COLLECTIVE NETWORK BUILT BY SHOP OWNERS IN A *SHOTENGAI*

— Case study on Shoin Jinja *shotengai* in Setagaya Ward, Tokyo —

店主が構築する商店街における 集合的ネットワーク

— 東京都世田谷区の松陰神社通り商店街を事例として —

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Keywords:

Network, *Shotengai*, Local shop, Narrative, Added value

キーワード :

ネットワーク, 商店街, 地元の店, 物語, 付加価値

Collective network refers to the gathering of different layers of connections that each local shop owner brings to a *shotengai*. Through their own personal experience, the owners bring to their shops unique products with an added value to it. In this sense, a *shotengai* behave as a series of entrances to different networks that leads the customer to narratives that they cannot experience in large-scale retailers. This paper presents a methodology to understand the collective network of the shops applied in Shoin Jinja *shotengai*.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background and Aim

Japanese commercial streets, the *shotengai*, have been facing the issue of an increasing number of shops shutting down due to several circumstances that come from the aging population and the changing lifestyle of the society. While the rise of roadside shopping malls and supermarkets stimulated the decline of *shotengai* as an exterior competitor for customers, the spread of convenience and chain stores since late 1970s triggered its internal collapse by substituting the once local shops¹. This process was then accelerated in the 1990s, leading to the entry of the term “*shatta dori*” (shuttered street) into the lexicon. A shop might be forced to close because the owner had no successor in the family to pass down their business or they could not keep competitive prices against the chain stores, supermarkets or the always rising online shopping². Instead of discarding *shotengai* as a business model from the past, there are some approaches being discussed in order to support and improve these districts. The concern is to find means to create new added values for the *shotengai* aside from what they were shaped for: places for daily shopping.

Chain store are well-established business that can offer competitive final prices of their products for customers as well as the convenience of selling standardized products, in every branch mostly the same range of products can be found. However, its generalized system has also downsides such as losing the face of the owner in the shop and the absence of a more diverse and specific goods. Despite the difficulties to compete, local shops have a different approach from franchises through their uniqueness. The small scale of the retail allows a certain proximity between the shop owner and their customers. From this connection, the network that each owner brings to their shop become valuable since the scale permits it to be traceable. Hence, the

owner is the keystone actor in their shop by selecting products or services with stories related to its origin or to the owner's background and the network functions as a narrative which gives the added value on the product or the service sold. These features reflect a rising tendency of consumption that values the owner's ability to curate products, which doesn't exist in large-scale retailers. Therefore, this study aims to clarify the collective network brought to a *shotengai* by the shop owners through their shops, in the case study of Shoin Jinja *shotengai* in Setagaya ward, Tokyo.

1.2. Previous studies

Several researches were conducted from different point of views to understand *shotengai*. Sato et al.³, Amano and Yasukawa^{4,5} discussed the spatial experience of *shotengai* by analyzing shop-front appearance. Konno et al.⁶ showed the invisible relationships between shop owners and local residents; Shimizu and Nakayama^{7,8} also grasped the contribution by owners for the operation of local events. Sando^{9,10} discussed the practices of specialty shop streets with a collection of shops handling common products and services. Apart from previous literature, this analysis doesn't focus on the urban space itself, but it explores a singular way of looking to the object: through the experience provided in a *shotengai* by the diversity of local shops. For this purpose, Bruno Latour's actor network theory¹¹ is utilized as a reference to trace all the connections established by the local shop owner in a structure that permits a clear visualization of its qualitative aspects.

2. Methodology

2.1. Shoin Jinja *shotengai*

Shoin Jinja *shotengai* is a remarkable example of a re-activation movement in commercial streets initiated by a new generation of retailers. It was boosted by the successor of Shoin Kaikan, a real estate family business in the area,

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who is engaged in actions to revitalize the neighborhood, as it is discussed in the book *Public Produce*¹². Parallel to this, two other shop owners started activities to improve the area each with their own particular contribution. Therefore from 2010 the movement was then followed and intensified by other newly-come shop owners as it was also explored in the article “The Secrets of Shoin-Jinja-Mae” by Tokyo Keizai¹³. The effort of the owners, mostly also residents of the area, is noticeable when walking along the street with wide variety of offers interweaving the new and the traditional retails and complementing each other.

The *shotengai* is mostly formed by unique local shops and there are relatively few chain stores in the area. To contrast this aspect of Shoin Jinja *shotengai*, a quantitative comparison with Ookayama *shotengai* in Meguro Ward, Tokyo is shown in Table 1. Both of them have similar length and number of shops. Only 11% are chain stores in the first case, few compared to the second one that features 54% of its shops as franchises. Regarding the type of business, in Ookayama it is observed more service and miscellaneous goods shops, that is related to the type of franchises such as cleaning, hair saloon, pharmacy and 100-yen shop. In contrast, Shoin Jinja *shotengai* contains many food and beverage shops, likely most of them being local shop.

Table 1. Comparison between Shoin Jinja and Ookayama *shotengai*.

	Shoin Jinja shotengai	Ookayama shotengai
Length	441 m	493 m
Local Shop	89%	46%
Chain Store	11%	54%
Restaurant (Re)	18	13
Café (Ca)	7	4
Bar (Br)	7	2
Market (Ma)	13	11
Bakery (Bk)	3	0
Convenience store (Co)	2	4
Miscellaneous goods (Mi)	26	32
Services (Se)	15	29
Total	91 shops	95 shops

The street is located in a residential neighborhood between two important train lines – Odakyu and Den-en-toshi line. The old tramway of Tokyu Setagaya line starts from Sangenjaya station, intersects the street in Shoin Jinja-mae station and continues towards Gotokuji station. The small platform of Shoin Jinja-mae station inaugurated in 1925 provides easy accessibility to the area, though in a limited capacity of the two-cars tram that doesn’t interfere in the slow-paced characteristic of the district. Meanwhile, the absence of a large train station within a closer distance contributes to keep the companies of chain stores uninterested in the location. Despite the calm neighborhood, the area surrounds important buildings such as the Setagaya Ward Office and the Shoin Shrine that works as an attractor to increase the flux of people⁴¹.

2.2. Field survey

Assuming that each local shop has the potential to contain a rich network, the aggregation of them composes a diverse collective network clarified through interviews with the keystone actor of each shop: the owner. The survey was conducted preferably with the shop owner and when not possible, the staff was consulted. After a brief explanation of the research intents and their following agreement, the interview was conducted followed by a photographic record of both the interior and the façade of the shop. A questionnaire to guide the interview was used containing questions about the owner, the shop, the products and the necessary skills as shown in figure 1. Firstly, for an overall understanding, all the 91 retails were mapped and classified in Local/Chain,

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アンケート

氏名 松本 年 65 店主 Owner ☒ 店員 Staff ☐

出生地 世田谷 松陰神社通りの近くに住んでいますか? ☒ はい ☐ いいえどこ? ☐

1. 店舗名 時計タガネの美松堂 店舗年 69 年 店員の人数 2

Shop Name Year established Number of staff

営業時間 10:00 ~ 19:00 所有権 ☐ 自分の財産 Own property ☐ 家族経営 Family Business

休日 日曜日 ☐ 借り店 Rented shop ☐ チェーン店 Chain store

2. 松陰神社通り松栄会商店街振興組合の組合員ですか? ☒ はい ☐ いいえ

Are you a member of the Shoin Jinja shoutengai association? Yes. No.

3. 店舗ではどんなイベントを行われていますか? ☐ 会議 ☐ ワークショップ

Do you hold any event in your shop? Meeting Workshop

☐ 無し ☐ 講義 ☒ その他 discount sale

4. 常連客の割合は? 60 % 地域住民 5 % 他地域の人の人々

What is the percentage of your regular customers Local residents People from other areas

5. 松陰神社通りの他の店舗の人たちを知っていますか? ☒ ほとんどの ☐ 一部 ☐ 無し

Do you know people from other shop in the shoutengai? Mostly yes Some None

6. 他店とのコラボレーション*をしていますか? ☒ 無し ☐ はい、どんな?

Do you have any collaboration with other stores? No. Yes.

7. 商店街のイベントに参加しますか? ☒ 年末雑新祭り ☒ 夏の縁日 ☐ のみの市

Do you participate in the events of the shoutengai? Enrichi Nominoichi

☒ 世田谷線フェス ☐ その他 松陰夏フェス・街パル

Setagaya Line Festival Other: Shoin Summer Festival・Street Party

8. なぜ松陰神社通り商店街にお店を開こうと思ったのですか?

Why did you choose to open your store in the Shoin Jinja shoutengai?

商店街が生まれ上がる最初のメンバー。

9. 商品の場合: 販売している商品は? 商品はどこから来るのですか?

What are the products offered in the shop? Where do the products come from?

例: お米 → [神田の間屋] → 宮城県

時計 → 同屋 → X-カー

Xカー → 同屋 → 福島

10. スキルの場合: 店舗で使われているスキル*は? どこからスキルを学びましたか?

What are the skills used in the shop? Where did you learn this skill from?

例: お菓子の作り方 → フランスで1年学びました

時計修理 → technical college

Xカー技術 →

*コラボレーション=一緒にやっている事 *スキル=商品を作る・サービスを提供する技術

Figure 1. Sample of a questionnaire filled out by the shop owner.

Type of shop and Opening period. From the 81 local shops, 67 shops⁴² were investigated by their Year Established, Ownership of the property, Number of Staff, place of residence of the Owner (if they Live Nearby or Live within the Shop Building) and the relation within the *shotengai*, analyzed by Association membership and participation in Events. Next, the network of each shop was analyzed by its quality and further discussed in item 3.

2.3. Profile of Shops

The data collected is shown in table 2. The numbering of the shops starts from the north with the station located midway between shops no. 40 and no. 45. By investigating Type of shop and Open period, it is noted that daily good shops are located in the north, open during daytime. In the south there are more restaurants and bars that remain open at night. Among the selected shops, through Year Established it is observed that several stores remained open for generations, passing through a single family. However, 37 shops started from 2010 attracted by the revitalization movement in the area. Most of the food and beverage related shops are rather recent, indicating that the new comers usually open a café, restaurant or bar for being more profitable. In Ownership, 66% of the shops are rented property and the few that own the building are mainly long-established shops. The majority of the Owners are also residents of the area and show a stronger will to engage in local activities. Within the Shoutengai, 61% are members of the Association, yet only 37% of them are new shops, the majority being long-established shops. In contrast, the new generation is more involved in events such as Nominoichi and held collaborations between shops.

Table 2. Profile of shops.

ID	Shop Name	Local Shop Type	Open		Year Established	Ownership	No. Staff	Owner		Shotengai			Interview date
			Morning	Afternoon				Lives nearby	Lives within shop bldg	Association	Isshin Fest	Ennichi	
1	Bistro Cycle	O Re			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	Nakachaka	O Re			2017	-	3	O	x	x	x	x	5/20
3	Promenade Pharm.	x Mi			2010	x	2	x	x	x	x	x	5/17
4	Asahiya Parlor	O Re			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	Sanni Liquor Shop	O Ma			1929	O	2	O	O	O	O	x	5/12
6	Asahiya	O Mi			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	Bishodo	O Mi			1950	O	2	O	O	O	O	x	5/20
8	Blue Earth 21	O Se			1991	x	1	O	x	O	x	x	5/13
9	Shimizu Store	O Mi			1974	O	2	O	O	O	O	x	5/13
10	Pet Hotel Filou	O Se			2007	-	5	x	x	O	x	x	5/20
11	Tokyo	O Mi			1979	x	1	O	O	-	O	x	5/17
12	Someya Meat	O Ma			1969	-	10	O	x	O	O	x	5/20
13	Yamamoto Shirts	O Mi			1976	x	1	O	O	O	O	x	5/13
14	Kanesa Miso	O Ma			2017	x	2	O	x	O	x	x	4/30
15	Shokudo Meguru	O Re			2017	x	1	x	x	-	-	-	6/1
16	Fukudaya	O Mi			1984	O	2	O	O	-	O	x	5/17
17	Association office	O Se			1945	x	2	O	x	-	O	x	4/19
18	Lawson + Three F	x Co			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	Shinseido Pharm.	O Mi			1976	-	1	O	O	O	O	x	5/17
20	Shouzen	O Br			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	Manabikan	O Se			2014	x	5	O	x	x	O	x	5/12
22	Engawa Café	O Ca			2010	x	1	x	x	x	x	x	4/30
23	Hamamuraen	O Ma			1977	O	1	O	O	O	O	x	4/19
24	Bar Olga	O Br			2017	x	3	O	x	x	O	x	5/17
25	By&By	O Ca			2018	O	2	O	x	x	O	x	5/17
26	Nakamura Kimono	O Mi			1981	O	1	O	O	O	x	x	4/19
27	Kashiya	O Ca			2017	-	5	O	x	-	O	x	5/12
28	Ichiban	O Re			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
29	Uoshin	O Ma			1974	x	2	O	O	O	O	x	5/20
30	Hippopotamus	O Re			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
31	Sakurai Rice Mill	O Ma			1929	O	1	O	O	O	O	x	4/19
32	Anokoro Coffee	O Ca			2011	x	2	x	x	O	O	O	5/13
33	Hair Salon Rest	O Se			2004	x	2	O	x	O	x	x	5/12
34	All about my croquet	O Re			2016	x	2	O	x	O	O	x	5/17
35	Boutique Megu I	O Mi			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
36	Books Yamashita	x Mi			-	x	7	x	x	O	x	x	5/13
37	Fukuju Real Estate	x Se			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
38	Study	O Ca			2010	x	-	O	x	-	-	-	6/1
39	Aqua Team H2O	x Se			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
40	Nicholas Seiyodo	O Bk			1909	-	30	O	O	-	x	x	5/20
41	Family Mart	x Co			1985	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
42	Serio	O Mi			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
43	Minato Cosmetics	O Mi			1944	O	13	O	x	O	O	x	5/13
44	Santou	O Mi			1969	x	2	O	O	x	x	x	5/20
45	Minato Pharmacy	O Mi			1944	O	13	O	x	O	O	x	5/13
46	Riviera	O Mi			-	x	2	x	x	x	x	x	5/24
47	Renge Shokudo	x Re			2017	x	5	x	x	x	x	x	5/20
48	Merci Bake	O Bk			2014	x	4	O	x	O	O	x	5/12
49	RongoRongo Candy	O Ma			1980	x	1	O	x	O	O	x	5/12
50	Matsuzaki Senbei	O Re			2016	x	6	x	x	O	x	x	5/12
51	RongoRongo Photo	O Se			1980	x	4	O	x	O	O	x	5/12
52	Toramasa	O Br			2014	x	6	O	-	x	O	x	5/17
53	Kokokara Fine	x Ma			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
54	Ono Cleaning	O Se			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
55	Nostos Book	O Mi			2013	-	4	x	x	x	x	x	5/20
55a	Minato Shokudo	O Re			2019	x	1	O	x	x	x	x	6/11
55b	OLU OLU	O Bk			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
56	Stars Pharmacy	O Mi			1982	O	2	x	x	O	x	x	5/13
57	Marusho Arika	O Br			2014	x	2	O	x	O	O	O	6/5
57c	La Godaile	O Re			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
57d	Music Piece Maki	O Mi			1985	x	1	O	O	x	x	x	5/12
57e	Yama & Hachimitsu	O Ma			2019	x	1	x	x	x	O	O	5/12
57f	Dask	O Re			2019	x	1	x	x	O	x	O	5/20
58	Real Estate Diax	O Se			1995	x	2	x	x	O	x	x	5/13
59	Café Lotta	O Ca			2001	-	-	O	x	-	-	-	6/1
60	Lax	O Se			2017	x	10	x	x	O	x	x	5/13
61	Sanuki Udon	O Re			2007	x	3	O	x	x	x	x	5/17
62	Goshisan	O Re			2017	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
63	Boutique M	O Mi			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
64	Kannon Coffee	O Ca			2019	x	7	x	x	O	x	x	5/17
65	This	O Mi			2017	-	3	O	x	x	x	x	5/17
66	Okazaki Flower	O Mi			1977	x	2	O	O	x	O	x	5/13
67	Beer&Wine Obi	O Br			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
68	Portlate	O Br			2009	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-
69	Yakitori Club	x Br			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
70	Balloon Letter Drops	O Mi			-	x	2	-	x	x	O	x	5/20
71	Chinese Soba Jin	O Re			2012	O	2	x	x	x	x	x	5/20
72	LocoTee Kids&Baby	O Mi			2010	x	2	O	x	O	O	x	5/13
73	Cocoro	O Se			2009	x	4	O	x	x	x	x	5/20
74	Lilycal	O Se			2010	x	3	O	x	O	O	x	5/13
75	Mikawaya Meat	O Ma			2007	x	2	O	O	x	O	x	5/20
76	Iwasaki Hair Studio	O Se			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
77	Regaleto	O Re			2016	x	1	O	x	O	O	x	6/11
79	Aloha Baby	O Re			2015	x	5	O	x	O	O	x	5/17
81	Yaokou	O Ma			1969	x	2	O	O	O	O	O	5/13
83	Matilda	x Ma			-	x	-	x	x	O	x	x	5/20
85	Naniwa Okonomiyaki	O Re			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
87	Abre de Vie	O Re			2014	x	1	O	x	x	x	x	5/17
89	Binowa Sushi	O Ma			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
90	Shoin Kaikan	O Se			1960	O	30	O	x	O	O	O	6/11
91	Shoin Plat	O Mi			2016	O	-	O	x	O	O	x	6/11

[O] yes, [x] no, [-] data not accessible

Figure 2. Analysis example shop number 57.

3. Network of each shop

After analyzing the general aspects of the shops, the next step was to further examine each of them. The network of each shop was studied through: 1) **Products Network** indicates the network that comes with products or services that are brought by the owner to the shop and their relation to the origin of fabrication; 2) **Background Network** explores the background or skills of the owner, such as a previous job, technical formation or birthplace that is reflected in their business; and 3) **Front Network** concerns the relation established in front of the shop through the owner, within the *shotengai* or the neighborhood such as events, local activities or collaboration between shops.

3.1 Analysis example

Figure 2 shows the analysis example of Marusho Arika (no.57), an oyster bar ran by Yoshikazu Hirooka since 2014. Previously, he worked at the Tsukiji Market, which enabled him to apply his knowledge in sea food and his contacts in the selection of the main product according to its origin (Hokkaido, Kobe, Saga, Fukuoka and Nagasaki prefectures) bought at Toyosu market. As a collaboration with producers, he keeps a vegetable stall in front of his store and also sells oyster cream cheese. As a retailer and resident of the area, his network extends in front of his shop by engaging in local activities such as the Association festivals and the common urban farming. Recently he initiated the street market Nominoichi, where craftsman set a stand to sell their products while street shops benefit from the greater flow of clients during the monthly open event.

4. Collective network

Once established how to treat the information collected from the shop owners, the same structure is applied to every interviewed shop and the diagrams are assembled in the map of Shoin Jinja *shotengai* in figure 3. Having the network of all shops combined in the map reinforces the *shotengai* as a series of entrances to different networks maintained by the shop owners. Also, it is important to note that these connections are more likely to happen in local shops rather than chain stores and the information is reachable due to the scale of the shop and the presence of the owner inside their retail.

Every shop has at least their Product Network represented in the map since this is the basic network shared by all of the shops. Among them, 28 shops are highlighted based on the presence of the owner in the shop and the connection established to different location through products or their skills. The selected study cases have their complete network displayed, which means also their components of Background Network and Front Network. These shops are further discussed when analyzing the patterns of networks observed.

4.1. Products Network

Regarding the products origin, most are made in Japan related to the prefecture where it was produced, but there are also items imported from several countries. The highlighted networks are classified in three groups. The first pattern observed is the shop that has all products sharing the same origin, like cases no.14 and no.15 that have a fixed collaboration with a small producer proportional to the shop's scale. The second pattern is a shop offering one main product from different origins, where the customer can experience the nuances of its variety according to its origin such as the honey shop (no.57e) and the rice shop from several prefectures in Japan (no.31). The third pattern brings a variety of selected products of the same theme, each strongly linked to its origin, like selling different traditional fermented goods from specific Japanese producers (no.22) or crafts from various local artisans (no.65), in both cases carefully selected by their owner.

4.2 Background Network

Concerning shops related to the owner's background, even though it tends to be more specific to each shop, another three tendencies are found. It can be related to their previous experience, such as the owner that opens a lunch menu restaurant to sell her homemade overproduction of bread and ham from her cooking school (no.77), or the owner that has studied pastry cooking in France before opening his French bakery (no.48). It can also be related to the owner's birthplace like the Bangladeshi butcher (no.75) that sells South-Asian take-away such as *tandoori* chicken. Or it can be an inherited business where an expansion of connections is identified as it is passed down through generations: the current owner of the inherited rice shop (no.31) searched for specific products in order to offer a variety of brown rice from small producers that are not available in regular supermarket. Similar process occurred in the family run Shoin Kaikan (no.90) and Matsuzaki Senbei (no.50).

4.3. Front Network

The Front Network was examined according to the owner's activities with other shops or with the local community. For example, the owner of the real estate company Shoin Kaikan (no.90) is actively engaging in constructing bonds within the neighborhood by providing common urban farm area, promoting participative projects for local parks and collecting information for a Setagaya guide. In comparison, the owner of Marusho Ariku (no.57) leads the street market Nominoichi, which occupies the street with vendors next to buildings without shop in their ground floor, unifying scattered empty spaces by a single activity. From both cases, it is seen that the Front Network of each shop articulates a spatial management of the *shotengai* and its interference is not only limited to their shop but extended to the urban quality of the neighborhood. In figure 6, all the connections between shops are traced illustrating the cohesion of the shop owners in the *shotengai*.

Figure 4. Common urban farm.

Figure 5. Street market Nominoichi.

Figure 6. Front Network between shops in Shoin Jinja *shotengai* map.

5. Narrative by network

By investigating the network through the shop owners, it is possible to identify a narrative that adds value on the product or the service of the local shop. Product Network describes the narrative of the product itself and emphasize its special characteristics, it relates the history of the object, either its origin or it means of production. Background Network recalls the history of the shop and the profile of the owner, it contributes to the experience provided to the customer inside the shop. Last, through the relations between shops and within the neighborhood, the Front Network affects the spatial management and is an added value to the experience in the *shotengai*. Both networks behind and in front of the shop require the owner as keystone actor of their shop and the accumulation of them materializes the collective network of Shoin Jinja *shotengai*. After understanding how different networks foster narratives either related to the shop or to the *shotengai*, we can also analyze the overlapping of this networks and how the narrative is woven by the relation of them. When the Background Network overlays the Product Network, the narrative inside the shop is enhanced, like the owner of the restaurant (no.61), originally from Kagawa prefecture that sells *udon* from his hometown. However, in the case of any overlapping with the Front Network, it is the narrative of the *shotengai* that is intensified. For example, the owner of Study café (no.38) is an interior designer and did the renovation of his own shop as well as four other shops in the street, changing the physical assets of the *shotengai*. He invited acquaintances who wish to open a store to join them in the area. Therefore, at the same time he got to work on the design projects, the new shops helped increasing the flux of clients which contribute for his own café to succeed.

6. Conclusion

Shoin Jinja *shotengai* stands out thanks to the increasing number of unique local shops that creates an interesting environment with self-identity and changes the dynamics of the street. From the assumption that each local shop discloses a rich network, this study case is chosen to explore how the content of the shops brought by the owner can connect customers to other place and time through their networks. The collective network of the *shotengai* is clarified by investigating the network of each shop through the origin of the products, the background of the owner and the relation established in front of the shop. By interviewing each shop owner accordingly guided by the same parameters written in the questionnaire, it is possible to trace the current collective network of Shoin Jinja *shotengai* as it is summarized in Figure 7. The network in front of shop (FN) occurs between the shop owners and shapes Shoin Jinja *shotengai* today. On the other hand, the network behind each shop leads the *shotengai* to be expanded in time and place. Through the origin of products (Product Network – PN), Shoin Jinja *shotengai* is connected to different places in Japan and abroad; and through the owner's background (Background Network – BN), we can access the history of the shop and the profile of the owner, connecting also to different moment in the past. In the figure, we can observe the patterns of network behind the shop discussed throughout this study. Product Network can link the shop directly to the origin of their products, either single origin or multiples ones. Background Network may connect past time by recalling previous generations of shop owners, or it can also connect both different time and place, as the owner that has past experience or birthplace somewhere else and that characteristic is reflected in their business. Also, PN and BN can happen independently in

one shop or it can be overlapped as explained before. Lastly, as the network of a shop depends on the profile of the owner, each experience produced in a local shop is unique according to their own connections to different people, time and space. The possibility to trace the network through the owner leads us to understand the added value to the product in local shops since the clients have a finer experience inside the shop and also expanded to the *shotengai*. *Shotengai* in general seems fascinating from the urban design perspective, but it is difficult to acknowledge how to grasp its value. This study explores another dimension of *shotengai*, focusing on the content and the network of local shops that affects their experience. It could be used to analyze and evaluate other streets by the quality and extension of their networks, which, as seen in Shoin Jinja *shotengai*, may present it as a factor for the resilience of the commercial street and the dynamic of its neighborhood.

Figure 7. Shoin Jinja *shotengai* collective network diagram.

Acknowledgements

The authors thanks all shop owners in Shoin Jinja *shotengai* for their kind contributions to make this research possible. Also special thanks to Davina Iwana (Tsukamoto Laboratory) in the development of this report.

Notes

*1. Shoin shrine was first built in 1882, and the current building, around 1927; Shoin Jinja-mae station inaugurated in 1925; Oldest shop in the street, Nikolas Bakery was founded in 1912 to provide bread to military facilities nearby; More shops gathered and the *shotengai* started around 1945; Merchants Association initiated around 1960s and became official Promotion Union Association in 1990.

*2. Through field observation, 91 establishments were listed, being 81 local shops. For this research, 67 case studies agreed in participating with a photographic record and survey preferable with the shop owner. Additional information also collected from setagayanson.com/people.

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[2019年10月2日原稿受理 2019年12月4日採用決定]