Transient Tokyo:

A Comparative Exploration of Railway-led
Place Identity Transformations in Shinjuku and Shibuya

（変遷する場所としての東京：新宿・渋谷における
鉄道から生まれる場所のアイデンティティに関する研究）

レッジャーニ　マルコ

Marco Reggiani

(abridged version)

Transient Tokyo:

A Comparative Exploration of Railway-led
Place Identity Transformations in Shinjuku and Shibuya

(変遷する場所としての東京：新宿・渋谷における
鉄道から生まれる場所のアイデンティティに関する研究)

レッジャーニ　マルコ

Marco Reggiani

This Dissertation, **Transient Tokyo: A Comparative Exploration of Railway-led Place Identity Transformations in Shinjuku and Shibuya** （変遷する場所としての東京： 新宿・渋谷における鉄道から生まれる場所のアイデンティティに関する研究）, presented by Marco Reggiani, and Submitted to the Graduate School of Engineering of the University of Tokyo, Department of Architecture, in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture, has been read and approved by the examining committee.

Chief Examiner: Prof. Manabu Chiba ....

Secondary Examiners:

Prof. Takeshi Ito ....

Prof. Hidetoshi Ohno ....

Prof. Yukio Nishimura ....

Prof. Eiji Hato ....

March 2018

The University of Tokyo
Graduate School of Engineering
Department of Architecture

Abstract

Motivated by a general concern about the qualities of contemporary place identity in relation to the ever-increasing importance of mobility-oriented phenomena, the study aims to explore and illustrate the relationship between railway-led urban development and place identity in Tokyo through a systematic analysis of case studies in Shinjuku and Shibuya areas. Indeed, if railways have been recognized as a dominant force in determining Tokyo's urban expansion and socio-cultural practices, the understanding of their influence on the city's place identity is still fragmented and insufficient. What is the contribution of railways to Tokyo's place identity? Moreover, what is the contribution of railways to place identity? Articulated in nine Chapters and three Parts, the study provides evidence and interpretative paradigms which are intended to contribute to the understanding of these and other similar issues.

As the first of the three Chapters composing the Theoretical Framework of the study, Chapter 1 is devoted to the discussion of the main topics addressed by the research questions leading the dissertation. Thus, after presenting the notion of place identity employed in the study, Chapter 1 illustrates the evolving relationship between mobility and the idea of place identity by means of an extensive review of relevant literature. Moving from a perspective which imagined mobility and place identity as contrasting phenomena, recently scholars started to recognize the fundamental contribution to place identity produced by transit-based experiences and locations of mobility. Focusing in particular on railway stations, specific information is provided about the relationship between rail and place identity from the perspective of architecture and urban design.

Following these theoretical premises, Chapter 2 presents the historical background and relevant scholarly perspectives associated with an investigation about mobility, railway, and place identity in the context of Tokyo. After illustrating the transit-oriented characters associated with place identity and urban

cultures in Edo, the process of modernization of the city is presented as a general place identity transformation connected with a shift in mobility practices favored by the introduction of railways in early modern Tokyo. Indeed, the combination of transit infrastructures, urban development, commuting habits, and private railway companies' strategies, produced a unique example of rail-oriented urbanism which proved full of consequences for the transformation of the place identity of the city. Presenting issues related to this dynamics in the field of architecture and urban design, the problem represented by the experience within Tokyo's railway stations emerges as one of the key gaps in the understanding of the city's railway-led place identity.

Concluding Part 1 of the dissertation, Chapter 3 reviews the discussion surroundings the identity of the Japanese capital to define a frame to interpret and generalize the results of the study. Through a comprehensive literature review of relevant works, the problem of identity, the "chaos and order" rhetoric, and the subjective/objective dilemma are identified as three main interpretative issues concerning the understanding of the place identity of the city. Often employed by scholars to describe Tokyo's urban identity, movement, transit, and mobility also produce a specific interpretative sensibility which seems to have recently coalesced into a new tendency within Tokyo studies.

Chapter 4 illustrates the methodology and methods of the study. Based on the interpretation of the theoretical framework and of the gap in the literature, the initial research question is articulated into two workable interrogations. After, the chapter illustrates the study design, the rationale behind the definition of case studies, the collection process of primary and secondary data, and the scale and units of analysis. Moreover, an overview of methods used throughout the study is presented.

Opening the third Part of the dissertation, Chapter 5 addresses the first specific research question to explore the place identity features associated with the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya as transit-oriented districts. Following an

overview of the different relationship between railways and the urban realm in comparison with the European context, Chapter 5 starts its systematic analysis with the illustration of the historical place identity of the two areas before the arrival of the railway. Subsequently, illustrating the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya as transit nodes, it appears how many of the differences between the two case studies can be traced in the site-specific relationship established by railways with the surroundings. Coupled with the "spontaneous" and transit-oriented prewar development associated with the presence of railways, this condition allows to extensively incorporate preexisting features and historical place identity characters while transforming Shinjuku and Shibuya in transit-oriented districts. Further elements of comparison between the two cases can be appreciated discussing the changing profile of railways companies as urban developers in postwar Tokyo and the connected transformation of Shinjuku and Shibuya into hub-stations. Moreover, the qualitative discussion of few recent transformations in the surroundings of the two stations allows suggesting some possible place identity implications of the ongoing transformations.

Chapter 6 explores the second specific research question and the place identity produced by the experience of Shinjuku and Shibuya hub-stations. Evidencing how European models cannot be applied successfully in the context of the study, "place units" and network configuration are recognized and analyzed as the essential frame defining the place identity experience within the two stations. Focusing in particular on the stations' concourses, border conditions associated with place units are mapped, interpreted, and clustered to identify meaningful classes to describe the spatial and architectural characters associated with the transition in-between the mobility infrastructure and the urban realm. Therefore, if in Shinjuku station movement takes place in an underground labyrinth based on place units spreading like tree-roots in nearby buildings, Shibuya stations is characterized by vertical loops and a more distinctive architectural articulation. To achieve a more in-depth understanding of the place identity produce in this critical

inside-outside transition, users' movement within exemplary place units are recorded and analyzed. Findings suggest a relationship between border conditions and behavioral patterns, showing at the same time how transiency and flows represent an essential component of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations' place identity. Furthermore, some qualitative considerations are included to illuminate some of the effects on place identity produced by the ambiguous exit interface of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations.

Chapter 7 summarizes and discusses the results produced in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. Considering the Theoretical Framework and the aim of the study, findings about railway-led place identity transformations in Shinjuku and Shibuya are interpreted according to four major perspectives covering the main topics addressed by the research questions. In particular, the idea of transient place identity is presented as a valid critical paradigm to interpret the identity produced by railway in Shinjuku and Shibuya and, more in general, in Tokyo. Moreover, results are also interpreted considering the value, the limits, and the future applicability of the methods used in the study, and in regards to prospective design-oriented contributions.

Table of Contents

List of Graphics and Tables

Chapter 6

designed station buildings compared to the entrance realized in 2003. In particular, a) West Exit (Photo by Rs1421 (2012) Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Shinjuku-Station-West-03.jpg ; b) Hachiko Exit. Photos by the author.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

Glossary of Terms

Mobility-based approach	An approach which has its foundations on a systematic discourse on infrastructures, mobility, and moving practices. Sometimes 'mobile approach' is used as a synonym.
Place identity (see Chapter 1)	The idea of place identity generally refers to the theoretical or practical discussion about the emergence of a sense of identity out of the specific condition provided by a certain location (place). Although this notion can be declined according to numerous scholarly perspectives (which are partially accounted in 1.2), in the present study, the outlook is largely restricted to the field of urban and architectural studies. As the idea of place identity is directly connected to the notion of place attachment, sense of place, or placemaking, sometimes in the dissertation these expressions are used as synonyms.
Place Unit (see Chapter 6)	Place units can be described as portions of the concourse space which possess a unitary character and can be discerned from other connecting units by the presence of specific elements acting as borders.
Railway-led	Used to indicate any phenomenon or physical transformation

originated or distinctively determined by the action of railways. In the study, it often qualifies the word 'transformation'.

Station District (see Chapter 4)	The area within 500 meters from the station which represents a meaningful zone to measure and discuss the influence exerted by railway on the surroundings
Territoriality, Territorialisation	In the dissertation, terms originated from the English word territory, such as territoriality or territorialization, tend to imply the original etymology of *territorium* (lat), or *territorio* (ita). Thus, they generally refer to a broad sense of attachment to a geographical location, characterized by a complex interplay of climatic, morphological, administrative, and cultural features. In the study, these terms are often as synonyms.
Transient, Transiency	Related to the idea of something transitory, passing along time. In the context of the study, this word is also strongly linked to the idea "being in transit" as a consequence of the endless movement supported by railway infrastructures.
Transit-oriented	Used to indicate any phenomenon or physical transformation originated or distinctively determined by the presence of transit infrastructure. Often used combined with the word 'development'.
Tokyology	A colloquial nickname which refers generically to Tokyo-related studies (*Tokyo-ron* in Japanese).

ABBREVIATIONS

In general, the use of abbreviations was avoided in the text. However, since few times it was necessary to shorten keywords in tables or graphics, below a list of common abbreviations is provided.

Ch.   Chapter
PU   Place Units
Q   Initial research Question
SRQ   Specific Research Question
TOD   Transit Oriented Development
YL   Yamanote Line

In case other specific abbreviations are introduced, they will be explained in the text if needed.

Acknowledgments

I - Introduction

I.1 Background, Relevance, and Problem Statement

As many qualitative types of research, also the one illustrated in this dissertation has its origin in the conjunction of personal motivations, intellectual cravings, and unexpected life occurrences related to the researcher speaking behind these pages. At the same time, academic research inevitably reflects demands and instances within the debate contemporary to its proceedings. This introductory section briefly illuminates parts of these motivations contextualizing the study (I.1.1) and the problem statement (I.1.2).

I.1.1 The Complexity of Contemporary Place Identity, the Role of Mobility, and Tokyo

A few decades already passed since the recognition of the effects of globalization on the identity of territories and places. Either reorganizing cities and regions (Friedmann 1986, Sassen 1991, 2002, Storper 1997), 'disembedding' and 'displacing' localities (Giddens 1990), or producing new forms of space and time (Castells 1996, 2000), networked global dynamics inaugurated an ongoing metamorphosis which contours are far from being entirely defined . More recently, scholars started to realize and investigate the mobility-based nature of these transformations and their manifestations (Verstraete and Cresswell 2002, Sheller and Urry 2006, Urry 2007, Cresswell and Merriman 2011).

If too often the public debate is still anchored to conservative theses, the experience of an increasing share of human beings seems to demonstrate the relevance and the insight of this interpretative progress. Despite their different motivations, tourists, top-class professionals, exchange students, but also refugees, or migrants, they all experience

transformations in their sense of place identity as a consequence of their temporary relocation. Most certainly, this was also a determinant trait of my experience in Tokyo as a PhD candidate.

Indeed, what about Tokyo? If the idea of place is probably affine to my approach towards the experience and interpretation of reality, the long-term attraction towards Japan and the city of Tokyo probably hid the desire to challenge conventional notions of space, urbanism, and ultimately place identity. Certainly, an illustrious lineage of intellectuals and designers already confronted with the Japanese capital producing all sorts of investigations or commentaries. However, too often their interpretations tend to insist on Tokyo's "uniqueness" and "otherness" largely obscuring the everyday reality of the city (Waley 2006).

As a result, in literature I could find only partial answers to my interrogations. What are Tokyo's place qualities? Where is it possible to find its place identity? Indeed, it was not as if previous works were lacking tentative answers to these questions. It was my approach towards the Japanese capital as a place which was somewhat different if compared to those authors and their interpretations. It was while reasoning about these challenging matters that Tokyo's railway network appeared as a specific research problem within the overall place identity dynamics of the city.

I 1.2 The Encounter with Tokyo's Railways, Place identity, and Problem Statement

From the perspective of a mobility-oriented approach to place identity in Tokyo, the choice of railways as a topic of investigation seems particularly appropriate. First, unlikely analogous world-class cities such as New York or London, railways represent the most shared modal transport (Morichi and Acharya 2013). Moreover, starting with the famous Barthes' assumption on the 'empty' centrality of Tokyo's rail stations (1980), countless authors have recognized the role of this transit infrastructure in actively shaping the structure and the urban culture of the city (Wakabayashi 1996, Sorensen 2002, Freedman 2011, Okata and Murayama 2011, Tamura and Uehara 2016).

However, while these studies indirectly support the claim for a mobility-oriented approach, they also present numerous gaps regarding the systematic understanding of the contribution of the rail to the place identity of the city. In particular, in terms of

architecture and urban design, if European stations usually display characters that hint to a conscious effort to determine a specific place identity by means of design, railway stations in Tokyo represent problematic entities.

Though general place theory provides with theoretical perspectives to address this gap, more specific suggestions come from another relatively recent field of research concerned with the investigation of railways in the urban realm from the viewpoint of design-oriented disciplines. Mainly focusing on problems of planning or development, scholars broadly identified in the station 'neighborhood' the urban area more directly affected by railway-led transformations. More specifically, they recognized how many of the contradictions associated with railway stations' identity are due to their dual nature as "nodes" of a ramified mobility-network and as significant "places" within the city (Bertolini 1996, Bertolini and Spit 1998). However, the understanding of this fundamental relationship and the place identity qualities produced by the experience within railway stations are still largely inadequate.

Considering the circumstances and the theoretical gaps mentioned above, a study about railway-led influences on place identity in Tokyo seems to possess general relevance. First, as a consequence of the role of railways in the evolution of the Japanese capital, the city represents an excellent case study to understand and further clarify aspects of the relationship between the railway and place identity. For the same reason, results should be helpful to discuss and verify theoretical assumptions about mobility-based place identity dynamics. Besides, the study has a potential to produce contributions to the cultural discourse about Tokyo's place identity. Not only it will illuminate aspects of the city's place identity which are still fragmented or unrepresented. Employing a systematic theoretical perspective, it will also be possible to devise a more comprehensive methodology for a prospective comparison between the Tokyo and other relevant cases both within and outside of Japan.

I.2 Aims and Framework

After briefly introducing the context, features, and relevance of the leading research problem, it is possible to define the aims and the framework of the study. As more extensive information about the study design will be provided in Chapter 4, this introductory section will outline in brief goals and intended contributions, research questions, scope and limitations of the project.

I.2.1 Goals and Intended Contributions

Based on the recognition of the research problem introduced in the previous section, *the study aims to explore and illustrate the relationship between railway-led urban development and place identity in Tokyo by means of a systematic analysis of case studies in Shinjuku and Shibuya areas.* Like any other potential case study, also Shinjuku and Shibuya cannot be said to be representative of the totality of Tokyo's railway-led place identity features. While the rationale and the limitations implied by the choice of these case studies will be addressed later in the dissertation (especially in Chapter 4, 4.3.2), it is possible to anticipate how Shinjuku and Shibuya possess appropriate profiles of relevance and comparability to stand as exemplary and generalizable models to understand the impact of railways on the city's place identity.

Pursuing this goal, it is reasonable to expect several contributions. Naturally, those more directly related to the aim of the study are intended to produce advancements in the study of the influence of the railway on Shinjuku and Shibuya's place identity and, more in general, in the understanding of Tokyo's place identity. In particular:

- The study is expected to contribute to the understanding of the influence of railway on place identity in Tokyo's main transit-hubs using Shinjuku and Shibuya as exemplary case studies.
- Given the relevance of railway-led phenomena and transit-hubs to define the overall place identity of Tokyo, the research intends to illuminate and interpret a fundamental dimension of the city's place identity which is still unrepresented.

Moreover, the study is likely to generate contributions in regards to the theoretical and methodological issues addressed by the thesis' framework.

- From the perspective of general place theory, the study represents an occasion to verify in a relevant case the claims of the "new mobilities paradigm" (see Ch. 1).
- Being the field of the investigation a non-western location, it will be possible to offer a different perspective on the relationship between place identity, mobility, and railway.
- Given the intensity of the railway-led transformations which is possible to observe in Shinjuku and Shibuya, results can be used to clarify the characters of the identity produced by rail not only in the specific context of Tokyo but, more in general, in comparable global cities.
- To pursue the goal of the study, it is necessary to define specific approaches and methods of analysis to address a controversial and still developing field of investigation. Therefore, the dissertation might as well result in methodological contributions.

Finally, undertaking this research from the perspective of architecture and urban design it might be possible to acquire better expertise about the influence of specific design-oriented strategies and policies in transit-oriented urban contexts. Based on these intended contributions, findings and results of the study will be discussed in Chapter 7 of the dissertation.

I.2.2 Objectives and Research Questions

In the frame of qualitative research, the goals defined in the previous section are equivalent to ask research questions characterized by *what*, or *how*, as problem-solving formulas. Indeed, there is no need to prove the existence of a relationship between railway and place in these two areas, but rather to identify and explain how this relationship is established and its consequences regarding place identity. Accordingly, a broad and comprehensive initial research questions might appear as the following one.

- (Q) How do railway-led transformations influence the place identity of Shinjuku and Shibuya?

Anticipating consideration which will be more extensively illustrated in Chapter 4 while evaluating the theoretical framework of the thesis, to address in "workable" terms this overarching interrogation is necessary to articulate the investigation at two significant scales of analysis. The first one is represented by the station district. The second, by the railway station itself. In particular, the study will focus on the problem represented by the articulation of Shinjuku and Shibuya station as nodes and to the investigation of the place identity experience associated with the two transit-hubs.

As a result, the general research question can be articulated into two specific questions. They are enounced as following.

- (SRQ1) What are the place identity implications produced in their districts by the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations as transit nodes?
- (SRQ2) How does the architectural experience of their respective railway stations as networked and integrated transit-hubs affect the perception of place identity in Shinjuku and Shibuya?

Analyses supporting the answer to the first of these questions (SRQ1) will be mainly illustrated in Chapter 5 of the dissertation. Principal objective associated with this Chapter are listed as below.

- Historical maps, appropriate graphical representations, photographs, and current cartography will be collected to acquire the necessary data.
- The evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations as transit-nodes will be visualized and illustrated.
- The essential pre-war and post-war urban transformation associated with railway-led development will be identified and qualitatively evaluated in terms of place identity.

Instead, the investigation related to the second of the specific research questions will be illustrated in Chapter 6. Again, principal objectives associated with this Chapter are listed as following.

- An extensive and field-work based approach to data acquisition will be planned using direct observation, video recordings, photography, and mapping.
- The study will identify elements to interpret the place identity experience within Shinjuku and Shibuya stations.
- The study will devise ways to classify and compare features associated with the place identity of the two stations.
- A method to record and analyze users' behaviors associated with the moving flows within the two stations will be proposed and tested.

I.2.3 Scope and Limitations

The study presents inevitable constraints regarding the scope. Most of them are associated with the perspective employed to explore the field of research. Being a designer, the author's interest and expertise lie primarily in the investigation of the spatial, perceptual, and formal characters associated with the architectural and urban experience. Therefore, although place identity transformations associated with railway-led phenomena are also related to other disciplines such as civil engineering, sociology, or economics, the study will only provide limited qualitative information about these other viewpoints. Other limitations related to methodology or data collection are reported as below.

- Due to funding limitations, time constraints, and to the complexity of the analysis involved, case-studies have been limited to Shinjuku and Shibuya. While additional examples could have added further elements of discussion and comparison, they would have also implied issues regarding comparability and the time-frame of research. Further considerations about the advantages and limitations implied by these two case studies will be discussed in Chapter 4 (4.3.2).

- Although it is a conventional approach in social sciences, the study will not include interviews. Even if this kind of survey could be a method to understand and evaluate users' perceptions or motivations, the scale and the number involved in the observed phenomena do not encourage this methodology. Indeed, to produce a statistically relevant sample out of the millions of users daily transiting in Shinjuku and Shibuya, it would have required an unbearable amount of work without any guarantee on the outcome.

- Being a research on Tokyo done by a non-Japanese researcher, there are limitations regarding the acquisition and understanding of some of the potential sources. Therefore, despite the efforts, relevant Japanese-language based references might have been omitted in the study. However, as the primary audience is intended to be international, this condition represents only a partial limitation if confronted with prospective contributions of the study.

I.3 Structure and Chapter Outline

The dissertation is composed of nine chapters subdivided into three main parts. Part one (Chapter 1, Chapter 2, and Chapter 3) represents the theoretical framework of the thesis. Hence, it presents and discusses issues connected with place identity, mobility, railway studies, and Tokyo's place identity discourse that represent the principal topics addressed by the research questions leading the study. Standing as the second Part of the dissertation, Chapter 4 illustrates the methodology and methods employed to investigate the research problem. Finally, the three chapters composing Part three represent the core of the thesis and systematically analyze and discuss the influence of railway-led transformations on the place identity of Shinjuku and Shibuya. In particular, Chapter 5 focuses on the scale of the station district, Chapter 6 on the analysis of the place identity experience within the two hub-stations, while Chapter 7 is devoted to the discussion of results. As a conclusion of the introductory chapter, a brief outline of each chapter is illustrated in the following pages.

Thesis Structure
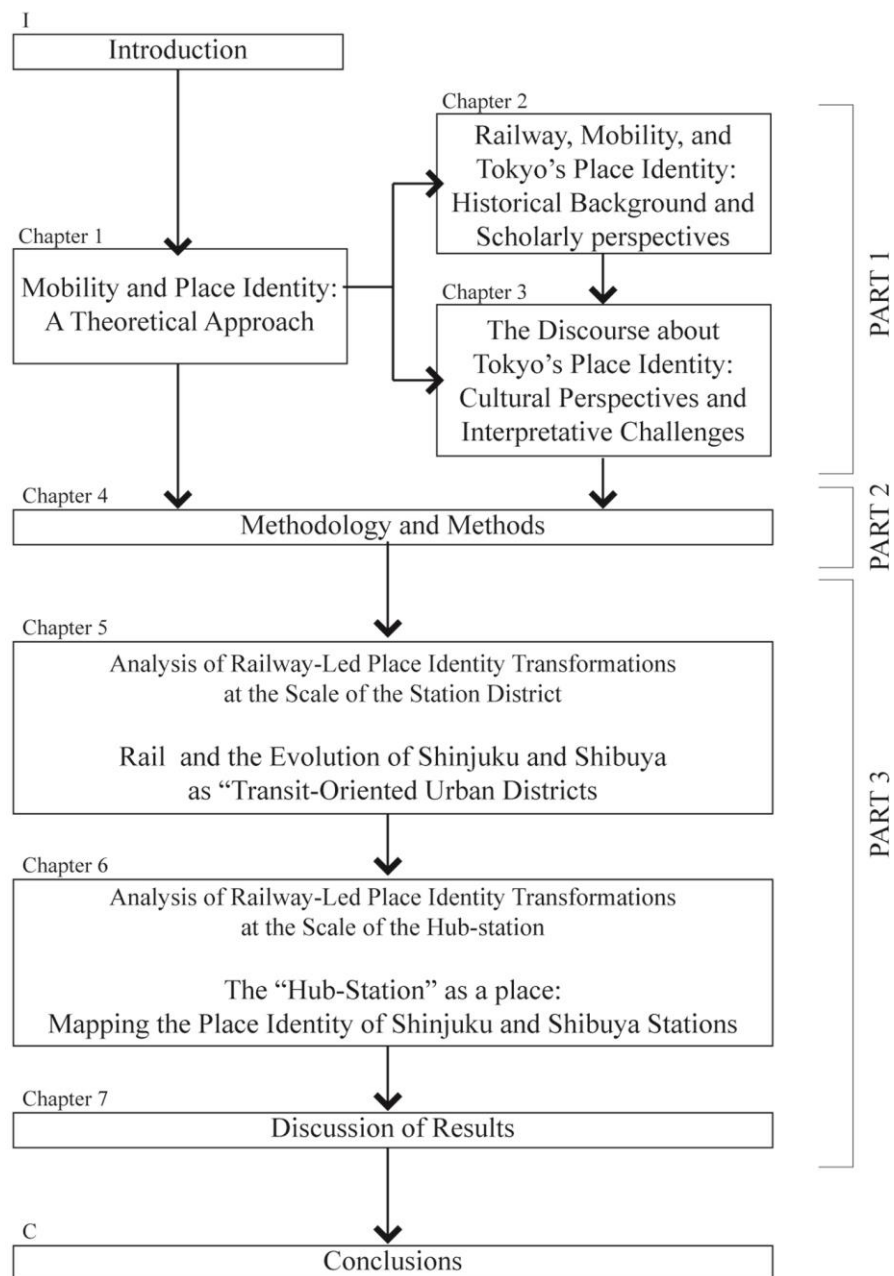
Graphic I.1 – Diagrammatic representation of the structure of the thesis

Employing the perspective of general place theory, Chapter 1 represents the necessary premise to understand the principal topics of research and frame the study in the context of the ongoing debate. First, the notion of place identity is introduced, clarifying the perspective of design-oriented disciplines and the definition used in the study. Then, by means of an extensive review of literature produced in the last 50 years, the evolving relationship between mobility and the idea of place identity is examined. Focusing on the perspective of architecture and urban design, specific considerations about issues, gaps, and methodological approach connected with the relationship between railways and place identity are also included.

Chapter 2 articulates the general discussion of Chapter 1 by presenting the historical background and the relevant scholarly perspectives associated with an investigation about mobility, railway, and place identity in the specific context of Tokyo. After acknowledging the peculiar sense of place embodied by Edo's transit-oriented urbanism, the role of railways in the growth of early modern Tokyo is illustrated, focusing in particular on the construction of the Yamanote line and on the role of private railway companies to establish rail as a vital transit infrastructure. Discussing relevant issues related to this dynamics in design-oriented fields of research, the problem represented by the experience within Tokyo's railway stations emerges as one of the key gaps in the understanding of the city's railway-led place identity.

Concluding Part 1 of the dissertation, Chapter 3 reviews from the perspective of architecture and urban studies the cultural discussion surroundings the identity of the Japanese capital. Recognizing the complexity and the contradictions which mark this field of research, a brief but comprehensive review of relevant works is illustrated to identify specific interpretative issues which characterize the scholarly debate about Tokyo's identity. Supplementary attention is paid to mobility as a defining element of the city's place identity showing how this interpretative approach seems to have gained an increasing momentum within the recent debate.

Chapter 4 composes the second Part of the thesis and is dedicated to the discussion of the methodology and methods of the study. Starting with the interpretation of the theoretical framework, the initial research question is articulated into two workable specific interrogations. After, the chapter illustrates the study design, the rationale behind the definition of case studies, the collection process of primary and secondary data, and

the scale and units of analysis. Moreover, an overview of methods of analysis used throughout the study is presented.

Opening the third Part of the dissertation, Chapter 5 addresses the first specific research question to illuminate the place identity features associated with the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya as transit-oriented districts. After a preliminary overview of the relationship between railways and urban realm in the European context, the historical place identity of the two areas before the arrival of the railway. Subsequently, the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya as transit nodes is analyzed showing how many of the differences between the two case studies can be traced in the site-specific relationship established by railways with the surroundings. On this basis, the main features and the place identity implications associated with both the prewar and post-war urban development of Shinjuku and Shibuya are comprehensively analyzed.

Conversely, Chapter 6 explores the second specific research question and the place identity produced by the experience of Shinjuku and Shibuya hub-stations. Evidencing how European models cannot be applied successfully in the context of the study, the analysis starts with the recognition of "place units" and network configuration as the frame defining the place identity experience within the two stations. Focusing on the stations' concourses, place units' border conditions are mapped, interpreted, and clustered to identify meaningful classes to describe the spatial and architectural characters associated with the transition in-between the mobility infrastructure and the urban realm. Moreover, to achieve a more in-depth understanding of the place identity produced in this critical inside-outside transition, a method to record and analyze the flowing behaviors of users transiting within some significant place units is illustrated and tested. Finally, some qualitative considerations are offered on the effects on place identity suggested by the ambiguous exit interface of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations.

Chapter 7 summarizes and discusses the results produced by the various analysis performed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. Based on the theoretical framework, findings about railway-led place identity transformations in Shinjuku and Shibuya are interpreted according to four principal perspectives covering the main issues addressed by the research questions. Additionally, results are interpreted in terms of methodological and design-oriented contributions. The discussion encompassed in Chapter 7 leads to the Conclusions of the dissertation.

Chapter One

1 – Mobility and Place Identity: A Theoretical Approach to a Study on Railway-Led Transformations of Place Identity

1.1 Introduction and Chapter Overview

Although it is by no means a recent concept[1], the notion of place is still problematic. Though it tends often to be reduced to the mere recognition of the "local" character of a certain geographic area, more than 40 years [2] of investigation resulted in a substantial acknowledgment of place as an 'experiential' and 'existential' dimension concerned with the multifaceted process of production and recognition of meanings attached to a certain location (Tuan 1974, Relph 1976, Proshansky *et al.* 1983, Manzo and Perkins 2006). However, if in general place can be seen as 'a way of seeing, knowing and understanding the world' (Cresswell 2004), it is often hard to relate and evaluate research methods and conceptualization defined in different disciplinary fields. Moreover, place related problems are often conditioned by non-neutral assumptions (Lewicka 2011) which appear with a particular intensity while declining the discourse in terms of "identity."

As mentioned in the introduction, the ongoing debate tends to focus with particular intensity to the transformations of contemporary urban places and place identities caused by mobility. This circumstance is determined not only by the increasing importance of such phenomena to understand current patterns of global urbanization and social organization but also by the intrinsic ambiguity of the terms of discussion. First, the very

---

[1] For an extensive historic and philosophical analysis of the notion of place refer to (Casey 1997).
[2] Identifying in the late 1960s – 1970s the beginning of a modern conceptualization of the notion of place in the field of humanistic geography and environmental psychology.

idea of place-identity as a theoretical and psychological notion is fairly ambiguous and hard to separate from similar conceptualizations such as place attachment, or sense of place (Hidalgo and Hernandez 2001, Manzo 2003). Second, the status of movement and mobility within place theory underwent a considerable change in the last 40 years. From being a dimension fundamentally opposed to the establishment of any sense of place identity (Tuan 1977, Norberg-Schulz 1980) or leading to the production of a sense of "placelessness" (Relph 1976) or "non-place" (Augé 1995), movement and transit have become essential components of a progressive and contemporary sense of place identity (Verstraete and Cresswell 2002, Sheller and Urry 2006, Urry 2007, Cresswell and Merriman 2011).

Based on this brief introduction, the role of Chapter 1 is to clarify the approach and the theoretical standpoint of the study in the context of general place theory. Starting with a broad discussion and later focusing on the specific issues which characterize the problem in the field of architecture and urban design, the chapter will illustrate the topics outlined below.

- The notion of place identity as a general concept and as a specific research topic in the field of design-oriented disciplines. (1.2)
- The interpretative evolution of mobility within general place theory. (1.3)
- Specific issues concerning the study of the relationship between rail and place identify from the perspective of architecture and urban design. (1.4)

1.2 The Concept of Place Identity: Scholarly Perspectives and a Preliminary Clarification

Like the concept of place, the idea of place identity starts to emerge from the late 1960s and into the 1970s. Born in the field of environmental psychology and human geography as a conceptualization of those aspects of the experience of place most closely related to the idea of distinctiveness, place identity questions the essential relationship between human behavior, physical settings, and self-identification. As such, it can be broadly defined as "a sub-structure of the self-identity of the person consisting of, broadly conceived, cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives." (Proshansky *et al.* 1983, p. 60) Experienced both at a conscious and (more often)

unconscious level, place identity relates then "to the variety and complexity of the physical settings that define the day-to-day existence of every human being" (*ibid*).

This general definition rises more than few questions regarding its theoretical accuracy and research workability. In the context of the present study, the most relevant one is similar to the point raised by Lewicka (2008) about the status of the term identity with reference to place. Indeed, in the field of environmental psychology place identity is discussed as "a feature of a *person*." Instead, in disciplinary fields more concerned with the physical structuring of the environment such as geography, architecture, or urban studies, more often ""identity'' refers to the term ''place'' and means a set of place features that guarantee the place's distinctiveness and continuity in time." (Lewicka 2008, p. 211). Concerned with the spatial and architectural manifestation of place identity connected to the urban transformations promoted by railway in Shinjuku and Shibuya, in the study the term place identity is used in this second interpretation.

In particular, further details about the notion of place identity adopted in the dissertation can be deduced from the literature concerning this topic produced in the field of environmental sciences and urban studies. In particular, from the perspective of spatial and design-oriented disciplines, perception, and imagery are identified as specially connected with that process of "generation of meaning in the urban environment" of which place is one of the fundamental expressions (Carmona 2010). Likewise, following a classic terminology established by Edward Relph (1976), different authors agree to identify "physical settings," "activities," and "meanings" attached to them by direct experience as the basic components place identity. As a result, building on Relph's definition authors such as Canter (Canter 1977), Punter (Punter 1991), or Montgomery (Montgomery 1998) produced models to translate place identity in terms of meaningful and workable elements from the perspective of urban design (see Graphic 1.1). Although a more detailed discussion on the components of place identity analyzed in the study will be presented in the following sections and chapters, these models represent a useful basis to sort out "predictive" elements in the context of the research.

In the following page

Graphic 1.1 – Diagrams by Punter (1991) and Montgomery (1998) to illustrate their place identity models (from (Carmona 2010, p. 99).

Land uses
Pedestrian flow
Behaviour
Patterns
Noise and smell
Vehicle flow

Activity

Physical
setting

Sense of
place

Meaning

Townscape
Built form
Permeability
Landscape
Furniture

= Legibility
Cultural associations
Perceived functions, attractions
Qualitative assessments

Diversity,
vitality,
street life,
people
watching,
cafe culture,
events and
local
traditions/
pastimes,
opening
hours, flow,
attractors,
transaction
base, fine
grain
economy

Activity

Form

Place

Image
(cognition, perception
and information)

Scale
Intensity
Permeability
Landmarks
Space to building
ratios, stock
(adaptability and
range)
Vertical grain,
public realm
(space systems)

= Symbolism and memory
Imageability and legibility
Sensory experience and associations
Knowledgeability
Receptivity
Psychological access
Cosmopolitan/sophistication
Fear

Graphic 1.1

1.3 Mobility and Place Identity: The Relation Between Transit and Identity Within General Place Theory

After discussing the meaning and the limitations of the notion of place identity used in the study, it is important to clarify the relationship between transit and place identity from the perspective of general place theory. Indeed, regarding cognitive and psychological lines of self-identification, place identity is not static nor an immutable dimension (Manzo 2003). This dynamic relationship is particularly explicit in the case of mobility-related phenomena such as journeys, tourism, or daily commuting routine (Urry 2007). Moreover, it reveals the essentially conflictual and contractual nature of place identity (Massey 2005) which characterizes a post-industrial and global society (Giddens 1990, Harvey 1990, Appadurai 1996).

However, while in the field of psychology it was relatively natural to recognize the essentially dynamic nature of place identity, in geography, sociology, architecture, and urban studies this intuition had long be disputed and controversial. Indeed, moving from a persuasion that tended "to regard place attachment and mobility as opposite, and sometimes even mutually exclusive, phenomena" (Gustafson 2001), for decades scholars imagined mobility and transit as a hindrance to the development of place identity. Only recently, thanks to the works of authors like John Urry (2002, 2007), Mimi Sheller (Sheller and Urry 2003, 2004, 2006), or Tim Cresswell (Verstraete and Cresswell 2002, Cresswell 2010, 2011, 2012, 2014, Cresswell and Merriman 2011), mobility has started to be recognized as an essential and progressive component of the experience of contemporary place identity. This section of Chapter 1 represents a synthetic account of the tension and the evolution between these two perspectives to contextualize and clarify further the theoretical standpoint of the study.

1.3.1 1970s-1980s - The Fundamental Opposition Between Mobility and Place Identity

The first cluster of ideas that need to be discussed in regards to the relation between mobility and place identity is represented by those matured in the frame of humanistic geography and architecture during the 1970s and 1980s. Strongly motivated by the lack of adequate formulations within their disciplines and represented by classic and iconic

formulations such as *topophilia* (Tuan 1974), *place and placelessness* (Relph 1976), or *genius loci* (Norberg-Schulz 1980), this tendency shares a systematic and coherent understanding of place identity as a strongly rooted and "static" phenomenon. Favoring dwelling and long-term commitment to a certain location as fundamental experiences to develop an "authentic" sense of place identity, these authors interpret mobility and transit like states of existence naturally leading to the inevitable loss of this possibility.

The root of this problematic relationship seems to lie in the approach leading to the definition of place identity. Influenced by principles derived from phenomenology[3], these authors share a strongly existential perspective. Thinking of it as a built-in perception shaped by the environment and organized into cultural patterns, they interpreted place identity as a fundamental dimension of personal lived experience directly linked with the process of symbolization of natural and built environment. As a result, Following Norberg Schulz's words, place has to be imagined as a 'qualitative "total" phenomenon, which we cannot reduce to any of its properties, such as spatial relationships, without losing its concrete nature out of sight." (Norberg-Schulz 1980, pp. 6–8).

However, mobility does not seem to fit into this presumed totality. While sharing a certain debt toward phenomenology, the attitude of these authors towards movement and mobility is indeed quite different from other phenomenological philosophers or psychologist (see for instance the notable case of Anne Buttimer and David Seamon). The following passage from Tuan's *Space and Place* (1977) is exemplary:

'Place is an organized world of meaning. It is essentially a static concept. If we see the world as process, constantly changing, we should not be able to develop any sense of place.' (Tuan 1977, p. 179)

Under this formulation, sense of place (identity) emerges as a static, nearly objective concept. Consequently, mobility and the fast changes associated with modern life are interpreted as leading to a superficial, if not inconsistent sense of place.

---

[3] As in many other fields, phenomenology extended its influence also in environmental studies from around mid 1960s partially due to the effect of coeval English translations of some classic works (see for instance (Husserl 1960, Heidegger 1962, Merleau-Ponty, Maurice; Smith 1962, Bachelard 1964)

Consistently aligned with this static idea of place as a meaningful existential unit, the work of Edward Relph further explains the terms of this problem. In fact, introducing the concepts of 'insideness' and 'outsideness,' he identifies a fundamental issue concerning the experience of place associated with mobility and transit. Quoting Relph:

"The essence of place lies […] in the experience of an 'inside' that is distinct from an 'outside'; more than anything else this is what sets places apart in space and defines a particular system of physical features, activities, and meanings. To be inside a place is to belong to it and to identify with it, and the more profoundly inside you are the stronger is this identity with the place." (Relph 1976, p. 49)

Blurring this fundamental sense of insideness/outsideness and promoting a "mediated" experience of places, many of the infrastructures characteristic of modernity seem to transform place identity into its opposite of *placelessness*[4]. Quoting again:

"Roads, railways, airports, cutting across or imposed on the landscape rather than developing with it, are not only features of placelessness in their own right, but, by making possible the mass movement of people with all their fashions an habits, have encouraged the spread of placelessness well beyond their immediate impact."
 (1976, p.90)

Although Relph recognizes correctly how these changes are inevitable in the context of the post-industrial and increasingly global world, his argument evidences a powerful and apparently irreducible dichotomy between the idea of place identity and mobility which will characterize debate for at least two decades.

---

[4] "An inauthentic attitude to place is essentially no sense of place" (Relph 1976, p. 82).

1.3.2 1990s – Mobility and Place Identity in the Frame of Global Society: Networks, Flows, and Non-Places

Relying on the achievement of these early scholars, but framed within a more general reflection upon modernity and its evolution, another strand of research favored a different perspective on the relationship between mobility and place identity from the late 1980s and into the 1990s. Dealing with the consequences of the general crisis of the 1970s, it became clear how modernity, rather than an inevitable stage in the faithful progressive path of humanity, was indeed a complex and contradictory "western project" (Giddens 1990). Notably, this special kind of development was characterized by a continuous process of subversion[5] of established social or economic patterns, deeply entangled with the logic of capitalism and technology (Harvey 1990).

It did not take much to realize how this profound transformation was deeply impacting also on the urban realm, producing new specific forms of urbanism and territoriality (Friedmann 1986, Sassen 1991, 2002, Storper 1997). In particular, what was changing was the spatiotemporal organization of regions and cities under the pressure of new and pervasive infrastructures of mobility and communication (among the others (Massey 1994, Amin and Graham 1998, Graham and Marvin 2001). Therefore, this new phase[6] required an overall reconceptualization of the problem represented by place identity, with a special focus on the structural conditions which were determining such complex metamorphosis.

Perhaps the most relevant of these new structural conceptualizations about place identity is represented by the so-called network paradigm. Tracing an interesting parallel between the functioning of the new communications systems and the emergent socio-economic forms, Manuel Castells (Castells 1996, 2000) identified in this new form of

---

[5] Indeed, as argued by Marshall Berman paraphrasing the Marx's prophetic announcement in the Manifesto of the Communist Party, modernity is effectively the state in which 'all the is solid melts into the air' (Berman 1988).
[6] Variously named post-modernity, 'supermodernity' (Augé 1995), 'late-modernity' (Giddens 1990), or 'liquid-modernity' (Bauman 2000).

structural organization the essential dimension of the post-modern society[7]. In particular, network society seems to generate new specific forms of space and time in a complex dialectic process involving localities and territories. Quoting:

' Localities become disembodied from their cultural, historical, geographic meaning, and reintegrated into functional networks, or into image collages, inducing a space of flows that substitutes for the spirit of palaces. Time is erased in the new communication system when past, present, and future can be programmed to interact with each other in the same message. The space of flows and timeless time are the material foundations of a new culture […] .' (Castells 1996, p. 375)

However, this does not mean an automatic demise of places and their identities under the influence of this new configuration. More precisely, it implies an overall redefinition of meanings. Quoting again from Castells:

'In this network, no place exist by itself, since the positions are defined by flows. Thus, the network of communication is the fundamental spatial configuration: places do not disappear, but their logic and their meaning become absorbed in the network.' (Castells 1996, p. 412)

While this recognition of the importance of flows and complex topologies[8] is fairly convincing and catches an essential dimension of contemporary place identity, the interpretation of these changes is highly debatable. Evoking that idea of 'phantasmagoric' place [9] denounced by Giddens as he identified 'displacement' or 'disembedding' as

---

[7] Quoting: "What is new in this society is the prevalence of networks. It means that we have entered not only a new technological paradigm, but a new form of organizational structure for everything we do. " (Castells 2000, p. 152).

[8] Echoing similar conceptualization in the parallel field of "topological" philosophy (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, Latour 1996, De Landa 1997).

[9] Quoting Giddens: 'In conditions of modernity, place becomes increasingly phantasmagoric : that is to say, locales are thoroughly penetrated by and shaped in terms of social influences quite distant from them. What structures the locale is not simply that which is present on the scene; the "visible form" of the locale conceals the distanciated relations which determine its nature." (1990, p. 18-19)

qualifying characters of modernity (1990), this experience seems to produce a feeling of uneasiness and discomfort. In opposition with traditional images, the city produced by these transformations is variously described as 'disfigured' (Boyer 1995), 'generic' (Koolhaas 1995), or 'infinite' and 'amorphous' (Skeates 1997). Overall, these authors seem then to share the idea that the complex transformations produced by globalization were inevitably leading to the loss of city and place identity; mobility being once again one of the main responsible of this result.

Under these conditions, infrastructures and areas of transit started to be identified as essential components within the dynamic of contemporary urban identity (Graham and Marvin 2001). However, following the notorious conceptualization offered by Marc Augé in his seminal and influencing *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (first published in French in 1992, English translation 1995), it seems impossible to interpret these areas according to the traditional characters associated with places. Characterized by "solitary contractuality," textual or visual instructions, and reducing users to individual customers, these spatiotemporal entities are defined instead as 'non-places,' or else ' the real measure of our time' (1995, p. 79).

Nevertheless, even non-places seem to produce a distinctive dynamic of place identity. Typically revealed in transit hubs, commercial facilities, or diffuse retail services, this process seems to be deeply connected with the mechanism of production of subjectivity and meaning - thus place identity - in contemporary urban environment. Quoting Augé:

'Assailed by the images flooding from commercial, transport or retail institutions, the passenger in non-places has the simultaneous experiences of a perpetual present and an encounter with the self. Encounter, identification, image: [...]' (Augé 1995, p. 105)

Framed in the powerful dualist rhetoric between place and non-place, this precious intuition remains contradictory. Indeed, the terms of the problem involving mobility and place identity and, more in general, the overall discourse over place identity needed to be reframed under different theoretical premises.

1.3.3 1990s-2000s – Mobility, Identity, and the Relational Turn in Place Theory

Both the approaches discussed so far, seem to identify mobility as a phenomenon fundamentally in contrast with place identity. From the perspective of early phenomenology-inspired authors, transit was a condition basically incompatible with a strong and totalizing dimension of place identity. Conversely, although they recognize the importance of flows and transit in the construction of contemporary network-based society, also structuralist scholars almost inevitably interpreted mobility and related infrastructures as leading to the demise of place into its opposite. Generalizing a poignant intuition of Margaret Crawford (1999), this sort of 'pervasive narrative of loss' seems to generate from a "normative condition of experience" that "derive from insistence on unity, desired for fixed categories of time and space, and rigidly conceived notions of private and public." (Crawford 1999, p. 23). Although they appear different in their arguments, both perspectives share thus substantially similar premises and conclusions.

Indeed, in order to possibly reframe the terms of the problem posed by mobility and place identity, it was first necessary to deconstruct this deeply embedded narrative and define a new theoretical perspective. Increasingly aware of the social construction of space (Lefebvre 1991, Soja 1996) and influenced by the issues of the newly born feminist, racial, or post-colonial studies, a new generation of scholars started to develop a form of more radical and post-structural critique towards globalization and its consequences. Therefore, places stopped to be conceived as characterized by a single normative identity to become instead a plurality existing "in the process of being placed in relation to rather than being there" (Hetherington 1997, p. 188) and always involved 'in a constant process of production and activation of new meanings'. (Amin and Graham 1998, p. 35). Moreover, the role of mediation played by places is related to both subjective and objective, individual and collective identities, but above all, it is always situated in space and time; thus, opened to temporality and constant transformation. Significantly, this condition does not lead to the 'dissolution' of places, but rather to the recognition of their inherent contractual and relational nature[10] (Massey 2005).

---

[10] Quoting: […] what is special about place is not some romance of a pre-given collective identity or the eternity of the hills. Rather, what is special about place is precisely that throwntogetherness,

If under the new circumstances promoted by relational theory place identity might be said to become intrinsically "elusive" when compared to the rooted and totalizing image proposed by phenomenologists, it might also be possible to reconsider the status of mobility in relation to the production a meaningful place identity. To understand in brief this complex theoretical shift, it is possible to articulate the answer of Doreen Massey to one of the radical questions posed in her seminal *For Space* (2005). Quoting: "if everything is moving where is here?" (2005, p.138). 'Here,' she argues, 'is where spatial narratives meet up or form configurations, conjunctures of trajectories which have their own temporalities […]' (p.139). Thus, "To travel between places is to move between collections of trajectories and to reinsert yourself in the ones to which you relate" (p.130). As a logical consequence, it is then in the experience of mobile trajectories leading to always mutable patterns of connections and disconnections that is possible to find the "specificity of place" and, more in general, to an essential dimension of contemporary urban experience.

1.3.4 2000s-2010s – The' New Mobilities' Paradigm: Mobility as an Essential Component of Place Identity

Although it was not the central concern of relational scholars, their articulate discourse posed the theoretical premises for a fundamental reconsideration of the role of mobility within the discourse of place identity. As suggested by experience and by the increasing importance of mobility-based phenomena in contemporary society, it was no longer possible to interpret transit as an inauthentic dimension of life incapable of establishing any relationship with history, culture, or territories. At the same time, flows could not be conceived just as by-products of the ubiquitous network which characterize the organization of post-modern and post-industrial society. On the contrary, deeply entangled with multifaceted network infrastructures deeply "embedded" in the

---

the unavoidable challenge of negotiating a here-and-now (itself drawing on a history and a geography of thens and theres); and a negotiation which must take place within and between both human and nonhuman. [...] This is the event of place. (Massey 2005, p. 140)

contemporary built environment (Graham and Marvin 2001), mobility started to appear as a meaningful dimension [11](Cresswell 2006).

This renewed awareness has recently started to produce a visible impact on social and environmental sciences, coalescing in a tendency which has been significantly defined as 'the new mobilities paradigm' (Hannam *et al.* 2006, Sheller and Urry 2006). However, what is exactly new in this approach to mobility? Following the poignant answer of Tim Cresswell (2010) to a similar question, it is possible to understand that one of the essential novel perspectives comes from the understanding of mobility as something specific if compared to the generic idea of movement. Indeed, motion is just the basis of mobility, which instead "involves a fragile entanglement of physical movement, representations, and practices" that "have broadly traceable histories and geographies" (Cresswell 2010, p. 18). As such, the experience of mobility is deeply interrelated with the overall production of meaning which constitutes the essence of place identity.

While this recognition has important and ramified consequences in regards to theoretical and empirical investigations about mobility in a wide variety of disciplinary fields, in this section, it is sufficient to briefly illustrate its contribution to the discourse of mobility within place theory. First, it allows to pragmatically surpass the implicit dualism between 'sedentarist' place theory (see 1.3.1) and 'nomadic' theory with their rhetoric of globalization (see 1.3.2) (Verstraete and Cresswell 2002). At the same, it correctly overcomes the dichotomy existing between subject and object claiming for a 'complex relationality of places and persons connected through performances' (Sheller and Urry 2006, p. 214). Therefore, such a paradigm is capable of offering an interpretative perspective to problematize and organize acquired knowledge while suggesting new areas of investigation and further understanding.

In the context of the present study, two of these fields of research seems particularly relevant. The first one, is represented by that increasing body of scholarly works (and related design practices) devoted to the analysis of places and infrastructures of transit (Bertolini and Spit 1998, Gottdiener 2001, Pascoe 2001, Featherstone *et al.*

---

[11] Quoting: "The movements of people (and things) all over the world and at all scales are, after all, full of meaning." (Cresswell 2006, p. 2)

2005). Indeed, highways, stations, airports, and similar transit-hubs are some of the most recognizable marks of our present era. The other is concerned with the so-called 'policy of mobility' (here in the sense used by (Cresswell 2010), meaning the complex network of social relationship which are entangled with the experience of transit. Embracing the perspective of architecture and urban design, the study illustrated and discussed in this dissertation is mainly concerned with the first of these investigative trends. However, whenever deemed relevant; the study will qualitatively interrogate and discuss social and "political" aspects connected to the production of place identity in relation to mobility.

As a last note, the 'new mobilities paradigm' seems to offer interesting general clues To investigate such complexity. Sheller and Urry (2006) stress in particular seven possible research methods to grasp these multiple mobilities and develop further research. In brief: (1) direct observation; (2) participatory and 'mobile ethnography' ; (3) 'time-space diaries', (4) 'cyber- research'; (5) studies into the 'atmosphere of place'; (6) 'active development and performances of 'memory'; (7) the examination of 'transfer points' which provide support for movement and encounter in the process (2006) . Among these, in the context of this study point (1), (2) and (3) represent a fundamental methodological indication to acquire ground findings, while point (5), and (7) represents key topics of analysis and discussion throughout the whole research.

1.4 Rail, Mobility, and Place Identity from the Perspective of Architecture and Urban Design: Elements of Investigation, Gaps, and Preliminary Methodological Considerations

After explaining the meaning of place identify used in the study, and illustrating the evolution of the status of mobility within general place theory, it is necessary to briefly introduce theoretically some specific aspects related to place identity in the context provided by railway. Similarly to other a transit infrastructures, railway plays a crucial role in the technological network supporting the complex 'sociotechnical processes' which represents the essence of modern city life (Graham and Marvin 2001, p. 10). However, due to their historical evolution (Schivelbusch 1986), their specific location within the urban context, or their specific and ambiguous entanglement of flows, functions, and managing actors (Bertolini 1996), railway infrastructures display specific characters in which need to be clarified.

The first one is related to the specific affordance of railway within a general discourse on place identity. Indeed, the critical review discussed so far already provided strong theoretical motivations for a discourse connecting mobility and place identity. Additionally, as a specific typology of transit infrastructure, railway possesses specific characters which further support this claim. First, it represents a diffused and established 'landscape' deeply connecting urbanism, architecture, and places (Kido 2005, De Block 2014, Ye-Kyeong and Hye-Jin 2015). Second, it possesses a distinctively 'ordinary' and 'everyday' character[12]. Thus, railway rightfully represents a meaningful dimension to investigate the relationship between mobility and place identity as it supports the production of those often unconscious and repeated 'time-space routines' that are at the base of place identity (Buttimer and Seamon 1980).

A second concern is linked to the status of the railway in relation to place identity from the perspective of architecture and urban design. From this specific viewpoint, the attention of scholars and practitioners tends to focus on the station 'neighborhood' or 'district' area[13]. Indeed, this nearby zone seems the more predictive to display place identity characters generated by the presence of railway. However, while this general approach is fairly acceptable, the scarcity of empirical verification in concrete case studies has been hindering the definition of an established approach to systematically identify and discuss the relevant place identity character promoted by the action of railways. Acknowledging this limitation, Bertolini and Spit (1998) propose a promising perspective of investigation based on the recognition of the double nature of railway station as a node within a network and a place. Quoting:

As a geographical entity, a railway station has two basic, though partly contradictory identities. It is a *node*: a point of access to trains and, increasingly, to other transportation networks. At the same time, it is a *place*: a specific section of the city with a concentration of infrastructure but also with a diversified collection of buildings and open

---

[12] Here 'ordinary' and 'everyday' are used in the sense defined and used by (Preece 1991, Groth and Bressi 1997, Aasbø 1999, Antrop 2005).
[13] According to Bertolini (1998) and others, although there are various methods to identify the area defined as the station 'neighborhood', a fairly common one considers a 'walkable radius of 500 meters' as delimitation.

spaces. Both the practice and the theory of railway station redevelopment demonstrate inadequate understanding of the ambivalent nature of the location, as well as of the interactions between its two connotations. (Bertolini and Spit 1998, p. 9)

While almost 20 years passed from this insightful recognition, a brief survey of recent literature seems to confirm the conclusive sentence of the quoted passage. Indeed, while there has been a significant improvement to specify and quantify certain aspects of human experience in relation to the node/place dimension of railway station (Reusser *et al.* 2008, Chorus and Bertolini 2011), urban design literature seems to focus primarily on problems of accessibility or planning strategies (see for instance the plethora of studies devoted to railway in relation to Transit-Oriented-Development like in (Cervero and Transportation Research Board 2004, Dittmar and Ohland 2004, Curtis *et al.* 2009)). At the same time, apart from historical analysis, design-oriented research the focus seems to concentrate on assessment of practical solutions to manage and exploit the fundamental transition of railway-station into complex transit-hubs (see for instance the conceptual model proposed by (Hale 2013). Moreover, a growing body of studies started to investigate and trace behavioral patterns associated with pedestrian movement within complex and crowded environments (Hoogendorn *et al.* 2003, Timmermans 2009, Löhner 2010, Dridi 2015). However, also in this case the attention is largely quantitative and oriented to the technical management of the problem rather than an interpretation regarding experience and place identity.

Overall, if these studies represent a fundamental advancement in the field, their contribution to the understanding of the complex place identity dynamic associated to transportation systems (railway in this case) and palace identity is fragmentary and debatable. Indeed, still too little attention is paid to the investigation and interpretation of the spatial experience related to the fundamental transition between mobility and urban realm which represents, in theoretical terms, one of the fundamental dimensions associated the place identity embodied by railway hubs. Moreover, as a general remark, most of these studies tend to discuss European or North-American cases thus limiting their applicability in other contexts (Cresswell 2016). While complex transit hubs are rapidly spreading throughout the globe, this condition represents a serious gap in existing literature and a decisive motivation for the present dissertation.

Although a systematic methodological framework will be illustrated in Chapter 4 after discussing the specific nuances and problems represented by Tokyo as a case study (Chapter 2 and 3), based on the theoretical discussion illustrated so far it is possible to offer some preliminary consideration to inform the scope, research questions, and methods used in the study. Some methodological suggestions have been identified as below.

- Following a general theoretical discussion, the study should illustrate and consider preliminarily the *specific historical, social, and cultural conditions* which influenced the evolution of the phenomena in the context of Tokyo.

- In terms of the scale of the analysis, if the station neighborhood zone is fundamental to understand place characters produced by the articulation of the node at the large scale of the urban district, the *articulation and the immediate surroundings of the mobility hub* (often described as the 'primary' zone[14], or as the station hub zone) seems to be better suited to describe architectural features and experiential dynamics connected with place identity.

- Rather than an enclosed and limited object, the transit-hub should be better interpreted as a complex interface defining dynamically *the transition and the relationship between the mobility network and the urban realm* (inside/outside dynamic) in terms of accessibility, connection, and imageability.

- Specific attention should be devoted to the identification and analysis of the features which define the character of the spatial experience associated with the transit itself. Defining physical and visual permeability, levels of privacy, distinction, and diversity between different functions, the architectural and spatial configuration of *borders conditions* seems a promising choice in terms of analysis and discussion.

- Among the different behaviors associated with transit experience, the spontaneous and often unconscious *flow of users* within the transit hub seems to be a promising subject of investigation to understand the consequences of the networked built environment on behavioral patterns, experience, and place identity.

---

[14] The zone within 250 meters from the station.

The first of these points will be mostly carried out in the following chapters composing Part 1 of the study (Chapter 2 and 3). The others will be further discussed in Chapter 4 while illustrating the methodology of the study, and later evaluated based on concrete results acquired the analytical part of the thesis (Chapter 5 and 6).

1.5 Intermediary Conclusions

As evidenced by the various literature discussed in Chapter 1, the relationship between mobility and place identity has always been ambiguous. While the notions of identity and place are *per se* problematic, for decades scholars argued about the contribution of movement-led phenomena to their definition. This contradictory debate has been particularly intense in social sciences, a condition which has been related to the presence of western-centric and normative conceptions about space, time, or public realm. However, in the last 20 years, scholars started to increasingly acknowledge the role of transit infrastructures and the experiential value of mobility in the frame of a progressive and global idea of place identity. Within the dissertation, Chapter 1 represented an account of this evolution and the occasion to clarify theoretically the fundamental issues posed by an explorative study on consequences of the transformations promoted by railway in Shibuya and Shinjuku in terms of place identity.

First, it was necessary to elucidate the notion of place identity used in the study. While in psychology place identity is used in relation to self-identification processes, in architecture or urban studies it more frequently describes an attribute possessed by place itself and attached to it by human interactions. Moreover, studies in spatial and design-oriented disciplines tend to emphasize perception and imagery over other psychological or social issues. Therefore, if in general scholars tend to identify in physical settings, activities, and meanings as the key components of place identity in urban studies, from the perspective of design-oriented disciplines it appears how the first two components represent probably the most workable research field.

After, the chapter discussed the relation between mobility and identity within general place theory. While for decades scholars interpreted movement as an obstacle to the construction of any sense of place identity, in the last decade transit has started to be

recognized as a fundamental and meaningful dimension attached to places. This complex theoretical evolution was illustrated in four phases, corresponding to significant different conceptualizations of mobility in relation to place identity. Comparing the different perspectives, it was possible to understand their stances and the specific elements they identify as "predictive" in the discourse of transit and identity (see table 1.1). Particular attention was devoted to the description of the so-called "new mobilities paradigm" (Hannam *et al.* 2006, Sheller and Urry 2006), due to its significance for the understanding transit infrastructures and mobility within the contemporary debate.

Finally, it was necessary to introduce theoretically specific aspects, problems, and gaps existing in the literature broadly investigating the contribution of railways to place identity. As a specific kind of transit infrastructure creating an 'ordinary' and 'daily' landscape of experience, rail is certainly relevant effects in terms of the production of identity. Connected with the global transformations of railway stations in multi-modal transit hubs, signs of progress have been made by scholars and practitioners to specify and quantify aspects of the relationship between railway and place. However, they tend to be based on European or North-American case studies, and to concentrate especially in the fields of network analysis, planning strategies, or design solutions. As a consequence, they seem to produce a fragmented understanding of the spatial experience and the place identity produced by railway, especially when confronted with Asian case studies.

Table 1.1

Decade	late 1970s - 1980s			
Representative authors/works	Y.F Tuan, Space and Place (1977)	Relph, Place and Placelessness (1976)	Canter, The Psychology of Place (1977)	Norberg Schulz, Genius Loci (1980)
Theoretical Approach	phenomenology, humanistic geography, morphology			
Shared idea of Place Identity	Place is a perceptive and phenomenological experience which produce a total and meaningful dimension of existence.			
Specific Elements of Analysis	physical features with discernible shapes, colors, textures			
	inside/outside borders			
	observable activities			
	meanings and symbols			
The stance towards mobility	Transit, mobility, constant change hinders the possibility of developing any sense of place identity (which is imagined as a static concept).			

Decade	1990s			
Representative authors/works	Castells, The Rise of the Network Society (1996)	Skeates, The Infinite City (1997)	Auge, Non Places (1992)	
Theoretical Approach	network paradigm, global economics, structuralism, semiotic			
Shared idea of Place Identity	Place does not acquire meaning as a singularity, but as a node within a complex network dominated by flows, images, virtual communications.			
Specific Elements of Analysis	network and topology of places			
	non-places			
The stance towards mobility	Transit and mobility produce a specific new dimension characterized by the lack of any stable or historically related identity. Often identified as non-place, these areas are said to produce an uncertain dimension of experience and a boundless and homogenous urbanism			
Decade	mid 1990s - 2000s			
Representative authors/works	Lefebvre, The Production of Space(1991)	Hetherington, In place of geometry: the materiality of place (1997)	Amin & Graham, Cities of connection and disconnection (1998)	Massey, For Space (2005)
Theoretical Approach	post-structuralism, spatial theory, social sciences			
Shared idea of Place Identity	Place is a relational process produced by a complex negotiation between social actors, identities, and localities.			
Specific Elements of Analysis	web of spatialized relations			
	social actors and plural identities			
The stance towards mobility	Transit and mobility are just one of the many forms of spatial relationship which contributes to the composition of place identity.			
Decade	mid 2000s - 2010s			
Representative authors/works	Graham & Marvin, Splintering Urbanism(2001)	Verstraete & Cresswell, Mobilizing Place, Placing Mobility (2002)	Sheller & Urry, The new mobilities paradigm (2006)	
Theoretical Approach	mobility paradigm			
Shared idea of Place Identity	Place is a relational and topological process supported by transit infrastructures which are essentially dynamic and produce a complex mobile experience which constantly reorganizes the identity of a given locale			
Specific Elements of Analysis	transfer points			
	movement, performance, behaviors, embodied experience			
	network of transit infrastructures			
The stance towards mobility	Transit and mobility are the essential performative relationship that defines the relationality between people and places			

Based on the theoretical discussion of existing literature and the recognition of this essential gap, it was possible to suggest preliminary methodological considerations and topics of investigation. Once again, they are reported synthetically as below.

- The illustration of the *specific historical, social, and cultural conditions* which influenced the evolution and the interpretation of the relationship between the railway and urban locations[15].

- The exploration and discussion of the place characters produced by the *articulation and the immediate surroundings*[16] *of the mobility hub*.

- The analysis and interpretation of the spaces and architectural elements involved with the definition of *the transition between mobility network and the urban realm*.

- The identification and analysis of the *border conditions* articulating the space and the transit experience within the premises of railway hubs.

- The observation, analysis, and visualization of the characters of the behavioral experience associated with the *flow of users*.

Being an essential component of the background and the theoretical framework of the study, the first of these themes will be discussed in the following chapters of Part 1 (Chapter 2 & Chapter 3). Instead, further consideration on the other topics will be postponed to Chapter 4 as they are more specifically related to the definition of the research methodology and methods.

In the previous page,

Table 1.1 – Mobility and Place Identity, a synthetic overview of scholarly perspectives.

---

[15] Tokyo in this case, using Shinjuku and Shibuya areas as specific case studies.
[16] Meaning the so-called station neighborhood (area within 500 meters from the station), and station hub areas (area within 250 meters from the station).

Chapter Two

2 – Railway, Mobility, and Tokyo's Place Identity: Historical Background and Scholarly Perspectives

2.1 Introduction and Chapter Overview

As widely supported by direct observation, scholars in a variety of disciplines have long recognized the enormous contribution of railways to Tokyo's urban landscape. To begin with, rail had a fundamental role in the historical transformation from Edo to the modern Japanese capital determining strategies and patterns of urban development (Aoki 1994, 2002a, 2002b, Sorensen 2002, Okata and Murayama 2011), and establishing railway stations and nearby areas as primary urban locations (Cybriwsky 1991, Almazán and Tsukamoto 2009, Zacharias *et al.* 2011). Furthermore, in the context of a traditionally mobility-oriented urban society, it crucially informed the social and cultural life of the city (Fujii 1997, Mansfield 2009, Freedman 2011). This peculiar condition allows railway-led urban dynamics to emerge with particular intensity and levels of complexity, making Tokyo an excellent field to observe the influence of rail on place identity and anticipate railway-led phenomena in the rest of the world.

Among scholars and practitioners concerned with architecture and urban design, the discussion about railway-led phenomena in Tokyo seems to articulate around two thematic levels. The first is represented by the recognition of a specific model of development characterizing ample areas of the city and produced by the

combination between weak planning legislation and the importance of railway companies as private urban developers (Saito 1997, Ogawa 1998, Aoki 2002a, 2002b, Sorensen 2002, Calimente 2012). The second focuses on the station as a primary location posing specific problems regarding engineering, urban design, and architecture (for a broad overview, see (Ito and Chiba 2001, Kido 2005, Ando 2010, A+U Special Issue 2013:10)

However, in contrast with historical and cultural studies, space and design-oriented disciplines seem to produce a quite fragmentary and unspecific contribution to the discourse. Indeed, they often focus on very technical and practice-oriented problems, overlooking the necessity to compare and interpreted these phenomena in more general terms. Along with the recognition of the problematic, and still mostly unexplored relationship between mobility and place identity in terms of architecture and urban design, the existence of this gap represents another fundamental motivation for the dissertation.

Given the relevance of these "precursors" to define and evaluate the theoretical framework, the methodology, and, later on, results and contributions of the study, Chapter 2 illustrates the historical background and some relevant scholarly perspectives framing the debate on railway and Tokyo's identity as a place. Paying particular attention to studies and research in the field of architecture and urban design, the chapter will discuss the topics outlined below.

- The historical importance of mobility and transit infrastructures to define a peculiar sense of urbanism and place identity in the context of Edo -Tokyo (2.2).
- The determinant contribution of rail to the growth and evolution of early-modern Tokyo, determining patterns of urban expansion, social interaction, and place identity connected with the fundamental transformation of the city during the Meiji and Taisho Era (2.3).

- Specific issues within the ongoing debate concerning the relationship between rail and Tokyo's, evidencing predictive elements or gaps that need to be addressed in the study to achieve a better understanding of railway-led phenomena and place identity (2.4).

2.2 A Specific Sense of Place Identity: Notes on Mobility-Oriented Urbanism and Travelling Cultures in the Context of Edo

If Tokyo appears as a city marked by the existence of an intense mobility-oriented dynamics, similar considerations can be advanced in the case of its pre-modern precursor. Indeed, in sharp contrast with the European tendency to associate meaningful urban locations with monumental spaces, in the case of Edo transit infrastructures and transit-oriented locations seems to have a more determinant role. To begin with, the city possessed a strongly transit-oriented layout. Additionally, it displayed the tendency to associate place-making with locations characterized by gathering and flowing activities, favoring thus the emergence of transit-based practices and cultures. Given the importance of this specific urban tradition to establish and evaluate the railway-led urbanism characterizing contemporary Tokyo, this section will briefly explore these three themes which represent an essential element of the historical background of the study.

2.2.1 Edo's Transit-Oriented Urban Layout

Located on the tips of Musashino plateau at the northern corner of a long and narrow natural bay characterized by irregular borders dotted with inlets and marshes (see Graphic 2.1), the location of Edo was quite unique in the context of Japanese urbanism. First, its landscape was not much resembling the features of

classic Japanese historical cities in the Kansai area[17]. Second, as a consequence of higher sea levels, in prehistorical times a considerable portion of the actual territory of the city would have been submerged resembling a complex geography of promontories and bays. Evoked by toponyms and locations of sacred ground for shrines and temples (Nakazawa 2005), or by the characteristic ridge – valley road articulation [18]of the Yamanote area (Jinnai 1995), this dynamic and land-bound place identity [19]exerted a fundamental influence on the development of this site.

Indeed, such a complex topography presented indubitable advantages if considered from the perspective of Tokugawa Ieyasu in search for a suitable location in which to establish the future capital of the shogunate. Comfortably far from the Kansai region and easily defensible, Edo stood in a convenient geographical position. Not only it faced the sea in a protected bay, but it was also intersecting some important roads and paths leading to the nearby provinces and, further south, towards Kyoto. Moreover, there was the chance to develop and control a diffuse transit network of roads and canals which could efficiently enhance the economic and strategical potential of the city.

In the next page, top, Graphic 2.1; bottom, Graphic 2.2

---

[17] Indeed, Edo was not a plain closely encircled by mountains as Kyoto or Nara. On the contrary, it was characterised by an irregular topography which resembled more a dense and wild grasslands (Mansfield 2009) rather than a lyric scenery.

[18] Quoting Jinnai: "Wherever we look in the Yamanote, we see a dual structure formed by two types of road: the ones that follow the ridges and the ones that go along the valley floor. Many of the "hills" were created in places where these two types met. This arrangement, which his universal through the high city, was produced out of the collective habits of the city's people, as a result of long historical experience and common local wisdom We may call it part of the anthropological structuring of space in Japan. (Jinnai 1995, pp. 12–13)

[19] Reference to the notion of *chirei* used by Suzuki (1990) to translate in the Japanese context the idea of *genius loci* (see Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion on this point).

Image not included
In the abridged version
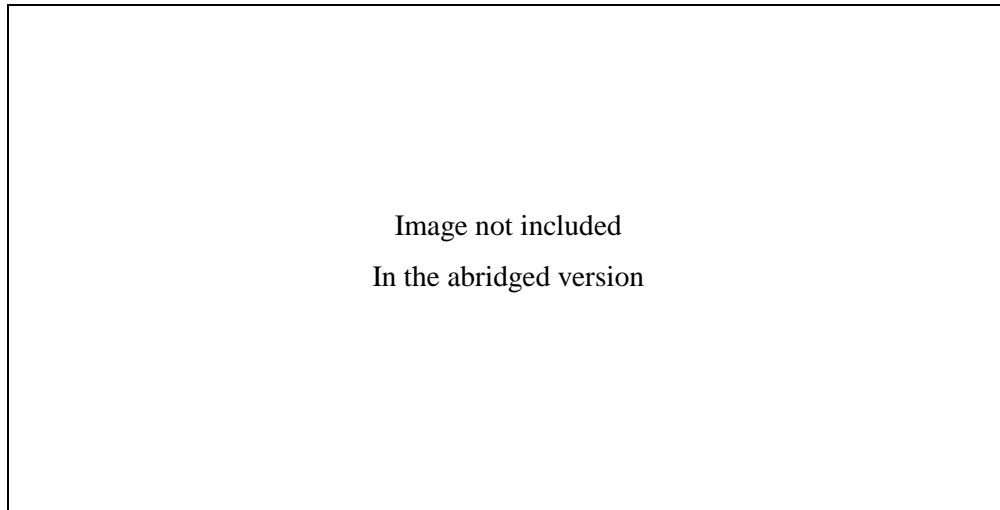
Graphic 2.1 – *left*, The Edo area around 1480 (map from (Waley 1991, p. 254); *right*, Map evidencing the relationship between major highways, ridge roads, and valley roads (from (Jinnai 1987, p. 24).

Image not included
In the abridged version
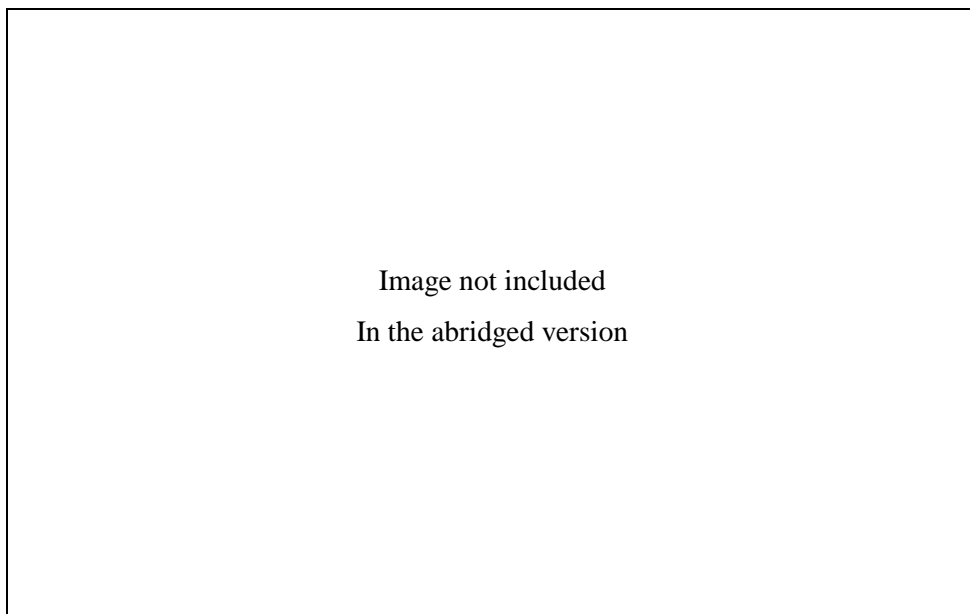
Graphic 2.2 –*left*, Map of Edo around 1644; *right*, a diagrammatic representation of the "warped" structure of the city (Graphics from Naito in (Berque 1982).

This combination produced a distinctive mobility-oriented urban layout that can be readily appreciated from the analysis of any map of the city (see for instance Graphic 2.2). First, it determined its characteristic "warped" concentric structure; a result achieved by the clever disposition of inner and outer moats around the five main artery roads of the *gokaido*[20]. Second, it favored the abnormal presence of un-matching intersection or sensibly acute angles in the layout of the roads which rendered the city a sort of pedestrian maze. Third, it produced specific architectures and urban typologies devoted to the capillary control on movements such as *mitsuke*, gates, or local patrol stations.

2.2.2 Mobility and Place Identity in Edo: The Example of Sakariba

Deeply intertwined with the natural landscape of the Edo, this extensive network of street and canals exceeded its mere infrastructural role to determine essential place making patterns. First, combined with the mutable topography of the city, it defined specific locations within the urban fabric, often in connection with some significant geographical or scenic features[21]. Moreover, the intersection of different mobility infrastructures (roads, as well as roads and canals, or roads with checkpoints) created the condition for the establishment of places concentrating people's flow in specific locations.

Edo's main bridges represent a typical example of this place-making process. Situated at the intersection between pedestrian and water circulation, they were among the most thriving places in the city. Not only they represented major connective infrastructures, but they were also vital logistic areas for the city's

---

[20] *Gokaido*, literally the five great roads, represented the main transit road in Japan for the entire Edo Era. Ideally departing from Edo's Nihonbashi and under the strict control of the shogunate, they connected the city with all the regions of Japan.
[21] See for instance the numerous hills from which it was possible to see Mount Fuji in the Yamanote area.

commercial activities. Taking advantage of the nearby canals, warehouses were aligned along the banks to store and resell the products which could be transferred directly to and from the floating boats. Consequently, bridges and surrounding areas attracted crowds of people on everyday base. Indeed, as evidenced by famous cases like *Ryogokubashi*, *Nihonbashi*, or *Edobashi*, (see Graphic 2.3), due to the presence of large crowds these place attracted a great variety of businesses, such as theatres, performers, teahouses, plus many other more trivial activities. In this place-making operation, the presence water seems to have played a determinant role, further reinforcing the connection between this natural element, its flowing symbolism, and various forms of gathering and sociability within the city (Smith 1986a, Jinnai 1995, Nakazawa 2005).

A similar process of occupation of space could have been found near bridge approaches (*hirokoji*) and fire-break areas (*hiyokechi*) (McClain *et al.* 1994), theatre districts, license quarters, or in the case of large temples and shrines. In those areas, crowds of visitors and pilgrims supported comedians, kabuki theatre and any other licit or illicit entertainment. Even if those areas usually belonged to shogunate, and were therefore submitted to specific rules, they were nonetheless freely colonized by such activities. Although in the context of this study there is no necessity to develop a systematic analysis of these spaces, it is interesting to notice how they seem to confirm the existence of a relationship between movement, leisure, and place identity. In particular, they came to be identified as places in which it was possible to escape from the rigid social boundaries of Edo era, cultivate social 'nonattachment,' and more spontaneous behavior[22].

---

[22] Quoting Jinnai referring to Amino: 'Until the medieval period, according to Amino Yoshihiko, places such as temple and shrine entrances, markets, riverbanks and bridges — where itinerant artisans and vagabond artists gathered — developed as "sacred" places. This was a world unbound by secular restrictions, where the principle of "social nonattachment" operated; it became a sanctuary offering "freedom" and "protection" to those within. (Jinnai 1995, p. 87).

Graphic 2.3 – A typical *sakariba*. Views of Nihonbashi in Edo Era.
a) Hiroshige. *Nihonbashi Asa no Kei,* in *The Fifty-Three Stations of the Tokaido*, Public Domain. Source: http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/tokaido_hoeido/images/01_Nihombashi.jpg
b) Eisei Keisai. *Nihonbashi yuki no akebono* in *The Sixty-Nine Stations of the Kisokaido*, Public Domain. Source: http://www.hiroshige.org.uk/hiroshige/kisokaido/images/01_Nihon_Bashi.jpg

Overall, these various places seem to fall under the poignant idea of *sakariba*. Following the definition provided by Yoshimi Shunya in his ample and systematic studies about the characters and evolution of these locations:

"Sakariba" is unique Japanese word which means the place in the city where people customarily gather and enjoy theatre, movie, exhibitions, shopping, eating some special kind of food, drinking, and many other cultural interactions. It is a centripetal point of the urban culture and a main stage of Japanese urban life. From the etymological point of view, "Sakari" means the situation in which people are uplifted psychologically and "Ba" means place. So "Sakariba is a place where people gather and become excited as in a festival." (Yoshimi 1996, p. 131)

This definition, which is shared and discussed by many other authors both in Edo and modern Tokyo (see Linhart 1986, Smith 1986b, Yoshimi 1987, 1996, Pons 1988), can be easily visualized and integrated using the examples mentioned before. As they found their primary drive into the endless presence of transient activities, *sakariba* were often to be found in specific locations characterized by the proximity of elements such as water, sacred ground, or marginal terrains. Under this condition, personal social identity could be temporarily discarded, encouraging a sort of 'permanent transgression' (originally in French, a *'transgression permanent*,' (Pons 1988, p. 115). Seen in this light, *sakariba* presents significant profiles of differences if compared with the idea of urban spaces in the context of classic European cities in which attachment and meaning are signified by the presence of a shared and often monumental symbolic code. Moreover, the traditional association of *sakariba* with mobility-based practices will play a determinant role in the evolution of transit infrastructures in the city, as it will be discussed later on in the case of the railway.

2.2.3 Travelers and Mobile Cultures in Edo Era

So far, it was possible to evidence how the place qualities of Edo were largely determined by its transit network. Not only the design of roads and canals modeled and signified the specific topography of the city, but it also defined specific locations as symbolic sites in which to perform and represent its place characters. Additionally, Edo Era also sought the rise of organized transit-based practices which came to exert a strong economic and cultural influence, deeply intertwining travelers, places, economy, and cultures along the road and revealing a specific appreciation of territories and place-making. As a consequence, space of mobility became a truly cultural and symbolic dimension, reproduced and popularised in the form of graphic, novels, or theatrical performances. In the following paragraphs, few specific examples will be presented and discussed to evidence once more the profound impact of organized mobility as a place-making practice in the context of Edo-Tokyo.

One of the most notable examples is provided by the activities connected with the practice of *sankin kotai* (see Graphic 2.4a), which ensured efficient control over local daymio forcing them or their heirs alternatively to reside in Edo. Their periodic transfer was an effort as the trip was long and insidious. Moreover, it involved severe financial and symbolic concerns. In brief, few general and relevant aspects are worth mentioning to understand the nature of this periodic travel experience. First, *sankin kotai* was a highly controlled and ritualized process deeply connected with the spatial structuring of Tokugawa shogunate. In fact, the trip had to be approved or requested by the shogun, and was performed on foot on the major highways so that it could be easily checked periodically along the way in the numerous gates and stations. Second, this massive movement of people had a strong economic and place-making influence along the way, favoring the establishment of connected business such inns, restaurants, teahouses and many other various amenities. Third, as they represented a tangible display of daimyo's

power and prestige, those processions were highly symbolic moments which had deep and lasting impression on people, cities, and villages they traversed. As a result, this traveling practice had a decisive impact on pre-modern Japan, promoting 'the circulation of culture' and loosening 'social and cultural boundaries' across the whole nation (Vaporis 2008).

A similar analysis could be done for pilgrimages (see Graphic 2.4b). Traditionally this form of travel was undertaken to visit specific or highly regarded religious sites across the country. In Edo Era, due to the numbers involved, this kind of mobile practice started to affect a wider section of the population. As they could be arranged with a fair amount of freedom if compared, for instance, to daimyo parades (Vaporis 1994) pilgrimages involved not only nobles or samurai but commoners as well. In the case of Edo, the usual tours included a visit to religious sites in the city (see (Toshikazu and Nenzi 2002) for further details) or other famous sites renowned for they thriving activities or some specific landscape quality. Alternatively, in the surrounding Kanto region, a favored destination was Mount Fuji, a revered sacred site since unmemorable times; or nearby locations in Sagami area from which it was possible to enjoy spectacular views of the mountain or other local charms. Indeed, travelers often indulged in other pleasures offered along the way, such as local cuisine, onsen, inns, festivals, even trivial entertainments, once again promoting a travel-oriented development throughout the country. Therefore, apart from religious motivations, this complex phenomenon seems then to evidence a form of more sophisticated mobility.

The influence of these moving "agents" spread, gradually becoming a deeply embedded trait in Japanese culture. As evidence by Nenzi (Nenzi 2004), travel was an essential collective moment to define or stimulate the creation of famous places (*meisho*) or famous local products (*meibutsu*) throughout the country, which gradually become must-see and must-do experiences for visitors. Moreover, it promoted the creation of specific urban and architectural typologies throughout the country (as evidenced by the case of Edo). Travelling was an exciting experience,

as it is testified by a significant literary production covering and describing in detail anecdotes and adventures which could be encountered on the trip (see for instance the notorious *Tōkaidōchū Hizakurige* by Ippensha Ikku, 1802-1822). This practice even found its double in the popular game of sugoroku, in which players moved on the board passing through steps which represented famous places in Edo or along the Tokaido and which were associated with specific actions, events, or feelings. Significantly, as evidenced by Traganu, in this kind of representations the 'frame sequence of important places is more important than the spatial continuity, the exact geographical location, or the physical formation of the territory as a whole' (Traganou 1997, p. 22). Overall, these various elements evidence the transformative and cultural impact of organized movement on local territories and social practices. Although this result was largely an unintended effect of organized and controlled forms of travel, those early pre-modern practices contributed to the definition of basic elements and feelings which to a large extent are still typical of travel experience in Japan.

In the next page,

Graphic 2.4 –Representations of mobility-based travel practices in Edo Era.
a) *Sonobe han sankinkōtai gyōretsu-zu*. Public Domain. Source: Nantan Shiritsu Bunka Museum
b)Hiroshige Ando, *Isesangū Miyagawa no watashi* (Pilgrimage to Ise Shrine, the crossing of Miyagawa). Public Domain. Source: Mie University Library. Retrieved from: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ando_hirosige_miyakawanowatasi.jpg

Graphic 2.5 - Baidō Kunimasa (1872), *Yokohama tetsudō jōki shussha no zu* (Steam train leaving from Yokohama). Public Domain. Source: Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., USA. Retrieved from: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:First_steam_train_leaving_Yokohama.jpg

Graphic 2.4a (*top*) and 2.4b (*under*).

Graphic 2.5

2.3 The Role of Railway in the Growth of Early-Modern Tokyo: A Shift in Mobility-Based Practices and its Effect on Place Identity

The end of the shogunate in April 1868, produced drastic consequences on the city of Edo, which more than any other had embodied in physical terms the structure and functioning of the Tokugawa society. In fact, behind the symbolic change of the name into Tokyo in September 1868, there was a more profound shift involving the urban society of the city and its political role in the context of the new-born Meiji state (Seidensticker 1983, 1991, Smith 1986b, Waley 2002, Mansfield 2009). As it had to represent that ideal of modernity which the new government was actively pursuing, Tokyo needed to be equipped with the amenities and facilities to stand up the comparison with western counterparts. Often interpreted as a rather drastic change, this passage has more correctly come to be regarded as a complex shift which presents strong elements of continuity[23] in the midst of a general transformation (Smith 1986b).

From the specific perspective of the dissertation, this process of "modernization" can be understood as a general place identity transformation connected with a shift in mobility practices between a pedestrian society to a wheeled one[24]. Thus, while Edo was characterized by the presence of numerous waterways, in Tokyo the focus shifted on land transportation caused by the progressive decline of canals and the lifestyles they supported. The appearances of horse-drawn omnibuses, electric trolleys, and above all, railway infrastructures accelerated the pace of change introducing a new pattern of urbanism and mobility practices which will comprehensively redefine the structure and life of the Japanese capital.

---

[23] Usually redeveloping large compounds provided by the empty daimyo residences and adapt them to new functions. Therefore, as suggested by Smith (1986), 'As a physical resource, Edo needed only to be adapted rather than replaced, establishing continuities of form that have survived to the present' (p. 360).

[24] Indeed, as remarked by Seidensticker referring to the invention of the jinrickshaw in 1869, 'even the first and simplest vehicle changed the city' (1983).

Three issues seem especially relevant to understand the historical premises and the framework of the subsequent railway-led place identity transformations analyzed in the study. They are briefly introduced as below:

- The construction of the Yamanote line and its influence to determine patterns of railway-led urban development and place-making processes in the new symbolic center of the city.
- The territorial model imposed by private railway companies as dominant urban agents. Coupled with the ring created by the Yamanote line, this circumstance represents the premise for the creation of complex terminal nodes such as Shinjuku and Shibuya.
- The lifestyle transformations introduced the new transit system. As epitomized by commuting, railways will contribute to determining modern Tokyo's essential time-space routines.

2.3.1 The Construction of the Yamanote Line and its Influence on Patterns of Railway-Led Urban Development

By far the most fundamental rail infrastructure of the city, Yamanote line has its origin in the first railway service inaugurated in the city to connect Shinbashi to Yokohama in 1872. Following the development of this southern trunk, another one[25] started to be planned and developed to connect Ueno with Saitama Prefecture and the north of the country via Akabane from 1882. After a long and complex process of construction (in Japanese, see (Nakamura 2005) for a thoughtful review), one after another, various rail segments finally produced an irregular ring (see Graphic 4.2). Roughly encircling the Edo's Yamanote area, the

---

[25] A private line called *Nippon Tetsudo* (日本鉄道).

line was named accordingly in 1909 and started its full-service operation on the complete loop in 1925 after many partial openings and the fundamental completion of Tokyo station (1914). Although the idea of the railway as a vector for passenger or as an agent of urban development was decisively secondary at this initial stage[26], the creation of the ring of the Yamanote line would prove full of consequences regarding place identity.

The most evident identity feature of the Yamanote line is represented by the physical creation of the ring itself. First, acting like a territorial boundary, the line circumscribed and defined a new core for Tokyo. Second, adapting to the various topography of the high city, this porous limit composed of stations, elevated tracks, and viaducts remodeled the physical perception of the city. Indeed, as evidenced comparing the area enclosed by the ring with the old core districts of the city roughly centered on the Sumida River axis, it is possible to notice a distinctive deviation towards the West [27](see again Graphic 4.2).

The creation of a continuous circular shape produced consequences also on the functioning of the rail as technical infrastructure. Denying the existence of "terminal" stations within the city center in the fashion of the traditional typology employed in European capitals, Yamanote line promoted different points of structural and functional interchange. Instead of converging on a single station, peripheral lines connected with the system by distributing their final stops along the circle and promoting the creation of "hub" station managed by multiple operators. In turn, attracting incremental flows of passengers and goods, these nodes promoted urban development, basically establishing railway station at the epicenter of those areas and significant locations.

---

[26] It is worth to evidence how initially railway was conceived eminently in the frame of the process of political and military centralization imposed by the Meiji government (Traganou 1997), as well as a support for to industrial development at the national scale.
[27] Another signal of that shift from Shitamachi to Yamanote which is characteristic of modern Tokyo.
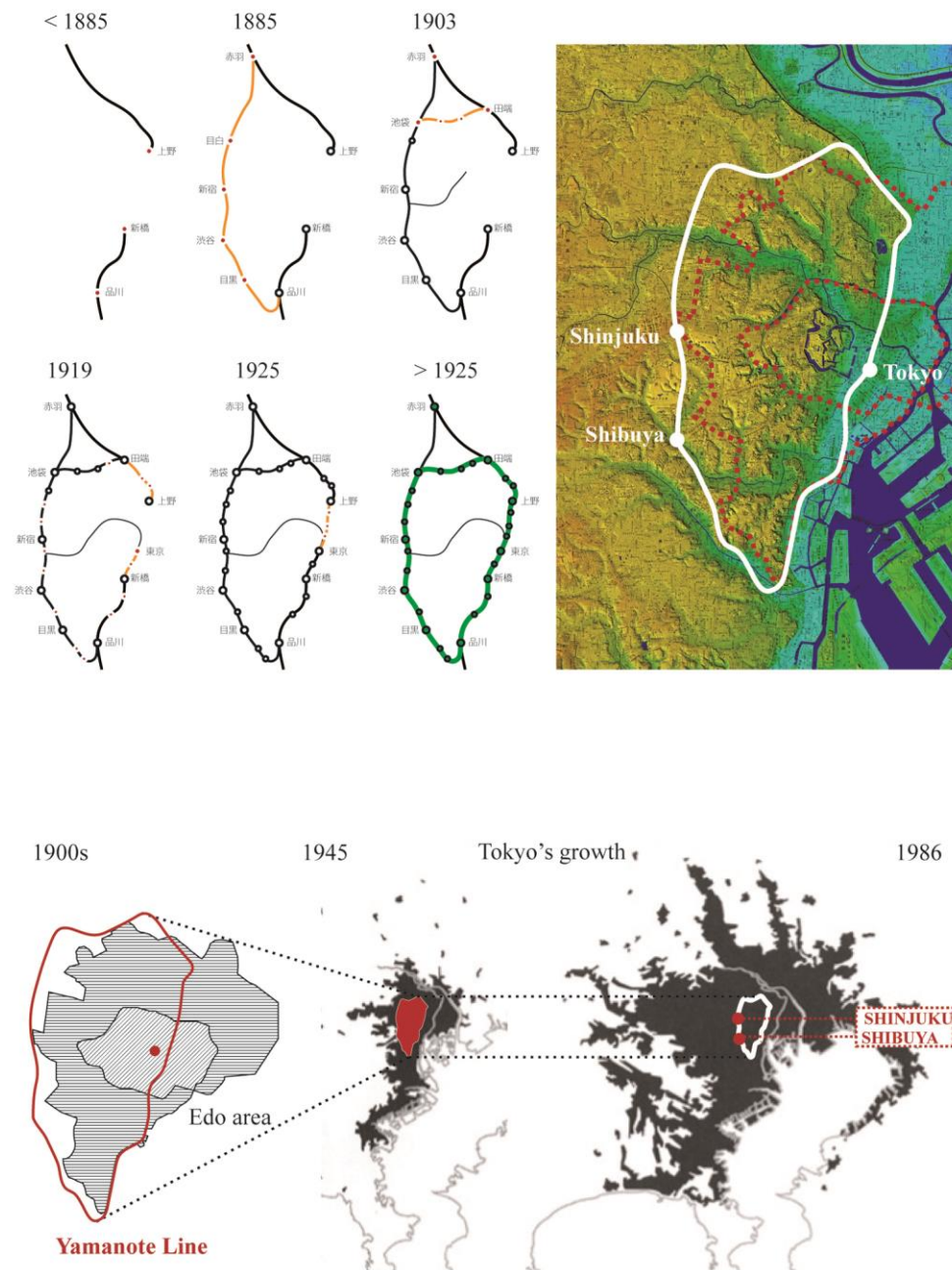
Graphic 2.6

In the frame of the dissertation, it is useful to provide few more details of this place-making process in the case of the western half of the ring where Shinjuku and Shibuya are located. Opened in 1885 and initially conceived for practical purposes[28], this segment posed engineers serious technical difficulties, especially related to the topography of the areas. Besides, it intercepted many villages, post stations, and major roads existing in the area, posing the problem on how to place tracks and interchanges. While in principle engineers devised to place stations to exactly intercept pre-existing main roads and existing flows, this outcome was often impossible (at least at the beginning) due to the strong opposition of local communities to the new infrastructure (Nakamura 2005). Furthermore, the height of the tracks was variable due to the different topography of the soil. Indeed, the different relationship established by Yamanote Line and pre-existing features of a given area seems an interesting "predictor" within the discourse of place identity and railway-led transformations. Thus it will be discussed more extensively in Chapter 5 illustrating the specific cases of Shinjuku and Shibuya.

In the previous page,

Graphic 2.6 – *On top*, the process of accidental construction of the Yamanote Line (diagram by the author, based on (Nakamura 2005) and the Yamanote line loop compared with the topography of Tokyo (topographic information from GSI).; *below,* comparison between the former extension of the city of Edo and Tokyo's railway-led growth (graphic added by the author on a diagram from (Okata and Murayama 2011).

[28] Named initially as Shinagawa line, the western trunk of the Yamanote line was initially intended as a track to supply construction and rolling material for the norther trunk from Ueno (Nakamura 2005).

2.3.2 The Role of Private Railway Companies: The Establishment of a Territorial Network and the Commodification of Place Identity

The pace imposed by the arrival of railways was rapid, almost frantic, and certainly favored by the specific and unique role played in Japan by private railway companies as urban developers[29]. In particular, while national railways provided the fundamental backbone of the system (in the case of Tokyo, for instance, this role was played by the Yamanote and Chuo lines), private companies acted as the fundamental support of the rapid urbanization during the 1920s. Thus, Japanese private railways showed from the very beginning a pronounced territorial vocation[30]; usually located around urban cores such as the Tokyo-Yokohama corridor or the Kansai area connecting Osaka, Kyoto, and Kobe.

Urban expansion was the most evident epitome of the complex model of territorial management employed by these companies. In the context of the study, an excellent case-study is represented by Toyoko line in Shibuya (Cervero 1998), and later Keio and Odakyu lines in Shinjuku. Based on the early model defined by Ichizo Kobayashi for Hanshin[31] train lines in Kansai region, those companies operated a clever differentiation of business operations to stimulate passengers and revenue (Saito 1997). Thus, not only they superintended the construction of tracks and stations, but they were also involved in the development of residential areas

---

[29] Indeed, as it is possible to observe comparing the early growth of rail in Japan over a 17 year period between 1889 and 1906, this expansion was largely led by private railway companies. Quoting: 'In July 1889, Japan's railway networks totaled 880 km for government railways and 840 km for private railways. […] At the end of March 1893, the total length of railways in Japan reached 3,010 km, divided into 885 km of government railways and 2,125 km of private railways. By the end of March 1906, immediately before railway nationalization, government railways covered 2,413 km with private railways reaching 5,213 km.' (Aoki 1994, pp. 34–35)

[30] A dimension which was further reinforced by the Railway Nationalisation Act of 1906 which restricted their operations to light transport on a local and regional scale.

[31] Current Hankyu corporation.

which could provide the desired amount of daily passengers along the line[32] (see for instance the case of the suburb of Den-en-Chofu on the Toyoko Line (Oshima 1996)). Besides, using the revenues derived from the commercialization of those urban developments, they opened various facilities at both ends of their lines[33] to maintain similar levels of ridership and profit also on non-working days. This multi-polar model (see Graphic 2.7) proved so successful that it rapidly became the standard reference for similar private railway companies in major urban areas all around Japan such as the Tokyo-Yokohama corridor.
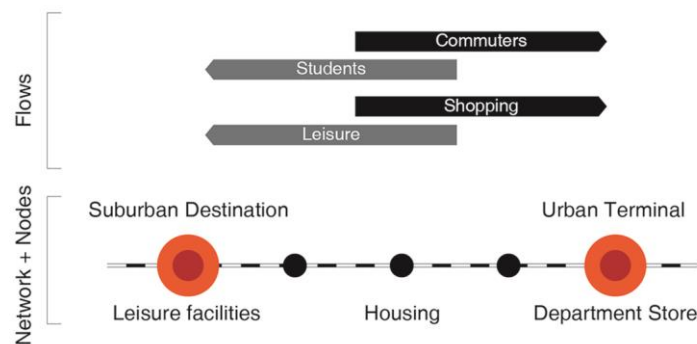
Graphic 2.7 –The Hankyu model; diagram highlighting the differential flows between the urban terminal and the suburban destination (redrawn from (A+U Special Issue 2013:10, Integrated Station-City Development - the Next Advances of TOD 2013).

[32] Configuring a sort of spontaneous but effective transit-oriented development (TOD) (Calimente 2012).
[33] Usually, department stores in the hub terminal near the city center, and leisure facilities such as theaters or theme park at the opposite end (Ogawa 1998).

This complex operation of "valorization" and "commodification" of regions and urban areas had to produce a significant impact in terms of place-making and place identity. As already observed presenting the case of Yamanote line, the presence of new transit infrastructures established new localities and preferential spatial routes at the mid-size scale of urban regions. Diffused at a regional scale using local private lines, this process promoted the creation of many smaller polarities and facilities to support and profit out of this urban lifestyle. These effects are especially visible along the "corridor" (Chorus and Bertolini 2016) defined by each railway line, reaching a particular intensity on the hub station closer the city center in which the concentration of commercial facilities and operations are highest. In the case of Tokyo, this process is responsible for the linear expansion around and from main transit station on the Yamanote line in Taisho and early-Showa Era, of which Shinjuku and Shibuya are exemplary cases.

However, the consequences of this transformation are more profound. As evidenced by the many beautiful rail maps produced in those years (see Graphic 2.8), the territory is involved in a complex operation of construction, story-telling, and representation in which distances, scales, even geographical shapes are manipulated and rendered in the experiential realm of a new time-distance "network." Within this system, users are not simply travelers in movement, but passengers, or else users involved in a complex and technical operation of management, production, and symbolization of space. Deeply intermingling passenger daily commuting habits with railway companies' operations, this model clearly realizes that specific dimension of "modern" life experienced by early-modern Tokyoites.
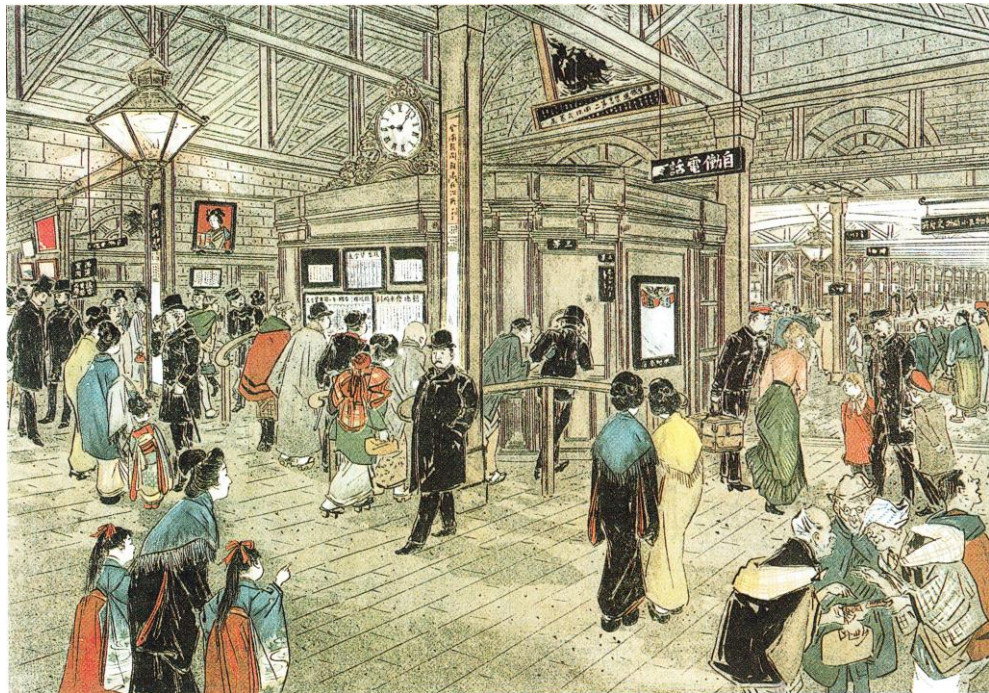
Top, Graphic 2.8 – Map of famous places along the old Tamagawa line in 1933 (source (Hayashi and Miyawaki 1999, pp. 3–4).

Below, Graphic 2.9 – Yamamoto Matsutani. *Shinbashi teishaba no zu*. Painting (around 1901). Public Domain. Source (Miyachi 2005).

2.3.3 Railway and the Experience of Modernity: Mobility, Commuting, and Place Identity

Earlier in this Chapter, it was possible to observe how the specific combination of transit networks and social practices produced some of the distinctive place identity characters of Edo (see 2.2). The existence of thriving places of subversion and relative freedom (*sakariba*) in the frame of a strictly hierarchical society defined a very specific dynamic within the complex place-making construction represented by the city. Indeed, the fall of the shogunate and the structural interventions promoted by the Meiji government to shape the new capital dealt a significant blow to this consolidate social construction. Nevertheless, over time the traditional tendency to associate sociality in conjunction with transit infrastructures would have been even reinforced by the implicit possibilities of the new mobility modes introduced by railway within the city.

However, the specific kind of mobility supported by railway progressively transformed patterns and behaviors of Tokyo's inhabitants. One of the most relevant changes is represented by the transformation of sensible dwelling habits; affecting this way the same idea of home and being-at-home in the city. Indeed, the scale and the freedom of movement promoted by railway progressively unbounded people from specific and static locations such as houses or workplaces. As acutely observed by Mikio Wakabayashi (1996), this new freedom of movement extending with 'continuity' throughout the city effectively disrupted the fixed spatiality and hierarchical society which characterized the feudal urbanism of Edo. In turn, railway promoted a symbolic and physical process of 'liberation' of bodies and subjects which indeed is a distinctive signal of the ongoing transformation of Japan into a modern and capitalist industrial society.

Besides, people moving on railways are not merely travelers; they are better described and conceptualized as passengers. This condition denotes a profound conceptual shift between the Edo's experience of collective movement and mobile practices in Tokyo. Indeed, traveling by train is an act which inherently

differs from the self-organized and planned trips represented for instance by pilgrimages in Edo Era. First, it requires the payment of a ticket and the respect of a certain conduct. Moreover, it is a movement which implies the existence of an advanced technical infrastructure provided and managed by "third" entities; a technical operation which remains largely unknown by the passengers. Under these conditions, passengers are turned into customers (or consumers). As a result, traveling by train can be interpreted as a specific expression of the typical structure of modern industrial society as it is an action that supposes the existence of passengers as a member of a complex interplay of relationships which comprise commercial, managerial, and technical resources.

Life as commuters became the distinctive sign of the new Tokyoites. Rendering superfluous the traditional identification of house with the workplace, the location of the various station and the time schedule of trains started to dictate geographies and new rhythms within the urban realm, determining people flows and activities. Bringing people together, stations and carriages allowed new forms of social encounter which daily reproduced the spectacle of the various urban lifestyles of the city (see Graphic 2.9). This produced a deep impression on the inhabitants and on the cultural expressions of early modern Tokyo whose descriptions and judgments seem to oscillate between fascination and fear for the new infrastructure. For instance, in this famous passage from *Sanshiro* (originally published in 1909) Natsume Soseki offers this description:

Tokyo was full of things that startled Sanshiro. First, the ringing of the streetcar bells startled him, and then the crowds that got on and off between rings. Next to startle him was marunouchi, the busy commercial center of the city. What startled him most of all was Tokyo itself, for no matter how far he went, it never ended. Everywhere he walked there were piles of lumber, heaps of rock, new homes set back from the street, old warehouses rotting in front of them. Everything looked as though it were being destroyed, and at the same time everything looked

as though it were under construction. To Sanshiro, all this movement was horrible. (Natsume 1977, p. 17)

Moreover, as well evidenced by Freedman (2011), commuters' life necessitated of adequate logistic support to satisfy passengers' complementary needs. This condition led in turn to the proliferation of new activities within and around main stations, such as restaurants, cafe, bookshops, bars; spaces of a "modern" sociality which stimulated Tokyoites desires and transformed passengers into consumers.

In more abstract terms, this complex process denoted a shift in urban 'sensibility'. The programmatic tension towards the future embodied by Tokyo[34] transformed the city in a terrain to experience, understand and perform the always changing status we can define as "modernity". As suggested by Yoshimi Shunya (1987, 1996), this dynamics is deeply entangled with the act of gazing upon the city[35] stimulated by the encounter with Western industrial modernity, producing a significant impact on the places of encounter, anonymity, and leisure precedently introduced under the concept of *sakariba*. Instead of areas of liminality characterized by the various intersection of spontaneous and "impure" street activities, the new urban centers had served as models for a modern life which could be observed[36], tasted and ultimately acquired in the context of a rising consumer society. Surely, this condition did not determine the disappearance altogether of more traditional kind of *sakariba*, yet during the 1920s it is possible to observe a distinct and progressive shift toward new areas.

---

[34] And later irradiating to the other major cities in Japan again in significant connection with rail as new dominant transit system.

[35] And, par extension, the act of gazing on Japan itself.

[36] The insightful survey conducted by Kon Wajiro in Ginza in order to depict the raise and the forms of this new '*Modernlogy*' stands as a clear example of this tendency (as reference, see the catalogue of the recent exhibition *Kon Wajiro Retrospective* (Kon 2011).

Hastened by the destruction brought by the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 and by the parallel development of private rail lines, this process invested especially southern and western Tokyo, along with areas encircled by the Yamanote line, determining models and identity patterns which still survives. Usually, these areas were centered on the presence of a railway station as the architectural interface to mediate between the flows introduced by railway and the urban realm. Thus, localities such as Shinjuku and Shibuya started to embody different and original characters producing specific place identities linking natural topography, historical characters, new urban expansion, and transit-oriented activities and spatial experiences. These mixed and rather spontaneous developments will provide the foundation for that railway-led 'terminal culture' (Kato in Linhart, (1986, p. 201) which will progressively become one of the defining place identity characters of modern and contemporary Tokyo.
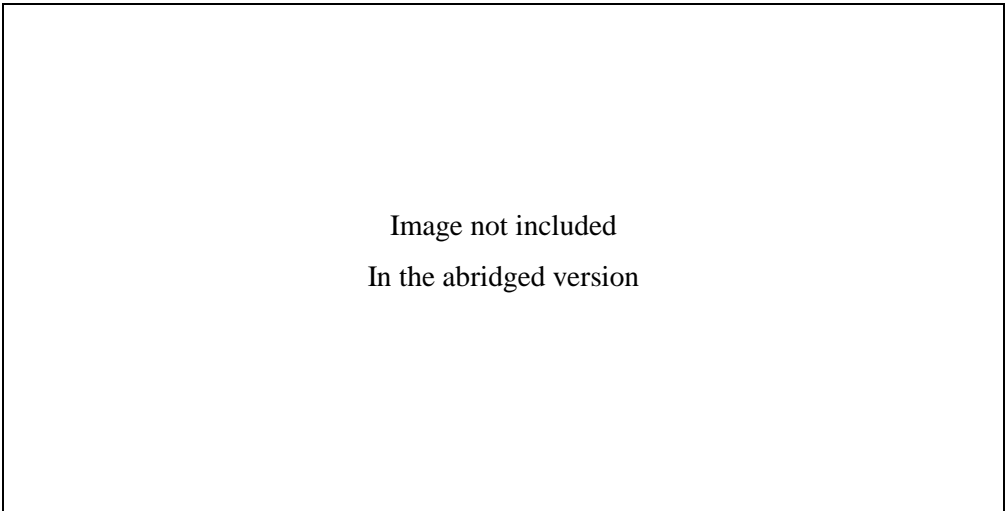
Image not included
In the abridged version

Graphic 2.10 – The new commuter life. A scene from *Tokyou Densha Sugoroku* (source (Hayashi 1983, p. 26).

2.4 The Perspective of Architecture and Urban Design: Place Identity, Railway-Oriented Districts, and the Challenge Represented by Tokyo's Hub-Stations

The review of the historical background on mobility issues within the city and the discussion about the railway-led transformations in early-modern Tokyo allowed drawing relevant consideration about a mobility-based place identity discourse. First, the city is characterized historically by the connection between mobility, place-making, and identity, as evidenced by Edo's transit-oriented layout or the importance of areas such as *sakariba*. Second, railway played an enormous role in the growth and expansion of modern Tokyo, exerting a significant impact on patterns of urbanization, the definition of localities, or the performative experience of the city. As a result, it is possible to observe how transit infrastructure and mobility-based practices consistently influenced the evolution of the city tracing a unique path of continuity and variation of its historical place identity.

Based on this recognition, scholars in the field of architecture and urban design have long debated about specific issues concerning the relationship between rail and Tokyo's urban realm. Confirming the theoretic observation made in Chapter 1 (1.4), their attention seems mainly focused on the so-called station neighborhood and the analysis of the design features and problem connected with the railway station. However, as introduced at the beginning of this Chapter, their concentration on very technical or practice-oriented problems often produced a fragmentary and unspecific contribution to the advancement of Tokyo's place identity discourse. Considering recent relevant literature[37], the current section represents a synthetic account of the issues discussed in recent literature which seem more predictive for the subsequent analysis in Part 3 of the dissertation.

---

[37] This account is by no means exhaustive of all the material available on this topic. In general, it covers recent publication available in mainly in English and specifically dealing with railway-led transformations from the perspective of architecture and urban design. Publication concerning technical problems in the field of engineering have been omitted.

2.4.1 Place Identity Features Associated with Tokyo's Railway-Oriented Districts

The existence of Tokyo's railway-oriented urbanism has long been a favorite topic of discussion for scholars in the field of urban design and, more in general, urban studies. Focusing first on the analysis of the phenomenon at the scale of the railway station district, typical features have been listed synthetically as below.

- The link between the evolution of *railway infrastructures and the urban expansion of nearby districts* (Sorensen 2002, Okata and Murayama 2011, Song and Deguchi 2013).

- The attractive power exerted by railway stations to *determine the distribution of activities in the surrounding* areas. As a consequence, those districts have acquired a distinctive commercial vocation, displaying a typical set of activities (Cybriwsky 1991), and specific forms of general spatial organization (Almazán and Tsukamoto 2009).

- The analysis of *specific urban design problems* such as the redevelopment around Tokyo's principal railway station (Tiry 1997), or the utilization of the spaces under railway tracks (Hormigo and Morita 2004, Kishii 2017).

Indeed, these features are related to the overall definition of place identity occurring around station neighborhoods. However, in order to clarify their active contribution, it seems necessary to evaluate them on the basis of specific case studies. Indeed, such methodological approach is likely to produce a more comprehensive picture of the various influences of the railway on place identity at the scale of the urban district.

2.4.2 Tokyo's Railway Stations: Gaps and Methodological Problems for a Discourse about Place Identity

As the epicenter of the many transit-oriented districts dispersed all over the city, railway stations in Tokyo play a tremendous role in organizing daily lives of the millions of inhabitants of the Japanese capital. While they have been the subject of an endless variety of socio-cultural observations, scholars in the field of architecture seem to focus on the two topics outlined below.

- The analysis of *the evolution of the stations' design* in relation to their historical or socio-cultural context (Suzuki 1995, Goto 2001, Ito and Chiba 2001, Kido 2005, 2006, Ando 2010)

- The discussion about specific problems related to the *architectural design of contemporary rail stations* such as redevelopment, restoration, or accessibility (Kido 2006, Sekiguchi 2006, Nakai 2013, Inoue 2017).

Significantly, only one paper can be found through conventional research engines explicitly trying to address the idea of place in relation to Tokyo's stations (Zacharias *et al.* 2011). Similarly, very few studies trayed to envision ways to make sense of the experience of complex hub-stations such as Shinjuku or Shibuya (Lucas 2008, Tamura 2013, Tamura and Uehara 2016). As a result, they too often still tend to be reduced to chaotic labyrinth which cannot be described in rational or "workable" terms. This condition signals the existence of a significant gap in the literature that needs to be addressed by the study.

2.5 Intermediary Conclusions

If Chapter 1 claimed for a mobility-based approach to support a progressive understanding of the place identity features of contemporary global urbanism, Chapter 2 supported with historical evidence the appropriateness of such a perspective in the specific context of Tokyo. Indeed, from Edo Era transit infrastructures played a fundamental role in determining patterns of expansion and the overall layout of the city. Moreover, in contrast with the European tradition, place-making and urban cultures have been primarily influenced by mobility, producing a sense of place identity centered on transit-related locations and practices. The discussion and review of literature presented in Chapter 2 illustrated this historical background, specifying in the context of the study claims, assumptions, and research problems posed by general theory about the relationship between mobility and place identity.

First, it was possible to observe how the tendency to associate significant places and mobility dates back to the premodern urbanism of Edo. In extreme synthesis, this condition seems to have been determined by the combination of three significant factors:

- The strategic importance of the design and control of transit infrastructures within the shogunal capital, leading to the physical definition of a *strongly transit-oriented layout*.
- The traditional Japanese *tendency to associate place-making with location dominated by mobility, gathering, and transient activities* (such as in the case of *sakariba*).
- A favorable cultural milieu for the development of *traveling cultures*, expressed by practices such as sankin kotai or pilgrimages.

Based on this recognition, it was possible to understand how the arrival and the diffusion of railways as the dominant transit infrastructure in Meiji Era further reinforced this historical tendency. In particular, transforming the status of mobility and influencing patterns of transit and dwelling within the city, rail contributed to the definition of a particular form of urban "modernity" dominated by a strongly transit-oriented dynamics. Focusing on prospective effects regarding place identity, some of the most relevant features outlined by the discussion (see 2.3) are reported below.

- The contribution of railways in *the definition of boundaries and locations for urban expansion*, establishing site-specific relationships with the local surroundings and their pre-existing place identity.
- The importance of the *configuration of Tokyo's rail network* to determine the typologies of nodes, interchanges, and vectors for urban development.
- The consequences produced by *the specific role of Japanese private railway companies as urban agents*, involving locations in an extensive process of redefinition and commodification of their place identity.
- *The relevance of commuting and other railway-based urban practices* to define a modern urban experience profoundly affecting the understanding and the production of identity in connection with specific urban locations such as stations or their districts.

The presence of this articulated set of historical and contingent conditions contributed to the establishment of railway-oriented dynamics at the foundations of modern Tokyo. From the perspective of architecture and urban design, several studies already contributed to the understanding of specific aspects of the complicated relationship between railways and Tokyo's urban realm. In particular:

- Regarding urban design, scholars focus mainly on *the link between the evolution of railway infrastructures and the nearby district*, especially about the distribution of activities in the surroundings and the analysis of specific urban design problems.

- Conversely, researchers and practitioners in the field of architecture usually discuss *the historical evolution of stations' design and appearance within the urban context*, or on proposals for the future design of this increasingly complex transit hubs.

Based on the survey of the recent relevant literature, it is possible to evidence how very few of these studies explicitly engage with the discussion of the relation between the analyzed mobility-based phenomena and place identity. How to fill this gap? While a more systematic methodology to approach this problem will be discussed in Chapter 4, the analysis and discussion of Chapter 2 evidence the existence of two prospective areas of investigation.

- If it the contribution of railway network to determine urban patterns and identity features at the scale of the city is generally acknowledged, less information is available about specific areas. *The clarification of these mechanisms in relevant case studies might contribute to integrate and interpret the already known dynamics*.

- While railway station is recognized as a significant urban location, its place identity characters are still investigated in traditional and unspecific terms. In particular, much can be done to *understand the spatial experience embodied by Tokyo's railway stations* and identify predictive elements to illuminate the specific contribution of transit nodes to the definition of mobility-based place identities.

As seen in Chapter 1, part of these observations has a general validity, pointing to the existence of a gap and a potential field of investigation. Indeed, this gap is especially relevant in a context like Tokyo which presents historically a significant variety mobility-oriented place identity issues. Additionally, literature review suggests how this problem might have been emphasized by the peculiar evolution of the city's place identity discourse. As this point requires a specific discussion within the theoretical framework of the thesis, it will be covered more extensively in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

3 – The Discourse about Tokyo's Place Identity: Cultural Perspectives and Interpretative Challenges

3.1 Introduction and Chapter Overview

If Chapter 1 claimed for a mobility-oriented perspective to investigate contemporary place identity, Chapter 2 supported the validity and the affordance of this claim in the specific case study represented by Tokyo. Moreover, illustrating and discussing the historical role of the railway in the construction of the urban landscape of the Japanese capital, it was possible to articulate the instances of general theory in the context represented by Tokyo from the perspective of architecture and urban design. However, before structuring the research methodology and presenting the results of the study, it is necessary to address a further topic to complete the theoretical framework of the dissertation.

As already evidenced in Chapter 1 and recently observed by Cresswell (2016), the ' ''mobilities turn'' or ''new mobilities paradigm,'' as with many suddenly popular bodies of social and cultural theory, largely originates in the West.' (Cresswell 2016). Therefore, it is not possible to automatically transfer notions and conceptions from place theory to interpret phenomena originating in a context like Tokyo. Indeed, as already evidenced in Chapter 2, the city presents a specific relationship with mobility and a singular transit-oriented evolution which is quite

different from its European counterparts. At a more general level, the same kind of critique applies to the very conception of place identity.

As the last chapter of the theoretical framework (Part 1) of the dissertation, Chapter 3 will review relevant publications within Tokyo Studies produced from the specific perspective of architecture and urban studies. Although in the majority of these works the topic of place identity is not explicitly addressed as such, they constitute a fundamental source to frame a discourse on Tokyo's place identity from the perspective of design-oriented disciplines. This discussion allows to refine the research questions and, ultimately, evaluate and generalize the results of the studies in the frame provided by the cultural debate over Tokyo's place identity. Moreover, it is possible to evaluate the degree of awareness to the importance of mobility to define the city's identity. In particular, Chapter 3 covers the topics outlined as below.

- The general frame of the problem represented by Tokyo's place identity within the more general debate over the ideas of place, identity, tradition, and modernity in Japan (3.2).

- A place-based review of Tokyo studies produced in the fields of architecture and urban studies to identify specific themes concerning identity (3.3).

- A critical discussion of the abovementioned studies from the specific perspective of mobility (3.4).

3.2 A Contradictory Gaze: Notes on a Discourse about Place and Identity in the Specific Context of Japanese Territoriality and Urbanism

Although it is not the aim of the study, before the systematic analysis of the consequences produced by railway on the place identity of Shinjuku and Shibuya, it is wise to offer an additional clarification about the problems posed by the notion of place in Japan and the discourse over Tokyo's identity. Indeed, as many other western-derived notions also place identity is not directly applicable in the Japanese context. Moreover, Tokyo can by no means stand as representative of the Japanese city. First, it differs significantly from the models proposed by the ancient capitals of Nara and Kyoto, as Edo adopted instead the layout of Japanese castle cities (*jōkamachi*)[38]. Second, being exposed to the constant influence and scrutiny of western ideas and theories, Tokyo encompassed a unique process of growth and modernization if compared to any other city in Japan.

From the perspective of a discourse over Tokyo's place identity, this tension between Japanese tradition and modernization produced a singular contradiction, which origins can be traced as back as the early Meiji era. Indeed, while from the Japanese perspective [39] the capital represented the urban showcase of Japanese modernity, under the gaze of early western travelers, this effort produced a disquieting impression (as in (Morse 1885, Arnold 1891, Hearn 1894, Street 1921). In those early descriptions, the appearance of the city frequently emerges as dull and monotonous, while the rush towards modernization, reflected in the rapid reception of western styles in buildings and city life, generally had a negative impact. As reported by Julian Street, describing his arrival in Tokyo:

---

[38] Other recognized urban models in Japan are, for instance, post towns (*shukubamachi*), temple towns (*monzenmachi*), market towns (*ichibamachi*), or ports (*minatomachi*).
[39] Maximally expressed by the views of Meiji government.

As you reach the outskirts of Tokyo you think you are coming to another little town, but the town goes on and on, and finally as the train draws near the city's heart large buildings, bulking here and there above the general two-story tile roofline, inform you in some measure of the importance of the place. [...] The central railroad station exhibits the capital's modern architectural trend. It is conveniently arranged and impressive in its magnitude as seen across the open space on which it faces, but there its merit stops. Like most large foreign-style buildings in Japan, it is architecturally an ugly thing. Standing at the gate of Japan's chief city, it has about nothing Japanese." (Street 1921, pp. 26–27).

Indeed, traditional architectures and cities presented more suitable characters to build a discourse on identity, safely placing Tokyo and Japan in that realm of alterity those authors had constructed and cherished.

Ironically, the encounter of Japan with Modernism between the late 1930s and the 1950s did not alter fundamentally this paradigm. Led by prominent foreign architects, and supported by the vanguard of Japanese modernists (Taut 1936, 1937, Wright 1943[40], Gropius 1955, Tange 1960), this event might be interpreted in fact as a process of selection and manipulation of specific characters, mainly from Japanese traditional architecture, in order to construct a viable identity and position Japan within the modernist narrative (for a detailed account, refer to Isozaki 2006). In this context place inevitability remained in the background. As epitomised by the case of Tokyo, Japanese city was too disordered to modernist eyes, a problematic "object" seen as an external condition to be challenged and changed using architecture and planning.

---

[40] For an analysis on the influence of Japan on the work of Frank Lloyd Wright, see *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan* by Kevin Nute (1993).

Instead, to systematically address any discourse on Tokyo as place it was necessary to redirect the attention towards Japanese cities to create a specific interpretative language. Gaining consistency around the mid-1960s, this new wave was based on a more accurate morphological analysis of urban environment (like the seminal *Nihon no Toshi Kūkan* - Urban Space in Japan, 1968), paralleled by a reflection on space-making practices within Japanese culture. Among the different concepts formulated around this time, perhaps none bears more references to place than *ma*. Deemed to be rooted in a different sense of subjectivity, language, perception, and territorialization (Isozaki 1979, Berque 1982), *ma* permeates and sustains the temporal spatialisation of those practices, hinting at an interesting notion of place. Rather than a mere ideal, *ma* in effect embodies a dynamic 'experiential' moment, in which it is possible to find the Japanese 'consciousness of place' as a moving sequence of events and situations (Nitschke 1966, p. 117). Departing from traditional western conceptions, this and other similar ideas evidence the creative potential inscribed in this alternative notion of place of which the Japanese capital represents a stunning physical expression.

3.3 The Evolution of the Discourse about Tokyo's Place Identity from the Perspective of Architecture and Urban Studies

As it started to emerge from the beginning of this chapter, the discourse over Tokyo's place identity stands a peculiar and contradictory field of knowledge within Japanese Studies. In this microcosm, urban and architectural studies produced a significant contribution to the understanding of the spatial and visual manifestation of this identity. In particular, to make sense of Tokyo's complexity and contradictions, a profusion of images and metaphors have been used in these writings (for an extensive discussion from this perspective, see (Waley 2006), configuring an approach which is inherently problematic. In fact, metaphors often hint at traits that insist on Tokyo's uniqueness and otherness; a dangerous trap in a

country like Japan already heavily exposed to such a narrative. Moreover, this textual and conceptual interplay is likely to create a fictive dimension in which the functioning of Tokyo as "place" – in other words, its experiential and relational quality – risks to be lost.

To dispel part of these contradictions and strengthen the theoretical framework of the dissertation, a place-based review of these shifting representation might be helpful. First, it allows revealing the conditions which shaped the evolving interpretation of the Japanese capital through the discussion of the urban images selected or created to support those various discourses. Second, organizing and problematizing results in the frame of place theory, it allows to "place" Tokyo studies in an international platform of discussion avoiding mere self-reference. The results of this review will be later employed to discuss, evaluate, and generalize the findings of the study.

3.3.1 The Discovery of Identity: The Problematic Connection Between Edo and Tokyo

Following the similar development in geography and environmental sciences, a systematic exploration of the place character of the Tokyo started roughly from the late-1970s and into the 1980s favored by a precise socio-economical coincidence. As the post-war economic boom came to an end with the oil crisis of 1973, the city began to examine its mainly unplanned reconstruction and the consequences it had produced in terms of a deteriorating landscape. In the search of strategies to orient a future growth based on a better urban "valorization", the problem of Tokyo's identity emerged as a critical topic of discussion. As a result, a large number of scholars started to direct their attention to the past of the city, using the shogunal capital of Edo as a paradigm through which discover and appreciate Tokyo's qualities. While this proceeding was not unusual – similar examples of Edo re-interpretation can be found also in Meiji and Taisho Era – this time the focus moved to Edo as a 'space of postmodern freedom' (Gluck 1998, p. 273); a

suspended dimension in which it seemed possible to negotiate and recompose the relationship between past and present.

Named by many observers as Edo-Tokyo boom, this broad movement resulted effectively in the production of an extensive literature which comprise historical accounts, comparative analyses, studies, and cultural essays dissecting over time almost any aspect of Edo (as reference, (Suzuki 1978, 1990, Smith 1978, 1986a, Smith 1986b, Kawazoe 1979, Seidensticker 1983, 1991, Kojiro 1986, Jinnai 1987, 1995, Pons 1988, McClain *et al.* 1994). As epitomized by probably the most representative of these works, titled significantly Tokyo a Spatial Anthropology by Hidenobu Jinnai (published initially as *Tōkyō kūkan jinruigaku* (1985) (trans. 1995), Edo emerges as a complex place-making operation in which landscape, topography, roads, waters, and built environment are layered together to support and symbolize the social and political order of the city. It is in this construction, which according to Jinnai reveals itself in the experience of the city, that it is possible to find the distinctive atmosphere of Tokyo, its identity as place:

Now look at Tokyo. From the standpoint of modern rationalism, with its reverence for clarity, it is truly difficult to form an overall picture of Tokyo's urban space. Increasingly, there are few tasteful old buildings and the streets and neighborhoods are losing their character. And yet, walking the streets of the city, one is treated to repeated changes in the cityscape. There is unexpected variety in the topography, with the high city's hills and cliffs, winding roads, shrine groves, and large, verdant estates; and the low city's canals and ridges, alleyways and storefront planter pots, and crowded entertainment centers. For the walker in Tokyo, the unexpected is always waiting. Tokyo may not have the old buildings of New York, but each place evokes a distinctive atmosphere nurtured over a long history: this makes Tokyo what it is. (Jinnai 1995, p. 2)

Through the analysis and interpretation of these elements using a broad morphological approach, Jinnai and others are able to identify the essential place-making patterns to grasp the qualities of the shogunal capital, and conversely of Tokyo. Among the various models shared in these writings, some which are worth mentioning due to their interpretive relevance in the context of the research are outlined as below.

- The distinction between samurai and commoner districts expressed in the dualism between the high city (*yamanote*) and low city (*shitamachi*).
- The importance of transit infrastructures – water in particular - to determine the layout of Edo and the identity of the city.
- The mobility-oriented nature of Edo's placemaking practices, as epitomised by the idea of *sakariba* discussed in Chapter 2. In a city characterized by segregated urban development, places like bridgesor riverbanks acted as catalysts for transient behaviors and urban identities.

Overall, these different efforts trace a distinctive idea of place as a phenomenological and social expression which refers, more or less explicitly, to the notion of genius loci. The Japanese words used as provisional "translation", such as *chirei*[41] (spirit of the land, (Suzuki 1990, p. 2), or *katagi*[42] (atmosphere, temperament, (Kojiro 1986, p. 37), evidence nonetheless a subtle linguistic shift toward an elusive, land-bound, and atmospheric quality of place. These expressions signal not only a different appreciation of the idea of place but also a significant

---

[41] Since the author identifies the history of Tokyo as the 'accumulation' of history of its land, he formulates the concept of *chirei* (literally the 'spirit of the land') as a viable notion to express its historical, cultural and social potential. In an interesting turn, this concept is explicitly linked to the idea of genius loci . Quoting Suzuki, *'Chirei to wa,`geniusu· roki' to iu kotoba no yakugo de aru'* (Spirit of the land is the translation of genius loci) (1990).

[42] Quoting 'In broad terms *katagi* may be defined as the elements and temperament of a given community that combine to create its distinct atmosphere.' (Kojiro 1986, p. 37).

issue which appears while transposing a rigorous morphological approach in Tokyo. Indeed, in a context which systematically denies the physical continuity of architectural forms as the tangible accumulation of urban identity, a dilemma arises on how to connect morphological findings with the experience of the city.

Indeed, consulting any of the ubiquitous projects trying to relate Edo sceneries with their counterparts in contemporary Tokyo[43] any reference to the past seems nowhere to be found. To cope with this problem, particular attention has been devoted to rendering the crucial transition between Edo and Tokyo. Early interpreted as a somewhat radical displacement, exemplified by the shift in power and importance between shitamachi and yamanote, this passage represented a far more complex transformation involving the very 'idea' of the city, with many elements suggesting a change within a frame of continuity (Smith 1978, 1986b). Again, evidence was found in the persistence of distinctive morphological elements, such as roads, rivers, lot divisions, and usage patterns which were flexibly adapted to form the basic layout of modern Tokyo. Often preserving recognizable boundaries and landscaping elements, the complicated conversion of former daimyo estates to accommodate the various public functions of the modern city might be seen as a classic representative case of this metamorphosis.

However, how to "actualize" this Edo-Tokyo connection remained an open problem, to the extent that in many of these works Edo seems to end up resembling a sort of Foucauldian heterotopia. Like a mirror, Edo reflects an ambiguous Tokyo, reversing presence into absence, and displacing identity into a dimension of virtual and abstract continuity. As evidence by Augustin Berque, this condition often leads to contradictory conclusions which imagine Edo-Tokyo as a space "irreducible" to western modernization being in a way intrinsically postmodern (Berque 1997).

---

[43] Like the case of the *One Hundred Famous View of Edo* by Hiroshige (*Meisho Edo Hyakkei,* 1856-58). As a recent example, see the catalogue of the exhibition at Suntory Museum *The Hara Yasusaburo Collection: Hiroshige* (Ichikawa *et al.* 2016).

This blurred and uncertain Edo-Tokyo connection is exposed to a constant and contradictory tension that has significant consequences on interpretative methods and identity policies. As a result, any inquiry into Tokyo's place characters constantly challenges the validity of methods and concepts developed in different contexts (such as the one of *genius loci*). At the same time, deprived of tangible and enduring monumental traces, urban memory is continuously negotiated to compose mutable and circumstantial identities. Ironically, it is perhaps in this exercise of placing and displacing, writing and performing, erasing and construction of memory, that it is possible to recognize a truly unique quality of Tokyo as a place.

3.3.2 Between Chaos and Order: Tokyo's Place Identity in the Bubble-Era

Along with the systematic elaboration of Edo-Tokyo narrative, a parallel line of interpretation emerged from the mid-1980s, favored by the effects of the so-called economic "bubble." Due to the booming market speculation, Tokyo witnessed an unprecedented phase of ruthless architectural experimentation, which attracted the attention of an unusual number of foreign architects and critics. Moreover, even if the bubble itself busted in a 5-year span, the projects conceived during that phase extended their influence into the 1990s, allowing this discourse to gain wide popularity and promoting Tokyo as a center for architectural debate. Favored by an urban structure and a governance which allowed a considerable amount of "freedom" if compared to Western counterparts (Suzuki 1993), Tokyo became thus a paradigm to be investigated and in which dream, test, and ultimately "learn" [44] about the characters of a global metropolis fit for the upcoming twenty-first century.

---

[44] To understand that spirit, see for instance the interesting transcription of a key-note conversation held during the *International Forum on Learning from Tokyo* (Royal Academy of Arts, London, Saturday 12th June 1993) published in *Architectural Design Profile 107* (Royal Academy of Arts 1994).

In a significant intellectual shift, under those new circumstances one of the most problematic characters of the city under the morphological approach, namely its disorienting and visually incoherent nature, was turned into a crucial place-defining aspect. Anticipating somehow the "fluid" tendency in place-theory during the same years, keywords such as 'fragment', 'patchwork', 'texture', 'irregular', 'insubstantial', 'process', started to be used diffusively to describe the place quality of Tokyo in many works of this period (among the others, (Bognar 1985, 1988, 1997, Shinohara 1988, Taki 1988, Yatsuka 1988, Ashihara 1989, 1998, Kurokawa 1994, Shelton 1999). Following a bland semiotic approach, the attention of these writings seems to shift from morphology to an aleatory notion of sign, fragmenting urban landscape in an uncountable sequence of episodes, themes, and events.

Under such a nomadic gaze, the glamorous boutiques of Ginza, the dark alleys of Shinjuku with their neon lights, or the pop culture of Shibuya, are explored as simultaneous happenings in an ever-changing urban 'theatre', in which the flowing energetic pulse of Tokyo is distilled to express the condition of absolute impermanence of the city. As Botond Bognar wrote:

The 'essence' of Tokyo lies hidden and is represented by the urban land - its scarcity, distribution and high value - and by chaos, rather than by the permanence of individual buildings. The city is better defined by its events, human activities, quick and continous change and its penchant for novelty, than by its built fabric. In the final analysis, Tokyo is a city of processes (rather than a monument or artefact), a huge 'theatre' (as opposed to a 'museum'), and remains an in(de)finite city, a 'dream machine', where urban reality and fiction form an inseparable entity. [...] (Bognar 1997, p. 9)

In contrast with the previously quoted passage by Jinnai, in which the visual lack of 'clarity' of the city stood as an obstacle, here this condition, conceptualized under the name of chaos, is embraced as a vital place characteristic of Tokyo. In such an

electric dream everything seems to be absorbed by a rapid vortex, in which even history and its contradictions are rendered as a sort of hypertext of semiotic interplay.

Nevertheless, these descriptions appear limited to explain the complex functioning and self-symbolization of the Japanese capital. Therefore, keenly aware of the rising importance of economic factors to determine urban patterns and activity in the growing consumer society, the same authors refer to an idea of order as an indispensable factor to read the chaotic complexity of the city and interpret its behavior. Yet, perhaps unwilling to take this intuition to its extreme theoretical and "political" consequences, they resort to culture to evoke interpretative models using an astonishing variety of metaphors such as 'amoeba' (Ashihara 1989), 'symbiosis' (Kurokawa 1994), 'garden of microchips' (Ito 1997, p. 280), 'organism' and 'metabolic processes' (Ashihara 1998, p. 45), or the Japanese 'areal' writing style (Shelton 1999). Under these formulations, place character is suggested by analogy in an endless combination of possibilities.

Hence, this dialectic between chaos and order efficiently became a rhetorical tool well shared by the majority of these studies. However, it also represents a significant intellectual problem. As Tokyo is deemed visually condemned to chaos, this research for a structuring principle produces an order which remains 'hidden' as epitomized by one of the most significant and influential works of this phase the eponymous *The Hidden Order* written by Yoshinobu Ashihara (first published in 1986, under the title *Kakureta chitsujo*, English translation in 1989). Quoting a passage well representative of this tension:

Cities in the West may give greater priority to form than does Tokyo, but with its concern for content Tokyo thrives according to an order hidden within its chaos. If there were no such order, how could the citizens of the world's second largest city lead the lives they do in such reasonable comfort? (Ashihara 1989, p. 63)

This crucial question seems to remain largely unanswered. Taken together, in these works the research for an ordering principle turns out as a rather ambiguous effort, which often ends up wrapped up in an endless parade of cultural mirrors. While ambiguity is not negative *per se* – and perhaps it is an inevitable component in urban and architectural research – the nature of some of these metaphors should be handled with caution. Not only they are often highly discretionary, but they also produce a counterproductive effect on the perception of the phenomena they are trying to illuminate. As warned by Paul Waley, too often 'the lived consequences of those metaphors tend to be ignored, disguised and obscured' (Waley 2006, p. 377), meaning that they are unable to engage with the daily complex experiential reality of Tokyo.

Despite its partial contradictions, the place conceptualization emerging from these writings encompassed a considerable critical fortune and exerted a lasting influence even on contemporary Tokyo studies. Exposing the unavoidably heterogeneous, fragmentary, and temporal nature of Tokyo's urban reality, it powerfully expanded as one of the dominant narratives surrounding the city. Indeed, this outcome signals the presence of significant issues at the core of this interpretative approach. Employing a polysemantic approach, it understood the cultural value of Tokyo, not only within Japanese studies but more in general as a valuable paradigm to describe some of the relevant transformation affecting contemporary urban places on a global scale. Nevertheless, resorting to metaphors to address this complexity, those writings often risk falling into tautological determinism. If rendered as a cultural "otherness" to be explored using cultural analogies, Tokyo seems to lose its irreducible variety, both as a place and as a social lived construction.

3.3.3 Everyday Tokyo: Post-Bubble and Fieldwork-Based Approaches to Tokyo's Identity

Another significant evolution in Tokyo studies came around the turn of the century, prepared by the prolonged economic depression after the explosion of the "bubble" and stimulated by the debate on the effects of the double disaster of 1995[45]. Marking its distance from the semiotic attitude of the 1990s, this new approach reveals a quite different understanding of the urban realm. Indefinitely extended and complex, for a new generation of architects and researchers Tokyo effectively became a sort of 'second nature,'[46] an immersive landscape to be explored as a living field of observation. The following passage from the renown *Made in Tokyo* written by the components of Atelier Bow Wow in the early 2000s is revealing of this new attitude. Quoting:

'Tokyo is an agglomeration of buildings, traffic infrastructure, civil engineering. Its landscape is said to lack visual control and is popularly thought of as chaotic or as 'white noise'. However, this kind of interpretation is based on mechanistic theory and semiotic systems. So, if we change this premise, a totally different interpretation of the city should be possible. Actually, despite these claims of chaos, Tokyo is interesting in its own way of functioning. It resembles the unstructured forms of the rainforest, within which there is in fact many types of creatures co-existing, whilst each constructing their own world. This is ecology, which understands the creature itself in relation to its living environment. [...]

---

[45] Reference to the Great Hanshin Earthquake and the Subway Sarin Incident in Tokyo.

[46] As intuitively recognized by Kisho Kurokawa during the above mentioned *International Forum on Learning* from Tokyo, 'Now we have a new generation like Toyo Ito or Itsuko Hasegawa who were born in Tokyo and have spent their whole like there. For them, the artificial things like technology or concrete are nature, actually the massive concrete city looks like a new mountain or river [...]' (Royal Academy of Arts 1994, p. 13).

Through walking around the reality of everyday life, we can start to see an urban micro-ecosystem, or theatre of urban dwellers. (Kajima *et al.* 2001, pp. 35–36)

Opting for a radically subjective gaze, these authors seem to favor in general an unsystematic and descriptive approach over the structural frame provided by theory or history. To a certain extent, it might be suggested that this approach was not new to Japan. Perhaps akin to a less systematic organization of intellectual discourse, it is possible to find traces of this tendency in earlier investigations of the city streetscapes, such as in Modernology (*kōgengaku*) by Kon Wajiro[47], ore in the work of Roadside Observation Group (*rōjō kansatsu gakkai*) (Akasegawa *et al.* 1986). Tracing a parallel, this approach also presents affinities with the inherent narrative quality of many foreigners' accounts produced after the intense encounter with the cultural and urban diversity of Tokyo, for instance in the classic *Empire of Signes* by Roland Barthes (originally published in 1970 (trans. 1982). Around the 2000s, this approach came to characterize more explicitly specific works and researches in urban an architectural field, evidencing a clear tendency towards a new approach to Tokyo and its characters as place (as reference, (Kajima *et al.* 2001, Atelier Bow Wow 2002, Yoshimura 2006, Dan 2008, Kitayama *et al.* 2010, Tardits 2011, Radovic and Boontharm 2012, Bharne 2014, Jonas and Rahmann 2014). Sharing a method based on fieldwork and qualitative observation of urban phenomena around the city, these works compose through text, images, and diagrams, personal narrations which reflect authors' specific interests and targets of research. Usually characterized by informal and empirical methods, they suggest place as a subjective construction shaped through a relational connection with the city.

---

[47] For a retrospective on Modernology, see the catalogue of the exhibition *Kon Wajiro Retrospective* (Kon 2011).

In general, the scale and range of these works seem quite diverse if compared to those produced in the previous decades. Walking Tokyo streets and engaging with the dense flatness of its landscape, these urban "investigators" direct their ironic gaze towards the daily and suburban face of the city in search of different kind of local intensities and place characters. This playful mood can be detected in the following passage by Yoshiharu Tsukamoto:

When we walk on the streets of Tokyo, we find amazingly small buildings between streets, along widened roads and in the spaces between tracks and streets. Most of these buildings are cheaply built, and therefore not spectacular in design, and they do not use the fore front of technology.

However, they attract us. It may be because their presence produces a relaxed atmosphere, and makes us feel relieved. Their shapes and forms that do not conform to style and pretensions are refreshing to our eyes. They illustrate unique ideas with elements of fun without yielding to unfavourable conditions such as small area, size and width.

Their laudable presence reminds me of something I thought when one day I realized they are like pets.

(Atelier Bow Wow 2002, p. 9)

As evidenced in the quote, the focus tends to be on site-specific parameters, spaces of smallness, micro-topographies, neglected architectures, abandoned areas, and border conditions; a curiosity which allows these authors to catalog and conceptualize findings in a way to stir a renewed awareness towards the city. Through this process, Tokyo emerges as a continuous and fastly changing landscape where different scales and identities coexist simultaneously. Interestingly, instead of chaos, this condition seems to inspire a sense of freedom and 'domesticity' (Almazán and Tsukamoto 2007), in which architecture,

spontaneous urban fabric, and proliferating left-over spaces blend to define the place quality of the city.

Overall, it is quite difficult to extend an inclusive judgment to these works. Presented sometimes as a reaction against the "limits" of theory, their usual unsystematic and subjective approach stands itself as a theoretical declaration full of significant consequences. On the one hand, using fieldwork-based methods, these authors are able to engage urban realm, capturing the daily reality of Tokyo as a place. On the contrary, avoiding systematic structural analysis in favor of an 'hypersuburban pragmatism' (Daniell 2008, p. 15), they diminish their possibilities to address fundamental questions of power, politics, and economics. Thus, this 'embrace of the spontaneous' (Sand 2013, p. 161) seems exposed to the risk of drawing over-reassuring conclusions unable to expose the network of interest which is responsible for place-making processes in contemporary Tokyo. Furthermore, the subjective quality of these analyses slightly tends to isolate each line of research, hindering the construction of an empowering and operative critical agenda.
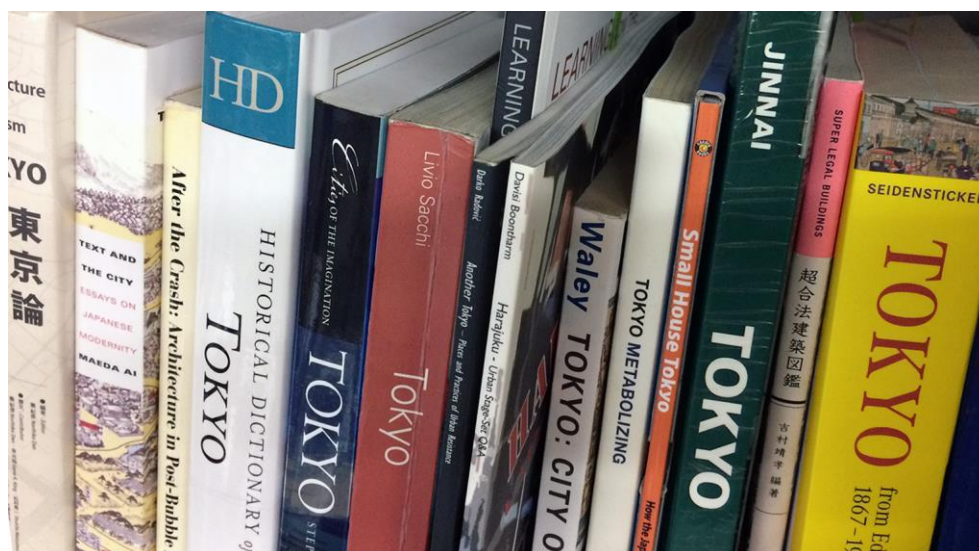
Graphic 3.1 – Tokyology, a collection scholarly works.

3.4 An Inherently Mobile Identity: The Recognition of the Role of Mobility and the Emergence of a New Interpretative Tendency

The critical review accomplished so far exposed the existence of parallel place interpretations coexisting within Tokyology, each characterized by a different understanding towards the problem represented by the identity of the city. At the same time, retrospectively tracing Tokyo explorations performed by different authors, it started to emerge how they are characterized by a distinctive "mobile" quality. Indeed, as suggested by Roland Barthes:

This city can be known only by an activity of an ethnographic kind: you must orient yourself in it not by book, by address, but by walking, by sight, by habit, by experience; here every discovery is intense and fragile, it can be repeated or recovered only by memory of the trace it has left in you [...]
(Barthes 1982, p. 36)

Perhaps a consequence of Tokyo's mobility-oriented nature discussed in Chapter 2, in the works reviewed so far movement - walking especially - can be detected as an experiential and rhetorical paradigm to describe the complex interplay of form, signs, activities, and processes which represent the essence of the city (Barthes 1982, Berque 1982, Popham 1985, Richie 1991, Shelton 1999, Maeda 2004, Tardits 2011). At the same time, authors often employed movement as a specific methodological tool to observe and discover essential characters of Tokyo urban landscape, such as the topographical structure inherited from Edo (Jinnai 1995, Nakazawa 2005), the ordinary weirdness of its urban 'objects' (Akasegawa *et al.* 1986), or the irony of its unexpected architectures (Kajima *et al.* 2001, Atelier Bow Wow 2002). Moreover, this approach is by no means limited to scholarly works, but it is widely circulated among citizens by an endless variety of different media which daily reinforce the staggering peripatetic quality of the city.

Further expanding the discourse, as shown by some of the most recent evolution of place theory presented in Chapter 1, mobility can also be conceptualized as a general theoretical framework to approach the analysis of place identity systematically. As a specific discussion on this point has been undertaken in Chapter 2, discussing the relationship between railway and Tokyo's place identity, in this Chapter it will suffice to say how this approach seems to have recently coalesced into a distinctive tendency within Tokyo's architecture and urban discourse. Indeed, these studies seem to configure a coherent interpretative approach to Tokyo which supports the claim for a progressive interpretation of place as a sophisticated mobile entity to be found in the dimension generated by the layered encounter between the mutable intensity provided by transit infrastructures and site-specific conditions. Nonetheless, as already mentioned earlier in this Chapter and in Chapter 2, place identity itself as a specific target of research is rarely explicitly addressed, evidencing an essential gap in the literature which the present dissertation will thoroughly address in the following chapters.

3.5 Intermediary Conclusions

Chapter 3 discussed the general cultural issues in the field of architecture and urban studies which are related to the discourse about Tokyo's place identity and which were still unexplained after Chapter 1 and 2. Indeed, as the notion of place and the narrative surrounding Tokyo's place identity cannot be interpreted merely borrowing concepts and theories elaborated in the European (or Western) context, Chapter 3 identified specific interpretative issues which need to be considered to interpret and generalize the results of the study meaningfully.

First, the general frame contextualizing the discourse was introduced. Overall, the problem represented by Tokyo's identity as a place challenges both Japanese and global debate, producing a condition of constant tension which can be detected in all the studies variously presented in Chapter 3. Fueled by the

contradictory relationship between tradition and modernity rooted in the evolution of the Japanese capital, this inherently problematic condition is further amplified by the specific context represented by Japanese urbanism and territoriality. Indeed, the notion of place applicable in the city is rather different from that established in European urbanism, privileging mobile experience over monumental symbolization as a meaningful dimension related to the process of placemaking and place identity.

Afterwards, to clarify the cultural terms of this problem and using place identity as an interpretative framework, significant works produced in the last decades were illustrated (see Graphic 3.2 for a synthesis). While the recognition of place in these studies is often theoretically unspecific, the examination accomplished in Chapter 3 showed the active contribution of place identity as a valid paradigm to understand Tokyo's studies.
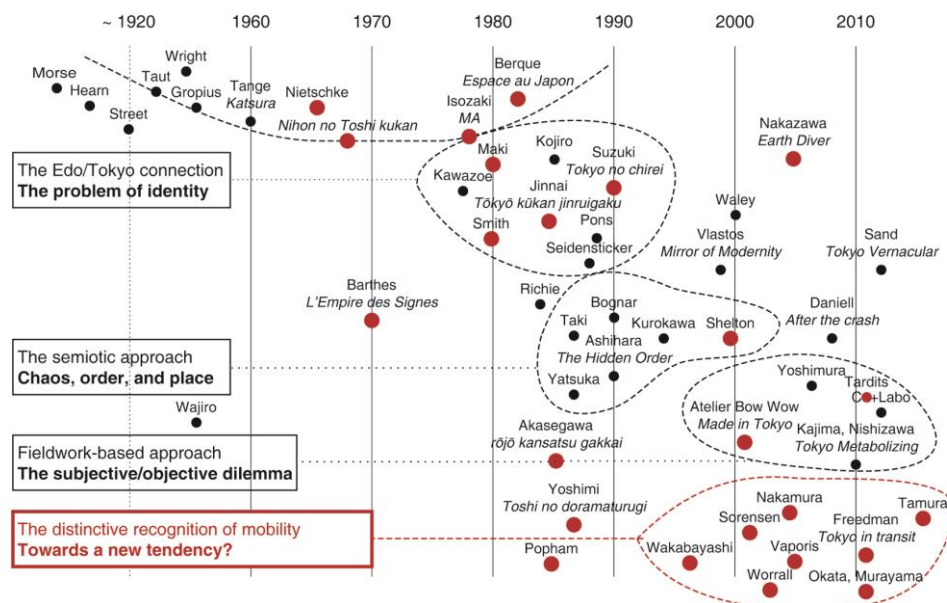
Graphic 3.2 – Diagram illustrating, organizing, and identifying interpretative issues within relevant literature concerning Tokyo's identity as a place from the perspective of architecture and urban studies.

Moreover, this general review allowed to evidence how the characters of the city pose specific interpretative problems. Overall, they interrogate "where" and "how" it is possible to find and understand Tokyo's place identity, further refining the scope of the dissertation Synthetized in three main topics, they are reported again as below.

- *The problem of identity*, emphasized by an urban context which hinders the legibility of its historical place identity by systematically denying continuity of architectural forms.

- *The research for an ordering principle* which could explain the complex functioning and place characters of the city. Often, this research produces contradictory results leading to the superficial appreciation of Tokyo as a merely chaotic urban realm.

- The necessity to discuss and *balance subjective and objective stances* while doing fieldwork and producing results. If not anchored to a robust theoretical framework, analysis and results cannot be compared and efficiently generalized.

Finally, the discussion in Chapter 3 confirmed once more the potential of a mobility-based approach outlined theoretically in Chapter 1 and 2. Remarkably, this approach presents affinities with Japanese cultural appreciation of place and with the strategies used by scholars to observe and interpret Tokyo's urban identity. Recently, this specific attention to movement and mobility-based phenomena seems to have coalesced into a distinctive scholarly tendency within Tokyo studies, further reinforcing the needs for verification in specific case studies and more grounded evaluation of results. Indeed, due to fascinating historical and cultural coincidences, Tokyo stands as paradigmatic examples in which to apply and test the advanced place notion emerged in the context of the 'mobility paradigm.'

Chapter Four

4 – Methodology and Methods

4.1 Introduction and Chapter Overview

The study is a qualitative research (Corbin *et al.* 2008, Groat and Wang 2013, Creswell 2014), in other words, a multi-tactical and integrated exploration followed by grounded interpretation of results. In particular, being a study undertaken from the perspective of design-oriented disciplines, the analysis is mainly concerned with the physical and spatial materializations of the various research problems. Therefore, the process of acquisition, analysis, and correct representation of data is of primary importance.

While in each of the chapters composing Part 3 of the study (Chapter 5 and Chapter 6) there will be specific explanations of the methods employed to analyze the various data, Chapter 4 provides the general methodological framework to understand their rationale. Therefore, it includes a discussion about the approach of the study, the design of the research, and an overview of the principal methods used in the dissertation. In particular, Chapter 4 illustrates the topics briefly summarized as follows.

- The critical interpretation of the theoretical framework and the initial research questions (4.2)
- The rationale inspiring the study design, paying a particular attention to the logical structure of the dissertation and the selection of case studies (4.3).

- A general overview of the data collection process, concerning both primary and secondary data sources (4.4).
- A general outline of the approach to analysis employed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 of the dissertation, clarifying scales of investigation and providing a concise account of the methods of data analyses (4.5).

Chapter 4 is the only chapter of Part 2 of the dissertation.

4.2 Interpretation of the Theoretical Framework and the Initial Research Question

The three chapters of Part 1 provided the dissertation with a sound and articulated theoretical framework. Following a sort of 'hourglass' model [48](Alasuutari 1996), and in order to identify topics of research, gaps in the literature, as well as cultural keys to generalize the results of the study, the discussion moved from general theory to the illustration of the specific issues related to the case studies. In brief, Chapter 1 illustrated the concept of place identity, the manifold relationship between mobility and place, and the specific contribution of railways to this discourse from the perspective of architecture and urban design. Based on this theoretical standpoint, Chapter 2 discussed these instances in the specific context represented by Tokyo, illustrating, in particular, the historical bond between mobility and urban identity, and evidencing the importance of railway to establish place identity dynamics and a general influence on the city. Finally, Chapter 3 framed the study within the cultural discourse surrounding the identity of Tokyo in the broad field of design-oriented disciplines.

Following the proceedings of Part 1, it is possible to critically evaluate the research problem inspiring the study and presented in the introduction. To begin

---

[48] See section 4.3 for a more detailed explanation of this reasoning.

with, the literature review of general place theory in Chapter 1 evidenced how, after decades of debate, mobility has been finally recognized as a fundamental constituent of place identity. This achievement was particularly controversial for disciplines such as architecture and urban design[49], but it reveals the existence of prospective fields of investigation about the increasingly mobile experience of the contemporary urban realm. Indeed, if there is a connection between mobility and place identity, this must be embodied in the daily practices which characterize our subjective and collective relationship with daily transit infrastructure and urban environment. As it emerged from the theoretical framework, railway possesses all the characters to affect this specific perception of place identity meaningfully.

This approach seems particularly appropriate in a context like Tokyo, which defies traditional approaches to place identity as the city belongs to an urban and spatial tradition which always has tended to favor movement and performance over monumental stability.Moreover, playing a historically dominant role in Tokyo's urban dynamics, railway infrastructures emerge as one of the primary elements determining the place identity of the city. As a result, Tokyo confirms to be an excellent case study to investigate the influence of railway on place identity.

While the results of the theoretical framework confirm the approach formulated at the beginning of the study, the extensive review of scholarly works in the fields of architecture and urban design allowed to clarify the scope of the investigation. Regarding urban place identity, it appears how railway stations, in their double appearance as a node (of a network) and place (Bertolini 1996, Bertolini and Spit 1998) are the primary target of the analysis. In particular, the effects of the dynamics generated by the complex combination of networks, architectures, and flowing activities which are rapidly transforming global railway stations in transit-hubs, tend to concentrate in the so-called station-neighbourhood

---

[49] Which traditinally interpreted place identity as a static and historically continous dimension.

with a peak of intensity in the area within 250 meters from the station itself. However, if many technical aspects of this relationship have been discussed to practically solve specific design problems, a discussion over the place identity qualities determined in the urban realm by these mobility-based phenomena is still fragmentary. Significantly, similar conclusion could apply to the study of the relationship between Tokyo and railways. While social sciences already detailed many of the cultural and social influences produced by railway over the identity of the Japanese capital, the contribution to this discourse by studies in the field of architecture and urban design are still very limited or unspecific.

While the existence of this gap represents the "scientific" motivation of the study, its recognition within a grounded theoretical framework allows to verify and rewrite the general research question leading the dissertation (Q) *How do railway-led transformation influence the place identity of Shinjuku and Shibuya?*) in terms of two specific and workable questions. Articulated at the meaningful scales of analysis identified in the study (see 4.5.1). Already presented in the introduction for the sake of clarity, they are reported as below.

- (SRQ1) What are the implications in terms of place identity produced on their districts by the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations as complex transit nodes?
- (SRQ2) How does the architectural experience of their respective railway stations as networked and integrated transit hubs affect the perception of place identity in Shinjuku and Shibuya?

While results supporting the answer to Special Research Question 1 (SRQ1) will be discussed in Chapter 5, the analysis to answer Special Research Question 2 (SRQ2) will be mainly illustrated in Chapter 6.

4.3 The Study Design

As 'a plan for collecting and analyzing evidence that will make it possible for the investigator to answer whatever questions he or she has posed' (Ragin and Amoroso 2011), research design is a central concern for qualitative research. Considering goals, research questions, budget and time constraints, the study has been designed as a combination of basic designs and models of qualitative research (as exposed in (Flick 2006). In particular, the design is characterized by the following features.

- Circular model and purposive sampling
- Limited comparison of two relevant and general case studies
- Although it comprises a relevant retrospective and historical analysis, due to goals and the dynamic nature of the phenomena the study aims to produce contributions mainly based on the analysis of the phenomena at the time of the investigation.

These design principles are appropriate for a study which main aim is to acquire and interpret results to understand significant characters of the relationship between railways and Tokyo's place identity using two of the principal transit hubs of the city as case studies. At the same time, as the accomplishment of this goal requires to address gaps in the existing literature, the dissertation can also be conceived as an exploration of the elements articulating the problem of place identity in relation to railway-led transformations and as a contribution to an ongoing field of investigation. Naturally, this approach and the limited amount of case studies also determine restrictions regarding generalization. However, based on the results of the study further researches can tests methods and interpretations through a wider variety of cases and overcome these temporary limitations.

4.3.1 The Structure of the Study

Based on these methodological considerations, the general structure of the study follows the already mentioned 'hourglass model' [50] (Alasuutari 1996). In brief, this model suggests to frame a local case study or research problem into a general theoretical frame and, later, to interpret results and their possible value in that general context. Following these suggestions, the dissertation is composed of 4 Parts and 9 Chapters (see Graphic for 4.1 for a visual representation). Leaving aside Introduction and Conclusions, few considerations about the design of the study and the articulation of the various chapters are reported as below.

Being the theoretical framework of the study, Part 1 represents the review of the general context of the study in order to evidence what is already known in the field, as well as open problems, gaps, or interpretative tendencies. In particular:

- Chapter 1 focuses on the theoretical definition of place identity and the understanding of the problems of the study (mobility, place identity, railway-led phenomena) from the perspective of general place theory.
- Chapter 2 frames the study in the context of Tokyo, with particular attention to the analysis of the historical background and scholarly perspectives concerning the relationship between railway-led urban transformations and the evolution of Tokyo's place identity.

---

[50] Quoting Alasuutari: 'One starts out with a rather broad theoretical and structural framework that places a particular research site in a large context that also validates the choice of that particular case study. The actual fieldwork can be located in the epicenter of the hourglass: One analyzes in detail a very specific, closely defined object of study as a world of its own. The final phase of the study, where one assesses and discusses the results of the case study within the broader framework, probably somewhat changed and developed during the study, forms the bottom of the hourglass.' (Alasuutari 1996, pp. 374–375)

Thesis Structure

I

Introduction

Chapter 2
Railway, Mobility, and
Tokyo's Place Identity:
Historical Background and
Scholarly perspectives

Chapter 1
Mobility and Place Identity:
A Theoretical Approach

Chapter 3
The Discourse about
Tokyo's Place Identity:
Cultural Perspectives and
Interpretative Challenges

Chapter 4
Methodology and Methods

Chapter 5
Analysis of Railway-Led Place Identity Transformations
at the Scale of the Station District

Rail and the Evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya
as "Transit-Oriented Urban Districts

Chapter 6
Analysis of Railway-Led Place Identity Transformations
at the Scale of the Hub-station

The "Hub-Station" as a place:
Mapping the Place Identity of Shinjuku and Shibuya Stations

Chapter 7
Discussion of Results

C
Conclusions

PART 1

PART 2

PART 3

Introduction
- General Problem Statment
- Aim, Research Questions

Theoretical Approach
- Literature Review
- Theoretical Background
- Historical Background

Methodology
- Evaluating Questions7
- Research Design
- Definition of Methods

Analysis and Results
- Data Collection
- Fieldwork
- Systematic Analysis
- Mapping and visualization
- Presentation of results

Discussion
- Discussion of Results

Conclusion
- Summary
- Conclusive statments

Graphic 4.1 - Diagrammatic representation of the structure of the thesis.

- Chapter 3 represents a cultural discussion on the specific issues concerning the appreciation of Tokyo's place identity from the perspective of architecture and urban studies.

Moving towards the core of the "hourglass," Part 2 is composed only by the present Chapter.

- Based on the premises of Part 1, Chapter 4 stands as an overall discussion about the methodology and methods of the study.

Instead, Part 3 is formed by three Chapters (Chapter 5, Chapter 6, and Chapter 7), devoted to the analsysis of the two specific research questions and the discussion of results of the study and their possible generalization.

- Chapter 5 illustrates the analysis supporting the answer to SRQ1, concerning the place identity implications produced by the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya station as composite transit nodes at the scale of their districts.
- Chapter 6 represents the account of the fieldwork and analysis undertaken to answer to SRQ2 and explore the effects on the perception of place identity of Shinjuku and Shibuya produced by the architectural configuration of their respective railway stations as networked transit hubs.

- Chapter 7 represents the discussion part of the study, evaluating results to answer the research questions and propose possible general interpretations and contributions.

4.3.2 The Definition of Case Studies: Rationale, Advantages, and Limitations

Case studies are especially crucial for qualitative research. In particular, when they are limited due to time or budget constraints, their selection is highly influential in setting the outcome of the research and discussing the generality of results. Critically evaluating criteria for the choice of case studies (see for instance (Flick 2006, Seawright and Gerring 2008), and the limited time allowed for the research, it was imperative to select convenient, critically relevant, and "intense" examples to allow relevant features to emerge with clarity. At the same time, case studies had to be similar enough to build up a comparative analysis and strengthen the results. While this approach presents natural limitations, it is suitable for a study which is set to explore an ongoing problem of research which needs further clarification more than quantitative verification.

Following these methodological considerations, Shinjuku and Shibuya have been selected as primary case studies. Naturally, they present advantages and limitations which are related to their specific characters and role within the dynamics of the study. Starting with the advantages, the operative and critical benefits of this choice are briefly outlined as below.

- The first is related to their *relevance* in the context of the study, as both display phenomena related to railway-led influences on place identity with particular *intensity*. Indeed, Shinjuku and Shibuya represent probably the two most important cases to study railway-led phenomena within Tokyo's metropolitan area. First, as complex transit hubs, they stand out as the two most crowded stations[51] within the Tokyo-Yokohama conurbation, daily

---

[51] The top five being Shijuku (3.5 mil/day), Shibuya (3 mil/day), Ikeburkuro (2.5 mil/day), Yokohama (2.15 mil/day), Kitasenju (1.5 mil/day). Significantly, Tokyo station is just in

attracting more than 3 million passengers respectively. Moreover, if compared to similar examples (as Ikebukuro, or Shinagawa), Shinjuku and Shibuya developed a distinctive and renowned identity profile which exerts a strong influence transcending that of their local context.

- The second methodological advantage leading to the choice of Shinjuku and Shibuya as suitable case studies is that they display *comparable characteristics*. Indeed, both the areas developed under similar conditions, reflecting with continuity the impact of railway-led transformations in the urban evolution of Tokyo from the early Meiji period. At the same time, the two districts possess *differences* regarding place identity, a condition which allows for a comparative study in search for the specific influences of rail in comparison with other historical or site-specific conditions.

Because of their relevance and comparability, the two case-studies seem a prospective choice to produce findings that can be usefully generalized. However, due to their similarities, it is also necessary to consider the limitations associated with the selection of Shinjuku and Shibuya in order to correctly frame the generality of the interpretation of the results of the study . To illustrate this issue, it is useful to consider the problem from three different perspectives as illustrated in the following table.

In the following page,

Table 4.1 – An evaluation of the generalizability and limitations of the prospective results according to three main interpretative perspectives.

---

sixth position with "just" 1.1 mil/day passengers. (data from (A+U Special Issue 2013:10, Integrated Station-City Development - the Next Advances of TOD 2013)

Perspective	Generalizability	Limitations
Tokyo's place identity	Good potential for generalization due to the importance of Shinjuku and Shibuya in terms of urban role and cultural value	Railway-led place identity transformations are just one of the layers composing Tokyo's place identity.
Railway-led place identity transformation in Tokyo	Good potential for generalization due to the relevance of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations in terms of passengers and exemplary value	Although readily applicable to major stations, methods and results do not cover local stations at the moment.
Railway-led place identity transformation in other contexts	Medium potential for generalization. Results are readily applicable to large transit hubs with a comparable scale	Different scales or different contexts require further verification before applying the findings of the study.

Table 4.1

As reported in the table, results based on Shinjuku and Shibuya as case studies have a good potential for generalization about Tokyo's place identity and the analysis of railway-led place identity transformations in other areas with comparable scale, complexity, and urban evolution. However, to apply the same methodology to local stations or other contexts, it is necessary a further step of evaluation. While this condition represents an unavoidable limitation of the current study, it does not hinder the relevance of results, and it represents valuable stimulation for future research.

4.4 Data Collection Process

After explaining the rationale beyond the selection of case studies, it is necessary to define and make explicit the process of data collection.

4.3.1 Primary Data: Observation and Fieldwork

To situate the study in contemporary reality, the obtainment of primary data is essential. Indeed, the daily practice of Shinjuku and Shibuya station for more than three years helped in the understanding and continuous observation of their functioning and spatial qualities. However, while direct observation and active involvement remain essential for qualitative research, for the sake of the analysis it was necessary to devise stable methods for recording of primary data from the fieldwork. The most relevant of them are reported below.

- Walks inside Shinjuku and Shibuya station have frequently been recorded with mobile video devices to store data that needed to be later analyzed. In particular, two types of *videos* have been recorded. For overall walks, lengthy sequences were taken to record the overall experience. Instead, for the analysis of dynamic behaviors inside Shinjuku and Shibuya stations, short videos of 10 seconds each have been recorded at short intervals between each other.
- For the same purpose, *photos* were taken with a variety of devices to record specific aspects inside the stations or in the surroundings.
- *Annotations and sketches* were also taken while walking into Shinjuku and Shibuya stations and usually recorded on maps to contextualize the location of the observation.

4.3.2 Sources of Secondary Data

While primary data have been directly observed and recorded with the support of digital or analogic devices, historical information has been acquired as secondary data. Principal sources are reported as below.

- Unless otherwise stated, graphic representations are based on cartographic data by Geospatial Information Authority of Japan (GSI), Digital Map (Basic Geospatial Information) 2500 [tile 533935] (latest data 2016), Yahoo Maps Japan, and Zenrin cartographic series.
- Historical cartography is mainly based on the following materials (additional references can be found in the bibliography).

  Yoshihara, K., Tawara, M., and Nakagawa, K., 1994. *Fukugen Edo jouhou chizu*. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun ;
  Chizu shiryou hensankai, 1999. *Meiji zenki naimushou chirikyoku sakusei chizu shuusei*. Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō.
  Kaizuka, S. and Shimizu, Y., 1995. *Meiji zenki Shōwa zenki Tōkyō toshi chizu (topographical maps of Tokyo, 1880-1996)*. Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō ;

- Visual material, pictures, and other graphics will be individually referenced throughout the dissertation. In particular, frequent references can be found in:

  ShinjukuEki, 1985. *Shinjukueki 100-nen no Ayumi: Shinjukueki kaigyō 100 shūnenkinen*. Tokyo: Nihon kokuyū tetsudō Shinjukueki.
  Shibuya Ward Board of Education, 2007. *Shibuya no kioku - Shashin de miru ima to mukashi*. Tokyo: Shibuya Ward Board of Education.

4.5 Approach and Method of Data Analysis

Specific methods for analysis of primary and secondary data will be explained in the relevant sections of Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. Nevertheless, it is useful to preliminary clarify essential aspects connected with general analytic procedures within the methodology section. In particular, it is important to discuss the scale and units of analysis, and present a brief overview of methods used at the different scales identified in the study.

4.5.1 Scale and Units of Analysis

Following a shared recognition in the field of architecture and urban studies, also the current research is set to analyze the effects of railway-led influences on place identity at two different and complementary scales. As already discussed in Chapter 2, they can be identified as the *station neighborhood* and the *hub-station* itself. In the following page, a diagram (see Graphic 4.2) and some more general definitions about these two "units" of analysis are reported.

- The *station neighborhood (district)*, or else the area within 500 meters from the station which represents a meaningful zone to measure and discuss the influence exerted by railway on the surroundings. This scale (often referred in the study as the scale of the station district) is investigated with particular attention in Chapter 5 of the dissertation.
- The *hub-station*, represented by the area within 250 meters from the station and which basically comprises the hub stations and its exits. Being closer to the spatial experience of place identity within Shinjuku and Shibuya stations, this scale of investigation is sometimes called in the study also as the architectural scale. It is the specific focus of Chapter 6 of the dissertation.
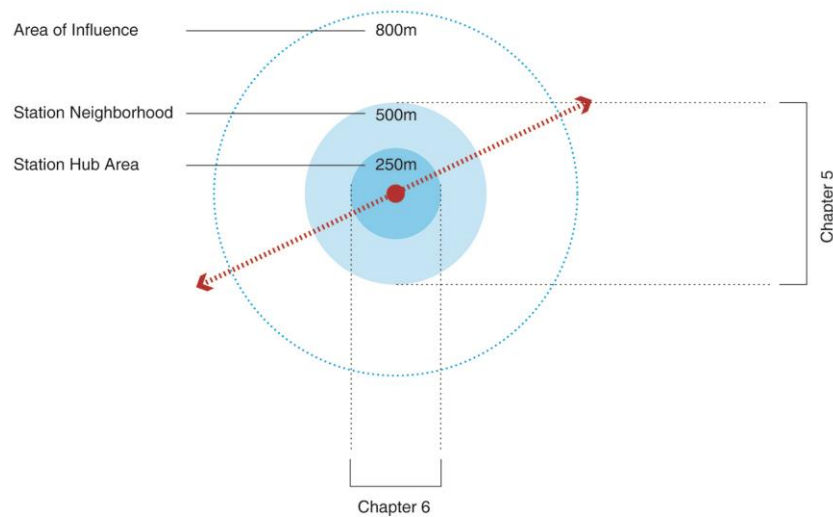
Graphic 4.2 – Diagram representing the principal scales of analysis identified in the study.

4.5.2 Methods of Analysis at the Scale of the Station District

In general, methods used to investigate railway-led place identity transformations at the scale of the station districts follow established approach within the field of architecture and urban design. As a result, they do not require particular explanations to be understood or reproduced. However, to appreciate the general articulation of Chapter 5, it is useful to provide an overall illustration of the logical passages which compose the investigation (see Graphic 4.3).

After illustrating the place identity characters of Shinjuku and Shibuya before the advent of the railway, one of the main goals of Chapter 5 is to *illustrate and visualize the evolution of the transit nodes represented by Shinjuku and Shibuya stations*. Information will be acquired from historical cartography and existing literature on this topic, and then summarized in intuitive and explanatory diagrammatic representations.

The rest of the analysis presented in the chapter follows the chronological evolution of the railway-led development of Shinjuku and Shibuya. This choice is functional to understand the results of the analysis in connection with the essential socio-economic paradigms which contributed to the appearance of the observed phenomena. Few additional information is reported as below.

- *The analysis of the prewar development* is concentrated on the characters of the urbanization promoted by the appearance of the railway. Data have been collected in a GIS environment to sample parameters such as built fabric density or street patterns. The architectural appearance associated with this urbanization will be qualitatively discussed based on photographs.

- The main features associated with post-war railway-led urbanism in Shinjuku and Shibuya are represented by *the transformations of the two stations into transit-hubs and the process of "occupation" and development of nearby plots by railway companies in their role of urban agents*. Data are mainly collected from secondary sources like maps, existing literature, pictures, or corporate information. Additionally, a qualitative exploration of recent projects in Shinjuku and Shibuya areas is included to show future trends and perspectives.

In the following page,

Graphic 4.3 – A diagrammatical representation of the logical articulation of methods and analysis in Chapter 5.

1

5.3

Shinjuku and Shibuya's place identity before the appearance of Railway:

- Historical analysis

2

5.4

The arrival of railway and the construction of a new transit network.

- Visualization of the evolution of the network / node configuration of Shinjuku and Shibuya
- Localization of nodes, edges, and trajectories
- Analysis of the relationship of the new transit network with pre-existing territorial features.

3

5.5

Rail, prewar urban development, and place identity: Shinjuku and Shibuya as Transit-oriented districts:

- GIS based analysis of patterns of urban development (denisty, road network) and qualitative assesment of the resulting urban image
- Qualitative considerations on the architectural features of pre-war Shibuya and Shinjuku station.

4

5.6

Place identity and The Restructuring of Rail in Postwar Tokyo: The Transformation of Shinjuku and Shibuya into Hub-Stations

- Historical analysis of determinants and causes
- Preliminary discussion on the 3D articulation of Shinjuku and Shibuya as complex transit nodes
- The expansion of underground space
- Qualitative considerations on the architectural

Railway Companies as Urban Developers: Strategies, Ongoing Transformations, and Prospective Implications on Place Identity

- Mapping the expansion of the railway companies properties and developments in the urban districts of Shinjuku and Shibuya
- Qualitative considerations on the architectural features of recent urban developments

4.5.3 Methods of Analysis at the Scale of the Hub-Station

In contrast with phenomena at the scale of the railway station's district, the analysis of the experience within Shinjuku and Shibuya stations in terms of place identity represents a more controversial field of investigation. Indeed, scholars only recently started to investigate the subtle interplay of architectural elements, perceptions, and behaviors which constitute the basis for the development (if any) of a sense of place identity in the context determined by complex transit-hubs. As a consequence, it is necessary to develop a more specific methodology to acquire meaningful results.

In particular, one of the main problems is represented by *the identification of meaningful units to analyze and interpret data acquired from the fieldwork*. Using a terminology somehow similar to that employed by Wash Ivanovic (2011), the study defines place units (see 6.3.2) as basic components structuring the comprehension of the identity characters of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations. Mapping place units together with significant elements defining the experience within the two hub-stations allow visualizing their essential configurations as complex networks. On this basis, the topological characters of place units are analyzed to identify those more relevant in terms of place identity, as well as meaningful patterns and elements of comparison between the two case studies.

Based on the recognition and mapping of the place units and the network configuration characterizing Shinjuku and Shibuya stations, further analysis is performed as following (see Graphic 4.4).

In the following page,

Graphic 4.4 – A diagrammatical representation of the logical articulation of methods and analysis in Chapter 6.

1

Mapping of Place Units as the Meaningful
Constituents of Shinjuku and Shibuya's Place
Identity

- Direct observation and Video Recording
- Identification of Place Units
- Mapping of Place Units

The General Articulation of Shinjuku and Shibuya
Station as Networks and Topological Analysis

- Construction of the network
- Qualitative assessment of the network characters
- Analysis of the overall network parameters
- Recognition of principal place unit through the
analysis of betweenees centrality and degree

6.3

2

Analysis of Border Conditions and their
Influence on Place Identity

- Qualitative assessment and mapping of borders
in terms of physical and visual permeability
- Measuring geomterical, topological, and boder
conditions of each of the principal place units
- Recognition of clusters according according to
the collection of border conditions

6.4

3

Analysis of the dynamic and flowing behavior
within Shinjuku and Shibuya station

- Recording moving sequences
- Extracting relative positions of users
- Produce Voronoi diagram of occupied spaces
and a Delunay triangulation of ideal trajectories
- Qualitatively assess experiences and relation
between trajectories and borders

6.5

4

Qualitative considerations on the exit interface of
Shinjuku and Shibuya station

- Mapping stations' exits
- Classifying stations' exits: typologies,
consequences, and influences on place identity
- Qualitative observations on the architectural
appearance of exits

6.6

- *The analysis of border conditions associated with major place units and their influence on place identity* (see 6.4). Based on comprehensive fieldwork which results are reported in the appendix of the dissertation, results are compared and then clustered to identify classes to interpret the spatial and architectural experience within the two stations' concourses.

- *The analysis of the dynamic and flowing behavior which characterize place units in Shinjuku and Shibuya stations*. Based on data acquired through video recording of short moving sequences, the positions of users are tracked and computed to produce a Voronoi diagram of the occupied spaces and Deluney triangulations suggesting spatial trajectories. An in-depth explanation of this method is provided in 6.5.

- *A brief qualitative analysis of the exit interface of the two hub-stations* based on the classification of station exits in four typologies according to their different relationship with the surroundings. Qualitative observations about the architectural appearance of exits will also be included.

4.6 Intermediary Conclusions

Chapter 4 illustrated the Methodological approach and an overview of the methods used in the study. At first (4.2), it was essential to interpret the theoretical framework discussed in Part 1, in order to review the standpoint and the approach to the research problem. On this basis, the initial research question was articulated into two specific research questions to guide the investigation in Part 3 of the study. Once again, they were identified as below.

- (SRQ1) What are the place identity implications produced in their districts by the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations as transit nodes?

- (SRQ2) How does the architectural experience of their respective railway stations as networked and integrated transit-hubs affect the perception of place identity in Shinjuku and Shibuya?

After, Chapter 4 illustrated principles and practical motivations informing the design of the study (4.3). Moving from the design of the structure of the dissertation, the discussion focused in particular on the clarification of the rationale behind the selection of the two main cases studies. In particular, Shinjuku and Shibuya were selected on the base of their *relevance* and *intensity* in relation to the analyzed phenomena, and because they possess *comparable characteristics* which practically help to identify the characters involved with the research problem discussed in the study. Although this decision also implies specific limitations, it does not hinder the relevance of results especially regarding the discussion of railway-led place identity modifications in the context of Tokyo.

Finally, a brief outline of the data collection process and the methods of analysis was presented (4.4 and 4.5). Given their relevance to understand the following Part 3 of the study, particular attention was dedicated to the clarification of the meaningful scales and units of analysis employed in the study. Once more, in brief:

- The scale of the *station neighborhood*, or else the area within 500 meters from the station
- The scale of the *hub-station*, meaning the area within 250 meters from the station

Respectively, Chapter 5 will focus on the station neighborhood and to the answer of SRQ1, while Chapter 6 will present results obtained through the analysis at the architectural scale of the hub station to provide an answer to SRQ2.

Chapter Five

5 – Rail and the Evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya as "Transit-Oriented Districts"

5.1 Introduction and Chapter Overview

After the illustration of the theoretical background (Part 1) and the methodology (Part 2), Chapter 5 opens the third Part of the dissertation devoted to the illustration and discussion of results. In particular, this chapter aims to provide evidence connected to the first of the two Specific Research Questions. For the sake of clarity, SQR1 is presented once more.

- (SQR1) What are the place identity implications produced in their districts by the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations as transit nodes?

Focusing on place identity at the scale of the district, Chapter 5 analyzes and illustrates the following topics.

- A preliminary overview of the urban design approaches associated with the introduction of the railways in historical European cities to further emphasize the specificities of the context represented by Shinjuku and Shibuya (5.2).

- The illustration of the historical background and place identities of Shinjuku and Shibuya's before the arrival of rail (5.3).

- The analysis and visualization of the evolution of the two transit nodes. Following a chronological narration subdivided into four phases, the investigation focuses in particular on the site-specific articulation of Shinjuku and Shibuya station as nodes of a mobility network, territorial boundaries, and support for trajectories of movement (5.4).

- The analysis and discussion of the place identity characters related to the urban development of pre-war Shinjuku and Shibuya. This exploration covers the qualities of the urban expansion associated with the presence of railway, its polarizing effect on the surrounding activities, and the architectural appearance project by Shinjuku and Shibuya station on their vicinities (5.5).

- The qualitative evaluation of general place identity transformations favored by the restructuring of rail in postwar Tokyo and by the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya as transit-hubs. This section will include a focus on the increasingly influential role of railway companies as developers, illustrating few recent and ongoing projects to suggest future perspectives about the influence of railway-led urban transformations on the place identity of the two areas (5.6)

Specific methods of analysis or further comparable features will be illustrated and discussed in the appropriate sections to be more easily associated with the corresponding results.

5.2 A Preliminary Overview of the Relationship Between Railway and Urban Development in the European Context

Although it is not the aim of the current dissertation, it might be useful to briefly introduce some salient characteristics of the relationship between railways and the urban realm in the European context. Indeed, the specificity of the case study represented by Tokyo will appear more clearly if compared to another tradition. Furthermore, this brief illustration helps to appreciate the rationale behind the analysis illustrated in Chapter 5 in order to understand the place identity features introduced by railway in the contexts of Shinjuku and Shibuya.

Circumscribing the discourse to the station district[52], some fundamental information can be acquired comparing the modality of the introduction of railways in the urban realm. Despite regional and national differences, following scholarly works (such as (Kellett 1969, Caron 1997, Hallsted-Baumert *et al.* 1997, Roth and Polino 2003), two historical features relating railway and European urbanism have been listed below.

- Regarding general location, *the first railway stations were located just at the fringe of urban spaces*, often in correspondence of the limit marked by ancient fortifications. They were rather small in size and built in haste to accommodate the needs of the growing industrial cities during the XIXth century.

- With the expansion of cities, railway stations acquired progressively a marked urban character, and they started to be integrated with the existing urbanization using *comprehensive planning operations*. Usually, such plans were centered on the design of a square and various boulevards in

---

[52] A complementary illustration about the features of classic and monumental European railway stations will be presented in Chapter 6.

front or around the station. These external areas played a fundamental role in the functioning of the transit node, as they provided essential spaces for the interchange with other transit systems or the access of users. Moreover, their urban design was usually characterized by a monumental approach as these spaces had to symbolize the importance of the new mobility system within the city.

Overall, apart from the exception represented by the early beginnings, the problem represented by the introduction of the railway into traditional European urbanism seems to have been solved recurring to a planned approach. Being a fundamental infrastructure in terms of functionality and symbolism, railway needed to be integrated into the urban fabric by means of comprehensive strategies of urban design. Directly executed or superintended by governments and local municipalities, those projects were often selected using public competitions and under the guidelines set by public authorities. Interestingly, although in recent decades the cooperation with private operators has become more intense also in the railway industry, observing recent redevelopments or new projects [53] all over Europe, it is possible to notice how this tendency still represents a valid model. As a logical consequence, an analysis aimed to explore place identity associated with the relationship of railways and the urban realm in the European context should necessarily deal with the elements associated with its planning and design tradition.

---

[53] See, for instance, the construction of the high-speed railway station in France (such as the famous project of Lille-Europe station) or Italy, or, again, the renovation of English rail stations (like the exemplar case of London's King's Cross station).
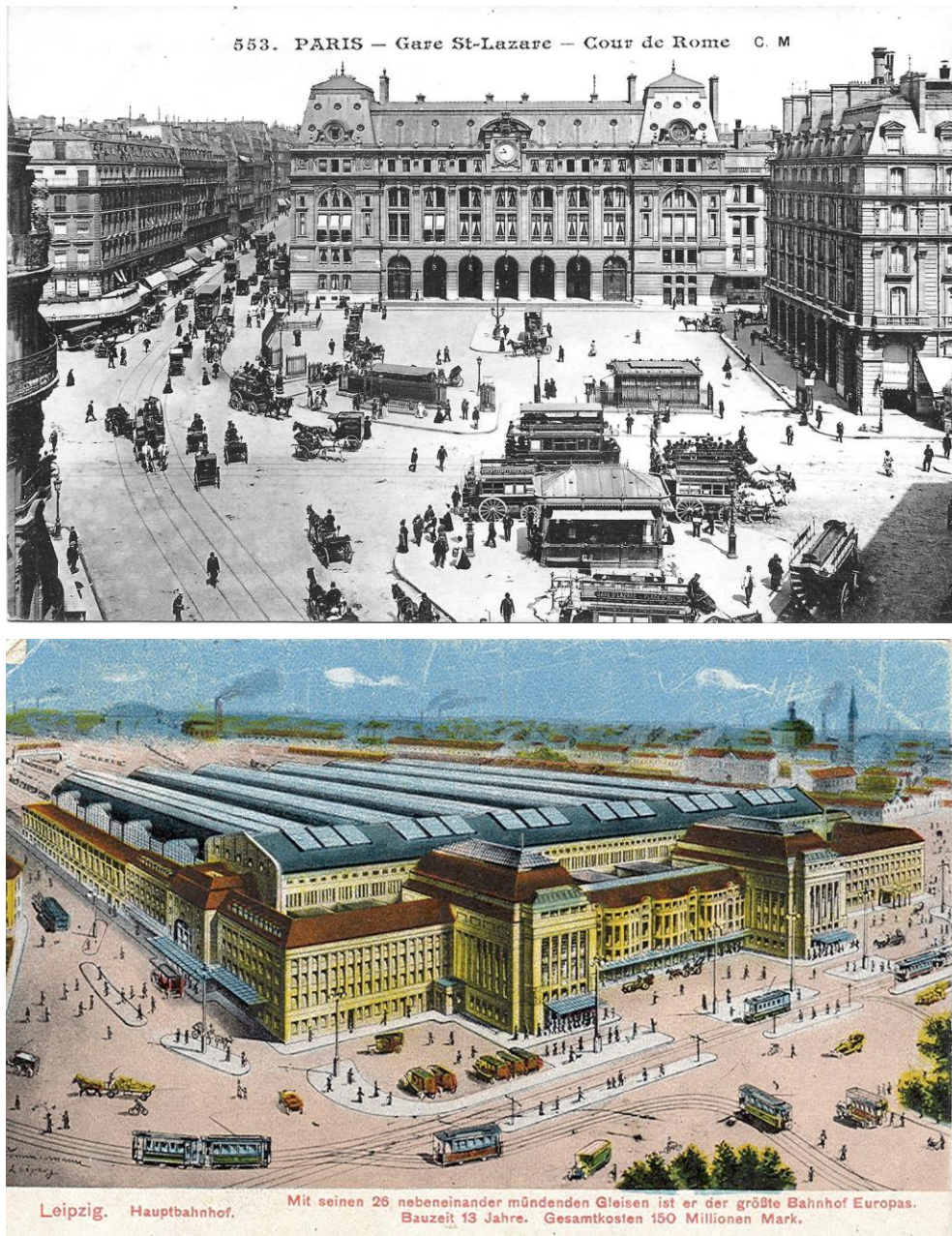
Graphic 5.1
On top, Postcard of Gare Saint-Lazare around 1900, Public domain,
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gare_Saint-Lazare_1900s.jpg
Under, Postcard of Leipzig – Hauptbahnhof around 1914, Public domain,
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Leipzig_-_Hauptbahnhof_1.jpg

However, as exemplified by Shinjuku and Shibuya areas, in Tokyo this is not the case. In fact, the evolution of railways in the city and, more in general, the evolution of railways in Japan followed a different and rather unique course (see Chapter 2). Not only Tokyo's traditional urbanism was very different from that characterizing European cities, but the absence of a strong planning tradition largely prevented the possibility to organically implant railways into the urban realm by means of urban design. Supporting one of the initial hypothesis of the study, this condition allowed railway-led urban transformations to manifest with a particular and "unrestrained" intensity. Moreover, it suggests that the place identity produced by railway-led urban development in locations such as Shinjuku and Shibuya have to be researched in a different set of conditions.

Many of them emerge comparing background information provided in Chapter 2 with the feature of the European case illustrated before. They are reported in the following table.

European context	Shinjuku and Shibuya (Tokyo's case)
Stations located at the edge of dense historical city centers	Low-density urbanization, "countryside" locations
Stations as comprehensively designed nodes	Station areas produced by the combination of different lines and nodes
Planned urban design	Unplanned urbanism
Historical railway stations are preserved and adapted over time	Continuous evolution and replacement of station buildings, early transformation as transit-hubs
Strong public authorities to determine guidelines about railway urbanism and architectures	Dominant role of private companies as railway operators and urban developers

Table 5.1 – A brief comparison of general urban conditions related to railway development between Tokyo (Shinjuku and Shibuya) and the European context.

As predictive elements for place identity, these features will be investigated throughout Chapter 5 to acquire findings and formulate an answer to SRQ1.

5.3 Shinjuku and Shibuya's Place Identity Before the Appearance of Railway

The first of those conditions is represented by the place identity features characterizing the two case studies before the advent of the railway. Although they shared a similar peripheral location, their characters where quite diverse thanks to their different morphology and urban identity. Will this diversity play a determinant influence to define the relationship between railway and place identity in Shinjuku and Shibuya? How? The following illustration of the two case studies at the beginning of Meiji Era just before the advent of railway set the premises to answer this dilemma.

5.3.1 Naito Post Town and the Place Identity of Shinjuku in Edo Era

In Edo Era, Shinjuku was just outside the center of the city along the Koshu Kaido (甲州街道), of which represented the first post town under the name of Naito Shinjuku[54]. The settlement was located on a flat plateau following the ridge road till a bifurcation around present-day Shinjuku Sanchome crossing, where it occupied the strategic area in between the Koshukaido and the nearby Omekaido (青梅街道) which represented the main axis of the area. The rest of the plateau crossed by these two roads[55] it was primarily occupied by daimyo secondary residences or by smaller parcels assigned to their retainers. The area was also the home of many temples moved here over time in the process of expansion of Edo's city center. The plain continued towards the west in the area called Yodobashi while it gently sloped down in the other directions (especially in the south towards Yoyogi and Shibuya). Thus, in the outskirts of Shinjuku urban fabric gradually

---

[54] Reference the vast estates of Lord Naito in the area.
[55] Roughly corresponding to present-day Shinjuku 1-Chome to 4-Chome areas.

transformed into cultivated fields crossed by secondary roads and modeled on the gentle morphology of the Musashino Plateau (See Graphic 5.2 and 5.3).

Even though land ownership patterns resembled closely those of central areas of Edo (a character which will exert a determinant influence on the following development of Shinjuku), the majority of the area was unbuilt or occupied by scattered dwellings. Indeed, these lots were far from the urban decor of the primary residences in the center of the city and were characterized by ample gardens or cultivated spaces[56]. Therefore, as it is possible to confirm from a map drawn in 1887 (see Graphic 5.4), Shinjuku at the beginning of Meiji Era was a largely suburban area.

In particular, the presence of Naito post town was determinant to define Shinjuku pre-modern place identity. Naito Shinjuku provided a wide range of facilities to support the travelers; houses and inns along the road displayed the typical character of Edo's commoners and merchant houses (see Graphic 5.3). While the main buildings were disposed parallel to the street and easily accessible by the continuous flow of people, backyards were used for rented lodgings and common facilities[57]. Apart from the ordinary services, Naito Shinjuku was renowned for its notorious and thriving prostitution scene and illicit pleasures. Even if the activity of Naito Shinjuku as post town was temporally suspended from 1718 and 1772 (and later definitely abolished in Meiji era), its bustling and frivolous character was vividly impressed in the area to the extent that it is still recognizable today.

---

[56] A typical example is provided by Lord Naito estate (present day Shinjuku Gyoen).

[57] As a reference, see the detailed diorama at Shinjuku History Museum.
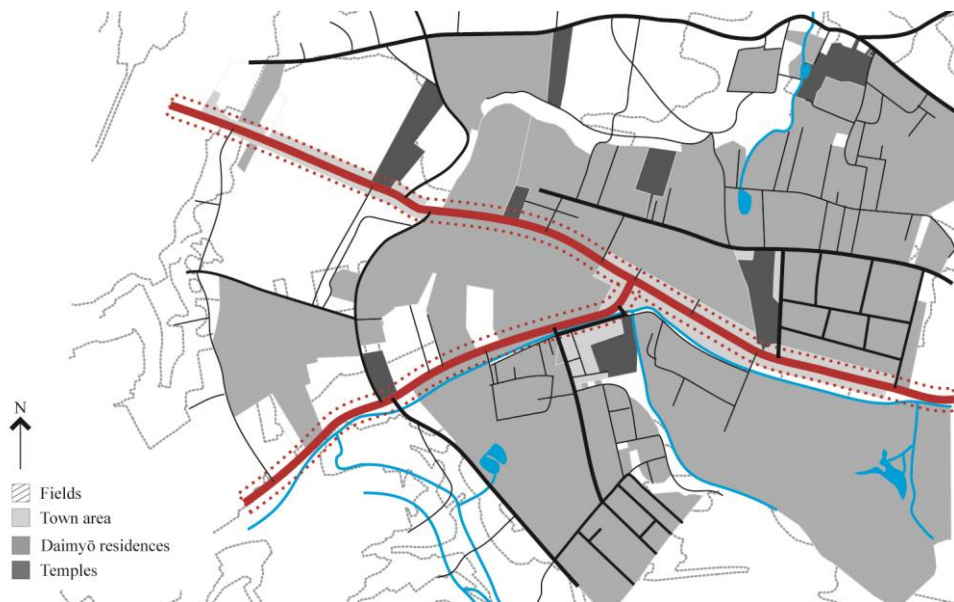
On top, Graphic 5.2, Topographic map of Shinjuku station area (marked in red).

Under, Graphic 5.3, Land ownership and major urban pattern in Shinjuku station area in Edo Era. In red, the major road axis represented by Koshu Kaido and Omekaido (based on (Yoshihara *et al.* 1994).
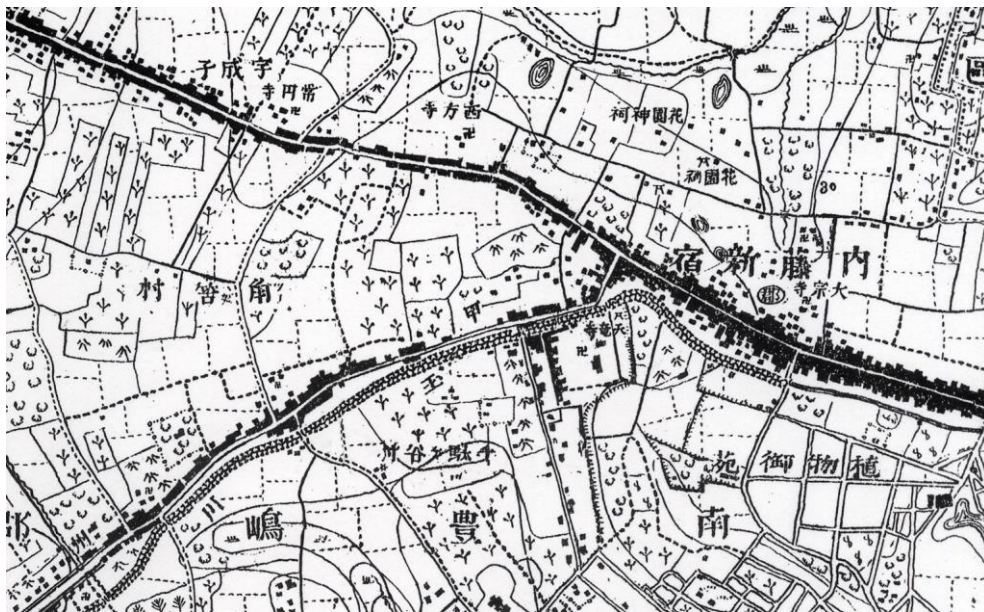
On top, Graphic 5.4, Naito Shinjuku in Edo Era (from (Haga 1970).

Under, Graphic 5.5, Map of present day Shinjuku station area in early Meiji Era (around 1887) (from (Kaizuka and Shimizu 1995).

5.3.2 Valleys and Rivers: The Suburban Identity of Shibuya in Edo Era

Similarly located outside the city, Shibuya was quite different if compared to the case of Shinjuku. Instead of a plateau, the area's main natural feature was represented by the presence of Shibuya River and many other connected streams running in a deep and irregular valley surrounded by hills on every side (see Graphic 5.5). The main ridge road[58] of the area descended into the valley following the steep slopes corresponding to present day Miyamasuzaka and Dogenzaka, then crossed the river defining a four-quadrant crossing. Minor roads departed from this infrastructure, connecting valleys and nearby hills with the principal ridge.

As a consequence of this specific morphological configuration, Shibuya's dwelling patterns were significantly different from those observed in Shinjuku. If Naito Shinjuku was a suburban town displaying land divisions similar to those of Edo's central areas, Shibuya was characterized by a more typical fringe configuration. While in the various valleys and hill flanks it is possible to observe the extensive presence of cultivations and scattered villages, on the hills larger compounds were used as daimyo secondary estates. Those privileged positions were also used to host daimyo's retainers, temples, or shrines, usually installed on ancient sacred sites perhaps continuously used from Jomon era. Along the slopes of Miyamasuzaka and Dogenzaka, two more structured urban nuclei were linearly distributed along the Oyamakaido providing services to support the travelers in transit on the nearby bridge on Shibuya River (see Graphic 5.6).

Similarly to Shinjuku's case, also Shibuya was characterized by an overall low density. Daimyo's residences and temples were in general integrated into the verdant vegetation of the hills, and also the urban slopes of Dogenzaka and Miyamasuzaka were lined with low-rise buildings and inns. Therefore, travelers

---

[58] The old *Oyamakaido* (present day Aoyamadori).

along the Oyamakaido could gaze at a vast panorama which could even include the distant sight of Mount Fuji. Roads were constantly adapting to the various morphology of the area, thus displaying a typical meandering trace. A quite important landmark was surely represented by the bridge on the Shibuya River, connecting the two major slopes and providing an essential connection from Edo towards the southern Kanto area of present-day Kanagawa prefecture. As it is possible to see in Graphic 5.8, this description fairly characterises Shibuya also at the beginning of Meiji Era.

In the next page,

On top, Graphic 5.6, Topographic map of Shibuya station area (marked in red).

Under, Graphic 5.7, Land ownership and urban patterns in Shibuya station area in Edo Era. In red, the major road axis represented by Oyamakaido (based on (Yoshihara *et al.* 1994).
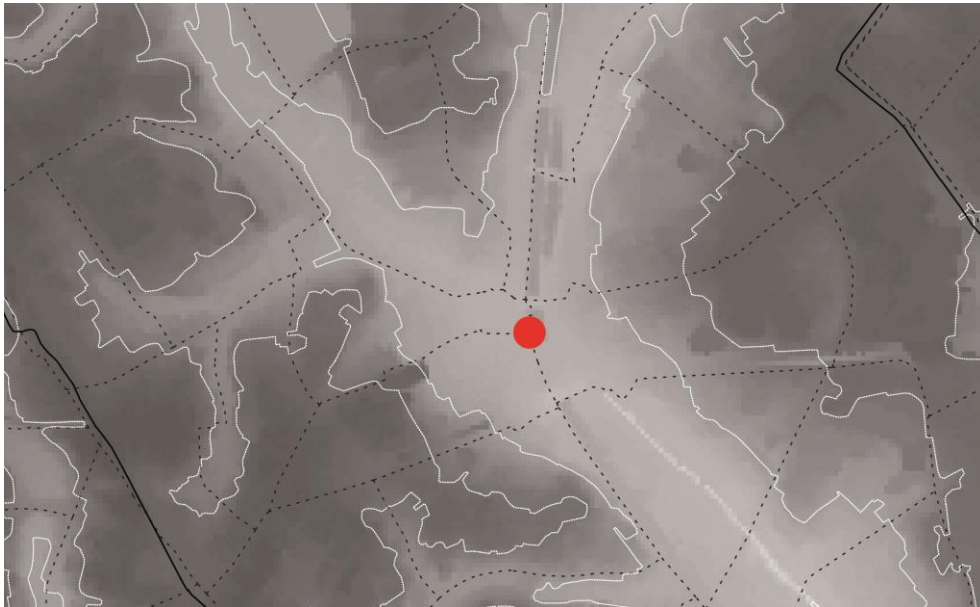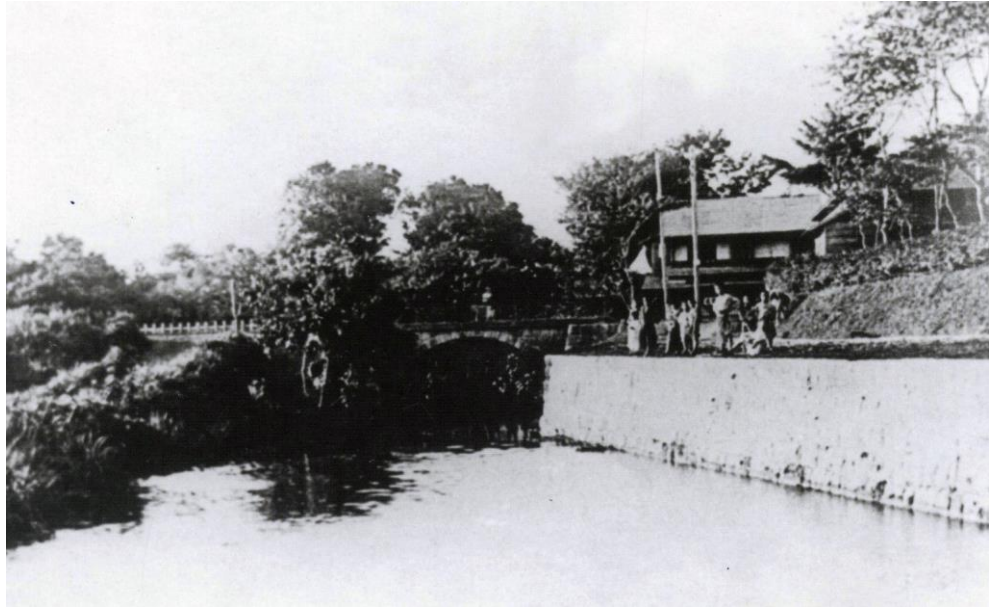
On top, Graphic 5.8, The Miyamasuzaka bridge on Shibuya River in 1901 (Shibuya Ward Board of Education 2007, p. 44).

Under, Graphic 5.9, Map of present-day Shibuya station area in early Meiji Era (around 1887) (from (Kaizuka and Shimizu 1995).

5.4 Nodes, Boundaries, and Trajectories: The Arrival of Railways and the Evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya as Nodes of a New Transit Network

As illustrated in Chapter 2, the arrival of railway determined a fundamental shift in the urban history of Shinjuku and Shibuya. In fact, supporting a rising flow of people and goods, the new transit infrastructures favored the progressive transformation of these two areas as new "cores" of early modern Tokyo. However, even if they share a comparable urban evolution, Shinjuku and Shibuya present also significant variations regarding place identity. Why is it so? Apart from their historical differences, this result is imputable to their different organization as transit nodes, or else, to the specific combination of micro-nodes, tracks, flows, and trajectories produced by railway in relation to the surroundings.

In both cases, the change will start with the arrival of the so-called Shinagawa line in 1885. Later known as Yamanote, this line represents the most important infrastructure in both Shinjuku and Shibuya because of its structural relevance and the passenger traffic it generates. For this reason, the analysis of the evolution of the two transit nodes will pay a special attention to the features connected with Yamanote line and its relationship with the two districts. For the sake of clarity, the two cases will be presented separately and following a chronological narration subdivided into four main phases covering roughly 30-years intervals which correspond to significant infrastructural transformations of the two stations. They are reported as below.

- <u>Phase 1</u>, from 1885 to 1920, corresponding to the initial configuration of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations in Meiji Era.
- <u>Phase 2</u>, from 1920 to 1945, covering the prewar development of the two areas in Taisho and early Showa Era.
- <u>Phase 3,</u> from 1945 to 1980, dealing with the first cycle of post-war redevelopments

- <u>Phase 4,</u> for recent transformations realized after 1980 till today.

Data have been acquired from relevant publications (Shibuya-ku 1966, ShinjukuEki 1985, Tamura 2013, Tamura and Uehara 2016), reproductions of original maps (Kaizuka and Shimizu 1995), or current cartography. On this basis, information is represented in graphs to illustrate intuitively the evolution of the two stations as composite nodes produced by the complex convergence and organization of railway networks in those areas (see graphic 5.12 and 5.13).

Graphic 5.10 – Early Yamanote line in between Shibuya and Ebisu (end of Meiji Era) (from (Shibuya Ward Board of Education 2007, p. 24).

In the next page, Graphic 5.11 – A comparison between (a) the placement of Shinjuku station (b) and the early placement (and later redevelopment) of Shibuya station (base maps from (Chizu shiryou hensankai 1999).

Graphic 5.10
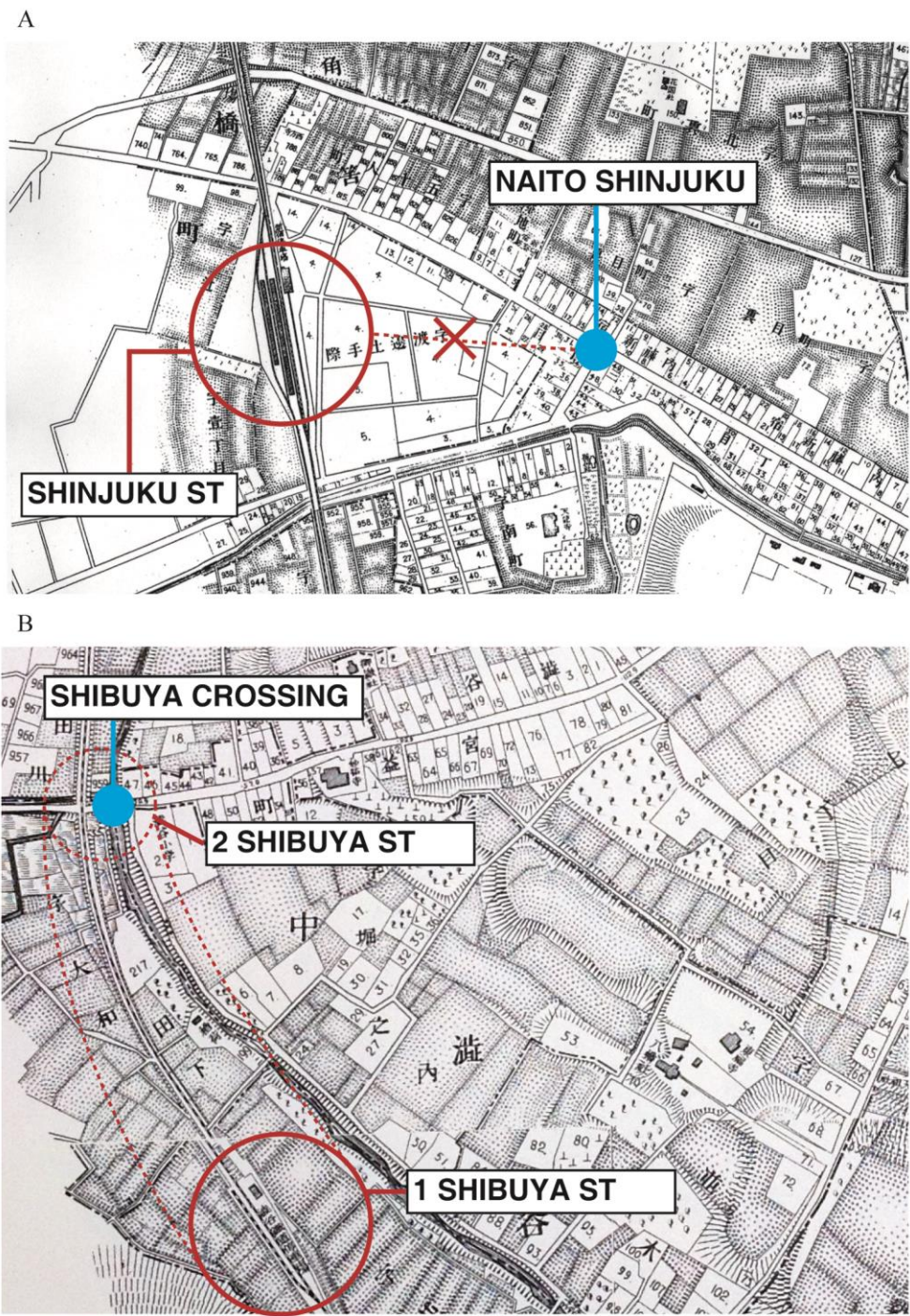
Graphic 5.11

5.4.1 The Multipolar Development of Shinjuku Transit Node

As a flourishing post town on a major roads junction, Shinjuku was immediately included in the plans for the western railway route that had to connect Shinagawa to Akabane. To maximize the impact of the new infrastructure nearby the existing town area, engineers sought to establish the station at the strategic bifurcation between Koshukaido and Omekaido. However, due to the strong opposition of local landowners and merchants, they were forced to move it about 500 meters west towards Yodobashi area (Nakamura 2005). The placement of Shinjuku station in this "countryside" location in 1885 represented a determinant and influential turning point for the urban history of the whole area (see Graphic 5.11).

In comparison with the existing infrastructures and natural alignments in Shinjuku, Yamanote line introduced an entirely new urban boundary. In fact, running in a northwest-southeast direction, it intersected Koshukaido and Omekaido almost perpendicularly creating a firm boundary in the proximity of the station, further reinforced by the opening of Kobutetsudo (甲武鉄道, nowadays Chuo railway line) in 1889. The presence of these various rail lines, deposits, and technical areas created a tick gap in the urban fabric, significantly affecting the sensitive spot represented by the bifurcation of the two main roads which from Edo era had polarised the development of the area. Conversely, a tram line (*Toden*) connected the area roughly corresponding to nowadays Shinjuku Sanchome Crossing with the core of the city, evidencing how the intersection of the two main roads represented an alternative polarity compared to the newly opened train station. (for a diagrammatic representation of this first phase of construction of the railway network of Shinjuku, see Graphic 5.12 a)

Fueled by the urban development after the Great Kanto Earthquake (1923), in Taisho and pre-war Showa Era Shinjuku Station continued to expand. In particular, the newly created Seibu tram line (heading west to Suginami) and the south bounded Odawara line (modern Odakyu line) established had their terminals

near the Yamanote line. Coupled with a problematic topography, this condition further complicated the configuration of the transit node. In fact, in the central part of Shinjuku Yamanote line is almost at ground level[59], thus creating a conflicting relationship between the different terminals and the existing streets[60]. As a result, Shinjuku Station started to be characterized by a substantial boundary effect, determining a configuration which will produce a fundamental influence on the experience of the place identity of the area.

In the next page,

Graphic 5.12 – Diagrams illustrating the developments of the transit node of Shinjuku station in four phases. Along with planar representation, a section is also included to illustrate the relationship between nodes, tracks, and trajectories with the surrounding topography.

---

[59] Tracks of Yamanote line in present day Shinjuku station are in fact at level 1. This would determine the fundamental evolution of the hub station and the placement of its main gates (see Chapter 6).

[60] For instance, while on the southern side of Shinjuku station Koshukaido almost immediately was elevated to overpass the railway crossing, Omekaido found its natural way progressively blocked by the successive development of different rail lines. While the major vehicle and tram flow would have been gradually channeled north to a suitable underpass favored by the sloping topography, the historical road came to an abrupt end in a small triangular plaza on the northern corner of the station. Only pedestrian could continue their way using a narrow underpass.

Phase 1) 1885 - 1920

Phase 2) 1920 - 1945

Prewar
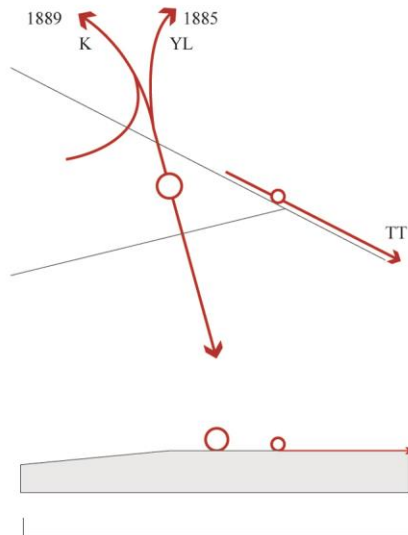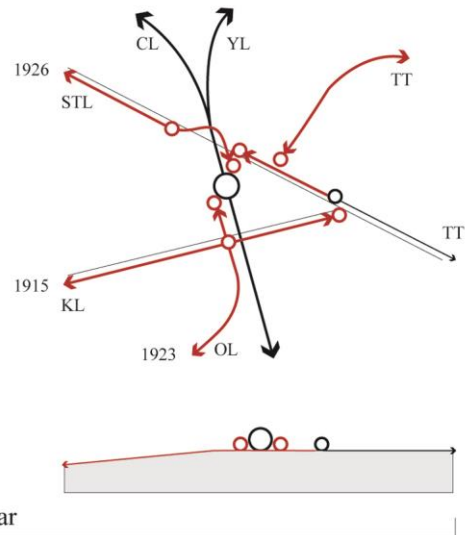
Phase 3) 1945 - 1980

Phase 4) 1980 -

Postwar
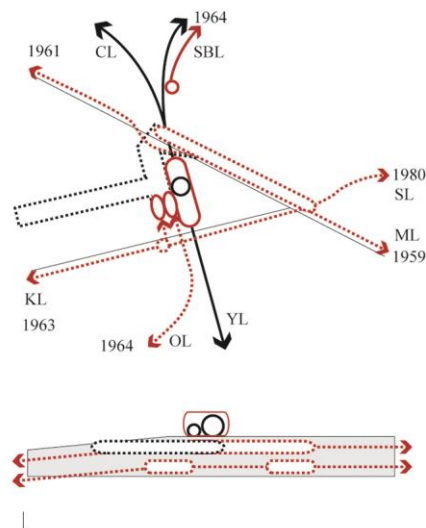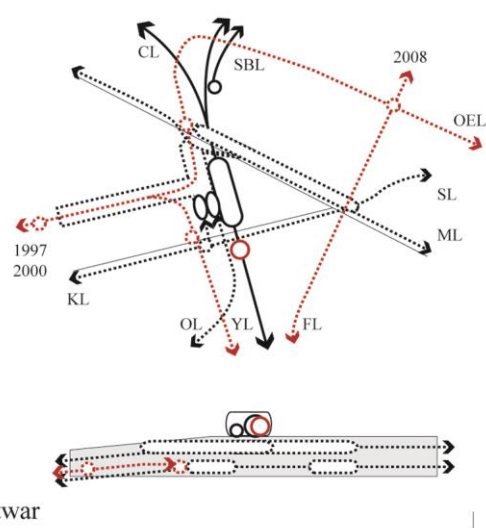
Graphic 5.12- The development of Shinjuku transit node. Codes for railway lines

YL – Yamanote line	CL – Chuo line	SBL – Seibu line	OEL – Oedo line
K - Kobutetsudo	KL – Keio line	SL – Shinjuku line	FL – Fukutoshin
TT - Toden	OL – Odakyu line	ML – Marunouchi	line
	STL – Seibu tram	line	

At the same time, the expansion and transformation [61]of Shinjuku in the 1920s also reinforced the bi-polar asset suggested by the early development of Meiji Era. The opening of Keio line in 1915 provides a clear example of the first dynamic. In fact, this private railway heading towards western Tokyo following Koshukaido had its terminal not at Yamanote line Shinjuku station, but rather near the bifurcation between the two main roads. At the same time, when another tram line (Ogikubo line) was connected to Shinjuku its terminal was also placed not far from the old fork. Therefore, if the various lines converging on the Yamanote line designed a flowing trajectory on the north-south axis, the progressive development directed towards the node of Shinjuku-sanchome ultimately composed an alternative east-west trajectory. The composition of these divergent polarities and trajectories represents a critical issue for the subsequent development of Shinjuku station and a fundamental contribution to its place identity.

Following the destructions brought by the Second World War, the postwar development of Shinjuku station was characterized by the expansion of subways and underground connections. First, it came the Marunouchi line (from 1959-1961), followed later by the underground transformation of the terminal segments of both Keio and Odakyu Lines (1963 and 1964), and the opening of Toei Shinjuku Line (1980). This massive underground reconfiguration produced significant consequences in terms of the overall configuration of the nodes and trajectories of Shinjuku stations. First, the terminal of Keio line was moved nearby that of Odakyu and Yamanote Line, while the new station of Keio New Line was created as part of a through-service with the Toei Shinjuku Line. Moreover, these infrastructural interventions, determined the creation of ample underground spaces, such as the Metro Promenade connecting with a continuous underground concourse

---

[61] For example, The opening of Meiji dori around 1930 and the subsequent creation of Shinjuku-sanchome crossing would further strengthen the role of this point as an alternative polarity compared to the station.

Shinjuku station with Marunouchi Line's Shinjuku and Shinjuku-sanchome stations. Indeed, this complex redevelopment can be interpreted as a response to the necessity to connect and coordinate the multiple trajectories and polarities of Shinjuku station in a more rationally and tightly connected system. Interestingly, in terms of place identity, the same phenomenon can be accounted for the general and diffused impression of Shinjuku station as a chaotic and unlimited labyrinth.

The most recent transformations of Shinjuku station have also been prompted by the realization of new underground infrastructures. In particular, Toei Oedo line was opened in various stages in between 1997 and 2000 promoting the opening of various new subway stations in the surroundings[62]. More recently, Fukutoshin line opened in 2008 under Meiji Dori connecting Shinjuku area with Shibuya and Ikebukuro through Shinjuku-sanchome station. These new interventions represent an attempt to ease the congestion of the Shinjuku node by opening new circular lines and transit points all around the main Yamanote line station. At the same time, they produced even more interwoven trajectories within the already complex dynamics concentrating on the transit-hub of Shinjuku, introducing further and diverse layers to the experience of its place identity.

At the same time, new developments on the south side of Shinjuku station are redesigning the appearance of a significant portion of the station. Following the opening of Shinjuku South Exit in between the 1970s and 1980s, a new exit was recently completed on the opposite side of Koshukaido road. Realised together with the new bust terminal of Shinjuku and the complex formed by Miraina Tower and NeWoman department store, the Shinjuku station new southern exit suggests a new turn promoted by railway in the place identity of Shinjuku area (see 5.6 for further detail on this point).

---

[62] Reference to Shinjuku, Nishi Shinjuku, Tochomae and Higashi Shinjuku stations. Among those, Shinjuku and Nishi Shinjuku are those more directly involved in the dynamics promoted by Shinjuku Station.

5.4.2 The evolution of Shibuya as a centered transit node

Going back once more the Meiji Era to illustrate the evolution of Shibuya station as a transit node, also in this case the construction of Yamanote line faced opposition. However, perhaps as a consequence of different land ownership patterns and actors involved, the result was quite contrasting. Indeed, the placement of the line followed the intention of the engineers running almost parallel to the course of the Shibuya River (see Graphic 5.10). This way, it was possible to take advantage of a relatively easy topography while intercepting the Oyamakaido at the strategic junction nearby the existing bridge. Only the "first" Shibuya station (1885) did not follow the original plans and was established south of the current location in which it would have been definitely moved a few years later in 1921.

As a consequence of the southern placement, the development of Shibuya in Meiji era started from a slightly southern location. This trend was further confirmed by the opening in 1907 of the suburban Tamagawaden tram line (玉川電), followed in 1911 by Tokyo City tram line (東京市電) connecting Shibuya with Aoyama and the center of Tokyo. Coming from the opposite sides of Shibuya station, respectively from West and East following the axes of Dogenzaka and Miyamasuzaka, they both turned south nearby the bridge on Shibuya river to come to an end near the Yamanote line station (see Graphic 5.13).

In the next page,

Graphic 5.13 – Diagrams illustrating the developments of the transit node of Shibuya station in four phases. Along with planar representation, a section is also included to illustrate the relationship between nodes, tracks, and trajectories with the surrounding topography.
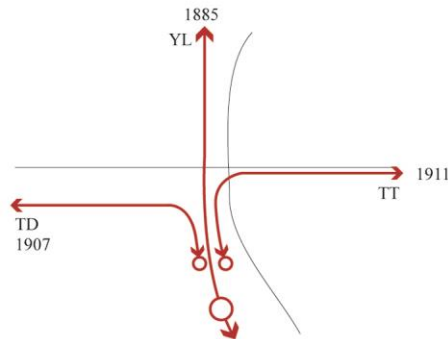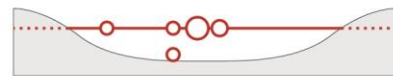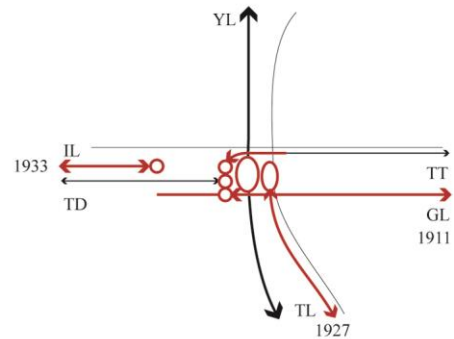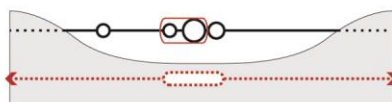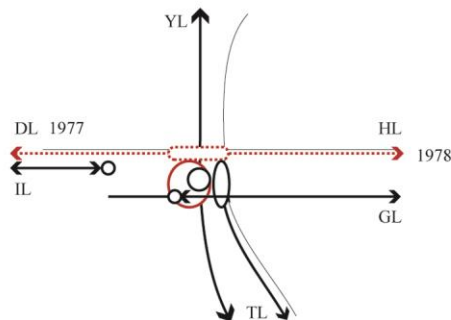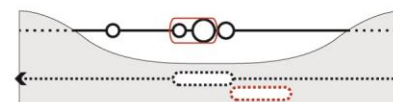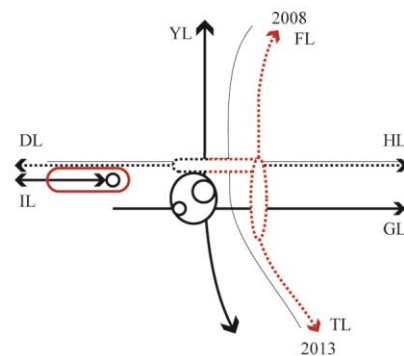
Graphic 5.13- The development of Shibuya transit node. Codes for railway lines

YL – Yamanote line	TL – Toyoko line	DL – Den-en-toshi line	FL – Fukutoshin line
TD - Tamaden	IL – Inokashira line		
TT - Toden	GL – Ginza line	HL – Hanzomon line	

The 1920s and 1930s represent a fundamental moment in the evolution of the transit node of Shibuya. To being with, in 1921 the station was moved along the Yamanote line approximately 300 meters north, reaching its present day position[63]. Later, around 1923, Tamaden expanded east towards Nakameguro and Tengenji, while in 1927 there was the establishment of the Tokyu Toyoko line which progressively connected Shibuya with Yokohama and the expanding southern suburbs of the capital. The opening of Teito Shibuya line (now known as Keio Inokashira Line) in 1933 and of the original nucleus of the Ginza line in 1938 completed the basic definition of Shibuya infrastructural node as a sort of four quadrants cross formed by a north-south and an east-west perpendicular axis. Following the traces of pre-existing infrastructures or natural elements, this cross was centered next to present-day Hachiko square. Although initially the terminal of these different lines were mostly autonomous nodes, their proximity resulted in a concentration of flows and trajectories in a unitary location, which would become the epicenter of Shibuya place identity.

In the same years, another infrastructural change deeply affected the structure of Shibuya's transit node. Following the establishment electrification in 1921, the tracks of Yamanote line were elevated on viaducts[64]. Determining the contextual repositioning of Shibuya station illustrated in the previous paragraph, this transformation also produced other notable effects. First, if at the beginning the tracks were placed on the ground — thus denoting a physical obstacle just next to the natural boundary provided by Shibuya River — the relocation of lines and platforms transformed rail into a porous and easy to cross boundary. Second, the presence of flows and trajectories, on different levels stimulated the vertical

---

[63] While in the previous location a freight cargo area will remain till the 1980s.

[64] Apart from the technical issues solved by this decision (such as the difference in height between the valley and the nearby hills), it transformed the Yamanote line in a different kind of barrier.

development of the station determining one of the distinctive place identity characters associated with Shibuya.

Although to a lesser degree, also in the case of Shibuya the post-war development of the railway node was characterized the construction of underground lines. In 1978 Hanzomon line was opened to connect with Den-en-toshi line (the underground replacement of the old Tamaden), thus completing the relocation a significant portion of the east-west railway-generated trajectories of movement. Once again, the two lines met roughly under Hachiko Square, thus reinforcing the importance of Shibuya crossing to intercept and organize flows going and coming from the station.

Recently, the opening of Fukutoshin line in 2008[65] represents the first completed portion of a more comprehensive transformation of the Shibuya node. In particular, the new line introduced a north-south continuous flow parallel to Yamanote line and expanded the underground concourse of the station on the eastern side of Shibuya station. At the same time, the ongoing works of renovation will involve the general restructuring of the JR station reducing the north-south gap between the tracks of the Yamanote line and Saikyo line (opened in Shibuya just 20 years ago in 1996), and the partial modification of the tracks of Ginza line. While these transformations already produced a significant extension of the underground concourses within the station, regarding place identity they seem o confirm the concentric and vertical nature of Shibuya station's node. However, since the renovation is still on-going, it is hard to predict with certitude its overall outcome.

---

[65] And the subsequent relocation of the Toyoko line terminal in 2013.

5.5 Rail, Prewar Urban Development, and Place Identity: Shinjuku and Shibuya as Transit-Oriented Districts

The prewar years represented a fundamental phase in the development of Shinjuku and Shibuya. Indeed, if at the end of Edo Era they were scarcely built urban locations, the arrival of railway inaugurated a new phase of rumbling urban development. Indeed, comparing maps produced in 1909 and 1937 (see (Kaizuka and Shimizu 1995) with those of early Meiji Era, it is possible to notice a significant change in terms of built coverage due to a fast increase in population (for accurate data on this topic, see (Shibuya-ku 1966). However, if the relationship between the advent of railway and Tokyo's urban expansion is a robust and well-supported argument (see Sorensen 2002, Okata and Murayama 2011, Calimente 2012), less clear is the place-identity embodied by those neighborhoods as a result of this prewar urban expansion.

If compared to the European context, this growth phase mostly took place "spontaneously" and without an overall planning strategy. What are the consequences on place identity produced by this distinctive and unique railway-led development? Reviewing the principal influences produced by rail over the pre-war urban expansion of Shinjuku and Shibuya, this section aims to assess some of its significant place identity qualities.

5.5.1 Brief Notes about the Method

At first, to trace the urban growth of the two case-studies, historical maps were georeferenced in a GIS environment. Then, after locating the position of train and tram stations, the built area was measured with reference to its distribution in the influence area of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations. In particular, the area has been divided into three sub-zones: two covering the hub-station area (0-250m) and to the station neighborhood (250-500m), while the third (500-800m) has been included to

add further elements of comparison. As the specific target of this section is represented by the analysis of the prewar urban development of Shinjuku and Shibuya, the conditions of each zone have been compared based on maps produced in 1909 and 1937. Undoubtedly, due to the intrinsic imprecision of the process of scanning and digitalization, a certain amount of inaccuracy in measures must be tolerated.

Moving forward, assessing the qualities associated with this prewar urban expansion is an endeavor which faces structural limitations. As a result of the destruction brought by the war, almost no buildings remain as a trace of this period in both the case studies. Nonetheless, it is possible to analyze other elements which allow inferring ideas about place-identity. Revealing the persistence or transformation of place-defining elements such as micro-boundaries, alignments, or plots, street patterns represent a predictive indicator. To produce relevant results, this kind of analysis has to sample data at regular intervals within the chronological evolution of the selected case studies. Accordingly, using maps covering the whole development of Shinjuku and Shibuya from Meiji Era (in particular, maps dating 1887, 1909, 1937, 1956, 1980, 2016), street patterns have been extracted, visualized, and analyzed in terms of alignments and street-width. Again, measures reported in tables and graphics have to be taken as fair approximations.

Similarly, the absence of preserved buildings represents a fundamental limitation towards an evaluation of the architectural qualities characterizing pre-war Shinjuku and Shibuya. Indeed, it is impossible to experience the spaces associated with the old stations or with that early urbanization. However, using secondary data and photographs as references (see for instance (ShinjukuEki 1985, Shibuya Ward Board of Education 2007), it will be possible to suggest and discuss qualitatively the characters associated with the appearance of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations, and their surroundings in the prewar period.

5.5.2 Developing with the Rail: Characters of Prewar Urban Expansion in the Districts of Shinjuku and Shibuya

Starting with the GIS sampling of the distribution of prewar urban expansion around Shinjuku and Shibuya stations (see Graphics 5.14 and 5.15), results are reported in the following table.

		Built Surface (%)			
		Total	0-250	250-500	500-800
Shinjuku	1909	62%	80%	58%	51%
	1937	72%	75%	69%	63%
Shibuya	1909	34%	48%	32%	27%
	1937	59%	68%	52%	44%

Table 5.2 – Distribution of built surface around Shinjuku and Shibuya stations in 1909 and 1937 subdivided into three influence zones.

These results seem to evidence a correlation between the fast development of Shinjuku and Shibuya and the presence of railway infrastructure. Indeed, the areas presenting the higher built density are those falling into the shortest distance from the stations, while values decrease moving progressively far from the transit points. Moreover, while the overall rate of the built area is higher in Shinjuku, Shibuya displays a faster growth in the considered period. However, these differences are also largely dependent on local urban conditions [66] which are not related to railway-led dynamics. Overall, if the presence of railway can only partially explain the growth around Shinjuku and Shibuya stations during the prewar years, it deeply

[66] For example, the presence of large and undeveloped compounds nearby the station (such as Shinjuku gyoen or the water treatment plant in western Shinjuku) forced a more concentrated development in the remaining lands. Moreover, the strong polarities represent by Shinjuku-sanchome crossing and by Yoyogi station just south of Shinjuku boosted an early residential development even in areas relatively far from the main station.

affected its overall symbolic characters. In fact, associating ideas such as density, velocity, rapid transformation to the built environment of the two districts, rail determined an essential shift in their urban image and, more in general, in their place identity.

To better understand the qualities of this prewar urban development, a significant case study was selected in both the station districts. In Shinjuku, the choice fell on the four administrative divisions covering the areas from Shinjuku 1-chome to Shinjuku 4-chome. Instead, in Shibuya, the selected area is that of Shibuya 2-Chome and 3-Chome. Without lingering over the specific history of these two areas (see (Reggiani 2017) for a morphological analysis of the case in Shibuya), from the results of the analysis (see Graphic 5.16 and 5.17) it is possible to draw some qualitative evaluations.

In the following pages,

Graphic 5.14 –Sample and analysis of the urban development of Shinjuku station area a) Phase 1 (1885-1921) , b) Phase 2 (1921-1945).

Graphic 5.15 –Sample and analysis of the urban development of Shibuya station area a) Phase 1 (1885-1921) , b) Phase 2 (1921-1945).

Graphic 5.16 –Street pattern evolution and analysis in Shinjuku 1-Chome to Shinjuku 4-Chome a-f) Evolution of street system. g) Persistent patterns h) Road width. Analysis based the following cartographic materials : a) (Chizu shiryou hensankai 1999) b-d) (Kaizuka and Shimizu 1995) e) (Kōkyō shisetsu chizu kōkū kabushikigaisha, 1980).

Graphic 5.17 –Street pattern evolution and analysis in Shibuya 2-Chome and Shibuya 3-Chome a-f) Evolution of street system. g) Persistent patterns h) Road width. Analysis based the following cartographic materials : a) (Chizu shiryou hensankai 1999) b-d) (Kaizuka and Shimizu 1995) e) (Kōkyō shisetsu chizu kōkū kabushikigaisha, 1980).

Built area
Unbuilt area

Railway or tram stations
Shinjuku station main influence radius (500m)

0-250 m (Hub-station area)
250-500 m (Station District)
500-800 m

Built area 1909
Built area 1937

A - Shibuya 1909

34%
■ Built area
■ Unbuilt area

■ Built area   ● Railway or tram stations
■ Unbuilt area – Shibuya station main influence radius (500m)

● 0-250 m (Hub-station area)
● 250-500 m (Station District)
● 500-800 m

B - Shibuya 1937

59%
■ Built area
■ Unbuilt area

■ Built area-1909
■ Built area-1937

Influence radius (m)
0-250   250-500   500-800
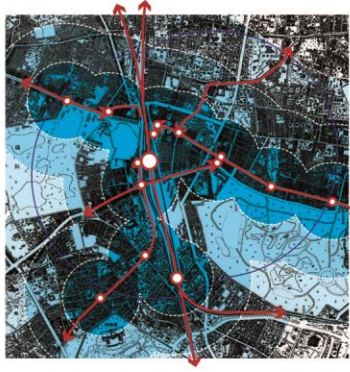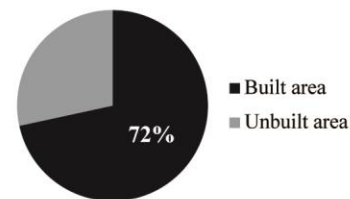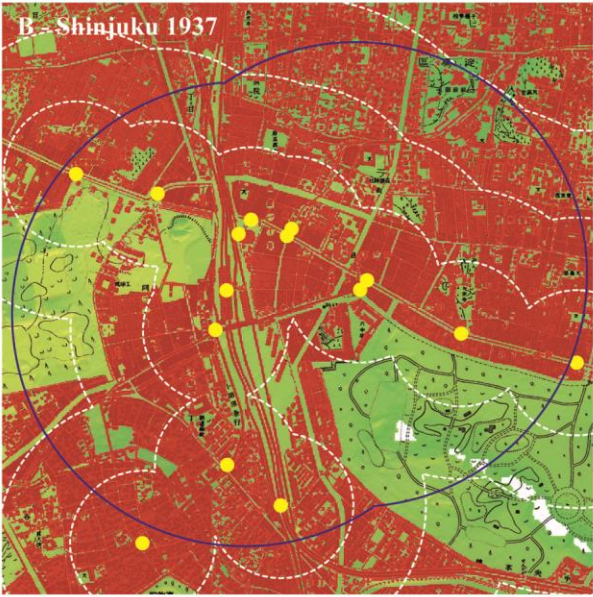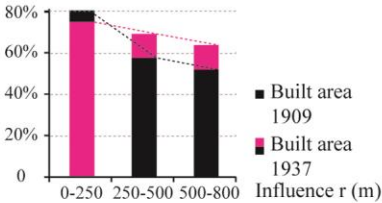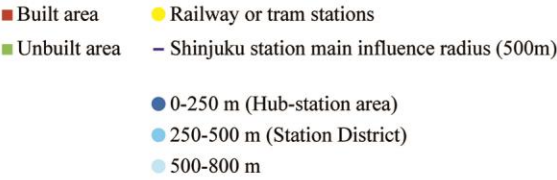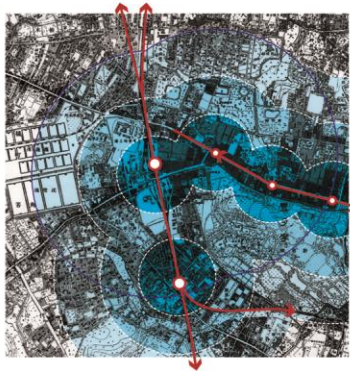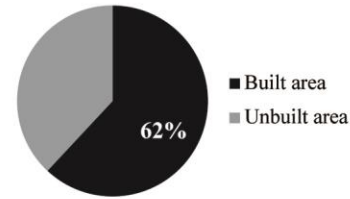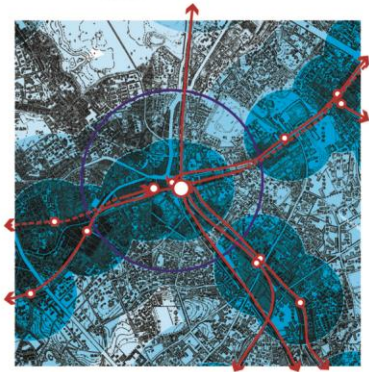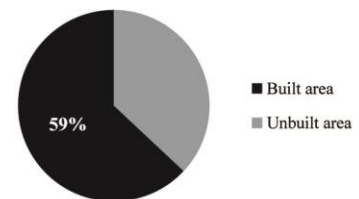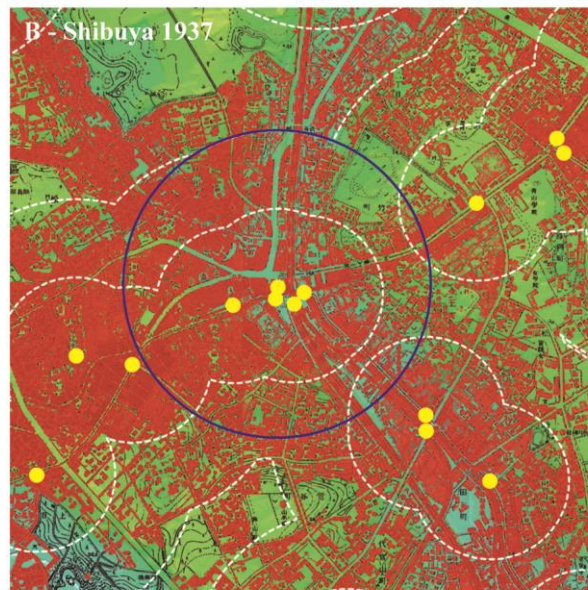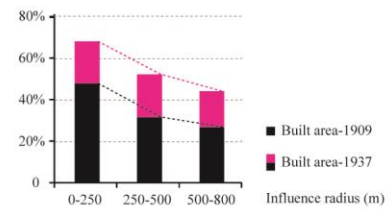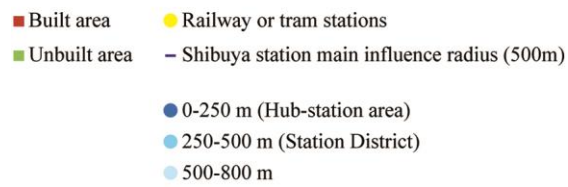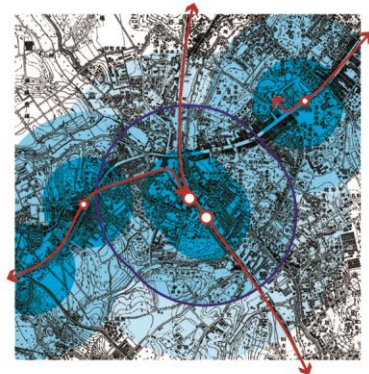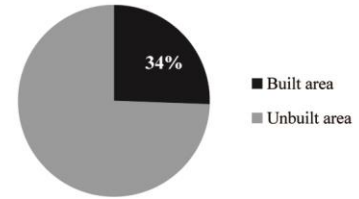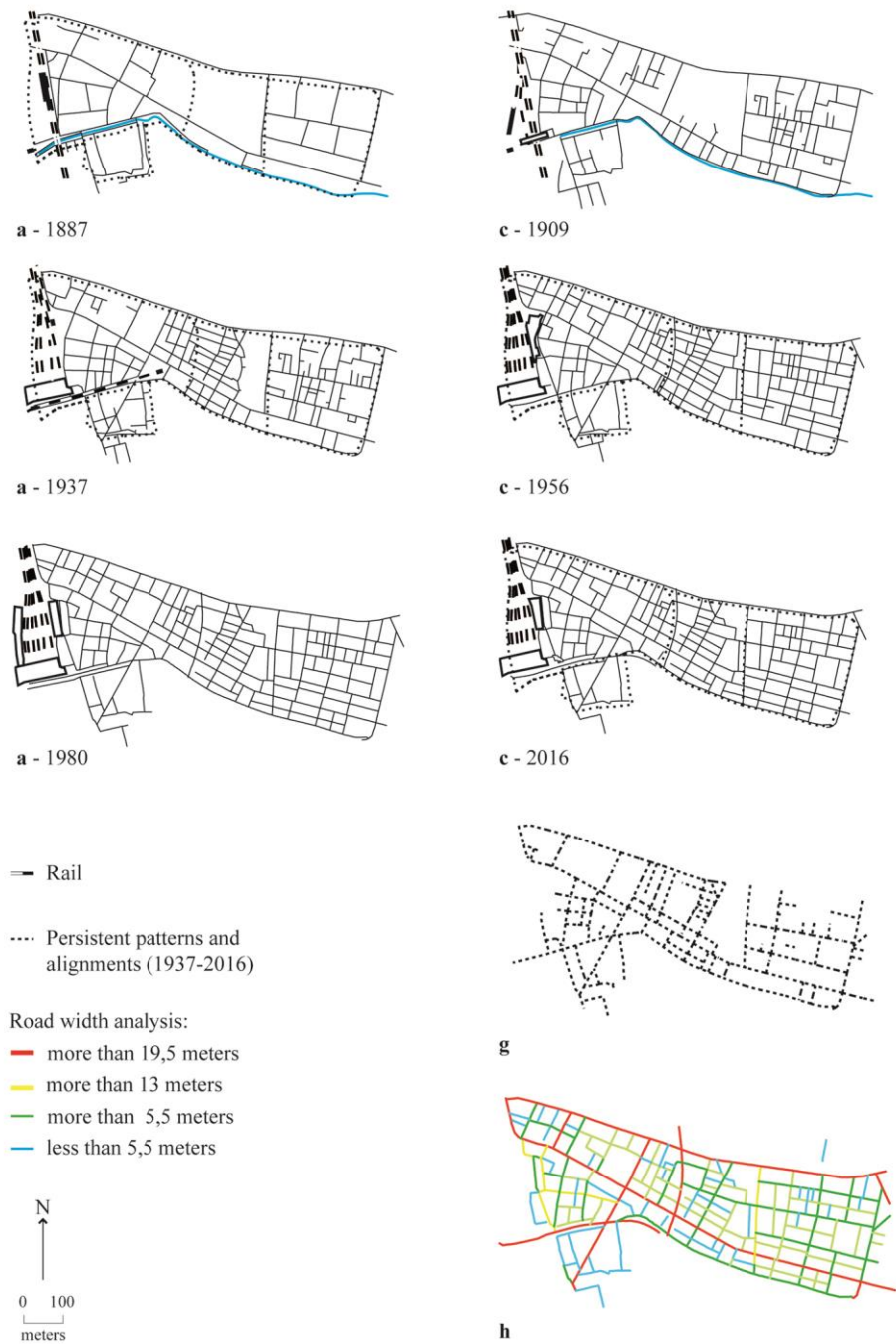
Graphic 5.16 – Street pattern evolution in Shinjuku 1-Chome to Sinjuku 4-Chome
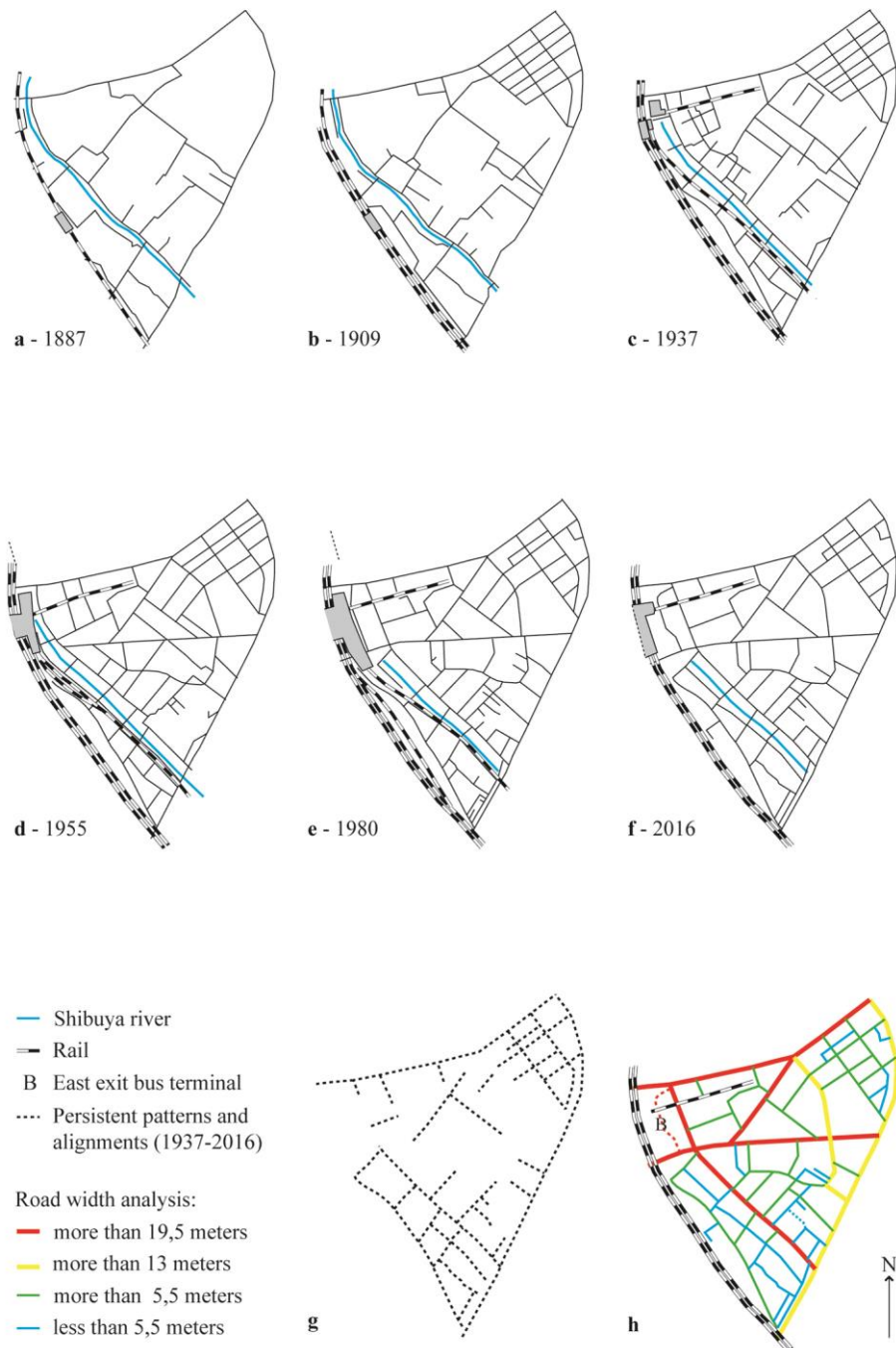
Graphic 5.17 – Street pattern evolution in Shibuya 2-Chome and Shibuya 3-Chome.

- While the presence of the station acts as a catalyst for expansion, major roads in the areas (such as Shinjuku-dori, Meiji-dori, or Miyamasuzaka) also play a role in defining the basic patterns of urbanization. In the absence of a general masterplan, built fabric tended to progressively fill empty areas, fragment preexisting plots, or follow alignments introduced by new roads over time.

- Overall, even if new roads were later introduced, the majority still follows those derived from pre-war development (roughly the 65% in Shinjuku 1-chome to 4-chome and the 68% in Shibuya 2-chome & 3-chome). However, especially in the case of Shibuya, the overall legibility of this pre-existent layout is hindered by the fragmentation determined by major highways just south of the railway station.

- In both the cases, the relative majority of roads have a width under 7 meters (43% in Shinjuku 1-chome to 4-chome and the 48% in Shibuya 2-chome & 3-chome). Moreover, a consistent percentage of roads have a with less than 5,5 metres (19% in Shinjuku 1-chome to 4-chome and the 27% in Shibuya 2-chome & 3-chome).

Although not systematically analyzed in the present study, similar patterns of development can be observed all around Shinjuku and Shibuya (with the notable exception of the skyscraper district of Nishi Shinjuku). Favored by the absence of a strong planning strategy, this condition suggests how the urbanization promoted by the presence of railways determined an urban structure which largely followed historically established alignments inherited from Edo. Moreover, as railway did not alter the fundamentally pedestrian characters of Tokyo's pre-war urban society, there was no need to enlarge streets which remained largely narrow till the present day.

5.5.3 The "Polarizing" Effect of the Railway Station on Surrounding Activities and the Transformation of Shinjuku and Shibuya as Transit-Oriented Districts

Another determinant influence of rail in defining the place identity of the areas of Shinjuku and Shibuya can be recognized in the polarising effect on the nearby activities. Indeed, the massive daily flow of passenger and commuter represented an incredible business opportunity not only for railway companies but also for a various number of other activities directly or indirectly connected with the commuting sequence. Shops such as restaurants, bars, department stores, but also club or entertainment venues prospered around those busy stations intercepting the existing flow and further increasing the appeal of the transit hub. This specific circumstance determined modalities of behavior which profoundly transformed the identity of Shinjuku and Shibuya and further contributed to establishing them as recognizable "transit-oriented" districts.

Regardless of the specific location, it is possible to evidence some common features in this polarisation of activities around such major hub stations. Among the different models, one widely referenced is that proposed by Cybriwsky (1991) (see Graphic 5.18). Correctly, he evidences how transit-oriented districts such as those around Shinjuku or Shibuya station tend to attract in their influence area a typical set of activities integrated into the daily routine of passengers[67]. This is typically the case of restaurants and retail services, but also department stores, offices, leisure and entertainment areas and even love hotels. This condition inevitably started to characterize the new identity of the two areas not only as interchange points but also as urban polarities. In fact, such a concentration of activities also included public services such as schools, post offices, banks, municipal offices, which stood as the physical and often symbolic representation of

---

[67] Similar patterns of polarisation can be observed to a lesser degree in local train stations through the appearance of linear shopping street or arcades (*shotengai*).

the modern city growing out of these transit-oriented districts. While this model can be recognized and described around the majority of railway stations in contemporary Tokyo, most likely it has its foundations in the prewar rail-led urban development of areas such as Shinjuku and Shibuya.

As exemplarily illustrated by the case of Shinjuku, the influence of railway proves again to be largely site-specific. If at the beginning business were slow to profit from the presence of the station, after the Great Kanto Earthquake and following the technological improvement of railway services a continuously rising flow of commuters started to concentrate in the area. This favorable condition rapidly attracted the attention of merchants and companies which began to establish their shops and activities in Shinjuku (see Graphic 5.19). Notable examples are provided by departments stores such as Mitsukoshi or Isetan, or by famous shops like the Nakamuraya curry, Tokyo Pan, or Kikokuniya books. The entertainment industry was also flourishing, with cinemas, clubs, and bars. Significantly, these activities mostly lined along the historical axis of Omekaido in between Shinjuku-Sanchome crossing and the station, emphasizing the fundamental dual polarity of Shinjuku.

If during Taisho and early Showa Era commercial activities in Shinjuku tended to concentrate on the east side of the station[68], in Shibuya the conformation of the area determined a different outcome. Indeed, in this case it is possible to observe a concentration of business and entertainment activities in the immediate surroundings of the station (Shibuya-ku 1966). Following the "centralized" pattern of development determined by the specific configuration of Shibuya station as a transit node, this occurrence further reinforced the role of Shibuya crossing as the epicenter of the whole district.

---

[68] Shinjuku's west side in the prewar period was occupied by the Yodobashi water treatment facility.

Image not included
In the abridged version

Graphic 5.18 Model of train station districts (from (Cybriwsky 1991, p. 166).

Graphic 5.19 –Shinjuku *Kanrakugai* street in pre-war Tokyo. In the background the shape of Isetan and Mitsukoshi Department store (ShinjukuEki 1985, p. 67).

5.5.4 Railway Stations and Beyond: The Architectural Image of Shinjuku and Shibuya Before the War

As already mentioned in the introduction of this Chapter, due to the occurrence of repeated catastrophes and the continuous afterward reconstruction, in general there are no physical remnants of pre-war era buildings in Shinjuku and Shibuya. Indeed, during the Second World War, even stations burned to the ground and currently there are no architectural features that remind of their previous forms. However, using pictures and descriptions it is possible to recall the appearance of the bustling development of the two areas in Taisho and early Showa year and further evaluate the contribution of the railway to determine their pre-war place identity.

As outlined in Chapter 2, also the urban image associated with those railway-oriented districts is intimately connected that comprehensive shift regarding mobility and urban experience produced by the metamorphosis of Tokyo into of a modern urban society. Indeed, thanks to the proliferation of shops and amenities targeting these new urban consumers, stations like Shinjuku and its nearby district became epitomes of modern life within the city of Tokyo (Freedman 2011). However, if compared with other principal urban areas developing in Tokyo during the same period, Shinjuku and Shibuya display rather different characters. Located on the suburban fringe of the city, symbolic concerns were secondary if compared to areas like Ginza or Marunouchi. Instead, their development was mostly unplanned and strongly influenced by the presence of railway (see 5.5.2).

Regarding urban image, the architectural appearance of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations represented the most direct contribution of the railway to the definition of local place identity. Indeed, those early stations bear no resemblance to their contemporary counterparts. Observing pictures of Meiji and Taisho, it is possible to notice how the two stations eclectically incorporated architectural elements of the European tradition such as bricks, small towers, pointed roofs, and approximately symmetrical facades (see Graphic 5.20, 5.21). This peculiar

aesthetic proved to be nothing but a fading fashion. Indeed, in the occasion of the reconstruction of Shinjuku station after the Great Kanto Earthquake, it was decided to adopt reinforced concrete and a "modernist" outlook echoing the proposals of European rationalism during the same years. Indeed, specific architectural features do not appear as especially determinant to establish a lasting place identity in relation to the station building. On the contrary, what seems to last is the desire to embody by means of the station the image of a regularly updated and functional modernity.

Promoting a widespread urban expansion, the presence of railways also indirectly contributed to determining the urban image of the two districts. As already discussed in the case of Shinjuku-dori (see 5.5.3), the appearance of a massive variety of different businesses deeply affected the redefinition of the urban image of the station district. In particular, as these activities were a display of modern life, they often presented eclectic architectural characters which created a memorable composition of signs, styles, and goods (see Graphic 5.19 again). Once again, the comparison with the case of Shibuya highlights how this outcome is also largely depended on other external factors. While some eclectic buildings group nearby the station, the overall impression is that of a rapidly developing suburb (Shibuya Ward Board of Education 2007). Indeed, while on the hills and around Aoyama it was possible to find rich and refined Western-style mansions of aristocrats, the valley or even the thriving slope of Dogenzaka were covered by rather low rise traditional buildings. What is even more striking is compared to Shinjuku, is the complete interpenetration of railway and trams within the urban fabric as a consequence of the different boundary configuration which completely superimposed track with the other major infrastructure and natural traces. If nowadays these differences are perhaps less apparent, a comparison between Shinjuku-dori and Shibuya crossing in terms of architectural appearance still bears traces of this initial differences.
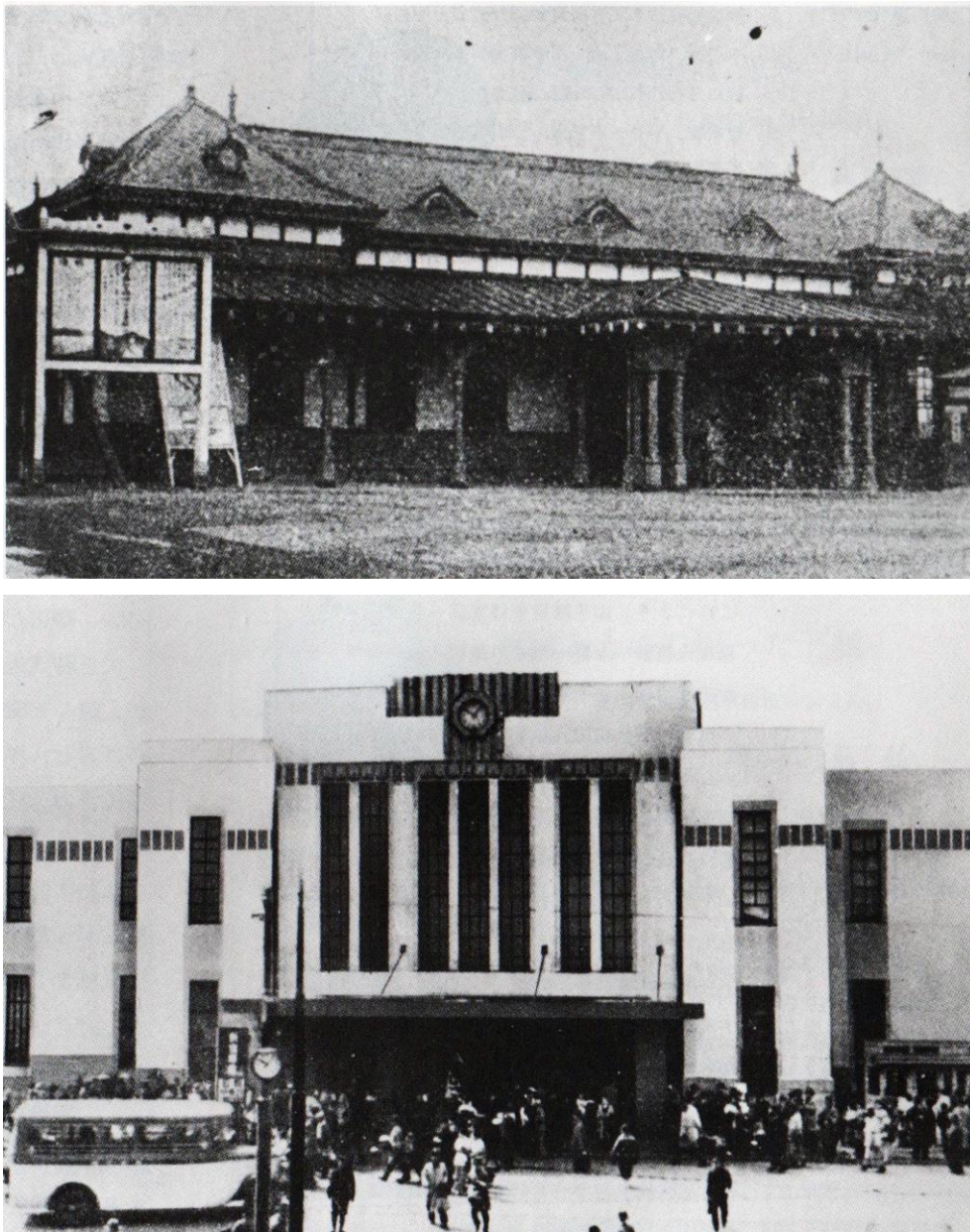
Graphic 5.20 – The evolution of Shinjuku Station. Above, Shinjuku station in Meiji Era (1905); Below, Shinjuku station in Taisho Era (1925) (Source (ShinjukuEki 1985).

Graphic 5.21 – Shibuya Station in Taisho Era (Shibuya Board of Education 2007, p. 50).

This image is not included
In the abridged version

Graphic 5.22 –Shibuya 1933 ca, the view to Dogenzaka along the Tamagawaden from the main Shibuya station (Hayashi and Miyawaki 1999, p. 123).

5.6 Place identity and The Restructuring of Rail in Postwar Tokyo: The Transformation of Shinjuku and Shibuya into Hub-Stations and Current Developments

The bustling development described in the previous sections suddenly stopped as a consequence of the Second World War. Indeed, like many other infrastructures, railways were deeply involved in the military effort of Japan. This condition would progressively darken the mood of Shinjuku and Shibuya while rendering them into targets for air raids into the late phase of the conflict. As a result, after intense bombings, both districts mostly burned to the ground, canceling in a matter of hours forms and architectures produced in 60 years of urban development.

Therefore, one of the first post-war priorities of the metropolitan and national government was represented by the repairing of the railway and train stations to restart some of the critical functionalities of the city. Thus, both Shinjuku and Shibuya were invested by a rapid and chaotic redevelopment which results far surpassed those of a mere reconstruction and which ultimately produced a substantially different articulation of these transit nodes if compared to their prewar development (as already evidenced about the network articulation of nodes and trajectories in section 5.3). Moving from the hasty reconstruction of the 1960s to some recent and ongoing redevelopment, this section will explore railway-led transformations affecting the place identity of post-war Shinjuku and Shibuya. They are anticipated as below.

- The effects of the privatization of JR and the changing profile of railway companies (5.6.1)
- Causes, effects, and influences on place identity of the transformations of Shinjuku and Shibuya station into transit hubs (5.6.2)
- Strategies, ongoing transformations, and prospective implications on place identity produced by railway companies as urban developers (5.6.3)

5.6.1 The Privatization of JR and the Changing Profile of Railway Companies

To be correctly understood, those previously-mentioned changes need to be contextualized within the general restructuring of the railway industry in post-war Tokyo. As discussed in Chapter 2, from the very beginning Japanese private rail operators had a distinctive regional scale. Usually connecting large urban centers to their surrounding regions, they favored the fundamental process of expansion and suburbanization which characterized Tokyo and other major Japanese cities in the 1920s and 1930s. This particular circumstance differentiated those companies from the Japanese National Railway (JNR) which operated instead on a national scale[69] and was generally prohibited from engaging in commercial activities not directly related to mobility purposes.

However, if in pre-war years the tendency had been to keep separated and distinct the business and operational profile of public and private railway companies, after the war this boundary started to be progressively softened. Although in principle the economic model remained the same, the differences between private railway companies operations and JNR were progressively fading as Japanese economy was transforming into a finance-based capitalistic society. Indeed, the final privatization of JNR in 1987[70] marked the end of an era and inaugurated a new season of competition among the different railway operators.

Just focusing on Shinjuku and Shibuya areas, in total it is possible to count four companies directly operating in the rail business (JR East, Tokyu Corporation, Odakyu Electric Railway, Keio Corporation), plus two companies managing undergrounds transport (Tokyo Metro and Toei Transportation). Without engaging

---

[69] Although this national network had a strong impact also at the urban scale, as clearly demonstrated in Tokyo by the Yamanote or the Chou lines.

[70] As a consequence, the company was divided into six regional branches (JR East being that in charge of managing Tokyo and the Tohoku regions) and a national branch devoted to freight, all operating as private companies.

in a technical discussion about the structure and the operations of this companies, it will suffice to say that they all share a successful business model based on a pronounced diversification of business operations which allow them to develop sophisticated strategies of technical upgrade and development in connection with their influence areas (Saito 1997). Perhaps reflecting a different tradition of business relations and management, these similar profiles allowed over time to achieve highly standardized services allowing these various operators to establish interconnected relations (see for instance PASMO cards or the so-called "through" services between different lines). Nevertheless, different companies also present slightly different agendas and specificities about their territorial locations or connected to their identity and branding construction.

As many of the place-identity features of Shinjuku and Shibuya are rooted in this various strategies, to provide complementary information to understand the range and incisiveness of railway-led place identity transformations two brief profiles of JR East and Tokyu Corporation are provided as below[71].

- <u>JR East</u> not only represents the dominant regional player according to the extension of the network and the number of passengers, but it also inherited the control of Tokyo's core infrastructures such as Yamanote and Chou lines (Aoki 2002a). After JNR privatization, the role of JR East significantly expanded promoting a broad range of different infrastructural, functional, and urban improvements to support and profit out of activities related to its core business. Indeed, the introduction of SUICA in 2001, or the starting of the *Station Renaissance* program in 2002, represented fundamental steps which in turn became standard models for all the other

---

[71] JR East and Tokyu Corporation have been selected as they are not only the main operators respectively in Shinjuku and Shibuya areas, but also as they epitomize in terms of complexity and intensity the characters associated with all the other companies operating in the area such as Odakyu Electric Railway or Keio Corporation.

major competitors. Thanks to this "institutional" profile, words like growth, safety, or community seems to be a major concern and mission for the company[72]. Interestingly, JR East has a special relationship with Shinjuku. As it is the largest station on its network and the location of its headquarters, Shinjuku has frequently been involved in important redevelopment projects promoted by JR East which exerted a powerful and lasting influence on the place identity of the districts.

- <u>Tokyu Corporation</u> represents a very interesting case-study and epitomizes much of the feature within the classical business model employed by Japanese private railway companies (discussed earlier Chapter 2). As one of the first operators to introduce the *Hankyu model* in the Tokyo-Yokohama region, it surged as the dominant player (JR East excluded) in terms of passengers and profits among the other private railways in the Tokyo area (Takashima 2002). This top position was achieved thanks to a cunning strategy of business diversification based on the integrated development of infrastructures and urban areas located mainly in southern Tokyo. Indeed, Tokyu operates in an uncountable range of different sectors, ranging from hotels to retail and which significantly account for the primary revenue of the company (Takashima 2002). Being Shibuya the central transit hub for the company (and the terminal of its two busiest railway lines, Den-en-toshi and Toyoko lines), the progressive evolution of this station, and consequently the place identity of Shibuya, they both have been widely influenced by the action of Tokyu Corporation. In particular, the area is imagined as an 'urban theme park' characterized by 'entertainment,' 'lifestyle,' 'culture,' and 'creativity' (Tokyu Corporation 2015).

---

[72] As frequently stresses in any of the annual JR East reports easily available online.

5.6.2 The Transformation of Shinjuku and Shibuya Stations into Transit-Hubs: Causes, Effects, and Influences on Place Identity

As postwar Tokyo started to grow again, so did the number of commuters gravitating around its railway stations. In Shinjuku or Shibuya, the situation was particularly dramatic. Due to the convergence of many urban and suburban lines and their designation as urban "subcenters" in the 1950s, the two stations were characterized by terribly overcrowded train, especially during morning and evening rush hours. Moreover, due to the gradual expansion of subways from the late 1950s[73] and to the lack of integration between the different lines, the various interchanges were quite inconvenient.

This condition represented both a primary challenge and an incredible opportunity from the standpoint of railway companies and, more in general, public authorities. In principle, the ideal to be achieved was to guarantee a smooth, undisturbed, fast, and comfortable flow of people to and from the station. At the same time, the presence of such a steady flow of commuters could be potentially exploited for profit if adequately channeled towards commercial facilities. Indeed, the pursuit of these two objectives represents the leading force behind the transformation of the Shinjuku and Shibuya stations into a new distinctive typology of transit nodes.

Again, this result was dependent on the specific contingency. As noted by Ando (2010), due to the scarcity of public funds many reconstruction projects were carried on jointly by private and public actors (mainly represented by the old JNR). This condition prompted the transformation of old stations into 'general public stations' following a scheme in which the cost for 'facilities intrinsic to the stations, such as ticket offices, were covered by JNR, while the cost for waiting rooms,

---

[73] The only subway operative before the war was the Ginza Line connecting Shibuya with Asakusa.

concourses and toilets were split between JNR and the private developer; costs for restaurants and shops were covered by the private developer who retained the station facility management rights.' (Ando 2010, p. 29). Moreover, the abolition of the ban forbidding JNR from running commercial facilities in 1971 and the privatization of the company in 1987 would further accelerate the development of a new typology of railway stations. Integrating different transit infrastructures, various private operators, and a complex mixture of functions, Shinjuku and Shibuya stations started to be characterized as complex transit-hubs.

Shinjuku Station: The Creation of an Underground Urban Labyrinth, West Underground Plaza, and the Southward Expansion of Commercial Facilities

Roughly extending its structures over an area of more than 2,5 km^2 and linking together ten different major and minor railway or subway stations referring to the same toponyms (Tamura and Uehara 2016), present-day Shinjuku station ranks not only as the most crowded station in the Tokyo area but perhaps in the world. Daily used by more than 3 million people it is an archipelago of rails, corridors, shops, and buildings in which is inevitable to get lost at least once in a while. Nevertheless, in general terms, the afterwar development of Shinjuku station can be interpreted as a responsive adaptation under the stimulus of two fundamental problems. The first being the designation of the area as a western subcenter of Tokyo; the second represented by the constant research of a solution to the "technical" problem posed by the massive amount of commuters transiting daily from the station.

Significantly, the first step in this process was marked by the progressive development of subway and underground spaces all around the station. As already introduced while discussing the development of Shinjuku station as a transit node in 5.4, the first subway line to be completed in Shinjuku was the Marunouchi line in 1959, connecting western Tokyo to the central cores of Ginza and Marunouchi. The opening of this subway had a fundamental impact on the evolution and the

place-identity of the district. First, as the line was basically following the historical axis of the Koshukaido and Omekaido it further reinforced the role of this ancient road as an urban polarity. Second, the opening of Marunouchi line determined at the same time the creation of a vast underground pedestrian connection between the newly created stations of Shinjuku and Shinjuku-sanchome[74]. Named as "metro promenade" (メトロプロムナード) this passage connected not only the two stations but also a countless number of facilities along the way, producing an intricate connection between train, commercial activities and subterranean car parking. As a result, if this configuration distinctly reinforced the multi-polar character of Shinjuku, it also provided for the first time a continuous and independent connection between them.

Later on, with the progressive opening of department stores linked to the main Shinjuku station in the early 1960s[75], new commercial and underground spaces were opened and directly connected with the station's concourses and the underground promenade. Similarly, in 1973 the opening of Shinjuku Subnade expanded this network north in the direction of Seibu Shinjuku Station, while the development of the skyscrapers directional district of NishiShinjuku and the inauguration of the West Underground Plaza played an analogous function in the west of the station. The subsequent opening of Toei Shinjuku line in 1980, Oedo line in 1997-200, and of Fukutoshin line in 2008, further reinforced the importance of this subterranean station as one of the key functional and connective features of the hub-station represented by Shinjuku.

---

[74] Significantly located at the intersection between the old Koshukaido, Omekaido and Meiji dori.

[75] See for instance the construction of Shinjuku station building (1964) on the east side, or the opening of the various department stores of Keio (1964) and Odakyu (1962) corporation. For a more comprehensive chronology of this development see (ShinjukuEki 1985).

Graphic 5.23 – Images of Shinjuku West Exit. O*n top*, Shinjuku Station, (Copyright Dick Thomas Johnson, Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/31029865@N06/25724158606). *under*, Shinjuku Underground West Exit, Panorama (Photo by the author).

As already anticipated, this process of transition towards the creation of hub-stations in postwar Tokyo is directly connected to the changing profile of its railway operators. Likewise, the privatization of JNR into JR East in 1987 provided a further impulse to the transformation of Shinjuku station. First, it came the opening of the South Exit and the connected realization of the new department stores Lumine 1 (1976), Lumine 2 (1987), and the adjoined MyLord (1984) by Odakyu company which also had opened its Southern Exit. Subsequently, prompted by the relocation from Marunouchi of the JR East headquarters, a new extensive development on the south of Koshukaido lead to the realization of Shinjuku southern terrace in 1998 (see Chapter 7 for an analysis of this urban operation). This process of progressive expansion and continuous reorganization is still ongoing, as testified by the recent opening of Shinjuku station New South Exit and the connected Miraina Tower (2016) at the strategic northern extremity of Shinjuku southern terrace.

Regarding architectural design, each of these interventions distinctively shared the fade of its decade. Thus, if buildings and projects in the 1960s are in the stream of Japanese modernism, well represented by the projects of Junzo Sakakura for Odakyu Corporation[76] (see Graphi 5.23), those concentrated around Shinjuku Southern Exit are inspired by a sober post-modern appearance. While single gestures like the West Underground Exit Plaza rapidly entered in common imaginary, their overall programmatic tendency to uniform sobriety within an eclectic variety of styles confers to these architectures a "softer" impact on place identity regarding iconic appearance. On the contrary, more recent constructions like Miraina Tower seem to display new characters which will be illustrated in 5.6.3 while discussing the new interventions around Shinjuku and Shibuya station.

---

[76] Above all, Odakyu Department Store and Shinjuku West Underground Exit Plaza.

Shibuya Station: Vertical Development and the Influence of a Dominant Operator

In general terms and at a lower scale, Shibuya station displays a similar pattern of development. Fuelled by the economic boom and by the events connected with the XVIII Olympic Games of 1964, also Shibuya witnessed an incredible and fast reconstruction and chaotic expansion after the end of the war. Again, the transformation of the station into one of the major transit hubs of Tokyo played a determinant role in this process. However, if compared to the case of Shinjuku, the presence of a dominant railway operator produced significant consequences on the evolution and the place identity of Shibuya.

Although the presence of JR lines and Keio Inokashira line was determinant to define the overall structure of the transit node represented by Shibuya station, it is fair enough to concede that large part of the characters of the station is directly related to the evolution and the strategies of Tokyu Corporation. If the role of the company was already strong before the war as a consequence of the presence of the fundamental suburban connections represented by Tamagawaden and Toyoko line, it is after the war that the business operations promoted by Tokyu group started to grow exponentially. Again, this transformation is marked by the construction of several department stores all around the station[77] paralleled by the creation of an intricate system of concourses and spaces to interlock rails, movement, station buildings, and commercial facilities [78] (see Graphic 5.24). Although many of the original buildings have already disappeared, similar to the case of Shinjuku they display a mild and eclectic modernist fade, such as the Shibuya Station West Building or the Tokyu Bunka Kaikan.

---

[77] Such as the soon to be replaced Toyoko Department store, and the already demolished Tokyu Department store, Tokyu Plaza, or Tokyu Bunka Kaikan (now replaced by Hikarie Building)

[78] For a more comprehensive and detailed description, see (Tamura 2013).

Image not included

In the abridged version

Graphic 5.24

Among those connections, the construction of underground space played a determinant role, and not by chance the initial nucleus of this expansion was represented by the construction of the Tokyu department stores. Opened in 1957, ShibuChika[79] (しぶちか) constitutes one of the oldest kind of commercial underground spaces in Japan. Extending under Shibuya crossing and reaching the initial slopes of Dogenzaka, ShibuChika represented an extension of the shopping space of the department store under the station square which is literally duplicated into a subterranean level devoted to shopping and leisure. The opening of the Hanzomon line in 1978 directly connected with Den-en-toshi line (the underground replacement of the old Tamaden), further reinforced this tiny space as a transit point. As it is possible to observe from this specific example, although the scale of the intervention was limited in comparison with Shinjuku, the motivations behind the process are the same.

In contrast with the rumbling development of Shinjuku, the underground space in Shibuya would remain quite limited for several decades. This condition did not mean a less vital and incisive transformation of Shibuya into a complex hub-station. Indeed, contrarily to Shinjuku station, in this case the presence of numerous line connecting in the node at and above level 2F (Yamanote line, former Toyoko line, Inokashira line, Ginza line) produced a different vertical dynamism.

In the previous page,

Graphic 5.24 – The development of Shibuya Stations in 1961 (taken on February 1st, 1961) (source (Sugizaki 2013, p. 53).

---

[79] Abbreviation of *Shibuya Chikamichi.*

In turn, this condition promoted a continuous reorganization of the various spaces and department of Tokyu group and the spaces around the core of the station. For instance, around 2000, on the occasion of the redefinition of the terminal of the Keio Inokashira line, the new functionally mixed and high-rise complex of Shibuya MarkCity opened above the renewed terminal. More recently, the opening of Fukutoshin line in 2008 (and the consequent underground relocation of the Toyoko line terminal in 2013) triggered a new general transformation of the area immediately east of the Shibuya station. Not only the new line provided an additional portion of underground space connected with the original one on the east side. Indeed, the relocation of Tokyu line infrastructures represented the starting point of an overall redevelopment project which is changing once again the face of Shibuya and will prove full of consequences for the future definition of its place identity.

5.6.3 Railway Companies as Urban Developers: Strategies, Ongoing Transformations, and Prospective Implications on Place Identity

Besides the variety of multi-functional buildings directly adjoined to the two stations illustrated in the previous subsection, railway companies developed or acquired many other properties around Shinjuku and Shibuya. Indeed, to diversify their business railway companies had to physically occupy and develop plots beside the area occupied by their hub-stations to further expand their influence in the two districts. From this standpoint, mapping the position of the various facilities directly of jointly owned by railway groups in the two areas, it is possible to observe several differences between the two cases. As it exceeds the aim of the study to systematically uncover the historical or economic reason behind this process, in this subsection the different profiles of Shinjuku and Shibuya are briefly illustrated to qualitatively evaluate the possible impact on place identity of the two configurations.

- The results of mapping in Shinjuku area suggests how the distribution of the primary facilities owned by the three most important railway companies converging in Shinjuku seems to trace the historical development of each respective lines (see Graphic 5.25). Thus, if the JR East-owned Lumine department stores cluster on the eastern and especially the southern side of the station, Odakyu's departments (Odakyu Department Store, HALC, Mosaic Street, Milord) are aligned in a north-south interlocked sequence following Odakyu line on the western side of Shinjuku station. Conversely, facilities owned by Keio Corporations form a sort of east-west axis which reminds of its historical development back in 1915 (see 5.4.1). Instead, the southern extension provided by Shinjuku Southern Terrace is a mixed development by JR East and Odakyu Electric Railway.

- The overall configuration around Shibuya is quite different if compared to that of Shinjuku. Using Tokyu Group's owned properties as a target for the mapping[80], Graphic 5.26 shows how the company owns or controls many facilities located in the influence radius of the station (the most notable cases being Tokyu Honten and Bunkamura, Shibuya 109, QFRONT, Hikarie Building, or Cerulean Tower). While this layout allows Tokyu to expand its influences all over the area of Shibuya, it also reveals another strategy of urban "colonization." Often replacing the function and the appearance of sensitive spots within the urban fabric (see the case of the transformations of the plot of Hikarie building), these buildings are usually located in angular plots becoming recognizable landmarks.

---

[80] As Tokyu Corporation represents statistically the major player in the area.

a

(a) The former Shinjuku Station West Entrance and (b) after the intervention of Junzo Sakakura

The architectural transformation of (c) Shinjuku Southern Exit and (d) vicinities
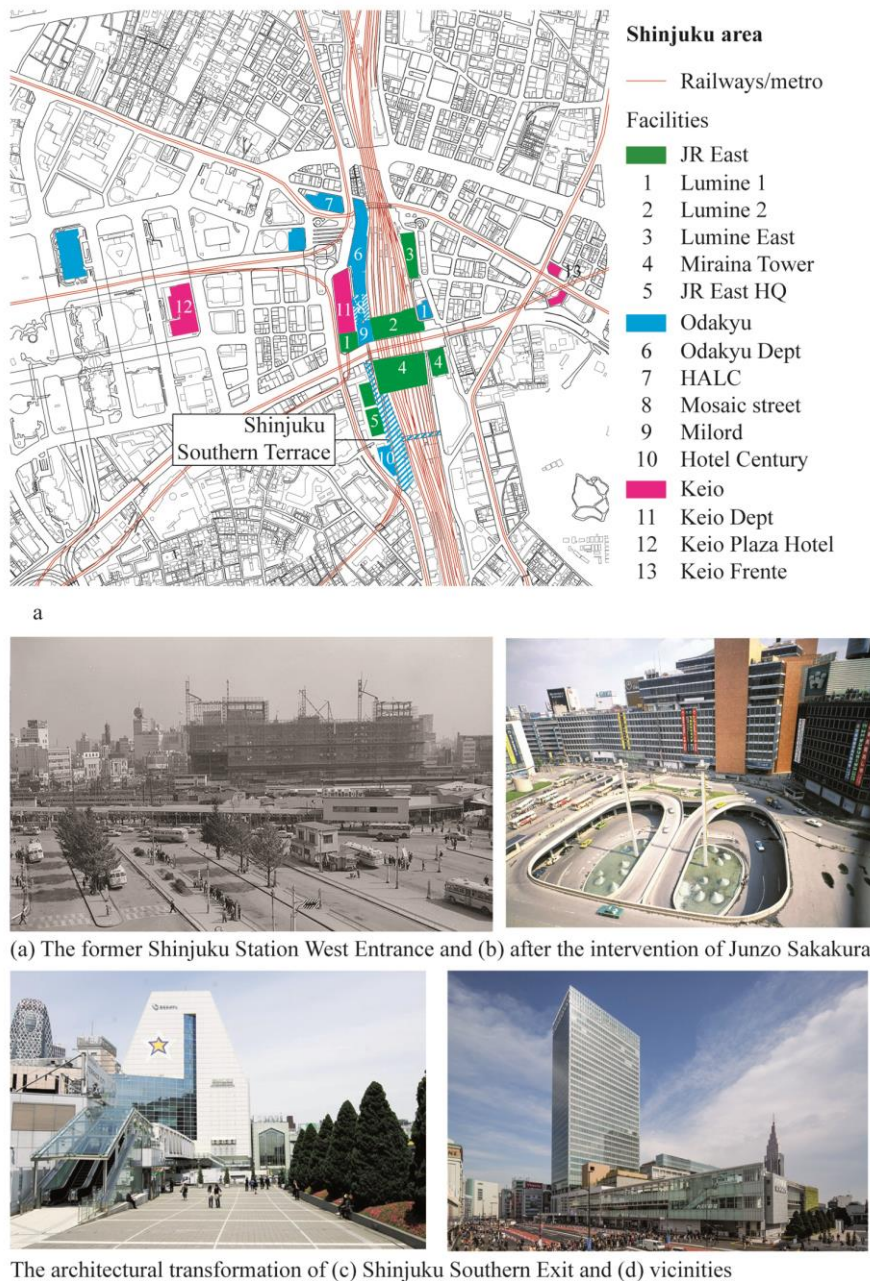
Graphic 5.25 - Mapping major buildings owned or developed by railway companies around Shinjuku station. a) (Copyright Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Source: http://www.koho.metro.tokyo.jp/PHOTO/contents/sp3/pages/1963_10_23_011421.html ; b) (Source: https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sakakura-Junzo) c) (Copyright: Odakyu Corporation, Source: http://www.odakyu.jp/english/2015wc/shinjuku/ ; d) (Copyright Nagai Technos, Source: http://www.naigai-technos.co.jp/jituseki/detail.php?seq=54)

Shibuya area

— Railways/metro
■ Station

Facilities

■ Tokyu group owned facilities
▨ Under constr.

1 Tokyu Honten Bunkamura
2 Shibuya 109
3 QFRONT
4 Mark City
5 Tokyu Dept.
6 Cerulean Tower
7 Hikarie
8 Cocoti

* co-owned

N

b
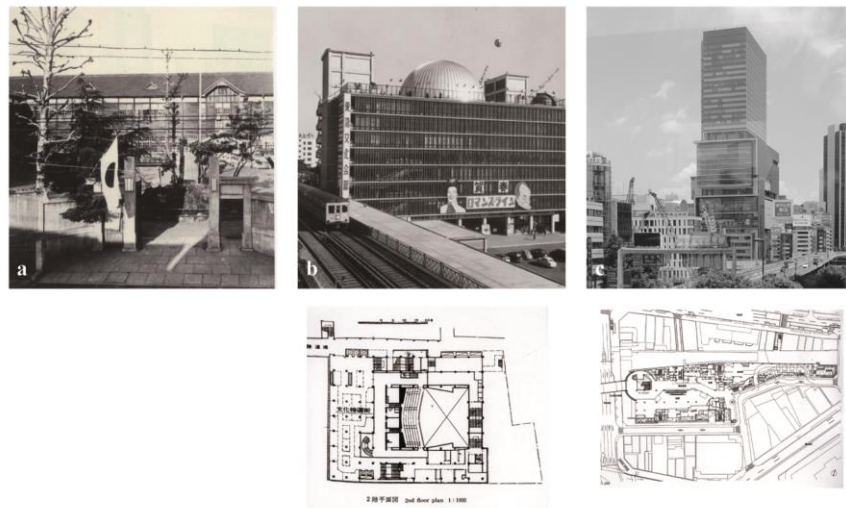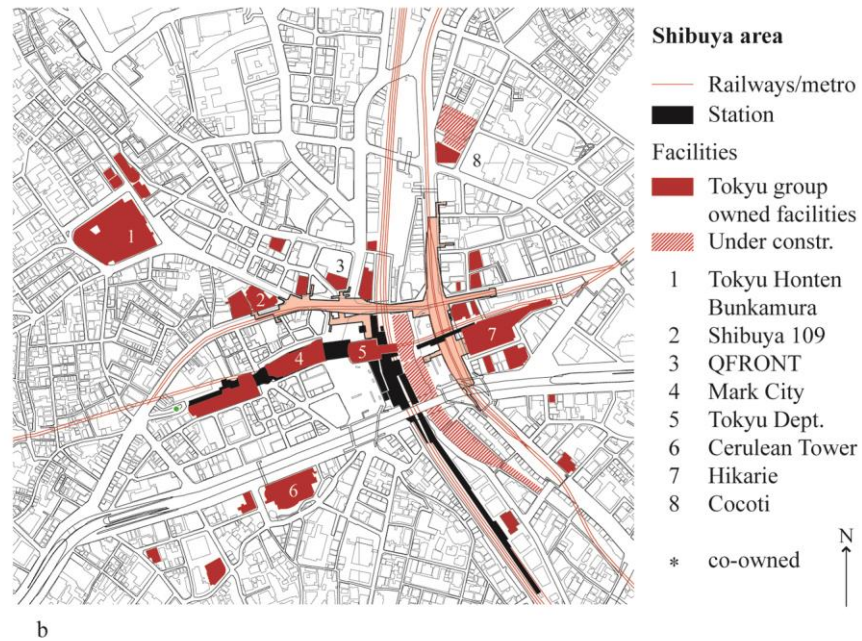
Hikarie's plot evolution a) Shibuya Elementary School (1875-1943)(大正13年 (渋谷の記憶 p.40) b) Tokyu Bunka Kaikan (1955-2003) (ph. Shirane Memorial Museum) c) Hikarie Building (2012-)

Graphic 5.26 - Mapping buildings owned or developed by railway companies around Shibuya Station, and the evolution of the plot currently occupied by Hikarie building.

Overall, these results suggest a progressive shift in the role of railway companies as urban developers. To further understand the characters of this process and its implications concerning place identity it is useful to survey more in detail few of the interventions mentioned above.

The case represented by the area south of Shinjuku station is exemplary. In the context of the strategies envisioned by Tokyo Metropolitan Government to decenter strategic activities in Shinjuku as an alternative sub-center of the central business district[81], the project has its origin in the decision to relocate the headquarters of JR East in Shinjuku in the late 1980s[82]. Coincidentally, as Odakyu Railway was also planning a redevelopment on the same area chosen by JR East, the two companies agreed to join the hands for a joint development under the name of Shinjuku Southern Terrace. Interestingly, the different actors had contrasting views on how to develop the land. Odakyu privileged a commercial image, JR East was keen to create a more formal approach, while public agencies tended to strive for a more public definition of public space (Dimmer 2007). As a result, a long pedestrian boulevard along the rail on the south of the station appeared, along with by shops and few high-rise buildings like the new JR East headquarters and the Odakyu Southern Tower. Finally completing the definition of Shinjuku Southern Terrace, the recent completion of the new high-rise complex including Miraina Tower, NeWoman Department Store and the new bus terminal of Shinjuku (2016) might also be interpreted as an architectural synthesis of these various stances.

Similarities and differences can also be discussed in the case represented by the areas immediately east of Shibuya station. Again, the closing and selling of an old deposit of JNR triggered a process of interconnected redevelopments which are still currently undergoing. The first phase of this process was represented by the

---

[81] See for instance the parallel redevelopment of Tokyo Metropolitain Government Building.

[82] A decision also connected with one of the main problem of the privatization of JNR, namely the huge debt accumulated by the company.

operation of the dismantling of the old deposit, coupled with the opening of the JR Saikyo Line in 1996. In contrast with the case of Shinjuku, in this area the role of JR East was limited to the infrastructural development and the realization of Shibuya new south exit. The rest of the land was sold and redeveloped mainly as offices. As a consequence, the old boundaries of the area were not significantly modified and, overall, the transformation can be described as a classic case of redevelopment by substitution on a similar urban structure.

Conversely, the second phase of redevelopment currently undergoing presents radically different features. As already mentioned, in this case, the trigger of the project was represented by the underground relocation of the last trait of the Toyoko line to realize a continuous "through service" with the Fukutoshin line starting from 2013 (Tokyu Corporation 2014). As a consequence of the demolition of the old stations and elevated track, vast areas become suddenly available for redevelopment. Quite naturally, this condition represented an incredible occasion for both Tokyu Corporation (and to a lesser degree for JR East) to amend some of the structural problems of Shibuya station while promoting an overall restructuring of its place identity. As a result of the redevelopment plan sometimes referred as Shibuya Future or Shibuya 2020, various skyscrapers will be built in replacement of old structures and buildings, reinforcing the various connective axes and comprehensively redesigning the overall flow patterns of Shibuya station. Deeply intermingled with the local natural emergencies, this development will lead to the reopening and purification of Shibuya River, which will be incorporated as a landscaping element in the overall design.

Graphic 5.27 – A picture depicting from above the new complex of Miraina Tower and Newoman. Photo by Edomura Tokuzo
(Retrieved from: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:JR_Shinjuku_Miraina_TowerB.JPG)

Graphic 5.28

Other evidence to understand the consequences on place identity determined by recent projects promoted by railway companies in Shinjuku and Shibuya can be acquired by a brief survey of the architectural features of the building produced out of this process. As a reference for an ideal comparison, it is possible to consider two newly completed buildings. First Hikarie building, a multipurpose skyscraper designed by Nikken Sekkei and Tokyu Architects and completed in Shibuya in 2012 (see Graphic 7.2). Second, the complex of Miraina Tower/Newoman shopping center, completed last year (2016) in Shinjuku and designed by JR East Design Corporation and constructed by Obayashi in between 2013-2016 (see Graphic 7.3). Few common features are outlined as below.

- Both the buildings are capable of realizing *a sophisticated integration of infrastructures, functions, and urban spaces*. They are directly linked with the station concourses, characterized by the presence of gates and exits within their premises, and by multiple boundaries to articulate the flow of people between their various functions and the urban space.

- Similarly, they both display a distinctive *multipurpose configuration* to fully exploit the flow of passenger and visitors directly conveyed in the building by transit infrastructures.

- The two buildings represent *a conscious effort to signify in terms of image and place identity a strategic urban location*. Indeed, if in the case of Miraina Tower / Newoman complex the task was to give a new image to the southern exit of Shinjuku station, the completion of Hikarie marks symbolically the first step of the process of urban redevelopment and transformations promoted by Tokyu Corporations.

In the previous page,

Graphic 5.28 – Ongoing redevelopments around Shibuya station. *Above*, Shibuya Station from above in 2016 (Copyright Dick Thomas Johnson, source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/31029865@N06/32275197732) *Below*, Hikarie Building (photo by the author).

Substituting the old Tokyu Bunka Kaikan, Hikarie shows how this class of
buildings are intended as commodities to be replaced whenever needed or
convenient.

- In both cases, the overall architectural vision seems inspired by clean-cut
  lines and geometric rigor, determined *a "corporate" aesthetic* which is
  perhaps the result of the collaboration with large architectural corporations
  (such as Nikken Sekkei) instead of single architectural offices.

- Interestingly, both the buildings share a fair use of *transparency*, especially
  in the definition of the vertical articulation and volumetric partitions in the
  case of Hikarie, or in the horizontal volume of above Shinjuku station new
  south exit to underline the composite mixture of levels and functions.

Although it was not possible to develop a further quantitative study of
these characters, it is possible to imagine how these various interventions indicate
an ongoing shift in the approach of Tokyo's railway companies to urban
development which has profound consequences regarding place identity of both
Shinjuku and Shibuya districts. Indeed, more than singular "station buildings,"
large-scale redevelopments allow for a conscious and comprehensive effort to
influence the place identity. Although it is not the role of the dissertation to offer a
specific evaluation of the results of this trend, it is inevitable to point out how this
process poses serious questions about the future development of the city. What will
be the implications in terms of place identity of an even more pervasive and
consumer-oriented exploitation of these strategic urban areas? Although only in the
next years it will be possible to answer this question, the analysis done so far over
the rail-led development of Shinjuku and Shibuya's place identity can provide
useful clue to understand and actively operate in the midst of this fundamental
change.

5.7 Intermediary Conclusions

Chapter 5 illustrated the analysis supporting the answer to Specific Research Question 1 (SRQ1). Following the evolution of the districts of Shinjuku and Shibuya, various methods were employed to investigate the influences of railway-led transformations on place identity that are occurring at the scale of the station neighborhood. Based on this premise, Chapter 5 followed a multi-tactic approach to illuminate various perspectives connected with the research question and acquire results for further interpretation and discussion. Therefore, even if a synthetic answer to SRQ1 will be provided in the final chapter of the thesis, in these intermediary conclusions it is possible to provide the elements leading to that final assessment.

After offering a brief overview of the relationship between the railway and the urban realm in the European context (5.2), the place identity features of Shinjuku and Shibuya before the advent of railways were illustrated. Consulting literature and historical documents, Shinjuku emerged as a low density but thriving post town built on a higher and substantially flat plateau. Conversely, Shibuya was characterized as an agricultural valley formed by the Shibuya river and surrounded by hills which were the locations of temples or daimyo secondary residences. Thus, if both were suburban areas and later underwent a similar process of railway-led evolution, due to these differences they established a different relationship with the new transit infrastructure and developed different place identity characters.

In the following page,

Graphic 5.29 – A comparison between Shinjuku and Shibuya stations' configuration as complex transit nodes in relation to the surroundings.

Second, the evolution of the transit nodes of Shinjuku and Shibuya station was explored and visualized (5.4). The usage of a suitable and concise diagrammatic representation allowed to trace the composition of those two stations as complex networks of nodes and connections transforming over time. Observing the mutable relation of these micro-networks with their urban surroundings, it was possible to understand their manifold nature as transit infrastructures, urban boundaries, and support of trajectories of movement. In particular, it emerged how this set of relationships is highly site-specific, adapting, incorporating, and introducing structural features influencing the very foundations of the place identity of the two districts. Thus, if Shinjuku's transit node is characterized by a *multipolar development*, Shibuya's node displays a *centered layout* (see Graphic 5.29). Moreover, the comparison of the two stations' typical section further suggests the profound interdependence between pre-existing topography and railway-led development.

Graphic 5.29

Shinjuku Station   Shibuya Station
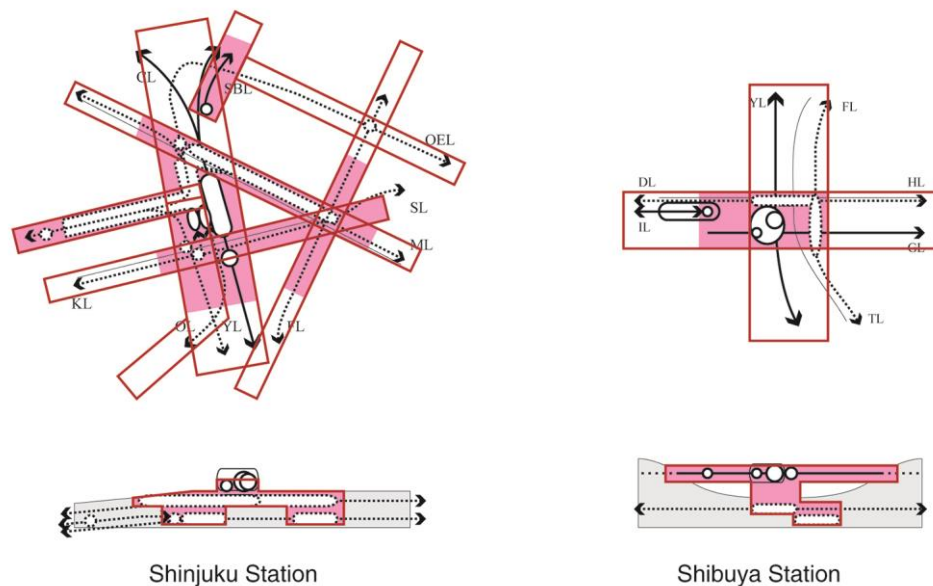
Section 5.5 interpreted in terms of place identity the characters of the railway-led prewar development in Shinjuku and Shibuya. Although almost no physical evidence remains of the buildings produced in this phase, based on the analysis of GIS-georeferenced maps, street-network, and other visual historical documents, it was possible to obtain information about this quality of this urbanization. Significant results are reported below.

- Measuring built surface in 1909 and 1937 it was possible to evidence how it decreased progressively from the station. While this process introduced *density, velocity, rapid transformation as qualifying traits of Shinjuku and Shibuya*, analyzing the evolution of the street network, it appeared how this rather *spontaneous and rail-oriented development incorporated patterns from Edo into narrow pedestrian streets*. Much of those roads survive in present-day Shinjuku and Shibuya, contributing to their distinctive sense of place identity.

- The review of historical documents and descriptions confirmed how the presence of a major *railway station polarized and favored the emergence of activities in the surrounding areas*.

- Regarding architecture, the eclectic appearance of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations represented the most direct contribution of rail to the definition of the two districts place identity. However, observing historical photographs and illustrations, it appears how their presence and the urban life they supported indirectly determined *the urban image of their nearby areas as dynamic, modern, and always transforming urban cores*.

Apart from the differences between the two cases, these results evidence how the arrival of railways and the prewar development of Shinjuku and Shibuya produced the conditions which determined the transformation of their place identity as *transit-oriented urban districts*. Moreover, this outcome also suggests implications

in terms of the historical evolution of the place identity of the two districts that will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Finally, in the last section, features and place identity implications connected with the restructuring of railways in postwar Tokyo were presented. Mainly determined by the transformation of railway companies after JR privatization and by the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations in complex transit-hubs, the analysis of this process produced several results for a final discussion. Some of the most significant of them are synthesized below.

- *The progressive transformation of railway companies* after JR privatization (1987) further *accentuated the process of "commodification" of place identity* illustrated in Chapter 2. As competing private operators, each company stimulates customers using the place identity of their main transit-hubs as a crucial component of their strategies of marketing and branding. Dominated by a major operator, Shibuya area displays more completely the effects of this dynamics which transformed its identity in that of an "entertainment," "young," and "creative" district.

- Following the structural evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya transit nodes, the privatization of JR also promoted a deeper integration between different operators and *the progressive transformations of railway stations into transit-hubs* mixing mobility, leisure, and commercial activities. Comparing the two cases, it was possible to evidence how different conditions produced various results in terms of place identity. Thus, if Shinjuku acquired a distinctive character as a diverse and subterranean labyrinth thanks to the proliferation of underground spaces and connecting commercial facilities, Shibuya emerged as a vertical development concentrated around Shibuya crossing and dominated by the presence of Tokyu Corporation.

- *The different approaches of railway companies to their role as urban developers* produced further differences between Shinjuku and Shibuya. Indeed, many of them are related to their strategies to occupy and develop properties in the surroundings of their main hubs. If in Shinjuku the facilities owned by the three most important companies converge around the main station, in Shibuya Tokyu Corporation control a wide range of buildings dispersed in the influence radius of the station.

- The brief qualitative illustration of recently completed projects or ongoing transformations near Shinjuku and Shibuya stations *shows the increasingly conscious and coordinated effort by railway companies to develop and influence the place identity of those two districts*.

Overall, these results indicate the growth in intensity and complexity of the place identity transformation promoted by railway in postwar Shinjuku and Shibuya, evidencing prospective topics of discussion about the future evolution of these phenomena. Indeed, while the scale and the architectural features of these interventions raise more than one question over the future of these strategic urban areas, they also demonstrate the capacity of the railway to determine the place identity of an increasingly relevant portion of Tokyo's urban realm.

Chapter Six

6 – The Hub-Station as a "Place": Mapping the Place Identity Qualities of Shinjuku and Shibuya Stations

[Chapter 6 is largely excluded from the abridged version of the thesis as the author is planning to publish results soon after the submission of the thesis. Only section 6.1, 6.2, and 6.7 are included in full]

6.1 Introduction and Chapter Overview

If Chapter 5 illustrated the analyses performed to explore the impact of railways on Shinjuku and Shibuya's place identity at the scale of the station district, Chapter 6 focuses on the problems suggested by the second Specific Research Question.

- (SRQ2) How does the architectural experience of their respective railway stations as networked and integrated transit-hubs affect the perception of place identity in Shinjuku and Shibuya?

Based on Part 1 and Part 2 of the dissertation, and addressing an ongoing and controversial field of investigation, the answer to this question requires an articulated methodological effort and the definition of specific methods.

Phenomena will be analyzed at the scale of the hub-station. As already discussed in Chapter 4 (4.5.1), this scale is close to the experience of the architectural space produced by Shinjuku and Shibuya stations. Therefore, data collection, analysis, and results will usually be based on fieldwork to reproduce

with a good approximation the current situation of the two case studies. In particular, Chapter 6 illustrates the following topics.

- A brief overview of classic station models in the European context (6.2)

- The identification, mapping, and analysis of place units and the network configuration of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations (6.3)

- The investigation of the spatial and architectural characters associated with the most important place units within the two stations. In particular, the analysis will be centered on the mapping of the border conditions in terms of visual and physical permeability. On this basis, results will be clustered to identify meaningful classes. (6.4)

- The recording, tracing, analysis, and visualization of users' flowing behaviors in selected place units in both the case studies. (6.5)

- Qualitative considerations on the effects on place identity of the ambiguous exit-interface of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations. (6.6)

6.2 A Brief Overview of Classic Station Models from Europe

After introducing the general relationship between railways and European cities from the perspective of urban design and planning (5.2), in the context of Chapter 6 it is useful to complete this general overview with the illustration of some features characterizing models and typologies used for the design of railway stations. Since it is out of the scope of the current study to develop any systematic discussion on this topic, this section covers only on few classic examples mainly from monumental stations built in the 19th century in major European cities (see Graphic 6.1). In fact, because of their scale and historical importance, their characters might be a useful reference to further understand the specificities of Shinjuku and Shibuya station.

As mentioned earlier in the dissertation, railway stations started to emerge in England, Germany, and France from the mid-19th century, and later on in the rest of Europe. Apart from regional differences (as more comprehensive references see (Kellett 1969, Caron 1997, Hallsted-Baumert *et al.* 1997, Roth and Polino 2003), stations from that era tend to share few qualifying aspects which are listed as below.

- Although there are countless local variations, the preferred station typology employed in major cities such as Paris, London, or Milan, was that of the *head station*. Buildings were thus symmetrically disposed along a *functional axis* usually represented by the sequence composed by tracks, concourses, atrium, passenger services, and frontal square. If present, subterranean tracks were usually located under aboveground tracks reproducing thus the same general typology of the station.

- While tracks were often covered with metal and glass to evoke utilitarian and industrial modernism, the main building usually displayed marked *monumental characters*, especially in the case of the façade. Preferred architectural styles were usually in the beaux-arts, gothic, or neoclassical.

As a combination of specific typologies and formal characters, railway stations became thus a "typical" design problem for European architects.

Apart from functional concerns, the impact of these classic railway stations in terms of place identity can be identified mainly in the special relationship established between the station buildings and the surrounding urban fabric. In particular, this effort is concentrated in the architectural articulation of the façade. First, as the principal interface between the inside and the outside of the mobility infrastructure, principal facades had to symbolize the transition between the city and the space of movement. Moreover, stations were often directly owned and realized by the respective national railway authorities. Thus, they had to embody the public relevance of transit as a distinctive expression of the modern power of the state. Finally, following traditional principles of European urbanism, facades had to integrate the station within the surrounding urban space (an effect often emphasized by the presence of a square).

As a result, an analysis of the place identity characters associated with railway stations in the European context is usually concerned with the discussion of topics such as architectural typology, façade articulation, or iconic appearance. Partially, similar consideration could have been advanced for early XIXth century Shinjuku and Shibuya station (as seen in 5.5.3). However, since these elements are mostly absent or far less predictable in their present-day layout (as in the majority of contemporary Japanese railway stations), it was necessary to devise a different approach to understand the place identity qualities embodied by these two stations. Chapter 6 represents an account of this exploration.

In the following pages,

Graphic 6.1 – *above*, Aerial view of King's Cross/St.Pancras Station (Photo, Copyright Ed Parsons, Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:St._Pancras_-_panoramio.jpg); *middle*, Aerial view of King's Cross/St.Pancras Station (Photo, Copyright Hector Ochoa, Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:King%27s_Cross_St._Pancras_aerial_view,_image_1.jpg); *under*, King's Cross Station Western Concourse (Photo, Copyright Colin, Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:King%27s_Cross_Western_Concourse_-_central_ position_-_ 2012-05-02.75.jpg)
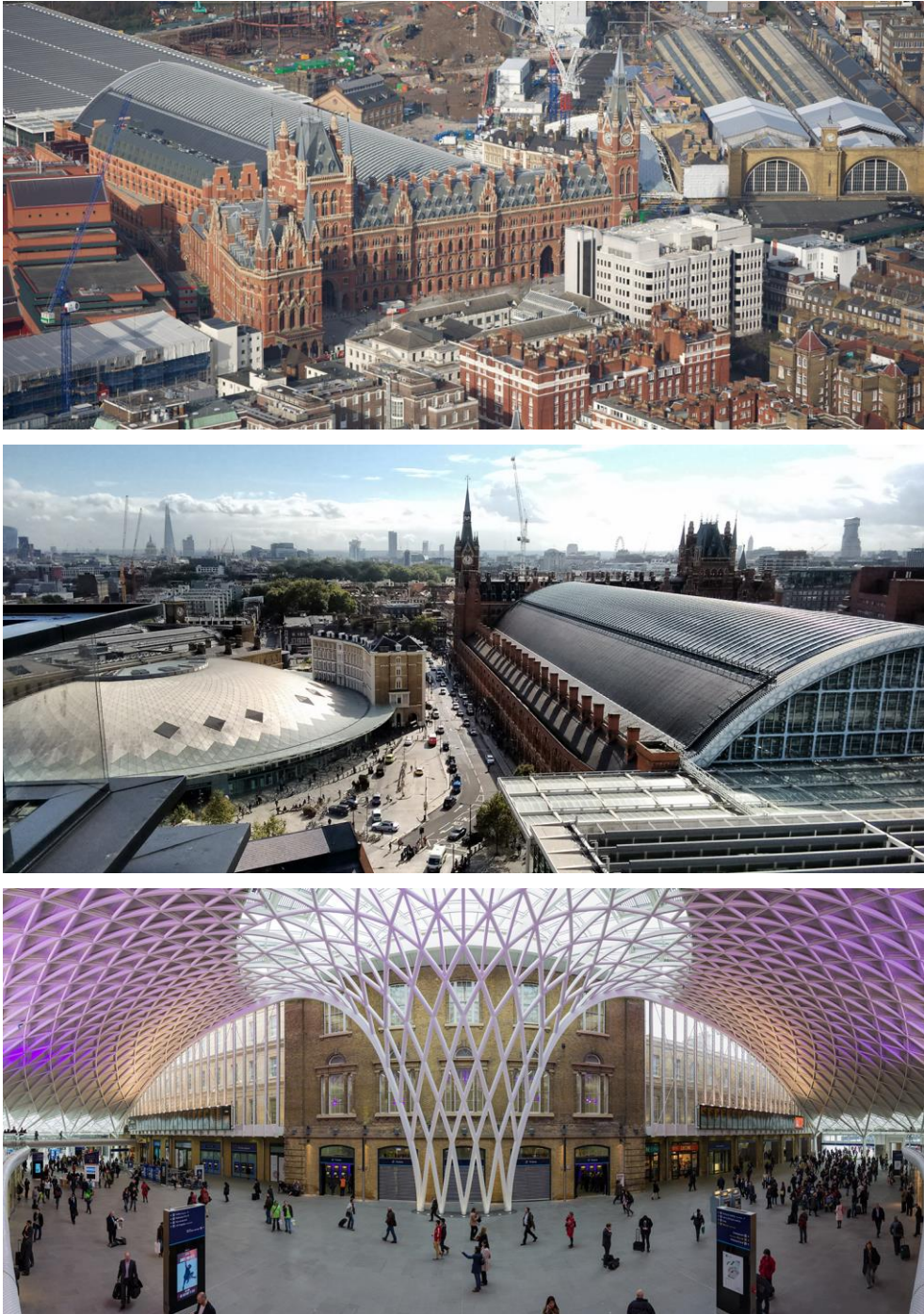
Graphic 6.1

6.3 The Recognition of Place Units and Network Configuration as a Fundamental Dimension of the Place Identity Experience Associated with Shinjuku and Shibuya Stations.

As already mentioned, Shinjuku and Shibuya station cannot be satisfactorily interpreted according to patterns defined for European railway station. Coupled with their undeniable intricacy and constantly changing appearance, this circumstance often led foreign scholars to identify an irrational and incomprehensible "chaos" as the primary attribute of the identity of these crucial urban places. Moreover, this interpretation is rather a weak and reductive explanation of the complexity of the place identity produced and embodied by Shinjuku and Shibuya station. Instead, this perhaps instinctive recognition should be used as a stimulus to discover a more appropriate interpretative method to understand the functioning and the qualities of these two crucial urban locations.

6.3.1 Recognition of Preliminary Characters and the Field of Investigation
(Section not included in the abridged version of the thesis.)

6.3.2 The Role of Direct Observation and the Mapping of Place Units as the Meaningful Constituents of Shinjuku and Shibuya's Place Identity
(Section not included in the abridged version of the thesis.)

6.3.3 The General Articulation of Shinjuku and Shibuya Station as Networks
(Section not included in the abridged version of the thesis.)

6.3.4 Place Identity Considerations Based on Topological Analysis of Shinjuku and Shibuya Stations' Networks
(Section not included in the abridged version of the thesis.)

6.4 Spatial and Architectural Characters of Place Units in Shinjuku and Shibuya Station: The Analysis of Border Conditions and their Influence on Place Identity

The analysis and the results in 6.3 evidence the existence and the role of place units to articulate the experience within Shinjuku and Shibuya station. First, recognizing meaningful and coherent areas in the apparent chaos of the stations' concourses, they represent a systematic way to organize data and impressions coming from the direct observation. Furthermore, using place units as a logic node, it is possible to structure coherently the major significant elements which compose the two stations. As a result, it was possible to understand, visualize, and analyze the complex tridimensional network-configurations of Shinjuku and Shibuya station which represent one of the essential components of their identities as places.

Moreover, as defined in 6.3.2 those place units are not just abstract entities, but they represent physical spatial extension provided with architectural characterization. Each of them is provided with a physical extension, a given geometry, and borders. Therefore, they possess a whole range of architectural features in relation to the material used to articulate their components, the illumination system, or the amount and the quality of the opening towards the surroundings. In addition, they comprise a countless variety of minor elements such as screens, textual indications, tactile guidance paths, or commercial images which variously contribute to the overall appearance of those place units.

In the context of the study, border conditions assume a particular significance to determine the place qualities associated with place units. Not only edges define and separate each unit, but they also define the quality of the transition in-between them. Thus, if Shinjuku and Shibuya station concourses can be conceived as sequences of interconnected place units, border conditions associated with these spatial zones set the architectural "atmosphere" of the experience within the two hub stations.

In addition, as in major Japanese hub-stations like Shinjuku and Shibuya the concourse area represents the fundamental transitional space between the mobility infrastructure and the urban realm, boundaries also define the fundamental relation between inside and outside of the station. As both atmosphere and inside/outside dynamics are recognized in general place theory as determinant components of place identity (see Chapter 1), the analysis of border conditions within Shinjuku and Shibuya station seems thus especially relevant.

In particular, this section will cover the following topics.

- The analysis of border conditions in terms of visual permeability (6.4.1).

- The analysis of border conditions in terms of physical permeability (6.4.2).

- The cluster analysis of results to identify meaningful classes among the place units composing the concourse space of the two stations (6.4.3).

6.4.1 The Analysis of Major Place Units' Border Conditions in Terms of Visual Permeability
(*Section not included in the abridged version of the thesis.*)

6.4.2 The Analysis of Major Place Units' Border Conditions in Terms of Physical Permeability.
(*Section not included in the abridged version of the thesis.*)

6.4.3 Border Conditions within Shinjuku and Shibuya's Network Configuration: Cluster Analysis and the Recognition of Meaningful Classes
(*Section not included in the abridged version of the thesis.*)

6.5 The Dynamic and Flowing Behavior within Shinjuku and Shibuya Stations: Features, Case Studies, Place Identity Implications

After illustrating the role of place units within the networked structure of Shinjuku and Shibuya station (6.3), and analyzing their border conditions to describe the spatial experience they produce (6.4), it is possible to introduce a further dimension related to the place identity embodied within these two hub stations. Indeed, place units are not merely nodes or perceived images, but they are spaces which come alive thanks to hundred-thousands of users every day. Therefore, to produce a more comprehensive answer to the specific research problem posed at the beginning of Chapter 6, it is necessary to observe and analyze the users' interaction with the space produced by the conditions analyzed in the previous sections.

6.5.1 Methods of Observation, Recording, and Analysis
(*Section not included in the abridged version of the thesis.*)

6.5.2 Case Study 1: 2F Shibuya Hikarie Concourse and Access (Cluster 1 and Cluster 4 Type Place Units)
(*Section not included in the abridged version of the thesis.*)

6.5.2 Case Study 2: Shibuya Station, Tamagawa Gates and Toyoko Department Store Access (Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 Type Place Units)
(*Section not included in the abridged version of the thesis.*)

6.5.3 Case Study 3: Shinjuku, Metro Promenade (Cluster 3 Type Place Unit)
(*Section not included in the abridged version of the thesis.*)

6.5.4 A Place Identity "In-Transit": Overall Qualitative Evaluation of the Observed Flowing Behaviors within Shinjuku and Shibuya Stations

6.6 Qualitative Considerations on the Effects on Place Identity of the Ambiguous Exit Interface of Shinjuku and Shibuya Stations.

Based on the results illustrated so far, Shinjuku and Shibuya stations emerged as places characterized by strong network configurations which can be interpreted and understood in experiential terms analyzing the topological, spatial, and behavioral characters of the place units they are composed of. Indeed, an additional investigation on the ways this system connects with its urban surroundings might help to understand further the importance of the dynamics produced by the two hub station in terms of place identity.

Therefore, a last significant element within the network which can be usefully illustrated to understand the place identity produced and diffused by hub-stations such as Shinjuku and Shibuya is represented by a qualitative consideration on the exits of this system. In particular, using a comprehensive mapping and classification of exits of both the stations, two sets of specific analysis will be performed. At first, those essential connective micro-nodes will be mapped and identified according to their location and typology (6.4.1). Then, their architectural features will be considered to further specify the qualities of those in-between elements (6.4.2).

6.6.1 Classifying Stations' Exits: Typologies and Influences on Place Identity

(Section not included in the abridged version of the thesis.)

6.6.2 Qualitative Observations on the Architectural Appearance of Exits in Shinjuku and Shibuya stations

(Section not included in the abridged version of the thesis.)

6.7 Intermediary Conclusions

Chapter 6 explored railway-led influences on place identity within Shinjuku and Shibuya stations to find an answer to the second of the Specific Research Questions. In particular, SRQ2 interrogated the influence on the experience of place identity produced by the specific configuration of transit-hubs such as Shinjuku and Shibuya station. Overall, the analysis and results evidence how both the hub-station can be conceived as places in their own terms as they are able to produce effects and influences on all the fundamental components of place identity[83] identified in the theoretical framework of the thesis.

To reach this intermediary conclusion a coordinated set of analyses were devised identifying and targeting elements that could be predictive of the experience with the space of the hub stations. Indeed, this issue represented a major problem and element of discussion for the research. Largely diverse if compared to typical European cases (see 6.2), Shinjuku and Shibuya stations' place identities cannot be discussed using consolidated methods developed in western academic discourse.

Therefore, after identifying in the ambiguous extension of the external concourse space a productive field on investigation, it was necessary to develop a method to organize and interpret the data acquired from fieldwork. Using direct observation, mapping techniques, networks, and topological analysis, it was possible to produce meaningful results to describe the structural qualities of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations' place identity (6.3). The most significant, are listed as below.

---

[83] Such as physical settings, activities and behaviors, or attached meanings (see Chapter 1).

- Hub-stations like Shinjuku and Shibuya do not hold a singular dominant place identity based on a unitary architectural design like in the case of many historical European railway stations. Instead, they comprise *plural and diverse place identities*.
- The study sought to condense those plural identities in *recognizable spatial and experiential units*. Such entities were defined as *place units*.
- Together with other primary functional nodes, these units acquire a dynamic meaning within a *network-like configuration*.
- In relation to their *topological properties*, some place units exert a broader influence on the overall experience of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations, attracting trajectories and defining overall experiential patterns.

While properties related to their network configuration represent an essential component of the place identity produced by Shinjuku and Shibuya stations, further results were acquired focusing on the spatial and architectural dimension associated to place units (6.4). In particular, the analysis targeted border conditions to describe the spatial experience taking place in those areas. Indeed, using *visual and physical permeability as parameters* allowed to achieve an effective understanding of the perceptual and experiential characters associated with the different palace units. Moreover, it was possible to institute an adequate comparison between Shinjuku and Shibuya stations.

Additionally, results suggest how the topological and physical conditions of place units seem to determine an influence on behavioral patterns (6.5). Indeed, the analysis of dynamic behaviors associated with the flowing movement of users inside the concourses of the two transit-hubs showed patterns of spatial appropriation tend to vary according to border conditions. Moreover, the geometrical configuration of place units, or the presence of stairs or escalators, also produce relevant effects on standing or flowing behaviors. Being movement and transient flows the most essential and visually impacting activity enforced by the

configuration of the two transit hubs, the characters of the *spatial and behavioral experiences associated with the flow of users* represent a significant component of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations' place identity.

Finally, the qualitative evaluation of the particular pattern of connections established by the exits of the two station with the urban surroundings further clarified the characters and the impact of the abovementioned place identity dynamics. Privileging hybrid or integrate exits which usually display an "ordinary," "neutral," and frequently "transient" architectural appearance, *Shinjuku and Shibuya stations' exits establish an intimate and ambiguous connection with their respective districts*. Such a seamless and ambiguous transition between railway infrastructure and the city suggests how the place identity characters produced by the two hubs easily overflow in the urban realm further reinforcing the already strong identity bond between railways, space-time experiences, and the station district.

Chapter Seven

7 – Discussion of Results

7.1 Introduction and Chapter Overview

Chapter 7 is devoted to the discussion of the results of the study and stands as the last chapter before reaching Conclusions. In particular, findings obtained through the systematic analysis performed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 will be summarized, reviewed, and interpreted under the light of the gaps and interpretative perspectives defined in the theoretical framework (Part 1). Following this premise, the discussion will be articulated as below.

- A summary of the principal findings at the two relevant scales of investigation employed in the study (7.2).
- A comprehensive discussion of results in terms of railway-led place identity transformations (7.3). Four perspectives will be explored and discussed to interpret the contribution of the research and understand generality and limitations of findings.
- A general discussion about the methodology and methods employed in the study to highlight contributions, limits, and future applicability.
- A brief interpretation of results in terms of design-oriented problem and disciplines (7.5).

7.2 Summary of Main Findings

Findings acquired and illustrated in Chapter 5 and 6 of the dissertation showed the existence of meaningful patterns of influence determined by railway-generated phenomena over the place identity of Shinjuku and Shibuya. In particular, adopting an approach which is frequent in literature dealing with railways in the urban context, each chapter articulated the analysis at two meaningful scales of investigation. The first, represented by the area comprised in the influence zone of the station, the so-called station neighborhood or station district. The latter, embodied in the station itself or its immediate premises. Although in qualitative research phenomena and results are interconnected and interdependent, for the sake of clarity main findings of the study are presented below according to this scalar subdivision.

7.2.1 Railway-Led Transformations and Place Identity in Shinjuku and Shibuya: Findings at the Scale of the Station District

First, the study explored the configuration brought by railway infrastructures in Shinjuku and Shibuya areas. Rather than being carefully planned transit-nodes or symbolic architectures as in the European tradition, from the very beginning Shinjuku and Shibuya stations can be described as *site-specific networks of tracks, nodes, and trajectories* introduced in those particular locations often without any prior strategy regarding urban design. Variously interacting with each other and with their surroundings, the unique combination of those elements produced very different configurations. If in Shinjuku the node is multipolar and mainly organized in the underground (level B1), interacting with the valley topography of the surroundings in Shibuya the station has a significant vertical development centered on the location of Shibuya Crossing.

The presence of such articulated transit-nodes progressively transformed the place identity of Shinjuku and Shibuya. If in early Meiji Era they still were characterized as largely suburban locations, the presence of railways released incredible energy in the urban surroundings thanks to the circulation of people, goods, and moving trajectories. In particular, the study explored relevant manifestations of this process in the crucial phase represented by the pre-war urbanization. Main findings are reported as below.

- The concurring effect of railways to determine a *spontaneous transit-oriented urban development* in both Shibuya and Shinjuku.
- The *polarizing attraction* exerted by the presence of major railway stations *on the activities in the surroundings*.
- The direct and indirect contributions of the railway to the development of the *changeable and modernity-oriented architectural image* of the respective districts.

The combination of these railway-generated effects ultimately established the *place identity of Shinjuku and Shibuya as transit-oriented districts*. Moreover, distinctive features characterizing both the districts in Edo Era were preserved thanks to the specific development promoted by railways. As a result, the features of this peculiar railway-led urbanism seem to suggest the existence of *patterns of continuity and variation with the historical place identity* of both the areas.

The connection between railway and place identity in Shinjuku and Shibuya further intensified under the pressure of the new socio-economic dynamism of postwar Tokyo's urban society. Thanks to the new profile of railway companies as private agents in a liberal and profit-oriented economy, railway infrastructures emerged as "embedded" capital and as major drivers for operations of urban "valorization." In physical terms, this process is represented exemplary by the *transformation of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations in complex and multipurpose*

transit-hubs, or by the *continuous interventions promoted by railway companies as urban developers*. Once again, results demonstrate how these changes were highly dependent on local conditions. Among these, morphology, the infrastructural configuration of the transit-nodes, number, and strategies of the involved operators seems the more relevant.

7.2.1 Railway-Led Transformations and Place Identity in Shinjuku and Shibuya: Findings at the Scale of the Hub-Stations

Even more than the identification of place identity features related to railway-led transformations at the scale of the station districts, the understanding of characters associated with the spatial experience of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations presented the research with complex methodological and interpretative challenges. In fact, and contrarily to historic European railway stations, an analysis based solely on stylistic or typological character cannot produce a meaningful outcome. Nevertheless, the study shows how both *Shinjuku and Shibuya stations also establish forms of place identity in their own right*.

Findings suggest that such a place identity is plural, diverse, and based on the existence of recognizable zones within the two stations which have been defined in the study as place units. Together with other primary elements such as gates, exits, or stairs, these place units are organized into complex network configurations which articulate as hub-stations the transit nodes of Shinjuku and Shibuya. As a consequence of their topological, spatial, and architectural properties, *place units and network configurations produce a meaningful experience* which represents a fundamental component of the place identity of the two case studies.

Border conditions associated with place units proved to be especially relevant to understand these dynamics further. First, according to parameters such as visual and physical permeability, they influence the perceptive and spatial experience within the two stations. Second, they define the connections between

the various parts composing Shinjuku and Shibuya stations and, analogously, the transition between the mobility infrastructure and the urban realm. In particular, characterized by the significant presence of visually ambiguous borders which can frequently be accessed according to different degrees of permeability, *border conditions in Shinjuku and Shibuya stations produce a varied, uncertain, and reversible experience of "insideness" and "outsideness"* which appears as one of the defining identity characters of these two places.

Based on observations, recordings, and tracing of people movements in selected case studies, *findings seem to suggest how this configuration might produce an influence on users' behaviors within the stations' premises*. Indeed, according to different border conditions or because of the presence of specific elements, the flowing of people produced by the presence of railway and a countless variety of commercial activities can appear as linear, perturbed, even chaotic. At the same time, this analysis reveals significant patterns of appropriation of spaces which can be used to describe and understand further the place identity produced by major transit-hubs such as Shinjuku and Shibuya stations. Showing the importance of flows as a determinant place identity character of Shinjuku and Shibuya, the analysis contributes to revealing how general trajectories of movement introduced in the urban space by the presence of railway are experienced at the scale of personal space and behaviors.

Finally, based on the qualitative classification of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations' exit typologies, it was possible to evidence how the majority are either integrated into other buildings or display an "ordinary" and neutral architectural characterization. This condition indicates how *the transition between the two stations and their district might be described as diffuse, ambiguous, and seamless*. As a result, spatial characters, perceptual experiences, flowing and transient behaviors, and, ultimately, place identity features deeply intermingle with those of the surroundings synchronizing and superimposing the place identity produced by Shinjuku and Shibuya stations to that of the rest of the city.

7.3 A Study on Railway-Led Place Identity Transformations: Interpretation, Contributions, Generality, and Limitations of Findings

Apart from the summary of principal findings, the central issue of Chapter 7 is represented by the retrospective examination of results. What is the meaning of the proceedings illustrated in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6? According to the aim and the scope of the study, the discussion is mainly concerned with railway-led influences on place identity in Shinjuku, Shibuya, and, more in general, Tokyo. Moreover, results will be framed within the debate concerning general place theory and railway studies. Based on these considerations and the theoretical framework presented in Part 1 of the dissertation, four interpretative perspectives are discussed as follows.

- Railway-led influences and the place identity produced in Tokyo's transit-oriented districts and hubs such as Shinjuku and Shibuya. Characterized by a pattern of permance in transition, this peculiar sense of place identity is defined as transient place identity (7.3.1).

- The relationship between railway-led dynamics and Tokyo's place identity. In particular, the idea of transiency as an interpretative paradigm is discussed in the frame of the general cultural discourse about Tokyo's identity (7.3.2).

- The interpretation of results with regard to general place theory and the stances of the "new mobilities paradigm" (7.3.3).

- The contribution of findings to the study of railways in the urban realm from the perspective of design-oriented disciplines (7.3.4).

7.2.2 Discussion of Results in Terms of Railway-Led Influences on Place Identity Produced in Tokyo's Transit-Hubs like Shinjuku and Shibuya: Permanence, Transformations, and the Appearance of Transient Place Identity.

Among the four perspectives, the discussion of place identity produced under the influence of railways in Shinjuku and Shibuya is the one most closely related to the analysis illustrated in Chapter 5 and 6. Therefore, much about the evaluation of these findings has already been synthesized in the intermediary conclusions of the two chapters (5.7 and 6.7). Nevertheless, as the two case studies represent relevant and generalizable examples of Tokyo's hub-stations, it is essential to reconsider results once more and offer few overall interpretations.

If the importance of railways in both the case studies is widely acknowledged in literature, the summary of main findings illustrated how systematic it was the influence of railway-led urban transformation over the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya's place identities. Determining new mobility patterns, promoting urban growth, or polarizing activities in the station districts, the presence of numerous railway interchanges defined modern Shinjuku and Shibuya as transit-oriented districts. Moreover, determining the characters of the transition between mobility and urban realm for millions of commuters every day, Shinjuku, Shibuya, and other comparable transit-hubs represent a meaningful experiential dimension within the city. How can the place identity produced by railways in Shinjuku and Shibuya be interpreted? What does it suggest about the urbanism of two of the most significant Tokyo's core areas? Comparing the two case studies, and identifying commonalities and differences connected to the outcomes of railway-led place identity transformations, it was possible to distinguish some characterizing features.
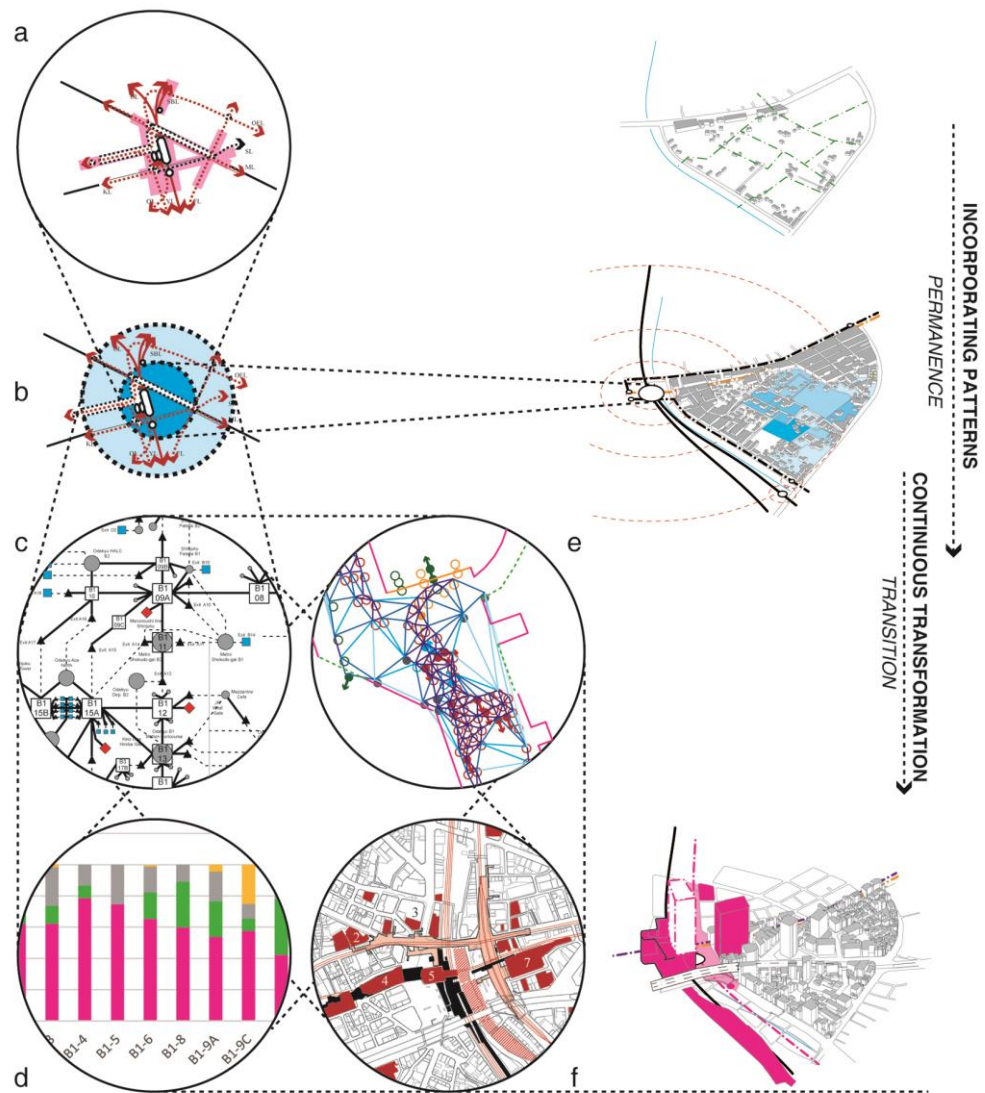
Graphic 7.1 – Shinjuku and Shibuya's transient place identity. a) Establishing a transit node ; b) A spontaneous and transit-oriented development ; c) The articulation of the node as a transit-hub characterized by a sophisticated network configuration ; d) Fragmenting place identity in meaningful experiential units ; e) The experience of flows and movement as an essential place identity trait ; f) A path of ambiguous connections with the surroundings and the role of railway companies as urban developer.

First, results highlight how a fundamental trait introduced by railway within Shinjuku and Shibuya place identities is represented by a constant tendency towards movement and change. Produced by the complex articulation of nodes, tracks, ambiguous boundaries, the massive flows of people moving within and around the two stations' premises represented the most visible manifestation of this mutable nature. At the same time, this constant renovation is experienced in the periodical transformation of the urban landscape of the two areas which is mainly the consequences of the incessant activity of railway companies as urban developers.

However, the appearance of such fleeting and dynamic place identity associated with the presence of railways does not mean the disappearance of Shinjuku and Shibuya's distinctiveness. Thanks to the particular characters of the "spontaneous" and transit-oriented development promoted by railway in pre-war Tokyo, territorial and morphological patterns inherited from Edo era were incorporated at the foundations of the modern districts of Shinjuku and Shibuya. Although building from the prewar development almost completely disappeared, this condition preserved significant traits of the urban identity of the two areas. Moreover, it produced significant effects on the structure of both the stations or on the ways used by companies to expand in the urban space, actualizing in subtle ways the pre-modern spirit of these areas into the overall organization of the two transit nodes.

The recurrent combinations of these conditions (see also Graphic 7.1) produces an unstable and constantly oscillating sense of place identity, which can be defined as *transient place identity*. Indeed, this characterization seems appropriate as it highlights the double nature of this process. On the one hand, it evidences the continuous transformations of images, identity, and experiences promoted by the presence of railways. At the same time, it suggests how such metamorphosis is also a transitory fade produced out of the relationship between

ever-changing railway-led urbanism and a set of persistent characters rooted in the historically land-bound place identity of Shinjuku and Shibuya.

Indeed, this pattern of permanence in transition cannot cover all the traits of place identity associated with the two case studies. However, the preeminence of railway-led phenomena to determine the characters of Shinjuku and Shibuya suggests the primary importance of this dynamics for a comprehensive understanding of their urban nature. Furthermore, the recognition of these only apparently contrasting place identity dynamics highlights further prospective implications about the general interpretation of the influence produced by railway on Tokyo's place identity.

7.2.3 Discussion of Results in Terms of Tokyo's Place Identity: Transiency as an Interpretative Paradigm

Because of the specific choice of case studies, the operation of generalization of results acquired in Shinjuku and Shibuya to cover the scale of Tokyo's place identity faces natural limitations (see 4.3). However, due to the importance of these two stations within the rail network, their exemplary value for other transit-hubs, or their cultural relevance to determine Tokyo's global image, observations in Shinjuku and Shibuya might be fairly predictive of dynamics produced in other central areas of the city. In particular, this condition suggests how transiency might be identified not only as an interpretative category determined by railway-led transformations in Shinjuku and Shibuya, but also as a general trait characterizing the place identity produced by the Japanese capital.

To evaluate the critical efficacy of railway-led place identity transformations and *the idea of transiency as interpretative paradigms at the scale of the city*, it is necessary to discuss them in relation to the discourse about Tokyo's place identity presented in the theoretical framework. What is the contribution of railway-led place identity to the overall place identity of the city? How does the idea of

transiency illuminate the understanding of significant traits of Tokyo's place identity? On the basis of the three main interpretative problems evidenced in Chapter 3 of the dissertation, it is possible to draw the following considerations.

First, the idea of a transient place identity associated with railway-oriented urbanism allows clarifying some dubious aspects about the historical continuity between Edo and Tokyo which defines *the problem of identity* illustrated in 3.3.1. Indeed, many elements identified in the thesis demonstrate how railway promoted a bond of continuity within the historical identity of the city. Not only it favored the incorporation of physical urban patterns inherited from Edo in the modern core of the city, but it also preserved other typical elements of the mobility-oriented urbanism of Edo. For instance, similarly to traditional sakariba also complex transit-hubs represent distinctive places which identity can be found at the intersection of movement, transit, leisure, and anonymity.

While some of these elements have also been identified by other scholars or from different viewpoints, the study contributes to show the contradictory instability of this bond. Indeed, if railway provides the foundation for a sense of 'continuity,' it also set the premises for a transit system which continuously problematize this identity and in which the production of a stable urban image seems not of primary importance. Instead, what matters the most seems the constant upgrading of the railway stations and their premises to allow the production of that recognizable and profitable set of activities which qualify Shinjuku and Shibuya as transit-oriented districts. Indeed, considering the role played by railway companies as developers to determine this condition, it is possible to raise numerous questions about the social or economic impact of these place identity transformations.

Second, the idea of a transient sense of place identity also helps to illuminate the interpretative rhetoric of 'chaos and order' diffusely shared in Tokyo studies perhaps due to the apparent impossibility to find an *ordering principle* that could make sense of the complexity of the city. Indeed, throughout the dissertation,

it was possible to demonstrate how railways produce an orderly and systematic articulation of Tokyo's urban realm. Therefore, focusing on the rail it is possible to acquire a comprehensive understanding of the functioning and meanings hidden behind the chaotic appearance of the city. At the same time, exposing users to the spectacle of flows within an ambiguous combination of spaces, activities, and constant transformations, the repeated "place performance"[84] promoted by railway can be accounted for that sense of 'chaos' which often recurs in many descriptions of Tokyo.

Finally, the idea of transience and its underlining mobile approach to place identity can be discussed under the light of the dilemma between *subjective and objective contributions* produced by fieldwork-based research regarding Tokyo's identity as a place (see 3.3.3). Certainly, situating researcher within the field of observation, the approach used in the study enriches findings and interpretations with the mutable, contradictory, and lively perception of reality. At the same time, anchoring interpretations to the idea of place identity, it situates the problem of Tokyo's identity in an established field of research allowing comparison and generalization of results.

Overall, variously contributing to the three interpretative issues recognized in the literature review illustrated in Chapter 3, railway-led phenomena and the idea of transiency seem to produce a relevant contribution to the discussion about Tokyo's place identity. Additionally, they stand as interpretative paradigms which can help the critical evaluation of existing theories and the city's place identity in the frame of general place theory and railway studies.

---

[84] Used here in the sense defined by Seamon (Seamon 1980).

7.2.4 Discussion of Results in Terms of General Place Theory

As illustrated in Chapter 1, scholars from a variety of related disciplines started to recognize the fundamental contribution of mobility based phenomena to the definition of a progressive and contemporary sense of place identity. However, since this paradigm is relatively new in terms of academic discourse, it still lacks in the systematic application on a variety of case studies. Therefore, this approach to place identity is not yet associated with an established set of methodological approaches or methods of investigation[85]. Indeed, this condition is especially problematic in relation to Asian mobilities (Cresswell 2016) as they refer to a different socio-cultural tradition and display a rather different historical evolution of mobility systems if compared to the North-American or European case.

Based on findings acquired in Shinjuku and Shibuya, the study supported the claims of "new mobilities paradigm" (Hannam *et al.* 2006, Sheller and Urry 2006). In particular, identifying in the railway the most significant transit infrastructure concerning the shared experience of place, the research systematically analyzed physical settings, experiences, and perceptions characterizing those transfer locations which are the essential support of railway mobility within Tokyo's urban realm. Therefore, the study contributes to verify, specify, and support in a relevant case study the argument made about the importance of mobility-related phenomena to understand contemporary place identity. Indeed, as evidenced in Tokyo, the influence of these phenomena is not limited to mobility infrastructures and transit areas but tends to become one of the essential and meaningful components of place identity in the contemporary urban realm.

Additionally, the study showed how a mobility-based approach to place identity is a suitable methodology in a complex and contradictory urban system like that represented by the Japanese capital. In a context like Tokyo in which

---

[85] As illustrated in 1.3.4, it rather suggests possible and general research methods.

many other place-identity paradigms fail or end up in unsolvable dilemmas, mobility proved to be affordable both as a theoretical background and as a field of investigation. Although also mobility paradigm is not immune from western-centric preconceptions, more than other approaches it seems suitable to capture and interpret the complex variety of characters and the lively experience characterizing one of the principal global Asian cities (as discussed already in 7.2.3).

Certainly, the recognition of the advantages of the mobility paradigm does not imply the demise of other approaches to place identity. According to the context or the aims of the study, the application of phenomenology, semiotic, or the relational paradigm might result in more useful information. Even if the study was not concerned with this kind comparison, given the global relevance of transit-oriented phenomena, mobility paradigm is likely to produced meaningful results also in the analysis of other cases.

7.2.5 Discussion of Results in Terms of Railway Studies

The study of railways and their contribution to the ideas of place and identity is a recent and growing field of research in a variety of disciplines. However, if the importance of railways and railway stations to determine general characters of urban place identity has been acknowledged, the discussion about specific contribution is still much fragmented and incomplete. Moreover, and similarly to place theory, only recently international scholars started to investigate railways and related phenomena in Asian case studies.

Among other studies in the field of architecture and urban design, a general approach to the problem is that formulated by Bertolini and Spit (1998). Accordingly, railway stations have to be recognized as contradictory locations characterized both as transit-oriented nodes and urban places. While this description is convincing, it raises several further interrogations which are only partially addressed in the literature. For instance, what is the connection between

the articulation of the railway stations as a transit node and its identity as a place? Furthermore, how is it possible to investigate, illustrate, and interpret in terms of place identity the experience associated with this complex configuration? Discussing the results of the study from this perspective while considering the aim of the study, it is possible to engage with this general problem producing some additional and partially unexpected contributions.

Indeed, the analysis and visualization of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations' configuration as transit-hubs (mainly in 5.4 and 6.3) evidenced prospective features in relation to the generic idea of the station as a "node." First, rather than single nodes Shinjuku and Shibuya emerged as complex combinations of micro-nodes, tracks, and dynamic trajectories gravitating and evolving in specific locations. Moreover, rather than in typological terms, at the architectural scale of the two stations the same articulation can be better described in terms of network. While this particular configuration is certainly emphasized by the specific evolution and management of railway in the case of Tokyo (and more in general in Japan), it presents interesting affinities with other Asian locations such as Hong Kong, Shanghai, or Singapore. Interestingly, this "Asian" contribution might prove useful to describe the contemporary evolution of station in Europe as well.

Moving forward, findings confirmed the potential of the railway to determine a meaningful place identity dimension within the urban realm. Indeed, it was possible to observe how the special relationship with the evolution of the city, the influences on the station district, the mixture of functions and activities realized within the station premises, or the daily experience associated with mobility can be interpreted as essential components of the identity produced by the rail. However, also in this case, the profile which emerges is quite different from those produced in the classic European examples. Rather than in monumental urban planning and symbolic architecture, the essence of the place identity produced by railway in Tokyo seems to be in the endless flow of people, spaces, and border conditions. Intimately and ambiguously intertwining railway infrastructures and urban fabric,

these conditions ultimately produce that sense of transiency which emerged as a fundamental character for railway-led Shinjuku and Shibuya place identity, and, more in general, as an interpretative paradigm for the identity of the city.

Overall, clarifying in a significant case study the dialectic relationship between node and place which defines the identity produced by railway stations in a meaningful context, the study results in a specific contribution to railway studies. Furthermore, although a systematic evaluation was not the aim of the study, the discussion of the findings allowed to trace general considerations and recommendation about the approach to a non-western context. On the one hand, it is possible to observe the extreme adaptability of railways to a set of different historical and socio-economic conditions[86]. On the other, these conditions force to reconsider the role of design and planning in producing place identity. The fact that in the absence of planning or historical preservation of typologies it was possible to observe such strong place identity, it evidences how changing the context it is necessary to change the factors to be considered. While this comprehensive repositioning was necessary for the context of Tokyo, the same reconsideration might be necessary also in other scenarios equally involved in the current global transformations. As a result of the sophisticated strategies and design solutions employed in the city, Tokyo represents one of the best scenarios to investigate the prospective future of railway and its relationship with contemporary urbanism.

---

[86] Under this light, the Japanese case offers insights and suggestions to approach other Asian contexts.

7.4 Discussion About the Methodology and Methods of the Study: Contributions, Limits, and Future Applicability

Although not immune from limitations, the methodology adopted in the study proved fit if compared with the aim of the research project. In particular, the study could benefit from a broad theoretical framework, which allowed to understand the complexity of phenomena and interpret results from a multidisciplinary perspective. Moreover, adopting multi-tactical strategies to address the research questions it was possible to tests various methods, their efficacy, and the relative importance of the targeted elements within the overall railway-led place identity dynamics. On the contrary, as already discussed in Chapter 4, principal limitations come from the selection of the case studies.

Starting a more punctual discussion, at the end of the study it is possible to evaluate the methods used in the dissertation. Based on the results, some of them proved especially relevant in the context of a mobility-oriented approach to place identity. In particular, the analysis, conceptualization, and visualization of the network configuration associated with Shinjuku and Shibuya station, the mapping of border conditions within the two stations external concourses, and the tracing and computation of the flowing trajectories of users produced valuable results to address the place identity produced in the two stations. Significantly, some of the most valuable information came from those methods more closely related to the understanding of the experience within the two hub-stations. This result suggests how it is precisely in the capacity to bridge the gap between analysis and experience one of the leading contributions of a mobility-based paradigm to place identity.

Although it was not foreseen at the beginning of the study, the effort dedicated to the methods of analysis resulted in a structured methodological approach to the analysis of the place identity experienced produced by railway stations. Based on the recognition of network configuration and the existence of

meaningful place units, this method is especially appropriate in complex transit-hubs. Moreover, also the approach devised to trace people movement seems to stand as a valuable method to qualitatively discuss and visualize the features associated with the flows and the behavior of people in the field of architecture. Again, results are particularly rewarding in crowded and varied context but also other kind of locations might produce meaningful findings.

As it frequently happens to qualitative studies in the field of architecture or urban design heavily relying on case studies, also in the present research conditions and results cannot be reproduced entirely in the fashion of laboratory experiments. Therefore, limitations inherent to the choice of Shinjuku and Shibuya in terms of the generality of results also apply to methods. Although considerations discussed so far seem to suggest a good applicability of the methodological approach beyond the restrictions imposed by the specific case studies, further discussion is required to understand the applicability of methods in other contexts. In particular, elements of concern are mainly represented by different historical evolution and socio-economic context, as well as by the scalar intensity of transformations. Briefly illustrated in the following short sections, this additional discussion might favor a better understanding of the characters of the method and paths of further research.

7.4.1 Applicability to Other Cases in Tokyo and Japan

Regarding the reproducibility of results, further cases in Tokyo and Japan seem the most natural field of applicability of the methods used in the study. Sharing similar historical and socio-economic background, Japanese railway stations indeed reproduce many of the conditions observed in Shinjuku and Shibuya. Among those, major transit-hubs are the ideal candidate. Indeed, stations like Ikebukuro, Tokyo, but also Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka, or Hakata produce a broad influence on the place identity which can be usefully explored adopting the methods developed in the study. Moreover, comparing cases from other major cities in Japan would

further emphasize similarities and unique traits associated with Tokyo's railway urbanism.

Instead, the application of the methods to local stations requires further adjustments. In particular, as a consequence of the differences regarding the scale of railway-led phenomena observable in local areas, certain effects might not be visible or not strong enough if compared to cases like Shinjuku and Shibuya. However, such a comparative analysis might be very beneficial for future research based on the results of this study. First, thanks to the lower complexity and the limited number of parameters, local stations might allow to identify frequency and hierarchy or place identity features produced by railway according to the scale of the transit node. Moreover, including the analysis of local stations in Tokyo could extend, verify, and ultimately strengthen the results of the study thanks to the inclusion of a full spectrum of case-studies.

7.4.2 Applicability to Other Railway-Oriented Case Studies

In order to acquire meaningful results, methods were tailored to fit the specific context represented by Shinjuku and Shibuya. However, there is no reason to hinder their applicability to other railway-oriented case studies outside Japan. Methods should be adapted to adjust parameters of the investigation or to include different aspects which were not relevant in the Japanese case. Considering a possible extension of the study to a European case, some possible recommendations are listed as below.

- The analysis should be preceded by an evaluation of the different historical and socio-economic background.
- Given the importance of typology to define European railway stations, it might be interesting to investigate how this configuration might be related to the functioning of the station as a complex network.

- The analysis should include a more in-depth exploration of the planning strategies, ideologies, and architectural symbols related to the appearance of the railway station in the urban context (this recommendation is significantly valid for both historical and contemporary stations).
- The analysis of border conditions might require additional parameters.

7.4.3 Applicability to Other Mobility-Oriented Locations.

The generality of the methodology and methods adopted in the study suggest how they might be applied to investigate the influences over place identity produced by other mobility-oriented infrastructure and transit-oriented locations. Indeed, characters such as network configuration, the definition of border conditions, or the importance of flows and flowing behaviors are relevant for all sorts of transit infrastructures. In particular, airports and multimodal transit-hubs seem to be those most closely related to the characteristics and the results obtained in the cases of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations. Also in this case methods and parameters should be appropriately adjusted while designing a similar kind of study.

7.5 Interpretations of Results in Terms of Contributions to Design-Oriented Problems and Disciplines

To analyze the influence of railway-led phenomena on Shinjuku and Shibuya's place identities, the study employed the specific perspective of architecture and urban design. Indeed, the use of methods and approaches from design-oriented disciplines allowed reaching a specific understanding of the railway-led place identity dynamics produced by Shinjuku and Shibuya mainly based on the interpretation of its spatial and perceptive manifestations. Therefore, even if it was not a specific goal of the study, findings illustrated in the dissertation can result in "practical" expertise which can be beneficial for designers.

7.5.1 Prospective Contributions in Terms of Design in Railway-Oriented Contexts

From the perspective of urban design and architecture, the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya areas represents an outstanding example of railway-led development. In particular, given their specific characters in the context of Tokyo's urban history, these two cases allow to observe and analyze a unique form of railway-oriented urbanism produced as a result of a very weak framework of urban laws coupled with a highly sophisticated and profit-oriented approach to territorial evolution. Clarifying the effects of specific strategies of urban design or the influence of architectural elements to determine the appearance and place identity associated with the evolution of railway, the results of the study can be applied beneficially in both developing and advanced contexts. In particular:

- Strategies and specific design approaches illustrated in the study can be used as references for urban policies and strategical processes related to infrastructural development. This contribution seems especially significant in rapidly growing Asian contexts or in countries in which railway-led

development still represents a relatively underdeveloped approach to urbanization. Recent projects of Japanese railway companies in China, Vietnam, or Australia evidence the perspective of this trend.

- Thanks the advanced integration of railway systems, urban realm, commercial activities, and other transit systems, examples from Tokyo can be a model for the restructuring and future development of stations and infrastructure in advanced contexts.

7.5.2 Prospective Contributions in Terms of General Design Approach

The attention devoted to defining methods to record, analyze, and visualize movement and behaviors associated with the intense flow of people within Shinjuku and Shibuya stations seems to suggest contribution regarding general design approaches. In particular, emphasizing the interdependence between the configuration of the physical environment, movement, and the creative spatial appropriation of people, it might contribute to defining a design centered on flows and users' behavior. In particular:

- Evidencing the relationship between border conditions and physical geometry of the buildings and the results flows, it might enhance the awareness of designer to the consequences connected the definition of specific solutions to enclose space or define transit areas.
- Showing the creative patterns of appropriation of people in relation to leftover or empty spaces, results might suggest practical strategies to use or locate such spaces within the overall design.
- Emphasizing the importance of connections between different areas, or between the buildings and surroundings to define the specific sense of transition and place identity, the study suggests paying specific attention to define this in-between zone.

Instead of a top-down approach, based on the imposition of an abstract typological scheme, such approach highlights the benefits of an adaptive design which could embrace the ever-changing transformation associated with contemporary urban realm. Naturally, such an approach is particularly appropriate for transit-oriented infrastructures and transit nodes. Moreover, it might offer interesting perspective towards the design those hybrid and sophisticated buildings mixing functions, transits, and urban spaces which are increasingly spreading through world global cities.

7.6 Intermediary Conclusions

Chapter 7 illustrated a comprehensive discussion of the results of the study. Moving from a summary of the main findings, the chapter was articulated in three main section each covering key topic of discussion to interpret the contributions, general implications, limitations, and future perspectives of the study. They are briefly recapped as below.

- The discussion of results in terms of railway-led place identity transformations (7.3) Focusing on the interpretation of results in the two case studies of Shinjuku and Shibuya and the cultural discourse surrounding Tokyo's place identity, the idea of *transient place identity* was proposed as an efficient interpretative paradigm. Contributions to general place theory and railway studies were equally discussed.
- A review of the methodology and methods employed in the dissertation (7.4). In particular, the applicability of methodology and methods in other context was briefly outlined.
- The interpretation of results in relation to design-oriented problems and disciplines (7.5).

C - Conclusions

C.1 Summary

Motivated by a general concern about the qualities of contemporary place identity in relation to the ever-increasing importance of mobility-oriented phenomena, the study aimed to explore and illustrate the relationship between railway-led urban development and place identity in Tokyo through a systematic analysis of case studies in Shinjuku and Shibuya areas. Indeed, if railways have been recognized as a dominant force in determining Tokyo's urban expansion and socio-cultural practices, the understanding of their influence on the city's place identity is still fragmented and insufficient. Articulated in nine Chapters and three Parts, the study provided evidence and interpretative paradigms to contribute to filling this gap.

As the first of the three Chapter composing the Theoretical Framework, Chapter 1 was devoted to the discussion of the main topics addressed by the research questions leading the research. Thus, after presenting the notion of place identity employed in the study (1.2), Chapter 1 extensively illustrated the evolving relationship between mobility and the idea of place identity by means of an extensive review of relevant literature (1.3). Based on such examination, it was possible to evidence how scholars progressively moved from a perspective which imagined mobility and place identity as opposite phenomena, to the recent

recognition of the fundamental contribution of transit-based experiences and locations to the overall definition of place identity. Focusing in particular on railway station districts and railway stations, specific information was provided about the relationship between rail and place identity from the perspective of architecture and urban design (1.4).

Following these theoretical premises, Chapter 2 presented the historical background and relevant scholarly perspectives associated with an investigation about mobility, railway, and place identity in the context of Tokyo. After illustrating the transit-oriented characters associated with place identity and urban cultures in Edo (2.2), the process of modernization of the city was illustrated as a general place identity transformation connected with a shift in mobility practices favored by the introduction of railways in early modern Tokyo (2.3). Indeed, the combination of transit infrastructures, urban development, commuting habits, and private railway companies' strategies, produced a unique example of rail-oriented urbanism which proved full of consequences for the transformation of the place identity of the city. Presenting issues related to this dynamics in the field of architecture and urban design (2.4), the problem represented by the experience within Tokyo's railway stations emerged as one of the key gaps in the understanding of the city's railway-led place identity.

Concluding Part 1 of the dissertation, Chapter 3 reviewed the discussion surroundings the identity of the Japanese capital to define a frame to interpret and generalize the results of the study. Through a comprehensive literature review of relevant works, the problem of identity, the "chaos and order" rhetoric, and the subjective/objective dilemma were identified as three main interpretative issues concerning the understanding of the place identity of the city (3.3). Often employed by scholars to describe Tokyo's urban identity, movement, transit, and mobility also produce a specific interpretative sensibility which seems to have recently coalesced into a new tendency within Tokyo studies (3.4).

Chapter 4 illustrated the methodology and methods of the study. Based on the interpretation of the theoretical framework and of the gap in the literature, the initial research question was articulate into two workable interrogations (4.2). After, the chapter illustrated the study design, the rationale behind the definition of case studies (4.3), the collection process of primary and secondary data (4.4), and the scale and units of analysis. Moreover, an overview of methods of analysis used throughout the study was presented (4.5).

Opening the third Part of the dissertation, Chapter 5 addressed the first specific research question to explore the place identity features associated with the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya as transit-oriented districts. Following an overview of the different relationship between railways and the urban realm in comparison with the European context (5.2), Chapter 5 started its systematic analysis with the illustration of the historical place identity of the two areas before the arrival of railways (5.3). Subsequently, illustrating the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya as transit nodes, it appeared how many of the differences between the two case studies could be traced in the site-specific relationship established by railways with the surroundings (5.4). Coupled with the "spontaneous" and transit-oriented prewar development associated with the presence of railways, this condition allowed to extensively incorporate preexisting features and historical place identity characters while transforming Shinjuku and Shibuya in transit-oriented districts (5.5). Further elements of comparison between the two cases were appreciated discussing the changing profile of railways companies as urban developers in postwar Tokyo and the connected transformation of Shinjuku and Shibuya into hub-stations (5.6). Moreover, the qualitative discussion of few recent transformations in the surroundings of the two stations allowed suggesting some possible place identity implications of the ongoing transformations.

Chapter 6 explored the second specific research question and the place identity produced by the experience of Shinjuku and Shibuya hub-stations. Evidencing how European models cannot be applied successfully in the context of

the study (6.2), "place units" and network configuration were recognized and analyzed as the essential frame defining the place identity experience within the two stations (6.3). Focusing in particular on the stations' concourses, border conditions associated with place units were mapped, interpreted, and clustered to identify meaningful classes to describe the spatial and architectural characters associated with the transition in-between the mobility infrastructure and the urban realm (6.4). Therefore, if in Shinjuku station movement takes place in an underground labyrinth based on place units spreading like tree-roots in nearby buildings, Shibuya stations is characterized by vertical loops and a more distinctive architectural articulation. To achieve a more in-depth understanding of the place identity produce in this critical inside-outside transition, users' movement within exemplary place units were recorded and analyzed (6.5). Findings suggested a relationship between border conditions and behavioral patterns, showing at the same time how transiency and flows represent an essential component of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations' place identity. Furthermore, some qualitative considerations were included to illuminate some of the effects on place identity produced by the ambiguous exit interface of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations (6.6).

Chapter 7 summarized and discussed the results produced in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6. Considering the Theoretical Framework and the aim of the study, findings about railway-led place identity transformations in Shinjuku and Shibuya were interpreted according to four major perspectives covering the main topics addressed by the research questions (7.3). In particular, the idea of transient place identity was presented as a valid critical paradigm to interpret the identity produced by railway in Shinjuku and Shibuya and, more in general, in Tokyo. Moreover, results were also interpreted considering the value, the limits, and the future applicability of the methods used in the study (7.4), and in regards to prospective design-oriented contributions (7.5).

C.2 Answering the Research Questions

To fulfill the aim of the study, in the introduction a broad and comprehensive initial research question was formulated to lead the research. Using Shinjuku and Shibuya areas as principal case studies, the questions aimed to identify and explain the characters of the relationship existing between place identity and railway-led transformations. Below, the question is restated and followed by a synthetical conclusive answer.

- (Q) How do railway-led transformations influence the place identity of Shinjuku and Shibuya?

The presence of railway transformed the place identity of Shinjuku and Shibuya comprehensively. First, prompting the rapid metamorphosis of both the areas into transit-oriented districts centered on the presence of a major hub-station. As shown by results, this multifaced process introduced network dynamics, movement, diversity, speed, and transition as essential characters associated with the experience of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations and their surroundings. At the same time, findings evidence the site-specific nature of this process which easily adapted to local conditions and integrated many of the historical and land-bounded features defining the historical differences between the two areas. Thanks to the extensive and ambiguous connection between transit infrastructures and urban realm, these dynamics are deeply integrated and contribute to the cyclical transformation of Shinjuku and Shibuya and the constant production of new spaces and experiences. *Characterized by this dialectic of permanent transition and permanence in transition, this peculiar sense of place identity produced by railways in Shinjuku and Shibuya has been defined in the study as transient place identity.*

Under the light of the theoretical framework and considering the gaps in the literature, the initial interrogation was further articulated into two specific research questions, each addressing the research problem at the two significant scales of analysis defined by the study methodology (see 4.5). The first one focused on the place identity consequences produced by the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya as transit nodes at the scale of the two station districts. Conversely, the second question investigated the place identity experience associated with Shinjuku and Shibuya stations as complex transit-hubs. Indeed, the three chapters composing Part 3 of the dissertation already provided results and discussions supporting extensive explanations to both the interrogations. As part of the Conclusions, the two specific research questions are briefly restated and followed by comprehensive final explanations.

- (SRQ1) What are the place identity implications produced in their districts by the evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations as transit nodes?

The composite and incessant evolution of Shinjuku and Shibuya as transit nodes produced far-reaching implications regarding place identity. First, redefining fundamental urban elements such as centers, borders, or trajectories, the presence of the two nodes associated the production of meaning of both locations to the features of a socio-technical mobility infrastructure. Moreover, favoring urban growth, polarizing activities in the surroundings, or promoting a "modern" and everchanging architectural image, railways transformed both Shinjuku and Shibuya as transit-oriented districts.

Analyzing the urban development supported by railways in both prewar and postwar Shinjuku and Shibuya, results evidence how the place identity associated with this transformation is characterized by a pattern of permanence in transition. On the on hand, the "spontaneous" prewar urban expansion established a distinctive relationship with the historical place identity of the two districts by

largely incorporating preexisting topography, alignments, and urban patterns. Thus, if Shinjuku came to be defined by a multipolar and diverse urban development, in the case of Shibuya, the district was strongly organized around the centrality represent by Shibuya Crossing. At the same time, thanks to the restructuring of railways in postwar Tokyo and the role of railway companies as urban developers, Shinjuku and Shibuya are characterized by the cyclical appearance of new railway-led developments or re-development which periodically redefine the image or the activities of the two districts. *Linking historical place identity with a continuous pattern of railway-led transformations, this transient place identity emerges as a qualifying character of Tokyo's major railway-oriented districts such as Shinjuku and Shibuya.*

- <u>(SRQ2) How does the architectural experience of their respective railway stations as networked and integrated transit-hubs affect the perception of place identity in Shinjuku and Shibuya?</u>

The experience of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations as transit-hubs reveals the characters of such a transient place identity in a spatial and behavioral dimension daily shared by millions of Tokyoites. First, if place identity can be related to the awareness of the specificity and cohesion of a particular location, results revealed the fragmentary nature of the identity characters associated with the two stations. Articulated in discrete entities referred in the study as place units, activities and interactions in Shinjuku and Shibuya stations can be understood as taking place within a comprehensive network configuration. Significantly, also in this case, it was possible to observe how local and preexisting urban characters exerted a determinant influence on the results of this process. Thus, if Shinjuku station is characterized by the presence of underground place units which spreads like tree-roots into the nearby buildings, Shibuya station is characterized by vertical loops which display a more clear architectural articulation.

Focusing on the perceptive and behavioral characters associated with these transit-hubs, the mapping of border conditions and the exit interface of Shinjuku and Shibuya stations revealed how the fundamental and place-defining transition in-between the mobility infrastructure and urban realm embodied by the two stations could be characterized as intimate and ambiguous. However, even if the monumental features used to signify this transition in western contexts are largely absent, findings suggest how this subtle interplay of boundaries and in-between transitions seem capable of producing a distinctive sense of place identity. In particular, tracing and analyzing users' movements and dynamic behaviors, it was possible to appreciate the essential role of flows and fleeting patterns to define Shinjuku and Shibuya's place identities. Indeed, *it is in the repeated experience of such ephemeral patterns that is possible to appreciate that sense of transient place identity which represents one of the fundamental features of Shinjuku and Shibuya urban character.*
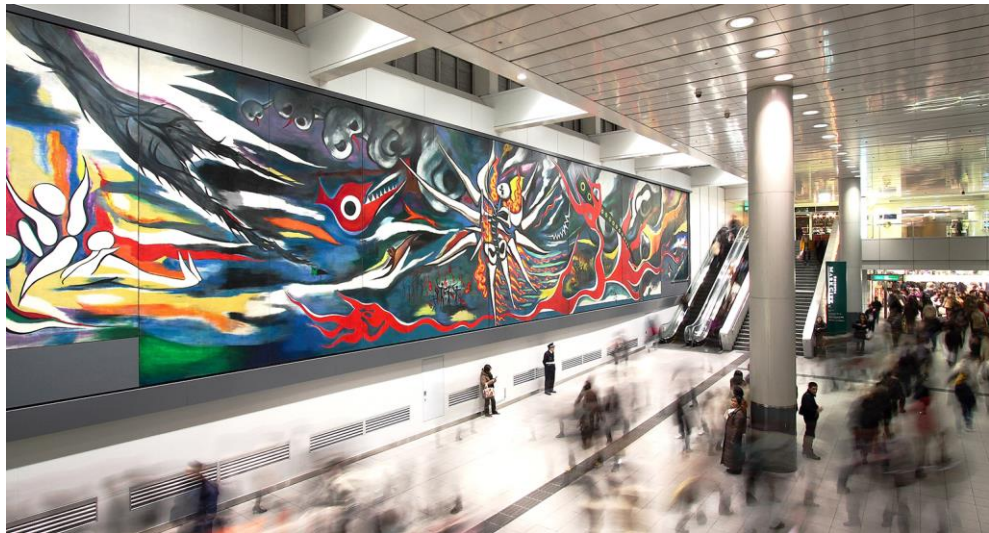
Graphic C.1 – Transient flows in Shibuya station. (Photo. Copyright by Naoya Fuji. Retrieved from: https://www.flickr.com/photos/naoyafujii/3122390823/)

C.3 Recommendation for Future Research

The study aimed to explore the influence of railway-led transformation on place identity in Shinjuku and Shibuya areas. While the choice of these two principal case studies was reasonable regarding goals, time-frame, and resource constraints, it also produced inevitable limitations (see 4.5). In particular, while methodology and methods proved fairly varied to illustrate comprehensively numerous aspects related to the scope of the investigation, it was not possible to include more case studies to further compare results within a more general frame. Therefore, considering findings, contributions, and limitations of the study it is possible to imagine several paths of research based on the future application of methods and findings illustrated in the dissertation.

Indeed, in terms of reproducibility of results, Tokyo and Japan seem the most natural field to develop further research on the topic. Under this light, it is possible to advance the following suggestions:

- Tests results comparing findings in Shinjuku and Shibuya with other major hub-stations within the city.
- Extend the scope of investigation including case studies at different scales and displaying railway-led phenomena at a different intensity.
- Compare results acquired in Tokyo with other cities in Japan to emphasize further similarities and unique traits associated with Tokyo's railway-led urbanism.

Building on the results of the study, it could be equally interesting to approach case studies or transit-oriented locations outside Japan. Although methods should be adapted to the new contexts (see discussion in 7.4), few suggestions for prospective investigations are listed as following.

- Compare results obtained in Tokyo with other comparable global cities.
- Investigate other notable examples of railway-oriented development to understand further the place identity dynamics produced by railway.
- Extend the investigation to other Asian contexts to find similarities, differences, and possible applications of the findings of the study.
- Test the applicability and validity of methods in other transit-oriented locations (such as airports or bus rapid transit services).

As a conclusive remark, the study evidenced the interdisciplinary and multifaceted nature of the notion of place identity. Indeed, the spatial and perception-oriented perspective of architecture and urban design could cover only certain aspects of the complex dynamics connecting railway with the production of place identity. Therefore, as a final recommendation, it would be highly beneficial to collaborate with other scholars in different fields and produce joint research to further illuminate the characters and the consequences produced by that pattern of permanence in transition identified by the thesis as one of the key aspects of the transient place identity of Shinjuku, Shibuya and, more in general, Tokyo.

These and other similar questions, topics, and problems have been addressed throughout the dissertation; if only suggested as a consequence of the topic of investigation. Hopefully, they will be the subject and the excuse for future research.

Bibliography

A+U Special Issue 2013:10, Integrated Station-City Development - the Next Advances of TOD, 2013. *Architecture and Urbanism*, 10.

Aasbø, S., 1999. History and ecology in everyday landscape. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 53 (2–3), 145–152.

Akasegawa, G., Fujimori, T., and Minami, S., 1986. *Rojō kansatsu Gaku nyūmon [Street Observation Science Project]*. Tokyo: Chikumashobō.

Alasuutari, P., 1996. Theorizing in Qualitative Research: A Cultural Studies Perspective. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 2 (4), 371–384.

Almazán, J. and Tsukamoto, Y., 2007. Tokyo Public Space Networks at the Intersection of the Commercial and the Domestic Realms (Part II) Study on Urban Content Space. *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, 6 (1), 143–150.

Almazán, J. and Tsukamoto, Y., 2009. Tokyo Public Space Networks at the Intersection of the Commercial and the Domestic Realms (Part III). *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, 8 (2), 461–468.

Amin, A. and Graham, S., 1998. Cities of connection and disconnection. *In*: J. Allen, D. Massey, and M. Pryke, eds. *Unsettling Cities: Movement/Settlement*. London: Routledge, 7–48.

Ando, K., 2010. Japan's Rail Stations. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, (56), 26–35.

Antrop, M., 2005. Why landscapes of the past are important for the future. *Landscape and Urban Planning*, 70 (1–2), 21–34.

Aoki, E., 1994. Expansion of Railway Network. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, (June), 34–37.

Aoki, M., 2002a. Railway Operators in Japan 4 - Central Tokyo. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, (March), 42–53.

Aoki, M., 2002b. Railway Operators in Japan 6 - Western Part of Greater Tokyo. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, (September), 52–62.

Appadurai, A., 1996. *Modernity at large : cultural dimensions of globalization*. University of Minnesota Press.

Arnold, E., 1891. *Japonica*. New York, NY: C. Scribner's Sons.

Ashihara, Y., 1989. *The Hidden Order : Tokyo through the twentieth century*. Tokyo: Kodansha International.

Ashihara, Y., 1998. *The aesthetics of Tokyo : chaos and order*. Tokyo: Ichigaya Publishing Company.

Atelier Bow Wow, 2002. *Pet Architecture Guidebook*. Tokyo: World Photo Press.

Augé, M., 1995. *Non-places : introduction to an anthropology of supermodernity*. (J. Howe ,Trans.). London: Verso.

Bachelard, G., 1964. The poetics of space.

Barthes, R., 1982. *Empire of signs*. (R. Howard, Trans.). New York, NY: Hill and Wang.

Bauman, Z., 2000. *Liquid modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Berman, M., 1988. *All that is solid melts into air : the experience of modernity*. New York: Viking Penguin.

Berque, A., 1982. *Vivre l'espace au Japon [A Phenomenology of space in Japan]*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.

Berque, A., 1997. *Japan : cities and social bonds*. Yelvertoft Manor, Northamptonshire: Pilkington Press.

Bertolini, L., 1996. Nodes and places: complexities of railway station redevelopment. *European Planning Studies*, 4 (3), 331–345.

Bertolini, L. and Spit, T., 1998. *Cities on rails : the redevelopment of railway station areas*. E & FN Spon.

Bharne, V., 2014. Rereading Tokyo. *In*: *Zen Spaces and Neon Places*. ar+d, 219–245.

De Block, G., 2014. Planning Rural-Urban Landscapes: Railways and Countryside Urbanisation in South-West Flanders, Belgium (1830–1930). *Landscape Research*, 39 (5), 542–565.

Bognar, B., 1985. *Contemporary Japanese architecture, its development and challenge*.

New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold.

Bognar, B., 1988. Archaeology of a Fragmented Landscape. *Architectural Design*, 58 (5/6), 15–25.

Bognar, B., 1997. *World Cities: Tokyo*. West Sussex: Academy Editions.

Boyer, C., 1995. The great frame-up: fantastic appearances in contemporary spatial politics. *In*: H. Liggett and D. Perry, eds. *Spatial Practices*. Londong: Sage, 81–109.

Buttimer, A. and Seamon, D., 1980. *The Human experience of space and place*. Croom Helm.

Calimente, J., 2012. Rail integrated communities in Tokyo. *Journal of Transport and Land Use*, 5 (1), 19–32.

Canter, D.V., 1977. *The psychology of place*. The Architectural Press.

Carmona, M., 2010. *Public places, urban spaces : the dimensions of urban design*. Architectural Press/Elsevier.

Caron, F., 1997. *Histoire des chemins de fer en France. Tome premier, 1740-1883*. Paris: Fayard.

Casey, E.S., 1997. *The fate of place : a philosophical history*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Castells, M., 1996. *The rise of the network society*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Castells, M., 2000. The contours of the network society. *Foresight*, 2 (2), 151–157.

Cervero, R., 1998. *The transit metropolis : a global inquiry*. Island Press.

Cervero, R. and Transportation Research Board, 2004. *Transit-Oriented Development in the United States: Experiences, Challenges, and Prospects*. Washington, D.C.: Transportation Research Board.

Chizu shiryou hensankai, 1999. *Meiji zenki naimushou chirikyoku sakusei chizu shuusei*. Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō.

Chorus, P. and Bertolini, L., 2011. An application of the node place model to explore the spatial development dynamics. *The Journal of Transport and Land Use*, 4 (1), 45–58.

Chorus, P. and Bertolini, L., 2016. Developing transit-oriented corridors: Insights from Tokyo. *International Journal of Sustainable Transportation*, 10 (2), 86–95.

Corbin, J.M., Strauss, A.L., and Strauss, A.L., 2008. *Basics of qualitative research : techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Sage Publications.

Crawford, M., 1999. Blurring the Boundaries: Public Space and Private Life. *In*: J. Chase,

M. Crawford, and J. Kaliski, eds. *Everyday urbanism*. New York, NY: The Monacelli Press, 22–35.

Cresswell, T., 2004. *Place : a short introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.

Cresswell, T., 2006. *On the move : mobility in the modern Western world*. Routledge.

Cresswell, T., 2010. Towards a Politics of Mobility. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 28 (1), 17–31.

Cresswell, T., 2011. Mobilities I: Catching up. *Progress in Human Geography*, 35 (4), 550–558.

Cresswell, T., 2012. Mobilities II: Still. *Progress in Human Geography*, 36 (5).

Cresswell, T., 2014. Mobilities III: Moving on. *Progress in Human Geography*, 38 (5).

Cresswell, T., 2016. Afterword – Asian mobilities/Asian frictions? *Environment and Planning A*, 48 (6), 1082–1086.

Cresswell, T. and Merriman, P., eds., 2011. *Geographies of mobilities : practices, spaces, subjects*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Creswell, J.W., 2014. *Research design : qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. SAGE Publications.

Curtis, C., Renne, J.L., and Bertolini, L., 2009. *Transit oriented development : making it happen*. Ashgate.

Cybriwsky, R.A., 1991. *Tokyo : the changing profile of an urban giant*. Belhaven.

Dan, N., ed., 2008. *Architecture and urbanism of Tokyo*. Taipei: Garden City Publishers.

Daniell, T., 2008. *After the crash : architecture in post-bubble Japan*. New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press.

Deleuze, G. and Guattari, F., 1987. *A thousand plateaus : capitalism and schizophrenia*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Dimmer, C., 2007. Renegotiating Public Space - A Historical Critique of Modern Public Space in Metropolitan Japan and its Contemporary Re-valuation. PhD Thesis, Department of Urban Engineering, The University of Tokyo.

Dittmar, H. and Ohland, G., 2004. *The new transit town : best practices in transit-oriented development*. Island Press.

Dridi, M.H., 2015. Simulation of High Density Pedestrian Flow: A Microscopic Model. *Open Journal of Modelling and Simulation*, 3 (3), 81–95.

Featherstone, M., Thrift, N.J., and Urry, J., 2005. *Automobilities*. SAGE.

Flick, U., 2006. *An introduction to qualitative research*. Sage Publications.

Freedman, A., 2011. *Tokyo in transit : Japanese culture on the rails and road*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Friedmann, J., 1986. The World City Hypothesis. *Development and Change*, 17 (1), 69–83.

Fujii, J. a, 1997. Networks of Modernity — Rail Transport and Modern Japanese Literature. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, (September), 12–16.

Giddens, A., 1990. *The consequences of modernity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Gluck, C., 1998. The invention of Edo. *In*: S. Vlastos, ed. *Mirror of modernity: invented traditions of modern Japan*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 262–284.

Goto, T., 2001. New Stations based on Philosophical Reunion of Diversed Technologies. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, (September), 32–41.

Gottdiener, M., 2001. *Life in the air : surviving the new culture of air travel*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Graham, S. and Marvin, S., 2001. *Splintering urbanism: Networked infrastructures, technological mobilities and the urban condition*. London: Routledge.

Groat, L.N. and Wang, D., 2013. *Architectural research methods.* Honoken, NJ: John Wiley.

Gropius, W., 1955. Architecture in Japan. *Perspecta*, 3 (1955), 8–21.

Groth, P.E. and Bressi, T.W., 1997. *Understanding ordinary landscapes*. Yale University Press.

Gustafson, P., 2001. Roots and Routes. *Environment and Behavior*, 33 (5), 667–686.

Haga, Z., 1970. *Shinjuku no Imamukashi*. Tokyo: Kinokuniya Bookstore.

Hale, C., 2013. History and prospects of the rail station. *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability*, 6 (1), 72–91.

Hallsted-Baumert, S., Gasnault, F., Zuber, H., Régie autonome des transports parisiens., and Archives de Paris., 1997. *Métro-cité : le chemin de fer métropolitain à la conquête de Paris, 1871-1945*. Paris: Paris musées.

Hannam, K., Sheller, M., and Urry, J., 2006. Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings. *Mobilities*, 1 (1), 1–22.

Harvey, D., 1990. *The condition of postmodernity : an enquiry into the origins of cultural change*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hayashi, J., 1983. *Tōkyō, shiden to machinami*. Shōgakkan.

Hayashi, J. and Miyawaki, S., 1999. *Tamaden ga hashitta machi konjaku : Setagaya no romen densha to machinami hensen isseiki*. Tokyo: JTB.

Hearn, L., 1894. *Glimpses of unfamiliar Japan*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Heidegger, M.M.J.R.E., 1962. Being and time.

Hetherington, K., 1997. In place of geometry: The materiality of place. *Ideas of difference*, 183–189.

Hidalgo, M.C. and Hernandez, B., 2001. Place Attachment: Conceptual and Empirical Questions. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 21 (3), 273–281.

Hoogendorn, S.P., Daamen, W., and Bovy, P.H.L., 2003. Extracting Microscopic Pedestrian Characteristics from Video Data: Results from Experimental Research into Pedestrian Walking Behavior.

Hormigo, P. and Morita, T., 2004. Urban Gapscapes: Problems and Opportunities in Urban Design Analysis of Gapspaces Originated by Elevated Railways. *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, 3 (1), 181–188.

Husserl, E.C.D., 1960. Cartesian meditations : an introduction to phenomenology.

Ichikawa, S., Koike, M., Ikeda, F., and Mabuki, A., 2016. *The Hara Yasusaburo Collection: Hiroshige*. Tokyo: TBS Terebi.

Inoue, H., 2017. Making Best Use of Spaces in Railway Facilities. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*.

Isozaki, A., 1979. *MA, space-time in Japan*. New York, NY: Cooper-Hewitt Museum.

Isozaki, A., 2006. *Japan-ness in architecture*. Cambridge, MS: MIT Press.

Ito, K. and Chiba, M., 2001. Railway Stations and Local Communities in Japan. *Japab Railway & Transport Review (EJRCF)*, 28 (September), 1–17.

Ito, T., 1997. Tokyo: the City as a Garden of Microchips. *In*: B. Bognar, ed. *World Cities: Tokyo*. West Sussex: Academy Editions, 280.

Jacques, J.C.S., Braun, A., Soldera, J., Musse, S.R., and Jung, C.R., 2007. Understanding people motion in video sequences using Voronoi diagrams : DDetecting and classifying groups. *Pattern Analysis and Applications*, 10 (4), 321–332.

Jinnai, H., 1987. Ethnic Tokyo. *Process: Architecture*, 72.

Jinnai, H., 1995. *Tokyo, a spatial anthropology*. (K. Nishimura, Trans.). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Jonas, M. and Rahmann, H., 2014. *Tokyo Void*. Berlin: Jovis.

Kaizuka, S. and Shimizu, Y., 1995. *Meiji zenki Shōwa zenki Tōkyō toshi chizu (topographical maps of Tokyo, 1880-1996)*. Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobō.

Kajima, M., Kuroda, J., and Tsukamoto, Y., 2001. *Made in Tokyo*. Tokyo: Kajimashuppankai.

Kawazoe, N., 1979. *Tokyo no genfūkei: Toshi to den'en to no kōryū [The Essential Tokyo Cityscape]*. Tokyo: Nipponhōsōshuppankyōkai.

Kellett, J.R., 1969. *The impact of railways on Victorian cities,*. London: Routledge & K. Paul.

Kido, E.M., 2005. Aesthetic aspects of railway stations in Japan and Europe, as a part of context sensitive design for railways. *Journal of the Eastern Asia Society for Transportation Studies*, 6, 4381–4396.

Kido, E.M., 2006. Railway Landscape Design and Relationship with Form, Function and Aesthetic. *Japan Railway Transport Review*, 45 (August), 22–30.

Kishii, T., 2017. Use and Area Management of Railway Under-Viaduct Spaces and Underground Spaces near Stations. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, (69).

Kitayama, K., Tsukamoto, Y., and Nishizawa, R., 2010. *Tokyo Metabolizing*. Tokyo: TOTO Publishing.

Kivimäki, I., Lebichot, B., Saramäki, J., and Saerens, M., 2016. Two betweenness centrality measures based on Randomized Shortest Paths. *Scientific Reports*, 6 (1), 19668.

Kojiro, Y., 1986. Edo: the City on the Plain. *In*: M.S.. W.A.C. Brandon, James R.; Friedman, ed. *Tokyo: Form and Spirit*. Minneapolis, MN: Walker Art Center.

Kon, W., 2011. *Kon Wajiro retrospective*. Tokyo: Seigensha.

Koolhaas, R., 1995. The Generic City. *In*: OMA, R. Koolhaas, and B. Mau, eds. *S,M,L,XL*. New York, NY: The Monacelli Press, 1239–1264.

Kurokawa, K., 1994. *The philosophy of symbiosis*. London: Academy Editions.

De Landa, M., 1997. *A thousand years of nonlinear history*. New York, NY: Zone Books.

Latour, B., 1996. On actor-network theory. A few clarifications plus more than a few complications. *Soziale Welt*, 47, 369–381.

Lefebvre, H., 1991. *The production of space*. Blackwell.

Lewicka, M., 2008. Place attachment, place identity, and place memory: Restoring the

forgotten city past. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 28 (3), 209–231.

Lewicka, M., 2011. Place attachment: How far have we come in the last 40 years? *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 31 (3), 207–230.

Linhart, S., 1986. Sakariba: Zone of 'Evaporation' between Work and Home? *In*: J. Hendry and J. Webber, eds. *Interpreting Japanese Society: Anthropological Approaches*. Oxford: JASO, 198–210.

Löhner, R., 2010. On the modeling of pedestrian motion. *Applied Mathematical Modelling*, 34 (2), 366–382.

Lucas, R., 2008. Getting Lost in Tokyo. *Footprint*, 91–104.

Maeda, A., 2004. *Text and the city : essays on Japanese modernity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Mansfield, S., 2009. *Tokyo : a cultural history*. Oxford University Press.

Manzo, L.C., 2003. Beyond house and haven: toward a revisioning of emotional relationships with places. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 23 (1), 47–61.

Manzo, L.C. and Perkins, D.D., 2006. Finding Common Ground: The Importance of Place Attachment to Community Participation and Planning. *Journal of Planning Literature*, 20 (4), 335–350.

Massey, D.B., 1994. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Massey, D.B., 2005. *For space*. London: SAGE Publications.

McClain, J.L., Merriman, J.M., and Ugawa, K., eds., 1994. *Edo and Paris : urban life and the state in the early modern era*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice; Smith, C., 1962. *Phenomenology of perception*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Miyachi, M., 2005. *Bijuaru waido Meiji jidaikan = The Meiji period*. Shōgakkan.

Montgomery, J., 1998. Making a city: Urbanity, vitality and urban design. *Journal of Urban Design*, 3 (1), 93–116.

Morichi, S. and Acharya, S.R., 2013. *Transport development in Asian megacities : a new perspective*. Berlin: Springer.

Morse, E.S., 1885. *Japanese homes and their surroundings*. New York, NY: Harper & Bros.

Nagasugi, H. and Hato, E., 2014. Rambling activity analyses of the street around the station focused on the closed walk properties of the network. *Journal of the City Planning*

Institute of Japan, 49 (3), 711–716.

Nakai, M., 2013. Preservation and Restoration of Tokyo Station Marunouchi Building First design for station. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*.

Nakamura, K., 2005. *Yamanotesen tanjō: Hanseiki kakete kanjōsen wo tsunageta Tokyo no tetsudō-shi [The birth of Yamanote line]*. Tokyo: Ikaros Publications.

Nakazawa, S., 2005. *Earth Diver*. Tokyo: Kōdansha.

Natsume, S., 1977. *Sanshiro : a novel*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.

Nenzi, L., 2004. Cultured Travelers and Consumer Tourists in Edo-Period Sagami. *Monumenta Nipponica*, 59 (3), 285–319.

Newman, M.E.J., 2003. The Structure and Function of Complex Networks. *Society for Industrial and Applied Mathematics*, 45 (2), 167–256.

Nitschke, G., 1966. 'MA': The Japanese Sense of 'Place' in old and new architecture and planning. *AD - Architectural Design*, 36, 116–156.

Norberg-Schulz, C., 1980. *Genius loci : towards a phenomenology of architecture*. New York, NY: Rizzoli.

Nute, K., 1993. *Frank Lloyd Wright and Japan : the role of traditional Japanese art and architecture in the work of Frank Lloyd Wright*. London: Chapman & Hall.

Ogawa, I., 1998. History of Amusement Park construction by private railway companies in Japan. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, (March), 28–34.

Okata, J. and Murayama, A., 2011. Tokyo's Urban GOkata, J. and Murayama, A., 2011. Tokyo's Urban Growth, Urban Form and Sustainability. In: A. Sorensen and J. Okata, eds. Megacities: Urban Form, Governance, and Sustainability. Tokyo: Springer Japan, 15–41.rowth, Urban Form and Sustainabil. *In*: A. Sorensen and J. Okata, eds. *Megacities: Urban Form, Governance, and Sustainability*. Tokyo: Springer Japan, 15–41.

Oshima, K.T., 1996. Denenchfu: Building the Garden City in Japan. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 55 (2), 140–151.

Pascoe, D., 2001. *Airspaces*. Reaktion Books.

Pons, P., 1988. *D'Edo à Tōkyō : mémoires et modernités [From Edo to Tokyo: memories and modernity]*. Paris: Gallimard.

Popham, P., 1985. *Tokyo the city at the end of the world*. Tokyo: Kodansha International.

Preece, R.A. (Roy A.., 1991. *Designs on the landscape : everyday landscapes, values, and*

practice. Belhaven Press.

Proshansky, H.M., Fabian, A.K., and Kaminoff, R., 1983. Place-identity: Physical world socialization of the self. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 3 (1), 57–83.

Punter, J., 1991. Participation in the design of urban space. *Landscape Design*, 200 (1), 24–27.

Radovic, D. and Boontharm, D., eds., 2012. *Small Tokyo*. Tokyo: flick studio and IKI.

Ragin, C.C. and Amoroso, L.M., 2011. *Constructing social research : the unity and diversity of method*. SAGE Publications.

Reggiani, M. (in press)., 2017. Tokyo Archipelago: the impact of transit infrastructures on Tokyo's urban form. *In*: *Urban Morphology and the Resilient City - The 23rd International Seminar on Urban Form 8-10 July 2016*. Nanjing.

Relph, E.C., 1976. *Place and placelessness*. London: Pion.

Reusser, D.E., Loukopoulos, P., Stauffacher, M., and Scholz, R.W., 2008. Classifying railway stations for sustainable transitions - balancing node and place functions. *Journal of Transport Geography*, 16 (3), 191–202.

Richie, D., 1991. *A lateral view : essays on contemporary Japan*. Tokyo: Japan Times.

Roth, R. and Polino, M.-N., 2003. *The city and the railway in Europe*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Royal Academy of Arts, 1994. Academy International Forum: Learning From Tokyo. *Architectural Design Profile*, 107, 8–19.

Saito, T., 1997. Japanese Private Railway Companies and Their Business Diversification. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, (January), 2–9.

Sand, J., 2013. *Tokyo vernacular : common spaces, local histories, found objects*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Sassen, S., 1991. *The global city : New York, London, Tokyo*. Princeton University Press.

Sassen, S., 2002. Locating cities on global circuits. *Environment & Urbanization*, 14 (1), 13–30.

Schivelbusch, W., 1986. *The railway journey : the industrialization of time and space in the 19th century*. Berg.

Seamon, D., 1980. Body-subject, time-space routines, and place-ballets. *The human experience of space and place*.

Seawright, J. and Gerring, J., 2008. Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research. *Political Research Quarterly*, 61 (2), 294–308.

Seidensticker, E., 1983. *Low city, high city : Tokyo from Edo to the earthquake*. New York, NY: A.A. Knopf.

Seidensticker, E., 1991. *Tokyo rising : the city since the great earthquake*. Tokyo: C.E. Tuttle.

Sekiguchi, M., 2006. JR East's Approach to Universal Design of Railway Stations. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*.

Sheller, M. and Urry, J., 2003. Mobile Transformations of `Public' and `Private' Life. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 20 (3), 107–125.

Sheller, M. and Urry, J., 2004. *Tourism mobilities : places to play, places in play*. Routledge.

Sheller, M. and Urry, J., 2006. The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning A*, 38 (2), 207–226.

Shelton, B., 1999. *Learning from the Japanese City, West meets East in Urban Design*. London: E & FN Spon.

Shibuya-ku, 1966. *Shinshu Shibuya-ku shi*. Tokyo: Shibuya-ku.

Shibuya Ward Board of Education, 2007. *Shibuya no kioku - Shashin de miru ima to mukashi*. Tokyo: Shibuya Ward Board of Education.

ShinjukuEki, 1985. *Shinjukueki 100-nen no Ayumi: Shinjukueki kaigyō 100 shūnenkinen*. Tokyo: Nihon kokuyū tetsudō Shinjukueki.

Shinohara, K., 1988. Chaos and Machine. *JA, The Japan Architect*, May, 25–32.

Skeates, R., 1997. The infinite city. *City*, 2 (8), 6–20.

Smith, H.D., 1978. Tokyo as an Idea: An Exploration of Japanese Urban Thought Until 1945. *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 4 (1), 45–80.

Smith, H.D., 1986a. Sky and Water: the Deep Structures of Tokyo. *In*: M.S.. W.A.C. Brandon, James R.; Friedman, ed. *Tokyo: Form and Spirit*. Minneapolis, MN: Walker Art Center, 21–35.

Smith, H.D., 1986b. The Edo-Tokyo Transition: In Search of Common Ground. *In*: M.B. Rozman, Gilbert; Jansen, ed. *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 347–374.

Soja, E.W., 1996. *Thirdspace : journeys to Los Angeles and other real-and-imagined places*. Blackwell.

Song, J. and Deguchi, A., 2013. Evaluation and Typology of Railway Station Areas in a

30km Cicumference Surrounding Central Tokyo from View of Transit-Oriented Development. *Journal of Architecture and Planning (Transactions of AIJ)*, 78 (684), 413–420.

Sorensen, A., 2002. *The making of urban Japan : cities and planning from Edo to the twenty-first century*. London: Routledge.

Storper, M., 1997. *The regional world : territorial development in a global economy*. New York: Guilford Press.

Street, J., 1921. *Mysterious Japan*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co.

Sugizaki, Y., 2013. *Yamanotesen uguisuiro no densha konjaku gojūnen : daitokai o hashiru tsūkin densha to eki no ayumi*. Tokyo: Jētībīpaburisshingu.

Suzuki, H., 1990. *Tokyo no chirei [Genius loci in Tokyo]*. Tokyo: Bungeishunjū.

Suzuki, H., 1993. Post-Bubble-Prospects for an Approach Based on the Character of Place. *JA, The Japan Architect*, Spring, 46–51.

Suzuki, M., 1978. *Edo no kawa, Tokyo no kawa [Rivers of Edo, rivers of Tokyo]*. Tokyo: Nihonhōsōkyōkai.

Suzuki, T., 1995. A Vision of Future Railway Stations. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, (December), 6–13.

Takashima, S., 2002. Railway Operators in Japan 7 - Southern Kanto Region. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, (December), 50–59.

Taki, K., 1988. Fragments and Noise. The Architectural Ideas of Kazuo Shinohara and Toyo Ito. *Architectural Design*, 58 (5/6), 32–35.

Tamura, K., 2013. *Mayoi mayotte shibuyaeki : nihon'ichi no meikyū tāminaru no nazo o toku*. Tokyo: Kōbunsha.

Tamura, K. and Uehara, D., 2016. *Shinjukueki wa naze ichinichi sanbyakurokujūyonmannin o sabakeru noka*. Tokyo: Esubīkurieitibu.

Tange, K., 1960. *Katsura: Nihon Kenchiku ni Okeru Dentō to Sōzō [Katsura: Tradition and Creation in Japanese Architecture]*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Tardits, M., 2011. *Tokyo Portraits and Fictions*. translated. Blou: Le Gac Press.

Taut, B., 1936. *Fundamentals of Japanese architecture*. Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai.

Taut, B., 1937. *Houses and people of Japan*. Tokyo: Sanseido.

Timmermans, H.J.P., 2009. *Pedestrian behavior : models, data collection and applications*. Emerald.

Tiry, C., 1997. Tokyo Yamanote Line: Cityspace Mutations. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, 4–11.

Tokyu Corporation, 2014. Through Service Between Tokyu Toyoko Line and Tokyo Metro Fukutoshin Line : Overview. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, (63), 6–13.

Tokyu Corporation, 2015. Three-year Medium-term Management Plan (FY2015 – 2017) 'STEPS TO THE NEXT STAGE' [online]. Available from: http://www.tokyu.co.jp/ir/upload_file/ENlibrary_05/9005_2015042817215702_P01_.pdf [Accessed 22 Jul 2016].

Toshi Dezain Kenkyūtai.; Shōkokusha., 1968. *Nihon no Toshi Kūkan [Urban Space in Japan]*. Tokyo: Shōkokusha.

Toshikazu, S. and Nenzi, L., 2002. Journeys, Pilgrimages, Excursions: Religious Travels in the Early Modern Period. *Monumenta Nipponica*, 57 (4), 447–471.

Traganou, J., 1997. The Tokaido—Scenes from Edo to Meiji Eras. *Japan Railway & Transport Review*, (September), 17–27.

Tuan, Y., 1974. *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Tuan, Y., 1977. *Space and place : the perspective of experience*. London: Edward Arnold.

Urry, J., 2002. Mobility and Proximity. *Sociology*, 36 (2), 255–274.

Urry, J., 2007. *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity.

Vaporis, C.N., 1994. *Breaking barriers : travel and the state in early modern Japan*. Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University.

Vaporis, C.N., 2008. *Tour of duty : samurai, military service in Edo, and the culture of early modern Japan*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.

Verstraete, G. and Cresswell, T., eds., 2002. *Mobilizing Place, Placing Mobility : the Politics of Representation in a Globalized World*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Wakabayashi, M., 1996. Nihon ni okeru 〈kindai kūkan〉 no tanjō. *In*: *Toshi no kūkan toshi no shintai*. Tokyo: Keisōshobō.

Waley, P., 2002. Moving the Margins of Tokyo. *Urban Studies*, 39 (9), 1533–1550.

Waley, P., 2006. Re-scripting the city: Tokyo from ugly duckling to cool cat. *Japan Forum*, 18 (January 2015), 361–380.

Wash Ivanovic, G., 2011. Clustering places : character and activity in Ueno park. PhD Thesis, Department of Architecture, The University of Tokyo.

Wash Ivanovic, G., 2014. People as place-making coordinate: A methodology for visualizing personal spaces. *Frontiers of Architectural Research*, 3 (1), 36–43.

Wright, F.L., 1943. *An autobiography*. New York, NY: Duell, Sloan & Pearce.

Xiao, Y., Gao, Z., Qu, Y., and Li, X., 2016. A pedestrian flow model considering the impact of local density: Voronoi diagram based heuristics approach. *Transportation Research Part C: Emerging Technologies*, 68, 566–580.

Yatsuka, H., 1988. An Architecture Floating on the Sea of Signs. Three Generations of Contemporary Japanese Architects. *Architectural Design*, 58 (5/6), 6–13.

Ye-Kyeong, S. and Hye-Jin, J., 2015. New Spatial Possibilities of Railway Station: Everyday Heritage, Enjoyable Landscape. *Procedia Engineering*, 118, 377–383.

Yoshihara, K., Tawara, M., and Nakagawa, K., 1994. *Fukugen Edo jouhou chizu*. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun.

Yoshimi, S., 1987. *Toshi no doramaturugi: Tokyo sakariba no shakaishi [The Dramaturgy of the City: The Social History of Tokyo Entertainment Districts]*. Tokyo: Kōbundō.

Yoshimi, S., 1996. Urbanization and Cultural Change in Modern Japan: The Case of Tokyo. *Review of media, information and society*, 1, 131–147.

Yoshimura, Y., 2006. *Chō gōhō kenchiku zukan [Super legal buildings]*. Tokyo: Shōkokusha.

Zacharias, J., Zhang, T., and Nakajima, N., 2011. Tokyo Station City: The railway station as urban place. *URBAN DESIGN International*, 16 (4), 242–251.

Zhao, T., Wai, K., and Siu, M., 2014. The Boundaries of Public Space : A Case Study of Hong Kong ' s Mass Transit Railway. *International Journal of Design*, 8 (2), 43–60.

Appendix A – Place Units' Analysis Sheets

Appendix B –Flowing Behaviors: Case Studies' Analysis

Appendix C – Mapping Exit Interface: Tables