A MORPHOLOGICAL STUDY ON THE YOKOCHŌ BAR ALLEYS

Urban micro-spatiality in Tokyo

飲み屋横丁における形態学的研究

－東京ミクロ都市空間に関する考察－

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Although many bar alleys found in the commercial districts of Tokyo might seem crowded and dark, their small scale and intimate atmosphere facilitate informal public life. This paper identifies first a particular type of bar cluster as a morphological unit, coined here as “*yokochō* bar area”, characterized by the exclusive use of its buildings as bars and eateries, and the extreme smallness of its alleys and buildings. Secondly, it identifies the location patterns of these areas within the commercial districts. Finally, this study conducts a morphological taxonomy of 49 cases in Tokyo, based on the urban linkage to the surroundings and the internal street configuration. As a result eight main types were obtained, from simple linear cases linked to main streets, to networks of alleys hidden inside urban blocks.

Keywords: *Urban morphology, Tokyo, yokochō bar alley, informal public life, typology*

都市形態, 東京, 飲み屋横丁, インフォーマル・パブリック・ライフ, 類型

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The varied patterns of buildings and visual characteristics coexisting in the landscape of Tokyo constitute one of its appeals. Compared with European cities, the mixture of different building scales within the same district or even block is particularly striking. The presence of small urban elements in large metropolitan structures, such as small detached houses, shops, or pocket gardens can be considered one of the qualities of Tokyo (Radovic & Boontharm 2012). A particular type of small urban space, addressed here as “*yokochō* bar alley”, creates an extreme juxtaposition of small and large, intimate and exposed, back and front urban spaces. The loss of the small urban scale has been considered one of the negative consequences of modern urban development (Jacobs 1961, Whyte 1980, Gehl 2010). The bar alleys of Tokyo, entangled in the same district with large transport infrastructures, department stores, and roads, can suggest ways to reintegrate smallness in the contemporary city.

1.2 Emergence of the *Yokochō* Bar Alleys

Most of the *yokochō* bar alleys originated from black markets built after WWII. The post-war government lacked the ability to distribute products, and black markets emerged soon to supplement the official distribution systems. They played an important role to provide daily necessities and other valuable goods to the locals. Most of them emerged around major train stations where people started to squatter and build barracks in unoccupied spaces,

which gradually grew to become market communities. Illegal market stalls gradually transformed into bars, and some of them changed their location from the station approach to other areas, still within walking distance from the station. Today the existing *yokochō* bar alleys tend to maintain the original configuration and scale creating a peculiar atmosphere in modern Japanese cities. Although the atmosphere of the small, very often old wooden buildings that line along these narrow alleys is often considered less attractive than the newly developed districts, these alleys are popular bar areas that attract people from various age brackets up to this day.

1.3. The *Yokochō* Space as a Core of Informal Public Life

The *yokochō* bar alleys are not only an urban relic, they can be considered living core settings of informal public life or, in Oldenburg’s terms, a “third place”, i.e. “a great variety of public places that host the regular, voluntary, informal, and happily anticipated gatherings of individuals beyond the realms of home and work” (Oldenburg 1999:16). The sociological importance of third places (bars, cafés, taverns, etc.) in sustaining informal public life as a supplement to home and work routines has been widely accepted since the publication of Oldenburg’s work. The *yokochō* bars and alleys can be considered a “third space”, since their most appreciated quality is the capacity to facilitate communication among customers, and between the owner and the customers (Almazán 2012).

1.4 Definition of the Target Area

This study focuses on the morphology of back alleys filled with small

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Fig. 1 Distribution of the 65 samples in the 23 wards of Tokyo

bars, referred here to as *yokochō bar alleys*, within the 23 wards of Tokyo. Since there is no established term for these precincts, the definition needs to be clarified. We opted for using the term *yokochō*, which can be also used for other type of alleys, because many of these alleys contain it in their names (such as *Omoide-yokochō*, *Nombei-yokochō*, or *OK Yokochō*). The definition was developed using a gradual sampling of urban spaces. It is difficult to find clear urban morphologies in Tokyo, but in its complex urban fabric we can observe tendencies. In order to identify those tendencies we can apply to urban studies what sociologists call "ideal types", a concept introduced by Weber (1904), i.e. categories that have been deliberately purified for intellectual purposes. Ideal types help to set aside the indistinctness and ambiguity of real phenomena and establish a classification according to proximity with the ideal type. This method has been applied in Tokyo in previous research for urban phenomena (Almazán and Tsukamoto 2009:467). In a similar way, the definition of 'yokochō bar alley' offered here is deliberately purified, as a particular type within the hybridity of most urban spaces in Tokyo. The definition is not aimed to portray the most common type, but an extreme case that can be considered as representative of an existing tendency towards urban smallness. In order to define this type, we realized a gradual sampling in three steps.

First, we examined previous research (see section 1.6), and popular media, both printed (Koten Sakaba, Fujiki & Kawakami 2002), and online (Tokyo Deep Annai 2011, Information Design Lab 2011, Emjp (no date), Shikasu, 2011). We applied the following conditions to make a preliminary sampling, based on size (conditions 1 and 2), program (3), historical development (4 and 5), and cooperative character (6): 1) Buildings are arranged along narrow alleys, sometimes called *roji*. 2) Buildings are characterized by the small scale, in many cases following the plot size of the traditional *nagaya* (row houses). 3) Buildings are mainly used as bars or eateries. 4) The area is a former black market. 5) Building structure is wooden. 6) Presence of shared restrooms. We made a preliminary sampling of 100 samples fulfilling some or all of the conditions above.

The second step consisted in examining the sampled alleys in detail, after which we established a definition of a 'yokochō bar area', based on the following three conditions related to smallness, usage, and cooperativity: a) Buildings face alleys less or equal to 4 m wide; b) Buildings are low-rise (3 floors or less) and 80% or more of the buildings have a footprint less or

equal to 50m²; c) All the buildings (100%) are bars or eateries. With these conditions we excluded cases of different sizes or containing other uses (e.g. Ameyoko, close to Ueno Station, which mainly contains shops). This resulted in 65 samples with specific place names.

The final step was to identify morphological units. Some place names referred to single alleys, others to several alleys, other to alleys located in larger precincts. For example, the alleys that compose the area popularly known as "Goldengai" have different names (Goldengai, Maneki-dori, Hanazono). Since these alleys are interconnected forming a distinct precinct we treated them as one morphological unit. This resulted in 49 morphological units or 'yokochō bar areas' (Tables 1 and 2). The alleys that have been merged into a single area can be seen in the fourth column of Table 2, indicated in brackets as "same precinct". These 49 units, scattered over Tokyo (Fig.1), can be considered as a representative overview of the 'yokochō bar areas' defined in this paper.

1.5 Boundaries of the Target Areas

Each morphological unit or 'yokochō bar area' is composed of small buildings along one or more alleys. The limits of each area are defined by the surface occupied by the alleys and the buildings, as shown in Fig.3 (buildings expressed in dark grey, alleys in light grey). This figure shows the plans of extracted areas, traced by deleting the surrounding elements that do not belong to the yokochō bar area. The alleys can be clearly identified by their specific names, and the presence of bar and eateries along them. As for the buildings, most areas are managed by a cooperative or bar association. We considered as belonging to the area all the buildings containing bars associated to the cooperative (Table 2, third column). For the cases without cooperative, we considered as belonging to the yokochō bar area all the buildings used as bars or eateries that are built along and facing those alleys.

1.6. Previous Research

The studies related to the yokochō bar alleys can be divided into two groups: those focusing on functional and historical aspects of the area as a whole, and those addressing the narrow alleys or *roji*. Among the first group, Matsudaira (1995), Ino (1977) and Hatsuda (2011) conduct overview researches on the history of black markets. Hatsuda focuses on barrack bar districts and studies the transformation of black markets to cooperative buildings in Shinbashi. Takahashi (2003) studies the architecture of accommodated street stalls, built by the US occupation forces in 1949 to remove black markets. He explains that street stalls were converted into five different types of buildings which still exist at present: department store, *kaikan* (assembly hall), *nagaya*, alley-like building, and underground building. Tsuboi and Kitano (2010) analyze *yokochō* shopping alleys focusing on preservation and revitalization. They chose 17 areas in Tokyo with a high aging rate. By surveys from different angles, location, spatial composition, business category and operation type, they reveal the characteristics of degrading yokochō shopping alleys. Some researchers focus on individual cases such as Harmonica Yokochō (Chouji 2010) and Shimokitazawa Ekimae Shokuhin Ichiba (Satake 2007). However, overview surveys of the existing yokochō bar districts have not yet been carried out, and therefore the overview morphological study of this paper can contribute to this body of research.

Among the second group, numerous papers address the *roji* alley,

shedding light on their social and spatial role, as early as Zaino et al. (1983) who analyzed the factors forming the allies to define the characteristics of urban districts. Other earlier study includes Aoki et al. (1993, 1994) who highlighted the socio-psychological role of the *afuredashi*, the extension of private commodities into the *roji* space. We can find studies analyzing the relation between *roji* and groups of residential buildings (Kim and Takahashi, 1995), some with a focus on the possibilities for conversion and renewal (Wakita 2011, Harada 2011). As for non-residential areas, Okamoto (2003) focuses on the different types of urban blocks created by the arrangement of buildings and *roji* in Ginza, following the urban transformation of the latter Meiji era. The complexity of allies has lead scholars to study their physical forms in various methods for example with the aid of computer programs such as Space Syntax (Takagi et al. 2011).

The present paper shares with this body of work the approach of treating alleys and buildings as a single morphological spatial unit and recognizing their social role. Our object of study, nevertheless, differs in several aspects. The alleys addressed in this paper are located in densely-built train station commercial districts and contain multiple tiny bars. On the other hand, contrary to the anonymity of residential alleys, the alleys of this paper have specific names and become a destination with a recognizable identity within the larger commercial district. This shared identity has been created as a cooperative entity, either formally through a bar association, or informally, by several methods such as advertising themselves with a distinct place name, or setting billboards at entrances. This difference in location, usage, and character requires a separate study, different from those mentioned above.

The yokocho bar alleys could be researched from different points of view. Issues such as their historical development or socio-psychological role need

to be addressed. However, in this paper we focus on an overview research of the tangible form of currently existing types, as a base from which more specific studies, or studies on less tangible aspects can be realized.

1.7. Research Question

This study aims to establish a overview preliminary typology based on urban morphology, as a step towards a better understanding of these spaces. From a morphological point of view, the spatial experience of the yokocho bar alleys can be addressed by focusing on external and internal aspects. As external aspect we will focus on their linkage with the outer surrounding streets, which can confirm their character as being 'hidden' or in a relatively back position. As an internal aspect, we will focus on the street pattern within each yokocho bar area, which can explain their complex and intricate spatial experience. By crossing the urban linkage and street configuration we can obtain a typological overview of different yokocho bar areas.

2. Methodology

After realizing a field survey from September to December 2011, we analyzed each case following a method based on Fujimura et al. (2010), according to these steps.

1) *Abstract maps of major train stations and surroundings, including yokocho bar alleys: location patterns.* Previous research indicates that the alleys are usually located near the central districts, and close to major train stations. To verify this, and to have a closer look at the relation with other major commercial districts in the city, abstract maps were drawn. These maps simplify residential and office areas and highlight public spaces. In this way, the location of each *yokocho bar area* and spatial relationship with the main urban components was visualized (See Fig. 4).

Fig. 2 Types of urban linkage with the surrounding streets

Fig. 3 Types of internal street configuration

Fig. 4 Example of a datasheet

2) *External connections: urban linkage.* In order to understand the connection of the area with the surrounding streets, analysis was conducted by tracing each building and main roads of the district from the map. By extracting the two components and comparing their layouts, we organized the urban linkage in three different types (Fig. 2).

3) *Internal configuration: street configuration.* The arrangement of each individual area was examined to reveal the characteristic of its spatial composition. Buildings and streets of each yokochō bar area were traced from the map, compared, and categorized into six types (Fig. 3).

4) *Datasheets for all yokochō bar areas.* Datasheets were made by combining the collected data, including photographs taken on site (Fig. 4).

5) *Combination of urban linkage and street configurations: typology of yokochō bar areas.* The typology was identified by creating a matrix of the typological analysis on urban linkage and street configuration (Table 1).

3. Morphological Components

3.1 Location patterns

The 49 areas are located within a walking distance from major train stations. From the abstract map (shown at the top of Fig. 4) we identified three characteristic location patterns. The cases which did not follow these three patterns comprised 10.2%.

1) *Next to or inside an amusement quarter.* More than half of the cases were found either next to (34.7%) or inside (22.4%) amusement quarters. Further studies on the formation of these areas must be carried out to find the relation between the yokochō bar alleys and the amusement quarters but we confirmed that there is a clear tie between these two urban components.

2) *Next to a shopping street.* The shopping street or *shōtengai* is a common urban component in Japanese cities. 19 out of 34 stations had shopping streets near the station and 28.6% of the cases were located adjacent to a shopping street.

3) *Next to a department store.* 4.0% were located next to department stores. This is a clear example of mixture in terms of building scale. Department stores are often located in front of wide main streets, whereas the yokochō bars remain in the back alleys.

3.2 Urban Linkage

Depending on the way each case of yokochō bar alley is linked to the surrounding streets, we can establish the following types (Fig. 2)

1) *Linked to a main street* (16 areas, 32.7%). This type is located adjacent to a main street, understood as a street with two or more lanes. Some cases are actually built along the main street spreading in a linear manner. The bar buildings, visible from the main street, have easy access and visibility compared to the other two types.

2) *Linked to a secondary street* (23 areas, 46.9%). Secondary streets, defined here as streets of one lane, are narrower and make the area less visible.

3) *Inside the block* (10 areas, 20.4%). The area is surrounded by often taller buildings, than the yokochō bar buildings themselves. The *yokochō* bar alleys, hidden behind taller buildings, are not visible from the streets surrounding the block, and can only be accessed through a narrow passage formed between the taller buildings. This is the most hidden type, although there are often billboards and gateways at the entrance of the passage indicating the names of the establishments.

3.3. Street Configuration

The street configuration can be categorized into these six types (Fig. 3).

1) *Straight street.* Buildings are arranged on both sides along a dominant straight alley. This type might include shorter and narrower alleys or passages connecting to the dominant alley. It is the most common type among the researched samples (18 areas, 36.7%).

2) *L-shaped street.* Similar to “straight street”, but the perspective is blocked by the bent part of the street. It is the second common type (9 areas, 18.4%).

3) *Dead-end street.* Also linear, the dead-end creates a more intimate, but also less accessible space (4 areas, 8.2%).

4) *Scattered volumes.* Buildings are scattered because most of the surrounding plots were rebuilt, leading to their conversion to offices, residential buildings, etc. It could be said that this type is gradually transforming, and is in danger because of the diminishing image as bar district (1 area, 2.0%).

5) *Split by street.* Originally the area was continuous, but following urban plans, new roads were constructed splitting the area (5 areas, 10.2%).

6) *Street network.* Several streets interconnect to create a network bar area. In types 1, 2 and 3 there is only one street that articulates the whole area as a dominant element in terms of length and width. In this type there is no single dominant alley, several alleys of the same order of length and width appear interconnected forming a network. The extension, and number of bars in these district is larger compared to other types (12 districts, 24.5%).

4. Conclusions

Table 1 Typological matrix combining urban linkage to surrounding streets and internal street configuration.

		Urban Linkage		
		Linked to a Main Street	Linked to a Secondary Street	Inside a Block
Street configuration	Straight Street	Type A No. 10 Shōwashindō Shōtengai No. 23 Suzuran-dōri No. 28 Sangenjayaekimae No. 31 Asahi-dōri (No. 32 Ogikuboginzagai)	Type B No. 02 Hatanodaekimae No. 15 Nakanoekimae No. 17 Sakasa Yokochō No. 19 Uenoekimae No. 29 Ichō-kōji No. 30 Asagayaekimae No. 41 Ohanajayaekimae Shotenkai No. 52 Sakurashindō No. 64 Imagawa-kōji No. 29 Ichō-kōji	Type C No. 1 Jiyugaokaekimae No. 34 Sakae-dōri (No. 35 Yanagi-kōji) No. 44 Marusan Yokochō No. 54 Suzuran-dōri Shōtengai No. 18 Sannou-kōji Inshokugai
	L-Shaped Street	Type D No. 16 Higashinakanoekimae Inshokugai No. 42 Subaru Inshokugai No. 47 Sakaechō-dōri	Type E No. 7 Gotandaekimae No. 09 5bangai Shōtengkai (No. 12 Nakano 3 Ban-gai) No. 11 Tanuki-kōji (No. 13 Nakanoshinnakamise Shōtengai) (No. 14 Hakusen-tōri Shōtengkai) No. 37 Shinbashiiekimae No. 43 Mainichi-dōri Inshokugai No. 43 Mainichi-dōri	No. 62 Shinjukusenta-gai
	Dead-end street	No. 65 Kanda-kōji		No. 63 Michikusa Yokochō
	Scattered volumes		No. 22 Yanakahatsune-kōji No. 22 Yanakahatsune-kōji No. 53 Tokiwadaiekimae	No. 8 45 Ban-gai
	Split street	Type F No. 3 Higashikōji Inshokugai No. 3 Higashikōji Inshokugai (No. 04 Heiwa-kōji) No. 5 Ōimachiekimae No. 48 OK Yokochō (No. 49 Meitengai) (No. 50 Akabane ekimae)	No. 21 Yakiniku Yokochō	No. 45 Hamamatsugawaato
	Street network	Type G No. 6 Musashikoyamaekimae Inshokugai No. 33 Kōenjīkoushita No. 46 Mikuni-kōji No. 51 Ojiyanagi-kōji No. 55 Ōmoide Yokochō No. 6 Musashikoyamaekimae Inshokugai	Type H No. 20 Hatsune-kōji No. 36 Nonbei Yokochō No. 39 Nonbe Yokochō No. 40 Keiseitaiteshiekimae No. 56 Golden-gai (No. 57-60 Hanazono 1, 3, 5, 8 ban-gai) No. 61 Maneki-dōri No. 39 Nonbe Yokochō	No. 38 Shinagawaekimae No. 24 Nakamichi-dōri (No. 25 Sanncha3ban-gai) (No. 26 Yuraku-dōri) (No. 27 Sancha-kōji Inshokugai) No. 38 Shinagawaekimae

Note: Yokochō in brackets are considered to be in the same area as the one above and are not counted as a sample.

4.1 Results

This study aimed to understand one aspect of the urban micro-spatiality of Tokyo by identifying a particular type, the yokochō bar alley, and applying a morphological analysis. Through abstracted maps, the study revealed that yokochō bar areas are one of the components that construct the commercial districts around train stations, and they appear together with other characteristic elements: the shopping street, the amusement quarters, and the department store. Also, by creating a matrix from the *urban linkage* and *street configuration*, 18 categories could be listed. 49 cases are applied to one of these categories meaning that the average number of examples per category is 2.04. Therefore if there were more than 3 cases listed in one category, it was considered as one type. In this way, as the result of this paper, we obtained 8 types (Table 1 and 2, types A to H), expressed three-dimensionally in Table 1.

4.2 Discussions

This result can be interpreted in several ways. Here, we would like to

discuss it from the point of view of the spatial experience afforded by the yokochō back alleys. The impression that they are hidden, and form intricate configurations can be contrasted with Table 1. The *urban linkage* classification shows different levels of visibility, from high visibility (when the yokochō bar alley faces a main street), to medium visibility (facing a secondary street), to no visibility (when the entire area is hidden in the interior of a block). The intuitive perception is that yokochō bar alleys are hidden spaces, and the result confirms this (23 cases were linked to a secondary street or within the block). However, it was possible to find 16 examples, directly accessible from a main street, which had a considerable visibility, such as type A, D, F and G.

From the point of view of street intricacy, intricate patterns can be found in L-shaped streets (type D, E) and street networks (type G, H), but we can observe that most cases (27) consist of one single straight (including dead-ends, and split streets). The experience of the yokochō bar alley can be considered as complex, but the analysis shown in this paper indicates that

Table 2 Name, location and classification of all examined yokochō bar alleys ("Coop." indicates the existence of a cooperative or bar association)

No.	Yokochō name	Coop.	Station, ward	Street configuration	Urban Linkage	Type
10	昭和商店街 Shouwashindou Shōtengai	○	Nakano, Nakano	Straight Street	Linked to a Main Street	A
23	すずらん通り Suzuran-dōri	○	Sangenjaya, Setagaya	Straight Street		
28	三軒茶屋駅前 Sangenjayaekimae	○	Sangenjaya, Setagaya	Straight Street		
31	アサヒ通り Asahi-dōri	-	Ogikubo, Suginami	Straight Street		
32	荻窪銀座街 Ogikuboginza-gai	○	(Same precinct)	Straight Street		
64	今川小路 Imagawa-kōji	○	Kanda, Chiyoda	Straight Street	Linked to a Secondary Street	B
2	旗の台駅前 Hatanodaiekimae	-	Hatanodai, Shinagawa	Straight Street		
15	中野駅前 Nakanoekimae	-	Nakano, Nakano	Straight Street		
17	さかさ横丁 Sakasa Yokochō	○	Kamata, Ōta	Straight Street		
19	上野駅前 Uenoekimae	-	Ueno, Taitō	Straight Street		
29	いちょう小路 Ichōu-kōji	○	Asagaya, Suginami	Straight Street		
30	阿佐ヶ谷駅前 Asagayaekimae	○	Asagaya, Suginami	Straight Street		
41	お花茶屋駅前商店会 Ohanajaya Ekimae Shōtenkai	○	Ohanajaya, Katsushika	Straight Street		
52	さくら新道 Sakurashindou	-	Ōji, Kita	Straight Street	Inside a Block	C
34	サカエ通り Sakae-dōri	○	Nishi-Ogikubo, Suginami	Straight Street		
35	柳小路 Yanagi-kōji	○	(Same precinct)	Straight Street		
1	自由が丘駅前 Jiyūgaokaekimae	○	Jiyūgaoka, Meguro	Straight Street		
44	丸三横丁 Marusan Yokochō	○	Yūrakuchō, Chūō	Straight Street		
54	すずらん通り飲食街 Suzuran-dōri Inshokugai	-	Ōyama, Itabashi	Straight Street	Linked to a Main Street	D
18	山王小路飲食街 Sannou-kōji Inshokugai	○	Ōmori, Ōta	Straight Street		
16	東中野駅前飲食街 Higashinakanoekimae Inshokugai	○	Higashi-Nakano, Nakano	L-Shaped Street		
42	スバル飲食街 Subaru Inshokugai	-	Shinkoiwa, Katsushika	L-Shaped Street	Linked to a Main Street	D
47	栄町通り Sakaemachi-dōri	○	Ikebukuro, Toyoshima	L-Shaped Street		
9	5番街商店会 5bangai Shōtenkai	○	Nakano, Nakano	L-Shaped Street		
12	中野3番街 Nakano-sanbangai	○	(Same precinct)		Linked to a Secondary Street	E
7	五反田駅前 Gotandaekimae	○	Gotanda, Shinagawa	L-Shaped Street		
11	狸小路 Tanukikōji	○				
13	中野新仲見世商店街 Nakanoshinnakamise Shōtengai	○	Nakano, Nakano	L-Shaped Street		
14	白線とおり商店会 Hakusentōri Shōtenkai	○	(Same precinct)			
37	新橋駅前 Shinbashiiekimae	-	Shinbashi, Minato	L-Shaped Street		
43	毎日通り飲食店街 Maimichi-dōri Inshokutengai	○	Kitasenju, Adachi	L-Shaped Street		

No.	Yokochō name	Coop.	Station, ward	Street configuration	Urban Linkage	Type	
62	新宿センター街 Shinjukusentā-gai	○	Shinjuku, Shinjuku	L-Shaped Street	Inside a Block	-	
65	神田小路 Kanda-kōji	○	Kanda, Chiyoda	Dead-End Street	Linked to a Main Street	-	
22	谷中初音小路 Taninakahatsune-kōji	○	Nippori, Taitō	Dead-End Street	Linked to a Sec. Street	-	
53	ときわ台駅前 Tokiwadaiekimae	-	Tokiwadai, Itabashi	Dead-End Street	Linked to a Sec. Street	-	
63	みちくさ横丁 Michikusa Yokochō	○	Idabashi, Shinjuku	Dead-End Street	Inside a Block	-	
8	4 5 番街 45ban-gai	○	Nakano, Nakano	Scattered Volumes	Inside a Block	-	
48	OK横丁 OK Yokochō	○	Akabane, Kita (Same precinct)	Split Street	Linked to a Main Street	F	
49	明店街 Meitengai	○					
50	赤羽駅前 Akabaneekimae	-					
3	東小路飲食店街 Higashi-kōji Inshokutengai	○	Ōimachi, Shinagawa (Same precinct)	Split Street			
4	平和小路 Heiwa-kōji	○					
5	大井町駅前 Ōimachiekimae	○	Ōimachi, Shinagawa	Split Street			
21	焼肉横丁 Yakiniku Yokochō	○	Asakusa, Taitō	Split Street	Linked to a Sec. Street	-	
45	浜町川跡 Hamachōkawaato	-	Hamamachi, Chūō	Split Street	Inside a Block	-	
6	武蔵小山駅前飲食街 Musashikoyamaekimae Inshokutengai	○	Musashi Koyama, Shinagawa	Street Network	Linked to a Main Street	G	
33	高円寺高架下 Kōenjīkōukashita	-	Kōenji, Suginami	Street Network			
46	美久仁小路 Mikuni-kōji	○	Ikebukuro, Toyoshima	Street Network			
51	王子柳小路 Ōjiyanagi-kōji	○	Ōji, Kita	Street Network			
55	思い出横丁 Omoide Yokochō	○	Shinjuku, Shinjuku	Street Network			
20	初音小路 Hatsune-kōji	○	Asakusa, Taitō	Street Network	Linked to a Secondary Street	H	
36	のんべい横丁 Nonbei Yokochō	○	Shibuya, Shibuya	Street Network			
39	呑んべ横丁 Nonbe Yokochō	○	Keiseitaiteshi, Katsushika	Street Network			
40	京成立石駅前 Keiseitaiteshiekimae	○	Keiseitaiteshi, Katsushika	Street Network			
56	ゴールデン街 Golden-gai	○	Shinjuku, Shinjuku (Same precinct)	Street Network	Inside a Block	-	
57-60	花園 1 番街, 3 番街, 5 番街, 8 番街 Hanazono1, 3, 5, 8	○					
61	まねき通り Maneki-dōri	○					
24	なかみち通り Nakamichi-dōri	-	Sangenjaya, Setagaya (Same precinct)	Street Network			-
25	三茶 3 番街 Sancha-sanban-gai	-					
26	ゆうらく通り Yūroku-dōri	-					
27	三茶小路飲食店街 Sancha-kōji Inshokutengai	○					
38	品川駅前 Shinagawaekimae	○	Shinakawa, Minato	Street Network		-	

they are simple spaces from the point of view of urban morphology. That said, it is also possible to find 'small cities within the city', such as types G and H, in which microbars and eateries are densely arranged in a network of alleys. The famous Goldengai (No.56) belongs to this type. The experience of the *yokochō bar alley* as a complex, intricate space, might be rather found in the eye-level experience, in the perception of the multiple small facades along the street with different decorations, and personalized atmospheres. This hypothesis will be explored in future research.

Finally, although the investigation on how these micro urban spaces have survived redevelopment is beyond the goal of this paper, we can hypothesize that in some cases they have been commercially successful enough to resist the pressure of developers. Also, since many of the current buildings

were built on illegally occupied plots, problems concerning property deeds have hindered redevelopment attempts. Apart from its survival within high development pressures, the popularity of the *yokochō bar alleys* has persisted, even when they are dark, narrow and have a low aesthetic profile. This might indicate some urban quality that cannot be conceived within the dominant mentality inherited from the Modern movement in architecture, which gave preference to spacious, uncrowded, and visually sophisticated buildings.

This paper adds to a long debate on smallness starting as early as in 1958, when Jacobs criticized the logic of architects and planners, and pointed out the importance of small elements, not only to create enough visual variety at the pedestrian level, but also to incubate the mixture and diversity of uses that, according to her, support urban economies (Jacobs 1958). The same critic

could be applied to redevelopments in Tokyo, and Ashihara soon replied to Jacobs in defense of land specialization in large cities, refusing the call for functional mixture (Ashihara 1962:78-79), and attributing the problem of loss of human scale to the lack of ability, knowledge, or time of the specific architect who designed the redevelopments attacked by Jacobs (Ashihara 1970:134-135). More recently, Koolhaas manifesto for "bigness" (1994), in which he advocates for sheer size as a new field for architectural potential, has greatly influenced younger generations of architects, and the design approaches of offices such as MVRDV or BIG.

These debates on the spatial scale are essential, but among architects they tend to become manifestos rather than research, abstract rather than specific, polemical rather than analytical. Our approach is that "for every activity there is a certain appropriate scale," as stated by Schumacher (1973:70), a famous defender of smallness in the field of economy. The present paper can contribute to this debate on the appropriate scale of urban space not by adding one more manifesto, but by offering to the academic community an overview of specific real cases of extremely small urban spaces, which have been organized morphologically for better comprehension. By examining the micro-urban spaces of Tokyo, such the *yokochō bar alleys*, we hope to shed light on neglected urban spaces, and contribute with real, living spaces to this debate on the appropriate scale of urban space.

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和文要約

東京の商業地区にみられる多くの飲み屋横丁は暗く混雑しているイメージであるが、スケールの小ささや居心地の良さによりインフォーマル・パブリック・ライフが展開されている。本論考ではまず小さなスケールの建物や街路にバーや飲食店が密集していることが特徴的である「飲み屋横丁」を特殊な形態ユニットとして抽出し、次に飲み屋横丁の商業地区における配置パターンを解明することを試みた。最後に東京における49の飲み屋横丁エリアを対象にそれらの都市との繋がりや内部の街路構成を分析することにより形態分類を行い、結果として主要な道路にリンクした最もシンプルな直線型からネットワーク状に広がる街区に隠れた街路型のものまで8つのタイポロジーを導き出した。

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