

Changing spatial differentiation in the downtown areas of Japanese cities: the case of Matsuyama city, Japan

Ryoji Teraya

(Research Center for Regional Community Innovation, Ehime University)

1. Introduction

This paper aims to demonstrate the land use structure and recent changes in the downtown areas of Japanese cities using Matsuyama city as a case study.

The downtown area bustling with many facilities and users is called *Sakariba* in Japanese. In other words, a *Sakariba* is the shopping and amusement district. Therefore, *Sakariba* means CBD (Central Business District) excluding administrative and business office functions. Japanese usually gather at *Sakariba* to utilize certain facilities with their desire. From this point of view, *Sakariba* can be divided into four quarters as Table 1.

The first quarter is the central commercial district, which represents the central shopping street and department stores. There are many accessory shops such as shoes, bag, jewel, cosmetics shop and boutique. These shops are well patronized by women during the daytime. The second is the restaurant and bar quarter. I am assured that the existence of a vast bar quarter is the most distinctive characteristics of internal structure in the Japanese cities. However, the study of bar quarter has been strangely neglected by Japanese urban geographers. In the bar, whisky and spirits are often served by hostesses and their customers are mainly males visiting in the nighttime.

The third is the entertainment quarter. Entertainment facilities are cinema, theater, *pachinko* hall, *mah-jongg* parlor, *karaoke* room, game center and so on. The fourth is the sexual shop quarter. There are *love hotels*, strip clubs, adult movie theaters, gay bars, porno shops and other adult entertainment establishments. *Love hotels*, which are the hotels renting rooms to couples mainly in the nighttime, are typical of this category.

Of these four quarters, the central commercial district may be considered the "proper" *Sakariba* during the daytime, while the bar, entertainment and sexual shop quarters may be the "improper" *Sakariba* mainly in the nighttime. The latter three are generically called *Kanrakugai* in Japanese and rarely mentioned in official statements due to their negative image.

Table 1 Types of *Sakariba*

human desire	available facility	main patrons and available time	type of <i>Sakariba</i>
buy	retail shop	women during the daytime	shopping street, the department store
eat and drink	restaurant, bar	men in the nighttime	restaurant and bar quarter
play	entertainment facility	men and women during the daytime and nighttime	entertainment quarter
sex	sexual shop	men and women in the nighttime	sexual shop quarter

(Source: Teraya (2007))

2. City size and the development of "Sakariba"

As the city expands, the structure of *Sakariba* also changes. Figure 1 shows the typical diagrams of the development of *Sakariba* in relation to the urban hierarchy. In towns with several thousand inhabitants, some restaurants and bars are intermingled with shops in the shopping street along the main road. In the local small city with tens of thousands of inhabitants, *Kanrakugai*, or bars street is usually formed at the back of the shopping street. Yanagi-dori, Gion-dori, Hamanasu-dori and Sanrakugai are such linear bar streets in the cities of Hokkaido Prefecture (Figure 2).

In the prefectural capitals with 150-500 thousands of inhabitants, *Kanrakugai* always grows into several blocks close behind the shopping street. Hanazono-*kanrakugai* with 700 bars is located at the edge the main shopping street (Ginza-dori) in Otaru city. Also, Sanrokugai-*kanrakugai* in Asahikawa city has 1,500 bars and is the second largest *Kanrakugai* in Hokkaido Prefecture (Figure 2).

In the regional centers with millions of inhabitants, *Kanrakugai* develops into large districts around an original nucleus, apart from the shopping districts. Susukino *Kanrakugai* in Sapporo, which has 5,000 bars in an area of 500 meters square, provides a typical example and is the largest bar district north of Tokyo. In Sapporo, downtown could be divided into the following four districts in a southerly

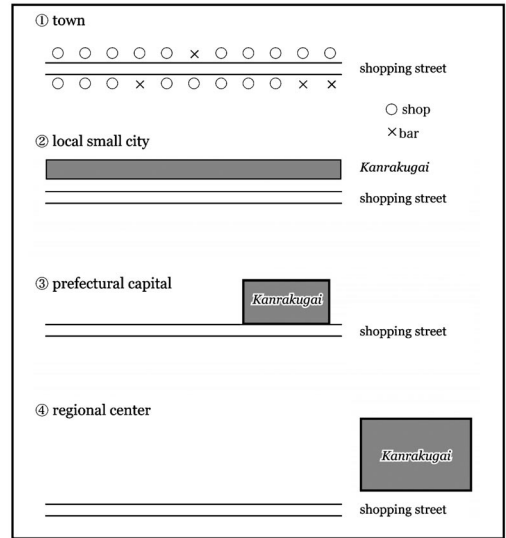


Figure 1 Development of *Sakariba* in relation to the urban hierarchy (Source: Teraya (2007))

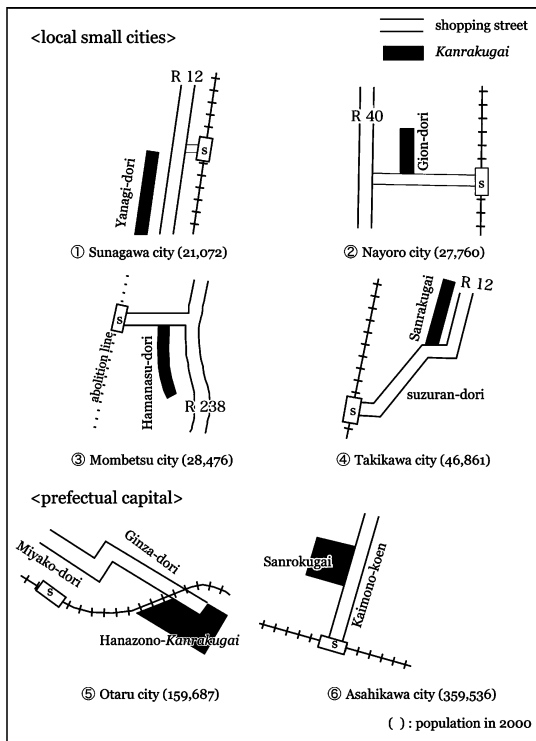


Figure 2 Location of *Kanrakugai* and shopping street of the cities in Hokkaido Prefecture (Source: Teraya (2007))



Figure 3 Land use of the downtown in Sapporo city (Source: Teraya (2007))

direction on the south side of the railroad: (1)the administrative and business district, (2)the commercial district, (3) Susukino *Kanrakugai*, bar district and (4)the *love hotel* district (Figure 3).

Considering the circumstances mentioned above, as the local city expands, *Kanrakugai* grows larger in size and has a tendency to become being more separate from the shopping street gradually (Figure 1). Moreover, the land use structure of *Sakariba* in Japanese cities is arranged with shopping street, bar quarter and sexual shop quarter by turns, showing a resemblance to a "sandwich." There can be seen an order in this spatial arrangement of *Sakariba*, because of the friendly or unfriendly relationships between each district and the other two. For example, the central shopping street, patronized by female during the daytime, has a tendency to avoid being located near the bar quarter dominated by male customers in the nighttime. On the contrary, the sexual shop quarter is often located close to the bar quarter in the hope of taking advantage of the effects of drunkenness by alcohol.

3. The Characteristics of *Sakariba* in Matsuyama city

Matsuyama is the largest city in Shikoku Island, which is the fourth largest island and situated in the southwestern part of Japan. Matsuyama is the prefectural capital of Ehime Prefecture, with half million inhabitants at present. There can be seen the downtown of Matsuyama is surrounded with four streets: Ichibancho-dori, Katsuyama-dori, Nakanokawa-dori and Hanazono-dori (Figure 4). The northwestern area of the downtown, at the southern foot of Matsuyama castle built in 1603, has the administrative and business office functions composed with city hall, prefectural office, banks and private enterprise offices.

Sakariba of Matsuyama is divided into three zones: the center shopping zone, the intermediate drinking zone and the periphery sleeping zone (Figure 4). The center zone is an L-shaped district formed by the two shopping streets Okaido and Gintengai with arcades. The main district of the intermediate zone is a bar quarter expanding eastward from Okaido street to Katsuyama-dori with 500 meters. This means that the *Kanrakugai* of Matsuyama is a typical pattern of prefectural capital with several bar blocks nearly behind the shopping street. And such extent of Matsuyama *Kanrakugai* is as large as that of Hiroshima city, and even larger than that of Sendai city, which are all regional center cities and higher than Matsuyama in terms of urban hierarchy rank.

The periphery zone shows the mixed land use with parking lots, shops, bars, offices and dwelling houses. As for the sexual facilities, there are some *love hotels* on the northeastern and southeastern edge of this district. The reason for this is that the main sexual facilities of Matsuyama, such as strip club and *Soapland* (bath house with sexual service) are mainly situated in the Dogo district, where is the eastern suburb of the downtown and has been famous for one of the oldest hot springs in Japan (Figure 4).

These discussions reveal that the following characteristics of three zones structure can also be found in *Sakariba* of Matsuyama: center zone with simple and linear shopping streets, intermediate zone with the well developed bar district, and periphery zone with few sexual facilities.

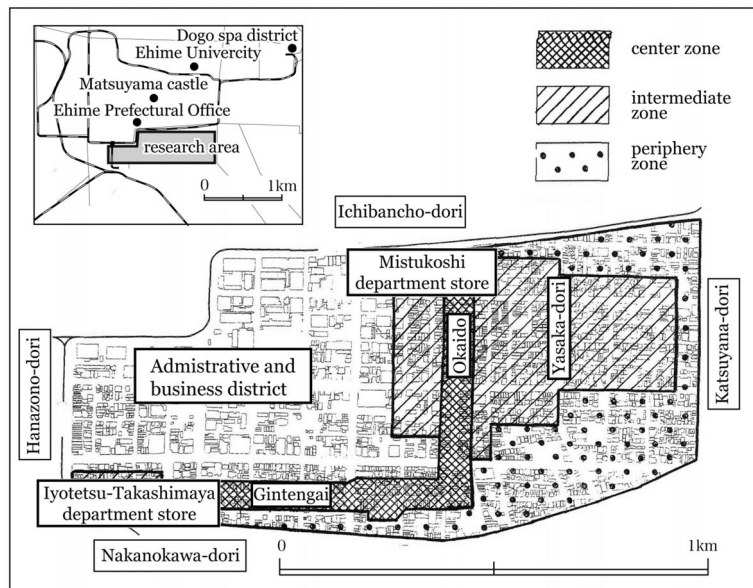


Figure 4 Land use of *Sakariba* in Matsuyama city
(Source: Teraya (2007))

4. The recent changes in the downtown area in Matsuyama

There can be seen the some changes in the downtown of Matsuyama after the 1990's. First, many shops have closed and in place of shops, service offices, restaurants and bars have increased in the shopping streets (Figure 5-6). Table 2 shows the number of shops along the Okaido and Gintengai streets in 2003 and 2013, and the number of active retail shops fell from 212 to 186 during this period. In Figure 7 and 8, we can see that the restaurants and bars increased in the northern area of Okaido street and closed shops increased in the eastern area of Gintengai street in particular during this period.

Second, I 'd like to talk about the changes of *Kanrakugai*, mainly the bar quarters. Figure 9 shows the dominant land use of buildings in the Matsuyama *Kanrakugai* from my survey in 1993. The dominant land use represents the most type of business in number in each building, and colored buildings with legend 6 show bars or bar dominant buildings. Matsuyama *Kanrakugai* is divided into nine blocks by main roads with address (1-3 chome in east and west, and 1-3 bancho in north and south). The total number of bars and bar dominant buildings of these districts were 1,751 and 399.

Table 3 indicates the number of bars of each bar district and bar type based on the phone book data from 1991, 2003 and 2013. The Matsuyama *Kanrakugai* should be separated into three bar districts from a historical standpoint: 3-chome, 2-chome and 1-chome districts in the west and east direction, which were formed before World War I, just after World War II and after 1960's respectively.

Whereas there are many kinds of bar facilities in Japan, they can be divided into Japanese-style and Western-style bars. Japanese-style bars are drinking spots served Japanese *Sake* (rice wine), *Shochu* (local distilled spirits) and food with Japanese moods. They are subdivided into exclusive (ex. *kappou* and *ryotei*) and popular ones (ex.



Figure 5 Closed shops along Gintengai street (photographed by Teraya on Jun. 6 2013)



Figure 6 Newly opened popular Japanese-style bar (*Izakaya*) at Okaido street (photographed by Teraya on Aug. 30 2010)

Table 2 Number of shops on Okaido and Gintengai streets in 2003 and 2013

	Retailing shop	Service office	Restaurant and bar	Amusement facility	Closed	Total
Okaido (2003)	85	11	14	12	7	129
Okaido (2013)	74	18	19	11	8	130
Gintengai (2003)	127	10	8	6	9	160
Gintengai (2013)	112	17	12	4	17	162
Total (2003)	212(73.4)	21(7.3)	22(7.6)	18(7.6)	16(5.5)	289(100.0)
Total (2013)	186(63.7)	35(12.0)	31(10.6)	15(5.1)	25(8.6)	292(100.0)

Source: the author's surveys on Sep. 7 2003 and Jun. 6 2013

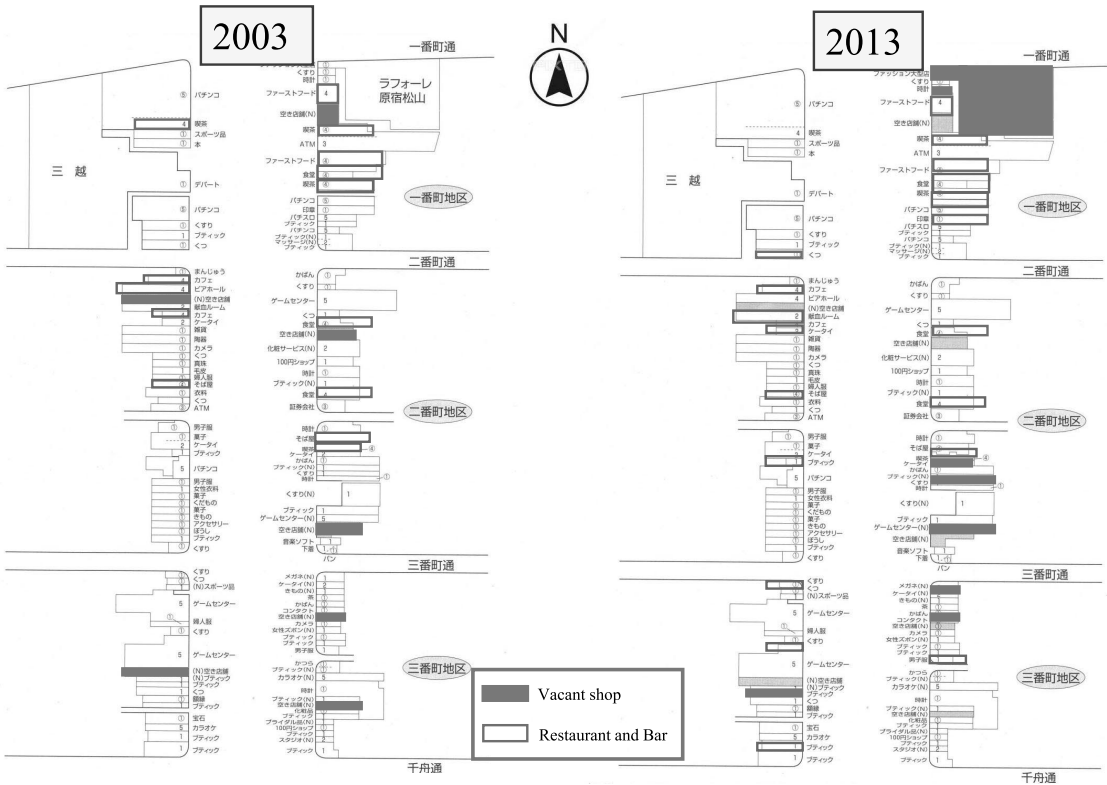


Figure 7 Distribution of vacant shops, restaurants and bars in the Okaido street in 2003 and 2013

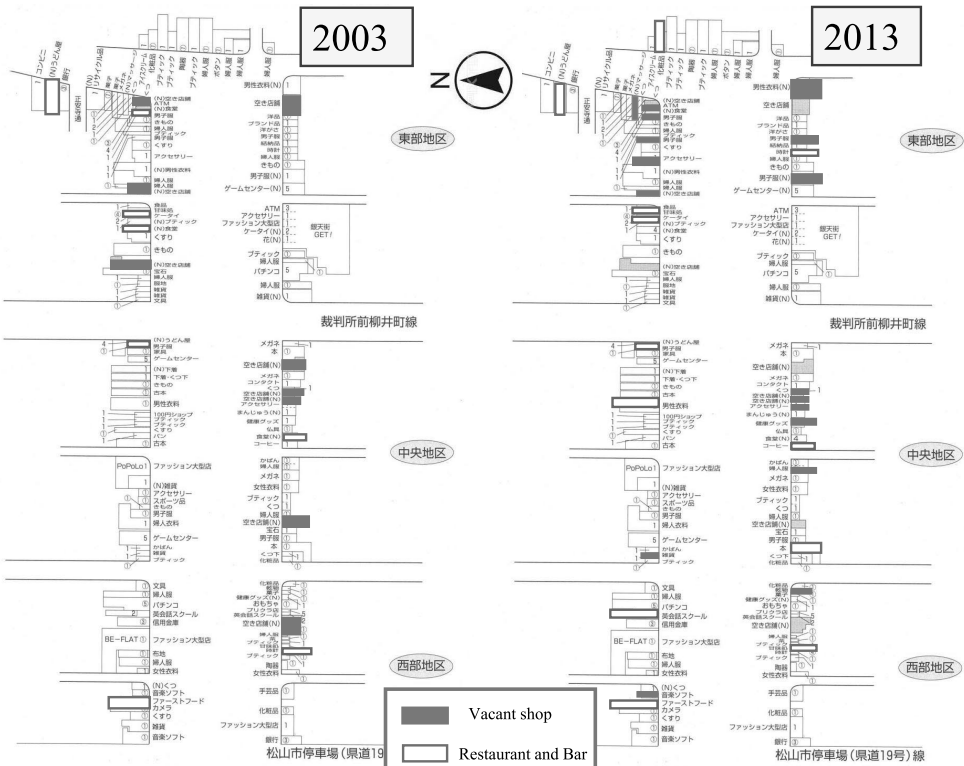


Figure 8 Distribution of vacant shops, restaurants and bars in the Gintengai street in 2003 and 2013

izakaya, *odenya*, and *yakitoriya*). In Western-style bars (ex. pub, snack, club and bar), whisky and sprits are often served by hostesses.

Referring to Table 3, we can point out the dominated bar types of each district: exclusive Japanese-style bars in 3-chome district, popular Japanese-style bars in 2-chome district, and Western-style bars in 1-chome district. Many exclusive Japanese bars, *Ryotei* in 3-chome district closed (Figure 10) and popular Japanese-style bars increased in all districts for these 20 years, so there is less difference between the three districts in appearance now.

Also, there was a considerable decrease in the number of bars from 1,723 in 1991 to 1,465 in 2003, and to 938 in 2013. Judging by bar type, the number of Western-style bars decreased markedly and that of Japanese-style bars, where the cost of drinking is usually cheaper than that of Western-style bars, increased in reverse. These arise from the recent economic recession since 1991, which brought a drop of pocket money for people and few chances for businessmen to *settai* (offer their clients all manner of hospitality by the entertainment expense). From a spatial standpoint, there was been a decrease in the percentage of the number of bars for 1-bancho (9.1%→8.4%), 3-bancho (37.1%→30.4%) and 3-chome (6.4%→5.4%) district from 1991 to 2013. This makes it clear that Matsuyama *Kanrakugai* has narrowed its range by the closure of bars in the northern, southern and western edge areas.

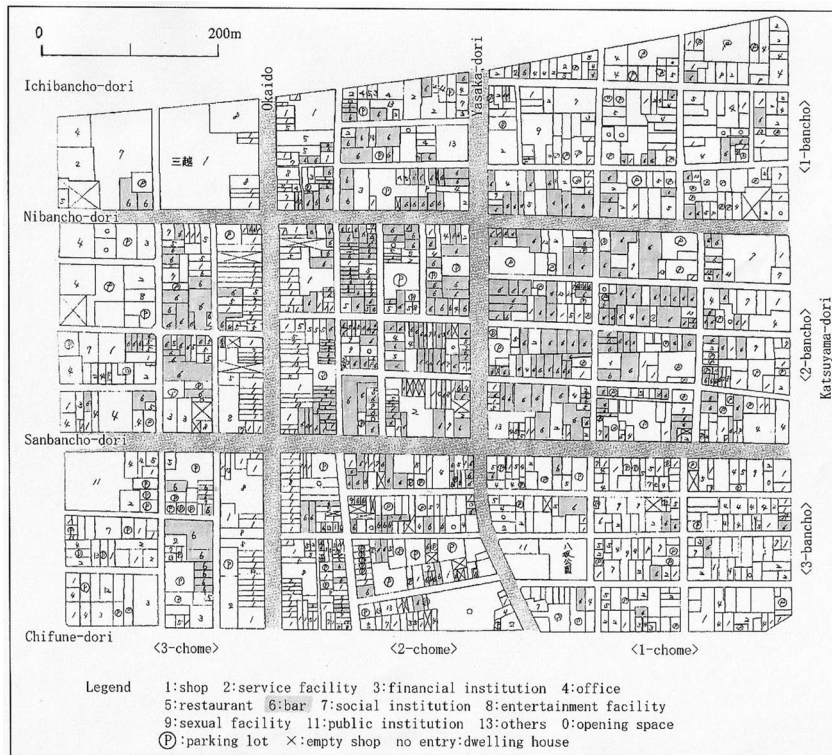


Figure 9 Land use of Matsuyama *Kanrakugai* in 1993

Table 3 Number of bars by bar district and bar type in 1991, 2003 and 2013

district date	3 (San) - chome district			2 (Ni) - chome district			1 (Ichi) - chome district			Total		
	1991	2003	2013	1991	2003	2013	1991	2003	2013	1991	2003	2013
Western-style bars	41	20	11	731	489	304	587	525	338	1,359	1,034	653
Japanese-style bars	69	72	40	173	195	148	123	164	97	364	431	285
exclusive type	54	47	8	108	74	24	89	87	27	251	208	59
popular type	15	25	32	65	121	124	34	77	70	113	223	226
Total	110	92	51	904	684	452	710	689	435	1,723	1,465	938

(Source: NTT phone book.)

Furthermore, the most significant and striking change in the bar quarter was been the rapid increase in the relocation of sexual shops. Fig. 11 shows the distribution of sexual shops, and we can see many sexual shops have come into existence recently. In 1992, only about ten shops existed in the edge of *Kanrakugai*, now many sexual shops are located on main streets in the bar quarter, particularly in 2-bancho district (Figure 12).

Figure 13 summarizes the recent changes of land use in the downtown areas of Japanese cities. Through the economic recession after 1990's, many shops closed in the shopping streets, and in place of shops, some restaurants and bars moved from the bar quarter seeking a better location. And similarly, some sexual facilities removed from the edge district of *Kanrakugai* to the center of the bar quarter. As a result of these relocation, we can recognize a tendency for mixing land use in Japanese *Sakariba* recently.



Figure 10 Exclusive Japanese-style bar (*Ryotei*) in the 1-chome district in former days (photographed by Teraya on Aug. 6 1995)



Figure 12 Newly opened sexual shop (photographed by Teraya on Jun. 29 2013)



Figure 11 Distribution of sexual shops at Matsuyama *Kanrakugai* in 1992 and 2013

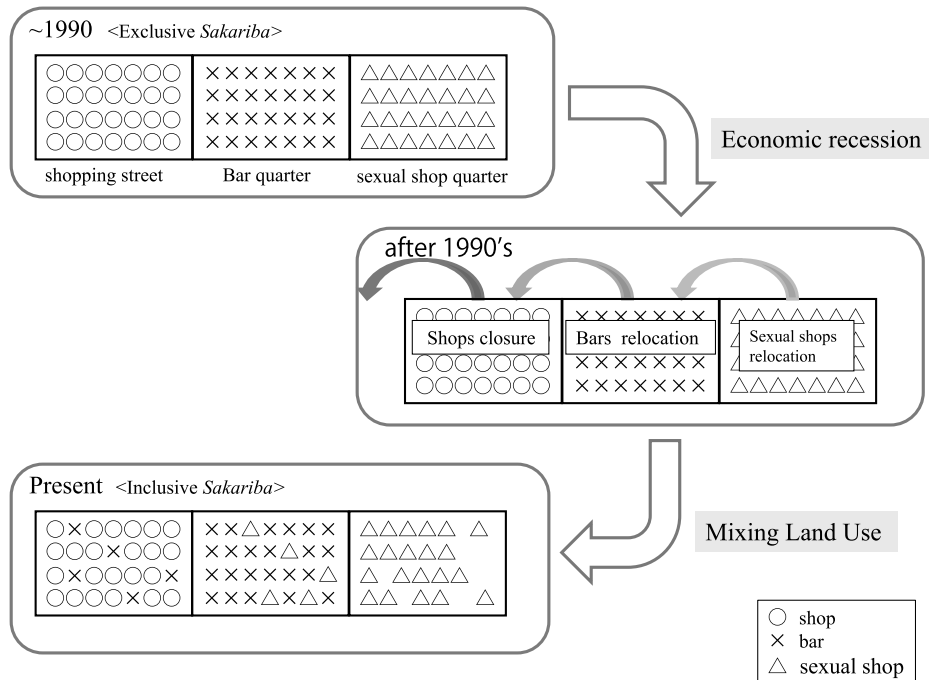


Figure 13 Changes of land use structure of *Sakariba* in Japanese cities

5. Conclusion

Sakariba, which means the shopping, drinking and amusement district in Japanese downtown, is examined through the conceptual and empirical approach. The peculiarity of *Sakariba* might be summarized as follows.

First, *Sakariba* can be divided into four quarters: the shopping district, the bar quarter, the entertainment quarter and the sexual shop quarter. The last three are called *Kanrakugai* and have a wider area in Japanese downtown in comparison with other cities in the world.

Second, as the local city expands, *Kanrakugai* grows larger in size and has a tendency to become being more separate from the shopping street gradually. There can be seen three zones in *Sakariba* of Japanese cities: center zone with retail shops, intermediate zone with bars and the periphery zone with sexual shops and *love hotels*.

Thirdly, the *Kanrakugai* of Matsuyama is a typical pattern of prefectural capital with several bar blocks nearly behind the shopping street. As the case of Matsuyama indicates, Japanese *Sakariba* have shown a tendency for decline by the closure of many shops and bars, and mixing land use through the relocation of bars and sexual shops since the economic recession after 1990's.

本稿は、2013年8月6日に京都国際会議場で開催されたIGU京都地域大会で報告した内容を骨子としており、2012～2015年度科学研究費補助金「持続可能な都市空間の形成に向けた都市地理学の再構築」(基盤研究(A)、課題番号: 24242034, 研究代表者: 日野正輝)の成果の一部である。

References

Teraya, R (2007): Spatial Differentiation in the Downtown Areas of Japanese Cities. Du, G eds. *Tourism and Urban Transformation*, Rikkyo University Press, Tokyo, 31-45.