and “following [a person, a dweller] horizontally (Marcus, 1995).” In the multi-sited ethnography, the ethnographer follows treads and trails of people.

For the study of personal space as a concept, tripartite frameworks are applied, following those applied to the studies of place attachment and home. Scannel and Gifford (2010) explore an attachment that is no longer the attachment to place only, it is the attachment to places, people and processes. Similarly, in studies of home, temporal and psychological aspects are added to the spatial aspects of the house (Altman and Werner, 1985). This thesis adopts a similar approach and develops an integrated framework for the study of personal space in the appropriated urban environment.

In a seemingly unorthodox fashion, the methodology will be presented in three chapters. This structure establishes an overall synthesis that becomes a planning tool, and it enables detailed elaboration of each proposed method within the multidisciplinary approach. In Introduction, the main
The purpose is to give an overview of methods commonly applied to urban environments and the reason for the proposed integrated approach. Tokyo as a dynamic spatial realm is studied in detail in Chapter 3. The case study is presented ahead of the methodology because selected methods are in accord with Tokyo’s unique features. In Chapter 3 the overall methodology and relationships between different stages of the research are further elaborated. Chapters 4, 5 and 7 present specific applied methods and tools in detail.

At this stage, the theoretical investigation of the main concept and related phenomena, the scale of case study and the qualitative methods are presented.

- **THEORETICAL INVESTIGATION**

  The theory of personal space is the starting point of the research and it leads to the “vertical” and “horizontal” exploration of the concept. Vertically, the concept has been explored in time, and horizontally it has been explored in different environments\(^9\) and within different fields of study.

- **THE QUESTION OF CONTEXT**

  How to explore personal space in Tokyo?

  A constant transgression of existing administrative borders and flows, which define the contemporary city as a place, challenges traditional methodologies. In the search of suitable methods, the focus is on Tokyo as a multiscalar experiential construct.

  The sociological study of personal space and its characteristics are explored at the city scale, by tracing peoples’ movement (Marcus, 1995; Falzon, 2016) and the spatial study of personal space is conducted at the architectural scale (human or experiential scale) focusing on individuals’ traces in public space.

  **THE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY**

  Semi-structured interviews were conducted simultaneously with the observations in order to define personal space from the experiential perspective. A lifestyle in the city was discussed from the viewpoint of an individual who works and lives in Tokyo, who crosses its administrative boundaries on a daily basis.

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\(^9\) Here “environments” is used rather than “cultures” as this research focuses on urban forms whose level of complexity affords different behaviors even within one culture.
basis and who recreates the city while connecting one’s own significant places. Social characteristics of personal space were defined from the relationship between the self and the city, between Tokyo and Tokyoites. The process of gathering the data, the coding and the analysis of the data are presented in Chapter 4.

- **THE ETHNOGRAPHIC METHOD**

Anthropological and ethnographic methods are adopted for the study of the urban environment and the exploration of meaningful places spatially. Visual methods, in particular, are useful for the data collection and observation of appropriation and shared spaces with the abundance of personal belongings. The presence of personal belongings and the activities they afford helped understanding traces and trails of individuals, spatial characteristics of the leftover spaces that accommodate them, and individual meanings they hold. Tracing, mapping, observing and other applied techniques are presented in Chapter 5.

- **IMPLEMENTATION OF FINDINGS**

In order to address one of the main questions of this research and the existing vision of Tokyo’s urban development, the findings were compared to the existing planning documents. Both visionary and executive documents are discussed and analysed in relation to the sustainable city forms and their indicators, with the focus on cultural sustainability which personal spaces inherently sustain. The Geographic Information System (GIS) is then used to overlap, cross-examine and compare findings with the existing Land Use Plan. And finally, in the last stage, specific goals and policies, where the integration of findings is possible, are addressed.

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10 For details on significant places see Chapter 4: Sociological Study of Personal Space

**Figure 0-4: Multidisciplinary Character of the Concept and Different Fields of Study Defining the Phenomena**
Purpose of the Study

The study recognizes, presents, and defines already latent practices that are a part of daily life within the urban realm and supports the un-institutional involvement of individuals through engagement in perpetuating such realities. In other words – the aim is to recognize individuals, persons, as participants in the city-making process and to create space that stimulates unintentional participation.

By the exploration of the person (personal dynamic) and space (evolving space), of the self and the city, and their temporal relationships, this research contributes to the theory of personal space. It focuses on the most intimate and the most personal spaces in the city spatially defined by planning regulations and used, maintained and utilized by their (temporary) residents who give them meanings; residents who constantly re-create the atmosphere and identity at different levels (at the district, ward and city levels). As a result of the individual engagement, these urban environments become extrapolated fragments of home that accommodate attributes such as intimacy, privacy, and/ or comfort.

The concept of personal space is investigated through the novel relationship between the self and the city and defined as a contemporary concept in the context of a metropolis. It highlights the importance of the two significant causal relationships: (1) the relationship between planning practices and spatial characteristics of the lifeworld11 and (2) the relationship between the spatial characteristics of the lifeworld and reiterative practices that emerge within. As much as the spaces are a representation of habits and practices, they also afford them. The study highlights the importance of understanding how space is planned and made on the one hand and how the created cityscape affects individual’s habitual actions and behaviours and their sense of attachment on the other.

The result of this study is applicable to the exploration of theoretical concepts their physical forms within the specific context. The study proposes ways of studying and exploring intangible qualities of unique urban environments; it suggests a definition of their spatial characteristics within the specific context and it implements findings into the existing executive documents. In the case of Taito Ward in Tokyo, research identifies and maps places with high potential for engagement. It adds an additional layer to the existing executive document (the Taito Land Use Plan) and addresses planners and architects who translate the goals envisioned in Master Plans into the real, physical space. It activates and links the perceived stability of existing layers emphasizing the temporal dimension.

11 The “lifeworld” is defined in Chapter 5: Observations.
Structure of the Thesis

The main body of the research is divided into qualitative and quantitative parts, and similarly, the thesis is divided into two main sections. The qualitative part, which leads to a better understanding of both spatial and experiential characteristics of Tokyo’s and Tokyoiets’ personal space, is further divided into the Sociological Study of Personal Space, Spatial Study of Personal Space, and Definition of Intimate Space (Chapters 4, 5, and 6). Sociological Study of Personal Space and Spatial Study of Personal Space are written as independent units that start with a Preface and Introduction. Both chapters have a separate Theoretical Background where related theory and concepts are explored in detail. Applied methods are presented in a separate subchapter and finally, analysis and findings are discussed and followed by Conclusion. The quantitative part of the research is elaborated in Chapter 7. Structure of this chapter is similar to the structure of Chapters 4 and 5. It starts with a Preface followed by an Introduction and it closes with a Conclusion. Discussions of findings and conclusions of the qualitative and quantitative research present the main theoretical and scientific contribution of this dissertation. They are further integrated and summarized in Chapter 8, where the overall contribution of the dissertation, its possible further usage as well as the application of the defined framework are presented.

The first chapter explores the theoretical background and the progression of the concept. It investigates personal space, within disciplines such as sociology, psychology, urban geography and - only recently - architecture and city planning (Namazian, 2013). Personal space has been explored as cultural phenomena (often polarized as Eastern and Western) but it has not been explored as a construct of cultural, social and spatial conditions. It has not been explored in a contemporary world, especially not as a phenomenon that is affected by constant movement, the emergence and existence of virtual worlds and cyber realities. These and other definitions of personal space, person and self, space, place and city, are expanded and discussed in Chapter 1.

Chapter 2 presents Tokyo as a case study that is unique, but also as a global city with a vision of sustainable future, whose understanding could be useful to other urban conglomerations (especially to Asian metropolises). In the first part, characteristics of Tokyo as a contemporary metropolis are elaborated. Tokyo is explored as a spatial realm structured by flows, movement and daily migrations of its residents and its two main mutually engaged characteristics are investigated: borders and movement. The conclusion of Chapter 1 presents three types of Wards and reasons the feasibility of further investigation in shitamachi\(^\text{12}\) districts and Taito Ward specifically.

The methodology was explained in detail in chapter three, after the case study, because of the necessity to understand the context and to select methods suitable for the Tokyo case. Specificities of both qualitative and quantitative stages of the research and their mutual relationship are addressed. In

\(^{12}\) Shitamachi (下町) literally means lower city and is associated with the common people’s culture before the Second World War, the area for lower class people in a low lying part of Tokyo that was prone to flooding.
this chapter, they are presented as a logical sequence of methods further separately expanded in Chapters 4, 5 and 7.

30 interviews with Tokyoites are conducted along with the exploration of the concept theoretically and in real space, *in situ*, in order to define personal space and give it social, human and experiential dimensions. Interviews and sociological part of the research are elaborated in Chapter 4. The importance of the environment in the development of individuals’ habits is explored with the use of semi-structured interviews and with the existing tripartite frameworks commonly applied in social sciences. The data are presented along with the process of coding and interpretation of the results.
In chapter 5 observations of public spaces are explained in detail. The study is conducted in the Taito Ward as one of the shitamachi areas where constant changes create a friction between bigness and smallness, permanence and temporariness. Leftover spaces that accommodate personal belongings, their appearance and presence in Taito are analysed. A significance of visual methods within anthropology as a discipline and ethnographic methods, in general, are elaborated in the methodological part of the chapter, with the reflection on their usefulness in studies of urban environments.

Meanings of intimate spaces and their main characteristics that arise from the qualitative research and the significance of intimate spaces for the current urban debate are defined in Chapter 6. Characteristics defined with the application of sociological and ethnographic methods within the proposed theoretical framework are then used as a form of data and imported into the Geographic Information System (GIS). The quantitative study compared the real spatial situations and planning tools in the case of the Taito Ward. Their causal relationships and possibilities of integration were discussed from the viewpoint of participation and main actors in the city-making process.

Chapter 7 focuses on planning practices, it discusses the levels of governance and participants’ roles in the city-making process at different scales. It compares them to the culturally sustainable urban forms and proposes how to implement findings through the goals envisioned in regulatory documents. It tests and applies an additional layer which is not fixed (nor dormant) and which activates other layers. It sets forth an interactive planning practice where multidisciplinarity become necessary.

In Chapter 8, different types of intimate spaces are classified and defined as a result of the analysis. Relationships between an individual and their immediate environment are re-interpreted and, as a result of this causal relationship, spatiality of the appropriated spaces is elaborated. Importance of the context and the scale is discussed. The overall methodology, the sequence of methods and phases that construe the proposed framework are defined.

Further implementation of the methodology, a possibility of the continuation of the research and its application to studies of urban environments are considered in final paragraphs.
Only in a hut built for the moment can one live without fears. It is very small, but it holds a bed where I may lie at night and a seat for me in the day; it lacks nothing as a place for me to dwell.

Kamo no Chomei
Chapter 1 : THE SELF AND THE CITY

Introduction

A variety of concepts explores relationships between an individual and environment (Bourdieu, 2005; Hall and Barrett, 2012; Merleau-Ponty and Smith, 1996) focusing on their characteristics within different cultures. This study focuses on the concept of personal space with the intention to use it in the study and analysis of urban spaces in a contemporary city. In the first part of this chapter, conceptual progression of personal space will be explored. Other related concepts inseparable from the one under the study are concepts of person and place. The concept of person was studied mostly in social sciences (for details see Lebra, 1992; Markus and Kitayama, 1991; Rosenberger, 1994; Bhabha, 2012) and the concept of place by philosophers and geographers (for details see Heidegger, 1971; Relph, 1976; Pred, 1984; Deleuze and Guattari, 1988; Cresswell, 2013). Disciplines defining this phenomena evolved into multi-disciplinary fields such as human geography, urban geography and social geography (Tuan, 1977; Buttimer and Seamon, 2015).

Within the cultural context of the study (Japanese case), studying person is inseparable from studying self, therefore a significant part of the chapter explains the importance of the concept of self and self-representations, which overcome cultural biases. And, within the same context, the exploration of theory of place led to the studies of contemporary city, which regardless the culture is a place that possesses its own corporeality. How do people engage with it?

Previous studies which focused on feelings of subjects towards objects and engagement are studies of place attachment (for example Scannel, 2010) and studies of home (Altman and Werner, 1985; Dovey, 1985; Lawrence; 1995). Current methods used for the studies of the attachment and home within studies of home and place theory were used as a reference for the methodological part of the thesis. They are discussed in both chapters: in the theoretical background and in the methodology of the research. In Theoretical Background, the focus was on their definitions and properties and in Methodology the focus was on methods and tripartite frameworks used for their examination.

Figure 1-1: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE CONCEPTS.
Hence, concepts of person, self, space, place, city, attachment and home, were used as a basis for the definition of the characteristics of personal space and intimate space in contemporary Tokyo. Usefulness of the concepts for the current urban planning debate is addressed by the exploration of their relevance for the cultural sustainability as one of the four main pillars of sustainability concept in general.

Personal Space

Personal space has been explored since the 1935 through territoriality and the 1960 through distances. The term was coined by Katz (1937) who added to the work of Stern’s *personal nearness* (Stern and Spoerl, 1938).

Stern developed the concept of personal world, which has a natural center in the person himself (Sommer, 1958). Sommer distinguished *personal space* from *territory* in several ways, with the most important difference being that personal space is carried around while territory is relatively stationary. The boundaries of the territory are clearly marked while the boundaries of self are invisible; and personal space has body at its center while territory does not. The center of territory is usually the home (Sommer, 1958). Work of Allee (1936), Conder (1949) and Hediger (2013) examined personal space and its attributes in lower animals, distinguishing flight distance, social distance and individual distance. Kurt Lewin, now seen as a father of social psychology, defined *life space* (Lewin, 1947) in 40s and after him exploration of personal space was mostly within the field of (experimental) social psychology. Life space was defined as an area that surrounds the individual and where individual’s interactions with others take place; as a form of territory without geographic reference points (Sommer in Little, 1965; Little, 1965). In 1960’s examination and studies of personal space in man were made by E.T. Hall (1966) who defined its four zones: intimate space/distance, personal space/distance, social space/distance and public space/distance (Figure 1-2.). But significance of Hall’s study is in the notion of cultural differences and environmental causality rather than in the dimensions and typology of personal space. For him, sense of space within each culture becomes a complex system with visual, auditory, kinaesthetic, olfactory and thermal inputs; moulded and patterned by culture. He claims that “people reared in different cultures live in different sensory worlds” and that the “patterning of perceptual worlds is a function not only of culture but of relationship, activity, and emotion” (Hall, 1966). He notices that many men have different distinct (often incompatible conflicting) personalities – one for business and one for home.

In 1970s Irvin Altman develops theory of privacy regulation. He regards privacy as a dialectic and dynamic boundary regulation process where privacy is not static but a selective control of access to the self or to one’s group. According to Altman, “dialectic” refers to the openness and closeness of self to others (i.e., seeking and avoiding social interaction); while “dynamics” indicates that the desired privacy level (i.e., the ideal level of contact at a particular time), which varies due to individual and cultural differences, continuously moves along the continuum of openness and closeness in response to different
circumstances over time. In other words, the desired privacy level changes with time according to environment (Altman, 1975).

Recent researchers explore, define and develop theories on interpersonal distance preferences (Perry, 2015); they explore comfort zones and safety which play important role in communication and social interaction.

Figure 1-2 juxtaposes diagrams of Hall’s Personal Space and the Reference Other Orientation by Kuwayama. On the one hand, Hall defines four zones of interpersonal space (personal, social and public spheres) through distances, with intimate space at the core of the diagram. The intimate zone is within touching distance; the zone reserved for significant others (family and closest friends) which indicates a closer relationship or greater comfort between individuals. It often occurs during intimate contact such as hugging, whispering, or touching and is within 0.45 meters. The personal zone is the zone of a private conversation; it does not allow others to enter. The physical distance at this level occurs between people who are family members or close friends. The closer the people can comfortably stand while interacting is an indicator of the intimacy of the relationship. The social zone is a space that accommodates social conversations and allows others to enter. This level of physical distance is often used with someone person knows fairly well (such as a co-worker). In cases where an individual does not know the other person well a distance of 3.60 meters may feel more comfortable. The public zone distance is often used in public speaking situations. Talking in front of the audience, giving a presentation, etc. are examples of such situations.

On the other hand, jibun (which is translated as self) is at the core of the Kuwayama’s diagram. “Others” are in this diagram categorized into two groups, mawari and hito, depending on the distance between the self and others. Mawari is a noun which refers to things or people that surround a person or an object. Hito is the most generally used word to mean a “person” or “people”. In this sense, mawari is more immediate than hito. To this list of words may be added sekken, a Japanese equivalent to “society”, which represents a group of hito (Kuwayama, 1992). In the context of contemporary city and lifestyle,
mawari, could be understood as “temporary” immediate others; those whom our jibun interacts on a daily basis for an extended period of time. Hito is Generalized Reference Other which represent environment and others we interact without establishing any kind of the relationship. Seken is usually translated as society and it could be defined as our culturally established set of values and the set of behaviours that arise from it. It could be discussed in relation to culture (we think) we belong to.

Discussion of two diagrams emphasizes their overall resemblance that overcomes Eastern and Western biases. Furthermore, in this research they are contested (and contextualized) within the temporary otherness of a metropolis.

PERSONAL SPACE AND PRIVACY

“If privacy has a changing dialectic quality, then ideally architects should offer people environments that can be responsive to their changing desires for contact or absence of contact with others.” Ali Namazian, 2013: pp.109

Privacy is a self/other boundary regulation process in which an individual wants to be separated from others or in contact with others. It is a dialectic process with presence of both forces, the one that makes us feel like being with others and the one that makes us feel being away from others. From those two forces come two opposed states, those of isolation and crowding, both undesirable and coming out of the domination of one force (Davis and Palladino, 2007; Namazian, 2013). In a constantly overcrowded city like Tokyo, time has an important role in the distribution of flows and in creation of the balance between the isolation and crowding.

Privacy and intimacy are often discussed in relations to one another. Privacy is the state of not being seen by others (Elliott and Soifer, 2010; Saruwono et al., 2012) and the question which is often asked is if intimacy could occur without privacy. The answer to this question might lay within the context, whether spatial, cultural or both: different places are settings for different levels of privacy and intimacy and culturally, certain behaviours might be unnoticed within one context while they might stand out within another. In some cultures, as an illustration, holding hands or showing affection in public space is common, while in other cultures it is not. Or, in some cultures different behaviours are accepted at certain times: during the day or during the night level of intimacy in relation to another person that is expressed in public space is different. Different behaviours are expressed at different events: festivals and celebrations are congregations of behaviours that are unseen on daily basis. It is also common to denominate certain behaviours as “metropolitan” or “urban”, as they can be noted in “big cities”.

Solitude is a counterpart of intimacy. It usually has a negative connotation, and is seen as a social issue especially in technologically oriented societies (Tonkiss, 2003). In Japan, an aging society, it is present on many levels and it is apparent through the social data (number of elderly people, number of

13 Proposed concept is presented in Chapter 6, Figure 6-1
single people, and socially excluded - *hikikomori*\(^{14}\). It is further emphasized by the levels of interaction on daily basis - it is not uncommon to be alone among others. Commercial spaces that accommodate individuals, not groups, are often designed as such and large number of residential units is designed for one person (Hiroi, 2015). On an ordinary day, it is possible to have a lunch by yourself isolated even from the look of others, to go to a karaoke booth designed for one and go back home to an apartment where more than one person could hardly fit in (Hiroi, 2015; Hoshino and Miyahara, 2015). However, virtually, others are constantly present.

![Figure 1-3: An illustration of units designed for one person. A – Kamono Chomei’s hut divided into the living and eating space on one side and space for arts and training on the other (1780); B – Compact room in a hotel (1968); C – Karaoke room for one person (2011). [Source: Hiroi, 2015]](image)

This research argues that a solitary place in a metropolis is a necessity as well as the socializing place, because contemporary cities, characterized by movement and flow, need to accommodate intimacy and privacy now dislocated into the public realm.

The necessity of the ‘time for oneself’ and the ‘time for others’ and dynamics of these two needs are in this study juxtaposed and traces of solitude and solitary activities in urban settings will be further investigated in Chapter 5.

Notions of culturally sustainable environments and urbanites as (unaware) bearers of such endeavours, do exist in visionary documents and within the theoretical discourse, while ways of their practical implementation are still lateral. In order to intentionally create mechanisms that generate such spaces, (culturally) sustainable city should afford temporary re-interpretation of urban environments. Theory of personal space could be integrated into the visionary documents, and by that, personal space would be indirectly addressed in the executive documents.

\(^{14}\) For details see Introduction
Person and Self

“The formation of the self, then, must also be understood in relation of both the ongoing organismic development and the social process in which the natural and the human environment are mediated through the significant others.” Berger and Luckmann, 1991: pp 68-69

On that basis, this research argues that personal space is developed through the communication with others within specific environment and it is a dynamic and transient concept, which depends on engagement with previously lived environments. The initial point of the theoretical research was the exploration of personal space itself and its relation to concepts of privacy and intimacy. This concept was seen as a physical space through distances and territoriality at first, but as contemporary research in the fields of anthropology, human geography, psychology and philosophy suggests, personal space is more than a comfort zone (Hall, 1966; Altman, 1975), and it is more than a physical distance between persons or between persons and their environments. Personal space is contextual, dynamic and it has a cultural dimension.

What happens in global city, in a metropolis structured by flows and where cultures are constantly intertwining?

Exploration of such multilayered contexts directed towards the exploration of the self, which is a concept that overcomes cultural biases. As such, concept of self, not the concept of personal space, was found to be applicable for further studies in Tokyo, a technologically advanced contemporary city which has unique socio-spatial characteristics even within the culture it belongs to.

According to Brewer and Gardner (1996) (see also Sedikides et al., 2001), there are three ways indicated to represent the self. These are: (1) the individual self which is characterized by an individual’s personal attributes, (2) the relational self which is characterized by personal relationships with significant others, and (3) the collective self which is characterized by memberships in social groups or categories. These three self-representations allow people to define the self in three ways – individual (personal) identity, relational (social) identity, and collective identity. To these three, Hong et al added another fourth identity – cultural identity, by which we refer to self-definition with reference to a knowledge tradition (Barth et al., 2002), or a collection of ideas and practices shared or widely distributed in a delineated population15” (Hong et al., 2007). With the fourth identity, cultural identity, arises the issue of defining and measuring the culture.

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Many scholars explored differences between Asian and Western concepts of the self with different outcomes. Anthropologists and psychologists assume that construals of the self and others can influence, and in many cases determine, the very nature of individual experience (*existing normative tasks that various cultures hold for people). It is a slippery field of investigation, constantly challenged. One of the theories that was most influential and had major impact in mainstream psychology and cross-cultural psychology is the theory of Markus and Kitayama who define and compare an ‘independent’ and ‘interdependent’ views of the self with one other, the so-called Western view of the individual present in American and in many Western European cultures (Markus and Kitayama, 1991) (Figure 1-4). Interdependent view is exemplified in Japanese culture and African, Latin-American and many southern European cultures. Multiple studies examined their assumption, in terms of individualism versus collectivism. Results of these studies were different, some of them finding no differences between the countries (commonly studies compare US and Japan), some of them finding that Japanese are more individualistic than Americans. Responds of different age groups (different life stages such as students and working adults) in many studies were suggesting a change in trends in Japanese culture and challenging the stereotype of Japanese collectivism (Lock and Heelas, 1981; Weisz et al., 1984; Marsella et al., 1985; Roland, 1988; Schwartz, 1990; Stigler et al., 1990). Furthermore, issues of culture are often discussed in relation to nationality and ethnicity.

Representation of Japanese sense of self made by Markus and Kitayama, in their study of the construal of self in different cultures, focuses on individuality and relatedness of individuals to each other. They characterise Western individuals as those who seek to maintain their independence and express their unique inner attributes. Japanese and Chinese are characterised as those who insist on the fundamental relatedness of individuals to each other with the emphasis on attending to others, fitting in and harmonious interdependence. These two construals are graphically presented in Figure 1-4.


16 In social psychology, construals are how individuals perceive, comprehend, and interpret the world around them, particularly the behaviour or action of others towards themselves; an interpretation of meaning of something [https://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/construal]

17 A whole body of research explores the term nihonjinron which notes Japaneseness, a set of value orientations that the Japanese are supposed to share. It focuses on the fundamental difference between “Japaneseness” and “Westernness” often using terms nationality, ethnicity, and culture interchangeably. Sugimoto, Y. 1999. Making sense of Nihonjinron. Thesis Eleven, 57(1), 81-96.
Furthermore in Japan, the concept of person is argued because *the person* and the nature of a person are seen as a conception bound up with western presuppositions (Bhabha, 2012) and *the self* is, despite contrasting concepts a fundamental category and a part of all societies (Rosenberger, 1994). In Japan, the word for self, *jibun*, refers to one’s share of the shared life space (Esyun et al., 1985). According to Esyun et al., 1985, for the Japanese, “a sense of identification with others pre-exists and selfness is confirmed only through interpersonal relationships. Selfness is not a constant, but denotes a fluid concept which changes through time and situations according to interpersonal relationships (Markus and Kitayama, 1991).

The closest notion of the concept of “person”, which varies cross-culturally, in Japanese is expressed by the word *ningen*18 (Shweder et al., 1982, Tetsuro, 1996). Ningen as a concept includes “both the person or self as individual and the self or person as inescapably involved in interaction” (Carter, 2001). Because of its interactional qualities the concept of “self” is more promising to investigate the perception of home. Construed as the product of social participation and cultural representation (Lebra, 1992), the self lends itself to be used in the context of the city as the quintessential interactional environment that provides limitless possibilities for social encounters (Simmel, 1903).

This is why this paper explores *the self* and, as the most essential feature of the self, the self-awareness which is generated and fostered through self and other interactions and the symbolic processing of information.

But this research hypothesizes that, even within one specific culture the self and other interactions are relative because cities themselves provide and limit possibilities for social encounters. Most cross-cultural research is not cross-cultural *per se*; it is generally cross-national (and more specifically cross-city or even cross-university (Weisz et al 1984; Roland, 1988). Awareness of self is thus sustained, enhanced, defined and/or blemished in relationship with the city (Lebra, 1992). For example, in crowded cities one’s thoughts are pulled back by an awareness of other personalities (Tuan, 1977) and personal control is strongly reduced because of the presence of others (Porteous, 1976). Therefore we can discuss cities which foster different level of self-awareness and which, as an essential feature of self, is altered and changed through the relationships between self and other. Cities, whether historical, modern or contemporary, possess a reality of their own, reality that confronts the individual as an external and coercive fact (Simmel, 1903; Berger and Luckmann, 1991).

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18 First character, nin, means human being and the second, gen, means space or between.
Concepts of independent and interdependent construals of the self are significant in relation to the concepts of attachment, sense of home and temporality. These two construals and their interpretation are out of the scope of the research, but their significance for other concepts will be further investigated in the discussion. The attachment of independent and interdependent views of self to different categories of others and significance of others for both views are elaborated, as well as the temporal attachment and temporal engagement. These findings are relevant for the concept of personal space that emerges in dispersed home (for details on dispersed home see Chapter 8), wherever the person find himself or herself. Personal places emerge and are re-created in different environments, out of the home, they are equally present in living place, working place, socializing place and another place (for details see Chapter 4: Other Places).

Commonly, psychological descriptions focus on the subjective rather than objective elements of culture. And culture is spoken of in terms of individualism versus collectivism. In this study, because of the nature of the self, subjective approach is applied with the intention of incorporation of alternative methods. Matsumoto (1999) suggests that if we intend to study culture and self-construals, we need to apply alternative methods of measurement and reconsider the use of qualitative data. Following his suggestions, this research creates a multi-method system that incorporates both individual and extra-individual factors. This is achieved through the intertwined use of social and spatial methods, both of them incorporating qualitative and quantitative approaches.

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19 Graphic representation of the construals was implemented into the graphic representation of the personal space (Figure 7.1).
Space, Place and City

_Fragments of the city that we know are the only city that exists– but only at this moment, as we remember previously lived places and our selves develop within socio-spatial characteristics of the environments we got to learn from and we got to intimately know._

Concepts of physical space, experienced and felt place and city in this chapter are presented with the intention of defining contemporary city as a distinct spatio-temporal construct that has significantly different socio-spatial characteristics even within one culture. Within a city, as a realm, an individual creates a unique relationship and establishes a daily routine. Through interaction, an individual gains unique body-knowledge within the city that fosters certain relationships and put impediments on others. Personal space is, therefore, developed through the interaction with others, and in the case of a metropolis, through the dialectics of isolation and crowding. With the notion of social processes that construct places through movement and flows (which are main characteristics of a metropolis) spatio-temporal relationships have elevated the concept of place into a multidimensional concept. It has become a construct with spatial, social and psychological/temporal dimensions. And – the cultural dimension which was added as a fourth dimension– exploration of the self that overcomes biases and is also suitable for the investigation of a metropolis where cultures are intertwined and coexisting.

Following subchapter starts with the theory of place and reflects upon the concepts significant for the understanding of the city as a distinct place. It highlights concepts that are important for further analysis of the relationship between the contemporary city and the self. The exploration of the city form tackles two paradigm shifts (those of the industrialization and information technology) that accelerated movement, affected planning practices, and consequentially, caused a change of the city form. The emphasis is on the moment when the awareness of the social city changed the perception of planning.

The complexity of current city forms which push towards the new city planning paradigm, is presented through the examples of historical, modern and contemporary cities and their coexistence within metropolis. Roles of the infrastructural and institutional systems in a technology and economy driven societies, is discussed in industrialized cities, and especially in a metropolis (such as Tokyo), which is an extreme case of a corporeal form.

For the intended purpose, the outline is reduced to a limited cut through history of the city form, which is instrumental to the key argument. It is simplified into cities before the contemporary and contemporary cities, as conglomerations of previous forms.

PLACE

“Geographical question of where is fundamental for everything that exists must be somewhere; has to have a place, has be located.” Aristotle as cited in Casey, 1997: pp. 51
The awareness of a place starts with the landscape; with the topography. The theory of place further evolves from *topos* and *chora* towards the place defined as a process (Pred, 1984) and in 21st century it develops towards the abstract and dynamic concepts such as flows and boundaries (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988). It develops from the theory of a tangible place towards the theory of an intangible, structured by flows, place. The awareness and importance of the subjects and experiences of subjects for the concept of place became crucial. In theoretical investigations of places and spaces, two turning points are significant for this research. Firstly, the awareness of emotions places evoke in subjects and secondly, the introduction of social processes as those that lead to the construction of place.

The meaning of place and attachment to place became significant for the notion of place in the 70s (Norberg-Schulz, 1971, Norberg-Schulz, 1980). Human geography explored personal and shared meanings and emotions places evoke and one of the most influential concepts for the human(istic) geographers was the concept of dwelling, which, for Heidegger, was not simply *being* but *being there*. Dwelling described the way we exist in the world and the way we make it meaningful (Natanson, 1962; Heidegger, 1971). The 70s are also the time when people had started to be understood as knowing and feeling subjects rather than objects or simply rational beings. Their relationship with the world through the experience transformed an abstract realm of space into an experienced and felt place. And - an ideal kind of place for them is recognized in home, as a place where meanings and attachments are most intense; as a center of meaning (Bachelard and Jolas, 1994).

The social processes were involved in the construction of places by the marxists. For them home was about the power, about power relations, and a normative place which lead to exclusion. Being *in* and/or *out of place* was possibile because of the social constructions of place, because of the exclusion of *others*, physically and existentially. For that reason these social constructions of place are constantly contested, transgressed, and resisted by the excluded (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977).

Another, for this research important, understanding of the place is the concept of the body-subject. Within this concept David Seamon, following the ideas of Merleau-Ponty (1996) described place as the product of everyday habitual mobilities and time-space routines, which are unconscious and unintentional. Important notion in this concept is that the meaning of place may arise out of the constant reiteration of practices that are simultaneously individual and social (Cresswell, 2013).

The body-subject (Seamon, 2015), which as a subject holds knowledge and recreates practices without thinking, is significant for the city as a place because certain practices depend on the affordances and constraints of the environment. Importance of the concept is its emphasis on a process. This approach is further developed by Pred (Pred, 1984) who sees a place as a process that produces and is produced by the activities of people and institutions (in this study – it is the activity of an individual and institutions). He argues that Seamon’s body-subjects are not uncoreographed and unintentional, but

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20 Greek notions of topos and chora serve as a distinction between concrete place (topos) and abstract space (chora) RÄMÖ, H. 1999. An Aristotelian human time-space manifold: From chronochora to kairotopos. Time & Society, 8, 309-328.
differentiated by social divisions that allow some mobilities and force impediment on others (Cresswell, 2013).

This study establishes a system where Pred’s and Seamon’s concepts are complementary. Pred’s places are those that are highly institutional and appropriate time of individuals. But within them, in fragments of time, a body-subject moves and learns, on a daily basis and in a lifetime of movement. In different types of cities, the movement and processes create a spatio-temporal system which imposes upon the subject. And within this system, body-subject uses its previously gained knowledge (whether it is imposed or not), while continuously learning from interactions. Both place-ballet (Buttimer, 1976) and historically contingent places (Pred, 1984) complement one another. And they are most apparent in a metropolis; in a spatio-temporal system which compresses space and time.

CITY
Every day we recreate a city of our own. From the perspective of an individual, our personal city is an assemblage of places we intimately know, use and inhabit in our daily life. During the lifetime, the number of significant places expands and grows. Our personal city knows no borders: it embraces all the cities and places that have meant and still mean something to us. All the cities and all the places we got to know become one, in our understanding of what urbanity and urban environments are. Existing (cultural, administrative and political) borders are crossed again and again, bringing the past and recent past closer to the present time, making them accessible and constantly available.

In this subchapter city as a concept that shapes and influences a behaviour of an in individual, of a citizen, is discussed. Contemporary city and its systems are further analysed as an example of the extreme case of the planned, built and maintained system that imposes upon its dwellers.

In a contemporary city physical distances are diminished and accessibility is no longer a question of the physical presence. To be physically present in a place and to behave and operate within a place became one thing and to be involved and personally engaged another. Now, more than ever, the “body-mind” separates from the “mind”. Within a spatio-temporal system an individual intimately knows or is familiar with, he or she routinely performs daily tasks and connects the significant places. Simultaneously, he or she performs in a virtual world and if the individual is familiar with the environment, he or she could be absentminded, the level of attention and consciousness can be very low: it is the body-mind that performs (Kirk et al., 1963; Pile and Thrift, 1995; Pile, 2013).

It is also the body that is one’s first shelter and one’s first home, one’s very first place (Pred, 1984). The mother, the family and distances from the family change during life stages, developed within and affected by the existing social and spatial norms and constraints (first within the affordances of the environment, their programs and institutions; later while moving from one home to another, and back and forth from the real to virtual). The body, in different forms of cities (in historical, modern and contemporary cities), attains different kind of knowledge and develops different skills.
Similarly to the concept of place, in the following subchapters the concept of the city is explored both “vertically” and “horizontally”. The “vertical exploration” includes the temporal dimension, it is an exploration with the emphasis on the evolution of city form in time. The “horizontal exploration” is concerned with the current moment, it does not include temporal dimension; it focuses on currently existing forms and concepts of city. It is concerned with concepts; with planning cities and theorizing cities, which was never more consequential, influential and more responsible: the results of the proposed and realized plans were never affecting lives of so many people. Metropolitan regions and cities all over the globe expand, people continuously move to urbanized areas and half of the world population are urbanites (UNDP, 2017).

Among multiple concepts and definitions in a search of better life in cities, the city is explored from the individual perspective. Purpose of the discussion is:

1. to position a contemporary city as a unique place; as a socio-spatial construct that is significantly different from both modern and historical city (therefore the division to the ‘cities before the contemporary’ and ‘contemporary cities’); and as a subjective place that arises from the meanings an individual recognizes and imposes upon it (Radović, 2014)
2. to explore existing concepts and proposals which suggest new city planning paradigm; the one that incorporates and addresses social dimension, human dimension and - an individual; the paradigm that is based on subjectivity.

“Vertical” and “Horizontal” Explorations of the City Form

Cities, whether historical, modern or contemporary, possess a reality of their own, reality that confronts the individual as an external and coercive fact (Simmel, 1903; Berger and Luckmann, 1991). In order to understand a contemporary city, in this subchapter the form of historical, modern and contemporary cities was explored through their socio-spatial aspects (Boyer, 1996). Influence of the shift from the historical to the modern city and from the modern city to the industrial one on individuals and their lifestyle in general are presented. The importance of the profession and planning practices, of the ways they influence lifestyles and habits of an individual and possibility of nurturing and sparing different lifestyles within each city (whether it is a historical, modern or contemporary) is discussed.

Are all the above mentioned categories of the city contemporary cities, unique within their specific culture?

CITIES BEFORE THE CONTEMPORARY

A historical city (or medieval city) is the city which was formed before the industrialization and before the influx of people to urban environments. It is the city where the rhythm and mental imagery flow more slowly, more habitually and more evenly. It is the city that is small and rests upon felt and emotional relationships, the place that existed before the separation of work from results of work (Boyer, 1996). This separation happened with the industrialization, with the massive influx of people to the
urban environments; people who were to become *citizens* and *urbanites*. Industrialized societies suffered
different life conditions and most of them have one same characteristic: separation of the industrialized
individual from the family (Ueno, 2009) which caused change in the family structure. This is what
happened in Industrialized Japan: along with the new forms and scales of living, industrialization
brought new relationships and new family structure. Another important (for the industrial city maybe
the most important) characteristic of the industrialization is the time management (Toshiyuki Yamamoto,
1999). When it comes to work and when it comes to private life, which were separated, individuals
needed to adapt. The natural rhythm was then replaced with the operational (working) time or an
abstraction of time, hours separated from the nature and natural cycles (Berger and Luckmann, 1991).
Distances between the living place (often only used as a sleeping place) and working place (which soon
became socializing place) had started to matter. City became a self-centred organism or body focusing
on its own development. As the cities were getting larger, distances became bigger and importance of
the transportation system became an inevitability. This is how the modern city developed.

A modern city is a city planned for the machine and as a machine for living (Corbusier, 1987). The
modern city was another paradigm shift which resulted in a development of the transportation systems,
railroads and highways; in a development of industries which in an essential way affected a society as a
whole and lives of individuals. Dwellers of modern city depended less on the body, and more on the
machine: vehicles became an inevitability and the abundance of utilities simplified the completion of
daily tasks. As a result certain knowledge became unnecessary and new ways of operating within a
technologically developing sphere had to be learned. Modern Japanese cities were following modernist
urban planning models and they were dependent on the modes of transportation (Jacobs, 2016). From
this temporal distance, the lifestyles and well-being of individuals living in urbanized areas suffered
significant changes. Multiple contemporary social and behavioural patterns are seen as a consequence
of modern planning. Researchers today are still learning from these consequences of modern planning
and they are still looking for the solutions of socio-spatial issues that emerged during and after
modernisation, while cities persist and continue to generate their own ways of dwelling.

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**Figure 1-5: Evolution of the City Form**
Coexistence of these three forms within each city generates a variety of lifestyles that unfold as juxtaposed daily rhythms.

**CONTEMPORARY CITY**

“Man does not end with the limits of his body or the area comprising his immediate activity. Rather it is the range of the person constituted by the sum of effects emanating from him temporally and spatially. In the same way, a city consists of its total effects which extend beyond its immediate confines.” Simmel, 1903: pp. 642-643

Social forces of modern life and psychological conditions which metropolises create have been studied since Simmel (1903) and his influential work on metropolis and the influence of the metropolis on mental life. He discussed questions of awareness, consciousness and the rhythm of habituation within the conditions of the metropolis, meanings of modern life and its products and how “metropolis sets up between the individual and the super-individual contents of life” (Borden, 1997: p. 635). The technological advancement of now adds to this extension. At this very moment our images are present in a parallel place, in another “virtual” city.

All three types of city forms coexist and are juxtaposed within the form of a metropolis – or rather their altered counterparts, including virtual environments and virtual cities that came to an existence with technological advancements. Social life that unfolds within, is significantly different even within the borders of one metropolitan area.

Old city centres, vast residential areas with detached housing, blocks of apartment buildings, and high-rise redevelopments are examples of the distinct forms that cause different socio-spatial relations and intensity of engagement (Kiuchi and Inouchi, 1976). Identity of an individual often reflects the identity of the neighbourhood and neighbourhoods are chosen for their distinct identities (Sassen, 2001; Bull, 2007; Lewicka, 2010; Heine, 2012). With the acceleration and global values which quantify the quality of life in metropolises through global index (Kearney, 2012), the cities have become what neighbourhoods used to be. A global citizen chooses a city for its functions (economy, cultural interaction, accessibility, livability etc.) which generate its unique identity and which afford unique lifestyle.
Modern cities, in despite of similarities in planning logic and approach different cultural setting results in a multitude of specific problems (Tallman and Morgner, 1970; Ben-Ari, 1991; Sorensen, 2001). Similarities that do exist on global scale are addressed as such theoretically, but in practice scholars’ proposals for solutions of spatial, social and psychological issues have local character (Kitayama et al., 2010).

How to approach a metropolis, a city form which contains fragments of a historical, modern and contemporary city?

“Punctuality, calculability, exactness are forced upon life by the complexity and extension of metropolitan existence and are not only most intimately connected with its money economy and intellectualist character. These traits must also colour the contents of life and favour the exclusion of those irrational, instinctive, sovereign traits and impulses which aim at determining the mode of life from within, instead of receiving the general and precisely schematized form of life from without.” Simmel, 1903: pp. 638

Layers of historical, modern and industrial cities coexist and create a complex and dynamic environment where one of the images usually predominates. In Tokyo it is additionally demanding to specify the nature of the city. Temporality is one of the reasons – because of the different conditions (such as natural disasters) city was redeveloped and rebuilt and both its form and image were changing.
Another reason is the administrative organization and the level of complexity. As the biggest conglomerate in the world, Tokyo’s spatial characteristics could hardly be compared to any other city in Japan. Tokyo Metropolitan Area administratively consists of 23 wards which have their own identities and nature. The image of the Metropolitan Area that predominates because of the scale and because of the lifestyle is the industrial one: one of the biggest changes in the urban structure of Tokyo happened before the Olympic Games when the infrastructure changed the scale of the city (Alden, 1984). Tokyo’s rivers and estuaries disappeared turning into roads; new train lines and highways emerged changing the cityscape; technological achievements were a dominating tool towards the “urban improvement”\(^2\). Because of these two conditions it could be said that despite its diversity and contrasts, Tokyo cityscape is predominantly industrial. Images of Tokyo as a contemporary city predominate in business districts (such as Shibuya or Shinjuku, Figure 1-7) and newly redeveloped high-rise residential district, while shitamachi wards and low-rise residential districts project images of the contrasted slow-paced life.

Among historical, modern and contemporary city, which urban form contributes more to sustainability and which approach is more suitable for each urban form? Which design concepts related to sustainable urban forms are applicable in these three types of cities, and accordingly, to a metropolis as a conjunction of all? These questions will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 6 where characteristics of Tokyo are presented and contested to the existing models of sustainable urban forms.

\(21\) In Tokyo only there was a sequence of destructions - Great Earthquake in 1923, bombing during the World War II 1946, which caused massive reconstructions of the city.

\(22\) For a personal perspective on the changes in urban development of Tokyo before the Olympics see “Negative Impact of 1964 Olympics profound” by. Robert Whiting. The Japan Times. Accessed 05.06.2018.
Relationship between the Self and the City

Concepts of place attachment and home become the main concepts for the exploration of the relationship between the self and the city. To study home spatially is to study the field of actions and dynamic processes rather than its static aspects; it is to study attachment to physical space. In socio-cultural terms to study home is to study the relationship between the self and significant others. In psychological/temporal terms it is to study at-homeness, the state of rest and the patterning experiences. This kind of division though exists only in an analytical sense, for the purpose of the research. Along with the concepts of attachment and lifestyle, it is further discussed in the following chapter.

Within different forms of cities, through industrialized sectors, development of technology and massive influx of people to urban areas movement became important for the concept of home (and its physical and social aspects). In a spatial sense, city had to provide varieties of accommodations and in an institutional it accelerated the flow of information, goods, services, capital and people (Fujita et al., 2004). As a result during and after The Industrial Revolution in Tokyo, traditional forms of living gradually transformed into middle-sized houses, rental houses and multifamily dwellings etc. for what was to become the salaried middle class which resided in various accommodations developed by corporations, agencies and/or associations. Moreover, because of the time management, because of the synchronisation and coordination of activities in time and space, because of the distances, homelike activities were being displaced and transposed from the private (living place) to the public realm (working place and socializing places (Oldenburg, 1989; Caballero and Tsukamoto, 2006)). Therefore, exploring home in spatial sense was not necessarily exploring the place of residence, which was used as a storage or bedroom (Ashihara, 1989; Yūko and Yokokawa, 1995). Rather, it became an exploration of the network of semi-public and semi-private places where homelike activities happen.

Even today, in post-industrial era in Japan, frequent reason for a change of residence is a job transfer. The possibility to transfer employees between companies has been described as one of the most

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23 It was during the Meiji era (1868-1912) when the nation established its capital in Tokyo, eliminated feudal fiefs, established prefectures and abolished the class system. It is translated as both Meiji Revolution and Meiji Restoration. YŪKO, N. & YOKOKAWA, M. M. 1995. The Changing Form of Dwellings and the Establishment of the katei (home) in Modern Japan. US-Japan Women's Journal. English Supplement, 3-36.

24 Such as syataka, danchi and doujunkai: corporate towns (syataka) were homes encouraging/ fostering “corporate, family atmosphere”. Doujunkai, on the other hand, was an association founded after the earthquake to provide public housing to city residents. Danchi (developed by The Japan Housing Corporation, now known as the Urban Renaissance Agency (UR)) were owned by large corporations and they were charging low or no rent to employees.

25 In Japan these are trains, convenience stores, vending machines, noodle shops, public baths, coin wash machines, karaoke, love hotels. For details see CABALLERO, J. A. & TSUKAMOTO, Y. 2006. Tokyo public space networks at the intersection of the commercial and the domestic realms study on dividual space. Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering, 5, 301-308.
interesting features of the Japanese employment system (Dirks, 1999; Meyer-Ohle, 2009). A “transfer” consists of moving employees around to perform different work and the practice of transfers at Japanese companies has, among other characteristics, temporary and permanent external transfers, often generating a friction between the employee’s family life and work (Maetra, 2016). Transfers often do not require the consent of the employee, with a higher level of flexibility within large companies. Inter-company transfers have been studied and assessed on different levels. Some of them review transfers on the individual level (motivational factors), organizational development (cost-efficient transactions) and structural changes (on a micro-economic level) (Dirks, 1999), but despite being studied even from the perspective of employees in some cases, these studies do not deal with the sense of attachment and sense of home. And whether exploring personality and demographic factors, micro- or macroeconomic factors, institutional conditions (Frey and Stutzer, 2000) they are commonly quantitative studies. This study, therefore, takes different approach. Spatio-temporal systems are explored from the personal perspective, through the cases of young Tokyoites (in Chapter 6: Interviews).

Home

“Without a house, man would be a dispersed being.” Bachelard, 1994: pp. 7

Disciplines such as anthropology, philosophy, psychology, sociology and geography or environmental psychology, social psychology, cultural sociology, human geography etc. are (few among many) disciplines which deal with the meaning of home. Within each discipline, there are multiple ways of studying home – focusing on psychical aspects, social ties, meanings and/ or a process of dwelling, all within a certain culture (Altman, 1975; Sixsmith, 1986; Bowlby et al., 1997; Mallett, 2004). In the fields of architecture and spatial studies design, spatial organization, furnishings and the ways they influence concepts of home were examined (Segal, 1953; Cramer, 1960; Hellman, 1983; Sixsmith, 1986). But despite the existing theoretical framework, awareness of the multidimensional character of home and proliferation of the literature in the past three to four decades, only a few researchers have dealt with the social and psychological implications of their design [exceptions are (Polikoff, 1969)]. However, recently there has been a growing interest in the phenomenon on a bigger scale. There have been studies into alternative ways of living, and of alienation caused by constant movement, temporality and attenuation of family bonds. (Geis and Ross, 1998) These are usually related to urbanity and megacities, global cities and metropolises, such as Tokyo, New York and London (Boyer, 1992; Cervero, 1998; Soja, 2000; Sassen, 2005; Castells, 2011). Although these cities are different in many ways - historical

26 From a survey carried out by the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 92.5% of companies with more than 1,000 employees have transferred workers. The survey also found that the average length of transfers was 3.87 years (standard deviation 2.04 years) with the average length of most extreme cases lasting for 13.43 years (standard deviation 8.45 years)

experience, governance systems, level of development, geographical settings (Sorensen, 2011) - they became actors which shape and change ways of living, and consequently – peoples’ sense of home.

In social sciences a sense of home was explored through the concept of self and through the relationship between self and other in different cultural groups (Doi, 2001; Sullivan, 2013). Japan, where family ties are less (or equally) significant as ties between members of social groups ((Kuwayama, 1992; Lebra, 1992; Rosenberger, 1994; Ueno, 2009), was fruitful ground for the expansion of experimental living. This was specifically relevant to Tokyo, where industrialisation during the Meiji Restoration was more dramatic than in other, smaller Japanese cities27. Studies on Tokyo lifestyles often point towards ideas of a nomadic life, with the usage of various facilities for domestic functions such as trains, convenience stores, vending machines, noodle shops, public baths, coin wash machines, karaoke, love hotels (Caballero and Tsukamoto, 2006) and typically small apartments used only as storage and bedroom (Ashihara, 1989; Yūko and Yokokawa, 1995). This series of public facilities provided space for the attributes usually embodied in the home – privacy, intimacy, comfort, convenience and efficiency (Sixsmith, 1986; Rybczynski, 1987). With the intensive use of mobile technologies, functional devices and utilities home has been transformed from being static and permanent to being dispersed through the environment and absorbed by the body (Abe, 2015); the body which familiarizes itself with the immediate environment and, as an intelligent subject, gains an understanding of the place or, in a contemporary city, of a network of places (Seamon, 2015). But whether it is defined as a dwelling, a homeland or a constellation of relationships, within anthropological literature, cultural studies, social or psychological empirical research, home is represented as a spatial and relational realm from which people venture into the world and to which they generally hope to return. Ideas about staying, leaving and journeying are integrally associated with notions of home (Tuan, 1977; Norberg-Schulz, 1980; Dovey, 1985; Sixsmith, 1986; Bachelard and Jolas, 1994; Case, 1996; Mallett, 2004).

“Dwelling in this sense does not mean simply to dwell in (and build) a house, but to dwell in and build a whole world to which we are attached. Dwelling describes the way we exist in the world – the way we make the world meaningful, or place-like.” Heidegger as cited in Cresswell, 2013: pp.3

In this study the sense of home is explored as a multidimensional concept through its spatial, socio-cultural, psychological and temporal characteristics defined in different fields of study. The role of the city is emphasized; the role of Tokyo, which was, and still is, a fruitful ground for the emergence of alternative ways of living. Characteristics of (dispersed) progressive sense of home in contemporary cities are contested to the traditional ones, and are discussed and constructed for further theoretical explorations, multidimensional socio-spatial studies and uses in practical domains.

27 By Geographical Survey Institute of Japan there are 684 cities in Japan, 20 cities designated by government ordinance, 42 core cities, 40 special cities and 23 special Tokyo wards. http://www.gsi.go.jp/ENGLISH/index.html
Studies of home as a multidimensional concept provide frameworks for its examination as a unity of physical, socio-cultural and psychological/ temporal features\(^\text{29}\) (Dovey, 1985; Werner et al., 1985; Sixsmith, 1986; Després, 1991). In section “How the City becomes a Home” the first two features of the framework are discussed: physical (or spatial) and socio-cultural. In specific, the spatial decline of the house as the primary site of domesticity, and the change of the idea of home from a static concept to a dynamic one and in socio-cultural sense the concept of person, self and self-other relationship are discussed. “Dwelling by Moving” focuses on the third feature of the framework - on psychological / temporal properties of home. It explores home as a point of reference and as a point of return.


\(^\text{29}\) “Framework derived from a transactional perspective in which events are treated as holistic unities comprised of three major aspects: people/ psychological processes; environmental properties; and temporal qualities.” (Werner, Altman, & Oxley, 1985)
How the City Becomes a Home

The decline of the house as the primary site of domesticity started in the second part of 19th century with the Industrial Revolution in all industrialized societies and especially in big cities. The family life became separated from work and distinct public and private spheres appeared. Since then, following Abe’s classification (2015), the purview of domesticity followed the developments of economics, politics, technology and conceptions of environment. Transformations from the industrialized era [1906-1939] advanced with the age of “consuming domesticity” [1945-1972], “roving domesticity” of bubbles and artificial environments, “dispersing domesticity” [1968-1996], “branded domesticity” and finally “network domesticity” with many traditional demarcations between spaces of work and domestic life being drastically altered and blurred (Abe, 2015).

In Japan even before the Meiji Revolution31, traditional forms of living were embodied into two types of houses – big houses (large and carefully constructed) and small houses (koya; that are shabby) (Yanagita and Terry, 1957). The small houses were used only for sleeping. During the Meiji era in Tokyo traditional forms transformed into variety of accommodations (such as middle-sized houses, rental houses and multifamily dwellings) for what was to become the salaried middle class. Social structures changed along with the physical structures; the traditional form of ie32 transformed into modern katei, which describes a nuclear family and the physical structures that contain it (Yūko and Yokokawa, 1995; Ueno, 2009). The Meiji Revolution and Industrial Revolution accelerated a process of dispersion. The home, which once represented a monolithic whole in a spatial, social and experiential sense, was now split first into a living place (the house) and a working place. With the appearance of working place, with the appearance of private and public sphere, social life of industrial societies have significantly changed. The working environment and time spent at work contested traditional family life causing alterations in time-space dynamics of individuals. Soon after, “third places” (other or socializing places) appeared “as a generic designation for a great variety of public places that host the regular, voluntary, informal, and happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work” (Oldenburg, 1989). Together, the network of these three significant places have become a setting for a daily life33.

With the rapid development of transportation systems and technological achievements, this meant the appearance of transit places; places that accommodate movement, dislocation and travel; “inauthentic” non-places (Augé, 2008). For an individual this meant an extension of daily routes in the form of commuting. The lines connecting places formed fields of daily actions and activities. As the

30 For details on domesticity see Abe (Abe, 2015)
31 In Meiji era (1868-1912) the nation established its capital in Tokyo, eliminated feudal fiefs, established prefectures and abolished the class system. It is translated as both Meiji Revolution and Meiji Restoration. (Yūko & Yokokawa, 1995)
32 ie is made up of the lineal family along with its collateral lines, while katei is made up of a married couple and a few children. In 1946 the ie system was legally abolished by the Constitution of Japan. For details see (Yūko & Yokokawa, 1995)
33 For details see Chapter 5: Interviews, Dispersion of home in contemporary city
the distances between these significant places were becoming greater and the time spent in transit grew exponentially, the management of time became inseparable from the management of space. From a static phenomenon home started to become a dynamic concept, a form of territory without geographic reference points, a network of spaces with people and their moving bodies at its centre (Sommer, 1958; Little, 1965; Porteous, 1976). Hence, to study home and the domestic environment is to study concepts of the person and the body which, as an intelligent agent, familiarizes itself with the immediate environment and gains an understanding of the place (or, in contemporary city, of a network of places) (Seamon, 2015). The concept of “person”, however, varies cross-culturally (Shweder et al., 1982; Bhabha, 2012) and in the Japanese context, the closest notion is expressed by the word “ningen”34 (Tetsuro, 1996), that as a concept includes “both the person or self as individual and the self or person as inescapably involved in interaction” (Carter, 2001). Because of its interactional qualities the concept of “self” is more promising to investigate the perception of home. Construed as the product of social participation and cultural representation (Lebra, 1992) the self lends itself to be used in the context of the city as the quintessential interactional environment that provides limitless possibilities for social encounters (Simmel, 1903).

**Dwelling by Moving**

In current studies the categories of staying, leaving and journeying are integrally associated with notions of home represented as a spatial and relational realm from which people venture into the world and to which they generally hope to return (Mallett, 2004; Casey, 2013). It is a place where people “go back even if they’re going there in the future” (Dovey, 1985), an “irreplaceable centre of significance” (Tuan, 1977) and “a localization of our memories” (Bachelard and Jolas, 1994). It is significant both as an ideal and as an imagined place, both real and remembered, with an emphasis on childhood home as a primal point of reference (Cieraad, 2010b). Through practices and through the application of acquired knowledge memories of previous homes are projected into our present and future or ideal home. The recreation of previous homes does not only evoke memories of the past, it also provides the setting for bodily routines and habits. For Dovey, the notion of home is embodied not in a house or building, but in the patterning of experience and behaviour. It is a way of relating to the environment that may be transposed from place to place and in this way the meanings of home may be re-evoked if the patterns are recreated (Dovey, 1985). Consequentially, home is what emerges out of the dwelling activities, and a place where space becomes a field of pre-reflective actions grounded in the body. The body gains an understanding of places (or network of places) without intention or pre-consciously and as an intelligent agent, it allows us to move without paying constant attention to our gestures (Seamon, 2015). “Becoming-at-home” (Dovey, 1985) then would be the point when the body familiarizes itself with the environment and reaches a state of rest. Rest, time of inactivity and quiet, whose essential experiential structure is “at-homeness”: “the usually unnoticed, taken-for-granted situation of being comfortable in

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34 First character, nin, means human being and the second, gen, means space or between
and familiar with the everyday world in which one lives and outside of which one is ‘visiting’, ‘in transit’, ‘not at home’, ‘out of place’, or travelling” (Seamon, 2015).

However, in the contemporary city movement is integrated into daily life, and it is almost as if “one does not move to a dwelling but dwells by moving” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988; Casey, 2013). Movement and dislocation rely on the body and its own knowledge less than in the historical or even modern city, because the body is being transported by the third “thing”: the machine. Often, state of rest is achieved ‘in transit’ (out of the house, at a second or third place). The body familiarizes itself with the process (on urban scale) and home becomes a connectedness, a state of being grounded less in place and more in the series of activities that occur within the (network of) place(s).

Attachment

“Once we give up the belief that our life-world is rooted in the ground, we may thus come to a point where ungroundedness is no longer experienced as existential anxiety and despair but as freedom and lightness that finally allows us to move.” Rajchman 1998, pp.88

If the place is constituted by movements and flows, what does it mean to be attached to a place? In this chapter the shift from the attachment to physical environment towards the dependence and attachment to processes will be discussed. Emphasis is on the processes that structure contemporary city, where concept of lifestyle becomes significant as a set of behaviours affected by urban realm.

For the exploration of attachment, two decades are important. The 1970s, which are the time when people had started to be understood as (knowing and feeling) subjects rather than objects or simply rational beeings. Their relationship with the world through the experience transformed ‘an abstract realm of space’ into ‘an experienced and felt place’. Through terms such as ‘topophilia’, ‘insideness’, ‘authenticity’ etc. (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977; Werner et al., 1985; Smaldone, 2006) attachment to places and the role of time in place attachment has been explored and defined.

These terms became a common ground for the exploration of space and place on different scales and within different borders (real, physical entities or within conceptual, abstract, theoretical borders). It became possible to explore attachment to the house, neighbourhood, city, country or their social counterpart - family, friends, neighbours/social groups/co-workers, nation etc. As different social and spatial forms were emerging and evolving, frameworks were becoming more complex and they have started to merge and cross over different disciplines and cross over different fields of study. At the moment boundaries of the research dealing with these concepts/ phenomena are being blurred and are gaining in their complexity. Methodologically, there are attempts to define/ create a multi-scale and multidimensional framework which would be comprehensive; which would involve different aspects of the same concept. In studies of home and in studies of place attachment, tripartite frameworks were developed, including spatial, social and psychological/ temporal aspects of the phenomena (Werner et
In this research they are applied to the study of the city which, with its own ‘corporeality’ becomes an embodiment of the fragmented home.

In the 90s tourism (especially mass-tourism) was understood as a negative counterpart and as a threat to the authentic/ authenticity. With its initiation and rise the term ‘touristic gaze’ was coined by Urry, tackling “the authenticity of the setting” and “authenticity of the persons” (Turner and Manning in Urry, 2002). This is/ was manifested through the exploration of non-places, places which are accommodating movement, dislocation and traveling and in this way are creating a new ‘inauthentic’ network of places, which are in many ways identical and lacking the contextual qualities (Augé, 2008; Zukin, 1998, 2009). Augé claims that these places as places that “cannot be defined as relational, or historical or concerned with identity. They are places which are not themselves anthropological and which do not integrate earlier places.” He also explains that “as anthropological places create the organically social, non-places create solitary contractuality.” Socially, they do not trigger interaction in spite of the crowdedness and presence of people. With the increased use of technology and ‘extensions’/ portable devices (phones, computers, etc.) networking and access to information add to a detachment from the physical environment (Park et al., 2011).

But today movement is already an integrated part of life, whether we talk about daily life or life cycle (lifetime). Traveling is a norm, an inevitability, often not even questionable but taken for granted. Talking about traveling/ moving is not necessarily talking about tourism (anymore). At this point (in network society/ information society), practices and their constant reiteration (through the means of transportation) are actually defining and creating places and the meaning of place is arising from ‘habitual mobilities’ and ‘time-space routines’ which are simultaneously individual and social (Pred, 1984; Hägerstrand, 1985; Cresswell, 2013; Seamon, 2015).

Certain practices and their reiteration depend on the affordances of the environment (Berger and Luckmann, 1991; Gibson, 2014). This is especially noticeable in contemporary city in two ways:

1. because daily practices and habitual mobilities rely (and depend) on city’s infrastructure (they are also accelerated by it) and
2. because practices and routines are taking place in public, semi-public and/or commercial spaces which are provided, planned, designed, made and maintained by the city (through the industrialized sectors).

And, again, this situation is very present in Japan, where corporations, a tradition of inter-company transfers is a norm. In the long run, changing the place of residence becomes a routine, it becomes a habitual action and it becomes a lifestyle.
Lifestyle

“[…] to live is to continue to move.” Ohno, 2006: pp. 82

Lifestyle is often defined as “a distinctive, hence recognizable, mode of living” (Sobel, 2013, 2015; pp. 19). Among multiple approaches that define lifestyle as a social construct, as a characteristic of social group (Zablocki and Kanter, 1976), or a construction system built from consistent combinations of personal constructs (Reynolds and Darden, 2011), as a behavioural phenomenon (Tallman and Morgner, 1970) etc. this research focuses on its modes which are affected by the urban realm. Urban lifestyles are closely related and they depend on the environment, on the city, which imposes upon by educating and teaching a citizen its own set (or modes) of relationships. Metropolises are generating “new lifestyles” and as one of them Tokyo is seen as a place that generates unique lifestyles (the ways of living are addressed within the concept of home; for details see page 39).

Lifestyles and interactions are how the authenticity and identity of the place continues to exist - through the attachment to the place and through the engagement of people who care about their place. As one of the main characteristics of contemporary life, temporariness have had a significant impact on the lifestyles and through the lifestyles on habitual actions of individuals. Relationships and feelings that were developed because of the time spent at certain place are now altered by the fact that people during their lifetime tend to spend less time at one place (Hong et al., 2007). This reflects in the physical representations of the transactions that are visible and exposed to the eyes of others to a lesser extent. Spatial and morphological features directly influence the amount of space that is available for certain actions and activities to take place. From the perspective of an individual, city is constantly re-created through the transactions between the individuals and their immediate environment (De Certeau, 1998, Radović, 2016).

From this we can conclude that it is the spatio-temporal system that needs to be explored and understood if the change in lifestyles and knowledge is to be addressed. Involvement of citizens, industries, researchers and policy makers is necessary for the creation of sustainable urban future and for the innovations in technology, planning and management. In order to reach goals of the agendas that on various levels address sustainability, lifestyles and attitudes need to adapt and the city needs to accommodate a varieties of lifestyles.

Summary

Purpose of the theoretical exploration of the concept of personal space and other concepts closely related to it is to recognize those relevant for the contemporary city. On the one hand person, self and self-awareness were studied and on the other hand space, place and city and their conceptual and practical definitions. A relationship between the self and the city was explored through the concepts of place attachment and home.
In this chapter a conceptual framework for the study of personal space is defined, and the city as a dynamic spatio-temporal system which has social, spatial and temporal dimensions. These three dimensions are elements of the tripartite frameworks developed for the exploration of attachment and sense of home and they will be applied to the study of personal space.

The relationship between the self and the city will be conducted within the contemporary city where daily life is expended over multiple milieus, and where, as a consequence, individuals can identify themselves with more than one cultural tradition. Because of the extensive exposure to two (or more) knowledge traditions, individuals develop some degree of fluency in both knowledge traditions and they construct an integral bicultural (or multicultural) identity (Hong et al., 2007). The increased frequency and intensity of intercultural contacts facilitates multicultural learning. Admittedly, the acquisition of a knowledge tradition that is radically different from the tradition that one is most familiar with may create a “shocking” experience initially (Bochner et al., 2001). However, when individuals acquire a knowledge tradition that is sufficiently different from their native one, they may choose to apply the native or new knowledge tradition in a given concrete situation. They can cognitively place knowledge traditions in juxtaposition and attempt to integrate the knowledge from different cultural sources to foster a creative synthesis (Chiu and Hong, 2005). Within the proposed framework this becomes significant for individuals’ sense of self and personal space, which develop from interaction. In contemporary cities which support movement and accelerate exchange of goods, services and people, even if not intentionally, individuals are exposed to different cultures which are present in multicultural urban environments. Institutions facilitate movement and dislocation and push forward constant multicultural learning. In a situation like this, it seems that a metropolis offers a variety of lifestyles. Socially, because of the intensity of interactions and spatially because of the layers of the city that coexist one next to another.

Questions arising from the theory are questions of superposition and juxtaposition of the previously lived place(s) with the current place of residence; those of attachment to each spatio-temporal system and, in some cases, to a cultural milieu. Based on these premises, attachment and sense of home in contemporary city will be further explored in sociological study (Chapter 4). Interviews with Tokyoites will answer if a city, through institutions and appropriation of time, imposes upon a person and his or her lifestyle and, if so, to what extent. It will recognize the significance of public spaces for the notion of home and attachment (whether we discuss attachment to people, places and/or processes). Characteristics of contemporary city itself and physical environment will be further explored and defined through direct observations. Meanings individuals impose on urban space will be studied in situ (Chapter 5). Recognition of the spatial characteristics of the fragments of contemporary cities where personalities enfold and reveal themselves will through tackle the issue of a possibility to build and maintain a culturally more sustainable metropolis. Findings will shed the light on the practices and habitual activities that support sustainable lifestyles and are the indicators of environments where such lifestyles emerge.
Construction sites are a part of the cityscape and soundscape of the metropolis that play with our memory: landmarks we remember are replaced before we notice. We become liars in the face of constant change and the lack of time that we do not take into consideration when talking about places (we think) we know.
Chapter 2: TOKYO AS A CONTEXT

BORDERS. MOVEMENT. FLOW.

Introduction

A proposed methodology is applied to the study of Tokyo, a global city and a metropolis that in its specific cultural context generates a socio-spatial situations which challenge traditional definitions of the city. Tokyo is a challenge for those who live it – from an experiential perspective, and for those who make it – from a planning perspective. The challenge arises from the impermanence, which is one of the main features of Japanese (planning) culture. When it comes to making, temporality manifests in a constant change of physical structures (the “scrap and build culture”35). Accordingly, images of the city and the experience of Tokyo’s transient cityscape change within its constantly redefined borders. Its physical appearance gains a temporary character that is, in its impressive scale, “permanently temporary.”

Specificities of the metropolis that is simultaneously lived by millions of parallel lives were elaborated in this chapter through the questions of city’s spatial and institutional realities. The institutionalization which appropriates individuals’ time imposes a spatio-temporal sequence upon a person, and facilitates constant multicultural learning is discussed as an overarching concept. The concept of personal space will be further explored in regard to those characteristics.

Tokyo as a Dynamic Spatial Realm

The scale that Tokyoites experience on a daily basis is the scale of the Tokyo Metropolis – they move from one Ward to another and cross administrative borders of the wards constantly. But when it comes to the physical experience of the space, to the interaction and engagement with environment, it is the human scale of “significant places” that individuals alter and transform: they explore physically distant fragments of the metropolis that belong to different administrative units connecting them into a subjective city. Images of Tokyo arise from the identity of each significant place.

From a perspective of a resident of this agglomeration, in daily life the administrative divisions are non-existing. One can live in one ward, in one city, work in another ward of another city while completing his or her daily tasks and chores in a third one: the necessity of commuting and connecting the dots of physically distant districts is a norm. And he or she completes these actions without any obstacles. He or she might be aware of the time and distances but formally, there are no borders or separations that might disturb the movement. The infrastructure supports and helps an individual to

reach their “significant places” within the shortest time possible. Trains are getting faster, distances are shrinking, and places are getting closer. Numbers of commuters are also growing higher and at the busiest stations there are millions of transfers every day.\textsuperscript{36} A competition for a free seat in a crowded train continues from weekdays to weekends, when reaching an office is replaced by reaching the socializing or another significant place: flow and movement do not stop.

Because of the flow and movement, because of the time spend in different Wards, Towns and Districts, researchers are exploring the definition of Tokyo’s administrative borders. They question and define them not only as a spatial phenomenon, but also in a relation to time, which is becoming the dominant factor of an interdependent spatio-temporal system that significantly affects lifestyles, habitual activities and behaviours of Tokyotees.

**Borders of Tokyo**

Administratively Tokyo Metropolis is divided into 23 Central Wards [ku], 28 cities [toshi] and 3 towns [mura]. It has 13,617,445 residents, covers 2,187.66km\(^2\) area with the density of 6,224.66 people per km\(^2\). Wards [ku] are divided into smaller units – “cho” and “choume”.

Complexity of the existing administrative borders and their existing definitions are graphically presented in Figure 2-1 illustrates (1) Tokyo Metropolis with 23 central wards, commonly perceived as Tokyo; (2) Tokyo Metropolitan area which includes 23 central wards, 26 cities, three towns and one village, (3) borders defined by Japan Statistics Bureau with nighttime/daytime population changes (municipalities with 10% or more of the population commuting to central wards are included); and (4) Greater Tokyo Area. In an experiential way, borders between Tokyo Metropolitan Area and surrounding cities are non-existing and in daily conversation it is impossible to distinguish whether people refer to central Tokyo wards, Tokyo Metropolitan area or Tokyo Greater Area when they say that they live in “Tokyo”. Additionally, Wards are commonly translated as towns, which causes further ambiguity of meaning and misinterpretations in daily communication.

This ambiguity of meaning, along with the commuting population, is what causes fluctuation of borders and this is where the variety of definitions for Tokyo metropolitan area arises from. The Japanese Government provides statistics only for legal jurisdictions, i.e., cities and prefectures, and there is no official or formal definition of metropolitan areas and number of researchers have developed their own definitions (Fujita et al., 2004). Examples of the definitions are the Standard Metropolitan Employment Area (SMEA) by Yamada and Tokuoka (1991), the Functional Urban Core (FUC) by Kawashima, and the Integrated Metropolitan Area (IMA) by Suzuki and Takeuchi. Recently, Kanemoto (2005) and Tokuoka (2002) proposed a new version called Urban Employment Area (UEA). The 

\textsuperscript{36} As an illustration, in 2016 in Shibuya station the daily average was 1.03 million passengers [source https://www.tokyometro.jp/lang_en/station/shibuya/index.html] accessed 18.05.2018.
Integrated Metropolitan Area of Shogo Takeuchi combines a municipality (city, town or village) with another if doing so increases the ratio of internal employment (Kanemoto et al., 1996).

Figure 2-1: A - Administrative borders of Tokyo metropolitan area including 23 central wards, 26 cities, three towns and one village. B - Redefining Tokyo borders. C - Tokyo wards 1923, 1932, 1951 and today.

Wards

Administratively, Tokyo changed rapidly during the Meiji Restoration, when it became a capital. During the Restoration 15 wards were established as Tokyo Prefecture in 1898 and in 1922 these 15 wards were made independent from the Tokyo Prefecture. This is how the current administrative city of Tokyo was born.

In 1878 following 15 wards belonged to Tokyo Prefecture: Kojimachi (today Chiyoda), Kanda (today Chiyoda), Nihonbashi (today Chuo), Kyobashi (today Chuo), Shiba (today Minato), Azabu (today Minato), Akasaka (today Minato), Yotsuya (today Shinjuku), Ushiro/ Ushigome (today Shinjuku), Koishikawa (today Bunkyo), Hongo (today Sumida), Shimoda/ Shitaya (today Taito), Asakusa (today Taito), Honjo (today Bunkyo) and Fukagawa (today Koto) (Figure 2-1). In 1932 Tokyo City established 20 new wards and from administrative district of Tokyo became system of 35 wards.
20 new wards were Joutou (today Koutou), Mukoujima (today Sumida), Arakawa, Takinokawa (today Kita), Toshima, Yodobashi (today Shinjuku), Shibuya, Meguro, Shinagawa, Ebara (today Shinagawa), Edogawa, Katsushika, Adachi, Oji (today Kita), Itabashi (today Itabashi and Nerima), Nakano, Suginami, Setagaya, Oumori (today Ota) and Kamata (today Ota).

At the end of the World War II there were significant imbalances in each ward and Metropolitan Government reorganized the existing system. The new plan was based on a simple rule: population had to be over 200,000 people in area bigger than 10 km². As a result a 22 ward system was established. Firstly, in March 1951 it was a system of 22 wards and by August it was expanded to 23, with Shimoda Ward and Asakusa Ward which were merged into Taito Ward (Ward, 2016).

Today, the existing 23 wards are significantly different in area, population, character etc. so even if exploring a city at the ward scale, depending on the actual case, different levels of complexity require different methods. At the same time - studying those characteristics gives a very little knowledge on how wards are experienced by their residents and how the available space is used.

From the planning perspective, differences and levels of wards’ complexity are even more apparent: certain wards have all thirteen proposed Land Uses (such as Setagaya Ward) while others have only one predominant Land Use (such as Taito or other shitamachi districts) (for details on distribution of the Land Use within Wards see Appendix A5). Complexity and differences of Central Wards are partially simplified by the uniformity of planning regulations (for example Floor Area Ratio and Building Coverage Ratio). In order to contextualize research, it is therefore necessary to take into account characteristics and attributes of the specific Ward and applied methods need to be adjusted and refined depending on the predominant Land Use. In this study, this is accomplished through direct observations of appropriated spaces within a specific Ward and by the analysis of its proposed Land Use Plan. Behaviours and habitual activities are traced and mapped in order to investigate the relationship between the planning practices and residents’ habitual activities.

According to their social and spatial characteristics, central Tokyo Wards can be classified into the three main categories. The data used for this study is imported into GIS. Classification of Wards is conducted according to the number of the Land Use Categories (Appendix A5). Figure 2-2 (and Appendix A6) present three types of Wards and their characteristics. The group located in central Tokyo, in the heart of the city are shitamachi wards, spatially smallest and with the lowest population. The biggest in both area and population are peripheral wards or the wards at the outskirts of Tokyo Metropolis. The peripheral Wards often accommodate residential, commercial and industrial districts with different spatial forms, affording different activities, different level of interaction, and composing distinct identities. It is not uncommon to see a house next to the rail track, the apartment building next to a small factory, or luxurious high-rise condominium next to a low-rise building soon to be replaced. A house next to a rail track will probably have a small garden, a small factory will probably have a

37 Geographic Information System, from here on GIS
resting place and a storage, and low-rise building will probably show the character of its owner. Commercial Wards with some of the biggest train stations in Tokyo, which accommodate hundreds of thousands of passengers every day are in the in-between Wards, the third category. They are the centres of flow that shrink Tokyo’s distances and facilitate movement from one reachable point to another. These wards accommodate the most famous commercial districts with Commercial Land Use and a high number of Redevelopment Areas.  

As an illustration, redevelopment of Shibuya includes the reconstruction of the train station and four other redevelopment projects: Hikarie, Shibuya Station South Area, Dogenzaka, and Sakuragaoka. “Tokyo’s Shibuya Hikarie” project finished in 2012, is a 43-story, 183-meter height skyscraper.
this scale are out of the scope of this study. In order to explore personal space within them, focus is on one type that traditionally accommodates smallness and appropriation: shitamachi wards.

All Wards are spatially further divided into districts (cho) and districts are divided into blocks (chome) and at this scale, the scale of the district, neighbourhoods and their identities are formed. Many scholars claim that Tokyo is “a city of neighbourhoods” (Imai, 2017) and that by referring to specific neighbour cultures, we can understand ongoing changes in social structure of urban Japan. The division of Wards into smaller spatial units is another characteristic that wards as administrative units have in common. Along with the Land Use Regulations this fragmentation causes similar spatial situations in different and otherwise distant, parts of Tokyo.

Communities, social bonds, control etc. are important characteristics of the neighbourhoods in Tokyo. In many studies their structure and roles are highlighted as unique features of Japanese urban development. These systems, however, are also out of the scope of this study. On the one hand, this research investigates the role of an individual and their engagement with significant places, and it questions identities of neighbourhoods that are created through activities and spatial practices of individuals. It focuses on physical traces of activities and the interaction with space. On the other hand, it discusses planning documents and causal relationships between the legislation and traces of individuals’ activities. Specific spatial situations caused by planning regulations and ways they constrain or afford activities in public space of shitamachi will be explored in Chapter 4.

Movement and Flow

In modern societies aiming towards efficiency, industrialization brought a necessity for synchronisation and coordination of activities in time and space (Hägerstrand, 1985; Okamoto, 1997). Time discipline and space discipline together produced the urban daily rhythm, in which a large population concentrates in the metropolitan area in the daytime and disperses to the suburbs at night. Suburban residents strengthen this spatio-temporal system by synchronization of individual activity routines with the urban daily rhythms (Okamoto, 1997).

In Japan (even) today, in post-industrial era (in network society, information society), frequent reason for a change of residence is a job transfer. Relocation and change of residence (imposed by the company) is substantially changing the level of attachment to the physical environment. The change is manifested through the attachment to the process rather than to the attachment to the (physical) place itself. Movement as a habitual action is the most extreme in metropolises such as Osaka and Tokyo which are the centres of economical, industrial, institutional power and capital (Kanemoto et al., 1996; Fujita et al., 2004). And especially in Tokyo which (since the second major industrial shift from heavy industries to services) is the capital, conglomerate, metropolis and megacity with the highest
population\(^{39}\) and accommodating the highest number of companies, corporations and employees; often argued to be “overgrown”, ”overpopulated” and ”too big” (Fujita and Tabuchi, 1997).

Since becoming a capital in 1868, Tokyo was structured by movement and flow (Ohno, 2009) but the shift that highly affected lives and lifestyles of Tokyoites took place after the Meiji Restoration. Firstly, from the 50s to the 70s Japanese manufacturing industries experienced major shift from light to heavy industries; and secondly (in the 80s) the shift of the Japanese economy from heavy to high-tech and service industries. After 1955 industrialization progressed very rapidly throughout Japan and this was more apparent in the three Metropolitan Regions (Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya). The labour force migrations were characterized as the age of national migration (JICA, 2007). In a ten year period (from 1955 to 1965) the population of the Tokyo Metropolitan region grew from 15.4 to 21 million (JICA, 2007).

The second shift has been inducing the development of the Tokyo monopolar regional system from *Tokyo-Osaka bipolar regional system* (Fujita and Tabuchi, 1997) and the fast life of industrial Tokyo was even more accelerated. The city grew into a major international financial centre with high concentration of large companies (according to National Census 2010, 4.256 million people (70.8%) works in the tertiary industry of commerce, transportation, communication, and services). Development of communication networks caused the greater dependence on information, encouraged the concentration of business sectors in Tokyo (Okamoto, 1997) and in experiential way, commuting became an integrated part of life. As a consequence of these changes, lifestyles also changed and the division between home as a living place and office as a working place, became larger. These two significant points were daily reconnected through the means of transportation. In a highly dense metropolis, with the increasing number of commuters, rises the awareness of the “daytime population” and the “nighttime population” within different cities, towns or within different city wards. Culmination of this lifestyle is reflected in 2010 The National Census lists, where the daytime population of Tokyo is 15.576 million people, which is 2.417 million more than the nighttime population figure of 13.159 million. This makes the daytime population 1.2 times more than that of the nighttime population. “The three central wards—Chiyoda, Chuo and Minato—have an index of 616.3 (a nighttime population of 375,000 persons and a daytime population of 2.311 million), making their daytime population more than six times the nighttime population. The difference is caused by the population of commuting workers and students, constituting a daytime influx from mainly the three neighbouring prefectures of Saitama.

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\(^{39}\) According to the National Census, as of October 1, 2010, the population of Tokyo was 13.159 million (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications). This number was divided into three age categories: child population (ages 0 - 14) at 1.477 million; the working-age population (ages 15 - 64) at 8.85 million; and the aged population (ages 65 and over) at 2.642 million. These figures are 11.4%, 68.2% and 20.4%, respectively, of the overall population.

When employed persons were viewed by the three industrial groups, 22,000 persons (0.4%) were employed in the primary industry of agriculture, forestry, and fisheries; 0.912 million (15.2%) in the secondary industry of mining, construction, and manufacturing; and 4.256 million (70.8%) in the tertiary industry of commerce, transportation, communication, and services.
Chiba, and Kanagawa” 40 (Figure 2-3: Ratio of daytime (left bar) and nighttime (right bar) population in 23 central Tokyo Wards).

Daytime and nighttime population data has been recorded in Tokyo from the 1990. The daytime population is defined as the number of people who commute to work and the nighttime population is defined as the number of people who reside in the area. Daytime population is calculated by the following formula using the tabulated results of place of work or schooling. Traveling from one place to another for shopping etc. in daytime, however, is not taken into account for that matter. Nighttime population (de jure population) refers to the population usually residing in the area concerned at the time of the census. The ratio of daytime population to nighttime population is defined as daytime population per 100 persons of nighttime population. If the ratio for a certain area exceeds 100, it means that the area has more in-coming population than out-going population in the daytime. Conversely, if the ratio is below 100, the City A, the ratio is computed as follows:

\[
\text{Daytime population of City A} = \frac{\text{Nighttime population of City A} - \text{Outflow population from City A}}{\text{Inflow population to City A}}
\]

These daily urban migrations have caused the extrapolation of domestic activities from privacy of home to the public spaces, as the physical distances between persons and their homes have grown. As the commuting hours are increasing exponentially, the extrapolation of domesticity continues and the city has to provide places that afford comfort and intimacy. Homelike activities are taken out of the home and it has become quite common to read in the train, to put the make up or to perform other intimate activities in front of the eye of the public. These and similar actions have become common urban behaviours. Simultaneously, the living place accommodates less and less activities and often it is not more than a sleeping place or a bedroom (Ashihara, 1989; Yūko and Yokokawa, 1995). Public and commercial facilities accommodate gatherings in an environment which has started to gain domestic character. Socializing has been dislocated into the most convenient point, the one that is close to the working place or the one that is close to the living place. Furthermore, solitary places where people rest, eat, read, work etc. have also been dislocated and public spaces are often designed for an individual (Hoshino and Miyahara 2015). Significance of the transportation and the train station an individual depended on grew and a train station has become a focal point within the network of significant places. Convenience has become related to comfort and, in some cases, more important than comfort, which has been dislocated from private to public sphere - it was handed over to the city and its institutions. On a daily basis, this constant movement changed the level of attachment to the physical environment and

it caused temporary encounters with varieties of places: the number of individuals’ significant places is multiplying.

In daily life, the Tokyo lifestyle caused by these main characteristics is evident in the congested trains, especially during the rush hour when a nighttime population of one ward or town becomes a daytime population of another ward or town.

It is evident in the empty streets of the commonly overpopulated districts that close down their shutters before the arrival of the last train. It is apparent in working hours of local shops, stores and bars that receive last orders and start cleaning and packing before the midnight, suggesting their customers they might not want to be late for the same last train. It is apparent in the number of bicycles that appropriate streets when the lights are off and when the silence is on.

Summary

In order to understand the complexity of the case study and in order to select suitable methods, it is necessary to define Tokyo as a context and its specific spatio-temporal characteristics. For that purpose, this chapter highlights the significance of scales, borders which administratively define the city and are traversed constantly; and movement which is both movement of individuals and movement facilitated by city’s institutions and infrastructure. Tokyo is further studied in quantitative sociological and spatial studies at two scales: as an experiential construct at the city scale and as a physical realm at the ward scale. Both Tokyo scales will be presented in detail in chapters four, five and seven.

Following steps are:

1. defining the methodology that is suitable for Tokyo considering its main characteristics (movement and flow) and contextualizing suitable methods,
(2) defining suitable scale for the application of the refined methodology and  
(3) integration of personal space into the planning documents.

Scholars commonly use quantitative methods to study this phenomenon and borders of the city are  
rarely explored from the viewpoint of residents and their experiences. They are rarely discussed as a  
spatio-temporal construct which develops in a relationship with Tokyo’s unique characteristics. This  
research, therefore, proposes different approach and application of qualitative methods. Semi-structured  
interviews will address and question characteristics of Tokyo from a different perspective: from a  
perspective of an individual. Questions of home address and its relationship with other significant places  
visited on a daily basis will be discussed directly with Tokyoites, who re-create the city as a place  
structured by flows.

The foundation of the existing social data is the home address, while other significant locations are  
not taken into consideration. Within the redefined borders where daytime and nighttime population is  
calculated and where the number of commuters is taken into account, other significant places as well as  
the means of transportation connecting them, should be considered. Hence, imposed rhythms and gained  
habits are explored within the constellation of significant places in order to understand the concept of  
home and the significance of the home address, other significant places, position of the living place  
within the network of significant places and finally the movement within this constellation in two  
temporalities (on a daily basis and in a life-span).

The main purpose of the study is addressed and intimate spaces that afford comfort and privacy are  
recognized and mapped with the application of the defined methodology. When mapped, areas with the  
high potential of appropriation in Tokyo will be integrated into the planning documents and made useful  
to practitioners. They will socially and spatially, through engagement, further support goals that are  
assigned to Tokyo as a Global, Regional and National Capital. Individual participation of the residents  
is therefore supported by the existing framework and by the affordances of the planned environment,  
with no direct nor institutional involvement; on a level that is intimate and personal and as such gives  
an immeasurable quality to the places.
The theorization is often disregarded in consideration of practices, but an idea or concept is a carefully crafted and considered construct, not some immediate flash of inspiration made once the correct connections have been made.

Raymond Lucas
Chapter 3 : AN INTEGRATED APPROACH

SCALES, VISUAL METHODS, SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS.

Different fields of study deal with the meaning of interactions between individuals and their environment and within each discipline, there are multiple ways of studying them. Researchers focus on different aspects of the same phenomenon within specific culture – on its psychical aspects, social ties, meanings and/or processes (Werner et al., 1985; Mallett, 2004).

The overall methodology of the research is elaborated in this chapter, with the focus on the relationship between different fields of study, on the chosen and applied methods and their sequence. Because of the nature of the research and for a better understanding of applied methods, conducted analysis and findings, detailed introduction of the framework and each method are presented separately: tripartite framework and semi-structured interviews in Chapter 4, ethnographic methodology and visual methods in Chapter 5, and details of the implementation of findings in Chapter 7.

Introduction

The proposed integrated approach includes a sequence of methods from three different fields of study. The concept of personal space is explored theoretically (in Chapter 1) before the methods are selected and contextualized and this is the initial stage that frames the research. The complexity of the concept directed towards the multi-dimensional and multi-scalar approach that includes both qualitative and quantitative methods. In the quantitative part of study two methods are conducted simultaneously – the sociological study (with the use of semi-structured interviews) and the ethnographic study (with the use of visual methods). Sociological study helps understanding socio-spatial relationships between the self and the city and defining social aspects of intimate places and their psychological/temporal characteristics. Semi-structured interviews are designed with the intention of understanding where the significant places people attach to are. Ethnographic methods are applied with the intention of mapping spaces that accommodate intimacy and are highly personalized. The main purpose is recognizing and defining the spatial characteristics of intimate places in Tokyo. Both sets of results are then translated into factors, used for the spatial analysis in GIS and further discussed reflecting on the existing planning documents.

Methodologically, this study emphasizes a sequence of qualitative and quantitative methods that complement each other and are two equally important segments of the research. It proposes an integrated approach that requires contextualization of the series of selected methods.
Qualitative Methods

Qualitative research is common in studies of cities, especially when it comes to the transient character of public spaces which are a part of vanishing historical and cultural landscape. Social relations within such neighbourhoods in Asia⁴¹ are often studied from the perception of users and the meanings they hold (Yantai, 1997; Haan, 2003; Zhao, 2004). Their physical characteristic and appeal are often dissonant and they are results of different sets of rules that do not apply out of the specific context. Values of such places are hidden behind the “messy” appeal that was not planned nor intended but comes out as a result of common practices and habitual activities.

Methods of the observation of such spaces are multiple; they usually contain observations (Gehl and Svarre, 2013), tracing with focus on users (their social characteristics such as age, gender etc.), on spatial characteristics of space (architectural elements, land use, distances, etc.) and looking for relationships between the two (Smith, 1981; Daniels, 2001). The causal relationship between the physical environment and social processes that take place in it tend to propose ways of their preservation, protection or their reconstruction. The implementation of findings into planning practices is a common goal as well as the overall contribution to the quality of life and environment with a recent focus on the concept of sustainability through its social and environmental indicators.

However, ethnography and visual methods are often overlooked or disconnected from the studies of the urban environment, although they are a natural way of seeing and learning about space from individuals’ perspective (and at the human scale). Anthropology and ethnographic methods have been commonly applied to the studies of rural societies, and only with the emergence of Urban Anthropology has it become common to study city life.

Urban studies, on the other hand, commonly rely on social data but they rarely take into account the smallest unit of social analysis – a person, or an individual. Subjectivity is often seen as less reliable and biased (Radović, 2014; Radović, 2016). The implementation of social data into the planning documents is common and social indicators are commonly included in the urban development strategies (for details see Chapter 7). But - their projections are based on the quantitative analysis⁴².

⁴¹ A parallel could be drawn with similar historical landscapes in other Asian Metropolises: hutongs, in Beijing, China, lilong in Shangai, golmok in Korea etc. Imai, 2017.

⁴² Current trends in socio-spatial studies push towards the sensorial exploration of urban environment and develop various instruments (such as EEG, for example) that translate complex experiences of urban environments into a quantifiable data. EEG is an abbreviation for Electroencephalogram, a device used for the measurement of individuals’ brains’ activity. Recent studies record and measure reactions in urban environments.
Sociological Study

Sociological study of intimate spaces started with a questionnaire (Appendix C1), which is designed and implemented following the theoretical background and related concepts. Tripartite frameworks defined in studies of place attachment and sense of home, which include spatial, social and temporal/psychological characteristics, were used for the investigation of personal space, which is understood as a relationship between the self and the city (Werner et al., 1985).

Questions are defined with the purpose of gathering the data about attachment to significant places, people and processes. However, the obtained results are found unsuitable. The main reason is the inability of capturing meanings of significant places. The question “why” an individual felt attached to a certain part of the tripartite framework remained unanswered. Then, a set of 30 semi-structured interviews with young Tokyoites was conducted and grounded theory as an inductive methodology was applied following Thomas (2006). The logic of the questionnaire is applied to the interviews and the same set of questions is used for the discussion about interviewees’ significant people, places and processes. The concept of home is explored “vertically” and “horizontally.” A vertical exploration is a temporal exploration: all the cities an individual lived in were reflected upon. And, horizontal exploration is the exploration of their current daily rhythm and lifestyle. The main question “why” individuals are attached to their significant people, to places that hold meanings and to significant processes is investigated. A personal relationship between the self and the city is explored and the importance of living place, working place and socializing place, is discussed.

Spatial Study

Observations were conducted in order to answer following questions:

1. Where in a contemporary city do personal spaces emerge?
2. What are their spatial characteristics and meanings?

Ethnographic approach and visual methods are selected as the most suitable ones because of the nature of the study. The focus at this stage is on the un-intentional engagement of individuals with their environment and physical objects that are traces of individuals’ activities. Walking and photography were therefore the most reliable ways of tracing such activities. Interaction with residents, despite being considered as the core of the ethnographic research, is avoided because of those two main goals of the research.

Case study was the Taito Ward, as one of the wards with the characteristics of shitamachi downtown areas, commonly associated with the abundance of afureodashi in its narrow paths and footways. It belongs to the first group of wards (Figure 3.3) located in the central Tokyo. Besides its socio-spatial characteristics (for details see Chapter 5) Taito Ward was selected also because of its Land Use Plan. Intensity and dynamics of spatial changes within the proposed Commercial Land Use cause situations
that are suitable for the investigation of the phenomena and for a direct study of the Land Use Plan’s impact on engagement, activities and behaviours. Affordances of shitamachi districts are present in goals of visionary documents and, when recognized as culturally sustainable, their spatial characteristics will be further integrated into the plan in order to meet specific goals defined on different levels of governance.

Observed places that afford engagement are interstitial places located at the edge between public and private. Methods used for the observation of selected district and interpretation of the data are described in detail in Chapter 5.

Similarly to the result of the sociological study, the result of ethnographic study and observation is also used as a form of data in the second part of the research. In the final stage of the research, the application of these two different methods resulted in mapping places with high potential for appropriation and attachment and adding them to the existing Land Use Plan.

Quantitative Methods

A central function of Geographic Information System is a visual interpretation of data or simply - mapping. Among many other applications it provides, the GIS is useful tool for finding relationships between social and spatial factors. It allows researchers to explore and analyse existing conditions on different scales and allows them making projections, finding and proposing ways of (urban) development.

In this research the Geographic Information Data Base of Japan was used as a basis where additional data, the result of qualitative study, were added and further analysed. Three main layers of data were overlapped: existing lots and buildings, Land Use Plan and results of socio-spatial study. Analysis was conducted on two scales. Firstly, the Commercial area of the Taito Ward was analysed and secondly the Taito 3-chome block.

The Hotspot Analysis Tool that calculates the Getis Ord statistic was applied in order to cluster units with similar spatial characteristics. For example, freeway management agencies can use the results of hot spot analysis to provide visualized information to aid the decision-making process in the design, evaluation, and management of Information Management strategies and resources (Songchitruksa and Zeng, 2010).

Results of the sociological study are mapped, individual daily routes are traced and distances between significant places are visualized. Buffer zones around focal points are then measured to map favourable distances. The distance is mapped as a 10 to 15-minute walk and following data are generated: buffer zones around train stations within the commercial area of Taito Ward, with two sets of distances (500m from the station and 1000m from the station). However, the stations in Commercial Area of Taito Ward are not as busy as stations in nearby districts (for example Asakusa or Ueno
stations\(^{43}\)). The intensity of use is equal and further classification is unnecessary. The smallness of the ward made this segment of the analysis simple (in other residential wards – such as Setagaya ward, for example, this analysis could be further refined, as it will be presented in the final paragraphs of this chapter).

Main novelty of this methodology is adding the results of the quantitative analysis to the plan and re-interpretation of the results within the specific context. Spatial elements which are mapped as layers in GIS are also seen from the perspective of an individual and as an element of the city created by flows and movement.

**Implementation of Findings**

Once the results of qualitative research are imported into GIS, and two sets of data are analysed with the application of two different tools, the results are analysed with Gettis Ord tool in order to map clusters of spaces with similar spatial properties. These two sets of data are then cross-examined highlighting areas in Taito Ward with the potential for engagement. Two sets of data produced a map of places with the potential; places that afford activities. As meaningful places that accommodate homelike activities, intimate places are further overlapped with the Land Use Plan of the Ward and their integration with the existing Land Use Plan is discussed. They are further classified into four categories. Highlighted areas hold potential for engagement and are found useful to planners and practitioners who, through reinterpretation of their characteristics, could map specific spatial characteristics.

Each stage of the research and methods applied are described in detail within Chapters 4, 5 and 7.

Usefulness of the proposed method for Tokyo’s urban development was investigated through the comparison of the Planning Documents to a different models of sustainable forms and design principles of sustainability (Chapter 7). Similar methodology could be applied to other Wards. However, methodology needs to be contextualized and based on their proposed Land Use Plan.

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43 In fiscal 2017, the Tokyo Metro station was used by an average of 213,020 passengers per day (entering and exiting passengers), making it the ninth-busiest station operated by Tokyo Metro. Source: Tokyo Metro [http://www.tokyometro.jp/corporate/enterprise/passenger_rail/transportation/passengers/index.html](http://www.tokyometro.jp/corporate/enterprise/passenger_rail/transportation/passengers/index.html)
Once we give up the belief that our life-world is rooted in the ground, we may thus come to a point where ungroundedness is no longer experienced as existential anxiety and despair but as freedom and lightness that finally allows us to move.

John Rajchman
Chapter 4: DYNAMIC SENSE OF HOME

Preface

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in order to discuss characteristics of personal space with Tokyoites from experiential perspective. The emphasis was on their relationship with the city and on their relationship with other cities they lived in; on the comparison of their habitual activities, their lifestyles and sense of home. Specific sociological methods were defined in detail and elaborated within the overall framework. From this, it was possible to discuss characteristics of Tokyo as a spatio-temporal construct and lifestyles linked to it. Importance of borders, distances, movement and flow in daily life are previously defined as main features of the city.

Introduction

“To say that roles represent institutions is to say that roles make it possible for institutions to exist, ever again, as a real presence in the experience of living individuals.” Berger and Luckmann, 1991: pp. 92

Concepts of personal space and other related concepts (person, self, space, place, city, attachment and lifestyle as in the Figure 1-1, Chapter 1) were used to establish the structure of the interviews. Questions were organized around two temporalities or two different timeframes:

1. Daily life and daily routines. Intention was to understand Tokyoites’ daily rhythm, their habitual activities and routines. This part included questions about first, second, third and other significant places. It explored social and spatial dimensions of the attachment.

2. Lifetime. This group of questions explored places of residence, birth place, hometown and previously lived environments. Importance of time spent at place and frequency of change of place of residence were under the scope.

From the first group of questions spatial distribution of significant spaces within the city lead to the definition of dispersed home, the one that is currently lived and is distributed or defragmented around the city. Homelike activities that take place in the city are no longer related to the physicality of the house. Meaning of the house and the sense of home are altered in a contemporary city.

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44 For details on first, second and third place see Chapter 2: Home
From the second group of questions a dynamic sense of home was defined. Temporality and spatio-temporal sequences in young Tokyoites revealed the sense of home that is different from the static, traditional concept. Its main characteristics were fragmented temporality and (absence of) nostalgia.

Findings from both groups of questions are useful for the understanding of the explored concepts, but they are most of all useful for the understanding of individuals’ needs. Characteristics of the lifestyles and habitual activities, sense of attachment and sense of home that are different from the traditional ones, will be used for the further definition of personal space. Results will be added as a set of data and integrated into the overall framework. They suggest a need to practically change the ways we, architects and planners, address these issues. With other segments of the research, they bring theoretical and executive planning documents closer.

Methodology

DATA COLLECTION

In order to understand how a city like Tokyo frames the sense of home, a series of 30 semi-structured interviews was conducted. As a systematic procedure for analysing qualitative data grounded theory as an inductive methodology was applied (Thomas, 2006). The method was based on “selective coding”, where all categories were unified around a “core” category. The other categories stand in relationship to the core category as conditions, action/interactional strategies, or consequences (Strauss and Corbin, 1997). In order to include all relevant aspects of the topic, data collection and analysis were recursive processes. Interviews were developed through questions addressing the following theoretical categories (Dovey, 1985; Werner et al., 1985): (1) spatial characteristics of home, (2) socio-cultural characteristics and (3) psychological/temporal characteristics of home. More specifically, the questions about spatial characteristics of home included physical location of the respondents’ current living place, working place and other (third or socializing) place; and their qualities and attributes. That made us understand where the homelike activities take place, the significance of these places and the distances between them. The socio-cultural properties of home were discussed through the self and other relationships via the questions about “significant others”\footnote{A significant other is a person who has great importance to an individual's life or well-being. In sociology, it describes any person or persons with a strong influence on an individual’s self-concept. It was introduced by Sullivan (Sullivan, 2013).}, their places of residence and the ways of communicating and “keeping in touch”. These topics examined the importance of the face-to-face contact, of mutual dependence, as well as the relative social proximity and the roles of different social groups. With the third group of questions intention was to understand respondents’ dwelling activities, habits and daily routines, patterns which they recreate, where they feel at home and where they achieve the state of rest (Appendix B1 and B2).

Interviews were from 30 to 60 minutes long. Audio recordings made during the interviews were transcribed (Appendix B3). The data were conceptualized following the methodological guidelines by
Glasser and Strauss (1967) and Strauss and Corbin (1997). The conceptual labels coded during the analysis were classified into more abstract categories (nostalgia, temporality, others and family) and from the relationships and interactions of the two core categories (field and accessibility) characteristics of “dispersed home” were defined (Figure 5-1; Appendix B5).

From the first group of questions occurred two core categories with significant conceptual density – field and accessibility - and the relationship between the core categories and other categories was further explained. Characteristics of “dispersed home” were defined from the distinction of categories, their variations and interaction.

As the second group of questions was organized around relocations and change of residence, focus was more on temporal features and psychological meanings. Questions were designed following Scannel and Gifford (2010) who synthesized analysis of the place attachment into an applicable three-partite organizing framework (person-place-process) that may be used for the investigation of this multidimensional concept. Person dimension refers to individually or collectively determined meanings; place dimension emphasizes characteristics of place on spatial level and psychological dimension includes affective, cognitive and behavioural components.

Additionally, spatio-temporal systems of respondents were represented with the time-space diagrams visualising the frequency of relocations and the length of dwelling in each city (Pred, 1984; Hägerstrand, 1985; Latham, 2003; Knowles and Sweetman, 2004). Figure 4-2 is the time-space diagram of respondent M22. Axis $x$ represents time in years (since respondent’s birth). The age respondent moved to Tokyo is represented with $t$ (which in this case was 19). Time lived at each location is presented on axis $x$ and the current location is presented with three significant places (in diagram presented in orange, red and yellow). The vertical axis represents time in minutes and is divided into two directions: $y$-direction is the time necessary to reach working place while $z$-direction is the time necessary to reach socializing place.

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46 For details on first, second and third places see page 39: How the City becomes a Home
SAMPLE

30 interviews were conducted with young Tokyoites (for details see Appendix B4). They are 17 males and 13 females living in Greater Tokyo Area and working in Tokyo Metropolis. The age of the participants is between 23 and 60. The main interest group is represented by 25 young adults\(^{47}\); respondents who are in ‘early adulthood’ (age 24 to 39). 25 out of 30 respondents are employed, two are self-employed and three are students (Table 1).

It is important to emphasize that while this study focuses on young adults, the concept of movement is not limited to this age group. Frequent relocations and attachment to different cities are even more apparent in the case of middle or late adulthood, in generations who were bearers of the industrialization. This is why all interviews were included in the sample: for the evaluation of possible differences in spatio-temporal systems of persons in middle or late adulthood and all respondents who belong to the working-age population\(^{48}\). For further research it would be interesting to compare the movement of the “industrialized” generation (now in the middle or late adulthood) and to identify changes in their lifestyles.

Interviews were conducted, transcribed and coded in English and in order to avoid possible language barriers some keywords were discussed both in English and Japanese.

\(^{47}\) Erikson’s stages of psychosocial development, is a comprehensive psychoanalytic theory that identifies a series of eight stages, in which a healthy developing individual should pass through from infancy to late adulthood. Early adulthood is age 20 to 40. ERIKSON, E. H. & ERIKSON, J. M. 1998. The life cycle completed (extended version), WW Norton & Company.

\(^{48}\) The working age population is defined as those aged 15 to 64. The basic indicator for employment is the proportion of the working age population aged 15-64 who are employed. https://data.oecd.org/pop/working-age-population.htm accessed 28.05.2017.
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<th>NO.</th>
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<th>PLACE</th>
<th>EMPLOYEMENT</th>
<th>HOUSEHOLD</th>
<th>CODE</th>
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<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Employed</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<td>26.03.</td>
<td>Tsunashima</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
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<td>Mother</td>
<td>M7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>M8</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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**Table 1: Sociological Data.**

Analysis and Discussion

**Dispersion of Home in Contemporary City**

Within the first timeframe, variations and interaction of labels and sub-categories are elaborated within the two core categories: field and accessibility. Field emerged from the relationships between spatial and temporal/psychological characteristics of home; from the discussions about living, working and socializing places and from the questions about places of rest and habitual actions and activities. It is a concept (or rather an abstraction) of the network of significant places which are re-connected daily through the means of transportation and whose location and qualities are relevant only among other places and other facilities (they are co-independent and interrelated). On the other hand, accessibility is a concept (or an abstraction) of routes which are connecting these significant places (living, working, socializing places and other places or places of rest) in a physical sense but it is also emerging from the social and psychological characteristics of home. It emerges from the connections with significant others and previously lived places, from an easy access to them and from a possibility of return.
From the second set of questions two main categories were recognized: fragmented temporality and absence of nostalgia. Fragmented temporality represents spatio-temporal changes and changes in lifestyles caused by frequent relocations which is especially obvious during the operational life. The absence of nostalgia arises from questions about previously lived environments, childhood homes, memories and objects with meanings; from the concept of home as a place to store memories, a shelter, and a place where we hope to return (Tuan, 1977; Dovey, 1985; Bachelard and Jolas, 1994).

Field

FIRST, SECOND AND THIRD PLACE

When asked about their living place all the respondents were describing a district (“cho” in Japanese49). They don’t think that their “place” is their apartment, but rather all the facilities in its vicinity that they tend to use. One of the respondents, a 25 years old man, says that his “place” is “special” because there is a lake and a shrine close to it. Another respondent, a 36 years old man, says that his “place” is good because there are three parks that he can reach on foot. About her current apartment, a 36 years old woman says it is good because the supermarket and restaurants are close to it. And, she stresses, it takes only a couple of minutes on foot to the station. Choosing a place to live in Tokyo Greater Area is all about choosing a strategically good point within other facilities.

“Ebisu is really comfortable to live in.” says M26. “[…] Cafes, bars, restaurants … […] and it’s really easy to get anywhere. Close to Shibuya, close to Daikanyama50... it’s really comfortable.”

Interview no 7.

“There are so many people coming from outside of Tokyo and make transit in Shinjuku or Shibuya station which is really hard. So that’s why I decided to live on some station on Yamanote line, Takadanobaba51.” Interview no 3.

Working place is always talked about through its relation to the living place but even more through the connections with socializing place. Often the working place is not chosen but assigned by the company, and there is a sense of inevitability related to it. Allocation and predetermination are alleviated if they are within attractive and popular Tokyo wards.

When answering questions about third places, where they socialize and spend free time, respondents were also describing a ward or a district, an area (Such as Shibuya, Shinjuku, Ebisu52 etc.). In interview

49 Ku [区] is ward, Chou [町] is district, Choume [丁目] is block. [translated by the author]
50 Daikanyama is a popular station and neighbourhood in Shibuya district
51 Yamanote line is a railway loop line in Tokyo which connects the busiest and the most important stations, lines and urban centres. Takadanobaba is a popular station and neighbourhood in Shinjuku ward, Tokyo.
52 As a reference Shibuya has an estimated population of 224.815 and covers area of 15.11km2, Shinjuku has an estimated population of 333.363 within 18.23km2, Ebisu is one of the major districts in Shibuya ward.
no 5, a 39 years old man says that when he wants to meet his friends and to go out he goes to Harajuku\textsuperscript{53} or Shimokitazawa\textsuperscript{54} and a 33 years old woman describes Shibuya, Shinjuku or Ebisu as places where she meets her friends. This is how a 25 years old student describes his favourite places, where he exercises weekly:

“I often go to Shibuya. For a drink. Or Roppongi. […] And also… […] In Gotanda\textsuperscript{55} there are some gyms where we play futsal every Thursday…” Interview no 1.

“[…] we meet up in Tokyo. Shibuya, Shinjuku, Ebisu… like that. […] Here [where she lives] there is no much to do. So Shibuya, Shinjuku… and regularly I go to Ebisu for shopping and food… […]”. Interview no 6.

Even when specifically asked about the physical properties of the places where they live, work and socialize, respondents were describing connections rather than discrete spatial entities. The first mentioned thing when talking about preferences and locations of all the three significant places is always closeness to \textit{the station} and \textit{the train line}.

\textbf{OTHER PLACES}

When talking about \textit{other} places (other than living, working and socializing places) the most important ones are places with natural elements. A 24 year old student says:

“Nature. Nature is the most important. When I was in Osaka there was a bamboo forest. When I am in Tokyo there is a big park and shrine. Now there is a big lake close to where I live. […] It’s nice.” [M24] Interview no 4.

Another respondent says that he mostly spends time in \textit{the park} and that was the reason he chose to live in Kogane\textsuperscript{56}. For her current home F28 says that the place is good because of the closeness of \textit{the ocean}, and for her future home she also says that she would choose to live close to \textit{the ocean}. Memories of the respondents’ hometown or other previous homes are also memories of different places scattered around the city, not the house nor the apartment itself:

“My apartment… there was… a watermelon! Yes, there was a watermelon yard, garden… behind my apartment.” Interview no 14

\textsuperscript{53} Harajuku district in Shibuya ward, Tokyo
\textsuperscript{54} Shimokitazawa district in Setagaya ward, Tokyo
\textsuperscript{55} Gotanda Station in Shinagawa ward, Tokyo
\textsuperscript{56} Kogane city in Tokyo Metropolis
“In Mito\textsuperscript{57}, in my birth place, there is a river close to my birth house. […] When I was a child I often went to the riverside with my friends. And [we were] throwing stones in… fishing… etc.” Interview no 11

“So it was very easy to get to the sea. That’s why in summer season we often went to the sea… […] and the night view was… […] Night view was very impressive, especially next to Numazu\textsuperscript{58} port and the small hills.” Interview no 9

In one case it is a river, in another case it is a sea, in another case it is a bamboo forest, then parks, shrines, or as seen in previous examples, orchards and gardens. These were all mentioned both as places of rest and as memorable places. Even if they are not frequently visited they are mentioned as accessible.

Accessibility

\textit{SOCIAL GROUPS}

At different life stages bonds and relationships are developed with different social groups. During the childhood and school years family and friends are the most important categories of others. During the early adulthood there is a shift from family to co-workers and colleagues who often become close friends. The working place becomes the place with the strongest social connections and leisure time is spent mostly with friends from work.

When it comes to family relationships, significant difference appeared between the respondents who were born in small, local towns or Tokyo suburbs and those who were born in Central Tokyo Wards. For the former group, families stayed in their hometown but in one case only it is actually the same house. For the latter group it is always a different dwelling (and different city), not the one they grew up in and because of these frequent relocations they are less attached to the living place itself, and they are more attached to their families.

“I have no home. Actually, because my parents are not from Fukuoka, but they live in Fukuoka, when I go to their house I don’t have any friends there. […] I go there to see my parents, but I don’t feel it’s my house. I don’t have my room because when they bought the house I was not there…” Interview no 21.

Overall, during the interviews family relationships were rarely mentioned, especially with fathers. Only one respondent M26 mentions growing up in a small town and doing small work with his father. Mothers, on the other hand, are the most significant persons related to childhood homes, previous homes and the sense of home in general – especially for the respondents who were born in Tokyo. They were born in the mother’s hometown, they stayed there for a short time after being born and they grew up

\textsuperscript{57} Mito city, capital of Ibaraki Prefecture (northern Kanto region)
\textsuperscript{58} Numazu city in Shizuoka Prefecture
with single-parent mothers. During their childhood and adolescence, they would change the place of residence because of the mothers’ jobs and she was the only constant presence in previously lived places. Now, they keep in touch and visit each other regularly and for them this is where their home is – next to their mother.

“My parents live in Osaka. Actually my mother... And grandmother. My parents divorced. And my father lives in Tokyo. […] And when I go there [to Osaka] I feel I am at home.” Interview no 4.

In different stages of life, the importance of the relationship with the mother stands out as the dominant one among all relationships and physical connection and accessibility to a mother’s place of residence is important, whether the mother lives in their hometown (or place of birth) or not. The same is the case with nuclear families where both parents are present: respondents who lived with their families moved from one city to another following their father’s job. For them too it is important to have easy and good connection with the place where the parents live, whether this is the city where they grew up or not.

In interview no. 28, a 37 year old woman who moved with her at first boyfriend and now husband three times over the last three years says that the most important thing for her was accessibility – she has always chosen good and fast train connections with her parents. In her case, as well as in other cases, the possibility of maintaining relationships matters and therefore she needs to have easy access to her significant others.

In general, respondents show less attachment to the physical environment and stronger attachment to the parents (or mothers in case of growing up in Tokyo) which makes the social aspects of home more relevant than the spatial features of home. Once again, it is the city that plays an important role providing accessibility to significant others (friends, colleagues and family) at all times.

**POSSIBILITY OF RETURN**

Once they move, respondents do not have nostalgic feelings about the places they leave, neither spatially nor socially. M37 who lived in Paris for 4 years does not feel like moving or going back, he does not miss it, but when he does go back, he enjoys the way of life. He lived in Yokohama for 18 years and his family is still there, but he feels at home in Paris too. Socially, keeping in touch is reduced to occasional gatherings with family during holidays or with friends or colleagues for special occasions such as weddings. When he talks about his sisters who live in Yokohama M25 says:
“It’s not that far from Tokyo so we meet sometimes. […] For holidays. Shogatsu⁵⁹ is an opportunity… […] But I don’t miss my family so much, just when I see them I am happy.” Interview no 1.

And even if they live in the same city, in one of Tokyo’s wards, this does not change. When asked whether they miss something or someone, or feel like meeting more often or moving back to their hometown the usual response goes back to accessibility.

“If I miss my family, I just call them. And I know that I can go home if I feel like it.” Interview no 16.

Living in a new place is always challenging and exciting, without feelings of regret or loss. The return itself is not relevant, but the possibility of return is. And this is what city affords: accessibility and possibility of return.

“My mother gave me phone calls sometimes and later… I didn’t give them a single call! [laughs] […] but if I felt lonely I could do that. I didn’t feel lonely, I had friends and colleagues and a lot of communication through my work. That was enough for me.” Interview 26

Respondents are aware of the fact that they do not remember their first homes and cities where they were born. At this point, it is important to emphasize the difference between a place of birth and a hometown, which is not necessarily the same place. Respondents moved often and childhood homes include different cities or towns and it was often difficult or impossible for the respondents to say which city or town is their hometown among all of those they have lived in. In case of the respondents being born in small towns, relocation meant different locations within the same town or in the same prefecture; and in the case of the respondents born in Tokyo it meant different Tokyo wards.

In many cases, the only attachment that develops is the attachment to the city in general, or to different spots and elements in the city, to the lifestyle and to the network of places, but not to the dwelling itself. In this case, it was the moment the dwelling was left that any attachment dissolved:

“No now my friend is living there. So I moved out and he came in, he moved in. And what was really interesting is that after… like a day after he moved in I went to visit him and then… It really felt foreign. It didn’t feel like my home anymore. It was all of a sudden his home, not mine. After a day. Just… it felt so different. I was kind of surprised really. Because nothing really has changed but… like… I left all my furniture there so… most of the furniture is there, just arranged differently. And then just one different chair I think. So how people use it just makes it their home. How people occupy the space.” Interview no. 12

So, to talk about home, is to talk about the network of places. Accessibility and connectedness are related to the new concept of home that we are discussing, the one that is dispersed in at least four

⁵⁹ Shogatsu means beginning of the year; holidays celebrated for the first three days in January [translated by the author].
dimensions: the house (first place), work (second place), socializing (third place) and fourth place (place of rest). Another place or fourth place is a place of rest that accommodates comfort, intimacy or other activities usually embodied in the home. It is not a socializing place, it is a solitary place experienced individually but with the possibility of the somewhat distant presence of others. Place of rest is easily accessible from the first and/or second place; it is a place where the subjects see the possibility for a suspension from the ordinary overstimulation of daily routines that happen within the dense urban texture, and places of rest can be generally found within different public facilities that allow for this suspension, for example where natural elements are presents (parks, shrines, etc.).

These four points are now distributed within the city and are being constantly reconnected through the means of transportation, making stations the focal points of this network. This multi-layered network constitutes a dispersed home, a territory with the body at its centre; a fluid structure of places and of daily actions, with significant others being accessible at all times.

**Progressive Sense of Home**

“Staying, leaving and journeying are integrally associated with notions of home. As such, home, be it defined as a dwelling, a homeland, or even a constellation of relationships, is represented as a spatial and relational realm from which people venture into the world and to which they generally hope to return.” Case as cited in Mallett, 2004: pp. 77

In this section Tokyoites’ dynamics and dis-location is discussed through the theoretically established framework, through questions about all previously lived homes, time spent at each place and memories related to them. Temporality and nostalgia are main categories abstracted from the data.

**FRAGMENTED TEMPORALITY**

I was born in Sasebo… close to Nagasaki city. And… um.. I lived there only one year. [From Sasebo I moved] to Kumamoto. Again one year. And then… Mita in Tokyo. And afterwards we moved to Ogikubo in Tokyo and there… we were for something like 5 years. So I graduated kindergarten and um… spent maybe two years at the primary school there. And then we went to Sendai. Again five years. […] [From Sendai I moved] to Niigata, again five years. And there I graduated from the high school and afterwards I passed the entrance exam for

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60 Sasebo city, Nagasaki Prefecture
61 Nagasaki city, Nagasaki Prefecture
62 Kumamoto city, Kumamoto Prefecture
63 Mita District, Minato Ward, Tokyo
64 Ogikubo District, Suginami Ward, Tokyo
65 Sendai city, capital of Miyagi Prefecture
66 Niigata city, Niigata Prefecture
Sapporo\textsuperscript{67} University in Hokkaido. So I moved to Sapporo. […] In total I lived in Sapporo for eight years. […] after I went to Greece for two years and then I moved to this area [Mitaka\textsuperscript{68}]. […] Now it’s about 10 years.” Interview 22

Tokyoites move often and childhood homes include different towns. In some cases, it was difficult or even impossible to say which city or town is their hometown among all the cities and towns they have lived in. Reasons to move are different in different life stages: in childhood, it is the transfer of a parent (usually a father) and in adulthood their own transfer of transfer of a spouse.

“My mother grew up in Tokyo so… she… delivered in a hospital in Tokyo but actually I grew up in Kansai. […] In Nishinomiya\textsuperscript{69}. So I… grew up in Nishinomiya… up to the middle school and after that I went to Manila. Because of my father’s job. […] After that we lived in Kobe, not far from Nishinomiya. Then… I moved to… to Kanto area. […]. And after that I got married and because of my husband’s work I went to Singapore.” Interview 19

Respondents born in Metropolitan Tokyo were moving from one Tokyo ward to another while in the case of the respondents born in small towns, relocation meant different districts of the same town or different towns of the same prefecture. Movement and change of the place of residence was an integrated part of their life.

“I was born in Akita prefecture. And it’s Akita city, but not the same place. I lived there 18 years… and we moved…. hmmmm… maybe more than 5 times. My father was a policeman. So… so we had to move.” Interview 14

Commuting hours of respondents who were born in suburban Tokyo (in surrounding prefectures, such as Saitama, and Tokyo towns\textsuperscript{70}) are longest and some of them still live with their families in a family house. The sense of attachment and sense of home is different from two other cases because they have not changed their place of residence, while their working place keeps changing - they are internally transferred every year to offices located in different Tokyo Wards, and because of that, they have to constantly adapt to the new working environment.

“Actually I wanted to change my job when I got transferred last time. […] And… after that I… asked my manager to quit the job. I already like tried to find new job but she tried to… how can I say… make me stay here. She sad: I will not try to transfer you again. So… after getting used

\textsuperscript{67} Sapporo city, capital of Hokkaido Prefecture
\textsuperscript{68} Mitaka city, Tokyo Metropolitan Area
\textsuperscript{69} Nishinomiya City, Hyogo Prefecture
\textsuperscript{70} Tokyo Metropolitan area consist of 23 central wards, 26 cities, 3 towns and 1 village.

to environment and the atmosphere I started to feel it’s easy to work so… few months after I didn’t feel like I want to change the job.” Interview 23

A 29-year-old woman says she was transferred four times in four years and now she is getting used to it. At first, it took a very long time to start feeling comfortable at work but because the work itself is the same – the process is the same – she is now more relaxed. A woman in her twenties feels the same.

“Um… I think first transfer… it took long time [to adjust]. But now I am doing it for a long time at this job so maybe just one or two months.” Interview 25

Commuting time from home to work every time was almost the same (about an hour and a half) so in this sense, there was no significant change: the process was the same and the time-space relationships did not change although the place and working environment were new. The 24-year-old man started to live in Kyoto while working in Osaka. What he was not willing to change is the distance between his living and working place. Commuting time from his house in Kyoto to his office in Osaka was similar to the commuting time in Tokyo, which helped him adjust quickly.

A 26-year-old respondent who was transferred to another city says transfer changed his personality. Because of the nature of his work but also because of the frequent dislocations he says that he is not afraid of change (anymore).

“Actually… it was difficult for me at first. […] But… as I had more experience in changing places… I kind of got used to it. To introduce myself… start communicating with people. […] Maybe one of the biggest experience and change in my mind is... that I am no longer afraid of changes.” Interview 26

All previously lived homes are juxtaposed. There is no superposition nor home that is more significant than other homes, and all the places respondents lived in were important at the time. At the moment the most important place is their current city and when they were living in another city, it was that other city. In interview number nine, the 34-year-old man says:

“[…] when I get to Ayase\textsuperscript{71} station… oh, I’m home. I can say. And also Shizuoka as well. Because I spent so much time there. […] I used to live in east side of London, area called Liverpool Street. When I’m there I would also say, this is my home.” Interview no 9

This is how a 25-year-old man explains his sense of home:

\textsuperscript{71} Ayase station in Adachi ward, Tokyo
“When I’m in Japan it really feels like home... but then when I went back to Australia it really felt like home. [...] then when I went to New York it really felt like home also [...] .” Interview no 12

**Future homes** and projections of homes are realistic and rational. Although the intention was to explore connections between hometown, childhood homes, the present home and future, projected or ideal home, future homes were discussed and described as “the first next home” rather than as “an imagined home”; the first next home as a realistic and rational intention of changing and moving from their current place of residence for a very rational reason.

“Interviewer: If you could choose any place, where would you live? Is there any place? Like imaginary place or…

Respondent: Hmmm… for this time… I don’t know, Nikotama\(^{72}\) area. I want to live there. Because it’s fashionable, stylish... [...] And Ebisu\(^{73}\) … or Minatomirai\(^{74}\). Beautiful night view.

Interviewer: Do you imagine that you will live in Japan? Or maybe go to US?

Respondent: I want to, yes I want to live in California, but it’s difficult. I tried [...] .” Interview no 17.

**LACK OF NOSTALGIA**

Nostalgia is defined as a sentimental longing or wistful affection for a period in the past\(^{75}\), a desire to return in thought or in fact to a former time in one's life, to one's home or homeland, or to one's family and friends; a sentimental yearning for the happiness of a former place or time. As such, it arises from changes, it is a spatio-temporal emotion and it is associated with former, significant people and places and it is commonly explored as the concept which is inseparable from the concept of home. According to Case talking about leaving and journeying is associated with the nostalgic feelings and sense of loss, roots and belonging (Casey, 1996; Mallett, 2004). However in Japan, nostalgia has been exploited and commercialized by travel industry, as a quest for traditional lifeway and “the nostalgic imagination implies the return to a pre-industrialized, and nonurban past” (Creighton, 1997).

In Tokyoites’ case, once they move, they do not seem to have nostalgic feelings about the places they leave. The 28-year-old man feels moving can be both troublesome and good, but he also finds it refreshing.

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\(^{72}\) Recently Redeveloped Area in Tokyo

\(^{73}\) Ebisu district in Shibuya Ward, Tokyo

\(^{74}\) Minatomirai is a seaside urban district in central Yokohama

“At the same time [it is] troublesome and it feels good. […] Because atmosphere is changing and makes me… refreshed. And like… it changes my... thinking. Towards job and towards my lifestyle.” Interview 28

He was born in Fukuoka and he lived there for 25 years, but after moving to Tokyo he has moved five times in six years. His family is still in Fukuoka and keeping in touch is reduced to occasional gathering during holidays or special occasions. However, he doesn’t miss his family, he feels good.

Another respondent says that while living away he didn’t even keep in touch with his family and that he rarely responded to their calls, but just knowing that he could reach them was enough.

“[…] my mother gave me phone calls sometimes and later I didn’t give them a single call… […] If I felt lonely I could do that. I didn’t feel lonely, I had friends and colleagues and a lot of communication through my work… that was enough for me.” Interview 26

Once they leave the place they rarely go back and nostalgic feelings appear only during the visit. A 26-year-old man says that he does not think about going back to Sendai or Osaka where he used to live, he does not miss them, but he did use the word nostalgic to describe how he felt during a short visit to Sendai. It was only there, in the city, that he felt nostalgic. Both cities were important for him at the time, but he does not feel the need to return.

“Places that I lived? Maybe Sapporo. I’d like to visit it again. If I cannot I don’t care so much. Like that. […] Otherwise I met a friend from Sendai and he travelled there and he talked about many things… about the city... to me… “Well… that’s nice”, that was my reaction. Basically like most Japanese do, I am (also) worried about the Big Earthquake… Sendai is recovering. “Oh, that’s nice”, like that.” Interview 22

The return itself is not relevant, while the possibility of return is. And if they return, they do not return to places, they return to people. Family members also move frequently and it is a rare case that significant people live in one of the previously lived homes. As in the case of temporality, a significant difference appears between the interviewees born in small, local towns and respondents born in Tokyo. For the former, the family is often still living in the place of birth and in one case only, in the same house. For the latter it is always a different house, not the one respondents grew up in and for this reason, they do not have nostalgic feelings associated to the house itself (they are attached only to their families). This puts the social aspect of home over the spatial aspect of home.

“Because my parents are not from Fukuoka, but they live in Fukuoka, when I go to their house I have… I don’t have any friends there. […] I go there to see my parents, but I don’t feel it’s

76 Sendai is the capital city of Miyagi Prefecture which was affected by the 2011 Tohoku Earthquake (or Great East Japanese Earthquake).

77 Fukuoka city, capital of Fukuoka Prefecture
my house. I don’t have my room because when they bought the house I was not there.” Interview no 21

For respondents who lived in different countries (12 respondents lived abroad), it is also the city that they remember. If and when they go back, they always mention that they miss the city, their habits and habitual actions, lifestyles and daily rhythms.

“Actually I will tell you honestly. When I lived in NY I never missed Tokyo. […] I was living close to the Central Park, very beautiful place, and perfect for jogging, walking […] I was living in… what is like Ginza78 area… buildings, buildings, buildings… so I really needed to go out, to the park. I really wanted to. I was living on the 25th floor and… noise… smog… I really wanted to go to the park, green, trees… just watching dogs, people… so I felt relaxed.” Interview 18

Memories of their childhood homes and previous homes are also memories of actions, activities and processes (such as playing with their friends, walking to school etc.). If mentioning spatial properties of previously lived places, usually they remember natural elements such as orchards, riverbanks, forests, gardens etc. They rarely describe practices and their participation in a creation of domestic environments, but they often mention the appreciation of the districts that nurture it.

“… although it’s a center of Tokyo you don’t feel it’s a center of Tokyo, you don’t feel it’s a big city. You have small supermarket, small taiyaki shop and small osenbe shop. And it’s very pretty. Very old shops but they are very pretty. And there are many old people as well. And this area… they used to have many printing factories, small printing factories… for newspapers, magazines… so… in the morning you hear … trucks. The trucks, cars delivering and then you hear: “grng grng grng grng.” [laughter] They are cutting paper. I like it. They say: ‘It’s moriiing!’ [laughs] And people go to work, physically you know. Physical work. They are like… Yossh!” Interview 20

Respondents (all except one) do not keep objects which hold memories. 37 years old woman says:

“I cannot throw away something someone gave me. I can throw away things I bought but not things someone gave me.” Interview 28

For others, possessions and belongings, if kept, are significant only for their own value, not for the meaning they hold. Only things interviewees keep are books and the most precious possessions that have personal value and could not be replaced is their digital data (laptops and hard disks with photos).

78 Ginza District, Chuo Ward, Tokyo
Three different kinds of relationships arose from the interviews. Respondents born in small local towns in other prefectures belong to the first group, those born in Tokyo suburbs or neighbouring prefectures (such as Saitama in the north and Kanagawa in the south) to the second and those who were born in central Tokyo belong to the third group. In Figure 4-3, the time-space diagrams were used to represent and visualize how long an individual has lived in each city (vertical axis) and commuting time (horizontal axis) to the working and socializing place. In A and B cases, respondents moved from a local town or Tokyo suburban area at the age of 19 and after moving to Tokyo frequency of relocations changed significantly. In the case of respondents born in Tokyo the number of relocations is higher.

The first group of respondents has a sense of home which is clearly located – their (childhood) home is where their family is. They were born in small, local towns and they had to move to another city to study and/or to look for a job after graduation. Once they start working, the movement becomes more frequent and places where they moved for work become significant. Time-space relationship changes and they usually live close to their place of work, in an apartment provided by the company. In these cases, participation in homemaking and involvement is low therefore the attachment to the place develops with time, but again, it is an attachment to the lifestyle and process rather than to the physical environment. It is an attachment to the place which is produced through the activities of people and institutions.
Respondents born in the Tokyo Greater Area usually live in their birthplace with their families during their studies. Commuting hours are long and they are mostly central Tokyo residents only during the day, constituting the daytime population of the city. The distance between the living place and university is acceptable and it is not necessary to leave the family house during studies, even if commuting time reaches two hours in some cases. With this group, transfers and relocations start and become more frequent when they begin to work. Relocation is manifested in two different ways: (1) respondents are being transferred to another city, or (2) respondents are transferred to different Tokyo wards and they change their working place once a year. In this case, their place of residence is the same, the distance between the living place and working place is more or less the same (between 1 hour and 20 minutes to 1 hour and 40 minutes) and their working place and working environment change. The time-space relationship remains the same and therefore habitual actions do not change.

The third group has the weakest attachment to their physical environment and is the group that moves most. In this group place of birth and hometown are two different places. Respondents move mostly within Tokyo wards and they are attached to the process, to the lifestyle. Relationships that are developed with their environment can be easily recreated in Tokyo and therefore the time of adjustment is short.

The attachment of the respondents from the first and second group to the childhood home is stronger because they stayed with their families during the school years. They moved once or twice within the same town and it was usually in the vicinity of the first home. Their place of birth is their hometown. All respondents have developed strong spatio-temporal relationships with their urban environments, recreating them daily through activities and actions and reconstructing them in a lifetime of relocations.

### Conclusion

Importance of the house as a physical unit which accommodates intimacy, privacy and comfort is decreasing in a contemporary city. The attachment that arises is the attachment to physical space - at a certain time. Home, therefore, has become a spatio-temporal construct. This does not mean that the traditional, static concept of home is less significant. In the theoretical part of the study complexity of the metropolis is presented through juxtaposition of historical, modern and contemporary urban forms which generate different lifestyles. Study of Tokyo as a context which through industrial sectors and technological achievements continues to accelerate the movement itself presents its active nature. Sociological study suggests that a different sense of home develops in people who live in different environments and - in different cities or in different city forms within a metropolis. Because of this, urban planners and architects need to plan and design with the awareness of the causal relationship between the self and the city; between the self that feels at home and moves within the city as its home.

Importance of home for the concept of personal space in the context of the research arises from the fact that if the home is dispersed, then personal spaces are distributed around the city. In this case, the
city needs to afford and provide for the needed intimacy. Intimate spaces of dispersed home are only partially (or temporarily) inside the house. They are equally distributed outside, in the city’s public, semi-public and semi-private places and privacy is extrapolated from the privacy of the house to the public-ness of the city. And even when urbanites do not necessarily engage with the immediate environment themselves, they do recognize qualities of intimate places created with care.

**Figure 4-4. Buffer zones around train stations in commercial area of Taito Ward.**
In urbanized areas - megacities, global cities and metropolises – the dynamics of daily life are accelerated and altered. From the perspective of citizens and their time-space organisation, the city manipulates and enforces impediments on their daily dynamics and experiences in two ways. Firstly as a spatial realm, within which (semi)public and (semi)private places are connected by means of transportation, and homelike activities take place at an urban scale. And secondly, on a daily basis and in a lifetime of movement, the city imposes upon a person through its institutions (industrial sectors) which are developing various types of accommodations for their workers and which cause frequent relocations affecting individuals’ attachment to places.

Main characteristics of personal space concluded from interviews are related to temporal aspects of the city and to distances. The speed of movement changes the perception of distance or rather distance is diminished by the speed. In technology-oriented society and in a metropolis like Tokyo, distance is an even more arguable term: destination is relative because we can move for the same amount of time by different means of transportation (going by car, by bus or by different types of trains). In Tokyo, when defining distances people commonly use time units and define new terms (such as “door-to-door distance” that includes walking to the station from the living place, walking around the station, taking a train and walking to the destination). The main finding, that is useful to practitioners and is implemented into the quantitative part of the research, is related to distances from the focal point (in this case, train station).

The time that takes from the place of residence to the train station is further used for the spatial analysis in the second part of the research. The temporal dimension is translated into the spatial one, and radiuses with 500 meters and 1000 meters around stations are mapped in Taito Ward. These spaces are favourable places that are ‘convenient’ and defined by residents as the most significant ones. Highlighted areas are overlapped with the factors extrapolated from the observations. Usefulness of the results and their application are elaborated in detail in Chapter 7: Practicing Intimate Spaces.
The Apartment

A bedroom is a room in which there is a bed; a dining-room is a room in which there are a table and chairs, and often a sideboard; a sitting room is a room in which there are armchairs and a couch; a kitchen is a room in which there is a cooker and a water inlet; a bathroom is a room in which there is a water inlet above a bathtub; when there is only a wash-basin it is known as a cloakroom; an entrance hall is a room in which at least one of the doors leads outside the apartment; in addition, you may find a coat-rack in there; a child’s bedroom is a room into which you put a child; a broom closet is a room into which you put brooms and the vacuum cleaner; a maid’s bedroom is a room that you let to a student.

George Perec
Chapter 5: FRAGMENTS OF HOME

Preface

The qualitative part of the research started with the observations of appropriated places, places that abound with personal belongings. These places represent a physical manifestation of personal space in public and semi-public spaces. They represent traces of relationships between the self and the city, an appropriation of the city space and engagement with it. In this chapter the theoretical background of concepts relevant for the observation is presented in detail. It is followed by the methodology and its application within the specific context. Final subchapter elaborates findings and discusses their relevance within the overall framework.

Introduction

“Space comes into being through practice; [and] cultural meanings thus invoked are principally unstable and contextual. This also implies that spatial divisions are read through the body, a learning process that is never completed.” Gabriele Vom Bruck, 1997: pp. 166

Recent trends in theories of place, place attachment and home focus on practices and habitual activities as processes that structure the environments we inhabit (Pred, 1984; Dovey, 1985; Werner et al., 1985; Blunt, 2007; Cresswell, 2013). If these concepts, fluctuating, transient, and structured by flows (Sassen, 2005), arise from the reiteration of individual and social practices (Pred, 1984), how important is the actual engagement with the physical environment in a contemporary city? This is one of the questions this paper explores in the case of Tokyo, a city of conflicting realities with living spaces paradoxically small in an overall bigness (Radović and Boontharm, 2012) and a city which generates solitude despite an undeniable crowdedness (Miyazaki, 2010; Genda, 2013).

A dissonant image of the metropolis is most apparent in alleyways of traditional shitamachi districts. Commonly translated as downtown districts where a slow pace of life and quiet residential neighbourhoods are juxtaposed against the large-scale buildings, they keep their own, separate logic and

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79 The roji (路地) can be described as a mostly narrow and winding alleyway or neighbourhood unit in traditional wooden low-rise neighbourhoods, which no car can enter, and which are only wide enough to allow one person to walk or cycle through. IMAI, H. 2013. The liminal nature of alleyways: Understanding the alleyway roji as a ‘Boundary’between past and present. Cities, 34, 58-66.
rhythm - unhurried, intimate and deeply personal\textsuperscript{80}. Focusing on the dialectics between big and small, slow and fast, permanent and temporary, this research investigates the concrete urban situation of one old downtown area of Tokyo and its common spaces which abound with personal belongings and attest to the rich practices of everyday life. In Japan, temporary elements of urban space are called \textit{afuredashi} \cite{mizuguchi2012,sand2013}. Some of these elements are signs or symbols that help us navigate through complex multi-layered and multi-levelled realm, some of them are utilitarian, while some of them are purely decorative. Whether attached to nearby shops or houses, they often accommodate domestic items commonly kept inside the house. Blurring additionally the border between public and private space, they become a “spatial extension of house”. A walk through these areas reveals the unforeseen face of the giant: the one that is fragmented across the city and wears the face of an individual, of a citizen, of a person engaged with it. The strong presence of Tokyoites’ personalities in their physical absence is reflected in the abundance of belongings exposed to our sight.

According to Whincup \cite{whincup2004}, objects hold access to memories and one specific object cannot be replaced by another similar object. In contemporary society however, whether in public or in private space, the meaning and value of objects change as a result of the increased use of technology: memories are recorded in digital formats and become virtually and digitally accessible at any time. With this dramatic change, the roles of (personal) objects (again in both private and public spaces) interrogated in this study, as well as their general physical and functional presence in urban environments, have also continued to change.

Some of the questions this research opens are:

1. What are typical spatial relationships in which personal belongings in urban spaces of Tokyo appear? Are there specific spatial and architectural characteristics that afford\textsuperscript{81} a higher number of personal belongings (and, therefore, the possibility for meaningful engagement with immediate environments)?

2. Which meanings get associated with these personal belongings exposed to public view?

3. Would it be possible identify and to assist the emergence of places with similar, positive characteristics through specific planning and design practices?

In order to answer these questions, detailed fieldwork was conducted with the application of visual methods. Personal belongings and possessions found in semi-public and semi-private spaces are photographed, mapped, and opened to discussion. They are (re)interpreted as urban artefacts that are the physical manifestation of individuals’ activities. Spatial characteristics of the areas where artefacts are placed are analysed with the intention of investigating their causal relationship. Results of visual

\textsuperscript{80} “[...] the hoary cliché that Tokyo is little but a congeries of villages.” BESTOR, T. C. 1989. Neighborhood Tokyo, Stanford University Press.

\textsuperscript{81} An affordance is what an environment offers or provides; it includes all transactions possible between an individual and their environment. GIBSON, J. J. 2014. The theory of affordances. Jen Jack Gieseking, William Mangold, Cindi Katz, Setha Low, and Susan Saegert, editors, The People, Place, and Space Reader, 56-60.
exploration are then imported to GIS and areas with similar spatial characteristics were located with the use of software.

The Taito ward was explored as one of Tokyo’s typical downtown precincts exhibiting distinct shitamachi characteristics and exposed to relentless transformation. The construction sites in Taito are significantly and constantly changing its image and creating situations suitable for the observation of phenomena of direct relevance to this study and for the comparison of diverse spatial conditions with the varying amounts of afuredashi at hand. Transformed on a daily basis, getting opened or closed, rearranged or removed, they are constantly changing the realities, the image and the atmosphere of the place. And although the meanings which these elements hold remain decidedly personal and individual, they are the agents in production of a sense of community and identity on the neighbourhood scale.

The proposed methodology, which combines qualitative and quantitative methods, is applicable in multidisciplinary studies of urban spaces in rapidly changing metropolitan landscapes. It is a way to support the emergence and flourishing of intimate places through planning and design practices.

Theoretical concepts

Traces of Play in a Lifeworld

In order to establish a connection between objects, playful activities and spatial characteristics of the selected area that accommodates them, three theories were applied. Firstly, as a setting for activities, the concept of the lifeworld that traces and exposes the parts of everyday environmental experience and within lifeworld, the concepts of rest, movement and encounters (Seamon, 2015). The photographed personal belongings were further classified and re-interpreted as urban artefacts or as objectified human

82 By the proposed Land Use Plan over 80 percent of the Ward that currently accommodates small industries and low-rise residential units is planned for the Industrial Land Use with high Building Coverage Ratio and Field Area Ratio (Figure 4.2).
needs (Leontyev, 2006). These objectified needs in other words are forms of play, and hobbies such as gardening, flower arranging etc. are the most intimate manifestation of play in public space (Sutton-Smith, 2009). Through these concepts, a connection between subject (an individual) and object (an element in public space) was established and intimate places were further explored from the spatial perspective: characteristics of the structures surrounding them were mapped and discussed in relation to the personal belongings.

**LIFEWORLD AND REST**

Restlessness in contemporary city, which comes along with the necessity to move, is changing lifestyles of urban dwellers and character of public space (Dovey, 1985; Lash and Urry, 1994; Simmel, 1997; Deleuze, 1998; Green, 2002). Activities like sleeping, eating or putting makeup on in train, changing clothes on parking lots etc. are common urban behaviours linked to the urban (and metropolitan) lifestyle that forces one to move. Time-space relationships are changing, distances shrinking and consequentially intimacy, privacy, comfort and other attributes of home are gradually being displaced into the public sphere (Rybczynski, 1987). These “taken-for-granted patterns and contexts of everyday life through which the person routinely conducts his/her day-to-day existence without having to make it an object of conscious attention” (Buttimer, 1976) phenomenologists call natural attitude or “the unquestioned acceptance of things and experiences of daily living” (Natanson, 1962; Giorgi, 1970). In “A Geography of Lifeworld”, David Seamon uses three primary themes to uncover and reveal the wholeness of everyday life experience: movement, rest and encounter. Movement signifies any spatial displacement of the body initiated by the person himself or herself; it is an action made by the body. Rest is an experiential structure within a network of places an individual is familiar and comfortable with; established taken-for-granted places for the things in their everyday life; or a “geographical world extending beyond the dwelling-place” (Seamon, 1979). The basic experiential structure of rest is at-homeness and its specific physical extent and boundaries are not the concern as much as the overriding experiential structure which makes them possible. Encounter is any situation of attentive contact between the person and the world at hand. Exploring the nature of encounters leads us to better understand how human beings attentively meet the places, spaces and landscapes which form their surroundings. Seamon argues that these three themes portray, in one possible fashion, the essential core of people's behavioural and experiential involvement with their everyday geographical world.

Elements found in alleyways (personal belongings and other arranged small objects) form places that are the extension of home into the public realm. Photographs of these “extended homes” present residents’ natural attitude and their unintentional involvement with taken-for-granted places, they are traces of their playful activities. Further analysis of the physical environment with different amounts of personal belongings reveals causal relationships between physical characteristics of the environment and the intensity of encounters.
SOLITARY PLAY

Presence of people in public space and their active interaction with it are commonly seen as a social indicator of “good life” (Bradburn, 1969; Diener and Suh, 1997) and traces of play in public spaces are a sign of individuals’ engagement with the physical environment and its qualities.

“Traces might also be found in trampled paths over grass or gravel, or as evidence of children’s play in the form of temporarily abandoned toys. Traces could be tables, chairs and potted plants left outside in the evening, which indicate a quarter where residents confidently move their living room into public space and leave it there. Traces could show just the opposite: hermetically sealed shutters and bare porches can indicate a quarter with no signs of life.” Gehl and Svarre, 2013: pp. 30 [emphasis added]

Play is an ambiguous phenomenon studied mostly in the context of entertainment and in children. It is difficult to define and, if defined, ambiguous words tend to be used in defining it (Bateson, 1955; Marcus, 1974; Judd, 2002; Nasaw, 2012). In this study, Sutton Smith’s list of activities that are identified as forms of play are applied to the exploration of public space83 (Sutton-Smith, 1997). The focus is on solitary play and private possessions which are traces of solitary play in public space. The solitary activities include hobbies such as collections, gardening; flower arranging, handicrafts etc. and only subjective play or mind play (such as dreams and reveries) is more private. In this sense, public space that accommodates solitary play becomes a space with high level of intimacy or intimate space. In dense urban environments and contemporary cities solitary play is extrapolated from the inside (of home) to the outside (to the city) or rather – to the border between inside and outside, to interstitial places, which are an extension of home. It has characteristics of both public and private because the activity itself is solitary but it takes place in a public space, out of the home. Person, or subject, is exposed through the traces of their activities, through objects visible to others. These traces could be in a form of small ensembles of tables and chairs surrounded with flower arrangements; washing machines, clothespins, hangers and laundry on clotheslines; baskets, brooms and sponges in vicinity of water pipes and basins, collections of toys etc. Left and arranged in public space, these private possessions and personal objects become veritable urban artefacts and solitary play becomes the most intimate form of play that leaves tangible traces in the urban environment.

83 Among the presented list of activities, mind or subjective play (dreams, daydreams, reveries playing with metaphors) is mostly private. It is followed by solitary play (hobbies, collections, gardening; flower arranging, handicrafts etc.), playful behaviours (playing tricks, playing around), informal social play (joking, parties, leisure), vicarious audience play (television, film, concerts, theatres), performance play (playing music, being an actor, play voices), celebrations and festivals (birthdays, weddings, carnivals), contests (games and sports) (athletics, gambling, physical skill) and risky or deep play (caving, rafting, extreme games). Contests and deep play are mainly public.
OBJECTS AS URBAN ARTEFACTS

Conceptual distinction between the universe of people and universe of objects, of people on the one hand and things on the other, has had an impact on “material culture studies”, commonly populated by anthropologists, archaeologists, psychologists and sociologists (Knappett, 2002). This study explores this relationship from the urban perspective, through the relation between subject and object, where the object is something in the subject’s environment that represents the satisfaction of a particular need. Activity is what mediates between the subject and object; it is a human need that forms the structure of activity and the objects themselves are the products of activity. Tangible traces of activity in a form of privately possessed appliances, small architectural elements, personal objects etc. were therefore observed as artefacts, as objectified human needs (Leontyev, 1977; 2006).

Observation of “inexplicable protuberances and concavities connected to buildings and streets in the city” (Sand, 2013) occurred in Japan in 1980s. The observationists of Street Observation Society were looking for and interpreting the traces of others’ interventions in the planned regularity of Tokyo. Members of the group photographed uncommodified objects they referred to as *bukken* and saw themselves as bringing to light an urbanism already latent (Sand, 2013). By simply recording, classifying, and describing their discoveries, the observationists left the city itself as the primary frame, suggesting the potential existence of innumerable similar instances in the same classification scheme, as an archaeologist interprets fragments for what they suggest of the whole to which they once belonged, not for the intrinsic interest or beauty of the fragment itself (Sand, 2013).

The object made by some unidentified person or by natural accident, incidentally found, photographed and interpreted was significant for the exchanges or transactions rather than for the sign of use value. With similar approach, this research observes and examines spatial characteristics of settings that accommodate objects placed by unidentified individuals, it discusses the ambience of the setting and level of intimacy created through the exchange between subjects and objects, through play, and it proposes a combined methodology for their further exploration and integration into planning as valuable and meaningful (irreplaceable) environments.

Case Study: Tokyo, Taito Ward

The extrapolation of home into the public realm, which through appropriation accommodates domestic activities, is not a novelty in Tokyo. As one of the most populated metropolitan areas in the world and as complex as it is, Tokyo has always been under the scope of various studies of behaviour and living habits (Ashihara, 1989; Yūko and Yokokawa, 1995; Caballero and Tsukamoto, 2006). Explorations of

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84 *Bukken* corresponds more closely to the countable concrete noun “property” as it is used in the real estate industry. By the same token, it suggests what legal scholars call the in rem character of property: its foundation as a concrete relation between persons and physical things, as opposed to a relation, like a contract, between persons. SAND, J. 2013. Tokyo vernacular: Common spaces, local histories, found objects, University of California Press.
lifestyles in Tokyo tend to emphasize the ideas of nomadic life and use of various public and commercial facilities as extensions of domestic functions. These facilities provide spaces with attributes usually associated with home – privacy, intimacy, comfort, convenience, efficiency and self-expression (Sixsmith, 1986; Rybczynski, 1987).

When it comes to public spaces and activities in public spaces, in Tokyo they are generally contrasted with Western concepts of public spaces that are commonly used for leisure and socializing (Jinnai, 1995; Dimmer, 2012). One of the conceptual keywords for understanding Japanese urban space is the term *kaiwai* translated as “activity space” and described and characterized by subjectivity, indeterminacy, and assemblage of individual experiences. As a phenomenon that is more social than spatial, it is constituted by “the set of individual activities of people, or the accumulation of devices that trigger a set of activities (Sand, 2013)”. Concept of *kaiwai* characterised Japanese urbanism through ways in which ordinary people appropriated space spontaneously and through the kinds of places that accommodate and lent themselves to this spontaneous appropriation. Such places are customary in downtown areas, in traditional Tokyo districts (Bunkyo, Arakawa, Taito, Sumida and Koto) where the character and overall atmosphere remain relatively unchanged in spite of the damage caused by major historic disasters such as the Kanto Earthquake in 1923 and the Second World War, and in spite of the relentless industrialization and modernisation of the city. The atmosphere of Edo is still present in these districts where Japanese historic landscape and cityscape are still preserved and maintained. Their main quality is in an overall network of narrow streets, paths and footways; the spaces for (individual) interactions where everyday life occurs and expresses itself; “they are a boundary between past and present and the space that continues to exist as mental space and an alternative landscape of reminiscence” (Imai, 2013).

![Figure 5-2](image.png)

**Figure 5-2.** Left image: Tokyo Central Wards, location of Shitamachi districts and Taito Ward. Right image: Land Use Plan of Taito Ward and the selected commercial area.

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85 Such as trains, convenience stores, vending machines, noodle shops, public baths, coin wash machines, karaoke, love hotels (Caballero & Tsukamoto, 2006) and typically small apartments used only as storage and bedroom (Ashihara, 1989) (Yūko & Yokokawa, 1995).
Physical frame of the research was set in the Taito Ward, the typical downtown precinct in the centre of the shitamachi. Taito is the smallest ward in central Tokyo (covering only 10.11km²) and the third smallest in population with 186,276 residents (as of May 2015, Ward, 2016). Population density is 18,420 persons per square kilometre. The location was significant due to its central location since the Meiji Restoration (1868), when Edo⁸⁶ changed name to Tokyo and became the capital of Japan.

On one hand, it is a dynamic ward, with various industries (such as manufacturing, wholesale and retailing) and numerous small and medium enterprises. Such enterprises were, and remain, bearers of a slow-paced life: in most of the buildings that accommodate small industries, the second floor still tends to be used as a living space and there is no separation between the dwelling place and working place. However, the number of such establishments has decreased as well as the number of employees. The declining birth rate and problems associated with an aging society have caused ‘discontinuation of successors’, and have affected the population of the Ward (Taito Ward, 2015; 2016). The ratio of younger people to the total population is constant while the proportion of elderly residents is gradually increasing (Figure 5-3)⁸⁷. An increasing number of high-rise buildings and the constant influx of people also affect the pace of life and traditional patterns of engagement with the environment.

⁸⁶ For disambiguation: the Edo Period is the period between 1603 and 1868 and Edo City changed name to Tokyo in 1868 when it became capital of Japan and when the Emperor and the seat of Government moved from Heian-kyo (modern Kyoto)

⁸⁷ Based on the records from 2009 to 2013, the trend of long-term population decline will continue, as well as the birth rate and aging. However, in Taito the number of residents will continue to increase because of the influx of people, both foreigners and Japanese. It is expected to reach 200,000 by 2024 [source: 1shou (Ward, 2015)]
On the other hand, the location of Taito is distinctive because some of the most visited tourist spots are in its immediate vicinity (Figure 5-4). Asakusa area with 1400 year old Sensoji Temple, Tokyo Skytree (the tallest building in Tokyo and the second tallest tower in the world) and busy Akihabara station and shopping district specializing in electronic goods (considered to be an otaku hotspot) are all within the walking distance. Ueno Park, which is located in the Taito Ward is the second biggest urban park in Tokyo and the most visited in Japan; it is home to various museums (Tokyo National Museum, National Museum of Nature and Science, National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum, Shitamachi Museum) and other cultural facilities. The majority of public spaces in the Taito Ward are in the vicinity of these busy and bustling landmarks.

This friction (between small, slow, permanent and big, fast, temporary) makes the ward unique. It is the place where “bigness” and “smallness” meet the dynamics of the constant physical transformation and change. Taito is big, Taito is small and Taito is (constantly) “under construction”.

Urban roads in Japan are functionally classified into main arterial roads (primary distributor), arterial roads (district distributor), sub-arterial roads (local distributors) and access roads.

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88 Three and a half years after opening, Tokyo Skytree was visited by 20 million people. Source: https://japantoday.com/category/national/tokyo-skytree-visitors-top-20-million-3-12-years-since-opening [accessed 18.05.2017]

89 Otaku is a Japanese term for people with obsessive interests, commonly the anime and manga fandom. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Otaku

90 Main arterial roads (primary distributor) give priority to automobile transport for regional and intercity services over long distance; arterial roads (district distributor) form the basic urban structure and provide services for major intra-urban traffic
While all four types exist in Taito ward, the most significant in terms of presence of urban artefacts, are paths and footways (or alleyways, roji). Because of their spatial characteristics, walking is the best, and in some cases the only, way to explore them.

Methodology

In this study, the lifeworld in contemporary city is explored through the visual analysis of the lifeworld of Taito Ward. The engagement with physical places is explored through the analysis of natural attitudes of residents expressed in their immediate environment. Walking, as a metaphor of reading (De Certeau, 1984), remains the best way to observe and photography (as a visual method) the most reliable tool to capture the contents (and more specifically objects) of daily life placed in semi-public and semi-private shared spaces where people feel at-home.

Studies of personal belongings and intimate spaces are commonly conducted within the house. Existing studies focus on spatial and architectural characteristics, construction and materials and recently also awareness of their influence on behaviours and relationships between family members. Studies focusing on architectural features of Japanese houses celebrate and learn from adaptability of wooden houses from different eras often emphasizing its aesthetics (Smith, 1981; Daniels, 2001; Ozaki, 2006). These are usually studies of traditional layouts such as minka, machiya or nagaya for example (Taut, 1958; Smith, 1981) or contemporary small houses (Hildner, 2011). Methods used for the investigation of detached houses are mostly architectural and those of social living are mostly socio-spatial studies (Nakano, S., Hirai, N, Fujitani Y. 2011; Kakuda, 2010). Two studies that emphasise often overlooked perspective of the house – the notion of activities – which are archetypal behaviours commonly embodied in the home (Spivak, 1973), will be presented.

Through an intimate exploration of one family and their home, Smith (1981) describes a family life in minka house in detail; he moves from one room to another, he lists all items and activities that take place in each room. Besides the detailed layout, this study is significant for its notion of intimacy and

91 *Minka* [民家] is translated as a folk house; *machiya* [町屋] is a townhouse; and *nagaya* [長屋] is a row of houses

between the city and adjacent area; sub-arterial roads (local distributors) provide services to the generating traffic to/from arterial roads; and access roads which form the urban block and provide direct access services to/from building sites JICA 2007. Urban Planning System in Japan.
activities that take place in each room. The existence of transitional spaces, such as *engawa*, is one of the unique features of the Japanese traditional archetypal house. *Engawa* is a porch that belongs to both inside and outside. It was a common element in fenced detached houses that overlooked the garden. It was a common element in villas for the upper-middle and upper class; houses that were explored as if they were standing alone (Hildner, 2013). Since the “viewing garden” has been largely replaced by a “doing garden,” the meaning of *engawa* has also changed (Figure 5-5).

A house that is more relevant to this study is *nagaya*, initially the single-story row house on the narrow side of the street and back lanes. It evolved during the Edo period into two types: *nagaya* and *ura nagaya*, which were different in size and quality (Figure 5-5). Significant features of those houses is that neighbouring buildings were under one roof, they were small with one or two rooms and kitchen. Toilet and bath were located outside and they were shared along with a well. Bathhouses were places of informal gatherings (Hildner, 2013). Even today in many *shitamachi* districts going to a bathhouse is a common evening ritual. Shared spaces between houses are premodern forms of collective spaces (Hildner, 2013) and as such are studied for their social potential, as gathering spaces where community life existed. They are re-interpreted as a possible model for future living in an aging society (Kitayama et al., 2010).

This research explores the potential and the affordance of shared space, along with the meanings it holds in contemporary urban cityscape. It recognizes it as a space that accommodates intimacy, privacy and comfort and, as such, is an extension of home into the urban realm.

In her recent study of contemporary life in Japan, Daniels (2001) is exploring the house in contemporary urban settings; a house that is a consequence of family needs and city’s spatial constraints. Open ground floors accommodating cars are one example of such collision (the lack of parking space and necessity for cars result in a form of a house that is elevated and disconnected from the ground), the role of house’s walls as a fence is another (the space surrounding the house is gradually disappearing...
and the wall of the house has a role of a fence – it blocks the view); a function of a window has changed – often it does not provide light or view – it is used as a storage or a display. She is studying houses in Kansai Region, and notices alterations of the layout as a consequence of spatial constraints within dense metropolitan districts. Urban lots in Tokyo keep shrinking and they keep splitting\textsuperscript{92}, changing and limiting the number of possible spatial solutions.

In shitamachi districts where most of the houses were the nagaya type, a presence of engawa is rare as well as the existence of a garden. But as a liminal space and the space that allowed specific practices (such as viewing the garden), it is significant in a context of contemporary city as a liminal space (or a transition space), which coexists in a memory of people who moved to urban environment and once had the “space for viewing”. Some urban reinterpretations of the liminal space, now within commercial or public facilities, can be traced in Tokyo (Figure 5-6).

![Figure 5-7: Left image - Window as a storage. Right image - An example of "Doing garden" in an urban environment. Location: Taito Ward. Source: Author.](image)

First reason these two studies are significant is the notion of activities (such as bathing and sleeping) within the concept of privacy. The second reason why these studies are significant is the spatial allocation of activities and objects within specific rooms. In the case of machiya typical house had 11 rooms while nagaya had one to two rooms and a kitchen. These are found useful for a comparison with the objects found in contemporary urban environments. Third aspect that is significant for this study as a liminal space is the meaning of a footstep located in the entrance hall, as a spatial barrier that stands between the “cleanliness” and privacy of the inside and “dirtiness” and public of the outside. It signifies the importance of elevation and vertical barrier between spaces (Shelton, 2012).

\textsuperscript{92} The average Tokyo house size in 2002 was 150 m\textsuperscript{2} and the plot size 200 m\textsuperscript{2}; in 2013 in the 23 Wards, the average household had enough living space to allot about 19.1-square meters per person. Recommended living space by MLIT is 25m\textsuperscript{2}. Source: https://resources.realestate.co.jp/living/how-much-living-space-does-the-average-household-have-in-japan/. Accessed 05.06.2018.
Walking, as a Metaphor of Reading

Walking, as a metaphor of reading (De Certeau, 1984), remains the best way to capture the contents of daily life placed in shared spaces (in an extended home); in the selection and arrangements of material objects. Street observation in Taito Ward started as observation of “inexplicable protuberances and concavities connected to buildings and streets in the city, which, while purposeless, have been beautifully preserved” (Sand, 2013). The streets (in Japan classified as “urban roads”) of the ward’s commercial area (see Land Use Plan, Figure 5-2) were photographed during five consecutive days in July 2016. Character of the streets was explored on first four days and the detailed research was conducted in the selected block on the fifth day. The routes were mapped and recorded in order to georeference the photographs. The Taito 3-chome block, with the highest number of urban artefacts, was then selected for the final stage of this research.

The gathered visual data were used for interpretation and definition of spatial characteristics of intimate spaces. Intimacy of shared spaces was explored through the presence of elements commonly kept and used inside the house, in a privacy of the home (Collier Jr, 1995). Focusing on daily domestic activities (Ahrentzen et al., 1989; Oseland and Donald, 1993), the elements were defined through their placement in rooms of an archetypal house plan (such as living room, dining room, bathroom etc.) (Monteiro, 1997). A complete list of urban artefacts, rooms of an archetypal house plan, examples of solitary play, and attributes of home, which lead to the definition of types of intimate places and their characteristics, are listed in the Figure 5-9.

The focus of visual analysis is on the intended purpose of private possessions and in spite of the capability of photographs to generate multiple meanings, the ambiguity of meaning between picture maker and picture viewer is therefore diminished (Hall, 1966; Barthes, 1993).

93 with the “Map My Walk” application, available on AppStore and GooglePlay
94 In Japanese Ku (区) is ward, Chou (町) is district, Choume (丁目) is block
“[...] social scientists who are also skilled photographers aim to produce images which have both documentary reach and aesthetic quality, these can - in combination with verbal text - generate a type of social science understanding which is very rich [...]” Chaplin as cited in Knowles and Sweetman, 2004: pp. 36

Scientific disciplines, like cultures, are not static but dynamic entities, continuously changing and developing (Pardo and Prato, 2016). One of the fundamental components of cultural (and within cultural also sociocultural and urban) anthropology is ethnographic fieldwork that usually includes participant observation and interviews. Ethnographic methods however include a range of other research techniques and approaches. Among them, visual methods are commonly used in studies of various aspects of contemporary urban settings. Visual methods have been marginalized as being subjective and unreliable but since 1980s images are becoming acknowledged, accepted and regarded as a meaningful element of ethnographic work (Pink, 2013). Knowles and Sweetman (2004), provide an elaborate genealogy of visual methods through the use of photography and images, and numerous texts reflect upon them (for example Spencer, 2010; Margolis and Pauwels, 2011; Krase, 2012; Banks and Zeitlyn, 2015).

Subjects of photographs in urban settings are commonly people and their behaviours are observed in relation to others and to environments (Whyte, 1980; Gehl, 2011). In this research, photographs are used as a form of data to identify the intersections between people and environment and to illustrate the general from the particular. Through the inventories of static characteristics and properties, the
photographic images served as points of access to the social world, which they also archive (Knowles and Sweetman, 2004).

“It captures the particular, the local, the personal and the familiar while suggesting a bigger landscape and challenging us to draw the connections between the two.” Mills, 1970: pp. 14

Lifeworld is observed in streets and personal belongings are reinterpreted as activities, as traces of play (solitary play\textsuperscript{95}) in the lifeworld.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image.png}
\caption{Framing the Artefacts: Data Collection, Mapping and Interpretation of Results.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{95} For details see page nine, paragraph two
Within the selected block, all the streets, paths and footways are walked through and photographs of all objects are recorded. Each cross-section between the street, path and footway is mapped and photographed as well as the types of the elevations (Appendix B7). Photographs are taken from the front view with a street level and pavement captured as a referential horizontal line. For the clarity of the image and for better understanding of images’ content figures and drawings are captured without a distortion (Figure 5-9). In narrow streets where the minimum necessary distance between the photographer and the object is not possible the artefacts are photographed without a horizontal referential line. In this case, two photographs of small objects are taken: one of the whole façade for a better understanding of their allocation and one close image of the element for better understanding of its shape and purpose. Functions of buildings and their elevations are added to the map of the block (Figure 5-12).

The spatial characteristics of the surroundings (such as the scale of buildings, their functions, characteristics of paths and walkways, etc.) are then imported as factors into the GIS. The clusters of places that accommodate small buildings along narrow streets within the commercial area of Taito Ward are mapped with a Hotspot Analysis tool, which calculates the Getis-Ord Gi* statistic where features with either high or low values cluster spatially. Finally, results of the qualitative and quantitative analyses are compared and discussed.

Analysis and Results

From the viewpoint of playful activities, the urban roads and buildings on their sides create diverse ambiances and afford different types of activities. But despite an apparent intensity, the quality and meaning of the activities that take place is low comparing to those on paths and footways: even if there is no apparent activity in those areas, objects and elements are ever-present, as their trace and evidence (Figure 5-9). From the viewpoint of the concept of play in public space, people spend most of their time in the smallest of streets, paths and footways. Given the number of artefacts and their character, these places are considered to be the most personal and the most intimate open places in Taito and they are the places of play that accommodate solitary play (arranging, gardening, collection etc.) without exception.

The Results of Walking Observations (Ward Scale):

In Taito-3-chome a significant number of photographed urban artefacts is distributed along the paths and footways (or rather within shared intimate spaces), and hidden among the clusters of characteristic low-rise buildings. According to the activities they are result of, spaces that accommodate them are divided into two categories: decorative (purpose-less) and utilitarian (purpose-full). Both categories simultaneously derive from and accommodate solitary play and are thus, mostly private while only some of them afford informal social play (joking, parties, and leisure). Main differences between the proposed categories are (1) utilitarian places accommodate but do not actually afford activities while decorative
ones do (especially those of arrangement); and (2) utilitarian places are less intimate than decorative places. Established relationships between urban artefacts and their characteristics are visually presented in Figure 4-9 and transactions between the subject and object are further elaborated within each category.

![Figure 5-11](image)

**Figure 5-11. Elevations that separate public and shared space** (source: author).

Decorative (or purpose-less) spaces are those for hobbies such as greening, arranging/decorating, handicrafts, and painting. All three concepts that reveal lifeworld -movement, rest and encounters - are associated with them. Purpose-less actions afford social activities, interaction, and they change visual features of the place.

(a) “Arrangements” are ambiences with furniture (or improvised furniture) that afford socializing (of others, of passers-by). They complement social activities lacking in other public spaces (stationary activities such as sitting and/or talking). In some cases they are extensions of small shops or restaurants. Whether publicly or privately owned these small public spaces create local atmosphere and they abound with personal belongings and objects with meanings. Chairs and tables with flower-vases, paintings etc. are elements usually kept in a living room and kitchen (Figure 5-9 and Appendix B1). Because of the spatial characteristics they accommodate only small number of people which creates an intimate atmosphere. Physical attachment to a dwelling and interaction with owners gives these ambiances additional domestic feeling. Solitary activities that take place in those “open living rooms” are flower arranging, socializing and hobbies. Attributes of home associated with them are those of comfort and intimacy.

(b) “Decoration” is a collection of various decorative items in shared space without specific use, left at the visitors’ disposal: it is a form of transaction or an exchange between the residents and observer. In a spatial sense, a collection of small items is usually attached to the building and situated close to the openings (doors and windows), sometimes to the fences and placed on the flowerpots or even air conditioners (Figure 5-9; Appendix B2). Those ambiances are results of hobbies and arranging. Commonly, inside the home, these decorative elements can be found in fragments in all rooms.
(c) “Painting” is an action of changing the façade and changing the two-dimensional image of the place (Appendix B3). It is an artistic expression, or self-expression noticeable from distance. Similar to decorating, it is a subjective play that does not afford further use. Spatially, it is two-dimensional, “flat”, and adds to the architecture and aesthetic appeal of the place, which contributes to the identity and authenticity of the place. Solitary activities necessary for the creation of those ambiences are handicrafts. Inside the home these activities commonly take place in a hobby room (if existing) or in a garage. Drawings, painting, graffiti, stickers and other two-dimensional applications are usually drawn on and attached to the shutters or walls.

Utilitarian (or purpose-full) places are places that support utilitarian, practical actions and those that afford and accommodate body movement (hobbies, handicrafts, flower arrangement, maintenance etc.). Three types of utilitarian places are recognized: places for storage (keeping items), places for maintenance and extrapolated fragments of home (domestic devices kept and used out of the dwelling). Places for storage and maintenance are commonly located along the paths connected to the access roads, while fragments of home are inside the block, along the narrowest paths. The level of privacy is different between storage and maintenance on the one hand and extrapolated homes on the other. From the viewpoint of domestic urban environments, storage and maintenance have less significant roles, as in many cases they are attached to the stores and small shops. But these places are commonly used by the occupants (who sometimes live in the same building) they are included into the further discussion.

(a) Storage or “place to store” is defined as a common space where people keep useful objects, tools, equipment and other small items commonly kept in a garage or attic. Sometimes they store furniture and construction material and in commercial areas and houses with small industries different machines. Two types of storage were defined according to their relationship with the building: vertical storage (attached to the façade of the building) and horizontal storage (on the ground) (Figure 5-9 and Appendix B4). The vertical ones are distributed in form of shelves and horizontal ones are divided into compartments or simply attached to the façade of the building. As a result of the exposure, visibility and size of lot, their defining characteristics are order and compactness. Solitary activities related to storage are handicrafts. Because of the items they store, attributes of home that are attached to it are privacy, efficiency and comfort.

(b) “Place for maintenance” is a common space equipped with elements used for cleaning and maintenance of public spaces (Figure 5-9 and Appendix B5). They accommodate small basins with water pipes, buckets and brooms designed and planned in the recently built apartment buildings as well as in the buildings from other decades. In some cases they were designed as small cleaning units and in other cases they were subsequently attached to the house. Spatially, they are on a private property but, depending on the size of lot, the leftover of the building footprint and its connection to the street, they are used for the maintenance of public space too. Inside the house these elements are commonly kept in a bathroom or in a storage. Solitary activities related to the maintenance is washing, cleaning and bathing, and characteristics of home attached to it are efficiency and comfort.
“Extrapolated fragments of the home” are utilities and appliances commonly kept in a hallway or in the bathroom (such as washing machines or shoeboxes). In some cases they are planned and designed to be kept and utilized outside (there is a supporting infrastructure). This is common for group (or collective) housing and in this case elements are accessible from the ground level, but they are elevated and physically separated from the street (Figures 5-11, Appendices B6 and B7). Activities that take place in those areas create a home-like atmosphere (laundry is one example). Attributes of home attached to the “extrapolated fragments of home” are intimacy, privacy and efficiency. Visually, with the abundance of residents’ personal belongings (in this case hangers, clotheslines and clothespins), cityscape becomes appealing and lively.

Figure 5-12. Paths and footways in Taito 3-chome that accommodate personal belongings and “clusters of smallness.”
Spatial characteristics of ambiances that accommodate urban artefacts were analysed following their classification and interpretation. Focus was on the relationship between the alleyways and buildings surrounding them. Figure 5-12 shows the network of paths and footways and height of the buildings they are attached to. The urban artefacts are present in all paths, but the level of privacy is changing with the scale: the smallest and narrowest paths accommodate the most intimate personal belongings commonly kept in a bathroom or a bedroom (such as laundry and slippers) while access roads accommodate useful objects kept in garage or storage (such as buckets, brooms or tools).

From the visual analysis of intimate spaces it is concluded that:

- the intimate shared spaces occur along the paths and footways that are within blocks, elevated and separated from urban roads.
- personal belongings are left and arranged within clusters of detached low-rise buildings along the border between the path and the building or between the clusters of buildings.

The “clusters of smallness” are defined as the combination of these two elements (narrow paths and low-rise buildings).

Spatial Analysis in GIS

Visualizing social data and representing it on the map helps researchers not only to represent and visualize existing social and spatial conditions; it also helps them find causal relationships between them. In this research qualitative data were translated into geographic data and analysed using clustering. Clustering is commonly used with different sets of data to recognize trends (for example incident management data) (Songchitruksa and Zeng, 2010). Such results aid the decision-making process and could be useful as a resource for strategic planning. The results can be effectively used by various agencies for adopting better planning and management strategies (Prasannakumar et al., 2011).

The increased availability of digital data and the increased scrutiny of public expenditure are opening new opportunities for detailed spatial analysis of social behaviour and policy initiatives to target resources where they are most needed. Two such policy areas in which the use of GIS combined with spatial analysis tools has made significant progress are health and police services, which are at the top of the political agenda due to increasing ‘demand’ and spiralling costs (Getis and Ord, 1996; Craglia et al., 2000).

The Statistics Bureau plays the central role in in producing and disseminating basic official statistics, and coordinating statistical work. The data base of Japanese statistical Agency was the main source of the GIS data. The data were downloaded from e-Stat, a portal site for Japanese Government Statistics which provided following layers: the administrative borders of wards, districts and blocks, train lines, streets, sidewalks, lots and buildings’ footprints. The smallest lots and the narrowest paths were analysed for the study of Taito Ward in order to map “clusters of smallness”.
A Hotspot Analysis tool, which calculates the Getis-Ord Gi* statistic where features with either high or low values cluster spatially, was applied (Getis and Ord, 1996). The tool operates by examining each feature within the context of neighbouring features. A feature with a high value is interesting but may not be a statistically significant hotspot - or be a statistically significant hotspot, a feature will have a high value and be surrounded by other features with high values as well.

**Figure 5-13:** Results of observation (above) and results of hotspot analysis (below).
Features in the +/-3 bins reflect statistical significance with a 99 percent confidence level; features in the +/-2 bins reflect a 95 percent confidence level; features in the +/-1 bins reflect a 90 percent confidence level; and the clustering for features in bin 0 is not statistically significant. In Figure 5-13 the hot spots (light grey) and cold spots (black) reflect statistical significance with a 99 percent confidence level (+/-3) and the clustering for features depicted in grey colour is not significant. Two clusters were significant in Taito (Figure 5-13). The clusters in Taito 3-chome block that were observed and studied with the application of visual methods were clusters with 99 percent confidence level. Application of the software is therefore useful for the recognition of potentially significant intimate spaces and clusters of buildings that afford appropriation; places that accommodate activities and solitary play. Similar analysis could be applied to other Tokyo Wards (at the ward scale), in order to identify places with similar qualities. Furthermore, it would be possible to input additional spatial characteristics as factors (such as the height of the buildings, length of the sidewalks, buildings footprints etc.) to refine the results. Depending on morphological characteristics of concrete wards, the analysis would be done at the scale of a ward, or at the finer scale of individual blocks and clusters.

Conclusion

As we walk through the narrow paths and footways, where the smallness and slow pace of life coexist next to images of constant transformations, dramatic physical change and the bigness of the most visited tourist attractions, the abundance of belongings exposed to our sight tests our sense of comfort. We are constantly crossing an invisible border between belonging and not belonging. These places of interaction between self and other, between subject and object and between the individual and their physical environment were explored in this chapter from the urban perspective, with the application of theories of play and activity.

As one of the “in-between” wards and a distinct downtown area with a strong dual character, the Taito ward and its intimate places were explored with the application of visual methods. Photographs were used for the analysis and study of meaning and purposes of personal belongings extrapolated from the intimacy of home into the public realm. The intimate spaces defined from the data collected in the Taito 3-chome block are divided into (1) decorative (purpose-less) places that accommodate solitary play and, in some cases, socializing, and (2) utilitarian (purpose-full) places that support but do not afford activities and solitary play. Within decorative places are those of “arrangement”, “decoration” and “painting” and within utilitarian places are “places to store”, “places for maintenance” and “extrapolated fragments of home”. Spatially, both decorative and utilitarian places are physically attached to low-rise buildings and set out in leftover places, between the footprint of building and narrow path next to it. Combination of these two characteristics was denominated as “clusters of smallness” and

96 Sizes of Tokyo wards significantly vary. As an example Setagaya ward covers 58.08km², population is 837,185 (867,552), density is 14,414.34. It is approximately five times bigger than Taito in area and population.
it was used for a Hot Spot analysis in GIS, which recognizes features within the context of neighbouring features. Two sets of data were then overlapped and it was evident that clusters of low-rise buildings with small footprints identified in GIS were those with the highest number of personal belongings identified by observations. It is, therefore, possible to recognize and select areas and blocks with the potential to afford solitary play and activities with the application of software.

In Tokyo, the city where movement and speed of life are redefining and challenging traditional definitions of engagement and place attachment, these spatial conditions have an irreplaceable value. Within the network of significant places they afford opportunities for encounters and complement existing socializing public spaces of the ward. Furthermore, residents directly participate in the creation of “charming” and “beautiful” cityscape both individually and as a group through their habitual actions. However, places with a high number of urban artefacts are those that are under the threat of urban redevelopment as space for new high-rise offices and residential complexes increasingly appear inside the remaining low-rise districts.

This research highlights the complexity, feasibility and importance of ethnographic visual studies in contemporary urban settings that helps us understand our urban world (Pardo and Prato, 2012). Qualitative and quantitative methods are seen as complementary and the proposed methodology suggests how to imbed intangible spatial qualities of fragile urban environments into the regulatory and executive documents. It positions the quality of the urban environment ahead of the economic growth (or, at least, next to it) in a technologically oriented environment and metropolis which is essentially unsustainable. Urban dwellers, as “social agents”, are recognized as bearers of cultural sustainability through the creation and modification of their spaces (Sorensen, 2009). Their active but informal participation is one way to move towards the desired spatial qualities and towards the tolerance of already existing meaningful environments.

This chapter explores spatial characteristics of personal spaces which were previously defined in the theoretical and sociological parts of the research. It defines specific methods suitable to explore their spatiality and meanings in contemporary city.
A “moment for oneself” happens in unexpected places.
Chapter 6: FROM PERSONAL SPACE TO INTIMATE SPACE

CONCLUDING SPACE. DOMESTICATED URBAN ENVIRONMENTS. EXTRAPOLATED HOME. INTIMATE SPACE. INTIMATE TIME.

Conclusions from the theoretical exploration of personal space and from the results of the qualitative study (ethnographic and sociological segments) of the research are summarized in this chapter. Socio-spatial characteristics of appropriated spaces in contemporary Tokyo are defined and from those characteristics both personal and intimate space in a contemporary city are introduced.

Meanings of leftover places which afford engagement and solitary play are observed (in spatial study) within the network of four significant places (defined in the sociological study).

Personal Space Revisited

“Solitude is a condition for acquiring a sense of immensity. Alone one’s thoughts wander freely over space. In the presence of others they are pulled back by an awareness of other personalities who project their own worlds onto the same area. Fear of space often goes with fear of solitude. To be in the company of human beings – even with one other person – has the effect of curtailing space and its threat of openness. On the other hand, as people appear in space, for every one a point is reached when the feeling of spaciousness yields to its opposite – crowding. What constitutes crowding? We may say of a forest that it is crowded with trees and of a room that it is crowded with knick-knacks. But primarily people crowd us; people rather than things are likely to restrict our freedom and deprive us of space.” Yi-Fu Tuan, 1977: pp.59

In the theoretical part of the study personal space is explored from the urban perspective; it is explored as a socio-spatial construct that arises from the relationship between individuals and their environment. Context for the exploration is a contemporary city, a spatio-temporal system where lifestyles and habits are significantly different from those in a historical or even modern city; where exposure to different knowledge traditions and multicultural learning is constantly facilitated and where the life is often described as solitary, alienated and distant.

Within the concept of personal space, six different concepts were studied. On the one hand person and self and on the other hand a space, place and city and their conceptual and practical definitions. Along with these two groups of interrelated concepts, the concepts of home and place attachment were investigated, as phenomena that directly explore the relationship between a person and space and between the self and the city.

FROM A SPACE AND A PLACE TO A (PERSONAL) CITY

This research identifies a city as a place which imposes upon an individual. The focus is on a metropolis, a patchwork of historical, modern and contemporary city forms which generate different
lifestyles and, accordingly, specific behaviours and social relationships. Metropolis is identified as a place produced by the activities of people and institutions (Pred, 1984) and by a body-subject that learns from interactions with environment (Seamon, 1979). Space and time become inseparable within this system, which imposes upon the individual’s organisation of time, entering what is the most intimate for an individual, affecting individuals’ habitual activities and creating a dependence on city’s spatio-temporal system (Tuan, 1977; Dovey, 1985). With the notion of social processes that construct places through movement and flows, spatio-temporal relationships have elevated the city into a multidimensional concept with spatial, social and psychological/temporal dimensions.

Personal space develops through the interaction with others, and in a metropolis, through the dialectics of isolation and crowding. A constant physical presence of general others and a physical absence of virtually present significant others for an extended period of time, open questions of closeness and distance between the self and other and the ways this relationship manifests in provided space. Movement and flow are the characteristics of this system which allows an individual to diminish the distance between significant others - and that is how the place is constantly re-created.

The dialectics of often conflicted realities create metropolis’s ambiguous image: an individual creates the image of his or her “personal city” from the spatial fragments he or she encounters. It is impossible to comprehend the city as a whole and the “personal metropolis” is the only existing metropolis. Once again, a subjective experience of the city is the only existing city and to understand its wholeness it is necessary to explore the metropolis through the experiences of its dwellers and their images: through the traces of their presence in space; through the traces of their relationship with the city.

**ATTACHMENT AND HOME.**

Traces of individuals and their engagement with immediate surroundings are used to identify significant places urbanites attach to. Concepts of place attachment and home were useful for the establishment of methodological framework. The tripartite framework, which includes spatial, social and temporal/psychological dimensions and is commonly used for the exploration of these two concepts, was applied to the investigation of personal space.

Figure 6-1 represents the concept of personal space graphically. It visualizes dependence on the environment and a change in personal space that is inevitable when relocating from one place to another. The number of significant places increases in time, as well as the distances between significant people. Proposed diagram is an integration of the conceptual representations of personal space developed by Hall (1966) and the self-other relationship developed by Kuwayama (1992). The self establishes a network within each dynamic spatio-temporal system; it creates a system which is relative in regard to the time spent in all cities which were once called home.
Personal space in a contemporary city is therefore defined as a construct that changes in time and within a specific environment. It develops from the sequence of relationships established during the lifetime between the self and the city; it is a knowledge gained from all spatio-temporal systems an individual got to intimately know.

From Personal Space to Intimate Space

The separation of private and public spheres that came with the Industrial revolution lead to a significant change in spatio-temporal dynamics of individuals. This change was only the beginning of disintegration. Soon after, the border between these two spheres had started to blur and public spaces accommodated privacy. In Tokyo specifically, this phenomenon is apparent in a traditionally small and narrow urban spaces of authentic shitamachi districts. Spatial characteristics of specific places in shitamachi districts that create an intimate and personal atmosphere were explored with the application of ethnographic observations. Public spaces that abound with personal belongings are identified as an extension of home. For the interpretation of material artefacts found in these extended homes, two theories were applied: theories of play and activity.

Two types of traditional homes located in the house were examined for the comparison of their archetypal layout and the allocation of possessions in rooms. The minka house was analysed as a traditional house with engawa, a transitional space between inside and outside. The nagaya type presented townhouses where urban conditions had significantly influenced spatial disposition, layout and, accordingly, the way of living and behaviour. Rooms of both types of houses were classified according their openness towards others and the level of privacy. In minka house: category one are a hallway, balcony, living room as places that welcome others; category two are individual rooms for children and the third category are the most intimate rooms - bedroom, bathroom and kitchen. In nagaya house, the classification of rooms is similar with one significant difference: some of the most intimate rooms are shared with neighbours. Intimacy therefore was not necessarily accommodated within the house and personal belongings were commonly displayed in shared spaces. Shared spaces, where individuals interact with the physical environment and with others, naturally accommodated personal objects and objects with meanings that in an urban environment become urban artefacts.
In Taito ward, urban artefacts photographed and observed in situ were mapped and interpreted with the intention of understanding the physical attributes of the environment where the highest number of elements appear.

**Figure 6-2: Appearance of intimate space.**

**SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF INTIMATE SPACES**

One of the hypotheses of this research is that attachment to place and sense of home arise from the relationship between the self and the city. This is most prominent in a contemporary city, which through the dialectics of isolation and crowdedness on a daily basis and as an intense spatio-temporal system in a lifetime, creates the opportunity for fleeting encounters.

For better understanding of their sense of attachment and their relationship with the city, interviews with Tokyoites are conducted and the ways cities influence their habits and lifestyles are discussed. Concepts of person, self (within self relationship with other and significant other), then concepts of place attachment and home are used for the design of interviews. The tripartite framework that was developed and applied is an integrated framework which explores spatial, socio-cultural and personal/temporal dimensions of both concepts.

Identified characteristics of personal space are related to spatio-temporal aspects of the city: physical distances are in interviews commonly expressed in temporal units and the time is expressed in spatial units. The time it takes to reach from one place to another is calculated, easy connections between the closest station and significant places add to the quality of the place itself (for example, a “door to door” distance which includes walking to the station, taking a train and walking to the destination). The temporal data from the interviews were translated into the spatial data; minutes converted into meters and that is how the “acceptable” and “preferable” radiuses around the station were defined. How people feel about these distances and commuting time is relative: they are ready to commute longer and shorter time for different purposes; home – work (first place – second place) being the most significant as the most frequently crossed distance. Commuting time between these two points is from 30 minutes to one hour. In some cases one to two hours and longer commutes are favoured because of the activities respondents complete during this time. The acceptable and preferable distances are result of a habit: respondents who had been forced to spend long time on the train grew to like it and their practices and
habits are different from respondents who had not. Socializing places (third places) are usually important for their atmosphere and content, they do not have to be close neither to home nor to work. Other places (fourth places), on the other hand, are usually close to the place of residence. The speed of movement changes the perception of distance or rather: the distance is diminished by the speed. In technology oriented society and in a metropolis such as Tokyo, it has become an ambiguous term.

**Figure 6-3: Intimate Space Experientially. Daily Commute from First to Second and Third Places. Source Author.**

With the group of questions related to the frequent relocations and the change of residence, three different levels of attachment were identified. People who grew up in cities of different form and scale
have developed different senses of home and attachment. The city itself, with its socio-spatial characteristics alters peoples’ sense of home.

Factors that are used in a form of data for the spatial analysis are extracted from the temporal data – distances from and to the station as a focal point were expressed in minutes. The time that takes from the place of residence to the station was translated into the metrics which were further used for the spatial analysis in the second part of the research.

**SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF INTIMATE SPACES**

Intimate spaces identified in this study are spaces with decorative (purposeless) and utilitarian (purposeful) objects, allocated in semi-public and semi-private leftover places shared by individuals. They are spaces where people play and where they are active (socially and spatially), where they interact and engage with their physical environment and with others. Meanings added to these places are individual but they are constantly present in fragments of space; in leftover space where they are exposed and shared with others.

Following spatial features of the Taito downtown area were identified as a result of the visual analysis:

1) The largest amount of belongings appears in small (access) streets, paths and footways that are in this research defined as networks or the “leftover space”.
2) They are commonly separated from the ground by the elevations (steps) and accessible only to pedestrians and occasionally bicycles.
3) They are attached to the façade of low-rise buildings or put on the ground next to it.
4) The buildings they are attached to are both commercial and residential, but urban artefacts tend to be physically dependent (with an infrastructural or physical connection to the building).

Therefore, single spatial elements recognized as significant for the emergence of intimate spaces are access streets, paths and footways; elevations; and low rise buildings in both commercial and residential buildings. However, a single element only occasionally accommodates urban artefacts (a narrow street next to the high-rise building, for example, has different character and meaning) (Figure 6-4). Only if an element is a leftover of an old cluster (for example one low-rise building next to a small path that is now surrounded by high-rise buildings), the function and meaning remain and the place accommodates urban artefacts which hold certain level of intimacy.

On the other hand, clusters of all the aforementioned elements (low-rise buildings, small lots and narrow streets) are clusters with the largest amount of personal belongings. Blocks with these characteristics are those that need to be recognized as units that (whether residential or commercial) accommodate engagement, and afford activities and play.
DEFINITION

A contemporary city, where movement is an integral part of daily life and where the state of rest is achieved in a public space, in motion, becomes a place that imposes upon a person’s time-space routines and habitual actions. The city enforces impediments on daily dynamics and experiences in two different ways. Firstly, as a spatial realm, within which significant places are connected by means of transportation, and where homelike activities take place at an urban scale. Furthermore, frequent relocations affecting personal time-space routines impose upon an individual on a daily basis and in a lifetime of movement. In metropolises, personal and intimate places of dispersed home are shared between the inside of the dwelling and the outside of the city. The privacy is exposed and exhibited between the low-rise buildings and along the paths and footways; it is extrapolated from the privacy and intimacy of the house to the public-ness of the city.

Personal space develops while an individual is moving from one place to another and changes a place of residence. It evolves as the number of lived places increases. Intimate space, on the other hand, does not have a temporal dimension. It is a space that arises from the relationship with the current environment and within its spatial characteristics. It emerges from the activities performed by an individual, and the affordances of the dwelling (whether we refer to it as a singular property – a house - or as a network of places within the city).

Spatially, intimate spaces in contemporary Tokyo are spaces within the clusters of smallness, within urban blocks which are separated from the street with a step. They accommodate personal belongings, which now become urban artefacts, and have attributes usually associated with the house. Decorative and useful elements found in leftover places form liminal spaces commonly allocated within the
archetypal elements of the house (for example living rooms, kitchens and bathrooms). Public space becomes an “inverted house” or an “extraverted fragment of the house”.

Psychologically, through the activities and solitary play in leftover space urbanites develop sense of attachment and sense of belonging and spatially, they participate in a creation of an unpretentious cityscape. Moreover, they create opportunities for encounters. Individuals therefore, through transactions and interactions provide otherwise missing shared/common space. Through the solitary play and activities urbanites become actors who sustain culture and generate intimate space.

Activities that take place within intimate spaces are solitary activities performed in the absence of others. Main characteristic of intimate spaces is that they afford engagement and are open for reinterpretation.

From Personal Space to Personal Time

While first definitions of personal space (Hall, 1966) were addressing distances and territoriality, in a contemporary city where presence of (in)significant others in physical proximity alters our sense of closeness; where spaces that embody intimacy and comfort are spatially and temporally distant from the living place, it is redefined into a construct with spatial, social and psychological/temporal characteristics. These three dimensions of the construct are equally significant and are intertwined within the temporary dwelling.

The notion of temporality becomes relevant for the concept of personal space as defined above. The relationship of space and time is explained in previous chapter in a relation to the subjective knowledge and an accumulation of a spatially imposed practices. In simple words, we learn how to dwell our temporary homes and consequentially our personal space is a collection or a result of habits developed at each home. The traditional concept of home accommodates intimacy, privacy and comfort and it is a place where individuals express their most personal and intimate selves; it provides safety and rest within living room, bedroom or kitchen which are collections of traces, images and meaningful moments accessible to significant others. In a contemporary city and within the proposed concept of dispersed home, in appropriated places, these traces are located in leftover spaces exposed to the view of general others. The extrapolation of attributes of home into a public sphere creates a semi-private or semi-public space where relationships between the self and the city can be explored. Quality of a metropolis might lay in its ability to accommodate extrapolated fragments of home and through them, to satisfy some of the basic needs (Spivak, 1973). Additionally, the quality of life in a metropolis might lay in its adaptability and “willingness” to accommodate such spaces. Spaces transform and they temporarily accommodate different needs at the moment that cannot be replaced by any other moment.

The importance of “moment” arises from the lack of time, which is more common than the lack of space. With this shift, a significance of personal time in relation to basic needs becomes more significant than the one of personal space.
“I don’t have my personal space, but I have my personal time. In the morning when my husband leaves and before I go to work, I have two hours for myself.” Interview no. 20

The house, which is usually occupied by others and shared with others, transforms temporarily into a personal place. It might as well be another place, a place out of house that temporarily transforms into what an individual needs at the specific moment (it could be first, second or third place, for example). Public spaces therefore need to afford reinterpretations and to allow multiple meanings, which cannot (and even if they could, should not be) imposed or enforced. Possibility of a temporary adaptation of public space leads to a satisfaction of needs and a wider range of lifestyles within a spatio-temporal system and within the network of significant places which constitute dispersed home.

FURTHER EXPLORATION. As a congruence of different traditions and multiplicities arising from them, metropolises offer varieties of lifestyles. But, in reality, institutions and planning practices play significant roles and global cities, despite their context, face similar social and spatial issues (Sorensen, 2011). These are commonly addressed in studies of global cities and global challenges (Gibson, 2006) where cities are compared one to another using indexes (Bell and Morse, 2008) and where the quality of life and their livability is evaluated (as discussed in Chapter 8: Vision of Tokyo) with the intention of improving them (Arkin and Crenshaw, 1992; Axelsson et al., 2013). In the following chapter intimate and personal spaces will be explored within the cultural sustainability concept and compared to the indicators of sustainable lifestyles.
Scientific research and work of scholars are also often separated from practice and only rarely practitioners integrate their own research into their own practice. In a contemporary time that equals complexity, arguments between theory and practice continue in spite of the significant effort to be overcome.
Chapter 7 : PRACTICING INTIMATE SPACES

Preface

One of the initiating questions of this research is how to make studies of meaningful places useful to practitioners and how to integrate them into the planning documents. Often disregarded as subjective and unreliable, studies of fragile urban environments with intangible values remain distant from planning practices and, as a consequence, the studied phenomena disappear in spite of their significance. This research is conducted with the intention of bridging research and practice through the multi-dimensional exploration of the concept of personal space with an integrated approach. Sociological and spatial characteristics of personal space are studied with the application of sociological and ethnographic methods, their meanings and significance in urban Tokyo are now defined, and the following steps are (1) discussing the planning regime in regard to the characteristics of the defined phenomenon and (2) suggesting ways of their integration into the practice.

Introduction

“A commitment to working across scales and with different forms of editing, selection, and abstraction is crucial to the depth of understanding required. By seeing the world through a range of theoretical frameworks, filters and lenses, a designer can select the approach most appropriate to the site, people and purpose at hand.” Lucas, 2014: pp.136

The concept of cultural sustainability within the current urban planning debate and the possibility of planning a culturally sustainable metropolis is investigated in the context of Tokyo. The levels of governance and their planning documents are examined with the focus on a building scale, which is recognized as one of the key factors for the emergence of intimate spaces. Visions that clarify basic policies are investigated within each level of governance, as well as the plans that clarify detailed measures for the execution of envisioned goals.

Urban visions and realities are designed with the involvement and participation of different players. Therefore, the roles of the Central Government and Local Government in the planning process and in the physical outcome of the executive documents, are also introduced in this chapter through the discussion of their main planning instruments: the Master Plan and the Land Use Plan. The Master Plan as a visionary tool and the Land Use Plan as an executive tool, are investigated at two scales (at the Ward Scale and at the Metropolitan Scale). It is then proposed how to reach a specific goal from the visionary document by the application of the previously established methodology.
Machizukuri organisations play significant roles on the neighbourhood scale. They define guidelines and negotiate between the participants, among other activities. Machizukuri movements and their role in a creation of civic space and civic society in Japan are elaborated within the proposed context because of this characteristics. They are recognized as an established way of participation in the city-making process. Therefore, by investigating machizukuri, the participation through institutional and un-institutional involvement is investigated. The individual participation in the creation of public space, their awareness of the public and shared spheres, then values and meanings they impose upon the public and shared space are discussed.

Finally, the quantitative phase of the research in this study integrates results of the ethnographic and sociological studies into the Land Use Plan of Taito Ward. Characteristics of intimate spaces are defined and translated into a set of data imported into Geographic Information System. The data are overlapped with the existing Land Use Plan and discussed with the possibility of their usefulness to practitioners.

**SCALES**

Sustainable forms proposed by scholars are usually multi-scalar (or multileveled) and they cross the building level, neighbourhood level, city level and metropolitan level (Jabareen, 2006). In Tokyo’s context and from the viewpoint of planning, the metropolitan scale would be the first level, the city level would be the Ward scale, the neighbourhood level would be machizukuri (or social planning) and building level would be personal level (Figure 7-1). First two levels are addressed by the governments (the Central Government and the Local Government), third level is a civic society and the fourth level is in this study addressed through the analysis of the urban block (chome in Japanese).

Roles of Tokyo as Global, National, Regional capital and as the “city of neighbourhoods” is investigated through visionary documents proposed on four different levels, through their goals and policies that address public spaces and engagement. The vision of Tokyo, its Master Plan and Ordinances are investigated on the one hand, and executive documents and implementing tools on the other. The question that was repeatedly asked is the question of personal engagement with the environment and affordances of the environment. Special focus is on leftover places, which accommodate traces of residents’ activities, and emerge as a result of the Floor Area Ratio and Building Coverage Ratio, the main executive tools defining the shape of leftover spaces.

Through the question of scale Tokyo case was compared to the existing design concepts of sustainable urban forms and indicators of sustainability.

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97 For the definition of civic society see subchapter Making Tokyo
Sustainable Metropolis

“The point is not to imagine a perfectly sustainable megacity in a profound sense because megacities are inherently unsustainable.” Sorensen, 2011: pp. 5

In 2009 there were 21 megacities in the world (with at least 10 million inhabitants) (Han et al., 2012). Urban localities that are functionally linked form urban agglomerations, which are inhabited by 10.3% of the world urban population. As the urbanization continues, capacity of the regions is challenged in various governmental, environmental, social and economic ways. For example, demographic changes are posing a burden to cities (especially in developed countries such as Japan). The number of elderly persons is rising, as well as the life expectancy. This shift in age structure has a significant impact on a diverse range of economic, political, and social conditions (Han et al., 2012). It is also affecting cultural aspects of life in the city. The rise of health-conscious lifestyles is one of the reasons for the extended life expectancy. Hence, a lot of effort is put into research about urban environments, exploring them from different aspects and establishing different models and modes of sustainable development (Arkin and Crenshaw, 1992; Gibson, 2006; Jepson Jr and Edwards, 2010; Sorensen, 2011; Axelsson et al., 2013).

Physical environment along with the economic and social sustainability represents one of the three main pillars of sustainability in general. The fourth one – cultural sustainability – has been brought into the concept by trans- and inter- national organizations and by cross/trans- disciplinary scientific endeavours.

98 According to the data released by the Health, Labour and Welfare Ministry, Japan’s men climbed to second from fourth with an average life expectancy of 80.98 years, up 0.23 year, while Japan’s women retained second place with a life expectancy of 87.14 years, up 0.15 year from 2015. Japan was edged only by Hong Kong, another Asian metropolis. Source: https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/07/28/national/japan-ranks-second-world-life-expectancy-progress-medical-health-advances/#.WeHYrGiCzIv
(UNDP COST, 2009; Axelsson et al., 2013; Soini, 2015). However the priorities of the four pillars are commonly divergent and there is no simple or single solution applicable to different environments. This is extremely significant for megacities (as conglomerates of different spatial forms99) and highly industrialized societies because of their complexity and because of the inevitability of the production and consumption. In such environments, even to reduce the impact of city in all those four senses (economic, ecological, social and cultural impacts) and to reach and strengthen (or redirect) their functions is a challenge (Sorensen, 2011). In order to deal with all four aspects of sustainability in different megacities, firstly it is necessary to understand conditions of each specific environment and to act and re-act in a preferable ways. The most commonly used tool for the assessment of the impact are indicators (Bell and Morse, 2008). The indicators can be approached and dealt with independently and altogether they lead the contemporary city towards the sustainability. In this study focus is on the cultural sustainability.

![Figure 7-2: A timeline of sustainability concepts. [Source: Adjusted from Pineda-Zumaran, J., 2015]](image)

Sustainable development in general is a popular concept which has revived the discussion about the city’s form. Both scholars and practitioners seek forms that will enable high performance in a forward-looking way and both scholars and planners propose new frameworks for the redesign and new structure of urban conglomerations. Figure 7-2 represents trends in planning, which have addressed specific issues. Jabareen (2006) identifies seven design concepts that are related to sustainable urban forms: (1) compactness, (2) sustainable transport, (3) density, (4) mixed land uses, (5) diversity, (6) passive solar design, and (7) greening. Different combinations of these concepts produce a number of distinguished urban forms (such as compact city, eco-city, etc.). He further defines four models of sustainable city forms: the neo-traditional development, the urban containment, the compact city (Dantzig and Saaty,
1973), and the eco-city (Arkin and Crenshaw, 1992; Roseland, 1997) (Appendix D2). Two models of city forms will be discussed in the context of metropolis’s fragmented form:

(1) the neo-traditional approach, which focuses on the form and is partially applicable to specific fragments of the metropolis, and

(2) the eco-city, which is significant as an approach that focuses on management, social and cultural variables rather than the form and is therefore applicable to the city structured by flows.

Smart city and creative city which address demographic changes and people as bearers of sustainability will also be further explained because of the nature of intimate spaces.

*Figure 7-3: Concepts of sustainable cities.*

**The neo-traditional approach** is inspired by traditionally built environments, and the best known approach within it is the new urbanism which advocates strategies that help arrest suburban sprawl and inner-city decline. Keys to new urbanism and neo-traditional residential designs include mixing housing types, providing greater density and human contact. The new urbanism suggests pedestrian orientation and walkable villages; promotes higher residential densities; suggests mix of residential, commercial and civic uses. This approach uses a traditional city (historical city) as its model. Hence, the neo-traditional approach is applicable in traditional fragments of the metropolis. In Tokyo, it is useful for the consideration on the ward scale. It is in line with the traditional lifestyle which integrates job-housing balance and pedestrian access as well as the mixed land use. Sense of place and attachment to place are advocated by this approach.

**The eco-city** (Jabareen, 2006; Jepson Jr and Edwards, 2010) proposes a wide range of environmental, social, and institutional policies that are directed to managing urban spaces. It promotes the ecological agenda and emphasizes environmental management through a set of institutional and
policy tools. The core of many approaches is the management of the city rather than the form (approaches such as Green City, Environmental City, Eco-city, Sustainable Community, and Sustainable Urban Living which address greening or Ecovillage, Cohousing etc. which emphasize passive solar design). It argues that social, economic and cultural variables are more important than urban form and spatial arrangements and that the city achieves sustainability through different land use, environmental, institutional, social, and economic policies (Robinson and Tinker, 1997). Eco-cities aim to develop communities that do not exceed the limits of nature to sustain them. This is accomplished primarily through public policies that encourage the replacement of non-renewable energy and other resources, the protection of open space (particularly in relation to biological and natural processes, assets and services), the use of “appropriate” technologies, the reduction and natural assimilation of waste, and local economic and functional self-reliance (Jepson Jr and Edwards, 2010). ‘Eco-city’ in terms of land-use policies maximizes urban density, reduces non-renewable energy consumption, protects biodiversity, reduces travel distances, and maximizes transportation options. The level of the implementation of this approach is the metropolitan level. Therefore, this model is applicable to the city construed by flows and movement. And finally, the management of urban spaces is directly addressed through intimate space which is self-managed and in that sense - inherently sustainable.

**CREATIVE CITY.** Another concept relevant for a metropolitan lifestyle and fleeting urban environments is a Creative City, which utilizes culture as a mean of urban regeneration, economic development and social inclusion. It explores the cultural dynamics of cities from perspectives of consumption, image, cultural production and economic value of the creative economy (Comunian, 2011). It answers and suggests how creativity can help cities solve their everyday problems. From 1998 it shifts towards the production of culture and creative products driving the creative economy. The term “creative industries” implies a new focus on the production of cultural products, the creative workers and the infrastructure behind them (Comunian, 2011). Creative City is an urban environment that generates creativity and innovation (Florida, 2005). Intimate space in that sense is a place that through activities generates creativity.

**SMART CITY.** The concept that addresses demographic changes is the concept of Smart City (Hall et al., 2000; Cocchia, 2014). Smart city emerges as a strategy to mitigate problems generated by the urban population growth and rapid urbanization (Hall et al., 2000). A unique definition of Smart City does not exist but the existing definitions share some features and threats. Commonly they include the human dimension, technology dimension and institutional dimension. Technology dimension is based on the use of infrastructures; human dimension is based on people, education, learning and knowledge as key drivers for the smart city, and institutional dimension is based on governance and policy, emphasizing the cooperation between stakeholders and institutional governments for the design and implementation of smart city initiatives (Cocchia, 2014). Concepts which are included within the technology dimension are Digital City, Virtual City (Schuler, 2001), Information City (Anthopoulos et. al), Wired City (Hollands, 2008), Ubiquitous City (Anthopoulos and Fitsilis, 2010) and Intelligent City.
Human dimension may include the concepts about Learning City and Knowledge City (Ergazakis et al., 2004), while institutional dimension includes Smart Community, Sustainable City and Green City (Cocchia, 2014).

Recently, the sustainability concept has been shifting from the ‘liveable’ to ‘lovable’ cities (Radovic, 2013a), which focus on residents and urban dwellers as bearers of sustainable life: it is not a profession that is a bearer of the change. Planning practices need to meet the governmental or institutional demands, which often come ahead of the public needs. Attachment and sense of belonging as indicators of “lovability” are under the scope of researchers who study causal relationship between planning and social life (such as Gehl, 2011 and Jacobs, 2016). Focus is on meanings and meaningful places that enrich social life by creating opportunities for contact (Zhang et al., 2011). Questions of lifestyles and habits as well as those of the well-being and happiness have become as significant as questions of low-carbon societies and climate changes within the concept of smart city. The city is given back to the people and people appropriate the city (Lefebvre, 1991) (Figure 1-2).

![Figure 7-4: City forms and models of sustainable forms](image)

**Intimate Space and Principles of Sustainability**

Proposed sustainable models are commonly defined through principles of sustainability that are applicable to all communities (Appendix D2). Bell and Morse classify 14 principles that capture the essential land-use dimensions of sustainability (1) jobs-housing balance, (2) spatial integration of employment and transportation, (3) mixed land use, (4) use of locally-produced, clean and renewable energy sources, (5) energy and resource efficient building and site design, (6) pedestrian access, (7) housing affordability, (8) housing diversity (of style, type, tenure), (9) higher density residential development, (10) protection of natural and biological functions and processes, (11) resident involvement and empowerment, (12) social spaces (public spaces to encourage social gathering), (13) sense of place, and (14) inter-modal transportation connectivity (Bell and Morse, 2008).

In the following paragraph intimate space, as defined in this study, is discussed through the lens of sustainability principles it tackles as a meaningful urban environment (Bell and Morse, 2008).

*A job-housing balance* is one of the most essential principles. Authors argue that the proximity in terms of the crucial human system activities of living and working increases productivity and efficiency and also reduces natural resource consumption and waste generation. In this research this principle is
addressed through the exploration of attachment to movement. On the one hand, the job-housing balance means dislocation and weakening of family bonds. On the other hand, commuting and time spent in transportation in general contribute to the emergence of third (socializing) and fourth (another) places\textsuperscript{100}: within the technologically advanced systems spatial and temporal proximity become arguable terms. A spatial integration of employment and transportation is in direct relationship with the job-housing balance. Facilitated access is proposed by this principle because it improves systemic connectivity and increases productivity and efficiency among the residents of the human system. But in Tokyo’s context this means – commuting. Accordingly, the question of scale has to be considered in regard to the proximity, whether spatial or temporal.

**Pedestrian access (walking and biking) to work and leisure.** Increasing the amount of non-motorized transportation reduces transportation energy consumption and protect against resource depletion and pollution, and it has positive health impacts on the residents of a community. In this research pedestrian access is addressed on multiple levels: on the one hand, through the discussion about metropolitan lifestyles and nomadic life where movement is an inevitability taken for granted and, on the other hand, through distances from and to the station where walking and biking become main factor in the evaluation of living place (first place).

**Housing diversity (of style, type and tenure)** addresses sustainable systems which are marked by diversity in terms of agents and interactions. A diverse housing stock encourages interactions among people with more diversity of backgrounds, interests and skills. Clusters of smallness address this policy as they represent and offer an alternative metropolitan lifestyle, which is often associated with “traditional” societies and in the context of this research could be associated with city forms other than contemporary (such as historical or modern). A large number of sporadic urban interventions which re-activate privately owned low-rise buildings in shitamachi districts is already latent in Tokyo. **Higher density** residential development reduces the development pressure on open space, which is an essential resource necessary for preservation of the local community and the human system in general. The existing pressure on open space is reduced with the recognition of leftover spaces, as defined in this research, which complement existing public space. They are complementary both spatially and socially and this complementarity comes from the differences in their meaning and purpose (leftover space accommodates solitary activities usually associated with the notion of home while public space in general affords socializing). Furthermore, this policy opens the question of engagement with existing public spaces.

Two most significant policies regarding intimate spaces are resident involvement and empowerment and social spaces (public spaces to encourage social gathering). Increased organizational capacity among the residents of a neighbourhood increases the ability of that neighbourhood to identify and respond appropriately to changing conditions. This is already present in

\textsuperscript{100} For details on significant places see Chapter 5
Tokyo’s context and is presented through *machizukuri* movements (for details see subchapter: Making Tokyo, p. 155). Additionally, un-institutional and un-intentional involvement through the engagement with the leftover space is in line with this principle. It complements group (and institutionalized) actions with individual activities, which both contribute to the vitality of the neighbourhood. Social spaces (public spaces to encourage social gathering) increase social contact among the residents of community and improve the community’s ability to organize and respond to changing conditions. This research additionally emphasizes significance of individual, personal and subjective engagement through play and activity. These two principles are inseparable from another principle – *sense of place*, which emphasises attachment to place: the propensity toward meaningful involvement and interaction is increased. Attachment to place structured by flows is discussed in Chapters 1 and 5, where temporality and accessibility have become terms significant for urban dwellers of contemporary cities.

**SUSTAINABLE TOKYO**

Without an intimate understanding of the space (living environment) it is impossible to act and react in a preferable way, and with the positive impact. Although they are among nine out of fourteen principles of land use that lean towards the cultural sustainability, in reality social meanings and personal involvement are often overlooked. When talking about the integration of the principles, focus is commonly on the implementation and change and rarely on the observation and recognition of the intrinsic and latent environmental values. This study therefore proposes a method that includes qualitative methods for the understanding of the meanings and values of the place, which serve as a basis for a quantitative analysis of the physical properties of space.

Cultural sustainability as one of the four pillars of sustainability concept is the overarching concept for the study of contemporary city and metropolitan spatial forms. It opens the discussion about governmental, environmental, social and economic challenges. In this study social challenges and participation have the highest priority. Sociological study is useful for the notion of time and temporality which are translated into the movement between the four significant places. The attachment to physical place that emerges within “clusters of smallness” is attachment to a temporary appropriated and domesticated significant place. The relationship between the self and the city through engagement (and play) is therefore enhanced and individuals unintentionally re-create their own (deeply personal and unique) practices imposing the meaning upon the space. They become bearers of cultural sustainability, or rather they become recognized as such. In a city which has more than 820,000\(^{101}\) abandoned properties (and where by 2033 one third of all apartments will be empty – 21.7 million), the notion of temporary attachment and temporary engagement (regardless the ownership) afforded by the environment nurtures culturally sustainable lifestyle.

Vision of Tokyo vs. Making Tokyo

Levels of governance are explored through the characteristics of the Land Use Planning System and one of its main characteristics, which is the logic that combines planning and regulation. In general, the System consists of two parts: the visionary part and the regulatory part. The visionary part describes the basic policy of planning and strategies and the regulatory part enforces regulations. The visionary part is Master Plan (or Comprehensive Plan) and the regulatory part is Land Use Regulations (or Zoning Codes). It could be said that the main flaw of the system is the disparity between the ideal strategies envisioned by the Master Plan (Sorensen, 2009a) and the enforcement of regulations that provide for “minimum acceptable urban environment (TMG, 2017).”

Main questions investigated in this section are:

1) Does the awareness of public space, which accommodates privacy or intimacy exists within the visionary documents and, if existing,

2) How are these public spaces that accommodate privacy and intimacy administered on different levels?

Vision(s) of Tokyo

“The highly centralized developmental state style of land development control and urban planning clearly contributed to poor urban environments, and low levels of urban infrastructure and public space. Local governments were effectively unable to link the process of development approval to contributions by developers to public space and infrastructure such as local roads, sidewalks, parks, schools, and sewers, as is common in other developed countries.” Sorensen, 2009a: pp. 12

The Central Government is the main player in the governance of urban space, often promoting growth and economic interests over the interests of residents (Jonas as cited in (Sorensen, 2009a). In the area of land use planning in Japan the central government imposed significant constraints over local governments that are formally responsible for urban management (Hebert and Nakai, 1988; Otake, 1993; Sorensen 2003).

Tokyo city has a central role on four different levels, at four different scales: it is a National Capital, Capital of the Region, Prefectural Capital and Metropolis. These four levels of administration give the city different roles by imposing multiple (and in some cases conflicting) goals. However, it is impossible to address one of the levels of governance without addressing another. Occasionally conflicting and distinct documents are discussed in the following paragraphs with the intention of understanding their policies and plans. Because of the domestic character of intimate space and its characteristics in general focus is on those that involve housing and public spaces.
On National level, Tokyo is the centre of the Nations’ Capital Region, which with seven other prefectures formulates Regional Plans reflecting their regional circumstances. The National Capital Regional Plan focuses on three roles to be fulfilled in the twenty-first century:

1. a leading region in the world, in particular, in East Asia,
2. the region with Japan’s national capital functions and
3. a place where diverse people (approximately 42 million) live and work

**NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION DEVELOPMENT PLAN** is composed of the “Basic” and “Development” parts. The Development part indicates that Tokyo Metropolitan Government reorganizes and develops urban spaces “by enhancing advanced urban functions and reinforcing residential functions in central Tokyo” (TMG, 2017). However, the document does not suggest what the advanced urban functions are and how to reinforce residential functions. Clusters of smallness identified in this study address the development plan. Their domestic character enhances and advances the variety of residential functions in central Tokyo.

On the Metropolitan level, public spaces are addressed among the facility plans in section 2 of Tokyo Master Plan. Parks and Green Spaces are understood as essential to maintain safe and comfortable urban life. But safety and comfort are ambiguous terms. Their meanings in this context are open for interpretations and the meaning of “comfortable urban life” is ambiguous, especially in a metropolis “where diverse people live and work” (TMG, 2017) and in the global capital which urges to accommodate multi-layered spaces for its diverse citizens while “nurturing and maintaining existing local cultures”. Intimate space affords engagement and activities associated with the concept of home, and its usefulness on Metropolitan level is twofold. On the one hand, it affords engagement and playful activities for residents; on the other hand, it creates an intimate atmosphere where the presence of urban artefacts and traces of peoples’ activities contribute to the image of the block and neighbourhood.

Master Plan enacts the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Landscape Ordinance, intents to promote a cooperation with a wide range of fields (the city planning, the architectural administration, the tourism policy, etc.). It further promotes landscape creation by “guiding landscape and regulating outdoor advertising materials integrally with respect to layout, height, size, colour, configuration, design, outdoor facility and greenery” [index 03-2]. Townscape created by the citizens of Tokyo is enacted by the Ordinance on the Promotion of the Stylish Townscape Creation. Within the Promotion of “stylish”

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102 This part used to be formulated as the framework of the Capital Region Development Plan before the revision of the Act, under the new Plan, it has become a guideline for plans concerning the capital regional development that clarifies the basic policy concerning future development of the Capital Region, the future vision for the Region to aim for and the direction of efforts towards the realization thereof. Based on the Basic part, the Development part sets out what should be the foundation concerning the development of facilities specified in the National Capital Region Development Act for Roads, Railways, etc. in built-up areas (23 Wards, Musashino City and part of Mitaka City in Tokyo), Suburban Development Zones (areas except built-up areas, Okutama Town, Hinohara Village and the Island Region in Tokyo) and urban development areas.

103 For details see Chapter 5:
landscape however the visual appeal is seen as a result of participation. Importance of the engagement with the environment is overlooked as well as the appropriation of places, which has a long tradition in the maintenance of public spaces in Japan (Sand, 2013; Imai, 2017). As other used terms (such as distances, or comfortable urban life), term “stylish” is an ambiguous term. The visual appeal of intimate places (especially those of decoration and painting) is arguably “stylish” but an abundance of traces creates a self-sustained and unique character. More specific definition of terminology in visionary documents, with references to the existing environment and lateral practices, would promote a creation of townscape’s intangible values.

**TOKYO MASTER PLAN**

The Bureau of Urban Development has established three plans in order to clarify its basic policies related to urban planning in Tokyo:

1. The Urban Development Vision for Tokyo,
2. The Master Plan for City Planning and
3. The Master Plan for Housing.

**THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT VISION FOR TOKYO** was formulated in 2001 and revised in 2009. It clarifies basic policies and establishes six goals in order to achieve the basic concept of “evolving into an environmentally-advanced city that offers appeals and vitality to emerge as the world’s model” (source TMG, 2017). These six goals are to be achieved through Seven Basic Strategies (Appendix D5).

**MASTER PLAN FOR CITY PLANNING** stipulates policies which must be adhered by individual city plans. Master plan for City Planning Areas is a foundation for drafting individual city plans. In 2014 four policies were stipulated. Among the policies stipulated by the Master Plan for City Planning, Policy for Development and Improvement of Residential Districts was stipulated along with three other policies (Master plan for City Planning Areas, Policy for Urban Redevelopment and Policy for the Development of Disaster Resistant Blocks).

Policy for Development and Improvement of Residential Districts is a long-term comprehensive master plan for the development of quality residential districts. Policy for the Development of Disaster Resistant Blocks stipulates specific areas in which integrated and comprehensive redevelopment should be advanced. Policy for Urban Redevelopment stipulates areas where urban redevelopment projects will be promoted. As in the case of the National Regional Development plan, and the advancements in residential functions, the domestic character of clusters of smallness addresses this policy. It enhances the urban quality of residential districts.

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104 For details see Chapter 5
**MASTER PLAN FOR HOUSING** has been revised every five years since its formulation in 1991 with respect to diversifying and sophisticated housing needs and major changes in the household composition of Tokyo residents, their lifestyles and the employment environment.

All three plans established by the Bureau of Urban Development therefore address dwelling, quality of environment, importance of vitality, improvement of residential districts, diversification of housing needs etc. when it comes to the residential functions, the vision of Tokyo Metropolis is in line with the vision of Tokyo as a Regional and Global capital. However, specific policies do not define how to achieve their goals. The main tool for the enactment of policies on all levels and the most fundamental pillars in the land use regulation system is the Land Use Zone.

**Making Tokyo**

“Planning in Japan is more *loosely structured* and *open-ended* in character than comparative practices in Western countries. While the Japanese system does have regulating features, it allows more room for the operation of the free market mechanism commensurate with its efficiency principle. Plans in Japan are generally of a more *indicative nature* than in many Western countries, except for various statutory controls exercised through legal provisions.” Alden, 1984: pp. 58 (emphasis added)

In Tokyo Metropolis 23 central wards regulate and propose local Master Plans designating the Land use Zones and regulating use, density, height and other restrictions. In this section focus is on the Land Use Typology and three main land uses (Residential, Commercial and Industrial). Floor Area Ratio (FAR) and Building Coverage Ratio (BCR) are discussed as the main tool of executive plans for the creation of built environment. The leftover spaces or interstitial spaces, defined as places where homes are being extrapolated and as places that afford intimacy and engagement emerge as a lateral consequence of these two tools.

Tokyo Planning Ordinance was established in 1888 and this year represents the origin of city planning legislation in Japan. Other important years are 1919, when Tokyo Town Planning Ordinance was replaced by the City Planning Act and Urban Building Act and 1969, when the new City Planning Act was put in the force. Four features are important for this new City Planning Act. Firstly, the decision-making power on urban planning devolved to prefectural governors and municipalities, secondly resident participation procedures were added, thirdly city planning areas were divided into urbanisation promotion areas and urbanisation control areas and lastly, in order to secure the area division, the development permission system was established. In 1970 City Planning Act and Building Standards Act were partially revised to increase four use districts to eight and the standard of floor area ratios and building coverage ratios were incorporated into the use district regulations. They were both considerably revised in 1992 when, among other revisions, use districts were subdivided from eight to twelve. In 2000 City Planning Act was revised again and since this year city planning was to be carried out by
local governments: for city plans to be established by prefectures the state authorisation requirement was abolished and for city plans established by municipalities the prefectural requirement is abolished. Thus, the land use system is a living organism.

There are twelve Land Use Categories and seven of them are dominantly residential, two are commercial and three are industrial.

RESIDENTIAL LAND USE

For categories I and II of Exclusively Low-rise Residential Zones, maximum floor area ratio to the site area (FAR) is from 50 to 200 and maximum building coverage ratio (BCR) is from 30 to 60. For Categories I and II or Mid/High-rise Residential Zones FAR goes up to 500, while BCR is same – from 30 to 60. Three other zones (Categories I and II Residential Zones and Quasi-Residential Zone) have same ratio: FAR from 200 to 500 and BCR from 50 to 80.

COMMERCIAL LAND USE

Neighbourhood Commercial Zone has ratio similar to the last group of Residential Zones. FAR is from 200 to 500 and BCR from 60 to 80. Commercial Zone however has the biggest ratio allowed with FAR up to 1300, while BCR is the same – 60 to 80.

INDUSTRIAL LAND USE

Industrial Zones are not significantly different. Quasi-industrial zone has the highest FAR (up to 500) and Industrial Zone and Exclusively Industrial Zone have FAR from 100 to 400.

The Zoning System which imposes restrictions on buildings and structures is used for further classification of three main land uses. The Districts and Zones is a zoning system which classifies land within city planning area according to the purposes of use. Districts are divided into (1) the use districts intended to control usage, building coverage, floor area ratio and height of buildings, (2) the special use districts that complement use districts and (3) other districts and zones. Four districts firstly stipulated in 1919 were revised to eight types (adding neighbourhood commercial zones, special industrial zones and two types of exclusive residential zones) and further divided (from eight to twelve) in 1992 by the division of residential use districts.

Characteristics of each Land Use Zone are elaborated in the Figure 7-8 with an emphasis on Commercial districts and Neighbourhood Commercial districts that accommodate nearly all usages (except those which are considered to considerably worsen the environment).
Spatial characteristics of different districts that belong to different wards to a large extent emerge from the relationship of FAR and BCR. In combination with the relationship between FAR and BCR, the shadow regulation allows development of high-rise buildings along main arterial roads, while arterial and access roads\textsuperscript{105} accommodate medium-rise and low-rise buildings. This fragmentation is apparent in Metropolitan Tokyo where the egg and shell phenomenon is an illustrative example of such characteristics (Figure 7-5) (Jonas, 2007).

In dense urban environments, an intense interaction of people with their surroundings is in the smallest spaces that are not addressed by regulations but do arise as their direct consequence. The “leftover” spaces that are a direct consequence of the architectural design, which follows the proposed FAR and BCR ratio, accommodate most of activities within the neighbourhoods.

Their irregular shape affords similar sets of activities and, in a similar way, generates unique image and character of the place (Jonas, 2007; Jonas and Rahmann, 2014; Imai, 2017). In the Taito 3-chome, block selected for this study, identified categories of decorative and utilitarian places represent traces of activities, which with contextual differences could be traced in other Tokyo Wards. Their characteristics and meanings are changing within different wards and within different Land Use categories. Other wards in that sense would generate different types of intimate spaces, with different spatial characteristics and which afford different activities. A context interesting for further investigation could be a private residential house with a garden when it comes to peripheral wards and districts which is rarely present in central Tokyo (Dimmer, 2007; 2008). But in all cases, the possibility of appropriation of the leftover space is not incorporated into the executive planning documents, it is an accidental or lateral consequence of architectural design\textsuperscript{106}.

\textsuperscript{105} For details on Urban Roads see Chapter 5, page 98

\textsuperscript{106} Architectural design which addresses leftover places (and consequentially personal and intimate spaces) is discussed within Dispersed Home in Chapter 4
Leftover spaces, which accommodate urban artefacts and traces of residents’ activities, are the focal point of the research. Spatially, they are defined by architectural elements of surrounding objects and within executive plans, they are a consequence of the relationship between the FAR and BCR. In the context of this research, the FAR/BCR ratio was introduced through the spatial situations in Taito’s commercial zone that covers over 80 percent of the ward’s area (for details see Chapter 5 and Appendix D1).

Located within the Commercial land use where FAR/BCR ratio is predominantly 80/500 (Figure 7-6 and Appendix D4), the area will be further transformed. The number of low-rise buildings surrounded by leftover spaces is decreasing (Figure 7-6) and with the current social trend (depopulation, change in lifestyle; attachment to movement and absence of successors) their meaning will subsequently change. While opportunities for the restoration of low-rise buildings do exist, they are not a consequence of regulation but of the local initiatives. Individuals buy and adjust properties and in this sense, the emergence of appropriated spaces is circumstantial.

**Figure 7-6: Left image: FAR and BCR ratio in Taito’s commercial district. Right image: Distribution of smallest spatial units in regard to the FAR and BCR.**

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107 For details on social trends see Chapter 5
With the disappearance of appropriated spaces, a potential for engagement decreases, meanings and identity of neighbourhoods change, and the lifestyles associated with these environments transform. While visionary documents suggest compactness, closeness of residence and work, and strengthening of the residential functions what happens in shitamachi wards is the opposite: with the proposed ratios newly built environments reduce possibilities of engagement. Individual initiatives, which through reuse and restoration keep the qualities of small and intimate places, are insufficient because of the features of intimate space. It is usually located within a cluster of low-rise buildings and therefore certain level of organization is necessary. Suitable models are those of shared housing, co-housing or other models which address residential functions not on the building level but on the block (or neighbourhood) level. Policies of National Capital Region Plan and Tokyo Master Plan which address comfortable urban environments and strengthening of residential factors should be in line with the principles of sustainability on this scale (particularly those of housing diversity and resident empowerment).

Within the sustainability concept, cultural sustainability (specifically the creative city, which addresses human dimension, and the eco-city, which address the management of urban space) would be directly confronted through the enhancement of existing districts that hold a potential for engagement. With the application of proposed integrated methodology, characteristics of intimate spaces could be identified and mapped. Possibility of their reinterpretation would continue to exist, as an ‘empty’ space available for further reinterpretation – engagement, creativity and innovation.

**Figure 7-7: Disappearance of Appropriated Spaces [Spaces surrounding medium rise buildings on the left, spaces surrounding low-rise buildings on the right]**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category 1 Low-Rise Exclusive Residential Districts</th>
<th>This zone is designated for low rise residential buildings. The permitted buildings include residential buildings which are also used as small shops or offices and elementary junior high school buildings.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Category 2 Low-Rise Exclusive Residential Districts</td>
<td>This zone is mainly designated for low rise residential buildings, in addition to elementary/junior high school buildings, certain types of shop building with a floor area of up to 150m² are permitted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 1 Mid-High Rise Exclusive Residential Districts</td>
<td>This zone is designated for medium to high residential buildings. In addition to hospital and university buildings, certain types of shop buildings with a floor area up to 500m² are permitted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 2 Mid-High Rise Exclusive Residential Districts</td>
<td>This zone is mainly designated for medium to high rise residential buildings. In addition to hospital and university buildings, the permitted buildings include certain shops and office buildings with a floor area up to 1500m² to provide conveniences for the local community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 1 Residential Districts</td>
<td>This zone is designated to protect the residential environment. The permitted buildings include shops, offices and hotel buildings with a floor area of up to 3000m².</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category 2 Residential Districts</td>
<td>This zone is designated to mainly protect the residential environment. The permitted buildings include shops, offices and hotel buildings as well as buildings with karaoke booths.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quasi-Residential Districts</td>
<td>This zone is designated to allow the introduction of vehicle-related facilities along roads while protecting the residential environment in harmony with such facilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood Commercial Districts</td>
<td>This zone is designated to provide daily shopping facilities for the neighbourhood residents. In addition to residential and shop buildings, small factory buildings are permitted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial Districts</td>
<td>Banks, cinemas, restaurants and department stores are constructed in this zone. Residential buildings and small factory buildings are also permitted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quasi-Industrial Districts</td>
<td>This zone is mainly occupied by light industrial facilities and service facilities. Almost all types of factories are permitted excepting those which are considered to considerably worsen the environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Districts</td>
<td>Any type of factory can be built in this zone. While residential and shop buildings can be constructed, school, hospital and hotel buildings are not permitted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusive Industrial Districts</td>
<td>This zone is designated for factories. While all types of factory buildings are permitted, residential, shop, school, hospital and hotel buildings cannot be constructed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 7-9: Visual representations of land use zones (source TMG, 2018).
**Machizukuri**

The spatial level that is the most significant as inclusive and participative is the community level, or in Tokyo’s case neighbourhood level (Nozick, 1992; Paulson, 1997; Rudin and Falk, 1999; Corbett and Corbett, 2000; Van der Ryn and Cowan, 2013). In Japan neighbourhood associations are an equal participant in the city-making process, where voices of residents are shared and heard. Machizukuri represents civic society, which is (or was) weakly institutionalized, in districts where the priority is commonly given to the urban land redevelopment over the urban livability and where the national government promotes accelerated redevelopment.

Machizukuri movements appeared in 1960, although one might argue that through activities and practices people were not only participants but bearers of those processes even before they were recognized by institutions as such (Bestor, 1989; Lebra, 1992; Sand, 2014). The Neighbourhood Associations exist in Japan since the 1930s, machizukuri movements since the 1960s and since the 1990s they have had a number of successful efforts in urban environmental and community development campaigns (Sorensen, 2009b). Movements are organized because of and, in a sense, provoked by the redevelopments and property development companies. Since their beginnings, organizations have the ability to produce capitalist value, reverse the demographic decline, and restore progress (St-Pierre, 2017). Through numerous examples, neighbourhoods strengthened their identity through participation, they opposed changes and development and negotiated between the Local Government and Private Investors. The negotiation between locals and investors, initiated by local movements, results in an environment which is friendlier and does not change the image of the neighbourhood. Two well-known examples opposed the development of high-rise buildings. In the case of Kunitachi, the movement opposed the development of high-rise buildings which were extremely high compared to the low-rise houses, changing dramatically the townscape and the identity of the neighbourhood (Nishimura, 2005; Sorensen, 2009a;). In the case of Komazawa, one of the requests was to change half the housing units to family-sized units (Sorensen, 2009a). The awareness of effect the change had on both social and spatial structure of the neighbourhood, as well as the image of the neighbourhood are present in these two cases. Machizukuri, therefore, does not only address the spatial changes: they directly address the social change prompted by the proposed design (Sorensen et al., 2008).

MAIN FEATURES of Machizukuri movements are (1) encouraging general public to be a part of decision making and implementation of various parts of city life, (2) they are based upon transparent discussion making process in the local community by the individuals and (3) its common goals are not quantifiable achievements by benchmarks stipulated in statutory procedures but upgraded quality of life judged by performance standard (Nishimura, 2005). Other features of contemporary machizukuri movement are small geographical scale of projects and organizations; the focus on creating and managing shared public spaces and the emphasis put on the participation of community members. The organization remains small, autonomous, neighbourhood-based group – entirely voluntary; they tend to work on neighbourhood scale; main authority lies not in legal planning system but in persuasion, relying
on the legitimacy of the community united to persuade public and private instigators of change in the
neighbourhood to voluntarily respect the wishes of community. The main strategy is to gain the
voluntary commitment of all landowners to respect the development guidelines for the area; to present
a common, unified face to any who managed to gain ownership of land within the area.; to work with a
sympathetic local government to produce agreements, plans, ordinances, district plans.

Through machizukuri, whether as a non-governmental institution or not, the importance of
individual opinions is present in the process of city making. Question this research adds to the discussion
is:

Are these roles as significant when it comes to place attachment, home or engagement in a city as a
socio-spatial construct whose main feature is movement?

From the perspective of intimate space, the answer to this question lies in the level of awareness and
self –awareness, which are seen as main features of self (for details see Chapter 2: Person and Self). The
focus of this research is on the unintentional involvement and the example of machizukuri is elaborated
as its antipode, as an intentional way of residents’ participation in creation of the cityscape (or
townscape). The unintentional participation through engagement complements this existing practice. As
it is the case with the planning authorities, machizukuri movement implies permanence, attachment and
belonging (Nishimura, 2005, Sorensen et al., 2008). In an aging society, in wards and districts where
changes of social and spatial structures are constant, it is necessary to provide a possibility of immediate
and direct involvement with the “world at hand” (Seamon, 1979). The place which affords appropriation
and intimacy is elevated from a place to a meaningful place through engagement, in spite of
temporariness. In the existing spatio-temporal structure of metropolis and global city the clusters of
meaningful places, whether seen as dispersed around the metropolis or as concentrated within the ward,
accommodate and afford ones’ basic needs.

Simultaneously, they protects the existing qualities and embed them into the constantly changing urban
environment.
**Figure 7-10. Machizukuri Movements Propose Guidelines for the Development of the Cityscape**


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基本の詳細 [kihonnohousai] basic details
Towards an Integrated Framework

The concept of sustainability, its forms, principles and indicators are discussed with the focus on those applicable to Tokyo as a city structured by flows and within its complex metropolitan urban form. Planning practices, their goals and policies are then investigated with the intention of identifying those that address public space and domestic space. In this subchapter the whole process of investigation is revisited and formulated into an integrative framework, which identifies and maps clusters of smallness.

Figure 7-11 shows all layers that were overlapped in GIS and all the stages of the research. Image A is the image of Land Use Plan; image B shows results of ethnographic study (traces of walking, then observation, data gathering and exploration in situ); images C and D represent results of sociological study (clusters of smallness and their distances from train stations). The final image, image E is the map of intimate places in Taito ward generated as a result of the Hot Spot analysis; it represents clusters of smallness, which hold potential for engagement and accordingly – for activity and play (Appendix D5). Clusters are classified into two main categories: those that afford decorative and those that afford utilitarian activities, and their position within the sustainability concept is discussed.

Phase 1 – UNDERSTANDING THE CONTEXT

First stage of the research is the exploration of the socio-spatial context. The importance of this stage is twofold: understanding socio-spatial relationships of the case study and choosing suitable methods for their examination. Specificity of Tokyo was introduced through its main characteristics – movement and flow, which lead to its definition as a place that produces and is produced by the activities
of people and institutions (in this study – it is the activity of an individual and institutions) (Pred, 1984; Cresswell, 2013).

Phase 2 – DESIGNING A METHODOLOGY

The socio-spatial system defined in the first phase suggests a multidimensional approach with the focus on qualitative social, spatial and socio-spatial methodologies. Social and spatial methodologies were investigated individually and in relation to one another. Current approaches were implemented and used to define characteristics of the studied concept. Personal space, within the metropolis which is defined by flows, was investigated with the application of ethnographic and visual methods spatially and through the semi-structured interviews socially.

Phase 3 – INTEGRATING THE FINDINGS

Before the discussion of results from the planning perspective, current concepts of sustainable city, which address its specific social and spatial aspects rather than its urban form, were investigated. Intimate spaces are defined and positioned within the existing definitions of sustainability. Following the discussion on design concepts, indicators and principles of sustainability, the usefulness of collected data was investigated through the comparative study of the current planning documents. Considering Tokyo’s presented socio-spatial characteristics, visionary and executive documents on four levels were investigated highlighting policies that tackle socio-spatial characteristics of defined intimate spaces.

Research was completed on the scale of Taito Ward where areas with different spatial characteristics were mapped and classified. The commercial area proposed by the Land Use Plan was investigated and
the focus was on its micro units which afford different levels of engagement. Purpose of the analysis is twofold:

1. to address and show necessity of instruments’ refinement and contextualization, and
2. to map micro units that afford engagement.

Within the Commercial area different Floor Area Ratios and Building Coverage Ratios are the only tools used for further, finer, design of the otherwise uniform district. In this case, the plan does not recognize existing qualities of places that afford appropriation and attachment.

Proposed classification adds intimate place as an additional layer to the existing plan. It recognizes a finer grain within the apparently uniform area.

Phase 4 – PROPOSING

As a result, four categories of places with different levels of intimacy are recognized. They were discussed as places of rest and places that afford engagement and solitary play on one hand, and places, which because of the distances from the closest station(s), afford accessibility and connectedness. Relationships of these two factors highlight potential intimate space within the Land Use Plan.

1. Clusters of small lots within 500m from the nearest train station.

These places have the highest potential for engagement which accommodate solitary play. Closeness of the train station transforms them into a potential nods that allow accessibility to significant others. In areas close to the arterial and access roads, these places afford utilitarian activities with less intimacy, while those that are within the smallest of the buildings hold the highest potential for intimacy and engagement. Leftover places between buildings are those that accommodate decorative (purposeless) activities. On the other hand, proximity of the train station makes them suitable for social and commercial activities; these are places that afford socializing (or third places, places of interaction with others). They complement existing public spaces of the ward while supporting residential use. Areas in vicinity of more than one train station are suitable for commercial uses and small industries. A spatial integration of working and living is supported in those districts.

2. Clusters of small lots 500m to 1000m from the nearest station (15 minutes on foot)

These areas have spatial characteristics similar to the first category. However the distance from the station makes them more suitable for residential activities as they are less dynamic than the first category (less people are passing through) and therefore suitable for decorative activities affording rest and encounters. Residential uses strengthening housing diversity with different models of shared spaces are recommended.

3. Clusters of buildings with significance less than 90% that are in the vicinity of more than one train station.
Vicinity of more than one station is common in Taito Ward because of its size. In the presented map (Figure 7-12) the highest number of stations is four. The Getis Ord analysis suggests that these areas are insignificant within the context of neighbouring features, but nevertheless, they might contain fragments of paths and footways within the blocks. These fragments are smaller in size but they still afford a certain level of intimacy and accommodate related activities. In order to understand their importance from the viewpoint of intimacy and to suggest further ways of their development, it would be necessary to apply different methodology.

One idea for further study is to analyse if the stations were on the same or different train lines and if these areas contained paths or footways. If the train lines were different then accessibility to different parts of Tokyo would be easier, connectivity and accessibility elevated, and the location itself would have a higher value. Knowing the number of passengers passing each station could give further insight into the dynamics and possibilities of the area.

4. Fourth category are the clusters that are more than 1000m from the station.

In Taito, the cluster in the northern part of the ward belongs to the fourth category. Quality of these places is hidden from the eye of the public. They are less connected and accessibility is lower when compared to other three categories. These areas afford integration of working and living. These are spots that support local industries, whether they are within the house or within the walking distance. A slow paced life of the ward could be strengthened within areas of this category. Still, even in this case, because the Ward is compact and small, walking distance from the station is not more than 20 minutes.

Conclusion

Is it possible to plan a sustainable metropolis?

In this chapter Tokyo’s complex form is explored through the comparison with current models of sustainable forms, main principles of sustainability, its design concepts and indicators. Position of intimate spaces within the existing models is explored and seven out of fourteen principles applicable to all communities are discussed as relevant for intimate spaces. Following the analysis of intimate spaces in regard to the sustainability concept, visionary and executive documents that position Tokyo as Global, Regional, National capital and a city of neighbourhoods, are explored. The focus is on policies that address public space and social inclusion. Position of an individual within the existing framework and existing discrepancies between the vision of Tokyo and the “execution” of Tokyo are investigated, with the purpose of proposing the informal and un-institutional ways of participation (all towards the goals defined in the Master Plan and towards the sustainability concept).

Presence of personal belongings (or their absence) in public space does not necessarily have equal significance in different urban environments (in residential districts with big open space and/or public space in their vicinity). In those cases, further classification of the existing public and private places is necessary for better understanding of the established individual relationship between the resident and
the ward. This is to be accomplished with the application of Ethnographic Methods (Visual Studies) and Social Methods (Interviews). Therefore, only when both qualitative and quantitative methods are applied and when the factors are refined according to the existing features of the studied environment, will the methodology give meaningful and applicable results. This does not mean that the research cannot be conducted partially, it means only that the relevance of results will be smaller. In the case of Setagaya, which is with Ota one of the two biggest wards, clusters of places with similar attributes possess similar values but their significance within the context is questionable and other meaningful places might be overlooked. In an environment with different level of complexity, it is necessary to further explore meaningful places and (daily) practices that are behind them.

When it comes to the finest qualities of intimate places that emerge in the city, they need not to be “preserved” or “protected”; they need to be recognized and accommodated, whether or not those who engage with environment are aware of the change and identity they create.
As we walk through the narrow paths and footways, where the smallness and slow pace of life coexist next to the images of constant transformations, dramatic physical changes and next to the bigness of the most visited tourist attractions, we are inescapably immersed into a dialogue. The abundance of belongings exposed to our site tests our sense of comfort, as we are crossing an invisible border between belonging and not belonging.
Chapter 8: RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

INTIMATE SPACE. UTILITARIAN AND DECORATIVE SPACES. DISPERSED HOME. DYNAMIC SENSE OF HOME. FOURTH PLACE.

Theoretical Implications

Results of the research were presented in segments in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. In this chapter they are summarized separately with an overall conclusion and with prospects of the research. Theoretical contribution (or contribution to knowledge) is presented through the defined terminology: (1) intimate space, leftover place, utilitarian and decorative spaces, clusters of smallness and (2) dispersed home, dynamic sense of home, fourth place. Theoretical, methodological and practical definitions and their usefulness are presented in the final paragraphs. The emphasis is on the established interdisciplinary approach, multidimensional methodology, phases of the research and their sequence.

Intimate space

Two types of shared spaces in Tokyo downtown area are defined as a result of observations: the decorative ones (purpose-less) and the utilitarian ones (purpose-full). Three types of intimate places are defined within these two categories. Decorative places are (1) arrangements, as places with personal belongings arranged in unique way, (2) decorated places with small items (such as toys or dishes, pots etc.) and (3) painted places with hand drawn on their facades. Utilitarian places are (1) places for storage and (2) places for maintenance, attached to the low-rise buildings horizontally and vertically; and (3) domestic spaces with extrapolated fragments of home.

Methodologically, results of the observations suggest a necessity of the exploration of case studies in situ and ethnographic fieldwork as a part of the research that comes before the analysis and takes place simultaneously with the theoretical exploration of the studied phenomenon.

Essentially, the finest and the most intimate spaces might be overlooked if they are not traced. However it is important to emphasize that it is not their visual appearance nor aesthetic quality that they are significant for. The significance of the intimate and personal spaces is in the activities that generate them and their purpose as a playful environment with a high level of individual expression and engagement.

As a result of observations, following characteristics of built environment with significant amount of personal belongings were defined.

1. They are places attached horizontally and vertically to the low-rise buildings
2. They are located between the clusters of low-rise buildings
3. They are elevated from the street and allow limited access to pedestrians and occasionally bicycles.

While placing the urban environmental quality ahead of the economic growth (or next to it) in a technology oriented environment and metropolis that is inherently unsustainable, citizens need to be key actors in efforts to achieve greater sustainability. “This was envisioned at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, that emphasizes local governments, communities and citizens as the key factors in efforts to achieve greater environmental sustainability” (Sorensen, 2009a: pp.2). And this is also envisioned in Master Plan of Taito Ward that is, like other statutory documents, seen as a visionary document disconnected from the regulation and executive plans.

If self is seen as a bearer of these concepts whatever virtue self achieves, it will be achieved by the virtue of self’s own agency. Existing active but informal participation is one of the ways to move forward the desired spatial qualities which stimulate individuals, or rather citizens, and – it is a way to tolerate and spare existing transient environments as unresolved narratives of development (Sennett, 2010).

**Dispersed home**

The purpose of the sociological study is to emphasize the importance of the city and its role in formation of the concept of home in

“[…] the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed when our experience of the world is less that of a long life developing through time than of a network that connects points and intersections with its own skein.” Foucault as cited in Casey, 2013: pp. 298

Theoretical definitions and characteristics of multidimensional concept of home are explored and applied to the study of Tokyo, as a contemporary and global city, which has been a fruitful ground for the emergence of alternative ways of living (Kitayama and Cohen, 2010; Hildner, 2013).

Home is explored as a process, as a phenomenon which is not embodied in the dwelling and whose dispersion have started with the Industrial Revolution and the separation of work; and whose dispersion have continued with the emergence of third places. Therefore, studying homes became studying a network of places and fields of (daily) actions. Specificity of Japanese culture points towards the exploration of the self, and in this case, exploration of home became a study of Tokyoites and their dwelling habits.

A tripartite framework is used as a reference for the exploration and analysis of the concept of home. In spatial sense, the current home is a field or a network of places where homelike activities take place.

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109 Sennett presents three ways in which an open city can be well designed. These designs involve creating ambiguous edges between parts of the city, contriving incomplete forms in buildings, and planning for unresolved narratives of development. Sennett, R., 2010. The public realm. The Blackwell city reader. pp.261-272.
Locations of the sleeping place and working place are significant only among other facilities, especially in relation to the train station and its proximity, and the state of rest is achieved out of home, in motion. The gravity shifts from the living place (first place) towards the working place (second place) which is connected with the highly domesticated socializing place (third place) and another place (fourth place).

In social sense, attachment to different social groups arises at different times and in different life stages: in childhood and adolescence it is attachment to family, but in early adulthood it is attachment to co-workers. And because of the frequent change of residence, social properties become more significant than spatial properties in defining the sense of home. The psychological/temporal dimension of home reveals that memorable places and places of rest are places in the city, out of the dwelling, usually those with natural elements (such as orchards, parks, and shrines) and it is the city that is referred as home when talking about previously lived environments.

“Accessibility” becomes important for all three properties of dispersed home: it forms a “field” by connecting significant places, allowing access to significant people and places and providing a possibility of return. Hence, by affording and enabling accessibility, it is the city and its systems that (to a large extent) actually frame the sense of home.

As a concept, home thus becomes anthropocentric rather than place-centric. It is not a static but a dynamic process, constantly changing in a lifetime of movement, which causes less attachment to the physical environment and domestic objects. Functional devices used for domestic activities are not possessed, they are borrowed, rented and used for a short period of time often within facilities provided by the city. In daily life and daily movement, through its transportation systems and institutions, the city itself imposes upon a person and upon a self, as a realm with its own corporeality (Altman, 1975; Somerville, 1997).

In light of such notion of home, the integration of its understanding with planning practices is inevitable, especially in contemporary city where new ways of living are already existing, constantly emerging and pushing the boundaries of the ordinary. In order to plan, design, make, and, finally live in an environment that accommodates real needs and practices (Werner et al., 1985), it is therefore necessary to deal with the social and psychological implications of spatial planning. Implications of such understanding are already becoming visible in the work of contemporary architects and urban designers whose design embodies new social forms of living and can be construed as a response to the evolving social perceptions. At the architectural and urban scales, design professionals are exploring the new emerging relationship of social and spatial dimensions through collective housing, collective living and the idea of compact volume that disintegrates within the city (Kitayama et. al, 2010; Hildner, 2013).

But whether spatially disintegrated within the city or located in a singular space, whether conceived (perceived and lived) as a static or as a dynamic phenomenon, the home remains a most essential and intimate locus of the self.
This study adds to the emerging qualitative and multidimensional approach to planning (Ohno, 2006; Radovic, 2013), emphasizing additional social and psychological implications that are addressed at the city scale. If “the place is elevated into a home by virtue of allowing homelike activities to take place” (Dovey, 1985), we need to plan, design and build places and cities which nurture this virtue, aware of the possibility of and potential for social change.

**Dynamic Sense of Home**

Contemporary city, where movement is an integral part of daily life and where the state of rest is achieved in public space, in motion, becomes a place that imposes upon a persons’ time-space routines and habitual actions. From the citizens’ perspective and their time-space organisation, the city manipulates and enforces impediments on their daily dynamics and experiences in two ways. Firstly, as a spatial realm within which (semi)public and (semi)private places are connected by means of transportation on a daily basis. And secondly, in a lifetime of movement, the city imposes upon a person through its institutions (industrial sectors) which are developing various types of accommodations for their workers and which cause frequent relocations affecting personal time-space routines. As a consequence, relocations become easier (accommodation and facilities are provided by a corporation and/or an agency) and participation in homemaking is minimized, which both reduce the attachment to the physical environment (Cieraad, 2010). Questions about previously lived places (place of birth and hometown), about social relationships (significant others) and about memories of places and respondents’ belongings and possessions helped analysing the frequency of movement and dislocation and how respondents felt about them.

Conceptually, two main categories were recognized, those of fragmented temporality and absence of nostalgia. Fragmented temporality defines home as a progressive and embodied concept, not restrained to the physicality of the place. This was shown to be the most extreme in the case of Tokyoites who were born in Tokyo and who spent their childhood in Tokyo Metropolitan Area. Nostalgia, a feeling which is closely related to the concept of home and memories was explored as a “need to return” but was shown to be “absence of nostalgia.” In a technologically driven society that provides and imposes constant accessibility, the importance of the former and the sense of loss are being reduced and the possibility of return is more significant than return itself.

From these two categories, this research introduces the dynamic sense of home, which is grounded less in a physical or even social or psychological aspects of a place, but rather is grounded in familiarity with process and habituality. The role of the city becomes important and clear through the time-space relationships that individuals develop with the cities they live in. In the case of Tokyo, through dependence on the transportation system and through time appropriation caused by institutions, the sense of home and attachment to the spatiality of place are being altered. This is further increased by the use of extensions and virtual communication. However, this is not the case only in Tokyo and Japan. As they keep growing, urban populations around the world are becoming populations born in cities, raised
in cities and whose attachments are developed in a close relationship with the city, our “second nature” our “natural habitat”, a “time zone” where we are separated from others by chronology rather than geography (Morris-Suzuki, 2015).

The purpose of sociological part of the research was to explore attachment and sense of home from a qualitative point of view and to emphasize peoples’ sense of attachment to a place as a process that produces and is produced by the activities of people and institutions. For the concept of home, this is significant because it shifts the attention from *roots* to *routes*, integrating movement and connections into the concept. The juxtaposition between traditional (static) and contemporary (dynamic) concepts of home highlights the connection between the tangible and intangible; between planned, designed and built environment and the sense of belonging, of attachment to places, which arises from the relationship between an individual and their environment as a consequence of the ways we plan, design and build cities. With that in mind, we need to get closer the *conceptual* and *empirical*, while cross-examining the perceived, conceived and lived realities (Lefebvre, 1991) of the rising number of urban dwellers who “permanently temporary” *belong* to the flows of interconnected contemporary cities.

For intimate space, this means temporary attachment to number of places that satisfy needs previously associated with the house (such as privacy and intimacy).
Implementation of the Study

CITY SCALE

Quantitative part of the research was completed in GIS, with the analysis of the built environment in the cadastral map of Tokyo. First analysis was conducted on the scale of Tokyo Metropolis. 23 wards were analysed with the intention of recognizing their typologies. Three different types of wards were introduced:

1. Central wards are Arakawa, Bunkyo, Nakano, Meguro, Taito, Toshima and Sumida. They are shitamachi or downtown districts small in area and population and with predominantly residential Land Uses. The Land Use plans of these Wards are not as complex as those of the peripheral wards and, as a consequence of their smallness, distances between stations are walkable. Furthermore, these traditionally small-scale districts already accommodate large number of low-rise buildings. Some of them (for example Nezu and Yanaka) are protected environments with very strict regulations and strong machizukuri movements (Muminović et al., 2014). This research puts the highlight on the leftover spaces surrounding low-rise buildings that are not protected nor extraordinary in any way. It demonstrates that even if not architecturally significant, these environments afford engagement and accommodate playful activities. Their social value arises from their spatial characteristics and this is why it is necessary to understand their logic and implement it into planning and design.

2. Peripheral wards are Adachi, Edogawa, Itabashi, Katsushika, Kita, Koto, Nerima, Ota, Setagaya and Suginami. These wards are located at the order between Tokyo Metropolis and Tokyo Metropolitan area on the east and between Tokyo and Saitama and Chiba prefectures on the north. These wards are commonly residential although they accommodate all Land Uses including the industrial one. According the number of Land Uses they accommodate and their size (Ota, Setagaya, Koto, Edogawa and Nerima are the biggest wards in size and population with the largest number of Land Uses) they could be divided into two groups. For the analysis of peripheral wards clusters of small buildings are not as significant as in the Central Wards. In some cases, districts of peripheral wards were developed in the 20th century and other factors need to be defined and investigated.

3. In-between wards. These wards are positioned between central wards and peripheral wards and they contain the most popular districts in Tokyo. Usually they do not accommodate residential Land Use categories but a large number of people lives in vicinity of commercial areas. The in-between wards are Chiyoda, Chuo, Minato, Shibuya, Shinagawa and Shinjuku. They could be roughly divided into two distinct types – those of entertainment and those of business. One of the main characteristics of business wards is the difference between the daytime and nighttime populations, which makes them suitable for open planning. The main characteristic of commercial wards is “bigness” (big scale of high rise buildings).
Central, peripheral and in-between wards have different spatio-temporal characteristics, land use distribution and identities that arise from these differences. If discussed in regard to the sustainable forms and intimate spaces, it would be necessary to further analyse the context and understand its specificities before choosing appropriate methods. Application of similar analysis gives results that do map clusters of smallness, but without detailed analysis of their character in situ it is impossible to suggest their values and meanings.

**WARD SCALE**

Taito ward, located in the heart of Tokyo since Edo era, was selected for the analysis on the ward scale. It accommodates some of the most prominent Tokyo landmarks; it is a home of multiple machizukuri movements; it is a place where some of the most fascinating and the most visited festivals are. This study analysed the Land Use Plan of Taito Ward and focused on the transformations in level of affordances of leftover places caused by constant spatial transformation. Traces of individuals’ activities were observed with the intention of recognizing places that afford play and activities.

At this scale factors were chosen integrating the results of the observations and interviews. Following factors were analysed:

1. clusters of smallness (smallest streets, paths and footways surrounded by low-rise buildings)
2. distances from stations (500 meters and 1000 meters radius)

As a result, districts with the highest potential for appropriation and intimate districts were generated.

Factors that were observed lead to the fieldwork in different parts of Taito Ward. Places of interest were places with good accessibility and close to the station. These places were classified into four categories, from one to four points of accessibility (it means that they one to four stations are within
500m distance). Results were overlapped with the existing land use plan and FAR/BCR ratio of Taito’s commercial land use.

Theory and Planning Practices

This research addresses Tokyo’s spatial and institutional realm on different scales (on National, Regional, Metropolitan and Ward scale). One of the main purposes of the research is to reflect on the existing planning documents and practices and to propose ways of their refinement. This is achieved by developing the methodology that as a result has recognized places with unique quality within one of the Tokyo Wards. In this case, focus was on intimate space, the space that accommodates urban artefacts and where residents engage with the environment. Domestic activities accommodated in leftover places are recognized as social indicators which complement existing shared public spaces.

Another goal of this research is to propose how to reinforce residential functions in central Tokyo according to the National Capital Region Development plan, as one of its goals within the Development part. The promotion of Townscape creation by citizens of Tokyo is addressed, but through the individual engagement rather than through the institutionalization. A common way of individual involvement is through institutions (whether formal or informal; governmental or non-governmental). On the one hand, this study suggests the involvement of individuals through the observation of their behaviours, activities and traces, through direct discussion and with the application of quantitative methods. And on the other hand, it is necessary for a profession to recognize citizens as subjects who already contribute to the living environment through the reiteration of practices and habits, through the use of the previously gained body- knowledge within their temporary place of residence. Thus, it is necessary to leave an “undefined space” that affords unintentional participation.

Tokyo Metropolitan Government promotes community renewal efforts and advancement of built-up areas. Three systems are provided for creating unique and attractive neighbourhoods: land readjustment, system for the creation of townscapes and registration system for local community development groups. Priority townscape districts are recognized and their historic or cultural assets are utilized to create attractive landscapes.

This research proposes community renewal through the engagement with the environment. Through the participation in a re-creation of a daily environment, not only historic and cultural assets (that are recognized by institutions) will be a part of the ‘Tokyo’s attractive landscape’ and its ‘elegant neighbourhoods’. Rather, daily life and individual/ personal relationship with the immediate environment will contribute to the natural development and steady growth of the residential neighbourhoods and blocks, constantly re-generating their local identities. Re-creation of home through homelike activities and through the domestication of home environments (which, in a metropolis, are dislocated from the house to a semi-public/ semi-private blurred sphere) will generate socio-spatial relationships, sense of home and sense of attachment, even in mobile urbanites who temporarily belong to their “dispersed home.”
Methodological Implications

This research develops methodology that is multidisciplinary and that applies different approaches at different stages of the study with the purpose of their implementation into the planning practices (Lucas et al., 2014).

1. First stage is the theoretical exploration of the phenomenon and its definitions
2. Second stage is the exploration of methodology and methods applicable to the selected context
3. Third stage is the investigation of findings within the existing sustainability concept
4. Final, fourth part is integration of relevant factors into the existing visionary and executive planning documents (in order to map and define intangible and experiential perception of the phenomenon under the study in its context)

The emphasis in this specific study is on multidisciplinarity and causal relationships between different segments of the research. In the qualitative stage, it is necessary to apply ethnographic studies for better understanding of the local context. The case study has to be explored and ‘read’ in situ. Observations that are recommended are simultaneously observations of the environment and observations of people. And the focus is on the interaction, exchange and transactions between a person (self) and space (city). Only after the completion of the first stage, the spatial analysis took place – with the application of quantitative methods the findings from the fieldwork were integrated into the local context and the analysis was completed.

Two different types of relationships are highlighted. Firstly, interviews are designed following the theoretical framework and the emphasis in this stage is on the integration of the theory and practice. Secondly, findings of the sociological and ethnographic studies are discussed in regard to the existing sustainability concepts and planning practices. This emphasizes the inevitable integration of qualitative and quantitative research in studies of urban environments. Through these two relations and with the application of qualitative and quantitative methods an indirect connection between theory and practice is established.

Following principles are discussed within the multidisciplinary approach.

1. Transformation/ flexibility [significant for the phases of the research and their sequence, and for the methodology in general]
2. Juxtaposition [significant for the exploration of theoretical concepts]

**Transformation** is a necessary adjustment of the scientific tools and methods. Research needs to be re-evaluated and re-addressed after the completion of the first stage. When qualitative study is completed, before the quantitative stage is initiated, a revision of the hypothesis and research questions is needed, as well as the investigation of the initial arguments. At each stage of the research, findings and results need to be implemented into the further parts of the process. In this study, results of the
theoretical exploration are integrated into the qualitative part of the research; results of the theoretical exploration and results of the qualitative research are integrated into the final stage of the research - into the quantitative spatial analysis.

Importance of the context arises from the exploration of the proposed concepts in studies of cities. For example, within historical, modern and contemporary city forms, it is necessary to recognize the unique and specific characteristics of the space and to apply methods suitable for each context. In Tokyo, a metropolis that is simultaneously a global, regional and national capital, sustainability concept is not the same as the sustainability concept in any other city. The relationship that Tokyoites develop with their own fragments of the city are studied with the purpose of finding the best way to address this particular context in its own scale. Similarly, in studies of different environments, it is recommended to study a person, a subject, an agent and individual, and their relationship with the immediate environments. It is necessary to study cities through persons and to contextualize the study in this way.

The juxtaposition is suggested as a result of the studies of different concepts. Awareness of the horizontality or rather an absence of hierarchy, an “absence of evolution” (where time is seen not as linear but as cyclical) is significant. Through the discussion of the theory of place, it becomes obvious that even though the theories have been evolving and have been developed as logical extensions of one another; it is still necessary to acknowledge that one theory does not replace another one and that one of them (the most recent one) is not more significant nor valuable than another (or all previous) one(s). They are more relevant for a specific social and/or spatial context and it is up to a researcher to choose and implement the suitable theoretical framework. Theories are temporally independent (undetermined), and they still exist in their genuine form within different environments.

Main Contribution

This study explores personal space from the social and spatial perspectives within the specific cultural context. The integrated approach itself emphasizes a holistic character of the studied phenomena. Concepts of personal space, then studies of person and space transformed into a study of the relationship between the self and the city. Transformation and flow of the research signify the openness of the approach and constant questioning during different stages of the research.

Personal space itself has not been explored as a process. In this research re-creation of personal space through daily practices and habitual activities is emphasized. This research suggests that personal space will be further affected by the change in communication caused by the development of industries and information technology and an increased use of “extensions” or devices. This change is twofold. Socially, the importance of face to face conversation loses its significance. Physically, our bodies depend less and less on their own condition and rely more on transportation systems. Both situations are present to a different extent in different societies and within different cultural spheres and both are
characteristics of metropolises, such as Tokyo, the case study of this research, where usage of devices for communication and transportation became an inevitability.

**PERSONAL SPACE** is defined as activity space that emerges from the relationship between the self and the city. Spatially, it is a place where personal belongings leave traces of daily activities and embody the habitual actions of an individual. In Tokyo personal spaces are extrapolated from the house to the public realm. It is defined as a dynamic assemblage of persons’ significant places, significant people and processes that happen in a spatio-temporal system through daily activities and bodily actions.

**INTIMATE SPACE** is defined as a socio-spatial construct that emerges from solitary activities individuals conduct within the “clusters of smallness”; they are visible results of individuals’ engagement with their immediate environment, located at the border between public and private space.

The “FOURTH PLACE” or “ANOTHER PLACE” is defined as a solitary place where the presence of others is possible, but not necessary. It is a place of rest that is achieved out of the dwelling. In historical or modern cities these qualities are still associated with the concept of home, and such and similar meanings cannot be associated with public space. The peculiarity of metropolitan lifestyles arises from its main characteristics: movement and flow; and from the constant presence of “general other”.

In presence of others, an individual performs activities commonly done in the intimacy (or privacy) of the house, regardless of the intended meaning of the place. Specific needs appear regardless of the place. Intimacy, comfort, privacy and other characteristics of the traditional concept of home become associated with time, not with the place. And during this intimate time, an individual reaches the state of rest, it finds the moment for oneself within the spatio-temporal system that imposes upon an individual and appropriates one’s time.

In this light, cities and their public spaces need to accommodate privacy and they need to be planned with an individual in mind. In other words, such spaces are already latent: a constellation of personal belongings in appropriated spaces re-appear in wards, districts and blocks temporarily transformed into the needed (archetypal) place: a place to sleep, a place to eat, a place to dream etc. Intimate space appears and reappears with the satisfaction of a need, in front of the eyes of the “general other” who re-interprets it to their own satisfaction.

The home remains a focal point of self, but the scale of home changes. It is extrapolated from the intimacy of the house into the city and city’s places – those that afford temporal appropriation and engagement. Such places are in the leftover places, in the vicinity of “clusters of smallness” that is typical for Tokyo’s “in-between” wards.

**DISPERSED HOME** is defined as a network of at least four places and lines that connect them. First place, second place and third place are adopted from theory: they are places where an individual lives, where he or she works and where he or she socializes. Fourth place is defined by the analysis of the data. Fourth place is denominated also as “another place” and a place of rest. It is different from the
third or socializing place because it is a solitary place where people do not necessarily interact with others. Importance of the city lies in the fact that the city itself accommodates and provides the facilities for the intimacy and for homelike activities that are now distributed around it and take place in shared, rather than public spaces. The notion of “public” is altered.

THE DYNAMIC SENSE OF HOME emphasizes the temporal dimension of the concept. In a lifetime of movement, when travel and dislocation for an extended period of time became a norm, the hometown and the place of birth lose the meaning they used to hold. At least this is the case in highly industrialized societies that are now technology oriented. These characteristics, if present, are contextualized and their implications are different in historical, modern and contemporary cities. The sense of attachment changes as people move and dwell in different environments for a significant amount of time. Different levels of attachment were recognized in young Tokyoites who were born in central Tokyo, Tokyo’s Greater Area and in small Japanese towns. Their level of attachment to people (their families and friends), places (buildings, houses, rooms) and processes (habitual activities) are different. For those who were born in Tokyo Metropolis attachment to physical places is less significant than for those who were born in small towns or Greater Tokyo Area. These results suggest the importance city itself has in the development of individuals and their sense of home.

For the spatial analysis of the city and the quantitative part of this research, the dispersion of home plays a significant role. Connections between four significant places could be studied at different scales, and in this research, focus is on the fourth place and activities that take place within. It is explored as a space that complements existing public spaces because of the interactions it affords and triggers.
Delimitations

**METHODOLOGY.** It is a challenging task to set the framework of a multidisciplinary study. Each stage of research has its own pace, predictable and unpredictable outcomes, and each discipline has its own methods that could be adjusted within the context. The quality of the stages separately is not equal and it depends significantly on researcher’s adaptability, previous training and personal interests and sensibility. In this research as well, all the segments of the research are not equally fruitful and the significance of findings vary. Similar research could be conducted by other researchers applying this same sequence of methods, but order and pacing would depend on his or her own background, sensibility, knowledge and - decisions. This kind of openness and flexibility is supported and actually favourable because each case study is different and researchers need to apply methods only to the extent that is actually applicable. From this ‘lack of rigor’ (or one might say freedom) arises a creative approach within otherwise formal science and formal application of scientific methods.

Suppose that this methodological approach will be applied for the studies of complex urban environments, my hope is that it will be applied and conducted by a team of professionals with training in different disciplines and with different knowledge. The awareness of the whole and of the necessity and importance of each stage is needed by all.

**THEORY.** Considering the multidisciplinary approach and the idea of studying one concept within different fields of study, the problem becomes obvious: it is impossible to make an in-depth study in all disciplines. To overcome this obstacle, the topic and the concepts are discussed with informants, with experts in their fields of study (social scientists, engineers, urban planners etc.). The overall framework is guided by their professional opinions, by suggested references which helped narrowing down the amount of relevant literature.

**OBSERVATIONS.** Transient character of the studied phenomenon makes the mapping and recording of the districts and blocks technically demanding. Intimate places are recreated daily and even if visited on two consecutive days, appearance and amount of urban artefacts could have been altered. Specific types of spaces might appear and disappear during different days in the week, or different amount of personal objects might be exposed depending on different circumstances (such as the weather, for example). This obstacle is the reason why photography and visual methods are applied - it is not the specific order of things or the exact amount of them that is under the scope of the study, but the presence of the order itself. The interpretation of recorded data was therefore qualitative, not quantitative and this obstacle has become a strength.

**INTERVIEWS.** Having an experience and training in architectural design and spatial planning, the author is more skilled to complete the spatial part of the research. In order to reach equal depth in the sociological part of the study, interviews were conducted with the guidance of a social scientist. A significant amount of time and effort were invested into the design of questionnaires which are later
disregarded and replaced by semi-structured interviews. Methodology and application of the theory are therefore significantly improved.

Interviews are conducted in English and this is one of the main concerns of the author. The reason they are not conducted in Japanese is the process of analysis and coding. The thesis is written in the English language, therefore it would have been necessary to translate transcribed interviews from Japanese to the English language. For this reason, all interviews are conducted in English and discussed partially, for clarification of meanings, in Japanese. Transcription and coding are completed in the English language. A significant amount of data is place specific and countable (such as numbers of previously lived cities, commuting hours etc.) and they do not in any sense depend on the language. When discussing more abstract terms and feelings, misunderstandings and misinterpretations are minimized by in-depth discussions – and this is why openness of semi-structured interviews is selected as suitable for the research.

OVERALL REMARKS. Literature in Japanese language was studied only partially. Secondary literature was used to overcome this delimitation. Within the existing literature the concepts that are significant for this study (shitamachi, afuredashi, ningen, kaiwai etc.) are investigated already from different perspective, which contextualized the study within the existing work.

At the same time, cultural distance from the context that is under the study gives the author a possibility of perceiving the things that are usually overseen and taken for granted by those who are in their daily environments and whose eyes are used to it. This is specifically relevant for the observations of places and for the discussion of the lifestyles and place attachment that would not be the same if the author was in her own cultural context. Also, life in Tokyo is understood on personal level, through own experience and daily life and this gives a personal note to the rigour of the research. To conduct a research about personal space and intimate space without exposing one’s own relationship with the city, would be, if not unethical, then unfair.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH. Multidimensional and multi-scalar approach opens numerous possibilities for this study. Each stage and each phase of the research could be further developed. It also gives a possibility to experts in any of the fields to strengthen and develop the phase they are trained in. The author intends to apply proposed methodology to different cultural context, another environment and different socio-spatial systems; to the exploration of metropolises (such as London and New York) and their spatio-temporal systems, for example. Exploring global cities and addressing their sustainable future, with an individual as a participant in the process, would further contribute to the engagement of individuals with cities they dwell.

Another possibility is exploring socio-spatial systems of a historical or modern city within the same cultural frame (such as Regional and Prefectural Capitals or local cities in Japan), which would refine the definition of dispersed home. Such investigation would further investigate the level of attachment to one of the elements of the tripartite framework (person - place - process).
It also becomes important to explore and understand cultural varieties of the self, especially in contemporary world, where within movement and flows emerges a complex and multicultural self which does not belong to one specific culture. What kind of city and what kind of environment accommodates our complex and multicultural self? And do we, as actors, as architects, planners, designers or scientists have more significant roles than a subject, than an individual, than our complex and multicultural, constantly learning self?

**PROSPECTS OF THE RESEARCH.** Only mere preservation or protection of the narrow streets, paths and footways that accommodate intimacy is not enough— if they are surrounded by the high-rise or even middle-rise buildings and if they are not directly accessible, they became utilitarian and lose the possibility or potential to be domesticated.

Traditionally, Japanese urban matrix was never ‘linear’ (Shelton, 2012). Following this logic, it would be possible to recognize qualities of fields or blocks with high number of personal objects and artefacts with meanings, those that afford solitary (and other) activities in leftover spaces.

To map spaces with the elements of greenery might be significant in bigger wards, in Taito Ward it is not as significant because the biggest park and one of the most visited parks is in its vicinity. However, in bigger Wards this factor could be more significant. Elements of greenery are present in different types of places (for example shrines, riverbanks etc.) and these elements could be mapped as a separate category.

It is further possible to refine the study by:

- Adding additional layers and to map streets (classifying roads). Clusters in the vicinity of access roads have higher potential than those in the vicinity of arterial roads (for example).
- Classifying stations according their spatial characteristics and roles within wards. As it was elaborated in the introduction of Characteristics of Tokyo, its wards can roughly be classified into the central shitamachi wards, wards at the outskirts of the city and commercial wards that are between them. The role of a station as a focal point within each category is different: in attractive commercial areas stations accommodate high traffic and they are passing-through hubs, in residential areas they serve mostly as the dispersal points for locals. Such and similar characteristics, if added as an additional layer to the existing map, would give an insight into the diversity of identities that are now commonly discussed in relation to the station.
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Glossary

**Action** – Lontyev made a distinction between the individual’s action and the social activity of which it is a part and which gives it meaning; the goal of action is not the same as the motive of the activity of which the action is a part. The idea is that over history, and the evolution of humankind, action and activity which are initially identical, became separated from one another. […] The distinction between action with its immediate goals, and activity with its social motivation […].

**Activity** - Leontyev defines activity through the relation between subject and object. For Leontyev, the subject is any living thing, inclusive of whatever form of sensation and consciousness that the organism has. The object is something in the subject’s environment which represents to the organism the satisfaction of a need. Activity is what mediates between subject and object. (Blunden, 2009)

**Activity theory** - Leontyev made a distinction between the individual’s action, and the social activity of which it is a part and which gives it meaning; the goal of action is not the same as the motive of the activity of which the action is a part. The idea is that over history, and the evolution of humankind, action and activity which are initially identical, became separated from one another. Originally needs were satisfied immediately, but with the deferral of satisfaction and the growth of a division of labour there developed a labour process, means of production and culture generally. This distinction between action with its immediate goals, and activity with its social motivation, is not touched upon by Vygotsky. This is the criticism of Vygotsky which laid the basis for what became known as Activity Theory (Leontiev, 1977, 2006).

**Affordance** is what an environment offers or provides; it includes all transactions possible between an individual and their environment. (Gibson, 2014)

**Afuredashi** – the extension of private commodities into the roji space (Okazaki, 2013).

**Another place** (or fourth place) is defined in this research as a public space where an individual reaches a state of rest; it is a solitary place that accommodates homelike activities (such as eating, reading or sleeping).

**Archetypal places** – Each of the foregoing functions, and others, are associated with thirteen characteristic settings in the physical environment, with the rooms and furniture which focus and support behavior patterns in specific and appropriate ways. Such settings, taken together, in their smallest irreducible group, are herein identified as archetypal places.

**Assemblage** - In the most general sense an ‘assemblage’ is a whole ‘whose properties emerge from the interactions between parts’ (De Landa 2006). Philosophically, this is an attempt to avoid all forms of reductionism – both the reduction to essences and reduction to text. It is empirical without the essentialism of empirical science; it gives priority to experience and sensation without the idealism of
phenomenology; and it seeks to understand the social construction of reality without reduction to discourse.

**At-homeness** – the usually unnoticed, taken-for-granted situation of being comfortable in and familiar with the everyday world in which one lives and outside of which one is ‘visiting’, ‘in transit’, ‘not at home’, ‘out of place’, or travelling [physical extent and boundaries of at-homeness are not so much the concern as the overriding experiential structure which makes them possible] (Dovey, 2009).

**Body-subject** - *Body-subject* is the inherent capacity of the body to direct behaviours of the person intelligently, and thus function as a special kind of subject which expresses itself in a pre-conscious way usually described by such words as automatic, habitual, involuntary or mechanical (Seamon, 1979).

**Bukken** corresponds more closely to the countable concrete noun “property” as it is used in the real estate industry. By the same token, it suggests what legal scholars call the *in rem* character of property: its foundation as a concrete relation between persons and physical things, as opposed to a relation, like a contract, between persons.

**Building Coverage Ratio** - means the ratio between the building area and the site area.

**Capital** - the concept of capital is extended from economic to cultural, social, and symbolic.

**City Planning Areas** – A city planning area is a local unit as well as an area for which city plans are formulated. In principle, a city plan is formulated in terms of the land within city planning areas, which provides the basis for the implementation of land use control, development of city facilities and urban development projects. City planning areas include cities or urban areas of municipal centres that fall under certain requirements, which are designated as areas to be improved, developed or conserved, or those to be developed as residential cities, industrial cities or as other types of cities. [Section 2]

**City Plans** – A city plan sets out matters necessary for comprehensive improvement, development and conservation of a city planning area as a single city, in an integrated and comprehensive manner. Thus, the plan has the structure in which to clearly indicate its policy in advance by setting out the policies on improvement, development and conservation of the given city planning area (Master Plan for City Planning Areas) and on this basis provide for detailed individual city plans. [Section 2]

**City Planning Areas** - The city planning area is the bounds of an area subject to city planning, which is to be designated first in the establishment of a city plan. This is an area in which urban facilities are placed according to the state of urban development, which includes a range of areas in which smooth urban activities are carried out, and in which society, economy and traffic are, and will be, organically integrated.

**Dividual space** - "divided, shared, or participated in, in common with others." Dividual space shows that in the Japanese city public urban life can no longer be described by means of the dichotomy of 'private vs. public'. Dividual space needs to be integrated within a wider framework. Public space does
not necessarily mean 'collective' any more, since dividual space offers 'discrete' settings (Hara, 2004) that provide the individual with the possibility of acting separately in the public realm (Almazan and Tsukamoto, 2006).

**Discretionary activities** are those in which an individual chooses to engage or not to engage. The amount of time allocated to a discretionary activity and its location, can often be chosen at the discretion of the individual (Meloni, 2004).

**Dispersed home** is defined as network of at least four places that are constantly re-connected by an individual. They are constituted of living place, working place, socializing place and another place.

**Districts and Zones** - give an overall picture of land use in cities, which is a system to ensure reasonable land use by guiding construction activities through the division of land into districts and zones with different functions such as residential, business and industrial areas, and the control of building usage and structures.

**Domesticity** – domesticus – belong to household; domus – house, home – life inside a home; the activities of a family or of the people who share a home; affection for the home and its material comforts (Abe, 2015).

**Fields** - The ‘field’ of social practice is like a game board wherein agents are positioned with certain forces available and resources at stake in any given moment. The ‘field’, however, is a field of endeavour which is not identified with physical space. The field is a social space which structures strategic action for control over resources which are construed as forms of capital (Dovey, 2010).

**Floor Area Ratio** - means the ratio between the total floor area and the site area.

**Habitus** - The habitus is a set of embodied dispositions towards everyday social practice; divisions of space and time, of objects and actions, of gender and status. The habitus conflates ‘habit’ and ‘habitat’ to construct both a sense of place and the sense of one’s place in a social hierarchy (Bourdieu 1977). The habitus is not cognitively understood but rather internalized and embodied. Bourdieu deploys the phrase ‘structuring structure’ to describe the ways in which the habitus shapes but is in turn shaped by social practice (Dovey, 2010).

**Hito** is translated as Generalized Reference Others (Kuwayama, 1992).

**Home** - An interpretation of home, in which home is not fixed in time and space, but is reinvented time after time in different locations. The distinction between home as a place and home as a network of personal relationships. Mundane practices as such are of crucial importance in the daily reinvention of home (Cieraad, 2010a).

**Household** is ‘sharing of residence’ [some families do not share a residence if one parent lives away from the family because of work or for other reasons] (Ueno, 2009).
Independent view of self – characteristic for Western individuals as those who seek to maintain their independence and express their unique inner attributes (E豫n et al., 1985).

Interdependent view of self - Japanese and Chinese are characterised as those that insist on the fundamental relatedness of individuals to each other with the emphasis on attending to others, fitting in and harmonious interdependence.

Institutionalization - occurs when there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors. The institutions are experienced as existing over and beyond the individuals who ‘happen to’ embody them at the moment. In other words, institutions are now experienced as possessing a reality of their own, a reality that confronts the individual as an external and coercive fact. At this point it become possible to speak of a social world in the sense of a comprehensive and given reality confronting the individual (Berger and Luckmann, 1991).

Intimacy - feeling or atmosphere of closeness and openness towards someone else, not necessarily involving sexuality (Elliott and Soifer, 2010). Intimacy would be something that results, not from the mere existence of so-called intimate details, but from their standing in some relation to another person. Intimacy seems best understood as a description of relationships that results either from the sharing of intimate details, or of engagement in intimate acts (Elliott and Soifer, 2010).

Intimate space – in this research is defined as a socio-spatial construct that emerges from solitary activities individuals conduct within the “clusters of smallness”; they are visible results of individuals’ engagement with their immediate environment, located at the border between public and private space.

Jibun translated as self and refers to “one’s share of the shared life space” (Kuwayama, 1992); (E豫n et al., 1985).

Kaiwai is translated as “activity space” and described and characterized by subjectivity, indeterminacy, and assemblage of individual experiences. As a phenomenon that is more social than spatial, it is constituted by “the set of individual activities of people, or the accumulation of devices that trigger a set of activities”.

Land Use Master Plan - The Plan is based on the National Land Use Planning Act, which give comprehensive and basic directions to land use and is positioned as a superior plan for overall coordination of various land use plans. The Plan designates areas for urban district, agriculture, forests, natural parks and nature conservations within the administrative districts of TMG, and sets out matters concerning adjustment of land use for the cases of overlapping designation of these areas.

Leftover space - is understood and defined as “negative” of two spatial elements: the lot and the building that spills out on the street the lot is attached to; the ratio of Floor Area Ratio and Building Coverage Ratio.
Lifeworld [the world of natural attitude] – the taken-for-granted pattern and context of everyday life through which the person routinely conducts his da-to-day existence without having to make it an object of conscious attention. (Seamon, 1979) Body learns through action. Body-subject learns through repetition and therefore requires time to familiarize itself with the world in which it finds itself. (Buttimer, 1976)

Machizukuri is a citizen movement that started in 1960s in Japan. Japanese experience of community planning is an example of a constructive planning at local level, with democratic discussion becoming common even in “closed”, “rural” or “conservative” communities. This is one among many features of the movement in Japan that clearly shows various types of partnership between public and private sectors, with results measured by quantifiable outcome, rather than process (Sorensen et al., 2008).

Master Plan - for City Planning Areas is required to provide for: (1) whether or not a decision has been made on area classification, and if applicable, the decision-making policy for the said area classification; (2) goals of the city plan; and (3) the policy for major city planning decisions concerning land use, urban facility improvement and urban development projects. [Section 2]

Mawari translated as Immediate Reference Others (Kuwayama, 1992).

National Land Use Plans - The National Land Use Plan is a guideline for public administration concerning national land use as a long-term vision to secure comprehensive and systematic national land use, which is composed of the national plan, prefectural plans and municipal plans. The contents of these plans are (1) basic visions concerning national land use, (2) target scales by use classification in terms of agricultural land, forests and building lots as well as their regional outlines, and (3) outlines of required measures to achieve targets. [index 02]

Ningen as a concept includes “both the person or self as individual and the self or person as inescapably involved in interaction”.

Personal space - in this research personal space is defined as an (comprehensive, dynamic) assemblage of persons’ significant places, significant people and processes (triptite organizational framework (Scannel, 2010)) that happen in an ordinary environment and ordinary time through daily activities and bodily actions.

Progressive sense of home refers to psychological/temporal dimension of home. It is a construct where “routes are more significant than roots” and where the attachment is not restricted to a single locality. Rather, it is understood as attachment to time-space relationships produced by the activities of people and institutions.

Progressive (sense of) place - Massey’s’s progressive sense of place is outward-looking, defined by multiple identities and histories, its character comes from connections and interactions rather than original sources and enclosing boundaries. Such a sense of place is seen as primarily global rather than
local, forged out of its connections with other places rather than local contingencies, privileging routes rather than roots (Massey, 1992).

**Place attachment** – concept is reviewed and synthesized into a three-dimensional, person-(psychological) process-place organizing framework. The person dimension – refers to its individually or collectively determined meanings. The psychological dimension includes the affective, cognitive, and behavioural components. The place dimension emphasizes the place characteristics, including spatial level, specificity and the prominence of social or physical elements. (Scannel and Gifford, 2010)

**Regional Plans** - The Regional Plans clarify detailed measures to be implemented strategically as well as basic policies and goals concerning national land formation in each region, aiming for formation of regions that develop independently by carrying out the promotion of measures according to the characteristics of each regional block that is composed of prefectures. The nation, except Hokkaido and Okinawa, is divided into eight regional blocks (i.e. Capital, Kinki, Chubu, Tohoku, Chugoku, Shikoku and Kyushu) and each block sets its own plan.

*Roji* (路地) can be described as a mostly narrow and winding alleyway or neighbourhood unit in traditional wooden low-rise neighbourhoods, which no car can enter, and which are only wide enough to allow one person to walk or cycle through (Imai, 2013).

**Setting deprivation** – When houses, neighbourhoods, towns and cities do not adequately provide all of the components or behaviour places necessary for the fullest kind of human existence, the population can be said to be in a state of setting deprivation (Spivak, 1973).

*Seken* is translated as Reference Society (Kuwayama, 1992).

*Shitamachi* translated as downtown, it lliterally means lower city and is associated with the common people’s culture before the Second World War, the area for lower class people in a low lying part of Tokyo that was prone to flooding.

**Standard time** - The world of everyday life has its own standard time, which is intersubjectively available. This standard time may be understood as the intersection between cosmic time and its socially established calendar, based on the temporal sequences of nature, and inner time, in its aforementioned differentiations. There can never be full simultaneity between these various levels of temporality, as the experience of waiting indicates most clearly. Both my organism and my society impose upon me, and upon my inner time, certain sequences of events that involve waiting (Berger and Luckmann, 1991).

**Social Stock of Knowledge** - Interaction with others in everyday life is constantly affected by our common participation in the available social stock of knowledge. Since everyday life is dominated by the pragmatic motive, recipe knowledge, that is, knowledge limited to pragmatic competence in routine performances, occupies a prominent place in the social stock of knowledge. It causes typification of all sorts of events and experiences; structures world in terms of routines and differentiating according to zones of familiarity and remoteness.
Knowledge is transmitted and learned as objective truth in the course of socialization and internalized as subjective reality. This reality in return has power to shape the individual.

**Significant other** - The developing human being not only interrelates with a particular natural environment, but with specific cultural and social order, which is mediated to him by the significant others who have charge of him. The formation of the self, then, must also be understood in relation of both the ongoing organismic development and the social process in which the natural and the human environment are mediated through the significant others.

**Smooth space** - Smooth space is identified with movement and instability through which stable territories are erased and new identities and spatial practices become possible (Casey, 2013).

**Third place** - Urban sociologist Ray Oldenburg (1989) coined the concept of "third place" to designate a place other than home –first place – or work –second– where a person can go to relax and feel part of the community (Almazan and Tsukamoto, 2006).

**Topoanalysis** - can be defined as “the systematic psychological study of the localities of our intimate lives”. Less a method than an attitude, topoanalysis focuses on the placial properties of certain image, for instance the house (Tuan, 1977; Casey, 2013).

**Urban artefacts** are defined as private possessions found in intimate spaces; they are traces of activities and actions.

**Urban facilities** - An urban facility is a facility that is necessary for citizens’ life and industrial activities in cities such as roads, urban expressways, parks and sewers, which is set forth in a city plan aiming for development and orderly improvement of cities and forming the framework of cities [Section 2].

**Whole environment** – The theory of Archetypal Place perhaps should be called the theory of whole environments. It is an attempt to identify the meaningful parts of the human environment. When this environment does not provide all settings necessary for the total human behaviour spectrum, individual functioning and the quality of society may be impaired. Such a population exists in a state of setting deprivation.
### Glossary of Japanese terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese Term</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>afuredashi</td>
<td>overflow</td>
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<tr>
<td>buken</td>
<td>object, property</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chanoma</td>
<td>living room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cho</td>
<td>subdivision of ward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chome</td>
<td>city block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daidokoro</td>
<td>kitchen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danchi</td>
<td>apartment complex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doujunkai</td>
<td>association providing public housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>engawa</td>
<td>veranda, porch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genkan</td>
<td>entrance, entry hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hikikomori</td>
<td>individuals who live in self-imposed isolation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hito</td>
<td>generalized reference other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ie</td>
<td>lineal family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jibun</td>
<td>self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaiwai</td>
<td>activity space or vicinity, neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karaoke</td>
<td>karaoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katei</td>
<td>married couple with children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koya</td>
<td>small houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyakuma</td>
<td>parlour, guest room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mawari</td>
<td>immediate reference others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>machizukuri</td>
<td>local town planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>machiya</td>
<td>traditional wooden townhouses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monooki</td>
<td>storage</td>
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<td>Japanese</td>
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<tr>
<td>minka</td>
<td>民家</td>
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<td>社宅</td>
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<td>世間</td>
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<td>銭湯</td>
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<td>shinshitsu</td>
<td>寝室</td>
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<td>下町</td>
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<td>shogatsu</td>
<td>正月</td>
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<tr>
<td>soto</td>
<td>外</td>
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<tr>
<td>toshi</td>
<td>都市</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uchi</td>
<td>家</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zashiki</td>
<td>座敷</td>
</tr>
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APPENDIX A

Tables:
A1 – Dwelling by Type of Building
A2 – Population by District
A3 – Daytime Population by District
A4 – Households by District [Single Households]

Other Documents:
A5 – GIS Table with the Implemented Data
A6 – Comparative Analysis of Land Use Plans
### 3-3. 得る商家別、区分、住居の種類別、地域、別に、構造別住民数

(平成15～20年)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>年次</th>
<th>年度</th>
<th>業種</th>
<th>居住</th>
<th>区画</th>
<th>郵便番号</th>
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</table>

<table>
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<td>K04</td>
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<tr>
<td>K05</td>
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<tr>
<td>K05</td>
<td>11214</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### 3-3. DWELLINGS BY DISTINCT TYPE OF DWELLING, TENURE OF DWELLING, TYPE OF BUILDING, AND CONSTRUCTION MATERIAL (2003～2013)

Data refer to occupied dwellings and are estimates based on sample surveys. As of Oct. 1 of the year named. Totals may not sum the 100% of components due to rounding. (Annual totals are rounded to the nearest 100, and the other figures to the nearest 10.) Among small areas, only those with 200 or more population are shown in the table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>年次</th>
<th>年度</th>
<th>業種</th>
<th>居住</th>
<th>区画</th>
<th>郵便番号</th>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>区画</th>
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<tr>
<td>K01</td>
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<td>K04</td>
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<tr>
<td>K05</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 注

1. 年次の変更や、地域別の構造の不明な部分があるため、
2. 資料は平成15年住宅・土地区画整理事業報告書より

注: 本件において、業種の詳細な構造に関する情報が一部ないため、
資料データ: 平成15年住宅・土地区画整理事業報告書より
### A2 - Population by District


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<td>Tokyo</td>
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<td>14,500,000</td>
<td>16,200,000</td>
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<tr>
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</table>

Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Bureau of Census Affairs, Japan.
### A3 - Daytime Population by District

#### 2-11 地域別・日夜間人口の推移（昭和48年～平成22年）

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>東京</td>
<td>10,728</td>
<td>11,023</td>
<td>11,221</td>
<td>11,411</td>
<td>11,600</td>
<td>11,790</td>
<td>11,980</td>
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<td>12,360</td>
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<td>2,080</td>
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<td>2,200</td>
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<td>2,320</td>
<td>2,360</td>
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<td>2,080</td>
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<td>2,160</td>
<td>2,200</td>
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<td>2,280</td>
<td>2,320</td>
<td>2,360</td>
<td>2,400</td>
<td>2,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2,000</td>
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<td>2,320</td>
<td>2,360</td>
<td>2,400</td>
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<td>広島</td>
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<td>1,080</td>
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<td>1,160</td>
<td>1,200</td>
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<td>1,360</td>
<td>1,400</td>
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<td>1,360</td>
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<td>1,360</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 2-11 CHANGES IN DAYTIME AND NIGHTTIME POPULATION BY DISTRICT (1980–2010)

Data are based on the Population Census taken as of October 1 of the year stated.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>1,160</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>1,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>東北</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,040</td>
<td>1,080</td>
<td>1,120</td>
<td>1,160</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>1,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>茨城</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,040</td>
<td>1,080</td>
<td>1,120</td>
<td>1,160</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>1,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>北海道</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>1,040</td>
<td>1,080</td>
<td>1,120</td>
<td>1,160</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>1,240</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Data for 1985 and earlier years exclude those of unknown age. Data for 2010 include those of unknown age and unknown labor force status, and workers under 15 years old.

Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

(注) 平成22年までの中高生向けには年齢不明を含むが、平成23年以降は年齢不明を除くため業界分野別の推移を考慮していない。
## A4 - Households by District [Single Households]

### 2-10 地域, 世帯, 世帯の種類別の世帯数（平成22年）

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>地域</th>
<th>一 般 賃貸</th>
<th>家主世帯</th>
<th>東京23区</th>
<th>都市部</th>
<th>郊外部</th>
<th>世帯数</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Private households</td>
<td>by district</td>
<td>by area</td>
<td>by area</td>
<td>Households</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>Marriages</td>
<td>Single households</td>
<td>Married households</td>
<td>Members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>東京23区</td>
<td>1,082,498</td>
<td>1,082,498</td>
<td>1,082,498</td>
<td>1,082,498</td>
<td>1,082,498</td>
<td>1,082,498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>千代田区</td>
<td>25,162</td>
<td>25,162</td>
<td>25,162</td>
<td>25,162</td>
<td>25,162</td>
<td>25,162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>中央区</td>
<td>30,632</td>
<td>30,632</td>
<td>30,632</td>
<td>30,632</td>
<td>30,632</td>
<td>30,632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>新宿区</td>
<td>36,460</td>
<td>36,460</td>
<td>36,460</td>
<td>36,460</td>
<td>36,460</td>
<td>36,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>港区</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>神奈川区</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>武蔵野市</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>横浜市</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>神奈川県</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
<td>44,628</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2-10 HOUSEHOLDS BY DISTRICT, NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS, AND HOUSEHOLD TYPE (2010)

Data are based on the Population Census as of October 1, 2010. A private household is defined as a group of persons sharing living quarters and living expenses, a single person occupying a dwelling unit, a single person residing in a boarding house or rented room, or a single person residing in a company dormitory for unmarried employees. 

Note: "Unknown" indicates individuals in private households, or individuals residing in company dormitories for unmarried employees.

Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications; Bureau of General Affairs, TMO.
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A5 - GIS Table with the Implemented Data


A6- Comparative Analysis of Land Use Plans
APPENDIX B

Textual Data:

B1 – Initial Design of the Questionnaire
B2 - Design of the Semi-Structured Interviews
B3 – Transcribed Interviews
B4 – Coding process and Excerpts from Interviews

Visual data:

B5 – Time-Space Diagrams
B6 – Maps of Individual Routes
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>no</th>
<th>questions</th>
<th>answers</th>
<th>question format</th>
<th>purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>18-25-35-45-50-60+</td>
<td>categorical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>male/ female</td>
<td>dichotomous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>student, employed, unemployed, retired</td>
<td>categorical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td></td>
<td>real data</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Place of birth (city and country)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>real data</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>How long did you live there</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>free text</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>What do you like about that place?</td>
<td>I like everything about it, I like the city itself, I like my family and friends there, I like my room and memories related to it, I like it because I know my way around, I don’t care about it, I never really liked it</td>
<td>categorical/ likert</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Do you have siblings?</td>
<td>yes/no</td>
<td>dichotomous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>In which city do they live?</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>real data, free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>How often do you meet them</td>
<td>every day, once a month, few times a year, once a year, haven’t met them for more than a year, on important occasions only</td>
<td>frequency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>In which city do your grandparents live?</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>In which city do your parents live?</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>How often do you meet them</td>
<td>every day, once a month, few times a year, once a year, haven’t met them for more than a year, on important occasions only</td>
<td>frequency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>How many times did you move?</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Please write down all the cities where you lived and for how long.</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Which one among them is the most important for you and why?</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Do you go back to visit any of these places?</td>
<td>yes/no</td>
<td>dichotomous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>How often do you go back?</td>
<td>whenever I have time, few times a year, once a year, only on special occasions, once in a couple of years, I don’t have time to go back as much as I want</td>
<td>frequency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>What is the purpose/ reason of going back?</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>When moving do you bring your possessions things/ furniture or change?</td>
<td>yes/no</td>
<td>dichotomous</td>
<td>meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>What is your most precious possession?</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>How long do you have it?</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Why do you keep it?</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>Questions</td>
<td>Answers</td>
<td>Question Format</td>
<td>Purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Where do you live now (city, address)?</td>
<td></td>
<td>real data, free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Who do you live with?</td>
<td>alone, with friend(s), siblings, parents, spouse, family (spouse, children)</td>
<td>categorical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Which is the closest station to your place?</td>
<td></td>
<td>real data</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>How long have you been living there?</td>
<td>I moved in recently, few months, about a year, couple of years, more than 5 years, all my life</td>
<td>categorical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>What type of residence is it?</td>
<td>student dormitory, an apartment, shared house, family house, other</td>
<td>categorical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Which is the most important thing when you're choosing where to live?</td>
<td>to live with other people, to live close to other people, to live alone, to live close to working place, to live close to the station, to live in an interesting area, to have good access, to like the apartment itself, the price</td>
<td>categorical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>What do you like about your place?</td>
<td></td>
<td>free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>What do you dislike about your place?</td>
<td></td>
<td>free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>How would you describe your place?</td>
<td>cold-warm, dark-bright, narrow-wide, empty-cramped, uncomfortable-cozy, expensive-cheap</td>
<td>likert</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Where do you usually do the following activities?</td>
<td>breakfast, lunch, diner, reading, watching movies, playing video games, doing laundry, having friends over, having parties, having a bath</td>
<td>dichotomous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>How often do you do these activities at home?</td>
<td>always, everyday, few times a week, only sometimes, few times a month, rarely, never,</td>
<td>frequency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Where do you work / study?</td>
<td>at home, in the lab, at university, in a cafe, I change places from time to time, where I can concentrate, I can work everywhere, wherever just to be surrounded by people, wherever just to be alone</td>
<td>categorical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>When do you start to work?</td>
<td>at the same time everyday, in the morning, depends on the schedule, depends on my mood</td>
<td>real data, free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>How far is your working place from the place where you live?</td>
<td></td>
<td>real data</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Which station is closest to your working space?</td>
<td></td>
<td>real data</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>How do you go there?</td>
<td>walking, cycling, by train, by car</td>
<td>categorical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Would you prefer going some other way and how/why?</td>
<td></td>
<td>free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>How much time do you spend there daily?</td>
<td>few hours, 8-10 hours, depends on the classes, depends on the work I have to do</td>
<td>categorical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>questions</td>
<td>answers</td>
<td>question format</td>
<td>purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td><em>Do you like to go out?</em></td>
<td>yes/no</td>
<td>dichotomous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td><em>Where do you like to go out?</em></td>
<td>café, izakaya, pub, club, karaoke, restaurant, cinema, bookstore, parks, open spaces, any space just to be out</td>
<td>multiple response</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td><em>How often do you go to the following places?</em></td>
<td>everyday, few times a week, once a week, few times a month, once a month, never</td>
<td>frequency</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td><em>What is usually the reason of going out?</em></td>
<td>to drink, to eat, to meet friends, to be alone, to rest, to walk, to dance, to sing, just to be surrounded by people, to experience different places, going to events</td>
<td>multiple response</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td><em>Do you have your favorite/regular place?</em></td>
<td>yes, few of them, no</td>
<td>categorical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td><em>Why do you like it (them)?</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td><em>How far is it from your place?</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td><em>Which is the closest station to that place?</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>real data</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td><em>How do you go there?</em></td>
<td>walking, cycling, by car, by train</td>
<td>free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td><em>Who do you go out with?</em></td>
<td>alone, with friends, with girlfriend/boyfriend, other</td>
<td>categorical/frequencies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td><em>Do you have girlfriend/boyfriend?</em></td>
<td>yes/no</td>
<td>dichotomous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td><em>Where do you spend your time together?</em></td>
<td>at my place, at his/her place, out going to different places, going to some events</td>
<td>categorical or multiple response?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td><em>Do you have a hobby?</em></td>
<td>yes/no</td>
<td>dichotomous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td><em>Where do you practice it?</em></td>
<td>at home, in a public facility, outside</td>
<td>categorical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td><em>How far is that place from your place?</em></td>
<td>...</td>
<td>free text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td><em>Which is the closest station to that place?</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>real data</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td><em>Where would you like to live?</em></td>
<td>to stay where I am, to go back home, in few different places, close to the people I care about, wherever I have opportunity to work, wherever I have enough free time</td>
<td>categorical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td><em>Where is your home?</em></td>
<td>I don’t have home, place where I was born, place where my parents and family live, place where I am now, I have few homes, my home is wherever I go</td>
<td>categorical</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Future home**

**Home**
B2 – Final Design of Semi-Structured Interviews – Initial questions adjusted and expanded according to each individual case

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>category</th>
<th>subcategory</th>
<th>question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HOME</td>
<td>First home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spatial</td>
<td></td>
<td>Where were you born?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How long did you live there?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Can you describe that place?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do you have siblings?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological</td>
<td></td>
<td>What do you remember about that place?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Do you ever go back there?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous homes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spatial</td>
<td></td>
<td>How many times did you move?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Which places did you like most and why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do you have any friends from that period?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Do you keep in touch with them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological</td>
<td></td>
<td>What do you remember about these places?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Do you think some of them are more important for you and, if so, why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spatial</td>
<td></td>
<td>Can you describe your place?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>What do you like/ dislike about your place and why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do you live alone?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Where does your family live now?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How often do you meet them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Where do your siblings live?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How often do you meet them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do you plan to move?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Where would you like to move/ live?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How do you choose a place, what is important?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Where is your home?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Where do you work?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How do you go there?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How long does it take to get there?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>How much time do you spend at work?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**THIRD (other)**

**PLACES**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you like to go out?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where do you usually meet your friends?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you have any hobby and where do you practice it?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where do you relax?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where do you have breakfast, lunch, dinner?</td>
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Location: Jiyugaoka  
Date: 28.02.2016.  
Length: 26.25

[VI] Could you tell me something about the place where you live? Where is it in Tokyo?
I live in Senzokuike. It’s quite close to here. And my place is usual apartment. It has four stories. I live in the fourth floor and it’s made of concrete. Quite normal place in Tokyo. It’s very small. My room is very small.

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I live alone. But it’s an apartment so there are many strangers in other rooms. But I don’t.. I never meet them. Usually.

[VI] Yes, I was about to ask do you know your neighbours.
No, no, no.

[VI] It’s not very common. For me it’s the same. I live in small apartment building, you saw the place. There are not so many people but I never meet them.
Mmmmmm

[tea comes]
My place is a bit special because we have large pond. It’s like a lake. I think it’s very rare in Tokyo. We have a park. Kind of par around the pond. Also a shrine nearby. It’s really beautiful place. I sometimes go there to have a relaxing time.

[VI] This is very nice.
Yeah, yeah.

[VI] Which station is close to your place?
Name of the station is Senzokuike.

[VI] I think I know this place, especially because of the lake. Sometimes in spring I go cycling so I pass by.
I think so.

[VI] Where is your university?
My current university is Tokyo University. But previously I was student in Tokyo University of Technology. It’s in Ookayama. Very close to Jiyugaoka. Ookayama is also very nice place for me. There is nothing fancy around there. But at least there are many cheap restaurants for students and… hmmm… I don’t know.

[VI] Yes, very ordinary area can sometimes be nice.
Have you been at Ookayama station?
[VI] No.
I think the station is very nice. There is an open space in front of the station. There are some benches and koban. It’s not very nice but… haha yeah, open space.

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Ah, yeah yeah. We use it for… as a meeting place for example. And sometimes they do festival. I think it’s a festival…

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[V] So you stayed in the same place.

Yes, I was too lazy to move so… I am still living in Senzokuike. It was like 10 min from my place to my previous University. Now it’s like.. aa… one hour from my door to the door of the laboratory.

[V] So you don’t like moving or...

Yeah. Yes, I hate it. haha

[V] Why?

Because… hm… eee…. Because… It’s troublesome. Hmmm… I am not good at cleaning haha and… Ah. Organizing stuff. So… making a contract itself is already kind a… mendokusai.

[V] Yes yes, I know, I know, because I moved two times. So now I was thinking that I am not very happy with my current location but because of the trouble I, I… I don’t… I like… prolonged. I don’t want to move although I feel maybe I should.

Oh really. The place was really nice I think.

[V] Yesh, I think the apartment is ok but surrounding area and location is a bit difficult.

Ah, location.

[V] Everything is far for me to reach and it’s too quiet. I don’t meet a lot of people.

Oh I see.

[V] So for me this is the difficult part. So how many times did you move before? Did you move?

Yes. Only once. Haha

Yeah yeah

So, usually the contract is for two years but… aaa… my current one is for four years so. I… how can I say. I was not forced to move out because of the contract.

[V] You were born in Tokyo?

Ah. I would say no. Because I was actually born in Tokyo in Tachikawa, it’s suburb. But I think when I was… two or three years old I moved to Shimane. It’s next to Hiroshima. OK?

[V] Yes, Hiroshima I know, Shimane I am not sure.

It’s the least popular, famous prefecture in Japan. Haha

[V] Why?

Really, I am serious.

[V] What can you say about it. You have some bad or good feelings about it? How was it? How long did you live there?
So from two to 18 years old I was staying in Shimane. But. Hmmm I didn’t feel bad. Because I was mainly studying at school. So. I didn’t have any problem. But maybe now I am more comfortable to live in Tokyo.

In a city like Tokyo.

[VII] Do you have someone who I still living there? Some friends or family? Or...

You mean in Shimane?


Yes my parents live in Shimane. I have two sisters. One lives in Tokyo and the other lives in Hiroshima. So only parents.

[VII] Do you go there often, do you visit them?

Aa it’s like.. Twice a year. Winter holiday or… summer holiday. It’s a chance for me to go back

[VII] Yes. Shimane.

Shimane. You don’t have to know it.

[VII] No, but for me it’s interesting to know because I think that there are no more important or less important places.

I hope so. Haha

[VII] Very often I think so because of my Toyohashi story. Many people ask me: why, why do you live there. It’s like no one should live there. Run away from Toyohashi. Hahah So I am always like: No, it’s very nice place. Because of many nice people I met. For me this is important. And because of some things that I could do. I cannot do them in Tokyo and I miss them.

I see I see.

[VII] For example, Toyohashi has a very beautiful beach. We used to go to the beach from time to time, with friends. We had parties there. And I always liked that. And then... there were many nice parks and I used to cycle all day long from one park to another... to go out whenever the weather is nice. Here I can do these things but it’s completely different.

Aham aham

[VII] Tokyo has other things but not that. For me it’s.

Yeah yeah

[VII] I think every place when you live, especially when you live long time. You can find something that you like.

Yes. It’S true. But. Yes. Hmmm. What’s good about Shimane? hmm

[VII] Do you have some... ahhh... special places there... or special people... or moments. Something. What?

We have a really famous shrine in Shimane. It`s called izumo taishya. I guess most of Japanese people know it. Even if they don’t know about Shimane. But. It’s a big shrine. Quite old. And also. We have. I don’t know the English name. we have Inami Ginza. It’s a silver mining place.

[VII] Aha aha

It’s registered as a world heritage.

[VII] We can go and try to find
Maybe not. Hahaha

[VI] That sounds like a good place to live. You go and dig silver. Haha with some hat and some boots. Haha

Eh. Otherwise hmmm. My ah.. Near my high school there was a castle. Japanese style castle. And. [long break] it`s also beautiful and.. Registered as world heritage.

[VI] Nice

And a.. haha city around the castle is old style samurai. In samurai era. Houses there were like… old and wooden.

[VI] Do you think that these things are maybe very famous but. Do you really feel you have some attachment to them or...

Hmmm yeah, yeah I think so. I saw it every day. Yeah, when I go back to the place and I see it I feel oh, I am at home.

[VI] Oh.

I am home now.

[VI] So this is your home? In Shimane.

Yeah yeah.

[VI] But how about the place where you live now. Is it also your home?

Ehhh.. Not really. Hmm I don`t think so. It`s a sleeping place.

[VI] Aham. And how much time do you spend there daily? I mean you said `sleeping place`, this is why I ask. Is it you just sleep or...

Yeah yeah yeah. Yeah, I think my apartment is just place to sleep.

[VI] Where do you spend the most of the time then?

In the university.

[VI] University, of course. And how long is it? You go there every day?

Every day. Aaa… from 10 or 11am to 10 or 11 in the evening.

[VI] So this is your home maybe. Haha

Yeah yeah

[VI] I am joking but. It`s familiar feeling for me also. And where are some other places? You have your sleeping place, your lab, university. Where are some other places? Where do you like to go?

Ah. I often go to Shibuya. For drink. Or Roppongi. To have party. And also… hmmm… ah. I used to be in a futsal club. And there are some. Ok. So. In Gotanda there are some gym where we play futsal every Thursday. Yes that one was like our home. Training place. Otherwise. Hmmm.

[VI] Do you sometimes go outside, or do you prefer to be inside. For me this is interesting because I know sometimes I go just to be outside. I don’t have to go to any specific place. Like. i… eh. Get my bicycle and I just go cycling. I don’t know where exactly. I don’t have any specific target. I just stay out because the weather is nice and I like to move.

I see I see
And I exercise at the same time… and if I see something on the way I can stop. So for me it’s kind of relaxing.

I see I see. I think I am very different from you. Because i. basically I am lazy and I won’t go out without any purpose. But. So. Usually when I go out it’s… Oh my English is… haha

No no. But Japanese is also ok. What do you want to say.

外に出るときは、友達が佐々してくれるとき。。My friends invite me somewhere. I go out. But otherwise I stay home.

You mentioned that you have sisters. Do you meet them often? Because one of them lives in Hiroshima, that’s a bit far maybe.

Actually she also used to live in Yokohama. It’s not that far from Tokyo so we sometimes met. But yeah yeah. Today is very difficult to meet so. For holidays. Shogatsu is opportunity.

Do you feel this should be more often or it’s ok like this?

It’s ok like this, yes.

For me this is interesting I think. Because. Hmmm. With many friends when I talk I tell them that I miss my family or that I miss my sister or these kinds of things. I really feel I need to see them more often. But for other people it’s not like this. So for myself I feel I need to kind of… learn how to live a little bit distant. Because we have completely different… how to say… different intensity of spending time together.

Do you have brothers or sisters?

I have one sister, yes. She is older than me. And I remember when I just came to Japan and I didn’t go home for about a year. And I was telling to my friend, he is Japanese of course, I was telling him I really miss my sister. And he said: I didn’t see my family for more than a year and I am Japanese and I live in Japan and I can go but I don’t care and I was thinking… hmmm. Maybe you are right I should be more like that.

It’s a good thing to… be in a good relationship with your family. But for me. I’m like that friend. I don’t miss my family so much. But when I see them I am happy.

I think this is something that we need to learn. Because back in Bosnia people make drama for not seeing each other very often. Sometimes it’s a little bit too much I think. It’s just like a habit. I don’t know, it’s interesting thing.

These things we notice when we move to another culture.

I started to feel these things when I moved out of Bosnia. Did you sometimes lived somewhere out of Japan.

I just visited Taiwan. US. France. But only for tourism. But I have never stayed outside for a long time. But I am planning to go soon. To France.

Oh, France, good choice. I was about to ask which of the places you visited you liked most. But France probably.

Maybe. Yeah.

You plan to go for study or work?

Yeah, yeah. For the research. Study.

Maybe for the interview this is more than enough.
An Illustration of the Coding Process

Interview 1

[VI] Could you tell me something about the place where you live. Where is it in Tokyo?
I live in Senzokuikke. It’s quite close to here. And my place is usual apartment. It has four stories. I live in the fourth floor and it’s made of concrete. Quite normal place in Tokyo. It’s very small. My room is very small.

[VI] Do you live alone or do you share?
I live alone. But it’s an apartment so there are many strangers in other rooms. But I don’t never meet them. Usually.

[VI] Yes, I was about to ask you know your neighbours.
No, no, no.

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Yeah, yeah.

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Interview 1

I think the station is very nice. There is an open space in front of the station. There are some benches, and koban. It’s not very nice but... hah, yeah, open space.

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[VI] So you don’t like moving or...
Yeah, Yes, I hate it. hahaha

[VI] Why?
Because... hm... eee... Because it’s troublesome. Hmm... I am not good at cleaning hahaha and... Ah, organizing stuff. So... making a contract itself is already kind of... mendokusai

[VI] Yes yes, I know, I know, because I moved two times. So now I was thinking that I am not very happy with my current location but because of the trouble I... I don’t... I like... prolonged. I don’t want to move although I feel maybe I should.

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[VI] Yeah, I think the apartment is ok but surrounding area and location is a bit difficult.
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Oh, I see.

[VI] So for me this is the difficult part. So how many times did you move before? Did you move?
Yes. Only once. Haha
Yeah yeah

So, usually the contract is for two years but... aha... my current one is for four years so. I... how can I say. I was not forced to move out because of the contract.

[VI] You were born in Tokyo?

Commented [v5]: open space. Describing (possibly) expected

Commented [v6]: feel wrong/ others, awareness

Commented [v7]: dislike moving

Commented [v8]: time for distances

Commented [v9]: time for distances

Commented [v10]: not because he likes the place, but because of the process

Commented [v11]: again -- contract, not mentioning the place itself
Interview 1

Ah, I would say no. Because I was actually born in Tokyo in Tachikawa, it's suburb. But I think when I was... two or three years old I moved to Shimane. It's next to Hiroshima. OK?

[VI] Yes, Hiroshima. I know, Shimane. I am not sure.
It's the least popular, famous prefecture in Japan. Haha

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Really, I am serious.

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In a city like Tokyo.

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Yes my parents live in Shimane. I have two sisters. One lives in Tokyo and the other lives in Hiroshima. So only parents.

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An it's like. Twice a year. Winter holiday or... summer holiday. It's a chance for me to go back.

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Shimane. You don't have to know it.

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I hope so. Haha

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So I am always like: No, it's very nice place. Because of many nice people I met. For me this is important. And because of some things that I could do. I cannot do them in Tokyo and I miss them.
I see you.

[VI] For example, Toyohashi has a very beautiful beach. We used to go to the beach from time to time, with friends. We had parties there. And I always liked that.
Interview 1

Minhh

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Ahmun ahmun

[V1] Tokyo has other things but not that. For me it’s...

Yeah yeah

[V1] I think every place when you live, especially when you live long time. You can find something that you like.

Yes. It’s true. But. Yes. Hmm. What’s good about Shimane? Hmm

[V1] Do you have some... abhi... special places there... or special people... or moments. Something. What?

We have a really famous shrine in Shimane. It’s called izumo taishya. I guess most of Japanese people know it. Even if they don’t know about Shimane. But. It’s a big shrine. Quite old. And also. We have. I don’t know the English name, we have Izumi Guza. It’s a silver mining place.

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[V1] That sounds like a good place to live. You go and dig silver. Haha with some hat and some boots. Haha

Eh. Otherwise hmm. My ah. Near my high school there was a castle. Japanese style castle. And. [long break] it’s also beautiful and. Registered as world heritage.

[V1] Nice

And a... hah city around the castle is old style samurai. In samurai era. Houses there were like... old and wooden.

[V1] Do you think that these things are maybe very famous but. Do you really feel you have some attachment to them or...

Hmmm yeah yeah I think so. I saw it every day. Yeah, when I go back to the place and I see it I feel oh, I am at home.

[V1] Ok.

I am home now.
Interview 1

[VI] So this is your home? In Shimane.
Yeah yeah.
[VI] But how about the place where you live now. Is it also your home?
Ehh... not really. Hmm, I don’t think so. It’s a sleeping place.
[VI] Ahah. And how much time do you spend there daily. I mean you said ‘sleeping place’, this is
why I ask. Is it you just sleep or...
Yeah yeah yeah. Yeah, I think my apartment is just place to sleep.
[VI] Where do you spend the most of the time then?
In the university.
[VI] University, of course. And how long is it? You go there every day?
Every day. Aaa... from 10 or 11am to 10 or 11 in the evening.
[VI] So this is your home maybe. Haha
Yeah yeah
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And where are some other places? You have your sleeping place, your lab, university. Where are
some other places? Where do you like to go?
Ah. I often go to Shibuya. For drink. Or Roppongi. To have party. And also... hmmm... ah. I used
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[VI] No no. But Japanese is also ok. What do you want I say.
外に出るときは、友達が佐ってくれる時。.
My friends invite me somewhere. I go out. But otherwise I stay home.
Interview 1

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These things we notice when we move to another culture.

[VI] I started to feel these things when I moved out of Bosnian. Did you sometimes lived somewhere out of Japan.

I just visited Taiwan. U.S. France. But only for tourism. But I have never stayed outside for a long time. But I am planning to go soon. To France.

[VI] Ok, France, good choice. I was about to ask which of the places you visited you liked most. But France probably.

Maybe. Yes.

[VI] You plan to go for study or work?

Yeah yeah. For the research. Study.
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There is no text in the image.
I was 10 years old when I first went to Tokyo. My grandmother and I traveled there to see my father who had moved to Tokyo for work. It was a big change for me, as I had grown up in a small town in a rural area.

My grandmother was a very kind and gentle woman. She always had a smile on her face and never tired of telling stories about her experiences in the city. She was the first person to introduce me to the world of culture and history.

One of the most memorable experiences I had in Tokyo was visiting the Senso-ji Temple. It was a beautiful and peaceful place, and I remember feeling a sense of awe as we walked through the gates. The sound of the chimes and the ringing of the bells added to the serene atmosphere.

We also visited the Meiji Shrine, which was a beautiful blend of traditional and modern architecture. The garden was especially picturesque, with its tranquil ponds and cherry blossom trees.

My grandmother and I also went to the Tokyo Tower, which was the tallest tower in Japan at the time. It was a thrilling experience to climb to the top and look out over the city.

Another highlight of our trip was visiting the Nezu Museum. It was a unique and interesting place, with its modern design and collection of contemporary art.

Overall, my trip to Tokyo was a wonderful experience that opened my eyes to the rich culture and history of Japan. It was a trip I will never forget, and one that I look forward to revisiting in the future.
B5 – Time-Space Diagrams

- The age of respondent
- Commuting time from the living place to the working place
- Commuting time from the living place to the socializing place
- Living place
- Working place
- Socializing place
- The age respondents moved to Tokyo at
B6 – Map of Significant Places
APPENDIX C

Catalogue of Images:

C1 – Decorative Space: Arrangement
C2 – Decorative Space: Decoration
C3 – Decorative Space: Painting
C4 – Utilitarian Space: Storage
C5 - Utilitarian Space: Maintenance
C6 – Utilitarian Space: Extrapolated Fragments of the Home
C7 – Elevations
C1 – Decorative Space: Arrangement
C2 - Decorative Space: Decoration
C3 – Decorative Space: Painting
C4 – Utilitarian Space: Storage
C5 – Utilitarian Space: Maintenance
C6 – Utilitarian Space: Extrapolated Fragments of the Home
APPENDIX D

Sources:
D1 – Taito Land Use Plan

Other Documents:
D2 – Diagram of Sustainable forms, Indicators and Principles

Maps:
D3 – “Clusters of Smallness”
D4 – FAR/BCR ratio of Commercial Land Use
D5 – Additional Layer to Land Use Plan
D1 – Taito Land Use Plan
## D2 – Diagram of Sustainable forms, Indicators and Principles

### Sustainable City

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sustainable forms</th>
<th>Design Concepts</th>
<th>Sustainability Principles</th>
<th>Indicators</th>
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<td>social</td>
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<td>compactness</td>
<td>spatial integration of employment and transportation</td>
<td>combating poverty</td>
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<td>compact city</td>
<td>sustainable transport</td>
<td>use of locally-produced, clean, and renewable energy sources</td>
<td>demographic dynamics and sustainability</td>
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<td>eco-city</td>
<td>mixed land use</td>
<td>energy and resource efficient building and site design</td>
<td>promoting education, public awareness and training</td>
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<td></td>
<td>diversity</td>
<td>pedestrian access</td>
<td>protecting and promoting human health</td>
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<td>passive solar design</td>
<td>housing affordability (for all income groups)</td>
<td>promoting sustainable human settlement development</td>
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<td>greening</td>
<td>housing diversity (of type, style and tenure)</td>
<td>institutional</td>
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<td>protection of natural and biological functions and processes</td>
<td>science for sustainable development</td>
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<td>resident involvement and empowerment</td>
<td>information for decision making</td>
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<td>social spaces (public spaces to encourage social gathering)</td>
<td>strengthening the role of major groups</td>
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<td>sense of place</td>
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<td>inter-modal transportation connectivity</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Spatial Levels of Frameworks

- The regional and metropolitan level
- The city level
- The community level
- The building level

### Tokyo Case, Levels of Governance

- National level (national capital)
- Regional level (capital of the region)
- Prefectural level (prefectural capital)
- Municipal level (metropolis)

### Plans and Policies

- National Capital Regional Plan
- National Land Use Plans (Prefectural Plans)
- Municipal Land Use Plans (Municipal Plans)
- The Urban Development Vision for Tokyo
- The Master Plan for City Planning
- The Master Plan for Housing
- Policy for development and improvement of residential districts
- Master Plan for city planning areas
- Policy for urban redevelopment
- Policy for the development of disaster resistant blocks

### Visionary Goals

- A leading region in the world, in particular in East Asia
- The region with Japan's national capital functions
- A place where diverse people live and work

### Land Use Zone

- Residential
- Commercial
- Industrial

### Executive Documents

- Category 1 Low-Rise Exclusive Residential Districts
- Category 2 Low-Rise Exclusive Residential Districts
- Category 1 Mid-High Rise Exclusive Residential Districts
- Category 2 Mid-High Rise Exclusive Residential Districts
- Category 1 Residential Districts
- Category 2 Residential Districts
- Quasi-Residential Districts
- Neighbourhood Commercial Districts
- Commercial Districts
- Quasi-Industrial Districts
- Industrial Districts
- Exclusive Industrial Districts
D3 – Clusters of Smallness

GETIS ORD HOTSPOTS

Legend:
- Cold Spot - 99% Confidence
- Cold Spot - 95% Confidence
- Cold Spot - 90% Confidence
- Not Significant
- Hot Spot - 90% Confidence
- Hot Spot - 95% Confidence
- Hot Spot - 99% Confidence
- Borders of Commercial Land Use
D4 – FAR/BCR Ratios

Legend:
- Borders between different BCR/FAR ratios
- Borders of Commercial Land Use
- FAR/BCR Ratio
- The Smallest Buildings [area up to 50m²]
- The Smallest Buildings [area from 50 to 100m²]
- The Smallest Buildings affected by different FAR/BCR Ratios
D5 - Additional Layer to Land Use Plan

CLUSTERS OF SMALLNESS AND THE LAND USE PLAN