

The influence of the Hankyu and Hanshin private railway groups on the urban development of the Hanshin region, Japan

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THE INFLUENCE OF HANKYU AND HANSHIN PRIVATE RAILWAY
GROUPS ON THE URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF THE HANSHIN
REGION, JAPAN

ANNE-LOUISE SEMPLE

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Science

(School of Biological Earth and Environmental Sciences)

University of New South Wales

Sydney, Australia

June, 2009

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Anne-Louise Semple

ABSTRACT

The Hanshin (阪神) and Hankyu (阪急) Railway lines run parallel from Umeda, Osaka to Sannomiya, Kobe; Hankyu passing through the area closest to the mountains and Hanshin traversing the lowland closest to the coast. Frequent riding of their separate trains by the researcher yielded two very distinct travelling experiences. Upon enquiry, friends and colleagues readily acknowledged these characteristics- describing the Hankyu area as ‘fashionable’ (おしゃれ) and ‘wealthy’ (お金持ち); whereas the area surrounding the Hanshin line was portrayed as ‘noisy’ (にぎやか) and of a place of ‘commoners’ (庶民). Despite having these perceptions, however, they were uncertain as to their causes.

The purpose of this thesis is to research the story behind distinctions in the urban space surrounding two railway lines. Further, it aims to investigate the extent to which two private railway groups have, through their diversified businesses, contributed in some way to these perceived distinctions. It is an examination that requires a study of *place*; particularly one that investigates the locational attributes of the region, like its physical geography, and processes exogenous and endogenous to the two corporations. The former processes are ones that originated outside the corporations, notably economic and industrial growth and social change. The latter are ones that originated within the corporations, particularly their management structures, oligopolistic competition, corporate brands, and consumption.

The research draws on various facets of the geographical tradition: it stems from transport geography to pursue the geography of the city, themes of place-making, and consumption. Embodied in these are the important subjects of history, culture, corporate behaviour and the economy. In particular, this thesis considers the popular view which states that transport is a ‘permissive factor rather than a direct stimulus’ (Hoyle and Knowles, 1998: 13). By bringing transport geography in touch with other sub-disciplines, to consider the historical and cultural significance of transport from a contemporary perspective, this thesis concludes that transport can, as in the case of Japanese private urban railways, have a direct influence on place.

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A NOTE ON LANGUAGE IN THIS THESIS

The location of the case study required serious contemplation of the language in which I had to work as an English/Japanese speaking Australian. As Watson (2003:61) has commented, “some foreign words should be retained in English texts...in order to try and incorporate some of the multiple meanings and nuances that are embedded in them,” (see also Smith, 1996) therefore, literature in both English *and* Japanese languages, has been included in this thesis. The thesis is written predominantly in English; however, original Japanese words will appear in brackets following their English translations.

Japanese references will be accompanied by a footnote containing the English translation. For example:

In-text citation: (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005¹)

All Japanese names will be reflective of the Japanese custom of listing surnames first, followed by first names. For example, Kobayashi Ichizo’s (小林一三) first name is in fact ‘Ichizo’ (‘一三’) although it is written following the surname in English. This is a Japanese cultural custom and, out of respect for this, all Japanese names, even when written in English translation, have been written in accordance with Japanese custom.

The bibliography provides a comprehensive citation of Japanese-based sources that are written in the Japanese language. All references are cited first in Japanese, followed by the English translation. This listing is in alphabetical order based on the English

¹ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

translation. For example:

財団法人日本経営史研究所. (2005) 阪神電気鉄道百年史, 阪神電気鉄道株式会社、東京.

Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation. (2005) 100 Year History of Hanshin Electric Railway, Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation, Tokyo.

Methodological elements associated with language will be addressed briefly in Chapter 3: Methodology. This thesis has been written with an understanding and respect for the Japanese language. The decision to display Japanese throughout the thesis not only enhances the work, but it is respectful of the fact that the majority of the research performed for the present thesis was in Japanese. Further, the retention of words in Japanese also facilitates access to the research by academics of both languages.

Introduction

The company executive¹ looks at his watch as he boards the escalator leading to the platform of Hankyu's Umeda² station in Osaka. With only two minutes to spare before the departure of the final train to Kobe for the day, he makes his way quickly and attempts to find what room he can to stand in the crowded coach. Earlier in the day his wife had come to Umeda from their mountain neighbourhood to shop with friends in Hankyu Department Store which displayed the latest in Japanese and international fashion and foods. Their lunch had consisted of modern Italian fare in the Hankyu Grand Building high above the city. For the company executive, however, it was now too late at night to be captivated by the posters in the train that flashed the latest designer fashions as well as the recently opened theatre show at the Takarazuka Revue. (Figures 1.1-1.2)

At the same time, on the adjoining Hanshin Umeda platform, a young Office Lady (OL) rushes to board the crowded last Hanshin train to Kobe for the night. Its passengers differ from those on the Hankyu train. The executives are of lower company status and, rather than returning from an evening of business leisure in the city, they are coming home from work. Earlier in the day, the young OL's grandmother had been one of a predominantly older group of women who travelled to Umeda for weekly

¹ There are varying levels of company executives in the Japanese corporation ranging from top management to entry-level employees. Ranking of an employee usually occurs on the basis of seniority, which is linked to the Japanese tradition of respecting elders (株式会社日鉄ヒューマンデベロプメント, 1993=Nippon Steel Human Resources Development Co. Ltd., 1993). Regardless of ranking, most executives commute between work and home by train. This has been confirmed by transportation statistics showing trains as the main source of transportation for workers in the Osaka area (Nojiri, 1992).

² Umeda is the Osaka-based terminus for both Hankyu and Hanshin railways. The

shopping. After a simple but traditional Japanese meal in the basement cafeteria of the Hanshin Department Store, she had visited its food hall to purchase food for the evening meal at home. As the train begins to move, the young OL is lulled into a semi-conscious sleep, not at all interested in the overhead posters advertising the latest sales at Ebista Department Store or the current exhibition at the music box museum. (Figures 1.3-1.4)

Poster advertisements in a Hankyu train



Figure 1.1: Hankyu Department Store fashion poster. *Source:* the author, 2005



Figure 1.2: Takarazuka Revue poster. *Source:* the author, 2005

The experiences described above are based on observations that began over ten years ago with my own experiences of riding the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines, as well as on-foot exploration of the Hanshin Region in Japan. Frequent riding of separate trains on the Hankyu and Hanshin lines yielded two very distinct travelling experiences.

termini are located within 5 minutes walking distance of each other.

Poster advertisements in a Hanshin train



Figure 1.3: Ebista (Hanshin-owned store) sale poster. *Source:* the author, 2008



Figure 1.4: Advertisement for music box museum. *Source:* the author, 2005

Differences can be seen as inevitable (Porter and Sheppard, 1998); contrasts and juxtapositions (Massey, 1999; Harvey, 1989a; Foucault, 1980); increasingly multicultural or multiethnic (Sandercock, 2006; Haylett, 2006); and socially, economic and politically rooted divisions (Clarke, 1984). As will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 4, the history of Japanese cities illustrates that differences in wealth, income, social prestige, and ethnicity have long-existed (Howell, 2005; Fielding, 2004; Sorensen, 2002; Kurosawa, 1986; Seidensticker, 1983).

According to Sugimoto (2003: 5), however, some of the most obvious differences in Japanese society stem from non-racial-based ‘sub-cultures’ such as “region, gender, age, occupation, education, and so forth.” In this context, Bourdieu’s (1979) term ‘distinction’ seems fitting for this research, as it was used to distinguish cultural

sub-groups that were distributed vertically and horizontally in society. The concept represents the distinguishing features of one group from another, demarcated in the everyday lifestyles of individuals (Honneth, 2000).

As hinted by the vignettes and posters, the atmosphere of the train carriages, and the people within them, resulted in distinct impressions. The residential areas surrounding the Hankyu line appeared more spacious and ornate than those of Hanshin. Businesses in the Hankyu area of Umeda seemed to incorporate a taste for all things gourmet, international and designer. Conversely, those of Hanshin looked as if they embodied traditional Japanese goods and themes of comfortableness over those of extravagance. This is not to suggest that one railway company is better than the other, or that the settlement surrounding their lines is homogenously socio-economic in composition; rather, that the characteristics between and adjacent to the lines are not entirely alike despite their proximity³.

Upon enquiry, friends and colleagues readily acknowledged these characteristics- describing the Hankyu area, as ‘fashionable’ (おしゃれ) and ‘wealthy’ (お金持ち); whereas the area surrounding the Hanshin line was portrayed as ‘noisy’ (にぎやか) and of a place of ‘commoners’ (庶民)⁴. Despite having these perceptions, however, they were uncertain as to their causes. This only furthered the mystery as to why certain characteristics in the areas surrounding two private railway lines in the Hanshin Region should be so distinct.

³ See page 5 for further discussion on the field location.

⁴ These types of perceptions were re-iterated during data collection. See Chapter 7 for more information.

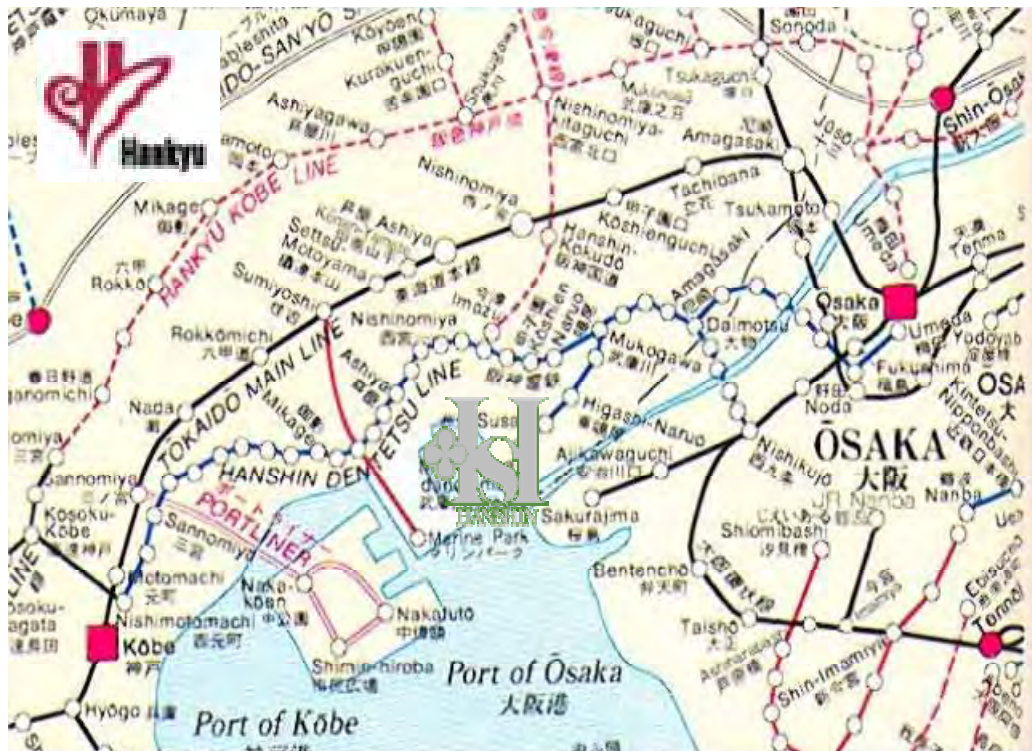


Figure 1.5: Map of the Hanshin Region. The Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines can be found to the right and left of their company logos, respectively. **Source:** Umeda, Atsushi. (1991) Japan: A Bilingual Atlas, Kodansha International, Tokyo, New York, London (**no scale provided with map**); Hankyu Company Logo: 阪急電鉄株式会社. (2004) ウェブサイト: www.hankyu.co.jp⁵; Hanshin Company Logo: 阪神電気鉄道株式会社. (2004) ウェブサイト: www.hanshin.co.jp⁶

The Hanshin Region (阪神間) is the heavily industrialised area located between Osaka and Kobe (See Figure 1.5). The word “Hanshin” (阪神) draws its name from the kanji (Chinese characters) of the placenames for Osaka (大阪) and Kobe (神戸). The 40 kilometres between Osaka and Kobe are interconnected by a series of railway lines run by private railway groups, most notably the Hanshin and Hankyu Railway lines running parallel, from Umeda Station, Osaka to Sannomiya Station, Kobe. The Hankyu (阪急⁷) line passes through the area closest to the mountains and the Hanshin (阪神⁸) line traverses the lowland closest to the coast.

⁵ Hankyu Railway Corporation. (2004) Website: www.hankyu.co.jp.

⁶ Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation. (2004) Website: www.hanshin.co.jp

⁷ The full title of the company is: 阪急電鉄株式会社=Hankyu Railway Corporation.

⁸ The full title of the company is: 阪神電気鉄道株式会社=Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation.

The region incorporates two prefectures: that of Osaka (大阪県) and Hyogo (兵庫県), in which the major cities of Osaka and Kobe respectively lie. In 2001 the Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications ranked Osaka the third most populated city in Japan with 2.5 million people while Kobe was the sixth with approximately 1.5 million. Combined, both prefectures have a population of almost 11 million which makes for high population density. Osaka Prefecture's population density in 2001 was 4,558.2/km², while Hyogo's was 659.8/km² (総務省, 2001⁹).

The existence of the two train lines in such close proximity is easily justified by the dense population and the continued reliance by commuters on railways for transport between home and work (Saito, 1997). Both companies commenced railway operations at approximately the same time: Hanshin in 1905 (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005¹⁰) and Hankyu in 1907 (京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和 34 年¹¹). It was also at this time that Japan was rapidly transforming from an agrarian society to a capitalist industrial economy (Gordon, 2003; Lehmann, 1982). These events had social implications and their outcomes included an industrial workforce, varying income levels, urban illness and pollution, and the growth of suburbs (Walthall, 2006; 北村, 2004¹²; Fukutake, 1989). Nestled between the sea and mountains, and recognised as one of the oldest industrial areas of Japan, the Hanshin Region underwent this evolution from the late 1890s onward (Fujimori, 1980).

⁹ Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications, 2001. The first and second-ranked cities were Tokyo and Yokohama.

¹⁰ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

¹¹ Keihanshin Express Railway Company, 34th Year of the Showa Period (1959)

¹² Kitamura, 2004

The historical processes of economic and industrial growth, and social change, when combined with the locational attributes of the Hanshin Region, constitute an interesting backdrop for this research. They are perhaps a starting point from which the distinctions described in the opening vignettes might be unravelled. The narrative raises questions regarding the influence of these historical processes and the setting in which they took place. Further, they evoke questions of the way in which these distinctions might have been influenced by the activities of two private railway groups.

The paths of the four passengers through urban space might appear separate and unrelated; a series of disconnected schedules over which there is no pattern. A closer look at the posters inside both trains, however, hints at something more interrelated. They advertise businesses owned and managed by the Hankyu and Hanshin corporations (Figure 1.6-1.7; 1.8-1.9), suggesting that the business activities of the two interact with passengers on a level beyond transport provision¹³. Indeed, both companies have been active in transport, urban development and various commercial ventures for over 100 years (Ogawa, 1998; Saito, 1997).

¹³ These posters, which have been photographed over the course of 4 years, are generally representative of the types of advertisements seen everyday on the trains. The methodologies associated with posters and images in general are explained further in Chapter 3.

The presence of Hankyu logos on poster advertisements



Figure 1.6: Hankyu logo on the Hankyu Department Store fashion poster (Figure 1.1).
Source: the author, 2005.

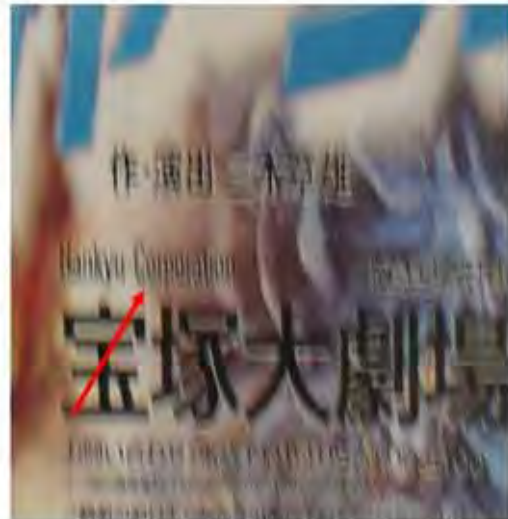


Figure 1.7: Hankyu Corporation name on the Takarazuka Revue poster (Figure 1.2).
Source: the author, 2005

As demonstrated in the vignettes, the four passengers are consuming the images, goods and services¹⁴ purveyed through private railway businesses and their advertisements. At night both the company executive and the OL encountered posters in the trains. The advertisements represent both Hankyu and Hanshin-owned businesses; the content of which is controlled by both companies (Hankyu Corporate Interview, October 19, 2005; Hanshin Corporate Interview, March 6, 2006). They commuted to and from Osaka using Hankyu or Hanshin trains. The executive's wife and her friends shopped in the Hankyu Department Store, and ate in the Hankyu Grand Building. The OL's grandmother ate in the Hanshin Department Store cafeteria and purchased food from its food hall.

¹⁴ Consumption can include both the act of purchase and the adoption of perceptions or images as they are advertised (Holcomb, 2001; de Ruyter and Wetzels, 2000; Pagano and Bowman, 1995).

The presence of Hanshin logos on poster advertisements

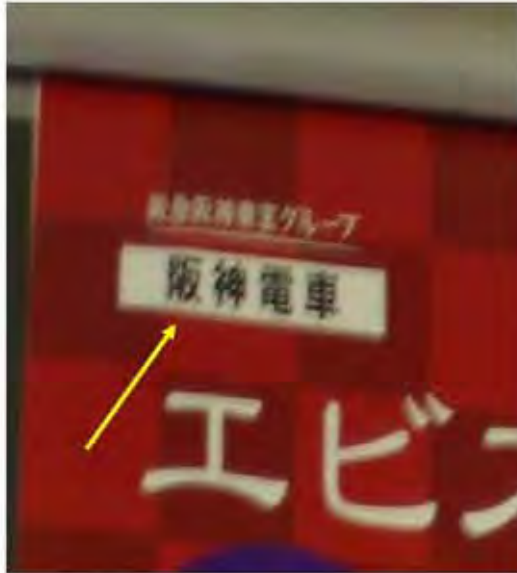


Figure 1.8: Hanshin Railway company name on Ebitsa poster (Figure 1.3).
Source: the author, 2008



Figure 1.9: Hanshin Railway company name on the music box museum poster (Figure 1.4). *Source:* the author, 2005

The distinct experiences in place, and their acknowledgement by friends and colleagues intrigued me. What were the connections, if any, between the perceived distinctions, the urban history of the Hanshin Region, and Hankyu and Hanshin Groups? The purpose of this thesis is to research the story behind distinctions in the urban space surrounding two railway lines¹⁵. Further, it aims to investigate the extent to which two

¹⁵ In particular, using an historical overview Chapter 4 charts distinctions in lifestyle and leisure, settlement patterns, society, housing types, and land use that may have been influenced by the physical setting and historical processes of the region. Chapter 5 begins an investigation into distinctions between the two companies: Hankyu and Hanshin. Chapter 6 examines some of the earliest urban developments of both companies and the way in which these were distinct. Data found in Chapters 4-6 are brought together in Chapter 7 which considers specifically distinctions in: 1) people; 2) businesses and facilities; 3) housing and lifestyle; 4) ambience; 5) locational attributes; and 6) general. See Chapter 3, pp.121-126 for an explanation of these categories.

private railway groups have, through their diversified businesses, contributed in some way to these perceived distinctions.

As Sorensen (2002) has commented, the evolution of suburban railways in Japan included the development of housing and this diversification was more profitable than the transport business. The work of Dyos (1957) also addressed the impact of railways outside of service provision; however, he spoke not of railways as community builders, as this thesis seeks to investigate. The core of this research lies in its ability to ‘make sense’ of the urban development of the Hanshin Region and within that, the influence of two private railway companies. In particular, an investigation of setting and processes exogenous to the corporations, and the way in which processes endogenous to the corporations may have been developed in response to these, facilitates the unfolding of a dialogue -- one which might explain how distinctions in place character were shaped, and how they are presently perceived and represented (Shurmer-Smith, 2003). This investigation will involve the use of¹⁶:

- 1) Interview-based data from Japanese geographers and independent businesses, archival and census maps, archival publications, land value data, and secondary sources illustrating various urban processes and the setting in which they took place
- 2) Archival maps, newspaper articles, publications, running records¹⁷, autobiographies, and secondary sources associated with Hankyu and Hanshin Groups
- 3) Corporate interview data that explores the goods, images and services of the two private railway companies, and the business strategies behind their evolution

¹⁶ Please see Chapter 3 (Methodology) for an explanation of all methods applied in this research.

¹⁷ As will be discussed in Chapter 3 (Methodology), running records are documents or historical publications kept by private organisations (Berg, 1989).

- 4) Survey and interview-based data illustrating the perceptions of the area surrounding the two railway lines by the residents/passengers, corporate elite, independent businesses, and Japanese geographers
- 5) Archival photographs and images of private railway posters, railway cards, and advertisements, as well as present day photographs of private railway properties and symbols

It is in this context that the present thesis seeks to unravel the influences behind these distinctions. This involves investigating the urbanisation of the Hanshin Region, the influence of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups in that development, and the way in which the two corporations might have developed business strategies based on local setting and urban processes. Such an examination requires a geographical study of *place*, one that illuminates how distinct qualities (and the images associated with those) have evolved and persisted in a particular place. This is well illustrated in Relph's (1976) definition of place:

"Places are not experienced as independent, clearly defined entities that can be described simply in terms of their location or appearance. Rather, they are [a combination of] setting, landscape, ritual, routine, people, personal experiences."

(Relph, 1976: 29)

The processes addressed in this thesis are not only embedded in 'place', but the context of that 'place' can also affect the way in which such processes unfold. This is true of railways, which Divall and Schmucki (2003) have argued are both a part of place and can be influenced by place. The locational attributes of the Hanshin Region have

therefore constituted a ‘setting’, and it was in this context that processes took place. Over time, a ‘landscape’ has evolved as a result of urbanisation and as this thesis argues, the private railway groups had some influence in that. ‘Rituals’ might be found in corporate brands, the diversified management structure of the private railway groups, and the long-standing competition between the two corporations. As suggested by the vignettes, the act of consuming the images, goods and services purveyed by two private railway groups could be a part of a lifestyle- a ‘routine’ that is perhaps a part of people’s daily lives. Finally, in this context, the ‘people’ of this region are the consumers and decision-makers, and their ‘personal experiences’ are integral to understanding distinctions found in the areas surrounding the Hankyu and Hanshin rail lines.

Hayward (2004:1) has suggested that, “every city has its own character, its own feel, and its own ambience.” Similarly, Rapoport (1984: 54) has written that cities have ‘sensory and experiential qualities’: [They] “look, smell, sound and *feel* different; they have different character or ambience.”¹⁸ It is therefore relevant to consider the way in which “places are both concrete and symbolic; literally and metaphorically made up: of buildings, field systems, roads and railways as well as myths and legends, statues and ceremonies that link people to a place” (McDowell, 1997: 2). This perspective is a particularly salient one for the present research, which seeks to investigate distinctions in place, in which railways concretely *and* symbolically exist.

Modern transport geography does suggest that transport is a “permissive factor rather than a direct stimulus to economic development or spatial change” (Hoyle and Knowles,

¹⁸ The term ‘ambience’ will be used to address data describing the overall character of the area surrounding the two railway lines as experienced by the people in them. This will be explained further in Chapter 3.

1998: 13). Further, transport studies have generally focused on aspects such as passenger mobility, transport accessibility, urban transport planning and sustainability, traffic problems, impact of transport on the environment and transport economics (Dittmar and Ohland, 2004; Bernick and Cervero, 1997; Hart, 1994; Schwanen and Mokhtarian, 2004; Lave, 1985; Daniels and Warnes, 1980). Within transport literature, a variety of scholarly sources have demonstrated a direct relationship between the establishment of railway lines and physical settlement patterns (Muller, 1995; Hartshorn, 1973; Harris and Ullman, 1945; Hoyt, 1939). However, the influence of transportation within place, as defined by Relph (1976), has received less attention.

The work of Cervero (1998) provides a noteworthy example of an examination of the relationship between transport and urban development within an international context, including a case study in Tokyo; its focus however, is on economically viable and transit-oriented development. Certainly, of the various modes of transport, it has been generally acknowledged that settlement and economic activity have been spurred, enabled and disrupted to some degree by the construction, expansion and closure of railway lines and stations in many locations. Commonly cited examples of this are drawn from Australia, Canada, Europe and the United States (McAlpine and Smyth, 2003; Logan and Molotch, 2002; Berton, 1971; Dyos, 1957).

Divall and Schmucki (2003) have argued, however, that there is need for more transport studies centred on socio-historical inquiry. Further, they (2003: 19) have called for more comparative studies in order to “understand the historical relationship between urban transport and [urban] development.” In response, writings have started to address transport as a technology and the way in which that might be connected to

culture (Schatzberg, 2003; Schrag, 2000; see also *Technology and culture*). Without emphasis on historical and cultural contexts, and the investigation of private railway groups as they exist in Japan, however, the degree to which railway companies have had historical influence in urban development in specific and uniquely Japanese locations is yet to be explored in depth.

This problem is further compounded by a tendency to address railways in general as lone entities of service provision and, as a result, to describe strictly their physical and spatial impact on the city or the social effects on commuters. According to Dival and Schmucki (2003: 7), “urban transport is more and more treated as a technological system of traffic and mobility, and its evolution is commonly analysed in terms of the interactions of social actors.” But as one Japanese scholar notes, private railway companies in Japan cannot “be viewed as mere railway or transportation businesses...Today, they are more like urban developers or local service businesses, supporting the lives of people living along the railway line” (Saito, 1997:3).

The core problem of this thesis is to understand the processes that have been working over a long period of time to influence distinctions in the areas surrounding two railway lines of the Hanshin Region. It is an examination that requires a study of *place*; particularly one that investigates the locational attributes of the region, like its physical geography, and processes exogenous and endogenous to the two corporations. The former processes are ones that originated outside the corporations, notably economic and industrial growth and social change. The latter are ones that originated within the corporations, particularly their management structures, oligopolistic competition, the development of corporate brands, and the consumption of their goods, images, and

services. Whether and to what extent, the latter were a response to those external features of place is an important consideration in this study.

These processes are likely to be very complex and interrelated given the economic, industrial and social history of Japan (Walthall, 2006; Gordon, 2003; Fukutake, 1989; Lehmann, 1982), the business diversification of private railway groups such as Hankyu and Hanshin (Aoki et al, 2000; Ogawa, 1998; Saito, 1997), and the way Japanese society and business adhere to corporate brands (Ikeo, 1997; Tanaka and Iwamura, 1996). The research therefore draws on various facets of the geographical tradition: it stems from transport geography to pursue the geography of the city, themes of place-making, and consumption. Embodied in these are the important subjects of history, culture, corporate behaviour and the economy¹⁹. The intention of this approach is to bring transport geography in touch with other sub-disciplines; to consider the historical and cultural significance of transport from a contemporary perspective.

In particular, this thesis considers the popular view which states that transport is a 'permissive factor rather than a direct stimulus' (Hoyle and Knowles, 1998: 13). Is it possible for transport to have a direct influence on distinctions in place when it is functioning as it does in the case of private urban railways in Japan? This thesis proposes that transport may, as in the case of Japanese private urban railways, have a direct influence on place as defined by Relph (1976). This generates a number of research questions.

Question 1

¹⁹ The literature associated with these elements will be explored further in Chapter 2.

What are the main historical processes and locational attributes that have influenced distinctions in urban space along the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines over time?

Question 2

What influence do private railway groups have in terms of the unfolding of distinctions in place?

Question 3

Does the promotion of Hankyu and Hanshin's goods, images, and services mirror their consumption by passengers/residents?

This chapter began by describing the experiences of four passengers in two transport-mediated corridors that have been created and are, in part, managed by two private railway groups (Hankyu and Hanshin). As certain characteristics surrounding the railway lines are distinct, so the experiences of the four passengers, though all commuters, are distinctively different. This raises questions as to how and why such characteristics developed so distinctly around the two railway lines in the Hanshin Region and what it is they symbolise.

This chapter has provided the framework for the research. The next chapter, Chapter 2, provides a literature review in which literary themes are linked in order to provide the theoretical framework of the thesis. Reflecting an inter-disciplinary approach, the literature review discusses the diverse elements of the geography of the city; key themes in transport geography-particularly the role of transport in urban development; and

place-making and consumption, in order to suggest limitations in accounting for certain distinct characteristics in place. Research undertaken for this thesis has centred on personal interviews conducted in Japanese, at senior levels of both Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, thereby overcoming gaps in the existing literature.

As will be explained in Chapter 3, the study of place required in this thesis warrants a methodology that recognises contemporary and historical contexts, cultural and linguistic setting, and the informal and formal nature of its participants. In this dynamic context, the methods used in this thesis include: corporate interviews, semi-structured interviews and surveys, analysis of existing data, historiography, research observation, and photo documentation. Methods of latent content and manifest content analysis provide tools with which this data can be closely examined. This ‘mixed methods’ approach was adopted in order not to be rigid or restrictive but rather to assist in “making sense of the material” (Crang, 1997: 188).

Chapter 4 provides an account of the locational attributes, economic, industrial, and social history of Japan; particularly as it relates to the Hanshin Region. This historical account is not only the starting point from which the distinctions described in the opening vignettes might be unravelled, but it also provides the context in which the two private railway groups evolved. The chapter focuses on the Meiji (1868-1912), Taisho (1912-1926) and early Showa (1926-1989) Periods in which the modernisation of Japan occurred, and subsequently, the Hanshin Region was urbanised. The information found in this chapter is aimed at addressing the first research question.

In Chapter 5, a narrative unfolds on the history of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups; key individuals, events, and actions that fostered the unique image of each company, including competition between the two. Understanding the history of both companies and in particular, their internal processes, is necessary in order to investigate the extent to which two private railway groups have, through their diversified businesses, contributed in some way to distinctions in the areas surrounding their two railway lines. This chapter therefore introduces the possibility that both companies have created distinct corporate brands over the course of their histories.

Using an historical geography of place, Chapter 6 examines the role of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups in place-making. In so doing, it aims to demonstrate the presence of two distinct corporate brands in the areas surrounding their two railway lines, and how this might be indicative of 'brandsapes'. Building on the narratives of Chapters 5 and 6, primary data is then presented and analysed in order to investigate the motivation behind these brands. This information starts to address the second research question related to the capacities of two private railway groups to influence place.

Chapter 7 presents additional primary data which addresses the remaining research question and in doing so, makes clear whether or not Hankyu and Hanshin have influenced distinctions in place. It focuses on current experiences of place- particularly people's consumption (both purchased and perceived) of place and the corporate brands of Hankyu and Hanshin. An important aspect of this is to determine whether visual data confirms or denies the persistence of these corporate brands in the present day urban space.

Finally, Chapter 8 brings the content of Chapters 1-7 together in a conclusion that makes sense of the findings related to the research questions; it also presents an opportunity to highlight the theoretical contributions of this thesis to transport geography and related disciplines.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This thesis seeks to understand what processes have been working over a long period of time, particularly those involving Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, and to which they might have responded, to influence distinctions in the areas surrounding two railway lines of the Hanshin Region. As mentioned in Chapter 1, such an examination requires a study of *place*; particularly one that investigates the influence of locational attributes and urban processes such as economic and industrial growth, and social change. Further, it investigates processes within Hankyu and Hanshin Groups and whether or not these may have been shaped in response to the above-mentioned features of place.

The processes investigated in this thesis are complex and interrelated given the economic, industrial and social history of Japan (Walthall, 2006; Gordon, 2003; Fukutake, 1989; Lehmann, 1982), the business diversification of private railway groups such as Hankyu and Hanshin (Aoki et al, 2000; Ogawa, 1998; Saito, 1997), and the way Japanese society and business adhere to corporate brands (Ikeo, 1997; Tanaka and Iwamura, 1996) (Figure 2.1). Nevertheless, three themes are evident and each concerns an aspect of the urban experience through which the contemporary city must be viewed: 1) the geography of the city; 2) transport geography - particularly the influence of railways in urban development and; 3) place-making and consumption. Embodied in these are the important subjects of history, culture, corporate behaviour and the economy. This review has therefore been organised around the themes in such

a way that it provides a backdrop for the theoretical considerations prompted by the research questions.

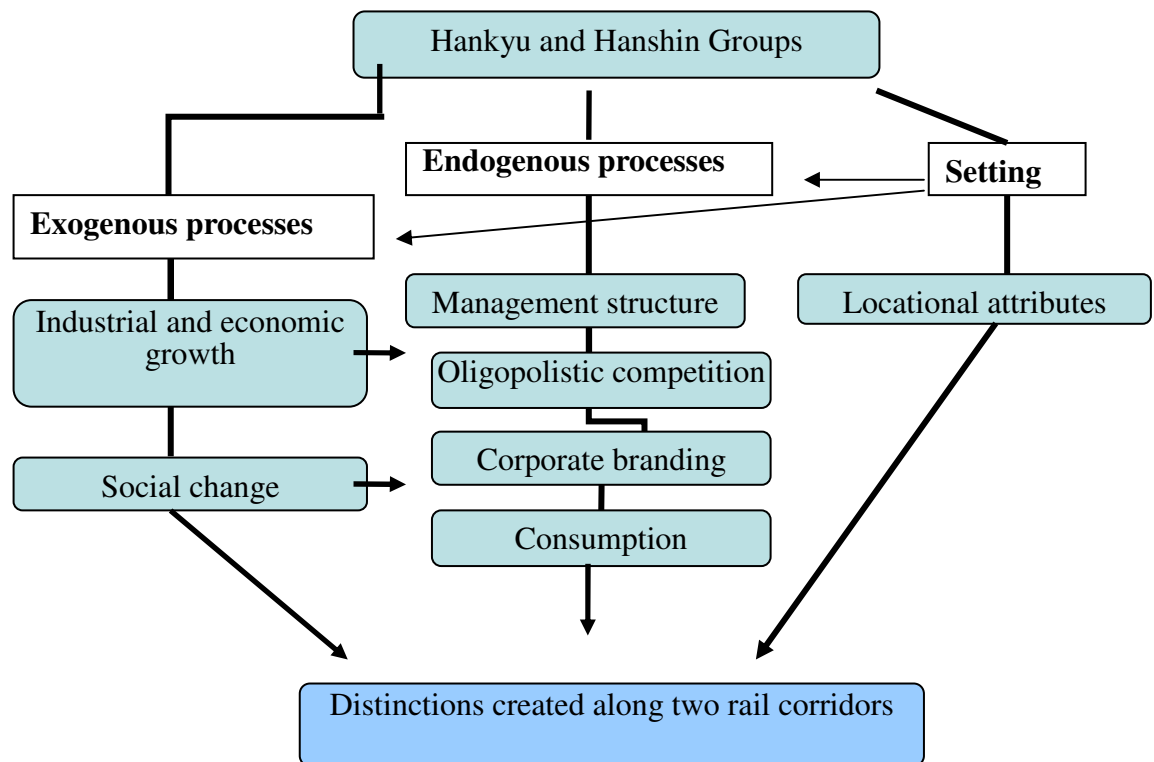
Drawing from these fields, a conceptual ‘map’ (Figure 2.1) for this thesis can be proposed. By examining two neighbouring places that have distinctive characteristics, this thesis will seek to determine whether those characteristics have, in some way, been influenced by the diverse business activities of the two private railway groups. To do this requires an historical investigation of setting and processes that are both exogenous and endogenous to Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. The urbanisation of the Hanshin Region involved rapid industrial and economic growth, from which social change resulted. The way in which some of these changes were manifested in the Japanese city, may have been both similar and unique to experiences elsewhere. Further, the locational attributes of the Hanshin Region include features such as mountainous topography. It is therefore possible that these conditions stimulated distinctions in place.

At the same time as these processes were unfolding, not only might two distinct corporate brands or images have been produced by management structures and competition between Hankyu and Hanshin: it is likely that the passengers/residents of the Hanshin Region consumed the goods, images, and services (both purchased and perceived) from the two groups for more than 100 years. These events would not have been isolated from the conditions described above therefore arrows in the diagram indicate that some sort of inter-play is likely to have taken place. Such a complex interaction would ultimately have been behind Hankyu and Hanshin Groups’ ability to

influence the urban development of the Hanshin Region.

Figure 2.1

A framework for analysis



Source: the author, 2008.

Writings on the city have evolved considerably since the models of the Chicago School which suggested patterns of urban development were a result of ecological processes (Park et al, 1925). Despite this, those models are worthy of discussion, as Japanese geographers continue to apply the Burgess Concentric Ring Model to the outward growth of old Japanese castle cities (Mizuuchi, 2006, 2003; Masai, 1998). Beyond the Chicago School, considerations of human agency (Lefebvre, 1968), structures (Castells,

1977), and capitalism (Smith, 1984) have influenced urban discourse. More recently, geography's 'cultural turn' (Philo, 1991) has initiated analyses of power and difference, challenges to modern discourse, and an interest in post-structuralist methodologies (Hubbard et. al, 2002; Soja, 2001; Rennie Short, 1998; Jackson, 1989). Historical approaches to the geography of the city have played an important role in all of these.

The work of Derrida (1991) and Deleuze (1994) and other post-structuralists opens the door to study spaces of difference (Hubbard et al, 2002) but leads to the need to examine contemporary literature on 'difference' and 'distinction'. Contemporary scholars, for example, suggest that urbanism is in large part the product of global forces influencing the local (Kaplan et al., 2004; Massey, 1999; Massey, 1996; Dear and Flusty, 1998; Smith, 1993). This has resulted in discourses on the idea of the 'global grounded in the local' (Amin, 2002; Massey, 1997; Massey, 1996, et al.) and perspectives focussed on Western experiences of social and cultural conflict (Haylett, 2006; Sandercock, 2006; Sandercock, 2003)..

Japanese society, however, has been viewed as homogenous and static, as well as complex and highly differentiated (Howell, 2005; Fielding, 2004; Sorensen, 2002; Ishida, 1993; Kurosawa, 1986; Seidensticker, 1983; Yazaki, 1963). Nevertheless, though Japanese cities, including those of the Hanshin Region, may not have the same degree and nature of spatial differentiation as found in Western examples, they nevertheless have been marked by some level of diversity and social tension (Gordon, 2003). Class divisions²⁰ date back to the Tokugawa period (1600-1868) and these

²⁰ Main groupings (in descending order) included: 1) samurai (warriors); 2) farmers; 3) artisans; and 4) merchants. There were also other groups such as monks and outcasts. All of these classes were hereditary (Sorensen, 2002; Yazaki, 1968).

were manifested in segregated residential districts (Sorensen, 2002; Yazaki, 1968).

From the Meiji Period (1868-1912) onward certain areas of the Hanshin Region also experienced social segregation in residential districts. These rifts which existed, and continue to exist, have been fuelled by ethnic differences (Kaplan et al. 2004; Wiltshire, 2004; Kim, 2003; Hane, 1982; De Vos and Lee, 1981). Further, Japan's industrial and economic growth in the 1910s and 1920s stimulated social division between factory labourers and those of the new middle-class (Walthall, 2006; Gordon, 2003). This history provides a starting point for examining distinctions in Japanese urban spaces.

While much attention has been given to the influence of railways on the physical structure of cities (Muller, 1995; Hartshorn, 1973; Harris and Ullman, 1945; Hoyt, 1939), it is difficult, without a more inter-disciplinary approach, to determine the degree to which transportation has influenced *place*, as defined by Relph (1976). As Divall and Schmucki (2003) have argued, there is need for more transport studies centred on socio-historical inquiry, particularly those that are based on comparisons. In response to this, the study of *place* in the present research provides the opportunity to bring the theme of transport geography in touch with other sub-disciplines and to consider the historical and cultural significance of transport from a contemporary perspective.

Writings on place-making describe both place-making for profit (Hubbard and Hall, 1998; Smyth, 1994) and that which is aimed at community-based development (Bohl, 2002; Schneekloth and Gibley, 1995). Further, the city is not only produced: it is also consumed. The topic of consumption raises interesting concepts for

consideration; particularly the way in which consumer habits are reflected in place, and how this is symbolic of ‘brand’ communities (O’Guinn and Muniz Jr., 2005; Fournier, 1998). While literature on Japanese consumerism speaks of the deep-rooted role of consumption in Japanese urbanism (Clammer, 1997; Nakamura, 1993), this thesis examines how the goods, images and services of two respective private railway groups have been created, promoted, and consumed, and how this may have influenced, or reinforced distinctions in place character.

In general, literature on Hankyu and Hanshin published by the companies, as well as fan-based publications²¹, sheds light on the histories of the companies and the way in which they have carried out business to date. However, it does not reveal the inner-workings of the companies and the role played by the management structure of the diversified businesses. Further, the degree to which internal processes of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups may have been shaped, in response to locational attributes and historical urban processes, is yet unclear. The way in which corporate brands might be reflective of these processes, for example, and how these might be tied to certain distinct characteristics of the Hanshin Region remain elusive.

2.1 Geography of the City

Understanding the city, and the processes through which it was created, has long been a topic of debate (Hall, 2001; Carter, 1995; Fyfe and Kenny, 2005). While the discipline of urban geography “considers all these processes in relation to one phenomenon, the city” (Carter, 1995: 1), the study of the city has not been restricted to one discipline.

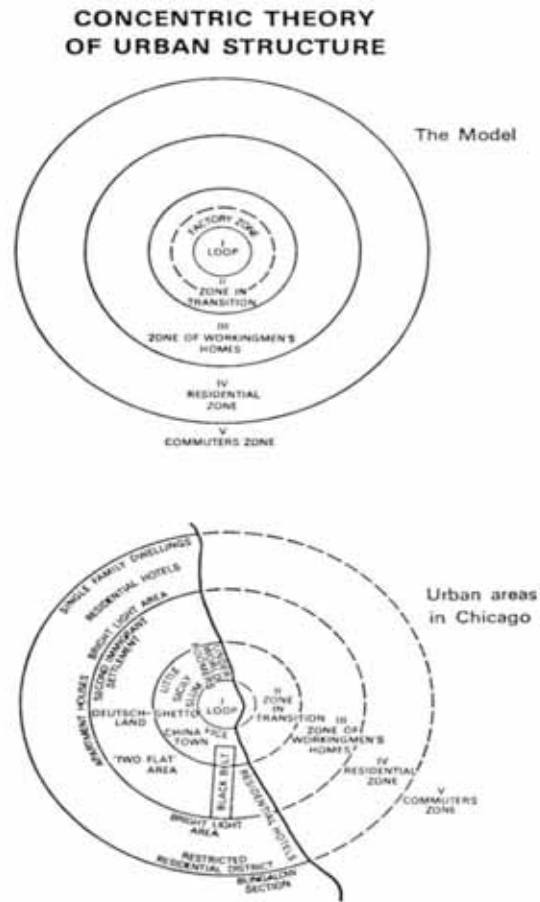
²¹ See Section 2.2.4: Japanese railway fans took an interest in various aspects of trains and this has resulted in a large source of literature written by fans.

Accordingly, this section of the literature review will consider models and discourses from urban geography and other disciplines such as sociology, cultural geography, and economic geography that have sought to theorise the city and the way in which its features have evolved. As Japanese geographers continue to apply the Burgess Concentric Ring model to the outward growth of old Japanese castle cities, it is with the Chicago School that this literature review begins.

2.1.1 Chicago School of Sociology

The work of the Chicago School sociologists (*The City*, Park et al, 1925), and later that of Burgess and Bogue (*Urban Sociology*, 1964) was based on the city of Chicago and suggested that urban growth occurred in the shape of concentric zones (Figure 2.2) (LeGates and Stout, 1996; Kilmartin and Thorns, 1978). Produced within *human ecology*, these consisted of industry and slums within the inner city and progressively wealthier residents towards the periphery (Burgess and Bogue, 1964; Kilmartin and Thorns, 1978; Gottdiener, 1985; LeGates and Stout, 1996). As previously mentioned, the continued application of Burgess's Concentric Ring Model by Japanese geographers is particular to former castle cities (Masai, 1998; Mizuuchi, 2003). One example of this is Osaka, for which Mizuuchi (2006) has suggested that the historical area surrounding Osaka Castle is the inner-most ring. This area, encircled by a succession of concentric rings housing commercial and industrial areas, has an outer-ring that reaches the suburbs of Osaka.

Figure 2.2



Source: Park, Robert E., Burgess, Ernest W., and McKenzie, Roderick D. (1925) *The City*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

The area surrounding the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines, however, is not representative of castle cities that were created in the period from 1603 to 1867. Instead, it is characterised by suburban growth that occurred when “many private electric railways were constructed [in the Meiji Period from 1868 to 1912 and onward] to link the suburbs with cities” (Akatsuka and Yoshida, 1999: 74). It is therefore relevant to consider whether the social context of Burgess’s model would be applicable to the case study of this research.

Burgess's work has recently been cited as "an agency-based interpretation of urban processes with individuals' choices rather than structural constraints" (Dear, 2002: 500). His tendency to focus on the social context certainly does provide an opportunity to discuss the agency of individuals. Others, however, would question the feasibility of this without involvement of structural bodies, or consideration of other processes, such as those of private railway groups (Smith, 1984; Castells, 1977).

Of his work, however, Burgess has noted:

"It hardly needs to be added that neither Chicago nor any other city fits perfectly into this ideal scheme. Complications are introduced by the lake front, the Chicago River, railroad lines, historical factors in the location of industry, the relative degree of the resistance of communities to invasion etc."

(Burgess, 1925: 51)

In other words, while post-modern dialogues suggest the irrelevance of models like those of Burgess's because they are specific to one location, Burgess himself was quite aware of the need to be cognisant of individual surroundings, a view appropriate to the present thesis. For the purpose of this thesis, this might best take place through an investigation of unique differences, not complications as Burgess envisaged, but rather as local processes of the Hanshin Region.

Burgess (1925: 55) remarked that "in the expansion of the city a process of distribution takes place which sifts and sorts and relocates individuals and groups by residence and

occupation.” In the Hanshin Region, it is likely that some form of distribution has taken place to produce the distinct characteristics discussed in Chapter 1²². But in this case, the “purgatory of lost souls” and “cultural groupings”, cited in Burgess’ work as key determinants of the distribution, might not be quite as pertinent to a region, where general homogeneity of society - a result of years of strict immigration policy - has played a role (株式会社日鉄ヒューマンデベロプメント, 1993²³). Burgess’s reliance on social determinants also cannot explain how or why certain distinct features in the Hanshin Region of Japan are demarcated by two private railway lines-nor to what extent the private railway groups may have been involved in reinforcing the social ‘sifting’. A closer investigation of the social processes of the Hanshin Region, in relation to the activities of two private railway groups, is therefore warranted in this research.

Although the history of the Chicago School continues to generate misunderstandings about its collaborative and intellectual coherence (Harvey, 1985), there is no doubt that “the legacy of Chicago sociology continues to attract interest from contemporary urban analysts, a significant proportion of who[m] are writing in languages other than English” (Abbott, 1999: 22). Particularly this is true of Japan, where Mizuoka et al (2005: 453) have argued that “Japanese social scientists outside of geography started to adopt the conceptions of critical geography developed abroad, bypassing the Japanese geographers’ circle... [Japanese geographers have] lost the intellectual power to come

²² The vignettes illustrated distinctions in the atmosphere of the train carriages, the types of passengers commuting on the two lines, the residential areas surrounding both lines, and the businesses frequented by commuters.

²³ Nippon Steel Human Resources Development Co. Ltd., 1993. The company first published *Nippon*: the land and its people for use by its employees but internationalisation of its business created new demand for a handbook on Japan. The current edition is recognised as a guide to Japan used by both Japanese and non-Japanese.

to terms with the growing critical trend among international geographers.”

In the case of the present research, it is therefore necessary to explore theoretical arguments beyond the Chicago School that may better express the present condition of the Hanshin Region.

2.1.2 Beyond the Chicago School

This Section engages in a review of literature of the city external to Japan’s experience. It is here that contemporary discourse on ‘difference’ and ‘distinction’ within the city can be framed.

From the ecological approaches of the Chicago School sprang additional models that showed a city’s expansion being influenced by transport²⁴. These were based on ‘positivist’ thinking that relied on scientific methods of investigation but there was concern that positivist-based models considered only spatial form and did not take into account unseen causal processes such as ‘human’ considerations (Hubbard et al., 2002; Pacione, 2001). As those models (Hoyt, 1939; Harris and Ullman, 1945; Hartshorn, 1973; Hartshorn and Muller, 1992; Muller, 1995) spoke only of the physical spatial form of the city, they were unlikely to satisfy the investigation required of the Hanshin Region and the inquiries into the processes of human behaviours.

Combining geography and psychology, the behavioural approach has attempted to map human behaviours within the city. Porteous (1977) and Gold (1980) suggested, for

²⁴ See section 2.2 on transport geography

example, that individuals possess a unique sense of place based on the way in which they experience place through their senses (touch, taste, smell, sight and hearing). Lynch (1960) also engaged individuals in describing place as they perceived it through mental maps. Mapping the behaviours of individuals avoided the difficulty of fitting human patterns neatly into the often inflexible models of spatial science. This approach to the city branched into 'humanism' which viewed humans as the greatest proponents of agency in the city. Basing his work on different philosophies such as phenomenology, Edward Relph (1976) is one of the best known scholars of this geographical approach to the city. Nevertheless, neither behavioural nor humanistic geography recognises 'power' or structural connections between individuals and organisations in the city. The need to recognise structures within society gave birth to a geography of the city that was heavily based on the work of Marxism (Hubbard et al., 2002; Hall, 2001; Pacione, 2001; Gottdiener, 1985).

Criticising earlier work by Lefebvre (1968) that suggested urban space was socially produced, Castells (1977) attempted to provide a structural solution to the question of urbanisation. The city was viewed as an outcome of state activity: "social processes resulting in the production of the city were not distinctly urban, but endemic to capitalist society" (Hubbard et al., 2002). Smith (1984) further argued that the uneven development and production of space within the city were central to capitalism. Japan's modernisation (1868-1912) was indeed heavily influenced by oligarchs with capitalistic intentions and one aspect of this was the powerful role played by monopolies known as 財閥 (zaibatsu) (Walthall, 2006; Gordon, 2003; Ramseyer and Rosenbluth, 1995).

“The zaibatsu were large capital holding groups that existed in Japan between the Meiji Restoration (1868-1912) and the end of the Second World War. They were closed, centrally controlled organisations in which a holding company owned by a single family used the shares it held in affiliated companies in various business fields to control their personnel and management decisions.”

株式会社日鉄ヒューマンデベロメント, 1993²⁵

These industrial conglomerates, which stemmed from wealthy samurai or merchant families of the Edo Period (1603-1867) included well-known names such as Mitsui (三井), Mitsubishi (三菱) and Sumitomo (住友). They were officially disbanded during the Allied Occupation due to their economic monopoly (株式会社日鉄ヒューマンデベロメント, 1993). Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, however, are not representative of family dynasties but their economic strategy, which ensured capital circulated within the company rather than to and from external sources, and which enabled the company to coordinate decisions and strategies within (Ennals, 1996), is similar to the philosophy of Japanese private urban railways.

Distinctive of these monopolistic predecessors, the business practices of Hankyu and Hanshin might better suit oligopolistic approaches. Originating from the Greek word meaning ‘few sellers’, oligopoly involves competition between at least two corporations (Forbes, 2008). Kuenne (1998: 4) has argued that an oligopoly takes the form of a ‘community’ – “goals and decisions are shaped by a mixture of rivalry and cooperation varying with[in] the industry, the personalities of the presently and historically active

²⁵ Nippon Steel Human Resources Development Corporation, 1993.

agents, and the market strength of the contending firms.” This notion of rivalry is relevant to this research as Hankyu and Hanshin have come to be known as the ‘Hanshin Region rivals’²⁶. They have coexisted, and continue to coexist, in relative proximity to each other while competitively attracting passengers throughout their histories (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005; 関西鉄道研究会, 1997²⁷).

Further, Hankyu and Hanshin Groups have been in operation for over 100 years and, as hinted by the vignettes, the goods, images and services of their businesses suggest distinctions between the two. The longevity of their operations, relative proximity and apparent distinctions might parallel Kuenne’s (1998) definition of a ‘mature oligopoly’; exhibiting three main characteristics: 1) staying power; 2) a distinct identity in the industry; and 3) coexistence within a context of active competition (1998: 53-54). An examination of the role played by capitalism, particularly oligopolistic competition and branding, as it relates to Hankyu and Hanshin, is therefore warranted in later chapters. However, as this thesis also takes into account the role of individuals as consumers, it must therefore also consider themes beyond those of structuralism.

The structuralist application of Marxian theory has added debate to, rather than clarified, the question of human versus structural agency. In the case of Japan, the employment of Marxism to the Hanshin Region would be problematic, in that social conflict (Knox and Pinch, 2000; Andrusz et al, 1996; Massey, 1982) does not exist between the classed spaces as it exists elsewhere. Sugimoto (2003) comments that Japan’s social environment is tempered by ‘centrifugal’ forces that cause diversity and ‘centripetal’

²⁶ The Japan Railway Tokaido line is also included in this grouping and will therefore be discussed at greater length in Chapter 5.

²⁷ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005; Kansai Railway Research Association, 1997.

forces that stimulate homogeneity. In this way, there is social variation in Japan, but the type of conflict may be different from that seen in other countries²⁸.

Discourse on urban geography has since evolved to incorporate cultural aspects of the city. Geography's 'cultural turn' (Philo, 1991) initiated analyses of power and difference, challenges to modern discourse, and interest in post-structuralist theories (Hubbard et al., 2002; Soja, 2001; Rennie Short, 1998). Jackson (1989) argued that geography had largely ignored culture as an important process through which societies are sculpted; in so doing, it had overlooked rich and complex human landscapes. Some Marxist geographers continued to view the city strictly as the product of capitalism (Smith, 1996; Knox, 1993; Harvey, 1989a), while others such as Murdoch (1997) and Phillips (1998) investigated consumption and lifestyle choices in conjunction with capital accumulation. Scholars writing on power and difference also investigated political hegemony (Cresswell, 1996; Robinson, 2000; Sharp et al, 2000).

Notably, Tim Cresswell (1996) suggested that symbolic representations in the landscape regulated the behaviour of individuals in a certain manner suitable to that landscape. Although different from his focus on power and cycles of 'domination' and 'resistance', his view is important in the present instance as this thesis investigates two distinct places in which private railways and their businesses concretely *and* symbolically exist. As Robinson (2000) postulated (drawing on Foucault, 1977), power is more than simply top-down: it is everywhere amongst individuals and can be exercised by individuals in subtle ways. Sharp et al (2000) pursued this argument, as well as the notion that power is complex, because it consists of more than acts of domination followed by resistance.

²⁸ See Section 2.1.5 for further discussion on societal differences in Japan.

Applied to the symbolic representation of corporate brands in the Hanshin Region, these approaches, like that of Marxism, would suggest that individuals were ‘regulated’ in some way, rather than actively making choices.

This may be considered in conjunction with writings on the ‘spaces of Actor-Network Theory’ (Murdoch, 1998). In recent years, Actor-Network Theory²⁹ (ANT) has been employed to negotiate gaps between dualisms such as “agency and structure, human and non-human, activity and passivity,” (Law, 1999: 3) by suggesting all things, human or non-human, have equal capacity for agency³⁰. In the discipline of geography, Murdoch (1998) and Whatmore (1999) employed ANT to contemplate spatial relations that were a result of complex networks, and to negotiate dualisms such as nature/society and local/global. However, Castree and Macmillan (2001) argue that it is problematic to assign symmetrical agency to all things in the world, as it obscures inherently distinct characteristics between beings and things. That, in turn, could make it difficult in the present instance to investigate the influence of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups in the urban development of the Hanshin Region. It is useful therefore, to consider post-structuralist notions of binaries and systems which consider the capacity for one part of a binary pair to have greater importance than the other. Is it possible for one of

²⁹ ANT was first postulated by Bruno Latour (1987) who did not intend it as a theory of the social, subject or nature. Rather, he intended a discussion on “space or fluids circulating in a non-modern situation” by using the terms ‘actant’ and ‘network’ (Latour, 1999: 22).

³⁰ Despite successive paradigms, the question of agency remains a point of debate. Agency was initially theorised as being inherently human--a reflection of the capacity of humans to affect change (Johnston, Gregory, Pratt and Watts, 2000). For the purpose of this research, agency will be defined as: “both the production of action and of what counts as action” (Thrift, 1996: 2). I have assumed this definition because agency is neither restricted to human action nor is it strictly the result of something non-human. Also, it does not represent an argument opposed to structure. Simply, a human or non-human can have the capacity for agency (the ability to affect change) and agency can be the act of change itself.

the private railway groups to have been more influential than the other?

Peet (1998) suggests that post-structuralism represents a period in which profound questions about ontology and claims to truth are broached. Much of this is founded in Derrida's (1991) idea of deconstruction, which does not discount the importance of studying structures or systems over individual actions; rather, it involves the examination of binary pairs or oppositions, in some sort of relation to each other. Holcombe (2006) explains that one part of the binary pair will always be more important than the other. The vignettes in Chapter 1 suggest, however, that Hankyu and Hanshin both play dynamic roles in the everyday life of the Hanshin Region. Further to this, comparisons of importance associated with their historical urban development suggest they may have both contributed in important, albeit distinct ways. Should distinction render one corporation automatically less significant than the other?

Deleuze (1994) wrote that post-structuralist methods enable thinking about differences in the world, rather than viewing the world in universal ways. In this sense, the case of the Hanshin Region might be understood for its local context, rather than as an extension of universal theories or models. The work of Derrida (1991), Deleuze (1994) and other post-structuralists opens the door to the study of spaces of difference in Japan (Hubbard et al, 2002) but it sustains the notion that the term 'difference' entails, for example, "have's" and "have-not's", advantage versus disadvantage, wealth and poverty. As the areas surrounding the Hankyu and Hanshin lines are dissimilar, it is necessary to consider the manner in which contemporary literature addresses difference and distinctions.

In advance of such a consideration, however, the important role played by history in literature on the city should be noted. As Darby (1953:7) suggested, to study the city is “not [to] study a static picture, but a process that is continuing and, seemingly never-ending.” Scholars, such as Vance Jr. (1977) and Whitehand (2001) have described the ‘morphogenesis’ of cities from classical to modern times; and although focussed on certain aspects of the city, such as structure (Vance Jr., 1977) or residences (Whitehand, 2001), these writings stress the importance of studying history in order to understand the processes at work in the city.

More broadly, Goldfield and Brownell (1990: xi) described the history of “geographical patterns of residential, commercial, political and cultural development” in the context of America. Historical writings such as these are particularly relevant to this research as they stress the importance of understanding the historical “characteristics and roles of various individuals, firms and organisations” (Whitehand, 2001); in this case, the history of the Hanshin Region including the activities of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. Indeed, as will be seen in Section 2.2.5, a number of historical documents and writings exist on the history of the Hanshin Region, and on the Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. These are relevant to an historical approach that is important to this research; and this will be seen in the Methodology (Chapter 3), and the narratives found in Chapters 4 through 6. It is now timely to return to consider the manner in which contemporary literature addresses difference and distinctions.

Criticism of modern urban models became translated into the ‘study of cities’ during the

birth of post-modern critique (Parker, 2004; Dear, 1988) and this represented a departure from the 'modernist' epochs that preceded it (Hubbard et al, 2002). Soja (2001) wrote, for example, that post-modern interpretations of the city were based on six contemporary urban processes: 1) The globalisation of capital, labour, culture and information flows; 2) Post-Fordist economic restructuring; 3) Re-structuring urban form; 4) Re-structuring social order; 5) Carceral cities; and 6) Simcities. It has since been argued, however, that "the category *postmodern* has become virtually meaningless through overuse" (Shurmer-Smith, 2003: 42; see also Dear and Flusty, 1998).

The focus of postmodern critiques (Soja, 2001; Jameson, 1992) only on the "processes of urbanisation of the late twentieth century" only (Hall, 2001: 9), is different from that of the present study which is focussed on processes of urbanisation and within that, two private railway groups, that developed at the *beginning* of the twentieth century. Further, the long-standing case of the Hanshin Region must be emphasised, as contemporary scholars suggest that urbanism is in large part the product of contemporary and global forces that influence the "local" (Kaplan et al., 2004; Massey, 1999; Massey, 1996; Massey, 1984; Dear and Flusty, 1998; Smith, 1993; Cooke, 1989).

Doreen Massey (1996) has written that in order to understand the character of a certain place, it is necessary to link that place to 'places beyond'. The complex intersections and outcomes of 'power geometries' in Massey's work suggest a city consisting of flows and movements, rather than one rooted in tradition. It is a notion that has become central to many contemporary debates (Sandercock, 2003; Amin, 2002; Sassen, 1996). Locality studies, for example, have generally focussed on "questions of

employment, spatial divisions of labour, and the geography of production, specified in terms of local labour markets” (Jackson, 1991: 215). On this basis, Massey postulated the following concept of place:

“It is absolutely not static; there are interactions and processes and places within themselves are processes too. Places do not have to have boundaries in the sense of divisions which frame simple enclosures. Places do not have single, unique, ‘identities’; they are full of internal conflicts. Finally, none of this denies place nor the importance of the uniqueness of place. The specificity of place is continually reproduced, but it is not a specificity which results from some long, internalised history.”

(Massey, 1996: 245)

This progressive concept of place is useful for its recognition of the non-static nature of place and the importance of uniqueness of place; however, its suggestion that places are full of internal conflicts, and that specificity of place is not a result of long and internalised history, causes the focus on the ‘global grounded in the local’ to draw attention away from the very relevant ‘local within the locality’. As Chapters 4 and 5 make clear, this thesis does not deny connections between the Hanshin Region and a larger, global framework. However, examination of the urban development of the Hanshin Region, and within that the influence of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, requires inquiry of local processes that challenge the conventional categories of ‘locality studies’. It recognises that Hankyu and Hanshin Groups were involved in urban development activities throughout the Hanshin Region over 100 years ago - a process relatively free

of non-Japanese influence. These activities were in a way, a part of Japanese culture, or the local culture of the Hanshin Region.

2.1.3 'Difference' or 'distinction' in the city?

As this thesis is concerned with what some may define as visible differences between the areas surrounding two distinctly produced railway lines, it is essential to consider notions of 'difference' and 'distinction' that are central to some of the current thinking on cities and their formation. Whenever there are 'social' differences there are power relations, and these are likely to have implications for power that could be manifested in a number of ways such as socially, economically and politically. This thesis addresses these power relations and acknowledges their existence. Further to this, it examines distinctions in place and their association with processes that might have interacted during the urban development of the region – including those of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups.

Differences can be seen as inevitable (Porter and Sheppard, 1998); contrasts and juxtapositions (Massey, 1999; Harvey, 1989a; Foucault, 1980); and socially, economic and politically rooted divisions (Clarke, 1984). It might also be said that differences between places can be as simple as weather patterns or diet (Massey, Allen and Sarre, 1999). Yet, a more fitting term expressing these unique characteristics may be that of 'distinction' as used by Bourdieu (1987).

The Dictionary of Human Geography defines spatial differentiation as “the uneven

incidence of any condition” (Johnston et al., 2000: 389). This broad explanation recognises the presence of differing characteristics of any nature in any given place. However, it is important to focus on the word ‘uneven’ and the notion of ‘inequality’ it conveys. If a situation is ‘uneven’ then one possible inference is that some individual or group has more than the other(s). It is difficult to apply this sentiment generally to urban Japan without considering its social context, although it is acknowledged that Japan has status groups and ‘outcasts’ (Howell, 2005).

Contemporary literature on cities outside of Japan commonly views difference as both a blessing and a problem (Porter and Sheppard, 1998), because no matter how much differences may be celebrated, they can also create spatial conflict and tensions (Massey, Allen and Pile, 1999). This leads some scholars to address difference within space as a ‘dilemma’ to which the resolution is not yet known (Sandercock, 2003). According to prominent scholars, difference results in territorialization (Amin, 2002) or polarization and division of inequalities (Watson and Gibson, 1995, Knox and Pinch, 2000, Massey, 1997), rather than harmonious settings.

Sandercock (2006) suggests there is “an emerging urban condition in which difference, otherness, multiplicity, heterogeneity, diversity and plurality prevail” (Sandercock, 2006: 37). This concept is based on the idea that the world’s cities are increasingly multicultural and multiethnic, ones in which heterogeneity is seen as a representation of class cultures; a mix of people “meshed together through economic, cultural, political and social processes and practices, marked by diversity and inequality” (Haylett, 2006: 189). But does this definition of ‘difference’ suit the cities of Japan? When one

considers that the total foreign (non-Japanese) population in Japan numbered only 1,457,000 in 2000³¹, (田島, 2001: 56³²) then it is clear, despite Sandercock's (2003) suggestion, that the ethnicity-influenced definition of 'difference' as it pertains to the Western world, is perhaps not yet as salient in Japan. This is not to suggest that differences do not exist, but that they may vary in nature to those found elsewhere (Wiltshire, 2004; Sugimoto, 2003) and therefore worthy of further examination³³. As suggested by Sugimoto (2003: 5):

"Japan does not differ fundamentally from other countries in its internal variation and stratification, though some of its specific manifestations and concrete forms may contrast with those in Western societies."

The work of Iris Marion Young (1990a, b) speaks for the ability of people of different backgrounds to live in relative proximity and to share services and space. This also includes other non-white hetero-patriarchal understandings of cities such as the role of women, and individuals of gay, lesbian, bi-sexual, and trans-sexual backgrounds. Nevertheless, Young's ideal reflects the reliance, by many scholars, on North American and European cities as models. It is this basis that later stirs a call in Young's work for an 'unoppressive city' (Young, 1990a). Furthermore, her suggestion that people "experience each other as other, different, from different groups, histories, professions, cultures, which they do not understand," does not appear to address the possibility that individuals of one group may in fact have empathy or appreciate the culture of another,

³¹ The foreign population represented only 1.2% of the total Japanese population (125,464,000) in 2000. The foreign population primarily consists of other Asian nationals.

³² Tajima, 2001:56

³³ Refer to Section 2.1.5 and Chapter 4 for additional commentary on this subject.

be it through cultural immersion and understanding or recognition of unique qualities of the area.

If an acknowledgment of Western-style urban heterogeneity does not explain the surrounds of the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines, it is therefore relevant to consider the notion of ‘distinction’. In this regard, the work of Bourdieu (1984) was aimed at explaining the social construction of groups and classes by considering particular agents responsible for symbolic innovations (Berard, 2005). Class-cultural formulations are perceived as social processes through which ‘distinct’ social space appears in the distribution of the physical space. Bourdieu (1987: 14) commented that “the power to make groups and to consecrate or institute them is said to be the form par excellence of symbolic power.” Bourdieu’s writings were not based on (nor intended for) private railway companies and the way in which their involvement in urban development may be manifested in place; however, his theoretical work provides a useful starting point from which to examine how the procedures of two private railway companies³⁴ might have been shaped in response to a broader historical context and setting³⁵, thereby contributing to the formation and persistence of certain ‘distinctions’ in place character.

The vignettes in Chapter 1 suggest that the area surrounding the Hankyu and Hanshin private railway lines is representative of ‘different’ or better put, ‘distinct’ characteristics. Yet, these distinctions cannot always be explained using socio-economic indicators. Recently published Japan Census Bureau statistics demonstrated that residents of a

³⁴ As highlighted in Chapter 1: the management structure, oligopolistic competition, corporate branding and consumption of the goods, images and services of the two private railway groups.

³⁵ As discussed in Chapter 1: particularly the setting, and industrial and economic growth and social change of the Hanshin Region.

number of cities surrounding *both* railway lines have some of the highest incomes in Japan (毎日新聞, 2007). Of the cities listed, Ashiya (芦屋), and Nishonomiya (西宮), which are both mentioned in this thesis and through which both Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines run, are in the top 30 highest resident income cities in Japan. In general therefore, these areas, regardless of the railway lines, have a higher average income than most other cities in Japan (毎日新聞, 2007³⁶). This raises questions regarding the processes involved in stimulating development of this nature and these will be discussed further in Chapter 4 in conjunction with the narrative on the urbanisation of the Hanshin Region.

While income levels show that Japan is not ‘egalitarian’, Western literature which describes ‘difference’ or ‘distinction’ in the city might not entirely suit the experience of Japanese cities. According to Sugimoto (2003: 5) some of the most obvious differences in society stem from non-racial-based ‘sub-cultures’ such as “region, gender, age, occupation, education, and so forth.” Nevertheless, notions of ‘difference’ and ‘distinction’ provide an interesting avenue for further thought and will be explored in greater detail in Sections 2.1.4 and 2.1.5, as they specifically relate to the city in Japan.

2.1.4 The City in Japan

“Japan presents an interesting and important case of rapid urbanisation that should be better understood. It has quite different traditions of land ownership, historical urban development and governance than the other developed countries. This distinctiveness makes Japan an important case study of urbanisation.” (Sorensen, 2002: 5-6)

³⁶ Mainichi Newspaper, 2007

The study of the city in Japan does present a case of unique features and curiosities compared with cities elsewhere (Kuroda, 2005; Shapira et al, 2002; Karan, 1997). Focussing on the role of the government, urban planning and the development of civil society in Japan, Sorensen's book, *'The Making of Urban Japan'* (2002) details the historical evolution of key cities in Japan. Establishing five distinctive features of Japanese urbanisation³⁷, he notes that the Meiji government (1868-1912) placed great importance on the construction of railways as a part of Japan's modernisation. In order to expedite this development, the government started to encourage private railway investment until Railway Nationalisation³⁸ took place (Sorensen, 2002; Aoki et al, 2000; Saito, 1997; Ike, 1955)

Sorensen (2002: 140) further notes that the "key to suburban rail development was the simultaneous development of suburban housing estates, both to develop a daily commuting population who would use the train line, and because the profits from land development were commonly greater than ticket sales." Literature such as this contributes not only to an understanding of Japan's setting and historical urban processes, but also it suggests that private railway groups contributed in some way to the urban development of Japan. To consider this further, broader literature on the city in Japan might help illustrate how urbanisation is portrayed in the context of Japan's urban experience.

³⁷ These were: 1) the consistent focus of state resources on economic development; 2) the weak relationship of planning and civil society; 3) the dominance of central government; 4) the consistent preference for public building projects over regulation of private development activity; and 5) the long tradition of self-reliance of urban neighbourhoods (Sorensen, 2002: 333).

³⁸ As will be discussed in Chapter 5, this involved the government purchase of 17 private railways.

Although the process of urbanisation was occurring in Japan in the early 20th Century, interest in literature on the subject particularly increased after World War II. Japanese Geographers (Kishimoto, 1970 and Kobayashi, 1966) were quick to write about Japan's Megalopolis formations following the partial translation of Gottmann's (1961) work in 1967. Translations of key western literature by Japanese scholars (Kiuchi, 1956; Aoki, 1979; Oshima, 1969) were popular at this time; they highlighted Japan's experience but often resulted in loose applications of Western theories to urban Japan, while highlighting Japan's experience. Scholars abroad also took interest in Japan's urban systems and books such as Kornhauser's (1976), '*Urban Japan: its foundations and growth*', provided broad commentary on the structural history of Japanese cities as well as their physical and statistical components (See also Conzen, 1986; Ginsburg, 1974; Harris, 1982).

Within these commentaries, Kornhauser (1976) wrote that private railways had great morphological impact on Japanese cities because of their ability to cause more than one commercial nucleus, and he recognised that "the private electric rail terminal-department store complex became a particularly lucrative enterprise in the larger cities" (Kornhauser, 1976: 78)³⁹. Although this does not explain the full extent of the private railway business diversification, these are relevant points for they hint at not only the impact, but the potential for Japanese private railways to influence *place*.

There was a new wave of inquiry from the 1980s onward. Both Japanese and foreign-based literature was aimed at unravelling land use policies and Japan's

³⁹ See Section 2.2 on Transport Geography for literature which is specific to railways and transport.

patch-work land use pattern, which was deemed quite distinct from that of western urban experience (Hasegawa, 2003; Shapira et al., 2002; Himiyama and Jitsu, 1998). In particular, academics sought to consider the effectiveness of Japanese urban planning in a way similar to the phenomenon of the Japanese management system. It was also during this period that scholars attempted to explain two separate definitions of 'urban areas' in statistical measure (Takahashi and Kanno, 1988; Karan, 1997). One was based on Japan's traditional laws of city (市) which had very loose stipulations including a minimum population of 50,000 persons. The other definition was a more modern concept called 'Densely Inhabited Districts' (DID), which was seen as the new and more manageable method of organising Japan's urban statistics. From these discussions it was clear that Japan's cities were densely settled conurbations. Scholars began to look at the cities more closely, particularly with reference to the social, economic and cultural functions unique to Japan.

From the late 1990s onward, Japanese academics and Japanese specialists abroad became concerned with the social inquiry of Japanese cities. Of particular note was the work of social geographer Toshio Mizuuchi (2004; 2003; 1991) who wrote of social problems and ills in Japanese cities, commonly those found in Osaka. Although the area surrounding the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines is not a part of Osaka, as was Mizuuchi's (2003) focus, his work describes how industrialisation produced spaces of difference in Japanese cities and this might in turn, have had an impact on the Hanshin Region. The spaces he described were both socio-economic and ethnic in nature and point to some of the historical processes, such as industrialisation and economic growth, and the way in which they might have influenced distinctions in Japanese cities.

Others such as Yamaguchi (2005) have written about the social segregation of Okinawans in the Hanshin Region; again, pointing to the presence of social diversity⁴⁰.

However, recent era writings are not restricted to the inquiry of social problems in Japanese cities. They also examine the very unique and interesting impact of Japanese cultural industries, such as animation, on the city (Morikawa, 2005). This literature is of interest as it demonstrates how symbols of creative industries (animation, manga) appear in the city – a result of ‘character’-driven marketing (Morikawa, 2005; Kinsella, 1998). The notion of ‘sub-cultures’ and their manifestation in Japanese cities (Kinsella, 1998; Kawasaki, 1994) becomes an interesting point and it supports Sugimoto’s (2003) postulation that some of the most obvious differences [or distinctions] in Japanese society stem from non-racial based ‘sub-cultures’. In the same manner, perhaps, symbols of two private railway groups can appear in the city. These manifestations may be a result of what Golany (1998) describes as the foremost characteristic of the Japanese city:

“The invisible city which lies hidden within the Japanese who carry it with them on a daily basis. The invisible city is composed of historical layers which were deposited and evolved to a solidly unified continuum; they are the vibrant force behind the visible city. In short, the invisible part of the Japanese city consists of the culture, individual and collective dignity, social values, norms of behaviour, individual attitude toward governments, gender interactions, the integrative community, family and individual norms as well as the complexity of viewing art as representative of culture and nature.”

⁴⁰ Spatial differences such as these will be discussed more specifically in Section 2.1.5.
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Literature on the city in Japan thus examines its land-use history and statistical background, as well as the ‘historical layers’, ‘sub-cultures’ and their manifestation in place. Contemporary writings also engage directly with the inner workings of the city, most commonly from a social viewpoint, and do not hesitate to highlight the uniqueness of the Japanese experience. Regardless of this unique context, literature demonstrates that spaces of difference exist in Japanese cities. How ‘difference’ and social class are addressed in this literature, and to what extent the private railway groups may have responded to these social distinctions, are matters highly relevant to this thesis and will therefore be discussed more thoroughly in the next Section.

2.1.5 Defining spatial differences in the Japanese city

Japan’s social structure has been the target of much debate by Japanese and foreign sociologists and geographers alike. From their debates two camps have evolved: one that views Japan’s society as homogenous and static; and another that views Japan’s society as complex and highly differentiated⁴¹. As a result, literature confuses rather than clarifies the reality of spatial differentiation in Japan’s cities. This can be illustrated through analysis of some of the key works.

Early sociological analyses treated the Japanese city as a fixed entity within the larger national society (Yazaki, 1963), but they did not account for Japan’s urban dynamics

⁴¹ Literature employs the term ‘different’ rather than ‘distinct’ and therefore ‘different’ will be used when citing literature resources, despite the use of ‘distinct’ to describe the characteristics surrounding the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines in this thesis.

which resulted from the rural to urban migration and economic transformation within a relatively short timeframe. More recently, Ishida (1993) argued that the rapid transformation of the labour force into both white and blue-collar employment significantly altered the class structure in Japan by creating inequalities in income and living style. Although different arguments are employed, the history of Japanese cities illustrates differences in wealth, and income; and social prestige long-existed between different quarters of the city (Howell, 2005; Fielding, 2004; Sorensen, 2002, Kurosawa, 1986, Seidensticker, 1983). Yet, recent urban planning and social geography literature suggests that Japan's society is remarkably homogenous; cities do not contain large proportions of disadvantaged individuals as found in American and European cities (Shapira et al, 2002; Fujita and Child Hill, 1997). These arguments may be considered in the case of the Hanshin Region.

Certain academics have suggested that Japanese cities are not sharply defined by either social status, or ethnicity of residents (Allinson, 1984; Hirai, 1998). In the words of Ichikawa (1982: 5), "historically[,] there have rarely been problems of an ethnic nature [in Japan] such as those found in North America". As evidenced in Section 2.1.3, it is true that Japanese cities, including those of the Hanshin Region, may not have the same degree or nature of ethnic spatial differentiation⁴² as found in North American and European cities. However, as suggested by the vignettes in Chapter 1, the Hanshin Region does indeed have dissimilarities manifested in certain components of place. The work of Mizuuchi (2004; 2003| 1991), and Yamaguchi (2005), further illustrates social segregation in the region based on ethnicity. Distinctions in the Hanshin Region *do* exist, although they may not be equally multi-cultural/multi-ethnic in nature, or

⁴² The specific nature of Japan's ethnic differentiation will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

identical to experiences of spatial conflict elsewhere.

Social ills and struggles have and do exist in Japan; one of the earliest manifestations of such differences can be seen in the history of the castle towns of the Tokugawa period (1600-1868). Feudal hierarchy directly influenced urban populations and people were governed by different laws and administrative systems, depending on their 'place' in society (Sorensen, 2002). Differences between samurai, merchants, artisans, landowners, farmers, tenants, and outcasts were also manifested in the settlement pattern of the city with the creation of communities or 'zones'. The social nature of these zones was identifiable by community name; central areas (nearest to castle) were inhabited by the most elite while the lower classes resided on the periphery Yazaki, 1968).

The modernisation of Japan during the Meiji Period (1868-1912) did not entirely dismantle this feudal system; however, new urban processes influenced new types of differences and these can be found in the local history of the Hanshin Region. According to Gordon (2003: 139), "diversity and tension mark[ed] the economic and social history of the 1910s and 1920s", and the urban experience of the Hanshin Region was parallel to the national trend. As will be discussed further in Chapter 4, the processes of industrialisation and economic growth occurred rapidly in the area (Fujimori, 1980) – stimulating social division between factory labourers and those of the new middle-class (Walthall, 2006; Gordon, 2003).

Social rifts also existed, and continue to exist, for Koreans, Ainu (Indigenous Japanese)

and the Burakumin (people who stem from families engaged in employments considered to be un-clean such as tanneries or abattoirs) (Kaplan et al. 2004; Wiltshire, 2004; Kim, 2003; Hane 1982; De Vos and Lee, 1981). This conflict has resulted in distinct segregated residential districts, particularly in the areas of Osaka and Kyoto in the Hanshin Region (Yamaguchi, 2005; Gordon, 2003; Hane, 1982).

Counter to this, using income as an indicator, Fujita and Child Hill (1997) have suggested that the case of Osaka is demonstrative of social togetherness and equality. However, if factors other than income, such as cultural heritage or lifestyles, including consumption patterns and the urban atmosphere are observed, distinctions in place might become visible⁴³. Determining their distinct nature requires more than statistical calculation of income: it should consider vehicles through which social status may be conveyed, such as individual choice, heritage, consumption and lifestyle. Some of the literature bases the 'equal middle-class' argument on the fact that "90 per cent of Japanese think they belong to middle-strata" (Ishida, 1993: 262). However, if the majority of the population did belong to a middle-class, it is possible for stratification (sub-classes) to occur within this grouping⁴⁴. Further to this, early conversations with acquaintances of the Hanshin Region resulted in their distinctly identifying living areas based on the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines, each with its own connotation. This suggests that not all view themselves as being of the same group⁴⁵.

⁴³ As earlier indicated, using income as a measure does not allow for distinctions in sub-culture to be explained.

⁴⁴ This stratification does not automatically equate to social conflict as experienced elsewhere. Stratification may not be limited to economic criteria as suggested by Sugimoto (2003).

⁴⁵ During these conversations, individuals clearly acknowledged that the areas surrounding the two lines were dissimilar, yet, they could not readily explain why they were of this opinion.

Perhaps the issue arises not from whether or not social distinctions exist, as argued by the two main camps, but from the way in which these distinctions are *defined* in literature-and that leaves the greatest amount of room for debate. “Japan is a class stratified society” (Child Hill, 2004: 87); a product of its own context and at times different in its manifestation to Western examples. Spatial differences in the Japanese city have occurred from Tokugawa times (1600-1868) and continue to exist today. Of particular interest to this research is to understand in what way, if at all, the two private railway groups may have responded to these differences, or caused them to be reinforced. This will be a point of investigation in later chapters.

2.2 Transport Geography

Contemporary transport geography is “concerned with the explanation, from a spatial perspective, of the socio-economic, industrial and settlement frameworks within which transport networks develop and transport systems operate (Hoyle and Knowles, 1998:2). As such, a review of transport geography literature has a place in this research. “Geographers in particular have recognised that urban transportation is far more than freeways, buses, and subways; it plays a (perhaps *the*) leading role in shaping urban life” (Hanson, 1995: vii). A graduated analysis must first take place if one is to consider whether or not transport geography literature to date helps explain the influence of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups on the urban development of the Hanshin Region. This involves discussing the transition of key transport geography themes, the impact of railways on the city, and finally, the very relevant literature on Japanese railways and specifically that which describes Hankyu and Hanshin Groups.

2.2.1 Key transport geography themes

Early Western transport geography writings focused on what was known as the ‘principles of transport’ and described various modes of transport and transport systems of the world (Stewart-David, 1980; Bamford and Robinson, 1978; Schumer, 1974). Japan’s rail system did not go unnoticed, but the national rail network was mentioned as being “much inferior to those in most European countries” (Bamford and Robinson, 1978: 187). Gradually, transport geographers became engrossed in the ‘movement [of people] in cities’ (Daniels and Warnes, 1980; Appleton, 1962; Haggett and Chorley, 1969) and the resulting display of commuter patterns. There has also been much discussion of the financial problems of public transport (Lave, 1985:1) and questions of the pros and cons of public versus private transport (Terada, 2001; Shoji, 2001; Mizutani, 1993). These debates have further led to writings on commuter patterns and sustainability (Hart, 1994; Schwanen and Mokhtarian, 2004).

Most recently transport literature has focussed on maximising transport access in transit-oriented development. Evident in books such as Dittmar and Ohland’s *‘The New Transit Town’* (2004) or Vuchic’s *‘Transportation for Livable Cities’* (1999), the literature focuses on “the transit village, bring[ing] together ideas from the disciplines of urban design, transportation [geography] and market economics” (Bernick and Cervero, 1997: 5) as a tool for shaping future urban life. That is not to say that earlier components of access and mobility, spatial patterns and structure, and the economics of transport are no longer discussed; rather, they are reviewed as precursors for successful

planning.

Literature tends to treat railways in general as lone entities of service provision and, as a result, to describe strictly their physical and spatial impact on the city or the social effects on commuters. According to Dival and Schmucki (2003: 7), “urban transport is more and more treated as a technological system of traffic and mobility, and its evolution is commonly analysed in terms of the interactions of social actors.” As Saito (1997: 3) postulated, however, Hankyu and Hanshin are not “mere railway or transportation businesses...Today, they are more like urban developers or local service businesses, supporting the lives of people living along the railway line.” With this in mind, it is relevant to investigate whether they have had influence on the urban development of the Hanshin Region beyond a physical spatial impact and social effects on commuters.

It is therefore important to comment on Japanese transport geography trends. While Japanese transport geography has examined transport’s fundamental and practical applications (Aoki, 1988: 150), similar to trends elsewhere, “transport has remained in a specific territory, separated from the fundamental knowledges of urban geographers” (Aoki, 1988: 154). This segmentation can be seen in works such as that by Adachi (足立) (2005), which focuses on the rapid expansion of the bus network connecting Haneda Airport and its hinterland. By investigating this transport network as an independent function within the city its influence outside of increasing the number of bus operators in response to a rise in airport passengers, cannot be understood. According to Aoki (1988), case studies such as these, detailing functional approaches

for transport facilities and their evolution, have developed since the 1960s and are increasingly used for policy-making purposes.

Another trend in Japanese transport geography similar to Western studies of commuter patterns and choice has been the investigation of commuter perceptions and decision-making. Research recently carried out by Kyoto University (京都大学) (2004) for example, surveyed passengers of Hankyu and Hanshin railways to determine service-based perceptions of railway lines and trains specifically (See also 第9回大都市交通センサス, 2004⁴⁶). Also evident in Nojiri's (1992) work on urban commuter choices, this literature highlights the importance of understanding the perception of passengers/residents. At the same time, however, it reveals the need to acquire perceptions, not only on the services provided by transport companies, but also their overall goods, images, and services in relation to place.

With this in mind, it is important to consider literature that specifically examines the relationship between railways and urban development.

2.2.2 The influence of railways on urban development

There is no debate that transport has been an important factor in urban development and today, is a crucial tool in city planning. Certainly, of the various modes of transport, it has been acknowledged that settlement and economic activity have been spurred, enabled and disrupted to some degree by the construction, expansion and closure of railway lines and stations in many locations. Railway-based literature has in the past

⁴⁶ 9th Large City Transportation Census.

also considered the human element and the social impact of railways. Among non-Japanese scholars, Dyos (1957: 23) once claimed that “railways had more radical consequences on the anatomy of the large mid-Victorian towns [in England] than any other single factor.” But Dyos spoke not of railways as community builders, as this thesis seeks to investigate; rather, he framed railway building as a detrimental cost to society⁴⁷.

Other writings, such as those by McAlpine and Smyth (2003) express the view that railways have been but one important catalyst, often reinforcing prevailing conditions in the development of cities. Hankyu and Hanshin certainly developed their railways amidst existing conditions such as topography, economic and industrial growth and social change. It is necessary to consider this context, however, in conjunction with the unique and diverse management style of the two companies. In particular it is relevant to investigate their capacity to be influenced *as well as* influence conditions as a result of their diverse involvement in the urban development of the region.

Kellett (1969) regarded the impact of railways as a stimulus to the creation of market centres around stations, suggesting an impact stimulated only by the physical presence of the station, rather than business involvement by the railway company. In his ‘*Mercantile Model*’, Vance Jr. (1970) viewed North American railways as a mere technological improvement within an existing mercantile-based network that had been initiated by colonial penetration. His focus on wholesale and trade from a colonial

⁴⁷ Dyos’ writing, ‘*Some social costs of railway building*, 1957’, focused on the clearance of land in the city to make space for transport development and the negative impact this had on residents of these areas. He also pointed to the role played by the railway in increasing the gap between higher and lower income groups. Whereas higher income groups could afford to move to the periphery of the city, people of lower classes were left to the inner-city where land reclamation and development were rife.

viewpoint was in contrast to the domestic example of Japanese private railway companies and their urban development activities.

Rimmer (1977) examined the unique case of transport in South-East Asia. However, the case was based on neo-colonialism and a transport network in which all systems were independently owned and operated, not the complex businesses run by one entity as is the case with Hankyu and Hanshin. Further, Taafe, Morrill and Gould's (1963) study of the growth of modern transportation facilities in Ghana and Nigeria revealed broad regularities in spatial diffusion and motives. However, the penetration of transport into these areas was once more by a colonial entity, which was not the experience of Japan, and the motivations⁴⁸ fuelling the expansion were unique to the areas under study and not transferable to Japan. Valuable as these and other European-based writings may be, they do not seem to tackle the essence of the case of the Hanshin Region, as they stem from land-use examinations and view railways strictly as service providers from Euro-centric perspectives (See also Montes, 1995; Pucher, 2004).

Literature on the early American railway experience focused on the increase in intraregional trade and economic prospects (Goldfield and Brownell, 1990). Later, technological advancements saw the introduction of the electric streetcar, which was recognised to have spurred "swift residential development [on the] urban fringes, which expanded the emerging metropolis into a decidedly star-shaped spatial entity" (Muller,

⁴⁸ "Three principle motives for building [railway] lines of penetration [were cited]: 1) the desire to connect an administrative centre on the seacoast with an interior area for political and military control, 2) the desire to reach areas of mineral exploitation, 3) the desire to reach areas of potential agriculture export production" (Taafe, Morrill and Gould, 1963:506).

1995: 34). This concept of settlement radiating along the lines of transportation from the CBD and moving outwards to the suburbs is perhaps one of the strongest references to the spatial impact of railways during urbanisation. In this sense, the establishment of railway lines 'enabled' the expansion of the city, resulting in a direct spatial interaction.

This concept can be seen in the Western writings of Hoyt (1939), Harris and Ullman (1945) and numerous modern transport geographers who have described the history of the American city and, within it, the role of transportation (See also Hartshorn, 1973; Hartshorn and Muller, 1992). Davison (1969) and Cannon (1966) similarly wrote of the expansion of railways and trams in Sydney and Melbourne. Not only did these modes of transport extend outward from the city, to create suburbs in the latter half of the 19th Century, but real estate companies advertised and sold properties in the newly accessible areas.

Although this very important literature demonstrates the direct relationship between the establishment of railway lines and physical settlement patterns, it was not intended to specifically define the character or ambience in the areas surrounding the lines; nor does it draw a connection between those settlement patterns and the potential presence of corporate brands representative of railway companies. This is likely because private railway companies in the United States, and Australia, even at their height⁴⁹, were not

⁴⁹ One of the best, and most compatible examples to this study is that of the Van Sweringen brothers who began as land speculators responsible for developing the prestigious district known as 'Shaker Heights' in Ohio. In order to provide a convenient transport link between the high-end residential development and downtown, the brothers planned and built an electric railway service. In the terminus 'tower' building the brothers leased space to tenants in order to create a department store facility. This example clearly differs from that of Hankyu and Hanshin as the land came before the rail and the Van Sweringens did not create a department store managed by the railway

complex diversified businesses through which a corporate brand was consistently marketed and consumed by residents surrounding the lines.

Nevertheless, the literature does suggest that “transportation does not just serve growth, it creates it. Indeed, the land speculators and the executives of [Western] transportation firms were often the same people” (Yago, 1984: 44). But Japanese private railway companies are far more than railway builders and speculators of land. They are a complex and diverse network of businesses; they would not only be in possession of land surrounding the railway lines but they would develop it through their own building companies and create a rental property from which they would receive consistent income, or sell the property for immediate profit (Cervero, 1998; Ogawa, 1998; Saito, 1997).

The non-Japanese private railway experience involved the sale of real estate, rather than the development of it. Railway companies, such as Huntington’s Pacific Electric Railway, did not provide services or businesses other than railways/real estate such as theatres, amusement parks, sports teams, etc (Logan and Molotch, 2002; Clark, 1983). The ‘big business’ (Chandler, 1977: 187) of railroads in this literature focuses on the way in which railroad barons practised ‘managerial capitalism’: an “interplay between top managers, speculators, eastern capitalists and investment bankers” (Channon, 1996: 54). This is quite different from the Japanese case in which all of these facets are a part of the private railway company as a whole (Ogawa, 1998; Saito, 1997).

Berton (1971) has well documented the important role that the Canadian Pacific

company. The fortunes of the Van Sweringens fell during the Depression resulting in the collapse of their land and railway empire (Harwood, 2002; Wikipedia, 2007).

Railway (CPR) played in national unification during Confederation:

“From the government the company received a cash subsidy of twenty-five million dollars, to be paid out in stages as the railway advanced, and twenty-five million acres of prairie land, between the Red River and the Rockies, also to be awarded in stages as construction was completed. It expected-naively, as it developed- to build the railways with the subsidy, the proceeds of land sales, the operating profits, and a minimum of borrowing.” (Berton: 1971: 10)

Other authors have suggested that the building of the CPR also prevented the absorption of British North America by the United States (Phillips, 1968). Indeed, the experience of the CPR is an important case of privately-owned railways and may be argued by some to be quite comparable to the case of Hankyu and Hanshin. As it was involved in railways, land speculation and resort building, the CPR should be examined closely in order to determine its comparability with Hankyu and Hanshin.

The heavy involvement of the Canadian government in the business of the CPR clearly distinguishes it from the Japanese case. Hankyu and Hanshin borrowed money from Kitahama Bank (北浜銀行), not the government, to commence business (Ogawa, 1998). Further to that, they purchased land on which to build railways; it was not granted to them by government (Aoki et al, 2000). This absence of government involvement in Japan was due in large part to an inability to become involved as it was already involved in the cost of constructing a national railway network, and later war mobilisation⁵⁰

⁵⁰ The Sino-Japanese War occurred from 1894-1895 between “Japan and China over competing rights and interests in Japan” (Hunter, 1989: 23). Japan was victorious with its recently modernised military, resulting in a number of land concessions. Japan’s war mobilisation continued with the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), the annexation

(Aoki et al, 2000; Mizutani, 2000; Saito, 1997; Ike, 1955). A second point of difference is that of scale: the CPR joined Canada, as a nation, coast to coast, whereas Hankyu and Hanshin provided inter-urban services between the cities of Osaka, Kobe and Kyoto. The CPR also stimulated the incursion of debt at various levels of government:

“By Confederation, the provinces had a total population just over three million, but they had managed to spend about \$155 million on railways. Total provincial debt tripled in a decade. Towns anxious not to be bypassed had also put up funds far beyond their proper capacities; Canadian municipalities were owed \$10 million by the railways.”
(Phillips, 1968: 9)

Further to this, the case of CPR clearly illustrates how railway business can be unprofitable if complementary business diversification does not exist. While the CPR was causing governmental debt and losing funds themselves, Hankyu and Hanshin were able to sustain railway services through profits accrued in their various business ventures (Moriya, 2004).

“The initials-CPR- entered the national lexicon and soon they would be as familiar to most Canadians as their own. They would come to symbolize many things to many people- repression, monopoly, daring, exploitation, imagination, government subsidy, high finance, patriotism, paternalism, and even life itself.” (Berton, 1971: 6)

of Korea (1910), and declaration of war on Germany (1914) (Hunter, 1989). This would not be the end of Japan's war involvement, but these dates overlap with the time at which Hankyu and Hanshin Groups commenced operation.

This final passage is an important one because it expresses images people held of the CPR, ranging from negative to positive. As the vignettes portrayed, the goods, images, and services of Hankyu and Hanshin symbolise distinct connotations. But these images are not negative *per se*, nor do images such as repression come to mind. One final point associated with image may be the fact that although the CPR bought land in Banff, Alberta, and opened a resort there, the resort is no longer distinctly marketed as a part of the CPR brand⁵¹.

2.2.3 Contextualising literature on railways in Japan

Japanese railways have long been the subject of interest by academics. Most commonly there has been a focus on the technology of the bullet train (新幹線) and the development of the national railway network (Taniuchi, 1984; Tsujimura, 1982). Similar to the work of McAlpine and Smyth (2003), the literature recognises the building of the national network as one catalyst to continued urban growth in Japan; a reinforcement of growth rather than having direct spatial impact (Asano, 1998; Taniuchi, 1984). Without the consideration of the inter-urban networks of private railways that ultimately established local networks and suburban settlement during urban sprawl, the general literature on Japanese railways does not appear to account for the evolution of private railways in the Hanshin Region. It is therefore necessary to contemplate

⁵¹ In 1999 Canadian Pacific Hotels acquired Fairmont Hotels and Resorts and in turn, changed all property names to 'Fairmont' hotels. The property at Banff is currently known as The Fairmont Banff Springs, which does not have any clear connotation with the CPR 'brand'. Current brand marketing for CPR-owned properties does not symbolise the CPR; rather, marketing is of Fairmont Hotels and Resorts such as The Fairmont Banff Springs or Fairmont Le Chateau Frontenac (Fairmont Hotels and Resorts, 2007). As a result, there is for the average tourist or resident no obvious presence of the CPR, other than the physical existence of the rail line in the present day landscape. The images of Hankyu and Hanshin are very evident in the present day urban form of the Hanshin Region.

writings that deal specifically with Japanese private railways and furthermore, Hankyu and Hanshin in urban development.

2.2.4 Japanese private railways

Literature on Japanese private railway companies was once limited to Japanese publications by the corporations themselves or articles in newspapers announcing new development⁵². Over time a new form of Japanese-based literature on Japanese private railway companies developed that was external to the corporations: that which was written by admiring fans who took interest in various aspects of the private railway companies, resulting in books and articles on technological aspects of trains, history of the companies and devotion to sports clubs or amusement venues owned by the corporations⁵³.

Robert Cervero's (1998) work on the '*The Entrepreneurial Transit Metropolis: Tokyo, Japan*' is exceptional in thoroughly addressing the diversified business of Japanese private railways. Although Cervero attributes this unique entrepreneurial approach to Hankyu Railway Company, he in fact calls it 'Tokyo's model'. In so doing, Cervero overlooks the very relevant historical context of this practice which was started by Hanshin and Hankyu Groups in the Hanshin Region, and remains successful to this day. Further to this, Cervero discusses the many businesses of the Tokyo-based private railway company, Tokyu (東急), as a means of understanding how to subsidise transport

⁵² For some of the earliest examples particular to Hankyu and Hanshin, see 神戸又新日報大正8年2月7日=Kobe Daily News Report, 8th year of the Taisho Period (1919), February 7th, and 神戸又新日報大正8年4月16日=Kobe Daily News Report, 8th year of the Taisho Period (1919), April 16th

⁵³ Fan-based literature will be discussed in Section 2.2.5.

services.

In 1918, Den-en Toshi Company was established and its first order of businesses was the planning and development of a ‘garden city’ west of Tokyo. It was soon realised that providing transport to the residents who wanted to commute to central Tokyo was necessary. This resulted in the creation of a railway subsidiary (Meguro-Kamata Railway Co.) known today as the Tokyu Group (Tokyu Group, 2008; Cervero, 1998; Watanabe, 1980).

The case of Tokyu and other private railway groups throughout Japan illustrate that Hankyu and Hanshin Groups are not unique, *per se*, within a national setting. This research has chosen to focus on their stories, however, because they were the pioneers of the diversified business model for private railway companies. There is value in examining the very roots of this business style, particularly in the context of other historical processes. For Hankyu and Hanshin then, this context began at least 10 years before it unfolded elsewhere.

Cervero’s focus on transport planning and his attempts to resolve issues of transport use in the United States, (such as overcoming private automobile usage), results in a strictly economic analysis of the diversified business of Japanese private railway companies. The study of Tokyu alone does not foster discussion on competing private railways and the potentially differentiating impacts they may have on place during urban development. Questions remain with regard to the history of urban development in the Hanshin Region, and the way in which strategies of private railway companies might

have been shaped in response to other conditions. Without an understanding of these processes, the influence of the two corporations on *place* cannot be entirely explained.

Other literature explains well the business of Japanese private railway companies and their involvement in urban development.

“Imagine living near a private railway line in a large city, particularly a residential town developed by the railway company. Not only will you be using the railway but the buses, taxis operated by the railway company and also the shopping and recreational facilities owned by the railway affiliates” (Saito: 1997: 3).

Acknowledgement of the involvement of Japanese private railways in residential building is echoed by Kitamura (2004), Kato (1992), Aoki et al. (2000). This literature clearly demonstrates that the private railway companies of Japan are complex and powerful corporations (Saito, 1997). Building on these works, this research seeks to examine the way in which these businesses might have been in some way a reflection of local circumstances; potentially stimulating the creation of corporate brands. If brands were created, it is further relevant to investigate the consumption and persistence of these brands in place⁵⁴.

Although Japanese-based literature thoroughly describes the diversified business activities of Japanese private railways, there is an impediment in explaining the influence of private railway groups on place, particularly the inter-play between historical processes of urbanisation, the setting in which these took place, and those that

⁵⁴ See Section 2.3 on place-making and consumption

are internal to the corporations. To consider this further it is relevant to discuss literature which focuses specifically on Hankyu and Hanshin Groups.

2.2.5 Literature on the Histories of Hankyu and Hanshin Railway Corporations

The two corporations have traditionally published comprehensive company histories on milestone anniversaries such as 75 years or 80 years, and most recently 100 years, for Hanshin. Celebratory in-house publications such as '*100 Year History of Hanshin Electric Railway*' (阪神電気鉄道百年史, 2005) or Hankyu's '*75 Years of Progress*' (75年のあゆみ, 1982), thoroughly chart the history of the corporations and these include overviews of all businesses run by the corporations (Chapter 5), biographies of key managers, and long-term financial histories. More compact reports containing company slogans, financial highlights, and corporate data for a particular year are published on an annual basis. Originally published in Japanese only, Hankyu and Hanshin Corporations have recognised a demand for English publications and the Annual Reports are now published in both Japanese and English. Centred on statistics and business report formats, these hint at the commercial performance of both corporations but are not meant to explain their inner workings or their histories.

Hankyu and Hanshin have sought, and continue to seek to attract people to use their railway services, and invest in their residences in the areas surrounding their respective railway lines through advertisements combining images and text that are published in newspapers and hung as posters in the train cars. These advertisements deserve mention because their text is representative of Hankyu and Hanshin's corporate

strategies and the images may be symbolic of corporate brands.⁵⁵ Although the original advertisements are not available for review, company publications such as Hankyu's *'That day, then, and now'* (あの日、あのころ、そして今, 1979), as well as the independent *'Hanshin Region Modernism'* (阪神間モダニズム) (展実行委員会, 1997⁵⁶), display copied images of the original posters. Present day advertisements can be observed in the trains (as shown in Chapter 1) and company-published brochures.

Figure 2.3



Figure 2.3 Hankyu Railway line attractions brochure. *Source:* 阪神急行電鉄株式会社, (昭和時代) “春は阪急沿線から”=Hanshin Electric Express Railway Corporation, Showa period, Spring, from the Hankyu line

Figure 2.4



⁵⁵ See Figures 2.3, 2.4 and 2.5

⁵⁶ The Executive Exhibition Committee, 1997



Figure 2.4 Hankyu scenic attractions posters. *Source:* 阪急電鉄株式会社。(昭和 54 年) あの日、あのころ、そして今、阪急電鉄株式会社、大阪=Hankyu Railway Corporation. (1979) That day, then, and now, Hankyu Railway Corporation, Osaka.

Figure 2.5



Figure 2.5 Hanshin Corporate Motto. *Source:* 阪神電気鉄道株式会社。(2005) 企業プロフィール、阪神電気鉄道株式会社、大阪=Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation. 2005, Corporate Profile, Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation, Osaka.

Hanshin and Hankyu also have a fan-base from which literature stems. Books such as *'The Story of Hanshin Railway'* (阪神電鉄物語) (岡田, 2003⁵⁷) and Tsuganezawa's (1991) *'Takarazuka Strategy: Kobayashi Ichizo's cultural lifestyle-argument'* (宝塚戦略：小林一三生活文化論), avidly convey the success stories of Hankyu and Hanshin business ventures in true fan adoration. This fan base has recently extended internationally (Demery, 2002; Kinzley, 2000; Smith, 1994), as individuals and academics became fascinated with the success of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. In particular, fans have praised the ingeniousness of Ichizo Kobayashi (小林一三), creator of Hankyu, for his profit-creating schemes and diversified business instinct. Kobayashi (1961, 1962) himself was a prolific writer and his philosophies on life, poetry and Hankyu Railway can be found in autobiographies. Writings on Japan's private railways and specifically Hankyu and Hanshin have grown such that they can now be seen, in English, through websites such as the Japan Rail and Transport Review.⁵⁸ Fan-based literature tends to focus on one business aspect of Hankyu and Hanshin such as the railways (作間, 1993; 和久田, 1991⁵⁹) or private railway owned department stores (初田, 1993⁶⁰). Nevertheless, both the literature of the corporations and that which is fan-based, suggest that Japanese private railways have contributed to the urban development of the Hanshin Region in unique ways.

Literature specifically describing Hankyu and Hanshin Railway Corporations sheds further light on their business practices, although it does not explain to what degree, if at all, these may have been shaped in response to the local setting and urban processes. In particular, historical and current advertisements show goods, images and services of

⁵⁷ Okada, 2003

⁵⁸ www.jrtr.net

⁵⁹ Sakuma, 1993; Wakuda, 1991

⁶⁰ Hatsuda, 1993

the two companies and these could be fundamental in understanding the presence of two corporate brands. How two corporate brands might have evolved and the way in which they might have become distinct, however, remains unknown. Examination of these processes and their influence remain highly relevant to this thesis.

Thus far, this chapter has reviewed literature relevant to the themes of geography of the city and transport geography - particularly the influence of railways on urban development. It now considers a third theme; namely, that of place-making and consumption.

2.3 Place-making and Consumption

Place-making is not a recent concept, but there are two broad schools of thought about its definition. One school perceives place-making as a planning and design movement through which cities are designed with the needs of residents in mind, using measures such as accessibility, liveliness and public space (Bohl, 2002; Schneekloth and Gibley, 1995). Place-making can also be perceived as promotion of the city by land speculators and capitalists. Promotion of the city has become a tool of both private and public institutions. Through this urban entrepreneurialism 'places' are sold and made for economic benefit (Hubbard and Hall, 1998; Smyth, 1994). Although these two schools may not necessarily be disconnected, they require further explanation as it relates to this thesis.

2.3.1 Profitable place-making

Western-influenced literature suggests urban development, and more specifically the making of urban space, has been heavily fuelled by the promotion of urban places (Hall, 2001; Ward, 1994; Goodwin, 1993; Harvey, 1989c). Certain areas of North America, for example, were settled and developed through urban promotion and the sale of real estate (Holcomb, 1990). In one such example, Shaughnessy Heights, Vancouver, the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) attempted to use ‘place-making’ to promote the surrounding suburbs, which provided speculators with investment opportunities until the early 1980s (Duncan, 1999). (For other examples of the sale of land by railway companies see: Logan and Molotch, 2002; Duncan, 1999; Holcomb, 1990; Clark, 1983.⁶¹)

Hubbard and Hall (1998) describe a profit-driven place-making known as ‘urban entrepreneurialism’ that began in the 1970s. This involved the promotion of local economic development by local government in cooperation with local private business. Marketing the city created strategies of promoting “an area or the entire city for certain activities and in some cases to ‘sell’ parts of the city for living, consuming and productive activities” (Smyth, 1994: 2). Within this literature, it has been suggested that the practice of ‘selling places’ by local authorities and entrepreneurs is based on the

⁶¹ But literature such as this presents histories unique to those of the Hanshin Region because private railway companies in North America, although recognised as involved in land speculation, were not, or do not continue to be complex networks of diversified businesses (Chapter 5) as is the case in Japan. The Canadian Pacific Railway diversified its businesses significantly in early years to include ventures in: “abattoirs, animal husbandry, bus transportation, china and crockery, containers and pallets, forestry, foundries, immigration and colonization, insurance, irrigation, manufacturing, milling and foodstuff, mines and minerals, newsreels, oil, pulp and paper, radio broadcasts, stockyards, supply farms, trucking, waste management, even bottled spring water and the Canadian Pacific Airlines.” However, in 1985 the Canadian Pacific Railway began to focus again on its core business and not only are many of these businesses no longer active, but during operation, the CPR ownership was not always evident due to a lack of brand marketing (Canadian Pacific Railway, 2007).

attraction of tourists⁶² and investors to a city or town. Successfully attracting tourists and investors often determined a city or town's economic progressiveness (Hall, 2001; Kearns and Philo, 1993; Harvey, 1989b).

As Binnie et al (2006) and Rose (2000) have suggested, place-making was also a political strategy for managing the city; indeed, as noted by Robins and Wilkinson (1990) and Harvey (1989a,b), the marketing of the image of the city often meant that city politicians became competitively successful in securing national and international investment. This place-making literature is relevant for its recognition of economics and entrepreneurialism; however, these roles are performed by government or private enterprises dissimilar from the business structure of Japanese private railways. It is therefore pertinent to consider discourse on planning-oriented (for communities) place-making.

2.3.2 Community-based place-making

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) wrote of 'habitus'; defined as a set of acquired characteristics produced by social conditions. This notion suggests that the city is not a product of chance or fate, but rather a product of its surrounding social composition (Lafarge, 2000). Hall (2001: 14) has also suggested that the "needs, wants, taste and ability to consume will affect profoundly what is built for [consumers]". (1995).

⁶² Literature on place promotion for tourism has raised questions over authenticity, particularly when place is sold as a part of history (Waitt, 2000). The commodification of place has been viewed as an attempt to create a new image to "enhance the competitiveness of place" (Wu, 2000). These instances are quite unique from the development activities of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups which created urban areas from their beginnings, not for the purpose of tourism but for city living.

The notion that places are reflective of society and its needs (Bourdieu, 1992) raises an interesting question, especially as Hankyu and Hanshin began operations at a time when Japan was undergoing rapid industrial and economic growth as well as social change. Did the companies formulate strategies or brands reflective of the society that was emerging as a result of this growth and change? These sentiments echo the place-making movement which seeks to design or (re)design cities through community-based approaches to planning (Bohl, 2002; Schneekloth and Gibley,

Jane Jacobs (1961) compared the city to an ecosystem. She argued that in order to protect the future of the city it was necessary to have mixed-use development, bottom-up community planning, higher density and local economies. In *'The Geography of Nowhere'*, James Kunstler (1994) wrote of the need to stop the spread of 'sprawlsapes' motivated by automobile use. These writings strongly advocate a place-making that is both for the people and the future sustainability of the city and not a result of capitalistic venture or haphazard development. But how does the case of the Hanshin Region fit into these dialogues?

As a result of Japanese urban planning, Japanese cities have historically displayed mixed-use development (Shapira et al, 1994). High population density has also been present in Japanese cities for a long time due to topography and economic booms (Kurokawa, 1998). Further, despite a high ownership of automobiles, a large percentage of Japanese people continue to use trains for day to day commuting (Saito, 1997; see also Nojiri, 1992). Jacobs' and Kunstler's writings of the 'decaying' city, and the suggested resolutions, are based on North American examples and do not

necessarily account for different experiences elsewhere. The non-recognition of private railway companies as something more than transport service providers (one element in creating a more accessible city) does not allow for a proper discussion on the influence of private railway companies on place.

The American organisation known as “Project for Public Spaces” (PPS) is “a non-profit organization dedicated to creating and sustaining public places that build communities” (PPS, 2006). In the PPS newsletter *‘Making Places’*, both U.S. and international trends in urban development involving mixed-use and pedestrian planning are celebrated. Although ‘pedestrian friendly’ settings may dominate, these planning discussions also involve the topic of transit-oriented-development and the creation of places that are well served by environmentally friendly transport. This can be likened to the ‘new urbanism’ aimed at ‘smart growth’ of the city using transit-oriented-development (TOD) (New Urbanism, 2004). The American-based Urban Land Institute (ULI) also argues for transit villages with pedestrian-friendly and dynamic mixed-uses (ULI, 2006).

What is strikingly different between the above-mentioned initiatives and literature and, the Hanshin Region, is that contemporary place-making deals with the improved design of the city for a better future. It is the view of this thesis that the Hanshin Region represents a long-standing example of urban development in which processes locally-relevant to the Hanshin Region, and with which the private railway groups were deeply involved. In reality, the area surrounding the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines might represent an existing case of smart growth and TOD but it is not recognised

as such.

The literature of place-making for profit (Hall, 2001; Smyth, 2004; Ward, 1994; Goodwin, 1993) does not entirely explain the response of private railways, such as Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, to the growth and change occurring around them. This is likely due to the traditional perception of private railway companies as service providers, or at most land speculators, and not a complex network of diversified businesses as is the case in Japan. The notion that the city is a product, not only of its surrounding social composition (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992), but conditions in general, is an area of particular interest to the present thesis and will be considered in later chapters.

2.3.3 Consumption

Binnie et al (2006) have suggested that in the global age, the consumption of 'cosmopolitanism' has a direct spatial impact on the arrangements of people in the city – one which cultivates spaces of difference. This is driven by consumers who choose to buy a certain image of 'cosmopolitan lifestyle', viewed romantically for its diversity (Binnie et al, 2006). Gottdiener (2000) earlier indicated that consumption in the city creates visible evidence of divisiveness between social classes, whereas Miles and Miles (2004) propose that consuming cities encourages homogeneity. The concept that evidence of consumption can be seen in the city is not new (see Urry, 1995). However, this thesis seeks to make deeper inquiry, into not only the consumption of products but the goods, images, and services of two competing private railway groups and, how their

consumption may cause corporate brands to persist in place.

Certain scholars such as Harvey (1989a), Castells (1977) and Zukin (1989) believe that the city is a product of capitalism. This notion that the city is an area of commodified space (Parker, 2004, Hannigan, 2004, Gottdiener, 1997) built for consumption leaves no room for contemplating consumer choice or community identities associated with the purchase of products. The work of O'Guinn and Muniz, Jr. (2005: 255), for example, speaks of the creation of communities centred on brands. "Brand communities possess the hallmarks of traditional communities, but have their own unique market logics and expression". The idea that brand consumption builds communities is only a very recent development in the field of consumer research and it contributes several interesting points for this research that should be considered further here.

O'Guinn and Muniz, Jr. (2005) write that brand communities have three defining characteristics: 1) consciousness of kind, 2) evidence of rituals and, 3) a sense of obligation to the community and its members. If these elements exist, the brand is likely to be more visible in the city because it will be present in greater numbers. To have a consciousness of kind is to identify with a collective similarity with each other and the group, as well as a collective difference from other individuals and groups. Certain rituals and traditions renew and sustain the community and its culture. Although controversial, there is a 'soft' moral obligation amongst community members to uphold the image associated with the consumed brand. For example, owners of luxurious automobiles might feel a certain responsibility to ensure repair and service (O'Guinn and Muniz Jr., 2005).

According to Schroeder and Salzer-Morling (2006: 1) “consumers are seen to construct and perform identities and self-concepts, trying out new roles and creating their identity within, and in collaboration with, brand culture.” As Frank (2006) has commented, however, variables such as income affect the volume and nature of goods and services people consume. Nevertheless, his theory of rational consumer choice indicates that despite these constrictions, all consumers have ‘preferences’ and allocate their incomes to best obtain these, albeit if in limited ways. For example, the vignettes of Chapter 1 might suggest that passengers/residents of the Hankyu line view themselves collectively, as distinct from passengers/residents of the Hanshin line because they choose to consume Hankyu goods, images and services⁶³. It is possible that the business management of both Hankyu and Hanshin have sustained these patterns over the years through corporate brands and competition (i.e. rituals)⁶⁴. Further, passengers/residents of the two railway lines may or may not feel an obligation to consume the products and services of a specific railway company; whichever company provides their transport⁶⁵.

For the purpose of this research it is also relevant to consider that consumption includes both the act of purchase and the adoption of perceptions or images as they are advertised⁶⁶ (Holcomb, 2001; de Ruyter and Wetzels, 2000; Pagano and Bowman, 1995). It might be the case that the areas surrounding the two private railway lines are representative of two brands, if nothing more, because “brands are not *made* in a factory but *in people’s minds*; whereas a corporation has legal ownership of its brand,

⁶³ This will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

⁶⁴ This will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

⁶⁵ This will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

⁶⁶ De Ruyter and Wetzels (2000: 644) comment that consumers can establish “impressions and associations, beliefs and attitudes that are held in consumer memory with regard to [a] company.”

consumers possess an emotional ownership” (Balmer, 2006: 38). In examining this further, it is necessary to consider the consumption of private railway goods, images and services. Such an examination is necessary to determine whether or not two corporate brands were shaped, moreover, two brand communities.

If brand consumption, whether purchased or perceived, has taken place in the Hanshin Region, it may be that brand communities developed much earlier in the region than they did later on a global scale. This research therefore provides the opportunity to overcome what Schroeder and Salzer-Morling (2006: 1) have said is a lack of awareness of “cultural processes that affect [corporate] brands, including historical context, ethical concerns, and consumer response.”

Further, the concept of brand communities (O’Guinn and Muniz, Jr., 2005, Arnould and Price, 2000, Fournier, 1998) has not yet been applied to one specific urban area - the term ‘community’ represents individuals over distance, not congregated within a defined space. Current literature on brand communities deals with an activity through which individuals at specific locations can become a part of a global community simply by consuming the same product. However, if it can be determined that Hankyu and Hanshin constitute two distinct brands, and symbols of those brands exist in certain components of the areas surrounding their railway lines, then the concept of brand communities might help explain this unique case.

Not particular to brands but consumption in general, Bourdieu (1984) argued that social classes express and assert power through consumption. Not only is it believed that

power is asserted, but it is perceived by HauBermann (1997) and Harloe and Fainstein (1992) that consumption patterns create differences, which result in opposites and furthermore lead to disadvantages and exclusion. There may be no question that brands create symbolism as suggested by Holt (2005), but are brands, and the consumption thereof, necessarily a perceived activity of the affluent through which exclusion is promoted?

Miles and Miles (2004) view the consumption of brands strictly as an activity of the affluent or elite. According to Massey and Fischer (2003), affluence causes a 'geography of inequality' as the affluent are financially well-off, enjoy material interests, live in secure neighbourhoods where property values are high, and public services are strong. Similarly, Medeiros (2006: 4) argued that affluence is not just about income levels, but also possessions and assets; ultimately, the goal is to "establish a borderline between the rich and non-rich."

Although distinctions exist in the nature of the goods, images and services consumed by the four passengers in Chapter 1, these do not convey an impression of inequality, or 'have' versus 'have-not'. In the most basic sense, 'brands' are symbols that distinguish a product or service of one company from another (Kapferer, 1997). Brands can therefore be both oriented towards the everyday, marketed as a bargain product, or luxury in nature, meaning that their consumption is not strictly an act of the affluent (Brown, 2006; Kapferer, 2006; Schultz and Hatch, 2006). Further, as McCormack (2001) has noted, Japan's economic success is well known and its population overall has enjoyed a certain prosperity that can be seen in the conspicuous consumption of

goods and services. In this way, the consumption of brands; be they everyday, bargain, or luxury, could be a regular aspect of Japanese society.

Following a study of Apple's brand personality⁶⁷, symbolism, and consumer perceptions, Keller (2003) suggested that brands are symbolised by the 'essence' of the brand: "attributes and benefits that characterise the most important dimensions of the brand" (Keller, 2003: 151). He also theorised that the power of a brand depended on how customers perceived it: brand symbolism (what the brand symbolises to the consumer) will succeed if it is strong, favourable and unique. This literature suggests that obtaining the passengers/residents' perceptions of Hankyu and Hanshin's goods, images and services might form an important link between their promotion and the way in which they are consumed⁶⁸.

This research also presents the opportunity to investigate how competing Hankyu and Hanshin Groups have come to symbolise two very distinct sets of characteristics, indeed two different brands. Further, it facilitates the examination of *how* this brand symbolisation might have become evident in certain components of the Hanshin Region, possibly through consumption or otherwise. It is an aim of this thesis to explain how it has occurred.

2.3.4 Consumption in Japan

Japanese consumerism has long been the "envy and marvel of the world" (McCreery,

⁶⁷ "Characteristics associated with a brand are called 'brand personality'" (Kim et al., 2001: 195).

⁶⁸ The collection of passenger/resident perceptions will be discussed in Chapter 3 (Methodology).

2000: 248). According to Clammer (1997: 8), consumption in Japan is not just an economic behaviour. It combines “social, ritual, religious, historical and even deep psychological processes”, thereby comprising a ‘cultural system’. Particular to Japan’s cultural system of consumption is the fact that most consumers are highly informed and the act of consumption is often a search for identity (Ashkenazi and Clammer, 2000). If so, and Hankyu and Hanshin Groups symbolise brands that are marketed and sold through all of their businesses, then perhaps the consumption of goods, images, and services provides consumers with a certain ‘identity’. This can be better understood by investigating whether or not the promotion of Hankyu and Hanshin’s goods, images, and services mirror their consumption by passengers/residents.

Clammer (1997) and Nakamura (1993) write of the deep-rooted role of consumption in Japanese urbanism. But it is interesting to note that while they view consumption as creating a common culture, the sense of *community* stems from family, work and commitment to institutions such as schools: there is no suggestion that communities may develop on the basis of brand consumption, particularly consumption of private railway goods, images, and services. Although many sites of consumption in Japanese cities are recognised, such as shopping centres, amusement parks, cinemas etc., the investigation into how these businesses are being run by private railway companies such as Hankyu and Hanshin, is relatively limited. The seeming absence of this connection from literature on Japanese consumption is despite the spending on leisure and consumption-based priorities in Japanese life (田島, 2001⁶⁹; McCormack, 2001; Linhart, 1988).

⁶⁹ Tajima, 2001

Fukutake (1989) has written that Japan's mass society started to develop in the early 1900s; by the 1920s, the capitalist economy of the Meiji Period had facilitated a growth in employment, income and 'mass culture and entertainment'. Although this period also saw increasing social division between factory labourers and the new middle-class (Walthall, 2006; Gordon, 2003), Fukutake (1989: 71) has argued that "the emergence of a mass society corresponding to the monopoly phase of capitalism was inevitable as the (middle class) stratum matured, and a popular mass culture based on commercial entertainment began to have a wide influence."

According to Walthall (2006), through the construction of suburban housing development and the attracting of commuters, Japan's mass transportation played an important role in changing urban patterns of work, family, life, leisure and consumption. In conjunction with Ogawa's (1998) and Saito's (1997) explanation of private railway diversified business, literature hints that companies such as Hankyu and Hanshin were not only comprehensively involved in the urban development of the area but might also have been working within the context of Japan's modernisation. Further Walthall (2006) views Kobayashi Ichizo (小林一三) as responsible for fostering a 'consumer culture' by founding Hankyu and its many diversified businesses. If this is true, then it highlights the value in exploring the nature of the influence of two private railway groups on the urban development of the Hanshin Region.

2.4 Conclusion

In an attempt to consider what processes have been working over a long period of time,

particularly those involving Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, and to which they might have responded, this chapter has reviewed a diverse collection of literature in both English and Japanese around three themes: 1) geography of the city; 2) transport geography - particularly the influence of railways in urban development; and 3) place-making and consumption. Each of these was set in the context of Japan and, where appropriate, the more specific case study of the Hanshin Region and Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. While the literature was not intended to explain the influence of private railway groups on the urban development of the Hanshin Region, it has contributed information which can be considered in light of the research questions of this thesis.

Cities are built, and continue to evolve through a variety of processes which play out within the context of each location (Dear, 2002; Massey, 1996; Carter, 1995). Like many other countries, Japan experienced industrial and economic growth as well as social change, although the timing or nature of these processes might have varied due to setting (Walthall, 2006; Gordon, 2003; Sorensen, 2002). Literature also suggests that differences or 'distinctions' have existed, and continue to exist, in Japanese cities (Howell, 2005; Yamaguchi, 2005; Mizuuchi, 2004; 2003; 1991). This points to a number of historical processes, and the setting in which they took place. Their influence will be examined further in Chapter 4; yet understanding how Hankyu and Hanshin responded to those developments is fundamental to unfolding the distinctions or differences that are to be found in the urban space of the Hanshin Region.

There is no debate that transport has impacted the city in spatial and social ways. Of the various modes of transport, it has been acknowledged that settlement and economic

activity have been spurred, enabled and disrupted to some degree by the construction, expansion and closure of railway lines and stations in many locations (McAlpine and Smyth, 2003; Muller, 1995; Dyos, 1957; Hoyt, 1939). Review of literature specific to private railways in Japan has illustrated that such companies contributed to urban development due to their diversified business structures (Aoki et al, 2000; Cervero, 1998; Ogawa, 1998; Saito, 1997). Although literature sheds light on the spatial and social impact of railways in general, and the corporate histories of Hankyu and Hanshin, the inner workings of the corporations, particularly in the context of other local conditions, remain elusive. The question remains: what influence do private railway groups have in terms of the unfolding of distinctions in place?

The city is not only produced, it is also consumed (Parker, 2004; Hannigan, 2004; Hubbard and Hall, 1998; Gottdiener, 1997; Urry, 1995). This consumption can include both the act of purchase and the adoption of perceptions or images as they are advertised (Holcomb, 2001; de Ruyter and Wetzels, 2000; Pagano and Bowman, 1995). An investigation of various historical processes and setting might reveal that Hankyu and Hanshin have created corporate brands which have come to symbolise distinct characteristics over time. If so, there is room in which to investigate whether or not passengers/residents of the two railway lines consume these brands in a manner that matches their promotion. In doing so, they may have contributed to their self-perpetuation in the areas surrounding the two rail lines for more than 100 years.

Without confirmation of these important details, it is impossible to make sense of the urban development of the Hanshin Region and within that, the influence of the two

private railway companies. Questionable, therefore, is the extent to which literature can explain what processes have been working over a long period of time, particularly those involving Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, and to which they might have responded, to influence distinctions in the areas surrounding two railway lines of the Hanshin Region, and to their persistence to this day. It is in these fields that the present research seeks to contribute new understanding.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Processes such as industrial and economic growth, and social change have been working over a long period of time against the backdrop of the Hanshin Region's locational attributes. Similarly, the management structures, competition, branding of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, and consumption of their goods, images, and services have also been a part of this landscape for over 100 years. It was therefore necessary in the previous chapter to review a wide-ranging and diverse collection of literature in both English and Japanese. This was done in order to highlight the complexities of *place*, those diverse aspects of the urban experience through which the contemporary city must be viewed; for as Winchester (2005) has commented, the study of places by contemporary geographers involves a diversity of variables and thus requires a 'multiplicity' of methods and approaches.

The present study therefore examines the locational attributes of the Hanshin Region, as well as processes both exogenous and endogenous to the two corporations, that were likely to have had an impact on the two companies, and those that the companies themselves were able to directly manipulate to foster their place in the market and on Japanese society. It is an investigation that required data that is cultural, social, historical, and corporate in nature. According to Valentine (1997), the use of mixed methods and diverse sources can maximise the understanding of research questions; the combination of methods adds "rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth to any inquiry" (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 5).

Before the specific research methods are discussed, the main research questions are reviewed as follows:

Question 1

What are the main historical processes and locational attributes that have influenced distinctions in urban space along the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines over time?

Question 2

What influence do private railway groups have in terms of the unfolding of distinctions in place?

Question 3

Does the promotion of Hankyu and Hanshin's goods, images, and services mirror their consumption by passengers/residents?

All three research questions focus on processes which have been occurring over time.

According to Guelke (1982: 2) "there is a need for historical understanding in geography, because human activity on the land is a product of historical experience."

As such, historical documents and writings on the history of the Hanshin Region, including Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, have a role to play in the conduct of this research. The method of historiography⁷⁰ employed in this thesis has enabled the building of narratives on the urban development of the Hanshin Region and within that,

⁷⁰ See Section 3.3.1 for further explanation.

the history of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups.

Semi-structured interviews with the corporate elite, geographers, and independent businesses were aimed at collecting data that would, in addition to secondary sources, help explain how historical processes and locational attributes may have influenced distinctions in urban space along the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines over time. Further, by investigating the inner-workings of the two corporations and their involvement in urban development, interviews with the corporate elite were intended to reveal, in part, the influence of two private railway groups on those distinctions in place.

This influence could not be fully understood, however, without the surveying of passengers/residents in the areas surrounding the two railway lines. Obtaining their perceptions would be necessary for any attempt to examine whether or not there are similarities between the promotion and consumption of Hankyu and Hanshin's goods, images, and services. Those perceptions might make more evident whether or not business strategies of the private railway groups have been influenced by other local conditions, and the extent to which the two companies were influential.

Four analytical methods have been employed in research for this thesis. The first, historiography, has enabled not only the research and gathering of historical information but also its analysis (O'Connor, 2007). Historical narratives have been substantiated through cross-referencing and the chronological and thematic arrangement of material (O'Connor, 2007; Ogborn, 2003; McDowell, 2002). This method of analysis is particularly relevant in Chapters 4-6, where the history of the Hanshin Region, and, Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, is considered in response to the first two research

questions.

This study also employs two methods of analysis commonly used by human geographers, and thus the second and third analytical methods: latent content analysis and manifest content analysis. Latent content analysis involves investigation of the fundamental meaning of communications whereas manifest content analysis helps decipher tangible terms located within communication (Babbie, 2002). This can facilitate the demonstration of “patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols” (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952: 357). As will be discussed further in this Chapter, the utilisation of both of these methods of analysis has helped make sense of both interview and survey-based data, in response to research questions 2 and 3.

Fourthly, these results have been further supported by an interdisciplinary approach to the collection and analysis⁷¹ (Collier, 2001) of historical photographs, past and present company brochures and posters, and present day photographs of the Hanshin Region. This has allowed data to be observed as a whole and in comparison: it has illustrated discernable patterns and yielded supporting evidence of the Hanshin Region and within it, the influence of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups (Collier, 2001; Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001). The methods explained in this chapter, therefore, have been used in order to address this consideration in conjunction with the research questions.

Questions emerged in Chapter 2 concerning the urban development of the Hanshin

⁷¹ This approach draws on methods of visual collection and analysis from the ethnographic, geographic and anthropological disciplines. See Section 3.3.5 for further explanation.

Region and the influence of the two private railway companies within it. These issues will be taken up in due course; but first there is need to explain the challenges encountered in Japan by a researcher who is non-Japanese but Japanese-speaking. It is not the overall aim of this thesis to contribute to geographical methods. Nevertheless, the field location, and the seeming absence of direct involvement of the two railway groups in academic studies of their corporations⁷², renders a unique methodological environment. As such, this research also presents the opportunity to contribute to methodological discussion.

3.1 Unique features of the field location

The field location required consideration of language, culture and this writer's *position* as a Japanese speaking but non-Japanese researcher⁷³. As Valentine (1999: 57) notes: "throughout our everyday lives we constantly negotiate space, positioning ourselves physically, socially, morally, politically and metaphorically in relation to others". Having the status of an 'outsider'⁷⁴ did not frustrate the field research; instead, an eight

⁷² Literature on Hankyu and Hanshin Groups that was reviewed for this research did not show any reference to interviewing or direct comment from the corporations. During initial contact to Hankyu Group in August 2004, I explained my research to the main reception of the corporation and requested access for the purpose of interviewing. I was informed that Hankyu Group does not communicate with either Japanese media or Japanese academics and would certainly not consider cooperation with a foreign academic.

⁷³ Researchers "must recognise and take account of their own position, as well as that of research participants, and write this in to [the] research practice" (McDowell, 1992:409).

⁷⁴ An outsider can be deemed to be any non-Japanese person. Despite some changes in the social make-up of Japan over the years, the country on a whole remains relatively homogenous. Further to that, the country's immigration policies continue to foster a born-Japanese only citizenship process. "As a foreigner, you will always be 'soto' (outside)" (Brannen, 1997: 123). This sentiment is further confirmed by the continued use of the term 'alien' by the Japanese government when addressing all non-Japanese residents of Japan. "The Immigration-Control and Refugee-Recognition Act of Japan restricts the reasons considered acceptable for an alien's stay in Japan" (Nippon Steel Human Resources Development Co, Ltd., 1993: 193)

month immersion in the field enabled the negotiation of space, and the positioning of the researcher in relation to others in ways that proved useful to the research undertaking.

Nevertheless, the uniqueness of the field location revealed another dimension of ‘outsider’ status: that of a non-Japanese female who required access to the two male dominated⁷⁵ corporations of Hankyu and Hanshin for data collection. Japan’s reality is that despite the establishment of an equal employment law in 1986 “(t)here is no indication yet that the Japanese government intends to press companies to change the practices fundamentally in order to provide women equal access to promotion opportunities”⁷⁶ (Steinhoff and Tanaka, 1993: 42).

It was therefore necessary to adapt a strategy for gaining access to the corporations and, during interviews, to adjust language, behaviour and the practice of gratitude in a culturally conscious manner. Already part of this researcher’s everyday identity within Japan, these strategies helped in data collection, insight, and in balancing my position as the researcher with that of the researched.

3.1.1 Gatekeepers and control measures

⁷⁵ The reference to management as being male is not a display of sexism on my part. Rather, I felt it important to accentuate the present situation in Japan in order to contextualise my own experience. The United Nations Gender Empowerment Measure, has ranked Japan in a drastically deteriorating position “from 32nd place [out of 71 countries] in 2002 to 44th in 2003” (Global Enhancement of Women’s Executive Leadership, 2006). Certainly in the case of Hankyu and Hanshin, there were no women in executive positions.

⁷⁶ “The fact [is that] maternity and the duties of motherhood continue to be cited as reasons why women cannot be managerial track employees” (Brannen and Wilen, 1993:10).

Morrill et al. (1999: 51) suggest that “gaining access to field settings occupies venerable territory in discussions about qualitative methods.” Indeed “gaining access can be a tough proposition, even when the point of getting in is innocuous, well-intentioned, or attractive to key people in the organisation itself” (Thomas, 1993: 81). However, as Cochrane (1998) has indicated, research cannot be successfully performed without gaining access of some nature. This highlights the role played by gatekeepers, the different types of gatekeepers involved, and the means through which researchers can establish access to, and via, these gatekeepers.

Solving the matter of access was clearly the key to being able to conduct personal interviews in Japanese at senior levels of both Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. And it was the corporate elite, not just managers of lower rank, who would have to be interviewed, if significant data were to be gathered. Not only would a lower status company employee be non-privy to an infinite amount of information: he would be unauthorised to respond outside of his own domain. This is a basic organisation of corporate Japan and reflective of a society in which “the Japanese [therefore,] order their world with constant reference to hierarchy” (Benedict, 1954: 95).

Attempts to gain access to both Hankyu and Hanshin Groups for the purpose of this research in July 2004 rendered different responses. Whereas Hankyu Group was quick to decline formally the opportunity to participate⁷⁷, Hanshin Group seemed interested in participation. Hanshin was quick to mail company brochures but this did not signal accessibility to senior levels of management for the purpose of corporate interviewing as required by the research. Full access to Hanshin remained elusive and to Hankyu

⁷⁷ As indicated in footnote #73- the company was not receptive to communication.

unobtainable. Nevertheless, access to the corporations was to be an integral aspect of this research.

These difficulties were to be expected; as Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 63) have noted: “nowhere is gatekeeping more crucial than in formal organisations, because key personnel can legitimately grant or withhold permission for access.” I discovered that the only key to access in this particular situation was through a network of gatekeepers who were outside the academic research community. In this sense, I was required to travel a complex network of informal and formal⁷⁸ gatekeepers before access could be granted.

The most successful Japanese businesspersons are often connected to larger urban or prefectural business associations in which prestigious business people intermingle. Those who are prestigious may be inaccessible to the average person; however, those with whom they share respect in business may informally have their ear during casual social events. With the granting of the proper gift (お土産), followed by a formal request complete with high levels of apology and politeness, business acquaintances can gain access to the prestigious.

The outsider who has a strong background in Japanese language and culture may have the good fortune to meet prestigious and powerful colleagues over time; however, an

⁷⁸ Literature commonly does not distinguish between informal and formal gatekeepers. Generally, the term “gatekeeper” has been used to identify individuals who control access and wield some degree of power. With this in mind neither friends nor family are traditionally perceived as gatekeepers. However, there is a need to recognise the unique situation created when a researcher is an outsider. A friend or acquaintance with whom the researcher has an informal, relaxed relationship, becomes the gateway to the field and as such, an informal gatekeeper from which formal gatekeepers can be established. These are gatekeepers outside of the academic research community.

outsider will always be precisely that. An outsider could not make any headway into Japanese society without the assistance of an informal gatekeeper whose family or contacts could in turn translate into the provision of formal contacts (Seidman, 1998). Therefore, a Japanese-born ‘informal’ colleague located in Japan can be of great value to an outsider because there is greater chance of close friendship that overcomes traditional barriers; indeed, interviewing⁷⁹ the two corporations for this thesis was made possible first through informal gatekeepers and then progressively through formal gatekeepers (Figure 3.1).

The informal stage began when one of my former students who was assisting the research, invited me on behalf of her father to a Lions Club meeting in Osaka⁸⁰. The student’s father, a successful and hardworking businessman, was the president of this particular Lions branch, one of the most famous for its membership of the top business elite ranging from illustrious shop owners to CEOs of imported car dealerships. By attending this meeting, an introduction was gained to a very important businessperson of the region: one who leases shop space from Hankyu Group and was in fact acquainted with the Managing Director of Hankyu Corporation of that time. The businessperson’s interest in the topic later spurred conversation with the Managing Director of Hankyu Corporation. Intrigued by the idea of an outsider carrying out research on Hankyu Group, the Managing Director welcomed contact through my former student, who would, from that point forward, introduce herself as the daughter of

⁷⁹ See Section 3.3 for an explanation of the way in which a corporate interview approach was applied to semi-structured interviewing.

⁸⁰ The experiences with Hankyu Group are highlighted here. However, access to Hanshin Group occurred one year later and took a similar form and should be recognized as being slightly less strict while still requiring cultural protocol and a complex network of informal and formal gatekeepers. These cases show that the difficulties associated with access are not unique to individual corporations although the level of inaccessibility may be higher in some.

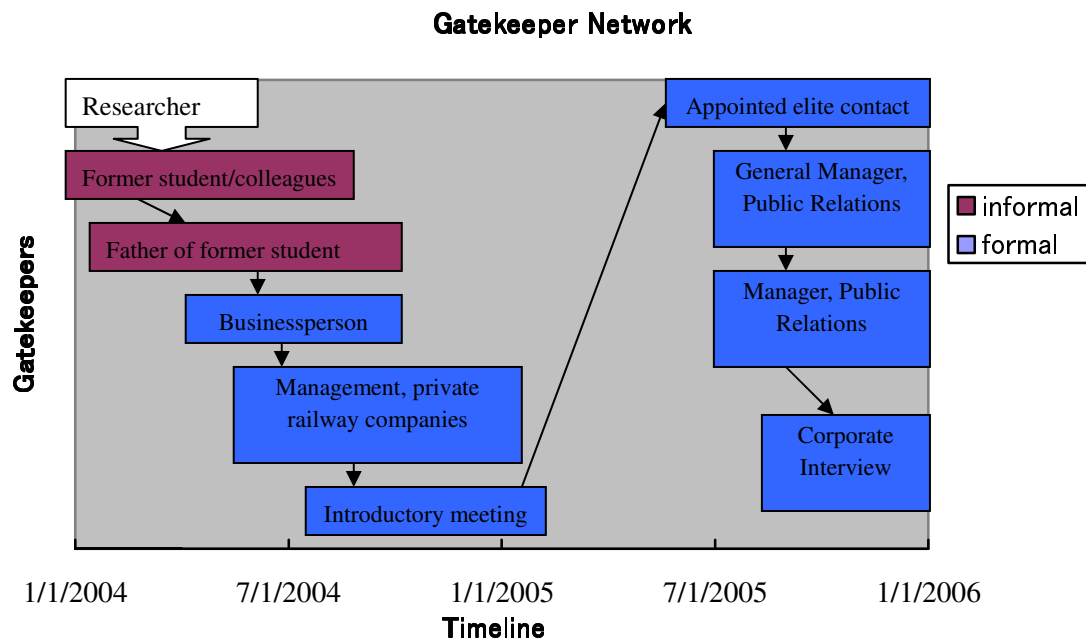
her successful businessman father⁸¹.

The informal meeting with the Managing Director of Hankyu took place in 2004. In preparation, I had purchased a box of well known cakes as a token gift⁸² (お土産) on behalf of the businessman who had initially mentioned my topic to the Managing Director of Hankyu Corporation. It was this meeting that provided the necessary introduction to the corporation for the purpose of a formal corporate interview in 2005. As a result it was also necessary to give a gift (お土産) to the businessman who had provided the initial contact, as well as a card of thanks hand-written in Japanese. Hand-written cards of thanks in Japanese were also sent to both the Managing Director of Hankyu Corporation and, to my former student's father who had greatly assisted by inviting me to the Lion's meeting.

⁸¹ In addition to benefiting from these acquaintances, one other element helped facilitate access to the corporations. From 1996-1997, the researcher was an exchange student of 関西大学 (Kwansei Gakuin University). My former student, her father and all of his business colleagues, including the Managing Director of Hankyu Corporation, are all KGU alumni. In many ways, the status of KGU alumnae provided another point of interest to the corporate elite, which added to their desire to assist in the research.

⁸² "Giving gifts is an important aspect of Japanese culture" (Brannen and Wilen, 1993: 90). "A Japanese business[person] would never dream of going to visit you or your company without bringing something in the way of a gift. The gift is not intended as a bribe to persuade, but as a sign of good-will between [their] company and [another], regardless of the outcome of [the] mutual venture" (Brannen and Wilen, 1993: 90).

Figure 3.1: Gatekeeper Network (for corporate interviewing)



Source: compiled by author 2006

Note: This chart is not intended to represent individuals as having hierarchical status over the researcher. Rather, individuals are intended to be presented on a linear and equal basis with vertical placement representing time. The reason for this placement is to avoid the typical mistake of automatically assuming that a researcher is of lower status than the elite participants of the research.

Through this network of informal and formal gatekeepers, and compliance with business protocol, barriers normally impenetrable were overcome. Further to overcoming these barriers, it was necessary to adhere to measures of control during the collection of data in order to ensure, as best as possible, consistency within the results. One key control for interviews is always the act of recording the interview for the purpose of transcription (Dunn, 2005). Recording and transcribing were particularly important for this research as the working language was Japanese, not English. As a result, all interviews performed for this research were recorded and transcribed in Japanese.

Control of the passenger/resident survey⁸³ process was more demanding, due to the larger sample size and the reality that the researcher was not present during the completion of all surveys. Nevertheless, all survey distribution was managed and monitored by the researcher and this prevented duplicate or incomplete submissions. Moreover, it increased the opportunity to ensure that ethical concerns⁸⁴ were fully met. It was also stipulated that only one survey per household be completed in order to provide the widest pool of participants possible. Finally, in order to secure these controls, the survey was accompanied by a cover page on which such controls were listed and to which participants were required to adhere.

3.2 Methodological Schedule and Participant Selection

Of the methods used for this research, the most crucial have been those carried out on-site in Japanese, for they enhance the research process and put it in context (Table 3.1). This is not to suggest that methods such as the review of English-based literature in Australia were not part of the methodological process or insignificant. Rather, the crux of this thesis rests on narratives of the urbanisation of the Hanshin Region and within that, the history of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, as well as the significant data generated through field-based methods. Two and a half chapters are devoted to narratives that have been constructed through the method of historiography (Chs.4-6) and two and a half chapters are based on primary data that has been generated through field-based methods (Chs.6-8).

⁸³ See Section 3.3 for an explanation of the surveys.

⁸⁴ Ensuring that no participant was under the age of 18, as required by the FBE HREAP.

Field immersion was broken into two segments for financial and logistical purposes. The first period occurred between July 2004 and November 2004. In many ways, it served as a ground-work phase, necessary to build trust and a relationship with Hankyu and Hanshin Groups; it also marked the beginning of collecting Japanese-based literature and networking with local Japanese geographers. The second phase of field research took place between July 2005 and November 2005. The time spent in Japan the previous year enabled a quicker engagement with fieldwork in 2005 because much of the groundwork had been put in place in 2004. This had included the need to learn new Japanese academic terms and language associated with the research.

The implementation of the methods listed in Table 3.1 involved the participation of many people. As previously mentioned, this research examines the physical setting of the Hanshin Region, and processes both internal and external to the two corporations. To investigate the inner workings of the companies, methods engaged participants who were senior managers (of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups), and passengers/residents of the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines. Additional research participants, such as independent businesses surrounding the railway lines and Japanese geographers, provided insight into the historical processes (such as industrial and economic growth, and social change), and the setting in which they took place during the urbanisation of the Hanshin Region. The data complemented that collected through historiography.

Table 3.1: Schedule of Research Methods

Quantitative	Purpose	Status
Secondary observation of 3 existing transport surveys	To provide statistics on transport usage and perception of services	Completed in 2004
Interviews and survey data	To show frequency of response as it relates to the goods, images, and services of Hankyu and Hanshin, and their consumption	Completed September-November 2005; March 2006
Qualitative	Purpose	Status
Semi-structured corporate interviews with management of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups	To understand historical and present day strategies, inner-workings of the business activities, competition, and self-perception	Introductory meetings held in September 2004 Formal interviews completed in October 2005 and March 2006
Semi-structured interviews with local geographers and independent businesses	To obtain the perspectives of local geographers and independent businesses on the urbanisation of the Hanshin Region, locational attributes, and the influence of private railway groups	Introductory meetings with geographers held in July 2004 Formal interviews completed in September-November 2005
Survey of residents/passengers surrounding the rail lines	To determine choices, perceptions and consumption	Completed August-November 2005
Acquisition and translation of Japanese-based literature and historical documents	To understand the urbanisation of the Hanshin Region and within that, the involvement of Hankyu and Hanshin	Completed 2004-2007
Acquisition and translation of local maps both present-day and historical	To observe the urban development of the region including the growth of the railway lines and existence of private railway businesses	Completed 2004-2007
Acquisition and translation of private railway publications including historical marketing materials	To understand the histories of the two companies and their goods, images, and services over time	Completed 2004-2007
Photographic documentation of the Hanshin Region and Hankyu and Hanshin Groups	To provide visual evidence of the locational attributes, exogenous processes, and the business activities of both private railway groups	Completed July-November 2004; July-November 2005; February-April 2006; December 2007-January 2008

Selection of participants was one aspect of the formal data collection process and was one over which control was possible, yet limited due to the need to gain access to the participants, by and large, through gatekeepers. Nevertheless, as illustrated in Table 3.2, and based on the parameters set by Singleton Jr. and Straits (1998: 458-see table note) a satisfactory participation rate for this research was met.

Table 3.2: Formal Data Collection Participants

Semi-structured Corporate Interviews	Semi-structured Interviews (Geographers)	Semi-structured Interviews (Businesses)	Surveys (Passengers/Residents)
3 members of Senior Management of Hankyu Group	4 well-known Japanese Geographers	5 Businesses surrounding the Hankyu line	82 passengers/residents of the Hankyu line*
2 members of Senior Management of Hanshin Group		5 Businesses surrounding the Hanshin line	55 passengers/residents of the Hanshin line*

***Note:** The intention of the research was to collect 100 passenger surveys from both lines. However, due to having limited access to participants on the Hanshin line (lack of acquaintances) the total surveys collected for Hanshin passengers totalled 55. This is not deemed to pose a problem for the consistency of the results or analysis of the research as “typically studies use a sample of about 50 to 100 respondents to build codes” (Singleton Jr. and Straits, 1999: 458).

As discussed in Section 3.1.2., attempts to gain access, and the resulting gatekeepers, ultimately determined the participants for the corporate interviewing process. Following a preliminary interview with the Managing Director of Hankyu Corporation in 2004, negotiation with his secretary resulted in the corporate interview, held in 2005. The process involved the secretary putting the researcher in direct contact with the Manager of the Public Relations Department of Hankyu Corporation: this would ensure contact with corporate elite and, furthermore, a department that would be well equipped to respond to all things associated with the company.

In a display of gratitude for this opportunity, the importance of interviewing corporate elite and in obtaining responses representative of the corporation as a whole was impressed upon the Manager. This brought about an unexpected, but welcome outcome; namely a formal interview with the General Manager of the Public Relations Department (most senior), the Manager of the Public Relations Department, (second in charge) and the Assistant to the General Manager of the Public Relations Department. Further, the Manager of the Public Relations Department distributed the interview questions to all senior managers of the corporation prior to the interview, thereby ensuring responses that were well-informed and thorough. In this ‘snowball’⁸⁵ fashion (Babbie, 2004), the participants of the Hankyu corporate interview were selected, the process for Hanshin Group being similar, although with fewer points of communication⁸⁶.

The businessperson who had earlier established initial contact with the Hankyu Group was also well acquainted with the Corporate Manager of the Vehicle Division of Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation. A less formal atmosphere at Hanshin resulted in direct contact with the Corporate Manager who then arranged an interview that would include himself, and the Manager of the Public Relations Office. This interview came at a time when the Manager of the Public Relations Office had just completed the compilation of the 100 year history of Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation, thereby enabling him to respond on behalf of all of the company divisions and management. Thus, the events involving gatekeepers had, by and large, affected the selection of

⁸⁵ Snowball sampling involves interviewees suggesting additional participants for interviews (Babbie, 2004). In the case of this research, introductions snowballed so that suitable participants were selected in the end.

⁸⁶ See Section 3.3.1 for an explanation on the method of data collection associated with the two corporations; and Section 3.4 for a description of data analysis.

participants for both the Hankyu and Hanshin corporate interviews.

Surrounding the two rail corridors in the Hanshin Region there are businesses that are run by Hankyu and Hanshin as well as those that are independently operated. It was deemed relevant to interview some of the latter in order to determine to their perspectives on the urbanisation of the Hanshin Region, locational attributes, and the influence of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups⁸⁷. Participant selection was dependent on the willingness of business owners to participate and interviews were collected in a few different areas on the Osaka-Kobe lines of both railways in order to provide variation in the sample. A number of business owners declined to participate due to suspicions about the research; others were very enthusiastic to complete the survey during quiet periods. Through this process, the selection of participants occurred naturally and without the influence of gatekeepers.

Another important aspect of this research was obtaining the perspectives of Japanese geographers, particularly as they relate to the history of urban development in the Hanshin Region and within that, the influence of private railway groups. Once again, it was necessary to select participants through a network of gatekeepers and this began during the first fieldwork phase (2004), at which time the researcher was enrolled as an ‘Entrusted Researcher’ in the Geography Department of Kwansei Gakuin University (関西大学). This affiliation was important not only for access to libraries and research materials but also as an introduction to Japanese geographers working at Kwansei

⁸⁷ As will be described in greater length in Section 3.3.2, semi-structured interviews were performed in a survey-style format in order to limit the amount of time required of participants, as the surveys occurred at their places of business. Please see Section 3.4 for information on the analysis of this data.

Gakuin University.

Collegial relationships were formed through the geographers in the Kansai Region, resulting in an exchange of expertise (both linguistic and geographic) and introduction to interview participants. Although only four geographers were formally interviewed, other colleagues also contributed by sharing literature, on-foot walking tours of areas, historical railway brochures and maps, and informal discussions⁸⁸.

Finally, to examine whether or not the promotion of Hankyu and Hanshin's goods, images, and services mirrors that of their consumption, the largest selection of research participants involved the passengers/residents of the areas surrounding the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines⁸⁹. It was initially intended that passengers be selected randomly at key rail stations; but Hankyu Group declined this or even a proposal to speak with them informally at the rail stations. Hanshin Group similarly declined but suggested surveying them outside of the station site. In addition to these complications, there was concern with regards to the time required to complete a survey and the apparent lack of time for Japanese commuters. As a result, a new approach for selecting participants was established that would provide greater control as well as ensure a higher response rate.

Many acquaintances had previously offered to participate in the research or assist in any way possible; therefore an opportunity occurred for distributing the surveys through acquaintances who, in turn, might distribute them to a wider audience. Surveys were

⁸⁸ See Section 3.3.2 for an explanation of data collection and Section 3.4 for data analysis associated with the interviewing of geographers.

⁸⁹ See Section 3.3.3 for an explanation of data collection and Section 3.4 for data analysis in relation to the surveying of passengers/residents.

distributed using in-person, email, internet community⁹⁰ and postal methods. In particular, former students of the Mount Allison Sophomore Semester in English (MASSIE) Program⁹¹ made direct contact in order to participate. All who assisted in this way were connected to the researcher's network of colleagues and acquaintances in Japan. Participant selection had snowballed on the basis of willingness.

Hankyu participants originated from 31 different Hankyu area stations, while Hanshin participants resided in 15 different locations surrounding the Hanshin line (Hankyu and Hanshin passenger/resident surveys, 2005). Further, participants were not only spread out over the full distance of the two lines between Osaka and Kobe, they were also predominantly unknown to each other. These survey participants can be considered representative of the general public of the Hanshin Region as their place of residence was not confined to one area. In this way, the likelihood of passengers/residents influencing each other's responses was reduced. Finally, although participants were in some way connected to the researcher's network of colleagues and acquaintances, the researcher was not directly acquainted with many and did not have the opportunity to speak to the respondents, thereby not influencing their responses.

3.3 Methods of data collection

As Whitehand (1992: 4) has commented, the unique characteristics of an urban landscape; its '*genius loci*', is the product not only of the present but also of the past.

He further argued (2001) that it is necessary to consider the 'users' or individuals,

⁹⁰ Use of 'MIXI'-a community style internet site was recommended by a former professor at KGU. A number of former students also have a community on MIXI under the name of the Program name of 'MASSIE'.

⁹¹ I was Coordinator of the MASSIE Program from 1998-2003.

‘decision-makers’, corporate and public activities and various economic, social and geographical contexts of place. This is in keeping with the present research which seeks to investigate the economic and industrial growth, social change, and locational attributes of the Hanshin Region, as well as the management structures, oligopolistic competition, corporate branding and consumption of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. The methods of data collection have therefore been designed to investigate these processes and setting from a historical perspective.

3.3.1 Historiography and Archival research

The important role played by historical research in geographic investigations has been well documented (Roche, 2005; Berg, 1989; Guelke, 1982). Historical data for this thesis was generated by archival documents, secondary sources, official publications, autobiographies, and ‘running records’; documents or historical publications kept by private organisations (Berg, 1989), in this case, Hankyu and Hanshin.

As McDowell (2002: 75) notes, the method of historiography requires “a variety of sources to be examined and compared with one another to achieve satisfactory assessment of any historical event.” This method is particularly salient for the present research, which investigates the urban development of the Hanshin Region and within it, the influence of two private railway groups. In response to the first research question, archival documents and secondary sources have been particularly useful in piecing together a narrative of the main historical processes and locational attributes (i.e. archival maps, old newspaper articles, local history books) of the Hanshin Region (Chapter 4).

The running records of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups have provided a substantial amount of detail through which the influence of two private railway groups can be considered; however, it was necessary to understand the context in which those sources might have been created. Material may have been polished⁹², or the corporations may have been selective in what information was or was not made public (McDowell, 2002). These sources have therefore been cross-referenced with archival and secondary sources (Table 3.3) to the greatest degree possible and the narratives found in Chapters 5 and 6 are the result. But this point also highlights the relevance of the corporate interviews performed for this research as they served to clarify histories and query matters that might not normally be published (See Section 3.3.2).

Table 3.3: Historiographic and Archival Materials

Document Type	Location	Data Generated/Key Data
Archival maps	Geography Department Collection: Kwansei Gakuin University; Nishinomiya City Library	Evidence of the urban development of the Hanshin Region; Housing maps showing property size; Topography of the Hanshin Region; Location of industries in the Hanshin Region
Archival newspaper articles	On-line newspaper archives: via Kwansei Gakuin University Library	Articles detailing the historical competition between Hankyu and Hanshin Groups
Archival railway publications	Asahiya Shoten	Articles detailing the historical competition between Hankyu and Hanshin Groups and JR
National land value change and analysis records	Kwansei Gakuin University	Land values; Diagram showing the relative housing value along railway lines

⁹² McDowell (2002) explained that private organizations or governments might ‘polish’ or ‘censor’ what information is ultimately made available to the public in order to prevent negative public image.

Document Type	Location	Data Generated/Key Data
Census mesh maps	Kwansei Gakuin University	Mesh maps displaying the population, employment and housing statistics of the Hanshin Region
Hankyu and Hanshin running records	Ikeda Bunko (Hankyu-owned and managed Museum); Hankyu and Hanshin Groups; Antique bookstore in Hankyu-owned Chayamachi	Company statistics, slogans, corporate plans, and overview of companies; The 100-year history of Hanshin Group, Celebratory publications on the history of both corporations
Secondary sources on the history of the Hanshin Region, and Hankyu and Hanshin Groups	Ikeda Bunko; Kwansei Gakuin University Library; Geography Department Collection; Kwansei Gakuin University, Nishinomiya City Library, Otani Museum	History of the Hanshin Region (social, economic, industrial, transport, cultural, urban); Histories of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups
Autobiographies	Ikeda Bunko	Kobayashi Ichizo's philosophies, vision and thinking

3.3.2 Semi-structured corporate interviewing

Corporate interviewing as a geographical method has attracted limited discussion over the years (Richards, 1996). An important exception has been Erica Schoenberger's (1991) work on 'The corporate interview as a research method in economic geography.' In it she observes: "The richness of detail and historical complexity[,] that can be derived from an interview-based approach allows one to reconstruct a coherent representation of how and why particular phenomena came to be" (Schoenberger, 1991: 188). Work by McDowell (1998) on methodological considerations during interviews with banking elite in London, as well as McDowell's (1992) comments on Schoenberger's work, and relevant studies in international business (Welch et al, 2005) and political science (Richards, 1996; Moyser and Wagstaffe, 1987), highlight the value of corporate interviewing.

As a method, corporate interviewing may be associated with studies such as McDowell's (1998), which involved gaining access to, and the interviewing of, a large sample of elite bankers. However, corporate interviewing as a method simply implies that an interview takes place at a corporate level (irrelevant of the sample size) with corporate elite who possess influence and power within the corporation. This status makes them eligible to respond on behalf of the corporation (Richards, 1996; Moyser and Wagstaffe, 1987). Corporate interviewing also involves the difficult process of gaining access to those elite, as was done for the present study, as much as the process of interviewing itself (Morrill et al, 1999; Cochrane, 1998).

Without the interviewing of corporate elite, it would not be possible to gain "insight into the mind-set of the actor/s, [in this case, the two corporations], that have played a role in shaping the [Hanshin Region]" (Richards, 1996: 200). Moyser and Wagstaffe (1987) note that "one of its [elite interviewing] great merits is that it lacks the inflexibility and narrowness of decisional data methods...thus, 'behavioural' evidence can, potentially, be created not only to cover such behaviour, but also to reveal information about underlying attitudes, interactions and intentions" (Moyser and Wagstaffe, 1987: 18).

To better understand the processes internal to Hankyu and Hanshin over which they had control, and the way in which they might have been shaped by external conditions, it was necessary to utilise a corporate interview format. It was also valuable in light of the absence of direct communication between scholars and the private railway groups that had existed to date (Moriya, 2004; Mizutani, 2000; Wakuda, 1997). Its format, however, needed further consideration. In particular, it was necessary to work within a

framework that provided some structure prior to and during the interview⁹³, yet one flexible enough that it allowed for cultural considerations and the need to query certain things further at the time of the interview. A semi-structured interview format that would allow for these considerations, both planned and impromptu, was therefore adopted.

According to Dunn (2005), semi-structured interviews are “organised around ordered [but] flexible questioning” (Dunn, 2005: 88). Further, a semi-structured format allows a researcher to focus on the most relevant areas related to the research questions (Dunn, 2005), providing the best opportunity for balance between structure and flexibility. The interview questions are representative of the ‘structured’ aspect of this type of interview format; however, they do not demonstrate the flexible dialogue that took place between the researcher and the two corporations in the interview process⁹⁴. They might appear broad and general in nature, but they are only intended to act as a starting point for the interview framework- it is what takes place in the ‘un-structured’ dialogue between the researcher and researched that often gets at the heart of the matter (Longhurst, 2003).

Although some scholars view semi-structured interviews as informal (Longhurst, 2003), the setting of corporate Japan, and the need to respect seniority and power relationships

⁹³ In order to obtain the most comprehensive responses possible, the interview questions were forwarded to Hankyu and Hanshin well in advance of the corporate interviews. This provided the opportunity for the corporation to advise whether or not the questions were permissible prior to the interview as well as collect responses from various managers within the corporation to those questions deemed permissible. No questions were deemed inappropriate and as a result, the structure of the interview provided the managerial elite with an idea of what would generally take place.

⁹⁴ See Section 3.4 for an explanation of interview data analysis, and in particular, how select excerpts are quoted. Often this evidence has been arrived at through questions outside of those that were ‘structured’ (Smith, 1996).

in language and behaviour, renders the atmosphere formal. Therefore, by combining the more formal atmosphere of a corporate interview with the balanced format of semi-structured interviewing, the ability to collect data was effectively made possible⁹⁵.

One further point regarding the use of a semi-structured corporate interview for this research must be mentioned: the method was adapted for the unique corporate setting of Japan, thereby allowing the thesis to make also a methodological contribution. As Yeung (1995: 330) has written, “when carefully administered, [a qualitative personal interview] may offer greater accuracy and validity because it allows a more comprehensive and detailed elucidation of the interplay among strategy, history and circumstance.” Based on my experience therefore, I carefully crafted the interviews to reflect: 1) access through a network of contacts; 2) proficiency in the language, not only for its terminology but also its honorific (敬語) emphases; 3) culturally conscious behaviour-which includes the required exchange of business cards, bowing according to seniority and ensuring the interviewees felt comfortable with the researcher and; 4) the cultural protocol of returning favours and/or showing professional gratitude.

The corporate interviews were centred on four key themes⁹⁶ that were inspired by the research questions, particularly the one which queries the influence of two private railway groups: 1) the historical involvement of the two corporations in the urban development of the Hanshin Region⁹⁷; 2) the meaning of their corporate slogans and

⁹⁵ See Appendix A for Japanese and English versions of the semi-structured corporate interview

⁹⁶ The themes for each method vary depending on the participants and the related research questions. For example, there was a need to focus on certain themes in the corporate interviews whereas other themes dominated the passenger/resident surveys.

⁹⁷ As will be seen in Chs.5 and 6, this included the development of residential, entertainment, sporting, and retail properties.

how this may relate to corporate brands; 3) perceived competition between Hankyu, Hanshin and Japan Railways; 4) miscellaneous questions providing background information on the companies and their diversified businesses. These themes provided a framework for studying the corporations' management structures, oligopolistic competition; and corporate branding – things that might have facilitated their ability to *influence*. Further, the interview questions associated with those themes referenced the long-standing history of the corporations within the context of the region, thereby opening the door for the corporate elite to discuss ways in which their strategies might have been influenced by processes and setting intrinsic to the Hanshin Region.

3.3.3 Semi-structured Interviewing of Japanese Geographers and Independent Businesses

Obtaining the perspectives of Japanese geographers on the urban development of the Hanshin Region and within that, the influence of private railway groups provided insight from those outside of the corporations. This insight was particularly relevant as the geographers interviewed for this research were themselves railway 'fans'. Their expertise on private railway groups of the Hanshin Region have resulted in publications as well as extensive literary and private railway memorabilia collections (See 松田, 2004; 2003⁹⁸; Miki, 2003). These perspectives, combined with data collected through an historiography, help confirm the locational attributes and historical processes of the Hanshin Region.

Once again, the semi-structured interview format provided the ability to obtain in-depth

⁹⁸ Matsuda, 2004; 2003

responses while maintaining a balance between structure and flexibility⁹⁹. Inquiry was centred on four key themes inspired by the research questions and concerning the locational attributes and historical processes of the region: 1) miscellaneous questions providing background information on the urban development of the Hanshin Region; 2) the perceived influence of the two corporations on the urban development of the Hanshin Region; 3) possible inter-play between the strategies of the two corporations, locational attributes, and historical processes during urban development and; 4) perceptions of the area surrounding the two railway lines. These themes primarily served the examination of key aspects of the region's urbanisation such as economic and industrial growth and social change, and the setting in which they took place.

Separate from the interviews of Japanese geographers, were the semi-structured interviews of independent businesses¹⁰⁰, which were also aimed at obtaining the perspectives of those outside of the corporations. Questions were asked in person, creating more of a discussion between the researcher and the participants. Further, some of the questions encouraged the participants to expand verbally more on issues and concerns associated with their business, as they related to the Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. The process was therefore more similar to that of a semi-structured interview than to a questionnaire survey. However, the brevity and design of the questions portrayed that of a questionnaire survey, creating a more inviting and less impeding approach to the business owners who might not have wished to be disturbed for great amounts of time during work hours.

⁹⁹ See Appendix B for an English version of the semi-structured interview of geographers.

¹⁰⁰ See Appendix C for an English version of the semi-structured interview of independent businesses.

The investigation of independent businesses was centred on four key themes which were inspired by the first two research questions: 1) the perceived influence of the two corporations in the urban development of the Hanshin Region; 2) whether or not businesses located near to the Hankyu or Hanshin line, respectively, due to the ‘image’ of that place and if so, what that image is; 3) the types of customers of these businesses and whether or not they match those targeted by Hankyu and Hanshin respectively; 4) perceptions of the area surrounding the two railway lines.

3.3.4 Passenger/resident Surveys

The third research question asks: Does the promotion of Hankyu and Hanshin’s goods, images, and services mirror their consumption by passengers/residents? In order to respond to this, it was essential to examine the experiences of passengers/residents and their consumption, both purchased and perceived, of the images, goods and services of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. If there is a match, consumption by the passengers/residents may have contributed to the self-perpetuation of these goods, images and services in the areas surrounding the two rail lines for more than 100 years.

Questionnaire surveying seemed a suitable method, as it “is a research method for gathering information about the characteristics, behaviours and/or attitudes of a population...” (McLafferty, 2003: 87). McGuirk and O’Neill (2005) also suggest that surveys can help establish patterns in responses and how those responses might illustrate the unique experience of the place being studied. Further to this, surveys can be user-friendly, relatively open-ended in questioning (allowing for individual thought) and require little time for completion. With this in mind, a well designed survey could

allow participants in a relatively short time to reflect, in an open-ended and uninfluenced manner, on their perceptions and experiences of the two private railway groups and the area surrounding their respective railway lines¹⁰¹.

Surveys, however, are not without limitations; for example, response rates may vary depending on the method of delivery. The survey process for this research was carried out in person, via email, internet communities and postal delivery. In person, participants could query the researcher directly, should they not clearly understand any of the questions. Also, as Bridge (1992) suggests, when performing the survey in person the response rate tends to be higher than that of postal methods. Conversely, the email-based survey enabled participants to complete the survey at a time convenient to them and the return process merely involved attaching the documents to a reply email. Although it may take longer for a participant to return the survey via email than when in person, email also presents an opportunity for the participant to ask the researcher questions via email, and receive an electronic response.

It was important to consider the structure of the questionnaire, if it was to avoid being seen as an invasion of privacy, especially with questions related to demographics. For this reason, a relatively non-intrusive format was used. Participants were not required to respond to overly personal inquiry or details such as their birth date, thereby retaining privacy for the respondents. Further, participants were asked to comment first on the area¹⁰² surrounding the specific railway line nearest to their home (be it Hankyu or Hanshin) and then comment on the area surrounding the other railway line. This

¹⁰¹ See Appendix D for English versions of the two surveys

¹⁰² In the survey, the term 'area' was used so that participants did not feel restricted in any way to comment on any particular characteristic of place.

pattern of comparison continued throughout the survey.

Survey questions were centred on three key themes which were inspired by all three of the research questions: 1) perceptions of the areas surrounding the Hankyu and Hanshin railways lines; 2) consumer preference towards the goods and services of the two private railway groups; 3) perceptions of the flagship Hankyu and Hanshin Department Stores; 4) miscellaneous information on mobility, residence and consumer practices. What might impress one person may not inspire another. Do passengers/residents perceive the areas surrounding the two railway lines as distinct - similar to the friends and colleagues of the researcher?¹⁰³

If these perceptions sustain the proposition that distinctions in place, indeed urban space, do exist, then it opens the door to consider their meaning. What do such patterns reflect? In terms of the first two research questions, what are the main historical processes and locational attributes that have influenced these distinctions? What influence do private railway groups have in terms of the unfolding of these distinctions? As will be seen in Section 3.4, coding can help make sense of such data by enabling data to be quantified, and visible patterns identified (Crang, 1997).

To consider the influence of the private railway groups further, it is necessary to explore the relationship between the consumption of Hankyu and Hanshin's goods, images, and services or, as will be discussed in Chapter 5, their 'brands'. Participants were asked to indicate three words that they felt best described the Hankyu and Hanshin

¹⁰³ As indicated in Chapter 1, Upon enquiry, friends and colleagues readily acknowledged these characteristics- describing the Hankyu area as 'fashionable' (おしゃれ) and 'wealthy' (お金持ち); whereas the area surrounding the Hanshin line was portrayed as 'noisy' (にぎやか) and of a place of 'commoners' (庶民).

Department Stores. According to Moore (1997) and Corrigan (2000), the ‘flagship’ store of a company is the ‘nerve’ of a brand. Correspondence and consistency, between perceptions of the areas surrounding the Hankyu and Hanshin lines and those describing the two department stores, might make more evident not only an attempt by both companies to operate within the context of local setting and urban processes, but it may also reveal business strategies that intentionally play to those conditions. To what extent were the slogans and attempted ‘branding’ by Hankyu and Hanshin responses to the setting, and economic and industrial growth in the Hanshin Region, and to the social change that it produced? This data alone cannot answer the research questions, it must be supported by historical narratives, corporate interview data, and visual evidence; nevertheless, it is an important piece in the puzzle of understanding the influence of two private railway groups.

3.3.5 Photographic and Image-based Documentation

Visual evidence is important because reality can often be captured in an image and this, in turn, can become an effective tool for argument (O’Reilly, 2005; McDowell, 2002). Photographs have a ‘documentary power’- a sort of ‘virtual witnessing of landscape’ (Schwartz, 1996: 35/36). Further, the combined use of text and images makes it possible to cross-examine data in an attempt to understand complex processes (Pink, 2001; Emmison, 2000). It is in this context that images, both historical and recent, contribute to this research.

Collier and Collier (1986: 162) wrote that “an elementary reality [of photographic documentation] is that total documentation is almost always impossible, and if such

saturated recording were attempted, we would become engulfed in an overload of complex details from which it might be impossible to reconstruct a contextual view.” The research questions in this thesis examine historical processes and locational attributes of the Hanshin Region, the influence of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, and the consumption of their goods, images and services by passengers/residents. Evidence of these processes, and the setting in which they took place, can be found in both historical and recent photographic documentation, thereby providing visual context for cross-examination.

Table 3.4 explains the types of photographs collected for the purpose of this research and the method involved in their collection:

Table 3.4: Collection process for photographic documentation

Image	Source	Method of collection
Historical and archival photographs of the Hanshin Region, particularly during urbanisation	Secondary sources, Hankyu and Hanshin running records ¹⁰⁴	Location and browsing of sources followed by scanning of relevant images 2004-2008
Historical and archival images of Hankyu and Hanshin businesses, advertisements, tickets and posters	Hankyu and Hanshin running records, secondary sources	Location and browsing of sources followed by scanning of relevant images 2004-2008
Present day photographs of certain locational attributes of the Hanshin Region	The researcher	Aerial, mountain-top and ground-level photography of key topographical features in the Region 2004-2008
Present day photographs of urban processes such as continued industrial areas	The researcher	On-foot exploration and photographing of historical locations mentioned in secondary sources and the corporate running records 2007-2008

¹⁰⁴ Documents or historical publications kept by private organisations (O'Connor, 2007; Roche, 2005; Berg, 1989).

Image	Source	Method of collection
Present day photographs of Hankyu and Hanshin advertisements and posters (inside of trains and general railway properties)	The researcher	<p>Passage from Kobe to Osaka was made on board a Hankyu train during which time posters throughout the carriage were photographed.</p> <p>Upon arrival in Osaka, commercial properties of both companies were photographed before a Hanshin train was boarded to Kobe and posters throughout were photographed.</p> <p>Photos of commercial areas at other urban centres such as Nishinomiya, Amagasaki, and Ashiya also took place. In these cases, the train was disembarked mid-passage and re-embarked en route for the main destination.</p> <p>Images representing identical aspects of both corporations were therefore taken on the same day on various occasions over the course of 4 years. 2004-2008</p>
Present day photographs of key Hankyu and Hanshin urban developments	The researcher	<p>If still present, photographs of the same Hankyu and Hanshin developments shown in archival photos (Chs. 5 and 6) were taken. As much as possible the composition of these mirrored the original image</p> <p>Certain images are of general Hankyu and Hanshin properties and were taken to complement narratives 2004-2008</p>
Present day maps of the Region showing Hankyu and Hanshin properties; Topographical maps; Maps showing the location of industries; Mesh maps displaying population, employment and housing statistics; Maps illustrating urban growth and the presence of the two railway lines	Zenrin Corporation, Hankyu and Hanshin running records, archival and secondary sources	<p>Location and browsing of sources followed by scanning of relevant images. Maps from Zenrin Corporation have been generated first by the researcher using computer software and then saved as an image 2004-2008</p>

The images presented in this thesis have been collected through the method of historiography as well as photographic documentation by the researcher. They facilitate an investigation into the locational attributes and historical processes of the Hanshin Region, and Hankyu and Hanshin Group's influence, and the consumption of private railway goods, images and services by passengers/residents. The analysis associated with these photographs and images is discussed in Section 3.4.3.

3.4 Data Analysis

Relph (1976: i) suggested that, "the analyses of behaviour or of particular problems are so frequently mechanical and abstract, simplifying the world into easily represented structures or models that they ignore much of the subtlety and significance of everyday experience." In collecting the perceptions of individuals as well as in-depth responses from Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, Japanese geographers, and independent businesspeople, the intention was not to simplify the complexities associated with the Hanshin Region; rather, it was to allow subtleties and unique characteristics to stand out, while deciphering the present day region and, within that, the influence of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups.

This type of analysis "concentrates upon the ways in which space, place and the environment participate in an unfolding dialogue of meaning" (Shurmer-Smith, 2003:3). In so doing, analysis can demonstrate "patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols" (Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952: 357). This research employs four methods of analysis related to the nature of data and its purpose in the research. As previously discussed, the method of historiography

involves not only the research and gathering of historical information but also the analysis of that evidence (O'Connor, 2007). Historical narratives are substantiated through cross-referencing and the chronological and thematic arrangement of material (O'Connor, 2007; Ogborn, 2003; McDowell, 2002).

It was earlier mentioned that the present study has also employed two methods of analysis commonly used by human geographers in its examination of primary data: latent content analysis and manifest content analysis. These methods of analysis are further complemented by an inter-disciplinary approach to visual analysis¹⁰⁵.

Latent content analysis involves the investigation of the fundamental meaning of communications whereas manifest content analysis helps decipher tangible terms located within communication (Babbie, 2002). The utilisation of both of these methods of analysis, when complemented by visual analysis and historiography, is likely to produce balanced and inter-connected results that allow for the collected data to speak for itself, as well as the complexities of place to be demonstrated (Pink, 2001; Berg, 1998).

3.4.1 Manifest content analysis

Dunn (2005) wrote that manifest content analysis enables a researcher to assess visible surface contents of research data such as participant surveys. Generally it refers to “those elements [within collected data] that are physically present and countable” (Berg, 1998: 225; also Fish et al, 2002). This involves assessment of documents for themes

¹⁰⁵ See Section 3.4.3.

(individual words or phrases) which can be sifted, sorted and tallied into results.

These results can then provide qualitative substance, or be processed into quantitative values, in order to determine dominant themes within the data and ultimately render evidence for the answers to research questions. “By reporting the frequency with which a given concept appears in text, researchers suggest the magnitude of this observation [which then] is more convincing for their arguments” (Berg, 1998: 226).

The means for sifting and counting data are known as coding. For example, “coding for computer analysis consists of assigning numbers or symbols to variable categories.....the categories are answers to questions; and the common practice, which simplifies data entry and analysis, is to use numerical codes...” (Singleton Jr. and Straits, 1999: 457). The use of computers for data analysis is increasingly common; however, in considering the analysis required for this research, a number of potential problems associated with the use of software were considered.

The use of software involves both time and financial commitment and it was necessary to weigh this while acknowledging the strengths and weaknesses of various programs (Crang, 1997). Further, while the use of software may speed the process of analysis, it might not be able to interpret the underlying meanings of certain data as intended by the participant. This is a significant point when considering the present research and the bilingual employment of Japanese and English. Therefore, software will not be used for the purpose of data analysis; rather, data will be manually coded based on the dominant themes found in the collected surveys.

With this in mind, a coding scheme “that does not require a separate code for every

respondent or case but that adequately reflects the full range of responses” (Singleton Jr. and Straits, 1999: 457) has been developed. These codes are not intended to reduce data to inflexible categories solely for the purpose of counting; instead, they act as “an aid in making sense of the material, providing the means of conceptually organising materials but not an explanatory framework in themselves” (Crang, 1997: 188). The explanation of the data remains the responsibility of the researcher, thereby allowing complex and interesting discourses to be woven from the presentation of coded data in a manner that is respectful of linguistic and cultural concerns.

A sample of the coding for manifest content analysis, using data from the passenger/resident surveys, can be seen in Table 3.5. The collected data have been separated into six codes based on the dominant themes evident in the participant responses – those most frequently mentioned. These categories are: 1) people; 2) businesses and facilities; 3) housing and lifestyle; 4) ambience; 5) locational attributes; and 6) general. Although these themes were not envisaged prior to data collection, they can be linked back to some of the processes discussed in the vignettes of Chapter 1. Further, they are categories under which the data found in Chapter 4, as well as that from Chapters 5 and 6, can be considered together.

By allowing the dominant themes of the collected data to act as codes, the results of the participants will remain intact without influence by the researcher. Certain words or phrases were used by more than one participant and therefore the coding will indicate the number of times all words/phrases appeared in participant responses. At all times, responses of passengers/residents of both railway lines will be shown in comparison.

Table 3.5: Sample coding.

Category	Hankyu passengers/residents		Japanese		Frequency of response		Hanshin passengers/residents		Japanese		Frequency of response	
	n=82						n=55					
People	wealthy		お金持ち		9		High-class, exclusive		高級		10	
Businesses & Facilities	Takarazuka Theatre		宝塚歌劇		4		many fashionable shops along line		おしゃれな店が沿線に多い		1	
	educational zone (many schools)		文教地区		3		Takarazuka Theatre		宝塚歌劇		1	
Housing & Lifestyle	residential district		住宅街		11		residential cities		住宅地街		2	
	good living environment		住環境がいい		4		High-class/exclusive residential		高級住宅地街		1	
Ambience	high-class feeling		高級感		22		elegant, refined		上品		8	
Locational	lots of green		緑が多い		10		mountains		山		5	
Attributes	mountainside		山側		5		High		高い		5	
General	gorgeous elegant clothes		華やかで上品な服		1		unchanging		変わらない		1	

Source: Based on field research by author, 2005

The codes permit participant responses to be directly compared and words, which provide very clear images, are not reduced to numbers. The display of words also enables cross-examination of the perceptions of passengers/residents, the locational attributes and historical urban processes of the Hanshin Region, as well as the inner workings of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups.

Of particular interest is to examine whether or not there are any similarities between the perceptions, the goods, images, and services of the two private railway groups, the physical setting of the region and characteristics stimulated by industrial and economic growth, and social change. If it is discovered in this research that Hankyu and Hanshin Groups developed two distinct corporate brands, and the characteristics of these were in response to other urban processes and the setting in which they took place, then similarities in perception might suggest that the two private railway groups have in some way contributed to distinctions, or at least their persistence in place.

The use of manifest content analysis, as that demonstrated above, provides the results a certain amount of reliability. By displaying words or phrases in a coded fashion, the measure of that data enables a researcher to demonstrate reliability and consistency (Babbie, 2004). The present thesis therefore displays frequency of responses (in terms, phrases, or the connotation associated with those terms and phrases) as further evidence of the distinctions found in the areas surrounding the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines. Further, if Hankyu and Hanshin have developed two distinct brands, the characteristics of which have similarity with the passenger/resident perceptions, this frequency will

also help shed light on the extent to which symbols of their diversified businesses might have contributed in some way to these distinctions.

3.4.2 Latent content analysis

Although latent content analysis might not appear separate from the process of manifest content analysis, it is unique in its particular applicability to interviews. As Dunn (2005: 100) notes, “it involves searching a document for themes.” The interviews performed during the undertaking of this research have generated a much more complex text from which themes must be established. In latent content analysis, it is necessary to read the collected data, in order to decipher significant themes directly from the text; but it is not necessary to code every section of that text (Dunn, 2005).

This form of analysis can also be seen in ‘institutional ethnography’ which examines the linkages between daily livelihoods, organisations, and local processes (DeVault and McCoy, 2001). Using interview transcripts to examine these linkages, the analysis employed in such investigations does not employ interpretive coding but rather ‘chunks’ of transcript that address certain themes or topics (DeVault and McCoy, 2001). The notation of these themes and ideas during the reading process is known as ‘open coding’ “and is based on getting as close to the material as possible, both to get a feel for it and to avoid missing anything” (Crang, 1997: 186).

Open coding for latent content analysis of interview transcripts is used in the present research; enabling the text to be cross-referenced against other data. For example, the results of manifest content analysis (i.e. perceptions of passengers/residents towards the

areas surrounding the two railway lines) can be cross-examined with the latent content analysis from the responses of the corporate interviews. This fluid type of approach enables connections between the individuals and the corporations to be deciphered. For that reason, the open coding will be focused on emergent themes embedded in the text from the interviews, rather than individual words or phrases.

The manner in which ‘chunks’ of text from these transcripts are analysed within the thesis is known as the ‘writing-IN’ of the research (Cameron, 2000); a matter of moving back and forth between the collected data and the main text of the thesis (DeVault and McCoy, 2001). It becomes a matter of establishing a balance between the insertion of data, summary of that data and its interpretation within the main body of text (Cameron, 2000). As Smith (1998) has written, it is the quoted excerpts of interviews that create ‘windows within the text’ therefore, excerpts of interview data will appear in text boxes, surrounded by summary and interpretive text (as is demonstrated by the text box that proceeds this paragraph).

“こちらの方に書いてはいるが、他とは一味違う、ちょっとした遊び心、文化の香りを感じさせる商品を生み出す力。個人的な意見かもしれないが、ちょっと普通の生活じゃなく、ちょっと潤いを与えるような安らぎ、コンテンツを提供する。象徴的なものが宝塚歌劇だと思う。ちょっと文化的というような、上品さとか、スマートな生活を体験していただけるような要素を提供していくということだと思う。”

“What is written there has a slightly different meaning than usual- it means to strongly produce products that have a feeling of culture, a little bit of unique fun. In my opinion, it is not the usual life-style; it is to supply contents that are reflective of elegance and peace. I think a symbol of this is the Takarazuka Theatre. I think it is to supply a little bit of culture, elegance and refinement, customers can experience ‘smart’ lifestyle elements.”

Hankyu Corporate Interview, October 19, 2005

Direct quoting from a corporate interview ensures that nothing is lost in translation and might clearly reveal how, in this case, Hankyu Group defines one of its mottos. This, when compared with the passenger/resident data could show a direct correlation between the vision of the corporation and the perception of its passengers/residents-and this would be evidence for certain research questions. This evidence can be increased by using data from other interviews and field methods as described in this chapter.

3.4.3 Photographic analysis

In Chapters 4 through 7, photographs are embedded in the text in order to provide “evidence, and to support and illustrate written points” (Pink, 2001: 126). This style, which Latham (2004: 126) calls a “bricolage of text, talk and photography¹¹⁵” has

¹¹⁵ Originating from the French word ‘bricoler’, which means the act of doing various jobs or tasks, bricolage is defined as an assemblage of various materials or elements

become an important tool for urban sociologists, ethnographers and geographers. It can combine “photography, transcript data, academic discussion, and descriptive and reflexive passages” (Pink, 2001: 130) in an effective research process.

The images used in this thesis begin with historical photographs found in Chapters 4 through 6, which illustrate the narratives. The majority of these photos serve to complement the text and will therefore not be formally analysed. In so doing, the data can be observed as a whole and in comparison, illustrating discernible patterns and providing documented evidence of the Hanshin Region (Collier, 2001; Van Leeuwen and Jewitt, 2001).

Chapter 5, Section 5.5, however, examines the diversified business of Japanese private railway groups and how their management structures may have fostered a consistent corporate brand. To do this, historical photographs of corresponding Hankyu and Hanshin businesses, historical marketing brochures and railway tickets, will be examined using structural visual analysis. This form of analysis involves the examination of visuals in search of set variables (Collier, 2001). As the analysis aims to determine whether or not the Group management structures have fostered a consistent corporate brand, thereby marketing a ‘brand’ throughout all of the businesses, the set variables for this analysis will be: 1) the presence of the Hankyu or Hanshin corporate logo or name and; 2) the general image portrayed in that visual and whether or not it is consistent between the various businesses.

In Chapter 6, historical photographs are once more embedded in the text in order to

Oxford English Dictionary, year). Latham (2004) describes bricolage as the mixed use of visual images, text and quotations to weave narratives.

illustrate the narratives. These photos are also intended to show the increasing distinctions between the style of urban development projects pursued by Hankyu, and those undertaken by Hanshin. As Pink (2001) has commented, photographs might represent different things to the researcher versus individuals either captured in the image, or those involved in the creation of the subject matter that has been photographed. To deal with such differentiating viewpoints, Wagner (1979) suggested that subjects of the study view the images and provide analysis.

As the main subjects of this research are Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, and it is their goods, images, and services which have been photographed, analytical comments on the nature or style of these urban developments will be based on commentary from the corporate elite from both corporations. To achieve this, the images requiring analysis have been sent to the same corporate elite interviewed for this research, and from these groups one senior official per company has been appointed to complete the task. In keeping with the open-ended nature of certain questions¹¹⁶, the elite have been asked to provide three words to describe the urban development project or property (most commonly residential properties) captured in the photograph. As agreed upon with the two corporations the words provided will be cited as ‘Hankyu (or Hanshin) employee, 2008’ to anonymously acknowledge the individual responsible for the data.

Present-day images taken by the researcher, which appear in Chapter 7, have undergone the same analysis. Requesting the corporate elite to provide perspectives on the “visual and aesthetic aspects, and spatial character”¹¹⁷ (Garcia et al, 2006: 110) of

¹¹⁶ All research participants were asked open-ended questions such as: Please indicate three words that best describe the area surrounding the Hankyu/Hanshin rail line.

¹¹⁷ ‘Descriptors’ can be freely applied to describe the comparisons (Kowaltowski, 1998), thereby facilitating comparisons between images of the Hankyu and Hanshin

private railway properties enables the landscape to be deciphered as text (Tolia-Kelly, 2004: 685). In particular, Kowaltowski (1998: 302) suggests that the ‘image’ portrayed in a photograph and the ‘atmosphere’ of the object(s) are created by deliberate design. To examine the ‘image’ in a photograph, as described by the two corporations, enables consideration of whether or not that ‘image’ is deliberately symbolic of the corporate brands of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups-and how these may be an extension of other local processes and setting.

Present-day images of select urban developments by Hankyu and Hanshin also appear in Chapter 7 in order to show the continued presence of these goods, images and services in the Hanshin Region. These photographs are not intended for analysis other than to demonstrate that many of these private railway symbols persist to this day. In order to achieve a satisfactory comparison between past and present, archival photos of these developments were studied, and the present day locations established. Then, as much as possible the composition of the recent images was set to mirror that of the original image.

Finally, maps play a role in this thesis by providing visual evidence of the urban development of the Hanshin Region, as well as illustrating the presence of Hankyu and Hanshin Group properties, which may have been vehicles for their corporate brands. These maps are displayed and labelled where appropriate as a means of providing a sense of space and within that, the presence of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups.

3.5 Successes and Problems

properties.

As outlined in this chapter, the act of research involved a complex series of interactions, methods and analyses; its complexity and magnitude made it inevitable that both success and shortcomings would be encountered. The following section briefly reviews some of these as they were encountered during the course of research.

Ethics protocol and suspicion

The rules of ethics for the conduct of safe and ethical research within the university community are rigorous but created with general principles in mind. Complex research situations, like those in Japan, may present unique requirements and concerns.

Pursuance of generally required ethics regulations could affect the research process in a negative manner. For example, the UNSW ethics protocol requires that all research participants receive a project information statement and once they have read and understand it, they must sign the consent form in order to take part in the research process, acknowledging that they voluntarily agree to participate. It is a process that does not allow for the natural reaction of a participant towards formal documentation, especially in a case like that of Japan, where the researcher might be viewed as suspicious due to appearance alone. Data collection for this research, as shown below, illustrated precisely the nature of the problem.

Potential apprehension towards such documents is heightened by the Personal Information Protection Law (個人情報保護法), passed in April 2005. The aim of the legislation was to ensure the safety and privacy of individuals in a society increasingly

concerned by the impact of technology and crime. Since its establishment, it has raised sensitivities and a sense of alarm amongst individuals, causing people to panic as soon as they are requested to render information that might disclose their identity in some way. The extreme reactions are often a result of a misunderstanding of the Act and its intentions.

“The government has finally begun to address confusion and overreaction caused by the Personal Information Protection Law by informing individuals and groups about an opt-out clause written into the law. In some cases, oversensitivity in interpreting the law has prevented [what may be considered acceptable exchange of information from taking place]. Under the law, an individual can choose not to have his or her personal information provided to a third party.”

The Daily Yomiuri, March 7, 2006

Data collection for this research did not involve the revealing of identity. In the context of the alarm created; however, it is easy to understand why certain individuals literally ran away upon presentation of such documentation, an incident (immediately evading the researcher) that was encountered during the initial stages of the passenger surveys and semi-structured interviews.

As a result, it was necessary to adopt a more flexible approach that accommodated for this problem. For example, more time was spent in creating a relationship of trust between the participant and the researcher, by apologising in advance, in accordance with Japanese custom, for the complicated documents for they would provide protection of personal information (個人情報). The consent form was altered so that individuals

were not forced to choose between participation on the basis of identification versus anonymity. Simply, they were assured that everything was entirely anonymous, and by signing their name they were agreeing to participate anonymously. Without flexibility in research methods, this problem could not have been overcome.

Limits to access

The successful use of gatekeepers had resulted in data of good quality being yielded by corporate interviews. Although exceeding what has been available to the public and academics to date, and certainly sufficient for the research questions of this thesis, there remain certain areas of data that cannot be commented upon.

This problem stemmed in part from the management structure of the private railway groups, through which various businesses are overseen distinctly and almost secretly by other areas of the corporation. For example, the Department Store division was inaccessible; the researcher was advised that the management of this division is independent and would not respond to questions regarding strategies and process. Similarly, the General Manager of Public Relations was unable to comment on behalf of the Department Store, as this division does not make other sections of the company privy to certain information. Another reason for inaccessibility stems from the reality that these corporations cannot be penetrated in their entirety, as corporate business in Japan, to this day, retains a certain level of 'closed-door' policy.

Problems associated with being an 'outsider'

On a number of occasions, particularly those during which I was alone and approaching independent businesses for the purpose of semi-structured interviewing, my physical appearance (of non-Japanese descent) stirred suspicion and caused potential participants immediately to turn me away. The problem would be endemic to a foreigner carrying out research in Japan without a network of contacts. Although the potential participants did not directly express their discomfort, their immediate rejection without explanation clearly displayed a lack of trust and discomfort based on my being non-Japanese.

Formal data collection was heavily reliant on the ability to approach individuals and this was highly problematic; yet it was overcome by having a Japanese acquaintance appear in the doorway of businesses first, thereby assuring potential participants of my trustworthiness and that their privacy would not be violated in any way. In certain locations, where I was acquainted with business owners, the acquaintance would in fact walk me from shop to shop and introduce me to other shop owners while requesting their participation in the research! Without a Japanese acquaintance present, regardless of my knowledge of language and culture, the volume of data acquired could not have been collected.

Lost in translation?

Whether performed by a hired assistant or the researcher, translation and interpretation in a foreign field location is a daunting task. “Translation is not only difficult but also dangerous, because it convert[s] a set of experiences and ideas that existed in one ‘house’ into those of another (Heidegger, 1971:5). If this task is not performed by the

researcher, there is a risk, as Sutherland (2004) notes, of having more than one voice influence the interpretation of the text, and these influences could be affected by power relations.

In the case of this research, the writer was in the unique position of being fluent in Japanese language and culture. Despite this, even the most qualified interpreter/translator or knowledgeable researcher will encounter issues in translation and interpretation in a language which has many hidden meanings and is constantly evolving. Further, direct involvement in the fieldwork allowed for increased learning of the language specific to this research. It is possible that terminology pertinent to the subject matter and the field of geography may be new to an interpreter or translator certified by the National Association of Translators and Interpreters (NATI). One element for ensuring good translation is the display of original Japanese text in its initial format, next to the English translation, a practice that has been adopted for the text of the present research.

Possible bias

Section 3.2 described the selection of survey participants, and the way in which they were representative of the general public of the Hanshin Region. Nonetheless, it is necessary to account for the possibility that survey responses may be biased. It might be argued that as participants were in some way connected to the researcher's network of colleagues and acquaintances answers were swayed. However, as previously explained, respondents were neither confined to one area nor were they generally connected to each other. Further, as colleagues and acquaintances invited friends and

family with whom I had no connection or communication to participate, responses cannot be seen as influenced by the researcher. The isolated fashion in which most respondents participated suggests that passengers/residents of the Hanshin Region generally have similar views that are not biased as a result of the researcher.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has detailed the mixed-methods adopted for the purpose of this research. Beginning with the selection of participants, the structure and delivery of data methods and later the analysis of data, the methods employed in this research have been designed to examine the locational attributes, industrial and economic growth, and social change of the Hanshin Region, as well as the management structures, oligopolistic competition, branding and consumption of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. In the next chapter, the research begins to examine the historical context in which the Hanshin Region developed, and therefore attempts to address the first research question.

Chapter 4

The influence of locational attributes and historical processes on distinctions in the Hanshin Region



Figure 4.1 Illustration of the Hanshin Region overlooking Imazu and Nishinomiya: circa 9th Year of the Showa Period (1934). **Source:** 展実行委員会, 1997¹¹⁸

Translated, the above statement describes the earliest development that occurred in the Hanshin Region of Japan:

“Sandwiched between Osaka and Kobe, Rokko Mountain stands out as the backdrop of the Region. This region achieved dramatic development from the Meiji Period opening of railways, together with suburban housing and the cottage areas of Osaka merchants.”

The Hanshin Region (Figure 4.2) is physically characterised by flood plains which lie between Osaka Bay and the mountains (Japanese Geographical Survey Institute, 1990;

¹¹⁸ The Executive Exhibition Committee, 1997

梅田, 1998¹¹⁹). From the Meiji Period (1868-1912) onward, a series of historical processes unfolded here resulting in profound change for the region. The coastal area from Osaka to Kobe was developed through industrial and economic growth, railway lines, suburban housing, and leisure destinations (展実行委員会, 1997¹²⁰; Fukutake, 1980; Fujimori, 1980). This, in turn, had a number of implications such as social change, pollution and the emergence of mass society (Walthall, 2006; 木村, 2004; Gordon, 2003; 展実行委員会, 1997¹²¹).



¹¹⁹ Umeda, 1998

¹²⁰ The Executive Exhibition Committee, 1997

¹²¹ Kimura, 2004; The Executive Exhibition Committee, 1997

Figure 4.2 Map of the Hanshin Region. *Source:* 阪神公域行政都市協議会, 昭和 46 年¹²².

The historical processes of economic and industrial growth, and social change, when combined with the locational attributes of the Hanshin Region, constitute an important backdrop for this research. As this chapter will illustrate, they are the starting point from which the distinctions found in the areas surrounding two railway lines can be unravelled.

4.1 Locational Attributes

The physical geography of the Hanshin Region is characterised by a narrow belt of flood plains set against mountains of strong relief – the highest of which is Mt. Rokko (六甲山) at 931 metres above sea level (Japanese Geographical Survey Institute, 1990; 梅田, 1998¹²³) (Figure 4.3). The flood plains constitute an area of land on which residences could be constructed, industries could operate and urban-suburban growth could take place. During the Tokugawa Era (1603-1867) national trade and shipping routes passed through the coastal part of the region (Taniuchi, 1984). This coastal access continued to play an important role when Kobe and Osaka developed as key ports, allowing for the importation of Western technologies and exportation of trade goods (展実行委員会, 平成 9 年¹²⁴) (Figure 4.4). Consequently, some of the earliest settlement of the region, outside of the Osaka castle domain, took shape along the

¹²² Council for the Greater Hanshin Urban Administration, 46th year of the Showa Period (1971).

¹²³ Umeda, 1998

¹²⁴ The Executive Exhibition Committee, the 9th year of the Heisei Period (1997).

trading and navigational routes that follow the coast between Osaka and Kobe (Taniuchi, 1984; Yazaki, 1968)¹²⁵.



Figure 4.3 Aerial view of the Hanshin Region looking west, with the Rokko Mountain Range in the background. *Source:* the author, 2008

¹²⁵ Figure 4.21 on page 180 shows that the Hanshin line in fact follows one of these earliest routes.



Figure 4.4 Aerial view of the southern coastal area of the Hanshin Region, looking towards the port of Osaka. *Source:* the author, 2008.

In contrast to the accessibility provided by Japan's coastal routes, approximately 70 percent of Japan's land is considered mountainous, and 66 percent of this mass is thought to be forested (株式会社日鉄ヒューマンデベロプメント, 1993¹²⁶).

Conditions such as these had a direct impact on some of the earliest urban developments¹²⁷ (Sorensen, 2002; 展実行委員会, 平成 9 年; 株式会社日鉄ヒューマンデベロプメント, 1993¹²⁸). In the Hanshin Region, for example, the limited

¹²⁶ The Executive Exhibition Committee, the 9th year of the Heisei Period (1997); Nippon Steel Human Resources Development Co. Ltd., 1993

¹²⁷ Describing the urban development of samurai areas in the Tokugawa Era, Sorensen (2002: 34) wrote: "topography clearly came first, as the area was hilly and incised by numerous valleys. The hilly terrain determined the early road system, with the main roads either following the principal ridges or converging on the castle in the centre."

¹²⁸ Nippon Steel Human Resources Development Co. Ltd., 1993

amount of land available for growth¹²⁹, combined with the rapid population increase, resulted in urban settings of high density (Lutzeler and Ben-Ari, 2004; Fujimori, 1980) (Figure 4.5). So dense was the settlement of the area between Tokyo and Osaka that Gottman (1961) called it the ‘Japanese Megalopolis’. Karan (1997) later extended this definition to include Hiroshima (広島), and Fukuoka (福岡) on the southern island of Kyushu (Figure 4.6).

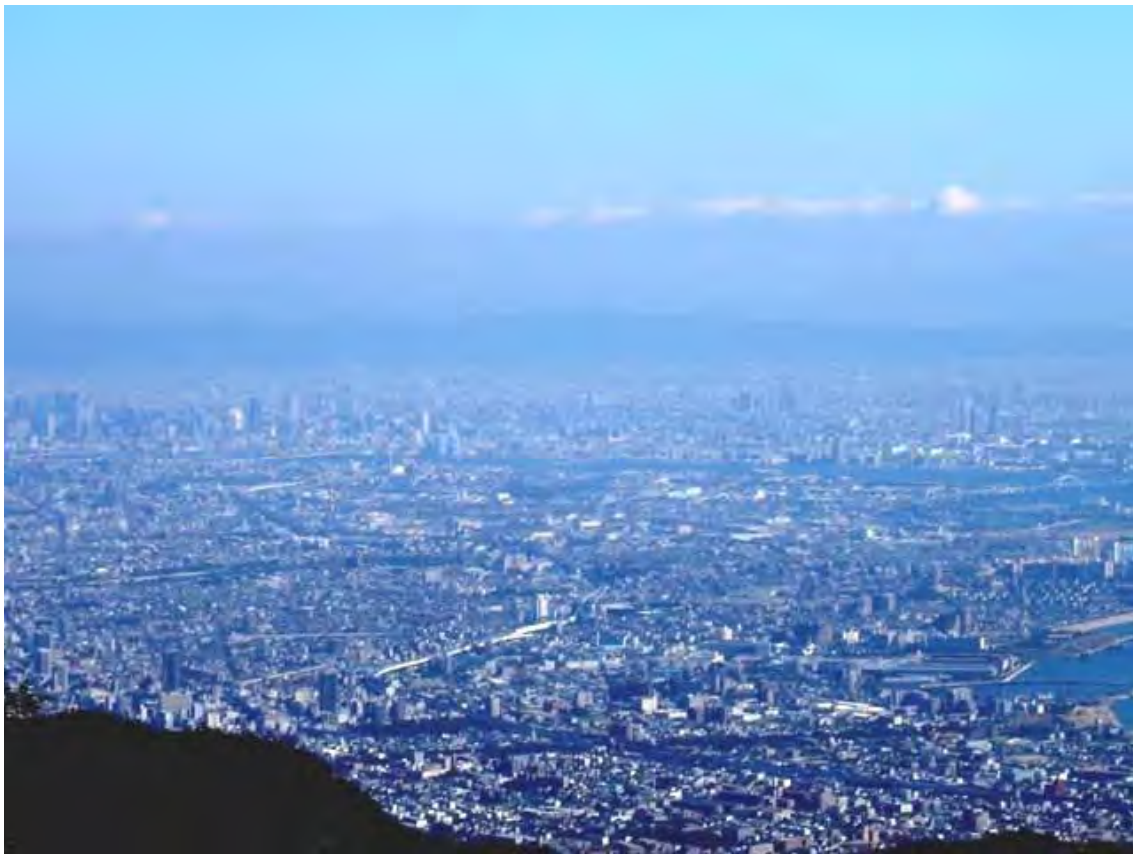


Figure 4.5 Overlooking the densely settled Hanshin Region from Mt. Rokko. *Source:* the author, 2005.

¹²⁹ Less than one-fifth of Japan's land is considered 'habitable' (McCargo, 2004).



Figure 4.6 Contemporary map of the Japanese Megalopolis. *Source:* Karan, 1997.

Between 1920 and 1940 coastal cities between Osaka and Kobe were doubling and even tripling in population (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005¹³⁰). Today, this concentration of population, predominantly in lower-lying areas of the region, can still be seen (Figure 4.7). As illustrated in the map, settlement is confined to these areas

¹³⁰ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

due to Osaka Bay to the southwest, and mountain ranges to the north including the Mt. Rokko, and Myoken Mountain ranges.

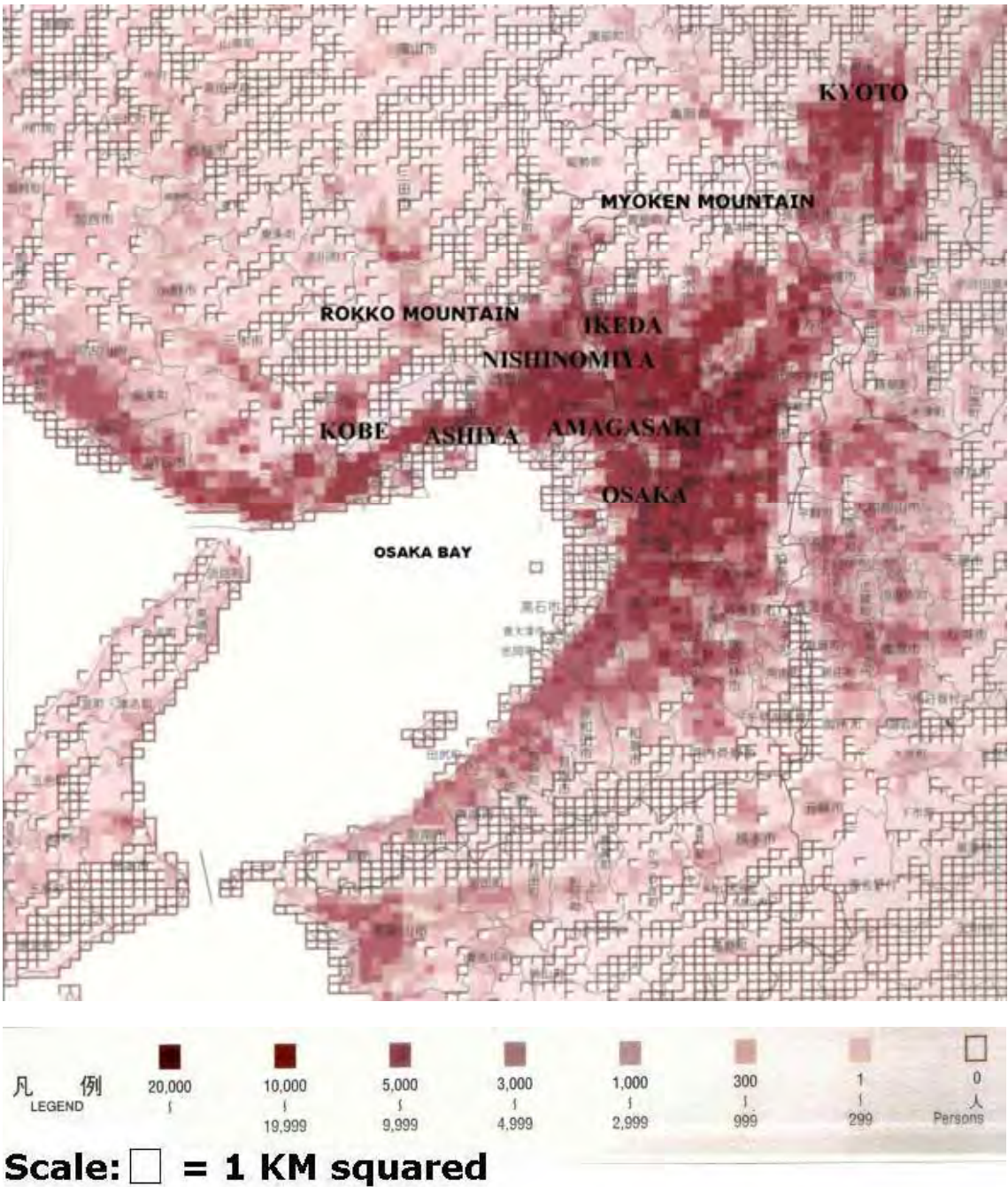


Figure 4.7 Total population density of the Hanshin Region, 2004. **Source:** 総務省統計局, 平成16年¹³¹

¹³¹ Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications, 16th

The map illustrates that in general, cities which lie between Osaka Bay and the mountain ranges to the north have a total population density of 10,000 to 19,999 people per square kilometre (総務省統計局, 2005¹³²). Further, a number of areas beyond these places remain unsettled due to the slope of the land being a degree uninhabitable. These physical conditions further complicated matters as the development of the region was not restricted to population increase.

With Meiji-era urban planning centralised in Tokyo, and the absence of a “system for regulating private development and building activity” (Sorensen, 2002: 81), population growth was taking place right next to industrial development¹³³ (Fielding, 2004).

Some have commented that this “nebulous intermingling of traditionally separate land uses” (Hebbert, 1994: 71) or “spatial juxtaposition” (McGee, 1991: 5) is typical for many Asian cities due to topography, population density and rapid urban development processes.

The physical geography has also been of aesthetic and leisure significance to the Japanese population (McCargo, 2004). It was common, and remains popular today, for Japanese to retreat to places of natural beauty such as hot springs in the mountains or bathing resorts along the coast. In the Hanshin Region, historically such sites were serviced by ‘excursion trains’ that ran exclusively for seasonal sight-seeing (Ogawa, 1998). Temporary and permanent resort areas such as those on Rokko Mountain (六

year of the Heisei Period (2004)

¹³² Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2005

¹³³ See Section 4.2 for further information on industrial growth

甲山), at Ashiya Beach (芦屋浜) (Figure 4.8), and Arima spa (有馬温泉) were popular



Figure 4.8
Ashiya Beach
advertisement
, circa 1935.
Source: 展実
行委員会,
1997= The
Executive Ex.
Committee,
1997.

destinations where locals could enjoy the scenery and be close to nature (展実行委員会, 1997¹³⁴).

To the south of the plains, the coast lining Osaka Bay was once a vista of “white sands and green pines along a chain of fine sandy beaches”

(McCormack, 2001: 29). In the early 1900s, these beaches were

converted into ‘bathing resorts’ with temporary tents and facilities.

Wealthy merchants from Osaka and Kobe travelled with their families

to these bathing resorts in the summer, as a form of leisure and to enjoy

the natural setting (McCormack, 2001; Ogawa, 1998; 展実行委員会,

1997¹³⁵). The mountainous features of the region were also of interest

to those who sought to live ‘high’ above others.

Allinson (1984) wrote that since Tokugawa times (1603-1867), residences located on higher ground have always been home to the wealthy and social elite. With easy access to the centres of towns, properties in more mountainous areas were coveted for their ‘more appealing topography’ which attracted breezes. Sorensen (2002: 39) added that, “the housing ideal of the emerging middle class [during Japan’s modernisation]was modelled on the spacious detached houses of the samurai elite, and the detached house with a garden became the goal of all those who could afford it.” Traditionally located on higher ground, the ‘high-city’ of the samurai had:

¹³⁴ The Executive Exhibition Committee, 1997

¹³⁵ Ibid

“...green, treed slopes and quiet neighbourhoods [that] provided a powerful vision of an ideal kind of urban residential environment, and in great contrast with the commoner areas, individual houses had the privacy of a garden surrounded by a wall with an entrance gate, and were set in a sea of verdant green.”

Sorensen, 2002: 39

Some of the earliest manifestations of this mountain residence ideal can be seen in the cottage areas (別荘地) of the region; particularly Rokurokuso (六麓荘町) in the



Figure 4.9 One of the large homes of Rokurokuso. *Source:* the author, 2004.

mountainous area of Ashiya City. During the Meiji Period, a select group of Osaka merchants retreated to the mountains in their motorised vehicles for holidays and this led

to the building of cottages. This residential development has traditionally been recognised as ‘high class’ and home to the wealthy (展実行委員会, 1997¹³⁶). The reputation of Rokurokuso continues today with exclusive mansions of the rich and famous, overlooking the plain (Figure 4.9).

¹³⁶ The Executive Exhibition Committee, 1997

The locational attributes of the Hanshin Region such as the mountainous topography and coastal border have at times posed a challenge for development; at others they have facilitated trade and access. Further, these features have come to represent natural sanctuary or status symbols. These circumstances have influenced dense settlement, and distinct leisure patterns and housing ideals associated with place. It was also in this setting that a series of key historical processes took place, particularly from the Meiji Period (1868-1912) onward and these will be discussed in the following Sections.

4.2 Economic and Industrial Growth

4.2.1 Economic Growth and the Modernisation of Japan

The Meiji Period (1868-1912) marked the end of the feudal Tokugawa era (1603-1867) and its ‘closed-door’ policies. The new government adopted a strategy to promote industry and high levels of productivity, in order to create a ‘capitalistic economic system’ and ‘catch up to the West’ (Jansen, 2000; Hunter, 1989; Masai, 1988; Murata, 1980). This modernisation included the building of railway lines, establishment of a financial system and currency, new laws governing commercial activity and urban planning, and the promotion of private investment and modern industry (Gordon, 2003; Fukutake, 1989).

As Gordon (2003: 94) has argued, “agrarian society played a critical role in the economic transformation of Japan. It was a vital source of the labour power, food, tax revenues, and export earnings that made the industrial revolution possible.” Described

as exploitative, the government had no option other than to rely on agrarian society for finance as there was very little economic activity outside of agriculture at the time (Fukutake, 1989; Lehmann, 1982). According to Fukutake (1989: 17), “farmers made up as much as 80 percent of the working population [and therefore] provided the over-whelming bulk of government revenue.”

While early economic transformation was funded by agriculture, the government also directly invested funds in state enterprises, which imported Western technological expertise in an attempt to establish successful industries (Murata, 1980). Further, the government maintained a ‘visible hand’ over Japan’s modernisation at all times while encouraging private-sector competition and entrepreneurship. The economic growth of the nation came to depend “on a dynamic mix of state and private initiative” (Gordon, 2003: 99). Lehmann (1982: 191) has described this economic environment as a ‘bureaucracy-business nexus’, which remains characteristic of the Japanese economy to this day.

The foundations of this special relationship stem from the Meiji oligarchs – many of whom had their own capitalist interests and personally invested in railroad and shipbuilding technologies (Walthall, 2006). Iriye (1989: 729) has argued that the oligarchs were “intent on providing national leadership for economic development so that the country as a whole would increase production and create industry.” Economic development would ultimately serve not only national interests, but the Meiji oligarchs would also financially reward themselves with salaries; sometimes hundreds of yen

more than salaries of the general public (Ramseyer and Rosenbluth, 1995; Yazaki, 1968).

When the economy slowed, “both popular and intellectual opinion blamed the nation’s political leaders for lining their own pockets at the expense of the majority” (Gordon, 2003: 143). Organisations known as zaibatsu (財閥)¹³⁷ came under particular scrutiny at this time for their monopolistic capitalism. According to Lehmann (1982: 218), zaibatsu played a central role in the emergence of Japan’s economy as they “engaged in all stages of production and in all sectors of industry; primary, secondary and tertiary. Their tentacles, therefore, spread to mining, real estate, textiles, metalwork, shipbuilding, construction, shipping, insurance, banking, trade, etc.” As a result of their activities, by the late Meiji period, the Japanese economy was dominated by a narrow group of zaibatsu (for example: Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda), who controlled affairs “to an extent which no other group of financial or industrial combines have ever been able to establish in any other capitalist country” (Lehmann, 1982: 215-216).

The exploitation of long-standing relationships with government representatives and the comprehensive involvement in key industries by the zaibatsu would ultimately come to an end (Gordon, 2003; Lehmann, 1982). They were officially disbanded during the Allied Occupation due to their economic monopoly (株式会社日鉄ヒューマンデベロ

¹³⁷ As explained in Chapter 2, “The zaibatsu were large capital holding groups that existed in Japan between the Meiji Restoration (1868-1912) and the end of the Second World War. They were closed, centrally controlled organisations in which a holding company owned by a single family used the shares it held in affiliated companies in various business fields to control their personnel and management decisions” (株式会社日鉄ヒューマンデベロメント, 1993= Nippon Steel Human Resources Development Corporation, 1993.)

メント, 1993¹³⁸). Nevertheless, they were a unique feature of Japan's economic growth and helped power 'the Workshop of Asia' connotation that emerged over the course of just three decades (1860-1890), and continued well into the next century (Gordon, 2003).

Another important feature of Japan's economic growth was the country's industrialisation, which occurred later than Western nations. At the turn of the century, "manufacturing output rose 5 percent annually - a much stronger performance than the worldwide annual growth rate of 3.5 percent" (Gordon, 2003: 96). It was for this reason that Japan came to be known as 'the Workshop of Asia', and Japan's economic competitiveness rested on the low wages of its industrial workers¹³⁹. The industrial growth from the Meiji Period onward went hand in hand with the economic development of Japan and therefore, further discussion is warranted here.

4.2.2 The Industrial Growth of Japan

The Meiji government's program to 'increase the wealth of the nation' (富国¹⁴⁰) was dependent on industrialisation. The silk industry was the first to be fostered by this program – with silk becoming Japan's most vital export commodity in the early years of the Meiji Period (Hane, 1982). Textiles, including silk and cotton, were to lead Japan's pre-World War I industrialisation. According to Gordon (2003: 96) "from the 1890s through 1913, [the] output of silk quadrupled. By the eve of World War I,

¹³⁸ Nippon Steel Human Resources Development Corporation, 1993.

¹³⁹ Differences in income will be discussed further in Section 4.3 as they relate to social change.

¹⁴⁰ Fukoku, which means wealthy country

three-fourths of these threads were produced by machine, [with] production of cotton thread increas[ing] at similar rates.”

The revenue from the textile industry was then used to purchase foreign technology, ending Japan’s reliance on the importation of Western-manufactured textiles (Lehmann, 1982). Cotton spinning and weaving factories were constructed to produce cloth for domestic consumption as well as textiles for export (Walthall, 2006). Hane (1982) has suggested that a conservative estimate of workers involved in the textile industries in 1913 is about 800,000 people. With the increased importation of Western technology, steam and electric power modernised these industries, but these new forms of power also stimulated growth in other sectors (Lehmann, 1982).

In particular, emphasis was placed on heavy industries that would further assist in Japan’s modernisation and strengthen its defence capacity (Jansen, 2000; Hunter, 1989). Industries such as ship-building, machinery, chemical, electrical, and iron and steel production, all benefited from the importation of Western technology and expertise (Murata, 1980). World War I further propelled these industries: “output increased about 3.4 times during 1914-1918, [while] the number of factories having 10 or more workers increased to 22,400 with a total of 646,000 factory workers” (Murata, 1980: 19).

By the end of World War I, Japanese industries were developing and producing faster than those of major Western countries (Murata, 1980). Over the course of 1914-1918, the national industrial output had risen from 1.4 billion yen to 6.8 billion yen (Gordon,

2003). However, further international events such as the Depression and World War II had a negative impact on their success (Gordon, 2003; Murata, 1980; Kaneda, 1980). As the stock market crashed, so did many of Japan's export commodities. Production decreased, wages were reduced, staff were let go and factories closed (Gordon, 2003; Murata, 1980). Although Japan recovered from the Depression faster than other countries, the events surrounding World War II caused a shortage of materials, destruction of industrial sites through air-raids and economic turmoil (Murata, 1980; Kaneda, 1980).

Lehmann (1982: 197) has written that Japan's economic and industrial growth was made possible by a series of inter-locking processes and conditions. As evidenced in this Chapter, those processes and conditions included:

“1) the political revolution [of the Meiji Period] and subsequent widespread institutional reform; 2) the powerful and progressive role of the state; 3) the investment in and development of the infrastructure; 4) import and diffusion of Western technology and expertise; 5) the rise of an able and dynamic entrepreneurial class with a close symbiotic relationship with the state; 6) agricultural growth and diversification; 7) the role of silk in generating foreign revenue; 8) the advantage taken from forward linkage effects in development of a viable and increasingly competitive textile industry catering in due course both to domestic demand and providing revenue from export; 9) the development and indeed emphasis given to heavy industry, the increased use of modern sources of energy, coal, steam, electricity; 10) cheap labour; 11) militarism and imperialism.”

The Hanshin Region in particular would come to play an important role in the import and diffusion of Western technology, as well as the industrial development of the nation described by Lehmann (1982). To understand how this came to influence distinctions that are found in the region and key to this thesis, it is relevant to discuss the specifics of its industrialisation.

4.2.3 The Industrialisation of the Hanshin Region

As discussed in Section 4.1, the coastal access provided by the key ports of Kobe and Osaka in the Hanshin Region facilitated the importation of Western technologies and the exportation of trade goods (展実行委員会, 平成 9 年¹⁴¹). Further, the low-lying plains provided favourable conditions for the construction of industrial properties while urban planning laws allowed for the mixed-use development of land (Hebbert, 1994; Fielding, 2004). Fujimori (1980: 83) has commented that these circumstances equipped the Hanshin Region to be an ‘all-inclusive’ industrial area.

The establishment of modern industries in the region began around the end of the 1890s with government factories such as the Osaka Artillery Arsenal (1879) and the Hyogo Shipbuilding Arsenal (1883) (Fujimori, 1980). Following the founding of the Osaka Spinning Company in 1882, Osaka came to be recognised as the ‘Manchester of the Orient’ (Sakudo, 1994). By 1892 there were 724 industrial companies in the region and although this number decreased to 395 in 1896, then increased again to 488 in 1904,

¹⁴¹ The Executive Exhibition Committee, the 9th year of the Heisei Period (1997).

the capital value of these industries consistently rose. In 1892 the capital value of these industries was 23,858 yen; in 1896 it increased to 31,977 yen; and in 1904 this amount further rose to 47,217 yen (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005¹⁴²).

At the end of the Meiji Period and through the Taisho Period (1912-1926), the area underwent industrial development to the extent that it was recognised as the “Hanshin Industrial Zone that connected Osaka and Kobe” (増谷, 1987¹⁴³). In terms of built-up areas, number of establishments, number of workers and value of shipments per unit area, the Hanshin Region has historically surpassed Tokyo and as such, is recognised as the oldest industrial area of Japan (Fujimori, 1980). Industries produced cement, glass, matches, textiles, food, steel and other heavy goods, and chemicals (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005, 増谷, 1987¹⁴⁴; Fujimori, 1980) – a trend which continued throughout the Showa Period (1926-1989) (Figure 4.10).

¹⁴² Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

¹⁴³ Masutani, 1987

¹⁴⁴ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005; Masutani, 1987

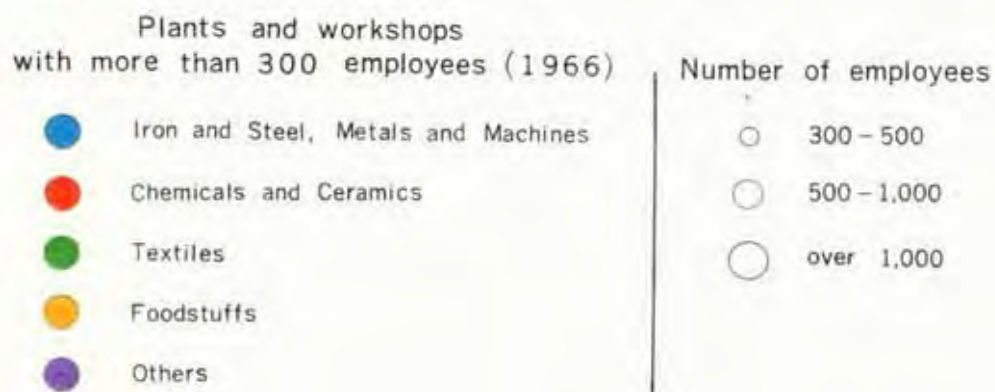
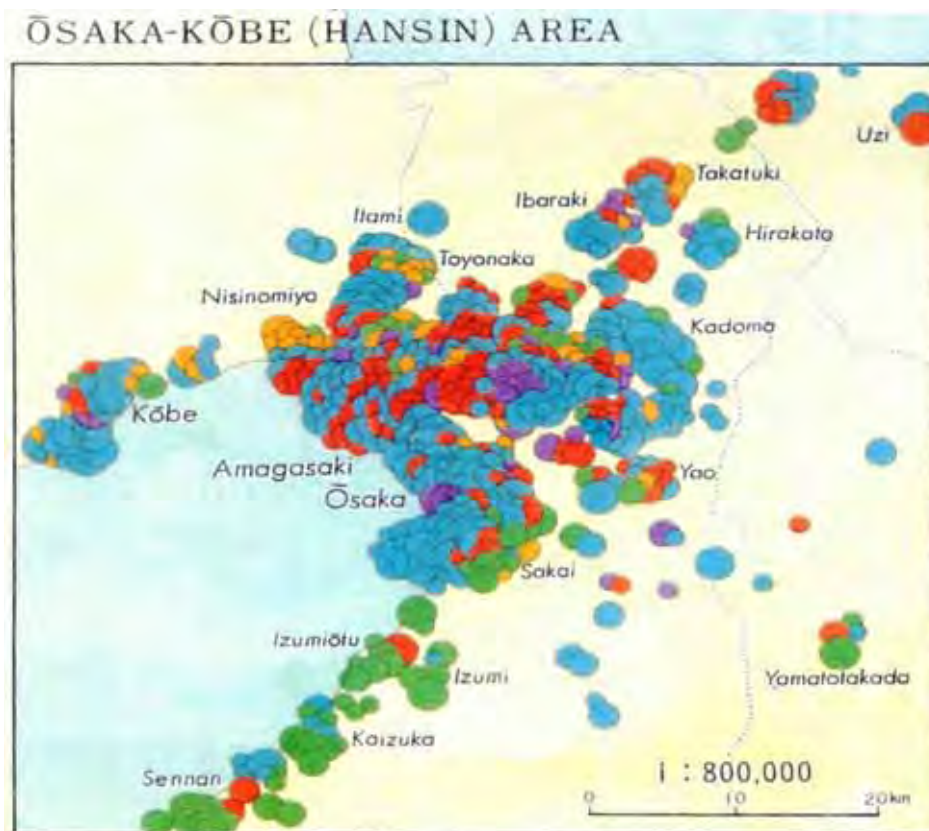


Figure 4.10 Map of the distribution of manufacturing in the Hanshin Region. *Source:* International Society for Educational Information, 1970

The industrial development at Amagasaki (尼崎) and Nishinomiya (西宮) is of particular interest to this research for the implications it had on place image and people¹⁴⁵. Amagasaki has a long-standing history of industrialism; reflected in a

¹⁴⁵ The social composition and change of the Hanshin Region will be discussed further in Section 4.3.

historical city slogan: ‘An industrial city cultivating the economy of citizens’ (市民経



済をつちかう産業都市) (増谷, 1987¹⁴⁶). The important role played by industry in Amagasaki can still be seen today in the city’s logo (Figure 4.11)

Figure 4.11
Source:
尼崎市, 2008
Amagasaki
City, 2008

which incorporates the katakana characters for ‘a’ (ア) and ‘ma’ (マ) (the beginning of the city name), and the English letter ‘I’ for industrial (尼崎市, 2008¹⁴⁷).

As early as 1905, the population at Amagasaki increased by more than 20% as a result of nearby industries (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005¹⁴⁸). The city became well known for its production of soya sauce (醤油) and steel and chemicals. The production of soya sauce significantly increased after 1867 with capital values over 30,000 yen per year (増谷, 1987), while the majority of national manufacturing of chemicals took place in Amagasaki (40.8% of the nation’s total) (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005¹⁴⁹). The population and industries in Amagasaki continued to increase – by 1916, there were 52 factories in the city and many of the 32,000 people living there were factory workers (Yazaki, 1968). In 1967, over 330,000 people were still working in the steel industry alone at Amagasaki (阪神広地行政都市協議会, 昭和 46 年¹⁵⁰).

The rapid growth of these industries resulted in a landscape of smokestacks and factories (Figure 4.12). A survey in 1901 found that there were 2,335 factory smokestacks in the region; many of which were located in Amagasaki (Sakudo, 1998).

¹⁴⁶ Masutani, 1987

¹⁴⁷ Amagasaki City, 2008

¹⁴⁸ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

¹⁴⁹ Ibid

¹⁵⁰ Council for the Cities of Greater Hanshin, 46th year of the Showa Period (1971)

As with the continued importance of industry to the city, this setting continues today (Figure 4.13). The industrial ‘ambience’ that has taken shape over many years is noteworthy as the Hanshin line runs through this area¹⁵¹. This will be addressed later in this thesis as it relates to the activities of two private railway groups, and the perceptions of passengers/residents of both railway lines. For the moment, it is sufficient to note that industrialisation had already brought growth to the city of Amagasaki through processes that did not originate with the railway companies, and over which they had no control.



Figure 4.12 Industrial area of Amagasaki, circa 1920. *Source:* 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ The Hanshin Amagasaki stop opened in 1928(財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005= Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005)

¹⁵² Ibid



Figure 4.13 Present day industrial area of Amagasaki. *Source:* the author, 2008.

Similarly, to the west of Amagasaki, the city of Nishinomiya was developing through industrial growth; particularly that involving sake (酒)¹⁵³. As early as the 1600s (Tokugawa Period) sake was produced in the area of Nishinomiya. It is believed that the locally-produced sake has four characteristics that make it distinct from that which is produced in other areas of the country. These attributes include the use of Yamada Nishiki rice (the most famous rice in Japan); the use of miyamizu (water that flows from Mt. Rokko); the migration of famous brewers to the area; and the cool winds that blow from Mt. Rokko, which slow the fermentation process (灘五郷博物館, 2008¹⁵⁴). In Japanese the word ‘go’ (郷) stands for a place in which there is a high concentration of

¹⁵³ Sake is an alcoholic drink made from fermented rice (株式会社日鉄ヒューマンデベロメント, 1993= Nippon Steel Human Resources Development Corporation, 1993.)

¹⁵⁴ Nada-gogou Museum, 2008

sake producers. Accordingly, Nishinomiya has also come to be known as ‘Nishinomiya go’ (西宮郷) (西宮市, 2008¹⁵⁵).

As was the case of heavy and chemical industries in Amagasaki, the sake breweries of Nishinomiya inspired a certain ambience. With the region producing the largest



volume of sake in Japan, Nishinomiya has come to symbolise the success of the industry both in capital and in landscape (灘五郷博物館, 2008¹⁵⁶). The continued significance of sake in this city can be seen in the persistence of actively producing factories next to residential areas (Figure 4.14), as well as a sake museum (Figure 4.15) and factory walking route.

Figure 4.14 Sake factory in Nishinomiya.
Source: the author, 2008

Once more, the ambience created by this industrial activity warrants further discussion in later chapters as it relates to the activities of the private railway groups, and the perceptions of passengers/residents of both railway lines. Hanshin Nishinomiya Station¹⁵⁷ is within 5-10 minute walking distance of the sake factories, whereas Hankyu Nishinomiya-kitaguchi Station was built further to the north – far away from the industrial setting. The present acknowledgement of these processes, however,

¹⁵⁵ Nishinomiya City, 2008

¹⁵⁶ Nada-gogou Museum, 2008

¹⁵⁷ One of Hanshin's earliest stops, it opened in 1907 (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005= Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005)

increasingly demonstrates that a number of historical processes were at work, prior to



the establishment of the private railway groups. Further, these processes influenced the nature of certain developments as they unfolded. This becomes more evident when the social change affected by these processes is considered.

Figure 4.15 Sign at the entrance to the Sake Museum, Nishinomiya. *Source:* the author, 2008.

4.3 Social Setting

A number of academics have written that the industrialisation of Japan was disastrous and devastating for many (Gordon, 2003; Ashton, 1984; Lehmann, 1982; Kaneda, 1980). At the same time, it might be argued that many Japanese benefited from this modernisation, both economically and socially (Walthall, 2006; Fukutake, 1989). The social implication of these events, and particularly the way in which they might have influenced distinctions in society, will be addressed in this Section.

4.3.1 Social Change Caused by the Economic and Industrial Growth of Japan

As discussed in Chapter 2, social divisions in Japan have existed since the Tokugawa Period (1603-1867) (Gordon, 2003; Sorensen, 2002; Yazaki, 1968); however, it has

been argued that the word '*shakai*' (社会), meaning society, first came into use in the early Meiji Period (Fukutake, 1989; Gluck, 1985). As Gordon (2003) has written, although social variation was not new, the context in which society continued to evolve from the Meiji Period onward was very different from the past. The Meiji Period would involve the centralisation of polity, the development of economy, the rearrangement of social classes, international recognition, and the influencing of the hearts and minds of citizens (Gluck, 1985).

At the beginning of the Meiji Period a small group of politicians in the new government attempted to abolish class divisions; however, farmers and samurai rebelled for fear of losing their livelihood and traditional identity (Walthall, 2006). Motivated by a desire to prevent colonisation or subordination by foreign powers (Jansen, 2000; Hunter, 1989), democracy, and a capitalist economy were ultimately “achieved through compromise with, and not a break away from, the legacy of feudalism¹⁵⁸” (Yazaki, 1968: 416).

Waswo (1996) has argued that although the new Meiji government was critical of Tokugawa rule, they were hesitant to abolish social structures, as it would mean abandoning their own social upbringing. Fukutake (1989) has argued that the utilisation of certain feudal structures for capitalistic purposes meant that modernisation took place from the top-down. This top-driven control, when combined with the rapidity of events, caused social imbalances to be accentuated (Fukutake, 1989; Lehmann, 1982; Yazaki, 1968).

¹⁵⁸ Some academics, such as Ambaras (1998) have written that the Meiji Restoration saw the elimination of old ruling classes; however, his evidence shows, as Yazaki (1968) has claimed, that many of the old ruling classes such as the samurai, continued to enjoy positions of responsibility and privilege.

The increasing number of factories required labourers - the majority of whom came from rural areas as it was perceived that there was little economic value left in agriculture (Murata, 1980; Gluck, 1985). The national percentage of people living in “small, predominantly rural administrative districts, with fewer than 10,000 residents, [decreased] from 87 percent in the late 1880s, to 54 percent in the mid-1930s (Waswo, 1996: 57). In 1905, the population at Amagasaki and Nishinomiya increased by more than 20% as a result of the nearby industries. By 1909, there were over 296,000 people employed at industries in the Hanshin Region; 37 percent of the national total. The number of industrial employees in the region continued to rise with over 500,000 in 1914, and a dramatic increase to over two million in 1919 (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005¹⁵⁹).

The migration of workers to the industrial areas of Japan not only caused a sudden increase in urban population (and consequently the growth of cities), but the factory conditions and pay rates caused new social disparities. Gender differences could be seen between labourers and the type of factory in which they worked. A disproportionate number of textile workers were “poorly paid female workers, in most cases very young girls from impoverished rural communities” (Hane, 1982: 174). According to Lehmann (1982) it was not until the militarisation of the 1930s when the number of male factory workers exceeded that of females. Even at that time, women still made up over 40 percent of the total industrial workforce.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid

In 1927, the average daily wage of a skilled male machinist was 2.6 yen and a standard work day consisted of 12 hours. Conversely, women worked 12 to 14 hours a day or more depending on the nature of work, and were paid 30 to 70 percent less than male labourers (Gordon, 2003). Not only were manual labourers required to work under oppressive conditions (Lehmann, 1982), but the taxes of this period were also increased as well as multiplied in type. According to Gluck (1985: 31) “the combined national and local tax burden of each taxpaying household more than tripled between 1897 and 1912 alone.” The lot of the lower-income strata during this era was hard to bear; even when production was growing and labourers were required, people in this stratum starved (Gluck, 1985).

Socio-economic differences could also be seen between factory labourers and their managers. Fukutake (1989: 107-108) has explained that at the same time that more blue collar workers were required for production, the growth of white collar employees corresponded with the demand “for general management as enterprises expanded, for personnel management as organisations grew in size and complexity, and for sales as markets became increasingly extended.” (See also Mohwald, 2004; Ishida, 1993)

A large component of Osaka’s population increase was the stratum of white collar workers. These individuals had generally obtained their jobs through educational achievement and would come to be recognised as salary man (サラリーマン) (Walthall, 2006; Gordon, 2003). Working in the ‘Manchester of the Orient’, however, came at a price: the rapid concentration of population and factories in Osaka caused urban over-crowding and associated problems including: “noise, building vibration, bad

smells, air and water pollution and, general environmental problems” (北村, 2004: 13¹⁶⁰). There was a lack of housing for the growing white collar class, and there was a desire on their part to move away from these urban ills, therefore, the appearance of white collar residential districts more than 15 kilometres outside of the city began (角野, 2000¹⁶¹).

New wealth from secondary industries enabled people to place distance between the place of production and residence¹⁶², and this created, to some extent, a spatial manifestation of social differences (角野, 2000¹⁶³). Gordon (2003) has argued, however, that “within towns and cities, diverse groups of wage labourers, shopkeepers, and a new ‘middle class’ of salaried employees of large corporations and state bureaus jostled in close proximity. This would suggest that socio-economic differences did not cause the ‘flight of the middle class’ to suburbs (Whitehand, 2001) in the same way elsewhere. Nevertheless, “empirical evidence confirms actual differences in income of residents, quality of housing, and degree of congestion” (Allinson, 1984: 177), and this was spatially manifested.

Mizuuchi (1995) wrote that the one of the most identifiable spatial patterns of this social change was the development of middle-class suburbs based on garden city ideals. Not only were these areas inhabited by the newly wealthy, but “these residential areas [also] maintained high building standards, and are still today regarded as being upper-class,

¹⁶⁰ Kitamura, 2004: 13.

¹⁶¹ Kadono, 2000

¹⁶² As will be discussed in Chapter 6, the railways were a significant aspect of this expansion out of the city.

¹⁶³ Kadono, 2000

owing to both the good housing standards and the wealth of the middle class residents [who live there] (Mizuuchi, 1995: 134).

In contrast, other members of society who worked in low-paying jobs were “forced to live in miserable shacks” - in urban ghettos and “in segregated slums in the villages” (Hane, 1982: 151). Yazaki (1968: 366) has described these buildings as “single-story nagaya (長屋¹⁶⁴), with a different family occupying each small room of four and a half or six mats (9 x 9, or 9 x 12 ft respectively). As Sorensen (2002: 93) has commented, the development of these slums, which often housed industrial workers, occurred at the same time as suburban housing built to cater to the “growing middle class of civil servants, white-collar workers, and professionals.” Not only did these events cause increased urban sprawl, but increasingly contrasting living conditions based on social status.

Various academics have attempted to chart the social groups of the Meiji, Taisho and early Showa Periods. Gordon (2003) has written that cities of these periods consisted of the new wage-earning masses (‘new middle class’), their wealthy employers (the nouveau riche), and the ‘old middle class’¹⁶⁵. Walthall (2006) and Lehmann (1982) have also supported these divisions of ‘new middle class’, ‘bourgeoisie’ and ‘old middle class’. Gluck (1985) has written, however, that as commentators of the era pointed out, Japanese society in these times was more complicated (複雑なる社会¹⁶⁶). Fukutake (1989) has attempted to plot these complexities (Table 4.1); showing the existence of

¹⁶⁴ ‘nagaya’ translates as terraced or row house

¹⁶⁵ The ‘old middle class’ included millions of shopkeepers, wholesalers, petty manufacturers and their employees.

¹⁶⁶ fukuzatsu naru shakai meaning ‘complex’ or ‘complicated’ society.

three strata and within those, various sub-groups based on types of employment.

Table 4.1: Japanese class divisions in 1909, 1920 and 1930

Class Strata	percent of total national population		
	1909	1920	1930
1. Ruling Class	2.3	2.5	2.5
Imperial family, aristocracy, and Imperially-appointed officials	0.2	0.2	0.2
Landlords (more than 5 hectares)	0.9	0.8	0.6
Capitalists (more than 100,000 yen capital and 5 employees)	1.1	1.4	1.5
Pensioners (Imperially-appointed)	0.1	0.1	0.2
2. Intermediate Strata	36.3	30.4	29
Lower officials	0.5	0.7	0.6
Famers (owners-cultivators with less than 5 hectares)	22.7	17.3	15.6
Fishermen	2.5	2.4	2.4
Artisans and retailers	6.8	5.9	6.5
Independent professional and technical workers (doctors, teachers, priests, etc.)	3.5	3.7	3.4
Pensioners (lower officials)	0.3	0.4	0.5
3. Lower Class	61.4	67.1	68.5
Poor farmers (tenants and part-tenants)	39.5	34.9	29.4
Self-employed workers	7.7	8.4	3.4
Manual workers	13.4	21.4	32.7
Public employees	0.8	2.4	3

Data source: Fukutake, 1980. *Table source:* the author, 2008.

Social change in Japan occurred markedly from the early 1870s; and although the new government celebrated the word ‘society’ (社会), it was not until the early 1900s that

social concerns captured their attention (Gluck, 1985). The tendency to substitute the word ‘society’ for ‘economy’ in ideological language meant that many of the social changes taking place in this Period happened without monitoring or concern (Gluck, 1985). Economic and industrial success was well underway; the next task was civilisation and this would involve the creation of a national identity, conscription, education, national holidays and an emphasis on all things Imperial (McCargo, 2004; Waswo, 1996).

Nevertheless, the rapid industrial and economic growth of the Meiji and Taisho period had left society in “disarray, afflicted with ills, beset by economic difficulties, roiled by the struggle for survival, upset by labour problems, exposed to dangerous thought, threatened by socialist destruction, rent by gulfs between rich and poor, city and country, worker and capitalist” (Gluck, 1985: 28; See also Mohwald, 2004). As discussed in this Section, these social changes were inevitably manifested in urban space; in housing, employment type, income, and level of congestion (Allinson, 1984).

Mesh maps based on Census statistics show that differences in the settlement pattern of blue and white collar workers are evident still today. Figure 4.16 demonstrates that a higher number of production workers and general labourers continue to live closest to the coast – the area through which the Hanshin line runs. Conversely, there is a higher percentage of professionals and managers residing in the area surrounding the Hankyu railway line (Figure 4.17). These conditions not only exemplify dissimilarities in income and class in the areas surrounding the two railway lines, but as the historical evidence in this Section has demonstrated, they originated from historical processes of

the region. As will be seen in the next Section, however, social differentiation in the Japanese city also involved ethnicity and race.

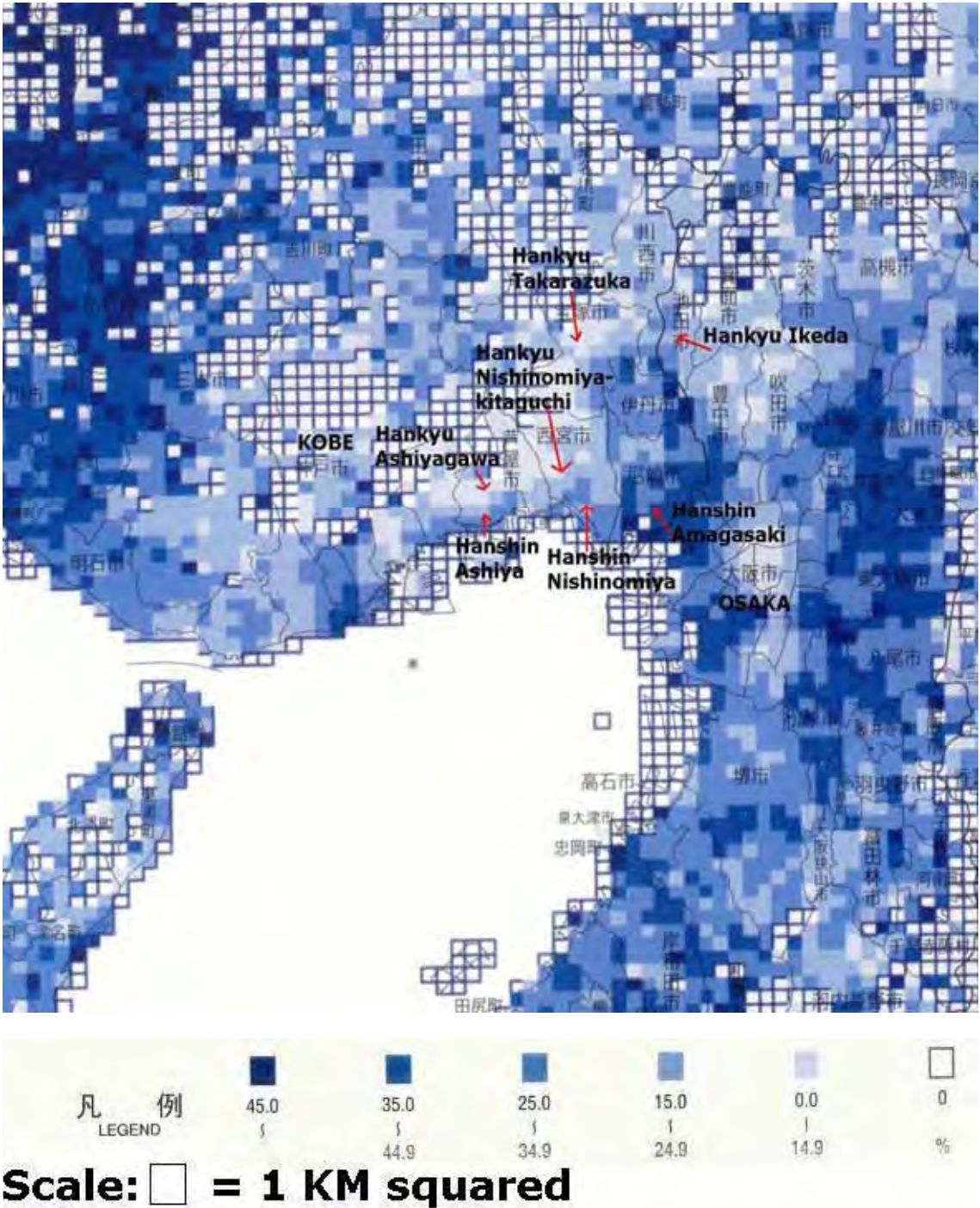


Figure 4.16 Proportion of Production Workers and Labourers. *Source:* 総務省統計局, 平成 16 年¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷ Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications, 16th year of the Heisei Period (2004)

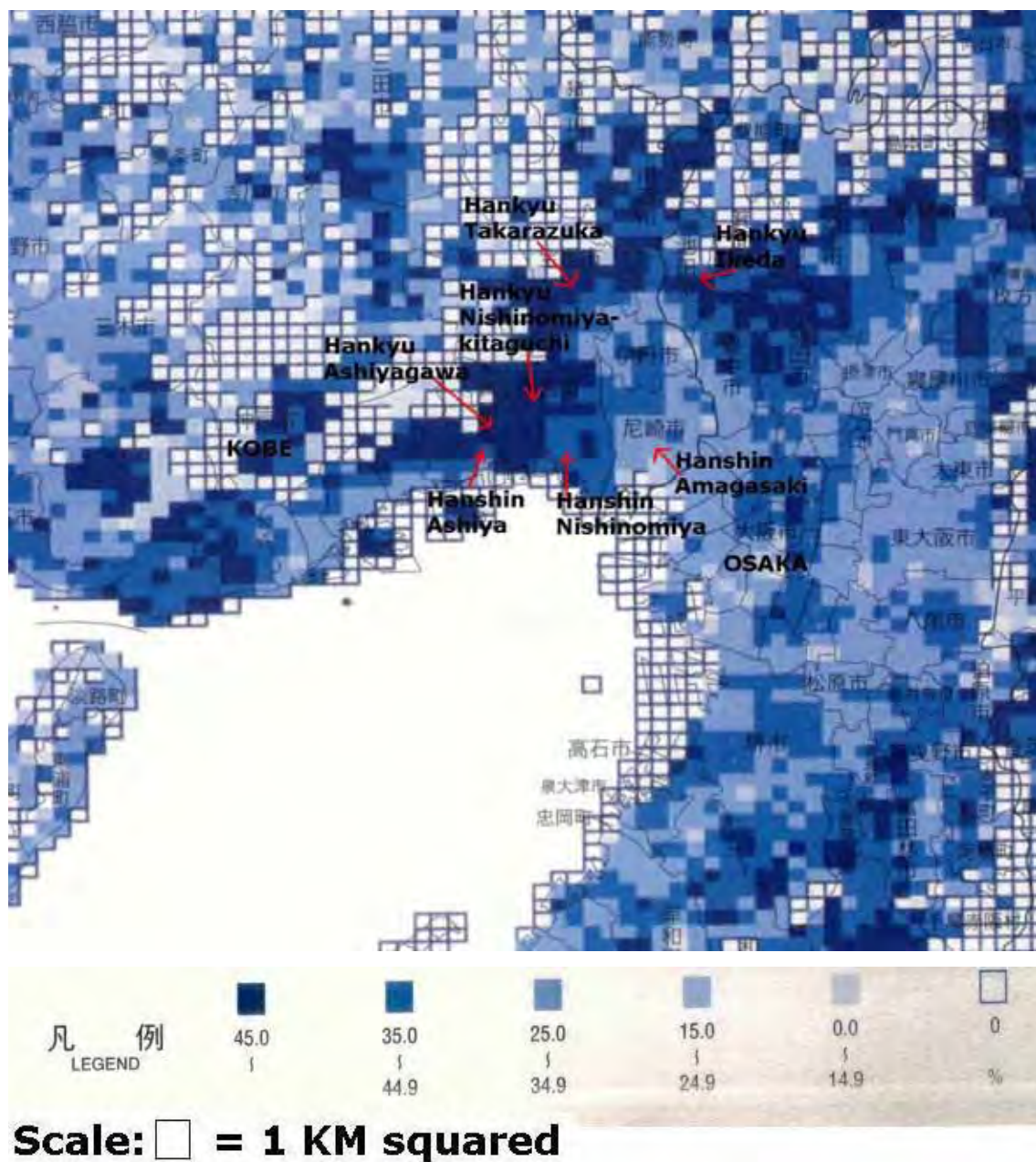


Figure 4.17 Proportion of Professional Workers, Managers and Official Workers. **Source:** 総務省統計局, 平成 16 年¹⁶⁸

4.3.2 Ethnic and Race Differences

¹⁶⁸ Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications, 16th year of the Heisei Period (2004)

Chapter 2 briefly addressed the social rifts which have existed, and continue to exist, for the various minority groups in Japan. Included in these are the Koreans, Ainu (indigenous Japanese) and the Burakumin (people who stem from families engaged in employments considered to be un-clean such as tanneries or abattoirs) (Kaplan et al. 2004; Wiltshire, 2004; Kim, 2003; Hane 1982; De Vos and Lee, 1981). To these, Brandes et al (2004) have added the hiyatoi¹⁶⁹ (日雇い), Chinese, Nikkeijin¹⁷⁰ (日系人), and inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands who are also known as Okinawans. According to Tsuda (1998), ethnic difference in Japan is a social and cultural stigma.

In 1979, Japan ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. In its first report to the U.N., Japan stated:

“The right of any person to enjoy his own culture, to profess and practice his religion or to use his own language is ensured under Japanese law. However, minorities of the kind mentioned in the Covenant do not exist in Japan.”

Human Rights Committee, 1980

This statement is really a denial of the existence of ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities in Japan (Brandes et al, 2004: 219). As Sugimoto (2003) has written, however, Burakumin and Koreans are particularly concentrated in the Hanshin Region, where the minority population exceeds 10 percent. What is important about these groups as it relates to this research is that the conflict surrounding their existence has

¹⁶⁹ People who do not have any secure employment but can be contracted for one day at a time (Brandes et al, 2004).

¹⁷⁰ “Descendents of Japanese immigrants from Peru and Brazil who come to Japan to work there” (Brandes et al, 2004: 220)

resulted in distinct segregated residential districts, particularly in the areas of Osaka and Kyoto in the Hanshin Region (Yamaguchi, 2005; Gordon, 2003; Hane, 1982). As can be seen in Figure 4.18, which illustrates the homes of Okinawans in Takarazuka City in the Hanshin Region, this segregation causes distinct settlement patterns.

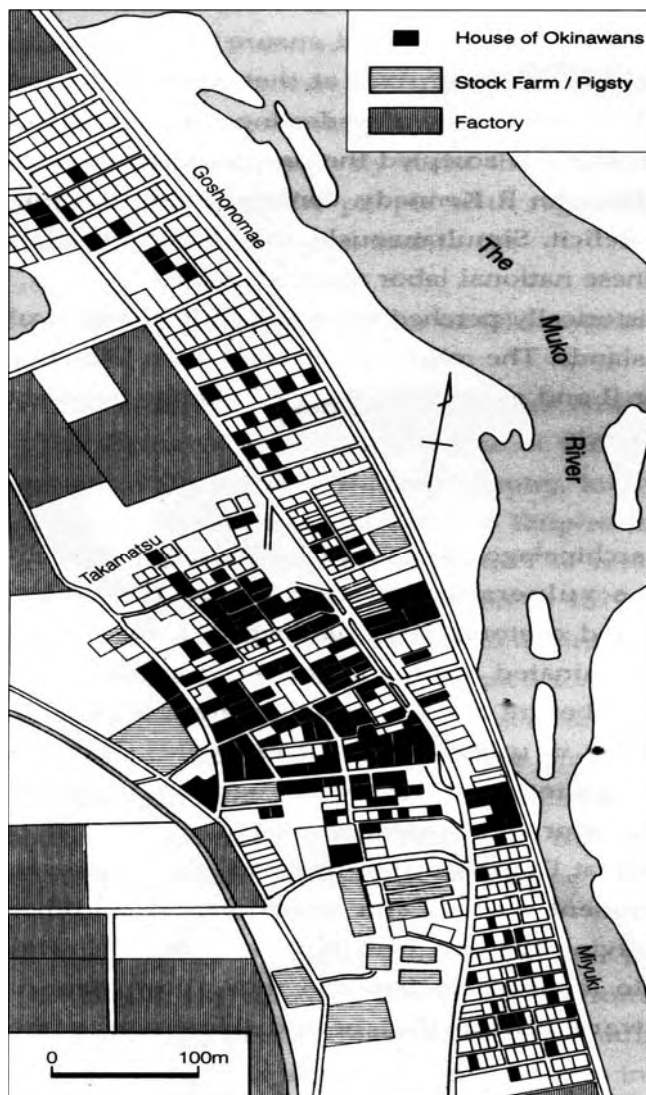


Figure 4.18 Segregated homes of Okinawans living in Takarazuka City, circa 1963. *Source:* Yamaguchi, 2005.

According to Yamaguchi (2005) the congregation of Okinawans, particularly in the Takamatsu district (further inland from the Muko River), was largely driven by a desire

for mutual support. Although the land was ‘well-suited for farming’ the general conditions were undesirable as it was a back-marsh – humidity and very muddy conditions were not uncommon. These communities also faced problems due to “spontaneous settlement and the absence of proper town planning...the streets were not straight and the houses were not uniform in size” (Yamaguchi, 2005: 591). In this way distinct settlement patterns involved not only a visible density of Okinawans, but conditions were of lower quality compared to other places.

These distinctions in the urban space of the Hanshin Region were not limited to areas settled by Okinawans. Ethnic groups such as the Buraku and Koreans were confined to urban ghettos, due to perceived social stigma, and “the residential segregation promoted inevitably through spatial processes dominated by industrial capitalism” (Mizuuchi, 2003: 19). Some of the small wooden houses typical of these slums were eventually replaced by concrete apartments through the ‘Low Standard Housing Clearance and Improvement Act’ of 1927. However, poor housing conditions and segregation for ‘non-Japanese’ became an issue again in 1947 with the enforcement of the ‘Alien Registration Ordinance.’ The spatial manifestation of poverty in the city came to have an ethnic connotation once more – adding to it new groups such as the Chinese (Mizuuchi, 2003).

The residential segregation of groups such as these was therefore one more contributing factor to distinctions found in the urban space of the Hanshin Region. These social histories will be re-visited in Chapter 7 as it relates to the perceptions of passengers/residents of the area.

4.4 The History of Japan's Planning and Land Use Laws

The mixed-used pattern of urban development that took place in Japan, including the Hanshin Region, was briefly discussed in Section 4.1 (Fielding, 2004; Hebbert, 1994; McGee, 1991). Although urban planning is not the focus of this thesis, it is important to consider the planning context in which the processes of economic and industrial growth, and social change took place. The history of urban planning in Japan provides further clues regarding the capacity for historical processes and locational attributes to influence distinctions in urban space along the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines over time.

As previously discussed, the accelerated modernisation of Japan involved the economy evolving from an agrarian base to one of manufacturing (北村, 2004; 角野, 2000¹⁷¹). Such changes required that planning and land-use laws “resolve the urban problems inherited from the previous era in order to adapt Japanese cities to new economic conditions” (Sorensen, 2002: 45). The result was the establishment of the Tokyo Rebuilding Act (1888) and one year later, the Land-use and Building Restriction Act for Tokyo Rebuilding (1889) (Alden and Abe, 1994).

In the Hanshin Region, the prefectural government of Osaka chose to establish a committee in 1886 through which a city improvement plan could be produced (Sorensen, 2002). Ultimately, however, it was required that the Tokyo ordinance be

¹⁷¹ Kitamura, 2004; Kadono, 2000

“applied to Osaka, Kyoto, Nagoya, Yokohama and Kobe in 1918” (大阪府, 2001:5¹⁷²).

The attempt to apply the Tokyo Rebuilding Act highlighted the reality that the experience of Tokyo could not be superimposed on other Japanese cities; instead it resulted in the more comprehensive City Planning Act (1919) which became known as the Urban Planning Act (1919) (角野, 2000¹⁷³).

The Urban Planning Act of 1919 “provided the first national legal framework for land use controls and urban zoning systems in Japan’s major cities, as well as the provision of major roads and other infrastructure and urban land readjustment” (Edgington, 1994: 184). The Act was comprised of five main components: 1) A land use zoning system, 2) The Urban Buildings Law¹⁷⁴, 3) An urban fringe growth control system, 4) Public facilities designation and, 5) A Land Readjustment system (Sorensen, 2002). These components were enforced by the centralised government of the time.

Local governors were by and large controlled by the national government (Braibanti, 1950). Further, all urban plans and city planning budgets had to be approved by the nationally-based Home Ministry. Therefore, the centralised nature of the Japanese government directly affected the Urban Planning Act of 1919 in two ways: 1) Tokyo maintained control over all planning and budgetary decisions related to city planning thereby incapacitating local governments to make locally-based decisions; and, 2) by repeating the problems associated with superimposing the earlier Tokyo Rebuilding Act there was no allowance for regional variation (Sorensen, 2002).

¹⁷² Osaka Prefecture, 2001: 5

¹⁷³ Kadono, 2000

¹⁷⁴ The law provided a building code as well as regulation to land use zoning

Of particular relevance to this chapter is the minimalism of the Act's zoning system, which consisted only of three main zone categories: 1) residential, 2) commercial and, 3) industrial¹⁷⁵ (Sorensen, 2002). The broad intent to separate residential from industrial zones created an atmosphere of minimal restriction, thereby providing greater freedom to private enterprise in housing and urban development. This is evidenced by the juxtaposition of industrial and residential areas in the Hanshin Region (Figure 4.19 and Figure 4.20). Further, the Act was ineffective in certain areas due to its delayed enactment¹⁷⁶ (Sorensen, 2002). With this, and the realisation that the experience of Tokyo could not be applied on the nation, the regulations could be interpreted in a variety of ways.

The political atmosphere of the years leading up to and during, World War II, also affected the urban planning environment. Inevitably, many businesses were affected by war mobilisation¹⁷⁷; industries faced a shortage of supplies as well as destruction to factories (Gordon, 2003; Murata, 1980; Kaneda, 1980). The centralised government became pre-occupied with war mobilisation and this, “put an end to most urban planning apart from that necessary for military bases” (Sorensen, 2002: 148).

¹⁷⁵ “Three other kinds of special zones could be overlaid onto the three basic land use zones: 1) Scenic Areas [風致地区], 2) Beautiful City Areas [美観地区] and, 3) Fire Prevention Areas 防火地区]” (Sorensen, 2002: 116). As these areas are the responsibility of government they shall not be discussed further as they do not relate to the activities of private railway companies.

¹⁷⁶ As late as the 1960s, prior to the adoption of the new Act (1968) a number of urban areas had not yet enacted zoning as provided by the 1919 Act (Sorensen, 2002).

¹⁷⁷ See Chapter 5, Section 5.1.2 for a description.

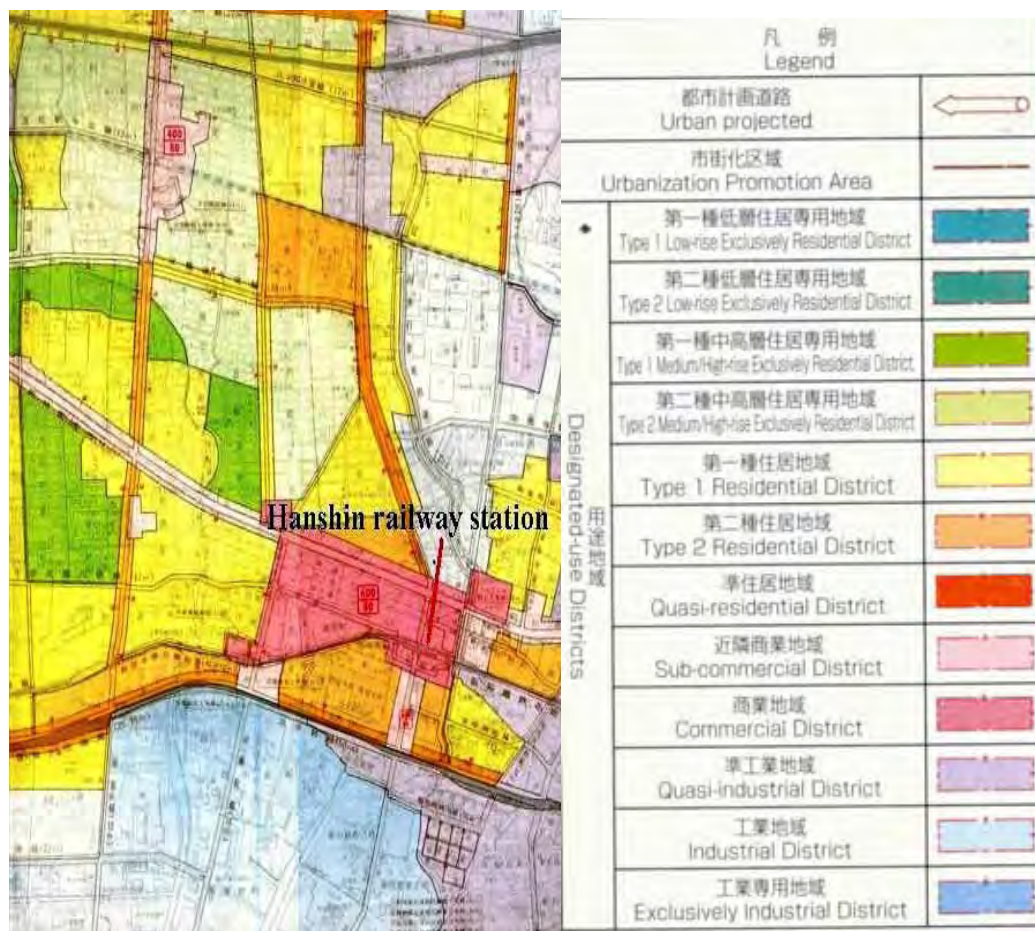


Figure 4.19 Mixed land-use surrounding Hanshin Amagasaki railway station. The area consists of a mixture of commercial, residential, and industrial districts. Scale 1: 15,000. **Map source:** 株式会社大阪人文社, 平成 8 年; **Legend source:** 大阪府建築部市部総合計画課, 平成 13 年¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ Osaka Humanities Corporation, 8th year of the Heisei Period=1996; Planning Division, Department of Construction and Urban Development, Osaka Prefectural Government



Figure 4.20 Mixed land-use surrounding Hanshin Nishinomiya railway station. The area closest to the Hankyu line is predominantly residential whereas the land nearest to the Hanshin line is a mixture of residential, commercial, and industrial districts. Scale 1: 15,000. **Map source:** 株式会社大阪人文社, 平成 8 年; **Legend source:** 大阪府建築部市部総合計画課, 平成 13 年¹⁷⁹

The legislation of urban planning and land use during the Meiji and Taisho Periods was one aspect of Japan's modernisation. Although the laws created regulatory features, there was also flexibility¹⁸⁰ in implementation in order to allow for 'market mechanisms' (Alden and Abe, 1994). This had resulted in a "strong central government control over planning initiatives accompanied by weak controls over private development activities" (Sorensen, 2002:81). The product of this framework

¹⁷⁹ Osaka Humanities Corporation, 8th year of the Heisei Period=1996; Planning Division, Department of Construction and Urban Development, Osaka Prefectural Government

¹⁸⁰ In some areas, the laws were simply not implemented or enacted.

was a ‘patchwork’ land use pattern through which a variety of urban functions – residential, industrial, transport, and commercial – could leave a lasting mark on the urban landscape (Fielding, 2004; Hebbert, 1994; McGee, 1991).

As was the case with the physical geography, industrial and economic growth, and social change described in this chapter, urban planning and land use laws also had spatial implications on the urban development of the Hanshin Region. While they may not have directly influenced social differentiation, they facilitated the growth of a land use pattern that was varied and highly mixed. In turn, this influenced the spatial organisation of the urban space of the Hanshin Region.

4.5 Conclusion

The locational attributes of the Hanshin Region have had historical influence on the urban development of the area as well as the leisure or lifestyle activities of individuals. In this setting, the economic and industrial growth of Japan fuelled the evolution of different land uses, social distinctions, and the means with which they could be displayed. The combined processes in the Hanshin Region would be defined as ‘Hanshin Region Modernism’ (阪神間モダニズム) – the search for a modern lifestyle through industrial development, suburban housing areas, leisure activities, and the diffusion of Western culture.

As Wiltshire has commented (2004: 85), “the social geography of all cities cannot help but be influenced by deep embeddedness in their wider societies.” This chapter has

illustrated how the historical processes of industrial and economic growth, and social change, combined with the locational attributes of the region, influenced certain distinctions in urban space. Distinctions in ambience, socio-economic settlement patterns, urban development, and leisure activities can be found to have ties to setting and events that existed prior to the establishment of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups.

A look at maps of the Hanshin Region from 1894 (Figure 4.21), in the early stages of modernisation, followed by one from 1932 (Figure 4.22), provide visual evidence of the processes of urban development described in this chapter, and the setting in which they took place. In just over 30 years, the isolated rural communities along the coast became a series of inter-connected urban settlements, characterised by a variety of land-uses.

It was against this complex backdrop that Hankyu and Hanshin Groups emerged: a second glance at these maps hints at the significant presence of their lines through the developed areas in 1932 (neither company was in operation in 1894). Some 30 years after the modernisation of the region had started to unfold, these lines, and that of JR (Japan Rail), seem to stand out as both the bond, and passage, from one urban jurisdiction to the next (Figure 4.23).

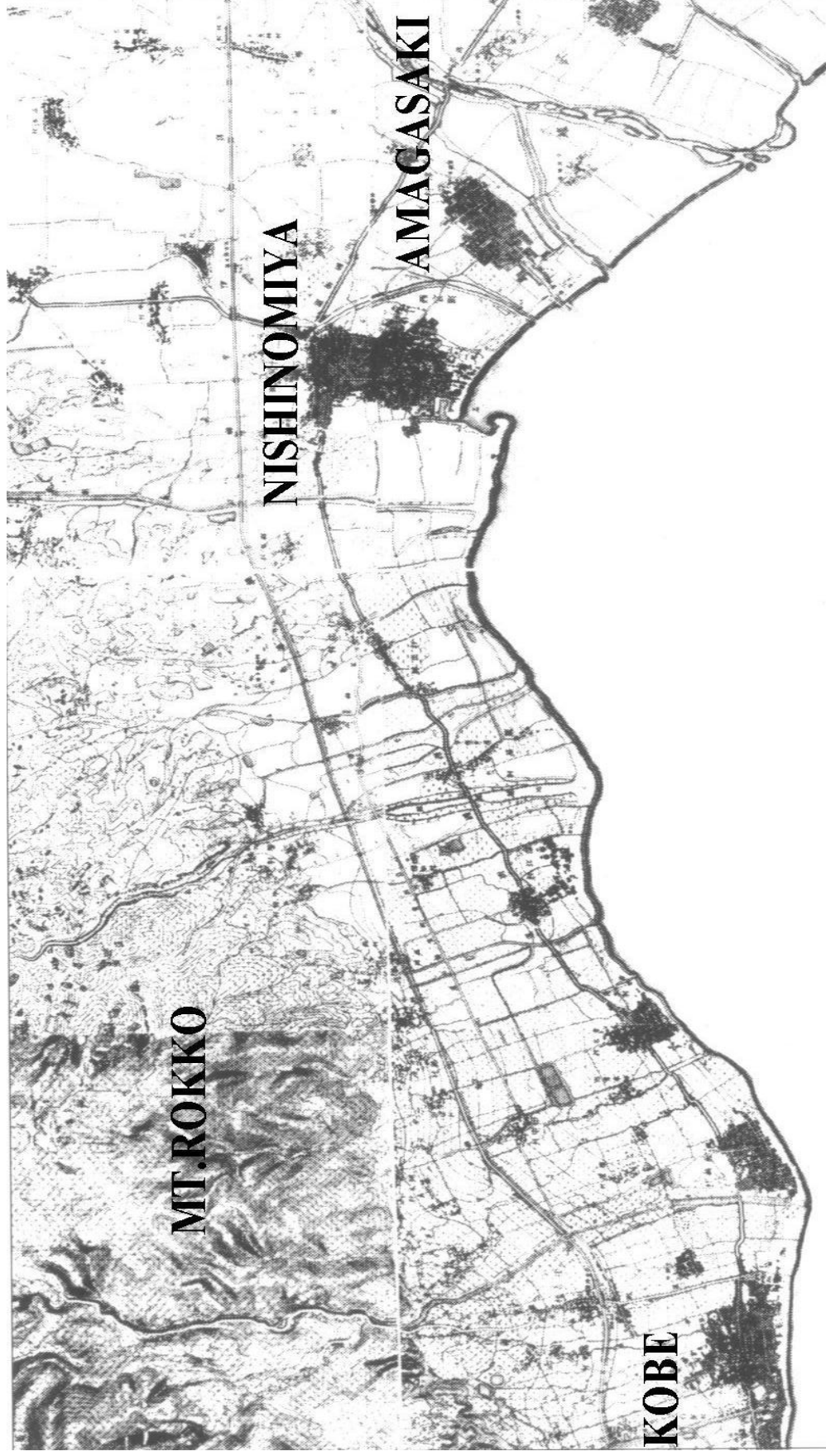


Figure 4.21 Map of Hanshin Region, circa 1894. No scale provided with map. *Source:* 展実行委員会, 平成 9 年= The Executive Exhibition Committee, the 9th year of the Heisei Period (1997)



Figure 4.22 Map of Hanshin Region, circa 1932. No scale provided with map. *Source:* 展実行委員会, 平成 9 年= The Executive Exhibition Committee, the 9th year of the Heisei Period (1997)



Figure 4.23 Map of Hanshin Region, circa 1932 with railway lines indicated. No scale provided with map. *Source:* 展実行委員会, 平成 9 年= The Executive Exhibition Committee, the 9th year of the Heisei Period (1997)

The mere presence of these railway lines during a time of such growth and change, and in such proximity to one another, raises questions as to their history and what influence they might have had, if any, in the distinctions along their two railway lines. Similar to Wiltshire's (2004) comment regarding the relationship between cities and deep embedded processes, the relevance of these companies to the Hanshin Region cannot be overlooked.

According to the book entitled 'Hanshin Region Modernism' (阪神間モダニズム):

“阪神間の発展は、私鉄の発達と切り離せない。現代も六甲山と海に挟まれた市街地に阪神、阪急、JRの三本の鉄道が並走している。それゆえに三社の競争ははげしく、価格、スピードなどさまざまな面で阪神間の人びとに質の高いサービスを提供している。”

(展実行委員会, 平成9年: 28)

“The development of the private railways cannot be separated from the development of the Hanshin Region. Still today, the three lines of JR, Hankyu and Hanshin are running side-by-side on the urban area sandwiched between Rokko Mountain and the sea. Therefore the three companies are providing a high quality service to the people of the Hanshin Region on various fronts such as heavy competition, price, and speed.”

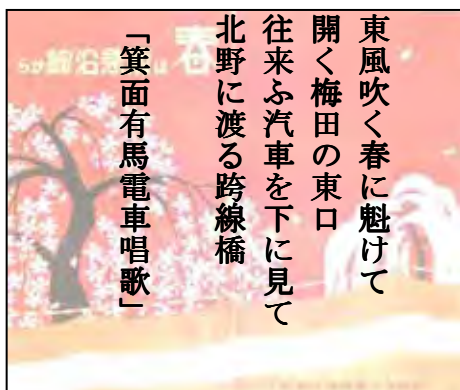
(The Executive Exhibition Committee, the 9th year of the Heisei Period, 1997: 28).

These questions lead to the narrative found in the next chapter (5), which unfolds the history of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups; key individuals, events, and actions that fostered the unique image of each company, including competition between the two. Understanding the history of both companies and in particular, their internal processes, is necessary in order to investigate the extent to which two private railway groups have, through their diversified businesses, contributed in some way to distinctions in the areas surrounding their two railway lines.

Chapter 5

Management structures, competition and the beginnings of

Hankyu and Hanshin's corporate brand



The easterly breeze is the pioneer of spring
Open Umeda's Eastern entrance
See below the coming and going of the train
Cross the footbridge in the northern field

[Excerpt from Mino-Arima Train Song]¹⁸¹

Background photo: 阪神急行電鉄株式会社,
(昭和時代) “春は阪急沿線から”¹⁸²

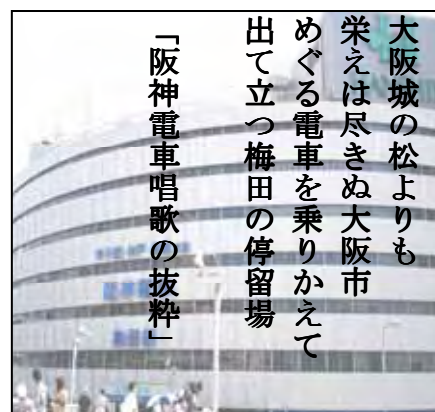
More than Osaka Castle's pines¹⁸³

Osaka City will be prosperous forever

Change from the circling train

And leave for Umeda Station

[Excerpt from Hanshin Train Song]¹⁸⁴



Background photo: Hanshin Department Store,
Umeda, Osaka. Source: Anne-Louise Semple,
2004.

The above song lyrics are poems of Japanese cultural appreciation for seasons and prosperity – they put into prose some of the locational attributes and historical processes mentioned in the previous chapter¹⁸⁵. A closer look at these songs, however, reveals

¹⁸¹ **Source:** 橋本, 1996=Hashimoto, 1996

¹⁸² Hanshin Electric Express Railway Corporation, Showa period, “Spring, from the Hankyu line”.

¹⁸³ Pines are viewed as a symbol of longevity in Japanese culture.

¹⁸⁴ **Source:** 阪神電鉄, 昭和 48 年=Hanshin Railway, 48th year of the Showa Period (1973).

¹⁸⁵ Chapter 4 discussed the mountainous topography in the north of the region and the desirability of living in such areas due to the breezes attracted by the elevation. The

another connotation: they symbolise two private railway groups and the space through which their lines run. The song for Mino-Arima Railway (箕面電車¹⁸⁶) resonates with images of nature, relaxation and broad lands. Conversely, the song for Hanshin Railway (阪神電車) conveys images of busyness, urbanity and progress. These depictions draw attention to an inter-play between geographical setting and processes exogenous and endogenous to Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. Over the course of the next few chapters this will be investigated further for its possible influence on the way the two groups developed places that were so distinctively different.

Central to this research is the examination of the historical development of these two corporations, particularly their management structures, oligopolistic competition, corporate brands, and the consumption of their goods, images and services; particularly, how these things affected the development of the Hanshin Region. There is an interesting story to be told of how these processes evolved, and interacted with the local setting as well as processes that originated external to Hankyu and Hanshin. This chapter is the starting point for that story and it focuses on the management structures of Hankyu and Hanshin, competition between the two and the beginnings of their corporate brands.¹⁸⁷

Following a map (Figure 5.1) which highlights places mentioned in this chapter, the

first song encapsulates these characteristics in the words ‘easterly breeze’, ‘see below’ (the impression of looking down from above), and ‘northern field’. Chapter 4 also addressed the economic and industrial prosperity of the Region which particularly grew westwards from Osaka, and both Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines, based out of Umeda, were a part of that development. These aspects can be seen in the references made to ‘Osaka City’, ‘prosperous’, ‘circling train’, and ‘Umeda Station’.

¹⁸⁶ Mino-Arima Railway is the present-day Hankyu Corporation.

¹⁸⁷ Corporate brands also include a corporate image. The expression ‘corporate image’ can be defined as the “impressions and associations, the beliefs and attitudes that are held in consumer memory with regard to the company (de Ruyter and Wetzels, 2000).

narrative begins with a brief explanation of the company names and the context of private railway groups in the Hanshin Region. It then addresses management structures, key individuals, events, and competition that fostered unique images of each company.¹⁸⁸ Building on this, key elements in the history of urban development by Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, will be discussed in Chapter 6, including corporate interview data which addresses the evolution of two distinct corporate brands.

¹⁸⁸ This chapter is based on the method of historiography. Analysis occurs through the cross-examination of sources to ensure satisfactory assessment of an historical event (McDowell, 2002).



Figure 5.1 Map of Hanshin Region *Source:* Zenrin Co., Ltd., 2002

5.1 Defining company names and structure

5.1.1 Hanshin Electric Railway Company



Figure 5.2. Source:
Hanshin Electric Railway
Corporation, 2004

In June of 1899, the Setsu Electric Railway Company (摂津電気鉄道株式会社) was founded under the guidance of Sotoyama Shuzo (外山脩造) and the company applied for permission to open a railway line between Kobe (神戸) and Amagasaki¹⁸⁹ (尼崎). When the establishment of the company was officially granted in July 1899,

the trading name was changed to Hanshin Electric Railway Company (阪神電気鉄道株式会社) (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005¹⁹⁰), and it is this name that has remained throughout the over 100-year history of the company. (See Figure 5.2 for the company logo). The name Hanshin (阪神) is used colloquially by locals, when speaking of the company and the area through which its railway line runs.

5.1.2 Hankyu Railway Company

The present day Hankyu company name is a result of a series of changes beginning with the establishment of the Mino-Arima Electric Railway Corporation (箕面有馬電気軌道株式会社) in 1907. After 11 years of operating rail services between Osaka and the north-west areas of Mino (箕面), Arima (有馬), Ikeda (池田) and Takarazuka (宝塚), the Mino-Arima Electric Railway Corporation had received approval to run a non-stop service, and was ready to open its rapid service between Osaka (大阪) and Kobe (神戸) (京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和 34 年¹⁹¹). With this the company changed its name to represent its high-speed service; so in 1918 the name changed to Hanshin Express Railway Corporation (阪神急行電鉄株式会社) (not to be confused with the Hanshin

¹⁸⁹ Amagasaki City is located 8.9kms west of Osaka City (阪神電気鉄道, 2006).

¹⁹⁰ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

¹⁹¹ Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 34th year of the Showa Period (1959)

Electric Railway Company) (阪急電鉄株式会社, 2004¹⁹²). In later years, transport in Japan would become a tool of military mobilisation (Aoki et al, 2000; Mizutani, 2000; Saito, 1997; Ike, 1955). As explained below, it was this period that once more affected the name of the company.

A unified railway system was an essential aspect of Japan's growing militarisation (Aoki et al, 2000; Mizutani, 2000; Saito, 1997; Ike, 1955). This led to the Hanshin Express Railway Corporation merging in 1940 with Keihan Railway Corporation (京阪電鉄株式会社) (京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和 34 年¹⁹³). By 1943, this merger had led to a combining of company names to Keinhanshin Express Railway Corporation (京阪神急行電鉄株式会社). Finally, in 1973, the “阪” (han) character representing Osaka, and the “急” (kyuu) character which means ‘rapid’, were combined in order to become the present day Hankyu Railway Corporation (阪急電鉄株式会社) (阪急電鉄株式会社, 2004¹⁹⁴) (See Figure 5.3 for the company logo). For management purposes, “the Hankyu Railway Corporation underwent a full reorganisation in April 2005. [At that time,] it was divided into a pure holding company, Hankyu Holdings Inc. (阪急ホールディングス) and an operating company, Hankyu Corporation (阪急株式会社)” (阪急ホールディングス, 2005¹⁹⁵). Individuals colloquially use the name Hankyu (阪急) when speaking of the company and the area through which its railway line runs.



Figure 5.3 Source: Hankyu Railway Corporation, 2004

Despite events and name changes over the years, both Hanshin and Hankyu have

¹⁹² Hankyu Railway Corporation, 2004.

¹⁹³ Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 34th year of the Showa Period (1959)

¹⁹⁴ Hankyu Railway Corporation.

¹⁹⁵ Hankyu Holdings, 2005

established clear identities with their logos, and they are recognisable by their present day colloquial names. Still not clear however, are their inner-workings, and the way in which these might have been shaped in some way by locational attributes and other historical conditions external to the companies. These questions are examined further in the following Section 5.2.

5.2 The context of private railway companies in the Hanshin Region

Private railway companies are commonly understood to be more developed and successful in the Kinki Region¹⁹⁶ than in any other location in Japan (including Tokyo). So powerful are they that the region has been named the “Empire of Private Railways” (Miki, 2003). Among them, Hankyu and Hanshin stand out because of their widely regarded pioneering spirit and business diversification (Cervero, 1998; Kato, 1996; 津金沢, 1991¹⁹⁷). One example of this recognition may be the nickname ‘Hankyu Plain’ used to describe extensive high-quality residential areas in the Hanshin Region that have been developed by Hankyu Group (Saito, 1997).

The following Section describes the status of Hankyu and Hanshin in relation to railway nationalisation, national and international railway examples, and private railway laws. However, it does not seek to cross-examine more specific details of urban development in relation to Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, for these will be discussed in Chapter 6 in the context of Japan’s urban experience.

¹⁹⁶ The Kinki Region includes the six prefectures of: Osaka, Kyoto, Nara, Hyogo, Shiga and Wakayama. Within the prefectures of Osaka and Hyogo lies the Hanshin Region.

¹⁹⁷ Tsuganezawa, 1991

5.2.1 Railway Nationalisation 鉄道国有法公布

In the late 1800s, the Japanese government owned several short railway lines linking principal cities such as Tokyo (東京) and Yokohama (横浜)¹⁹⁸. While some politicians viewed the establishment of rail networks positively as a mechanism for economic development and a system of national defence, others feared that railways would enable foreign invasion, or were simply an unnecessary extravagance for Japanese society (Ike, 1955). Opposition aside, government railways slowly developed and it was these railways that ultimately formed the Japan Railway Company (JR) in 1881. The formation of this governing body emerged in response to demands by members of the nobility for the development of an enterprise from which they could receive consistent income (Ike, 1955).

Japanese engagement in the Sino-Japanese War¹⁹⁹ raised new debate over railways. Certain politicians argued for a nationalisation of all railroads in order to promote transportation, communications and military mobilisation, (Aoki et al, 2000; Mizutani, 2000; Saito, 1997; Ike, 1955) while others who supported private enterprise argued that the chief purpose of investment in railroads was profit, not service provision. According to Saito (1997: 3), private railways around Japan were busily engaged in profit-making business as “the total track length of private railways was more than double that of government railways.” But political and military demands were strong,

¹⁹⁸ The Tokyo to Yokohama line was opened in 1872 (Aoki et al, 2000). The Osaka to Kobe line was opened in 1874 (Ike, 1955).

¹⁹⁹ The Sino-Japanese War occurred from 1894-1895 between “Japan and China over competing rights and interests in Japan” (Hunter, 1989: 23). Japan was victorious with its recently modernised military, resulting in a number of land concessions. Japan’s war mobilisation continued with the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), the annexation of Korea (1910), and declaration of war on Germany (1914) (Hunter, 1989). This would not be the end of Japan’s war involvement, but these dates overlap with the time at which Hankyu and Hanshin Groups commenced operation.

and these resulted in the government purchasing 17 private railways and then merging them into a publicly-owned system from 1906 to 1907 (Aoki et al, 2000; Saito, 1997; Ike, 1955). This event, known as Railway Nationalisation (鉄道国有法公布) did not involve Hankyu and Hanshin.

Following the establishment of the company in 1899, railway passenger services of Hanshin Electric Railway Company commenced in 1905 (阪神電気鉄道株式会社, 2005²⁰⁰) and Hanshin was fully operational at the time of railway nationalisation; however, the private railways that succumbed to nationalisation in the Kansai Region were: the Nishinari Railway (西成電鉄) and the Hankaku Railway (阪鶴) (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005²⁰¹). Hanshin Electric Railway Company was not taken over by the government because it was operating a line between Osaka and Kobe, an area already serviced by the Japan Railway Company (JR) from 1874, and was viewed as providing a local service, whereas the goal of the Japan Railway Company was to provide national infrastructure. The government, with insufficient budgetary means, encouraged private sector investment in local railways, enabling government money to be put towards national military mobilisation (Mizutani, 2000).

When Hankaku Railway was nationalised, the dissolved board of directors became responsible for the Mino-Arima Railway initiative²⁰². However, insufficient funds prevented the proper establishment of the railway line (Ogawa, 1998); as a result, it was not operating or physically available for purchase during the time of railway

²⁰⁰ Hanshin Electric Railway Company, 2005

²⁰¹ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

²⁰² The purpose of the Mino-Arima Railway was to provide rail service to the famous Arima Hot Spring, similar to the early season sightseeing railway services in Japan. (Ogawa, 1998)

nationalisation. The Mino-Arima Electric Railway (present day Hankyu) finally commenced business in 1907, after railway nationalisation had been completed (阪急電鉄株式会社, 2004²⁰³). Thus, both the Hanshin Electric Railway Company and the Mino-Arima Electric Railway (currently Hankyu) escaped railway nationalisation and remained privately owned and operated railway companies.

5.2.2 The Hanshin Region ‘rivals’

The land in between the Hankyu and Hanshin lines is bisected by the Tokaido main line of JR²⁰⁴ (Figure 5.4). The latter JR was a publicly-owned and operated institution, limited to operating railway services only, until 1987 at which time it became private. In fact, the pressure to privatise was due to constant profit-loss in the face of successful private railway enterprise, such as Hankyu and Hanshin (Saito, 1997). The experiences of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, as private diversified railways, are distinct from the experience of JR and comparisons will therefore not be drawn. Nevertheless, the Japan Railway Tokaido line is included in the grouping known as the ‘Hanshin Region rivals’ (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005; 関西鉄道研究会, 1997²⁰⁵) and will therefore be mentioned in Section 5.5 as it relates to competition.

²⁰³ Hankyu Railway Corporation, 2004

²⁰⁴ In 1881, national railway lines were recognised as property of the Japan Railway Company. Post-World War II reorganisation resulted in the new name of Japanese National Railways (JNR). During privatisation in 1987 these lines and properties became known as Japan Railways (JR) and presently remain named as such (Terada, 2001).

²⁰⁵ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005; Kansai Railway Research Association, 1997.

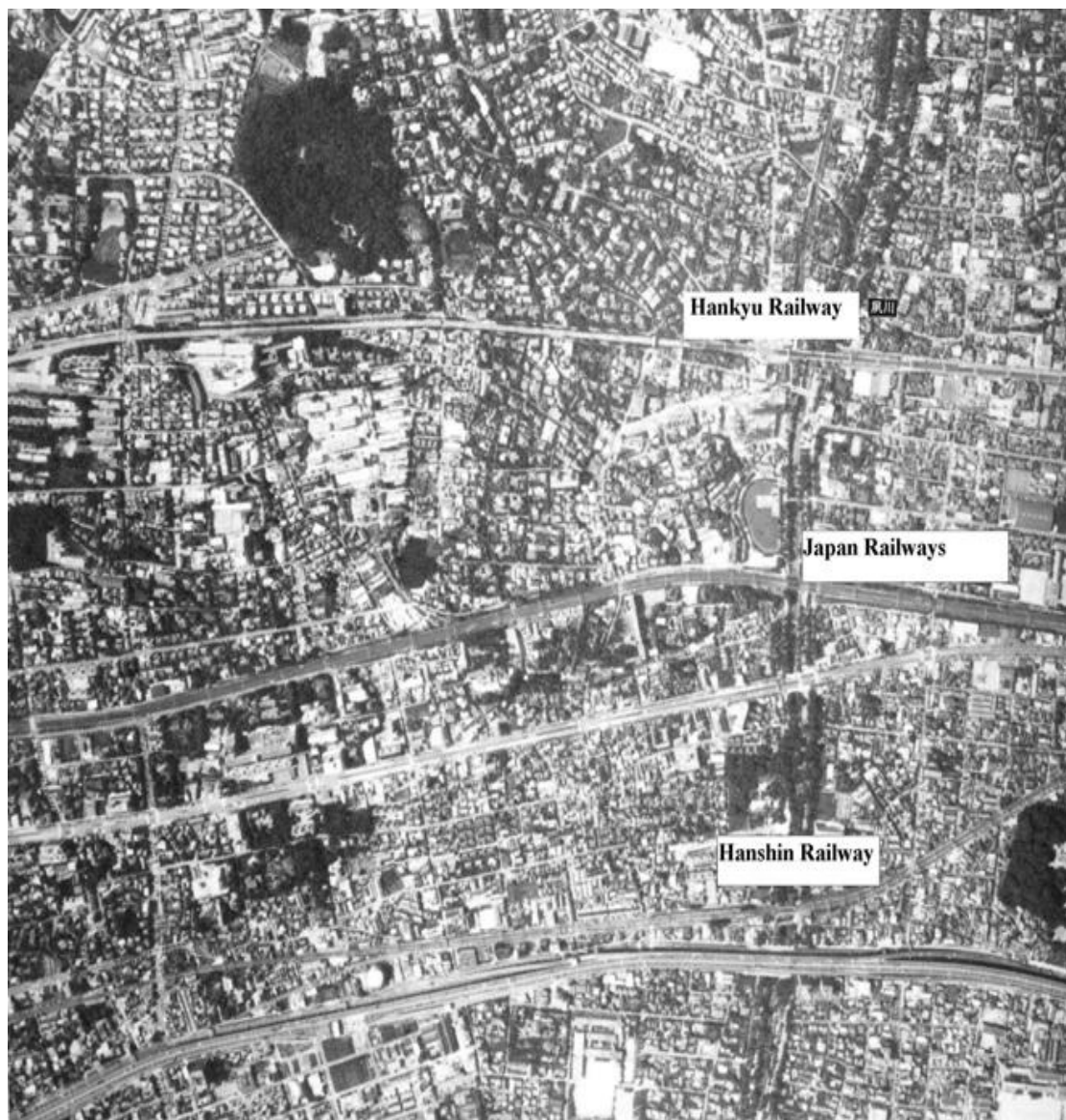


Figure 5.4 Aerial photo of Shukugawa, circa 1980, with demarcation of Hankyu, JR and Hanshin railway lines (performed by the author, 2007). 阪急電鉄株式会社, 昭和 55 年²⁰⁶.

5.2.3 Japanese private railway companies in an international context

The experiences of Western private railways were compared with those of Japan in Chapter 2²⁰⁷. Attempts have been made to liken the early cases of American private railway management to the diversified business model of Japanese private railway

²⁰⁶ Hankyu Railway Company, 55th Year of the Showa Period (1980).

²⁰⁷ See Chapter 2, Section 2.2 for a full commentary on differences between Western and Japanese private railway companies.

companies; but it is evident that even at their height²⁰⁸, American private railways were not complex and diversified businesses through which a corporate brand was consistently marketed and possibly consumed by residents surrounding the lines. The Japanese private railways present a scenario that is in certain aspects distinct from private railway experiences elsewhere.

This is not to suggest that Japanese private railways were not influenced in any way by the experiences of foreign private railway companies. In 1869 the British Minister to Japan, Harry Parkes, was the first to advise the new government of the Meiji Restoration that railways could play a vital role in the modernisation of the country (Aoki et al, 2000). Once the government agreed, the funds necessary for construction were in fact acquired through the sale of railway bonds in London by an English colleague of Parkes, Mr. Horatio Nelson Lay (Aoki et al, 2000).

Foreign expertise continued to influence the introduction of railways in Japan when first, British steam locomotives were introduced in 1871 and then, in 1890, electric traction was exhibited by a New England company at Tokyo's exposition at Ueno Park (Demery Jr., 2002). The technological influence of Western railways also played a role during the establishment of both Hankyu and Hanshin Railways. In particular, key individuals within the corporations had visited the United States and found the electric railways of cities such as New York, to be a good example of engineering to follow in Japan. This resulted in both Hankyu and Hanshin Railways constructing wide-gauge, high-speed inter-city trains with foreign-developed engineering methods (財団法人日

²⁰⁸ As discussed in Chapter 2, one of the most compatible examples to this study is that of the Van Sweringen brothers; however, this example differs from that of Hankyu and Hanshin.

本経営史研究所, 2005; 小林, 2001²⁰⁹).

Demery Jr., (2002) has suggested that the earliest managers of both Hankyu and Hanshin Railways, in devising the diversified model of private railway business, were influenced by early Western private railways that were active in land speculation. Indeed, the earliest Japanese private railway companies (1890s) were often engaged in seasonal resort and scenic transport provision (Ogawa, 1998). Their articles of association²¹⁰ limited business to railway transport and any loss in profit became the responsibility of the company shareholders. This meant that risks associated with running other businesses, such as the risk of potential profit loss becoming the financial burden of shareholders, were undesirable (Ogawa, 1998). This ‘passive’ form of business (restricting business to railway operations and seasonal resorts) is believed to have been based on American and European systems (Ogawa, 1998), that did not diversify their businesses aggressively due to the associated financial risk.

According to Demery Jr. (2002), Kobayashi Ichizo (小林一三), one of the founders of Hankyu Railway²¹¹, had grand visions of diversified business including amusement facilities, entertainment and theatres, housing development, retail, and railway services that were not dissimilar to the U.S. examples of P.T. Barnum, Walt Disney²¹² and Henry E. Huntington²¹³. However, Kobayashi does not allude to any such influences in his

²⁰⁹ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005; Kobayashi, 2001

²¹⁰ Articles of Association means the basis on which they were founded and, the operations approved by the Japanese government.

²¹¹ For a complete biography of Kobayashi, see Section 5.4.2

²¹² Walt Disney was only born in 1901, meaning that Kobayashi’s innovations (1907-1937) came long before Disney was of age to engage in business (Walt Disney Biography, 2007).

²¹³ Huntington was the founder of California’s Pacific Electric Railway. There is no documented evidence that Kobayashi and Huntington met during Kobayashi’s trip to

autobiography; rather competition with Hanshin, as well as his own interests and experiences, were listed as the main reasons behind the businesses he chose to develop. In fact, if there is any connection to the Western experiences of land development it seems most likely to have been imported by early managers of Hanshin Electric Railway as evidenced in their 100 year history²¹⁴.

The dense population of urban areas has been one factor contributing to the success and continued importance of railways within Japan's urban experience (Saito, 1997). Although automobile ownership in Japan has steadily risen since the 1960s (国土交通省, 2000²¹⁵), commuting by railway and bus remains the most common form of transport in dense urban areas (Nojiri, 1992). In Western experiences, social, environmental and spatial elements have been, and continue to be, strongly affected by the automobile (Kaplan et al., 2004; Hall, 2003). Although recent transit-oriented development in Western locations has been aimed at overcoming the effects of the automobile, certain hurdles remain. These include characteristics²¹⁶ of Western cities such as urban sprawl and lack of transport accessibility in more peripheral areas (Calthorpe, 2004). In addition to the urban density, this may be the result of the physical setting and public policies.

the American West Coast during which he studied electric railways, although it is suspected (Demery Jr., 2002). It should also be noted that the Pacific Railway began in 1901 and only reached its peak in 1925 (Wikipedia, 2007). Kobayashi was rapidly developing Hankyu at relatively the same time the Pacific Railway was establishing itself in the transport industry. Also, the Pacific Railway did not have the level of business diversification that Kobayashi implemented suggesting that he did not mirror its experiences.

²¹⁴ See Section 5.4

²¹⁵ The Ministry of Roads and Transport, 2000

²¹⁶ One example is the residential development of peripheral areas; made accessible by the automobile. "These outer areas do not enjoy the natural benefits of the 'location efficient' sites in the city and inner suburbs. The viability of density and mix is more difficult and the potential for transit ridership is often far in the future" (Calthorpe, 2004: xiii).

The reality that Japan is predominantly mountainous, (株式会社日鉄ヒューマンデベロプメント²¹⁷) and heavily reliant on imported oil, has resulted in rigid controls on automobile ownership (Cervero, 1998). Vehicle and petrol taxes as well as the requirement to prove capacity for parking automobiles off-street (due to narrow roads) have made car ownership and subsequent usage for commuting less desirable (Cervero, 1998). The transport offered in Japan is of high quality and the tax incentives provided to company employees for non-automobile commuting are in “contrast with U.S. policy where, historically, workers have received the tax-free benefit of free parking” (Cervero, 1998: 188).

This evidence therefore suggests that although early Japanese private railway management may have drawn on some Western private railway cases or technological expertise, the information acquired was then adapted to a Japanese context. For that reason, it is argued that the case of Japanese private railways is in some ways dissimilar from Western railway examples. However, despite this and as would be the case elsewhere, these companies do not operate without regulation or interaction with other organisations. Hankyu and Hanshin adhere to government directives and laws that include those governing business operations. Knowledge of these laws is necessary if one is to explore the level of influence these companies had during urban development. The following section therefore examines the general laws governing business activities.

5.2.4 Railway-specific laws/regulations

²¹⁷ Nippon Steel Human Resources Development Co. Ltd., 1993

Prior to the privatisation of Japan Railways, Japanese private railways were governed by the Regional Private Railway Law (地方私鉄法) which recognised that inter-city private railways operated differently from nationally-owned railways (Aoki et al, 2000²¹⁸). However, in order to accompany the privatisation of Japan Railways (1987), the Railway Enterprise Law (鉄道事業法) was amended in order to apply to all Japanese private urban railways (Akatsuka and Yoshida, 1999). Therefore, there are at present two main laws governing the day-to-day business activities²¹⁹ of Japanese private urban railways: 1) Railway Enterprise Law (鉄道事業法) and, 2) Railway Operations Law (鉄道営業法)²²⁰. The most recent amendments to these laws were made on March 31st, 2006 (総務省行政管理局, 2007²²¹).

One of the most pertinent aspects of the Railway Enterprise Law, which focuses on management, (Section 2, Article 3) is that all private railway companies must obtain permission from the Ministry of Transport in order to operate. This Section of the law is important because it is an area of private railway operation that cannot be decided within the private railway management structure itself; rather it is one element that is monitored and controlled by the government. For example, in order to obtain permission to operate a railway line, or a business outside of railways, the private

²¹⁸ According to Aoki et al (2000), the separate regulation of government railways and private railways was basic practice for more than 80 years despite the passing of the Railway Nationalisation Law in 1906.

²¹⁹ As described in the previous chapter, activities associated with real estate and land development are affected by other laws; presently the Urban Planning Act of 1968.

²²⁰ Regulations provided for in the Railway Operations Law are largely focused on operational safety, (Akatsuka and Yoshida, 1999), therefore, this law will not be discussed more extensively here as it is not directly related to the business management of private railway companies and consequently, the way in which private railway company images are reflected in the urban form.

²²¹ Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Post and Telecommunications: Political Management Office, 2007.

railway company must submit a comprehensive plan explaining the fundamental aspects of how the company proposes to carry out business²²² (Section 2, Article 4, #6) (総務省行政管理局, 2007²²³).

This requirement to apply for business establishment was also present when Hankyu and Hanshin were founded. Both companies were required to apply for license by submitting their ‘articles of association’²²⁴ for approval to the Ministry of Transport (京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和 34 年; 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005²²⁵). As both companies developed, they changed their articles of association to include increasingly diversified businesses and these alterations were approved by the government (京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和 34 年; 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005²²⁶). The growing business diversification of private railway companies is also now addressed under Section 3 of the law, where once more, the need to apply for approval from the Ministry of Transport is indicated (Section 3, Article 33) (総務省行政管理局, 2007²²⁷).

Therefore, although a private railway company will ultimately have the ability to make many in-house decisions associated with the planning of its diversified businesses, the plan for the company must first be approved by the Ministry of Transport, thereby ensuring quality control. As earlier indicated, during the establishment of Hankyu and

²²² Historically this has been known as the ‘articles of association’.

²²³ Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Post and Telecommunications: Political Management Office, 2007.

²²⁴ The basis on which they were founded and, the operations approved by the government.

²²⁵ Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 34th Year of the Showa Period (1959); Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

²²⁶ Ibid

²²⁷ Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Post and Telecommunications: Political Management Office, 2007.

Hanshin, the government had been preoccupied with war mobilisation²²⁸ and it relied heavily on private railway companies to build railway track as well as develop urban areas (Aoki et al, 2000; Mizutani, 2000; Saito, 1997; Ike, 1955). Further, as Mizuuchi (1995) noted, Hankyu and Hanshin maintained high building standards and this in turn projected an image of high quality to the government. For this reason, it is possible that Hankyu and Hanshin were permitted to diversify extensively with little restriction.

In the context of the present day Japanese law (Section 3, Article 34) a flexible environment exists, albeit for different reasons. Japanese private railway groups demonstrating sufficient ability to perform qualified business internally will be submitted to a standard audit, rather than a gruelling application process (総務省行政管理局, 2007²²⁹). In general, present day Japanese railway planning occurs within the private railway company itself: “the planning of railway projects [associated with any of the businesses run by the private railway group,] is not done by the Ministry of Transport, but by each individual rail enterprise” (Mizutani, 2000: 274). The role of the Ministry, therefore, is to approve a likely high standard of business planning which has already occurred within the private railway company. This suggests a certain level of professional expertise within the companies and a respect for that expertise by the government when it comes to the business planning approval process.

With these things in mind, the remaining sections of this chapter are centred on the

²²⁸ The first period of war mobilisation was the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) followed by the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), the annexation of Korea (1910), and declaration of war on Germany (1914) (Hunter, 1989). This would not be the end of Japan’s war involvement, but these dates overlap with the time at which Hankyu and Hanshin Groups commenced operation.

²²⁹ Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Post and Telecommunications: Political Management Office, 2007

corporate histories of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups; particularly their management structures, those who pioneered business diversification, and fierce rivalry between the two.

5.3 The management structures of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups

As mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, Japanese private railway companies operate a myriad of businesses, and the structures through which these are managed will be highlighted in this Section. The business diversification of Japanese private railway companies represents much more than competition: it is an exceptional strategy through which profit is generated in order to subsidise the operation of the railways (Terada, 2001; Mizutani, 2000; Aoki et al, 2000; Wakuda, 1997²³⁰). Further, a variety of business ventures provide the companies with the opportunity to gain access to more consumers and thus the potential for a wider-spread market.

The diversified businesses also serve as a mechanism through which the logos of the companies and their corporate images can be consistently marketed and subsequently

²³⁰ Terada (2001: 50) has argued that the business diversification of private railways has “compensated for operating losses” in the railway business itself which, in the late 1990s, accounted for “only about 20% of the total corporate revenues.” While variation is likely to occur between companies, in 2005 alone, the urban transportation business of Hankyu generated 146.4 billion JPY (approximately \$1.9 billion AUD), in comparison to 330.9 billion JPY (approximately \$4.2 billion AUD) revenue in its other core businesses (Hankyu Corporation, 2005). At the same time, Hanshin’s transport divisions produced a profit of 52.990 billion JPY (approximately \$675 million AUD) in contrast to a non-transport based total of 246 billion JPY (approximately \$3.1 billion AUD) (Hanshin Electric Railway Co. Ltd., 2005). In the case of Hankyu and Hanshin the point may not be so much about ‘compensating for operating losses’, but rather a lower profit in the transport sectors of the two companies. There is a close relationship between the railways and the success of other businesses: the railways deliver consumers to the diversified businesses while the “businesses stimulate passenger demand” (Aoki et al, 2000: 90). In this way, the companies continue to generate profit and the railways remain both an integral and feasible aspect of business.

made a reality²³¹. As Saito (1997: 3) has written, “the major private railway companies can no longer be viewed as mere railway or transportation businesses; today, they are more like urban developers or local service businesses supporting the lives of people living along the railway line”. The management structures of these businesses might therefore be an important component in understanding the influence of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups in the urban development of the Hanshin Region.

5.3.1 History of the Japanese Diversification of Private Railway Business

The strategy of business diversification is one for generating profit. It subsidises the railway business and, as a tool of competition, has been the spine of the 100-year business success of both companies. But the strategy also cleverly represents a specific engagement with businesses that are closely related to urban life. These include real estate development and sales surrounding the railway lines, construction and operation of shopping facilities, and development of the tourist industry (Aoki et al., 2000). This decision, to engage in businesses associated with urban lifestyle, has truly made the business diversification strategy feasible, because it has stimulated passenger transportation and consumer demand. As will be introduced in this chapter and discussed further in Chapters 6 and 7, it has also facilitated the transfer of symbolic images or, corporate brands, into concrete representations. The way in which this business model was created by the two companies is highly pertinent to this research.

Inspired by overseas events, Imanishi Rinzaburo²³² (今西林三郎), Senior Managing

²³¹ The consistent marketing of logos and images will be addressed in Section 5.5. As previously mentioned corporate images are an important aspect of corporate brands.

²³² See Section 5.4.1 for information on Hanshin’s earliest managers.

Director of Hanshin Electric Railway (1907-1917), pioneered business diversification within the context of Japan's societal, industrial and economic development. Those early strategies included the opening of an amusement park and the building of rental housing along the Hanshin railway line (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005; Ogawa, 1998, Sakuma, 1993²³³). In order to understand the evolution of the business diversification of Japanese private railways, however, it is necessary to explore further the ideas of Kobayashi Ichizo²³⁴ (小林一三), who was a founder of Hankyu Railway.

Prior to Nationalisation, the Hankaku Railway Company headquarters were located to the north-west of Osaka in an area that would later be developed by the Mino-Arima Railway as Ikeda City (池田市). Kobayashi attended meetings of the Board of Directors and company promoters and it was on these occasions, when Kobayashi went back and forth between Osaka and Ikeda, that he “fantasised about corporate planning and housing management” (小林, 2001: 164²³⁵). Kobayashi drew his idea from existing company housing provided to staff of the largest banks in Japan but was cognisant that the area of Ikeda was yet to be populated. Further to this, he viewed the location as optimal because it was in a ‘nature’ setting and the cost of land was low (小林, 2001²³⁶). Kobayashi, therefore, was to launch into a whole new dimension of housing development different from that of Hanshin; namely, ‘new town’ development²³⁷ (Cervero, 1998).

²³³ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005. For a full discussion on these activities, please see Sections 5.4 and 5.5.

²³⁴ See Section 5.4.2 for information on Hankyu's earliest managers.

²³⁵ Kobayashi, 2001:164.

²³⁶ Kobayashi, 2001. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

²³⁷ As will be discussed in Chapter 6, the location of this development was north-west of Osaka in open paddock and this had implications for the nature of the houses as well as the attractiveness of the setting.

Kobayashi's management made Hankyu the pioneer of certain businesses. But it is important to note that the reasoning behind Kobayashi's choice of businesses was not an attempt to mimic Western railway examples of land speculation, but a reflection of Kobayashi's unique vision (大家, 1999²³⁸). For example, Kobayashi's motivation in creating the all-female Takarazuka Revue²³⁹ (宝塚レビュー) came from seeing the Western-style all boy band of Mitsukoshi Department Store in Tokyo (Robertson, 1998). As will be discussed further in Section 5.4.2, Kobayashi saw ways in which business could be increased and the desire to engage in creative economies was directly related to his personal interests and tastes²⁴⁰.

It is on the basis of Kobayashi's vision of diversity that all Japanese private railway business diversification was modelled (Cervero, 1998; Kato, 1996; 津金沢, 1991²⁴¹). So significant was Kobayashi's decision-making that the business diversification model has often been called the "Takarazuka Strategy" (宝塚戦略) (作道, 1998; 津金沢, 1991²⁴²), recognising Kobayashi's development of the Takarazuka area²⁴³. It has even been formally labelled "Kobayashi Ichizo's Business Method" (小林一三の商法) (岩掘, 昭和 54 年²⁴⁴), perpetuating reverence for a business man of great vision. It is Kobayashi's notion of establishing housing, creative economy enterprises and retail - all anchored by the railway line - that comprises the present-day model for Japanese private

²³⁸ Otsuka, 1999

²³⁹ See Section 5.4 for further discussion on the development at Takarazuka.

²⁴⁰ Kobayashi's desire to become a novelist and his appreciation for literature in general gave him an appreciation for the arts, as a creative industry. In his autobiography he comments on his desire to become involved in business and creative industries because of the associated notable lifestyle (小林, 昭和 37 年=Kobayashi, 37th Year of the Showa Period-1962).

²⁴¹ Tsuganezawa, 1991

²⁴² Sakudo, 1998; Tsuganezawa, 1991

²⁴³ This includes Takarazuka Paradise, the Zoo, the all-girls theatre Revue and Ikeda City.

²⁴⁴ Iwabori, 54th year of the Showa Period (1979)

railway diversified business. With this in mind, the particular diversified businesses of Hankyu and Hanshin will be briefly considered.

5.3.2 Diversified business structures

As will be further discussed in Sections 5.4 and 5.5, the history of competition between Hankyu and Hanshin Groups demonstrates that Hanshin was the first to diversify into the areas of housing and amusement parks (Saito, 1997). Hankyu and Hanshin have come to establish a network of businesses that are unique to each company. In order to understand the present-day corporate functions of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups in the Hanshin Region, it is necessary to consider the main areas of their diversified businesses.

Hanshin Group's diversified businesses are divided into six divisions: 1) Transport; 2) Retail; 3) Real Estate; 4) Construction; 5) Leisure and Service; 6) Other²⁴⁵. Dispersed throughout these are 70 different businesses²⁴⁶ ranging from the famous Hanshin Tigers Baseball Team to less visible sundry shops and kiosks (阪神電気鉄道株式会社, 2005²⁴⁷). Compared with traditional notions of railway companies, this diversification is clearly beyond transport service provision, and this, as will be seen in Section 5.5, provided an opportunity for Hanshin to project a corporate image through all of its goods and services. Yet, it is still surpassed by that of Hankyu.

Hankyu Group's diversification stretches even more broadly than that of Hanshin's:

²⁴⁵ Other includes: sundry shops, kiosks and women's apparel stores.

²⁴⁶ For a full listing of businesses under these divisions see Appendix E

²⁴⁷ Hanshin Electric Railway Company, 2005.

an extension of Kobayashi's earliest strategies to out-perform Hanshin²⁴⁸. At present, Hankyu operates 117 different businesses²⁴⁹ dispersed throughout seven divisions: 1) Urban Transportation; 2) Real Estate; 3) Travel and International Transportation; 4) Hotels; 5) Entertainment and Communications; 6) Retailing and; 7) Other²⁵⁰ (阪急電鉄株式会社, 2004²⁵¹). This diversification has enabled Hankyu, like Hanshin, to extend well beyond the functions associated with the railway lines, thereby also creating the opportunity for Hankyu to communicate its corporate symbols through its diversified businesses (See Section 5.5).

5.3.3 Profitable success of diversified business

The strategy of business diversification has been proven a profitable scenario for both Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. In 2006, Hanshin had an operating revenue of ¥299,011 million (approximately \$3.5 billion AUD) with assets totalling ¥416,571 million (approximately \$5.5 billion AUD) (阪神電気鉄道株式会社, 2004²⁵²). But once more, the prowess and dominance of Hankyu is evident in the even greater 2004 operating revenue of ¥471,483 million (approximately \$5.6 billion AUD) with assets totaling approximately \$16 billion AUD. This larger revenue and assets has enabled Hankyu to be ranked the 13th most powerful railway corporation in the world for profit, holdings and service provision (ニュースウィーク, 2005²⁵³).

²⁴⁸ For further discussion on this competition see Section 5.5.

²⁴⁹ For a full listing of businesses under these divisions see Appendix F

²⁵⁰ Other includes media and communications, such as publications.

²⁵¹ Hankyu Railway Company, 2004.

²⁵² Hanshin Electric Railway Company, 2004.

²⁵³ Newsweek (Japanese edition), 2005. Interestingly, the Japanese Edition of Newsweek is published by a Hankyu Group business.

5.3.4 Management structures

With large operating revenues and assets, both Hankyu and Hanshin Groups rely on strong corporate management structures to oversee their diverse business activities. This type of ‘group’ management structure has been in place since the beginning of the companies, as may be seen in viewing Hanshin’s corporate structure of 1907 (See Appendix G). Although these structures alone cannot fully explain the influence of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups in the urban development of the Hanshin Region, it is important to understand at least the structure through which their businesses are managed. This hints at the links between management structures, decisions made by the corporations, and the ability for Hankyu and Hanshin Group to project consistent images through their goods and services²⁵⁴.

The present day corporate management structures in general are led by a board, and a president. Below senior management are a series of divisions which represent the various diversified businesses. From these, branches extend to ensure management of the many businesses within those divisions (Appendices H, I). In these corporate structures the various business compartments all directly feed into the larger corporation with very little separation between levels.

The internal coordination of strategies, decisions and capital is an important characteristic of Japanese private railway groups, including Hankyu and Hanshin. The connectivity of their diversified businesses enables the corporation proper to direct the activities of all of its subsidiaries, overseeing control; further, it fosters the opportunity

²⁵⁴ This will be discussed further in Section 5.5 as well as Chapters 6 and 7, in conjunction with other corporate and urban processes.

for uniform images to be marketed. As de Ruyter and Wetzels (2000) have commented, the ability for a company to maintain image consistency and extend into various goods and services depends on its ability to centrally collaborate. The consistent marketing of uniform images through the diversified businesses of Hankyu and Hanshin will therefore be further addressed in Section 5.5 as it relates to competition. First, however, the role played by pioneers in creating those images must be examined.

5.4 Pioneers of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups

Japanese company employees are generally given to understand that “no enterprise can be better than the people engaged in it” (Hasegawa, 1986: 1). Like a community, employees are motivated to work hard for the benefit of the company and managers are responsible for directing and inspiring employees. These responsibilities, to inspire and direct, could not have been reflected more strongly than among the earliest managers of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, for they were responsible for creating a whole new way of business for private railways. These companies would ultimately represent much more than railway service provision; they would come to symbolise innovation, ambition and complex business management. And the most significant managers in their history would ultimately shape the images of the present day companies. This Section of the chapter, then, discusses key individuals and their contributions to the development of distinct corporate images²⁵⁵ for Hankyu and Hanshin Groups.

²⁵⁵ One aspect of a corporate brand.

5.4.1 Hanshin's Early Leaders

Sotoyama Shuzo 外山修造

Under the management of Sotoyama Shuzo²⁵⁶ (Figure 5.6), Hanshin Electric Railway applied for approval to build inter-city railway lines and, in 1899, business officially commenced (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005²⁵⁷). Sotoyama's leadership was influenced by an earlier business trip to the United States, and also by a young Japanese engineer who had spent time studying abroad. In September 1887, Sotoyama visited New York "in order to research progressive business" (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005:23²⁵⁸). Such business trips were encouraged during the Meiji Restoration as a means of obtaining intelligence that would help propel Japan's modernisation. During the trip, Sotoyama toured the electric railway around Central Park and took an interest in the businesses of electricity and electric railways. This experience influenced Sotoyama's directive for Hanshin Electric Railway to become involved in both electricity provision and electric railway services (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005²⁵⁹).

Sotoyama was also influenced by a young Japanese engineer by the name of Misaki Shozo (三崎省三)²⁶⁰, who had spent his high school years (1886-1890) studying at the

²⁵⁶ Shuzo had acquired managerial expertise by working at National Bank (国立銀行), prior to his role at Hanshin Electric Railway (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005).

²⁵⁷ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

²⁵⁸ Ibid: 23

²⁵⁹ Ibid

²⁶⁰ Interestingly, Misaki would ultimately become Manager of Hanshin Electric Railway Company from 1922-1927 (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005.)

Hamilton Grammar School in San Francisco. “Misaki then studied electrical engineering, first at Stanford University (1890-1892) and then at Purdue (1892-1894) from which he graduated. Upon graduation in 1894, Misaki spent six months on practical training in New York and Chicago, following which he returned to Japan and took up employment in an electrical factory” (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005: 24²⁶¹). Sotoyama became aware of Misaki three months later, when Misaki was sent on a business trip to America to research electric railways, and he decided to recruit Misaki for his expertise. “By going to Misaki’s home to recruit him and have discussions on railways, Sotoyama proved his leadership and vision for Hanshin Electric Railway” (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005: 24²⁶²).

Based on Misaki’s advice, Sotoyama’s vision involved the transfer of American-style wide-gauge high-speed technology²⁶³ in order to build an inter-city electric railway. Not only did he instigate the construction of Hanshin’s Electric Railway using this technology (construction began in 1900), but his decisions under the guidance of Misaki Shozo ensured that the company would continuously pursue an American-style technical model. Sotoyama fell ill in 1905, the year commuter service for Hanshin Electric Railway officially commenced, and was forced to step down as manager (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005²⁶⁴). His brief time as manager and his technical contributions of that time, make Sotoyama an important figure in the establishment of the company, and the construction of the railway. He was not involved; however, in the evolution of the present day corporate image which has grown out of the

²⁶¹ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005: 24

²⁶² Ibid:24

²⁶³ This decision was considered quite advanced as National Railways were operating on a narrow-gauge system (Aoki et al, 2000).

²⁶⁴ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

diversification of its businesses.

Sugimura Seitaro 杉村正太郎

In response to Sotoyama's sudden illness, Hanshin's executive director Sugimura Seitaro (Figure 5.7) was quickly advanced to the top position in 1905. His career as manager (1905-1907) of Hanshin Electric Railway was even shorter than his predecessor due to a disagreement with shareholders (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005²⁶⁵). With the opening of the Osaka to Kobe service in 1905, this stage of Hanshin's corporate history should have been ground-breaking; however, the potential for progress was overshadowed by the instability of corporate management. This would change in 1907 with the appointment of Imanishi Rinzaburo (今西林三郎) who had a much grander vision for the company and its image.

Imanishi Rinzaburo 今西林三郎

Imanishi Rinzaburo (Figure 5.8) transferred from a management position at Sanyo Railway (山陽電鉄) to become the Senior Managing Director at Hanshin Electric Railway in 1907 (Ogawa, 1998). Only two years into operation, this period was a critical period for Hanshin, particularly as Hankyu was being established, thereby raising market competition. While at Sanyo Railway, it is likely that Imanishi was influenced by Nakamigawa Hikojiro (中身側彦白), who had researched railway management practices in the

²⁶⁵ Ibid



Figure 5.5 Koroen Amusement Park, circa 1908. **Source:** 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005 = Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005.

United States and Europe (Ogawa, 1998). Inspired by the theme parks of America and Europe, and based on the seasonal railway excursions of the earliest private railway companies in Japan, Imanishi projected that the construction of amusement parks close to the railway line, and in conjunction with railway service, could be a lucrative business²⁶⁶ (Ogawa, 1998). With this in mind, Imanishi oversaw the creation of Koroen Amusement Park (1907) (Figure 5.5) north of the present-day Hanshin Koroen (香栢園) Station (Ogawa, 1998). As Sakuma (1993) noted, advertisements for the park created an image of nature; boating on a lake and strolling through spacious gardens that blossomed with plums and cherries in spring.

What is important about Imanishi's direction is that the creation of Koroen Amusement Park by Hanshin preceded similar developments by Hankyu in 1910 (阪急電鉄株式会社, 2004²⁶⁷). Further, although the amusement park was an attempt to mimic American and European theme parks (Ogawa, 1998), the decision to open the park in direct relation to a railway stop, owned by the same company, was something quite new worldwide. In the same year and, equally important, Imanishi was also inspired by Howard's 'Garden City' model²⁶⁸ at a time when the Japanese industrial revolution made city living undesirable (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005²⁶⁹). He thereby initiated Hanshin's involvement in housing through the publication of a booklet entitled 'Suburban living recommendations' (市外居住のすすめ) (財団法人日本経営史研究

²⁶⁶ At this time, the industrial revolution stimulated the creation of the Japanese 'サラリーマン', (salaryman) who could afford to enjoy leisure attractions (角野, 2000=Kadono, 2000).

²⁶⁷ Hankyu Railway Corporation, 2004

²⁶⁸ See Chapter 6, for more extensive detail. The most convenient parts of the garden city philosophy, which served the strategies of private railway companies, were emphasised (角野, 2000=Kadono, 2000).

²⁶⁹ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

所, 2005²⁷⁰).

Imanishi's pioneering of private railway diversification involved the creation of businesses that were inspired by overseas events, but were created within the context of Japan's societal, industrial and economic development. His vision was made further unique because these businesses were created along the Hanshin Electric Railway line and managed by the one company²⁷¹; thereby creating a pioneering, community-integrated, and community-conscious image. Although Imanishi's leadership in 'ambitious' private railway diversification preceded that of Hankyu, his role²⁷² in being the first to practice diversified business centred on railways (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005²⁷³) is not evident in most discussions on private railways of the Hanshin Region. Further, of the two railways, Hanshin is least recognised by scholars for its involvement in urban development²⁷⁴. Why this should be so might have something to do with the key managers who followed Imanishi.

Kataoka Naoki 片岡直輝, Misaki Shozo 三崎省三, and Ozone Kiichiro 小曾根喜一

Of the early Hanshin Electric Railway managers, Imanishi Rinzaburo would hold the longest term; 10 years (1907-1917). Following his retirement the company once more suffered a succession of short-lived managers. First of these was Kataoka Naoki in

²⁷⁰ Ibid

²⁷¹ As expressed in Chapter 2, the ownership and development of land by Hankyu and Hanshin Groups is distinct to the land speculation that occurred in Western examples.

²⁷² Curiously, a search using Imanishi's name on Hanshin's website does not produce any results. Conversely, a search using the name of Kobayashi Ichizo, key founder of Hankyu, on Hankyu's website, produces a multitude of results.

²⁷³ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005.

²⁷⁴ This is evidenced by the fact that literature does not recognise Hanshin as the pioneer of diversified railway business, but rather it recognises Hankyu as the leader.

1917 (大正 6 年²⁷⁵), (Figure 5.9) followed by Misaki Shozo (Figure 5.10) only five years later in 1922 (大正 11 年²⁷⁶) (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005²⁷⁷). It was Misaki Shozo who had originally advised Sotoyama (See page 160) to employ American technology in the building of Hanshin Electric Railway and he continued this engineering expertise during his time as Manager. As previously mentioned Misaki was not educated in the areas of business and therefore did not have an impact outside of technological advancement on the corporate image as a whole.

Finally, within only 27 years of the beginning of Hanshin's business, the sixth manager to be appointed in 1927 (昭和 2 年²⁷⁸) was Ozone Kiichiro (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005²⁷⁹) (Figure 5.11). This is not to say that Kataoka, Misaki and Ozone were inefficient or did not make an impact within the company. Rather, the Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation²⁸⁰ recognises Imanishi Rinzaburo as the most innovative business leader in Hanshin's corporate history for his pioneering of diversified businesses (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005²⁸¹; see also Ogawa, 1998). He was therefore responsible for the foundation of Hanshin's present day corporate image which symbolises the agglomeration of various businesses under the one umbrella.

The lack of more aggressive diversification (in comparison to that of Hankyu) is likely a result of the earliest managers, with the exception of Imanishi Rinzaburo, being heavily influenced by the pioneering manager, Sotoyama. Well-versed in the technical aspects

²⁷⁵ 6th year of the Taisho Era.

²⁷⁶ 11th year of the Taisho Era.

²⁷⁷ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

²⁷⁸ 2nd year of the Showa Period.

²⁷⁹ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

²⁸⁰ Historicity found in the 100 year anniversary publication of Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation.

²⁸¹ Ibid

of American railways, these managers were skilled in maintaining what had been pioneered in earlier days, but Hanshin's corporate 100-year history text suggests that management turnover was too quick for them to have a more lasting and innovative impact on the company and its image. This is an important point, particularly in the face of the creation of Hankyu and the competition that development between the two, for it is likely to have directly affected Hanshin's corporate image as one of 'community service provision but not exclusive.'

Pioneers of Hanshin



Figure 5.6:
Sotoyama
Shuzo



Figure 5.7
Sugimura
Seitaro



Figure 5.8
Imanishi
Rinzaburo



Figure 5.9:
Kataoka
Naoki



Figure 5.10
Misaki
Shozo



Figure 5.11:
Ozone
Kiichiro

Source: 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

5.4.2 Hankyu's Early Leaders

Kobayashi Ichizo 小林一三

In the history of all private railways in Japan, no other figure



Figure 5.12 Source: 阪急電鉄株式会社、1982=Hankyu Railway Corporation, 1982

has attracted more attention than Kobayashi Ichizo (小林一三) (Figure 5.12), one of the founders of Hankyu Corporation²⁸². His innovative management techniques and pioneering spirit created the foundation for urban private railway business²⁸³ throughout Japan; as a result, he has made Hankyu's name pre-eminent among private railways (Demery Jr., 2002; 作道, 1998²⁸⁴; Kato, 1996; Kato, 1992). As earlier discussed, however, it was the Hanshin Electric Railway, and not Hankyu, that was the pioneer of railway service, residential development and amusement park construction²⁸⁵. It is therefore necessary to question why Kobayashi Ichizo is recognised as the creator of the Japanese private railway business model and how this has affected the present day image of Hankyu Corporation. This requires an historical overview of Kobayashi's beginnings, initiatives as Manager of Hankyu, and his philosophies. This is particularly important as Kobayashi is virtually revered still today as the founder of Hankyu's corporate image (See Figure 5.31).

Kobayashi was very creative and had a desire to achieve grand things. At a young age, he imagined himself a novelist, but ultimately decided to pursue a career in the business world in order to have a notable lifestyle; one in which he could follow his great interest in public opinion and public trends (小林、昭和 37 年²⁸⁶). These skills and interests would ultimately play an important role in the development of Hankyu and its corporate

²⁸² Kobayashi was on the founding board of the Mino-Arima Railway (present day Hankyu). He served as manager, company president and chairman over the course of his career with Hankyu (Demery, Jr., 2002). There were two managers prior to Kobayashi: Iwashita Seishu (岩下清周) and Hiraga Bin (平賀敏) (阪急ホールディングス株式会社, 2005=Hankyu Holdings Corporation, 2005). However, the focus will remain on Kobayashi as he has been recognised as originating the idea of Japanese private railway diversified business (Demery Jr., 200).

²⁸³ The private railway business model was discussed in Section 5.3 of this Chapter.

²⁸⁴ Sakudo, 1998

²⁸⁵ The nature of key residential developments and their customers will be further discussed in Chapter 6 as it relates to how specific distinctions between the projects of Hankyu and Hanshin evolved.

²⁸⁶ Kobayashi, 37th Year of the Showa Period (1962)

image.

Kobayashi began his business career at the Mitsui Bank (三井銀行) in 1893 (Demery Jr., 2002) and from it learned financial planning and investment (Ogawa, 1998). Following the dissolution of the Hankaku Railway (See Section 5.2.1) in 1907, Kobayashi was encouraged by his former boss²⁸⁷ of the Mitsui Bank to help turn the Mino-Arima Electric Railway Company into a profitable business venture (Ogawa, 1998). This proposal was of interest to shareholders as Kobayashi was known for his innovative ideas, particularly those related to residential development and management²⁸⁸, in conjunction with railway service (阪急電鉄株式会社, 昭和 57 年²⁸⁹). Thus, Kobayashi took on a central management role in the establishment of the Mino-Arima Electric Railway in 1907.

Kobayashi was not only equipped with ideas but was also determined to turn them into successful ventures. The Mino-Arima Electric Railway “ran through rough fields touching virtually no areas of high population or traffic” (Kato, 1992: 69) (Figure 5.13) providing Kobayashi with a blank canvas on which to build. This is the first instance in which Kobayashi’s



Figure 5.13 Ikeda prior to development, circa 1909 *Source:* 阪急電鉄株式会社、1982= Hankyu Railway Corp., 1982

management style became distinct from that of Hanshin. Although there was still

²⁸⁷ Kobayashi’s former boss, Mr. Iwashita (岩下さん) was appointed the first president of the Mino-Arima Electric Railway. (明治 41 年～大正 4 年=1908~1915)

²⁸⁸ Kobayashi perceived the opportunity to engage in residential development as profitable given the inexpensive cost of farm land and the ability to re-sell the property at higher cost due to the existence of transport. The operation of transport would also accrue profit from increased passenger traffic (小林, 2001= Kobayashi, 2001).

²⁸⁹ Hankyu Railway Corporation, 57th year of the Showa Period (1982).

vacant land for development throughout the region, the latter's line had been built around existing population²⁹⁰ - and this is why the line frequently curves. The residential properties created by Hanshin²⁹¹ were to serve an existing population and to accrue profit; whereas Kobayashi sought aggressively to attract new residential population, in order to create fare-purchasing passengers for the Mino-Arima Electric Railway and stimulate housing profit. As will be discussed further in Chapter 6 using primary data from the corporate interviews, the nature of existing settlement patterns and particularly the type of people inhabiting them, might have impacted corporate strategies for attracting people. What is understood is that so determined was Kobayashi to make housing synonymous with railway progression that he delved into innovative techniques for attracting people.

One such technique included selling houses at cost. Further to this, he “directed [Hankyu] company employees to buy houses” (Demery Jr., 2002: 4) and developed a monthly instalment plan which could be paid at the company headquarters in Umeda, Osaka. Using the railway terminal, which also served as company headquarters, as the place to collect payments was a convenience for company employees who commuted between Osaka and their new homes, and it also saved the company the cost of maintaining branch offices (Demery, Jr., 2002). This strategy of ‘killing two birds with one stone’ became the centrepiece of Kobayashi’s efforts. It can be illustrated by considering the second point which sets Kobayashi’s management apart from that of Hanshin.

²⁹⁰ In 1905 the population surrounding the Hanshin line was approximately 90,000 people. (阪神電気, 昭和 48 年=Hanshin Railway, 48th year of the Showa Period=1973)

²⁹¹ Discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6

In competition with Hanshin's Koroen Amusement Park, Kobayashi initiated the construction of Takarazuka 'Paradise'²⁹² (宝塚パラダイス) (Figure 5.14), which opened in July 1912 (京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和 34 年²⁹³). The leisure complex housed hot springs facilities and Japan's first indoor swimming pool. However, unlike most of Kobayashi's business ventures, the facility failed to attract customers, in part because the pool was unheated and the icy waters kept customers away (Robertson, 1998). Undeterred, Kobayashi covered over the pool²⁹⁴ and created new ventures on the same site ranging from a botanical garden to a zoo, and most famously, a theatre (津金沢, 1991²⁹⁵). From 1913 this theatre would become home to the present-day icon Takarazuka Revue (宝塚レビュー): an all-female cast²⁹⁶ performing musicals of world-class calibre; a business venture now synonymous with



Hankyu's corporate brand (Figure 5.15). This move by Kobayashi steered Hankyu well beyond amusement park facilities and into the creative economy of entertainment. Although his intention was to provide theatre for the masses (小

林, 2001²⁹⁷), Kobayashi's entertainment and amusement initiatives created the image that Hankyu was cultured and refined (展実行委員会, 平成 9 年²⁹⁸).

²⁹² Both amusement parks were targeted at the growing 'mass society' as a result of Japan's industrial and economic growth (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005= Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005; 小林, 2001= Kobayashi, 2001).

²⁹³ Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 34th Year of the Showa Period (1959)

²⁹⁴ The pool was not demolished or removed but rather built on top of (Robertson, 1998).

²⁹⁵ Tsuganezawa, 1991

²⁹⁶ Kobayashi was inspired by the Western-style all boy band of Mitsukoshi Department Store in Tokyo in creating the Takarazuka Revue, originally called the Takarazuka Choir (Robertson, 1998).

²⁹⁷ Kobayashi, 2001

²⁹⁸ The Executive Exhibition Committee, 9th Year of the Heisei Period (1997)

During the era in Hankyu's history known as the 'pioneering of interurban transport', Kobayashi instigated the creation of Japan's first terminal department store (阪急電鉄株式会社、昭和 57 年²⁹⁹). The first incarnation in 1925, called the 'Hankyu Market' (Figure 5.16), sold cooking goods and daily necessities as well as having a cafe, all directly managed by Hankyu (松田, 2004³⁰⁰). This move was well beyond the earlier business diversification of Hanshin Electric Railway and solidified Kobayashi's position as the ultimate entrepreneur in Japanese private railways. It also increased Hankyu's image as an innovative pioneer and provided a new outlet through which people could consume the goods, images, and services of Hankyu. Justification for the store was his realisation that more than 100,000 people were commuting to and from Osaka each day and that every person was a potential shopper, (小林, 2001³⁰¹; Demery Jr., 2002). The market soon became a full-fledged department store in 1929 (阪急電鉄株式会社, 2004³⁰²) (Figure 5.17) with several floors of goods, all overseen by Hankyu.

²⁹⁹ Hankyu Railway Corporation, 57th year of the Showa Period (1982).

³⁰⁰ Matsuda, 2004.

³⁰¹ Kobayashi, 2001

³⁰² Hankyu Railway Corporation, 2004.



Figure 5.15: Early Takarazuka Revue Members, circa 1930. *Source:* 展実行委員会, 1997=The Executive Exhibition Committee, 1997



Figure 5.16: Hankyu Market, circa 1925. *Source:* 京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 1959=Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 1959



Figure 5.17: Hankyu Department Store, circa 1929.
Source: 京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 1959=Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 1959

Although he did not pursue his original dream of becoming a novelist, Kobayashi's talent for writing, as well as his PR and advertising skills, helped create a corporate image of Hankyu. He ultimately became the pioneer of the business model for Japanese private railway diversification, and this research suggests that he was largely responsible for setting the experience of Hankyu apart from that of Hanshin, by: 1) intertwining well-balanced businesses that ultimately made the operation of the railway profitable; 2) venturing into new business areas such as the terminal department store; 3) adopting innovative and aggressive ploys to build a railway empire; and 4) providing consistent and stable leadership to a young enterprise (Aoki et al, 2000; Cervero, 1998;

Kato, 1996; 津金沢, 1991; Kato, 1973³⁰³).

Often recognised as a modern day Hideyoshi³⁰⁴ (Kato, 1992), Kobayashi's general thinking was to provide real customer service and sell quality goods that were popular, at inexpensive prices. If successful, this system would keep overall management expenses low and goods could be sold for inexpensive prices (小林、昭和 36 年³⁰⁵). However, Kobayashi's business decisions produced much more: they established a progressive, innovative, and powerful image of Hankyu Group which was quite distinct from that of Hanshin Group; in particular it was more ambitious. This history reveals the beginnings of distinctions between the companies which would result in profit and image competition. Key elements of this competition are relevant to further understanding the corporate brands and the capacity for the two companies to influence urban development.

5.5 The History of Competition Between Hankyu and Hanshin Groups.

The documented history³⁰⁶ of competition between Hankyu and Hanshin describes individual company triumphs. For example, a newspaper article in 1919 reported Hanshin Express Railway (present day Hankyu) lines used the biggest express cars with competitive times over those of Hanshin Electric Railway (神戸又新日報, 大正 8 年

³⁰³ Tsuganezawa, 1991. As will be seen in Section 5.5.2, Kobayashi is revered today as the man on whose dream Hankyu's image continues to rest.

³⁰⁴ Toyotomi Hideyoshi (豊臣秀吉) has been recognised as one of the most remarkable samurai in Japan's history. He left behind a number of cultural legacies as well as being responsible for unifying Japan in 1582. (Wikipedia, 2006)

³⁰⁵ Kobayashi, 36th year of the Showa Period (1962).

³⁰⁶ As discussed in Chapter 3, this documentation includes newspaper articles, Hankyu and Hanshin publications and secondary sources.

³⁰⁷). Just two months later, local newspapers reported that Hanshin Electric Railway had plans for an express train in response to competitive standards set by the Hanshin Express Railway (present day Hankyu). (神戸又新日報, 大正 8 年³⁰⁸) The fierce competition between the two companies to deliver better service in both time and comfort is also evident from old Hankyu train posters announcing decreases in commuting times between Osaka and Kobe (Figures 5.18, 5.19).



Figures 5.18 and 5.19: Hankyu train posters announcing the number of minutes for travel between Osaka and Kobe, circa 1929 and 1933. *Source:* 阪急電鉄株式会社, 1982³⁰⁹

Sakai (1997: 60) has written that the pre-war catchphrases of Hankyu, Hanshin and JR (Japan Railways) were motivated by competition between the three. Hanshin's original slogan was "Ride without waiting" (待たずに乗れる) and to this, Hankyu responded with "25 minute express to Kobe's downtown Sannomiya" (神戸の中心三宮へ特急 25 分). As previously mentioned, the land between the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines is bisected by the JR line and as such, JR competed for rail service by crafting the catchphrase: "Before you have the chance to wait the next train will come" (待つほどもなく次が来る). Hankyu was quick to react to the increased

³⁰⁷ Kobe Daily News Report, 8th year of the Taisho Period (1919)

³⁰⁸ Kobe Daily News Report, 8th year of the Taisho Period (1919)

³⁰⁹ Hankyu Railway Corporation, 1982.

competition by changing their motto to: “You only have to wait 12 minutes” [for a train] (待つでも 12 分).

The goal, fuelled by technological advances, was to deliver reliably the quickest commute between the two major cities; however, the competition between Hankyu and Hanshin would soon be played out in other businesses. This, in turn, would further propel the evolution of images associated with each company, and the corporate symbols associated with these started to appear in the urban space³¹⁰. The following Sections will address the nature of competition between Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, and the way in which it further stimulated two distinct corporate images. In particular, Sections 5.5.2 and 5.5.3 will examine both historical and recent brochures, as well as items displaying corporate logos, in order to introduce the emergence of these images in urban space, as an extension of two corporate brands³¹¹.

5.5.1 Competition between diversified businesses

Both companies received financial backing from Kitahama Bank (北浜銀行) during the critical early years under the management of Imanishi Rinzaburo and Kobayashi Ichizo (京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和 34 年³¹²). This created an obsession in Kobayashi to ‘catch up’ with Hanshin, which had pioneered rail service, housing, and an amusement park in the area. Performances of both companies were reviewed by the

³¹⁰ As will be demonstrated in the proceeding Sections, this included corporate mottos in neon lights on the exterior of their key properties as well as the construction of residential properties. The brochures advertising housing will be discussed here, while the specifics of the physical structures will be further addressed in Chapter 6.

³¹¹ The notion of corporate brands is being introduced in this chapter and will be further pursued in Chapter 6 as it relates to Hankyu and Hanshin’s involvement in urban development, using primary data from the corporate interviews.

³¹² Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 34th year of the Showa Period (1959)

same group of bank shareholders, and it is believed that Kobayashi's obsession to perform better than Hanshin in order to secure continued finance was the motivation behind Hankyu's aggressive business diversification- a strategy divergent from that of Hanshin at the time (Ogawa, 1998). This competitive spirit flowed into the diversified businesses of both Hanshin and Hankyu.



Figure 5.20: Hanshin Mart, circa 1947



Figure 5.21: Hanshin Koshien Baseball Stadium, circa 1924



Figure 5.22: Hanshin Tigers Baseball Team, 2003

Source: 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

As noted previously, Hankyu became the first to open a terminal department store in Japan with its Hankyu Market in Umeda, Osaka in 1925 (松田, 2004³¹³). Hanshin responded with the founding of its own terminal department store (Hanshin Mart) in Umeda, Osaka, directly across from that of Hankyu in 1937 (財団法人日本経営史研

³¹³ Matsuda, 2004

究所, 2005³¹⁴) (Figure 5.20). With both stores selling general sundries and daily household needs, Hankyu decided to change its management principle when it opened its full-sized terminal department store in 1929. Hankyu commenced sales of high-class exclusive items, not only increasing its competitive image but furthering a corporate image of exclusivity (初田, 1993³¹⁵).

In 1924, Hanshin had established a baseball stadium at Koshien (甲子園) (Figure 5.21) which would become the home stadium for the Hanshin-owned³¹⁶ ‘Tigers’(タイガース) professional baseball team (Figure 5.22) from 1935 (岡田, 2003³¹⁷). Hankyu followed pursuit by building a baseball stadium at (西宮北口) Nishinomiya-kitaguchi (Figure 5.23) in 1936, which became home field to the Osaka Hankyu Baseball Club³¹⁸ (大阪阪急野球クラブ) (Figure 5.24) from 1937 (阪急電鉄株式会社, 昭和 57 年³¹⁹). These events led both companies to project images that included sports, and the direct competition that existed between the Hanshin and Hankyu-owned baseball teams heightened competition between their corporate images to rival status (岡田, 2003). One other highlight of competition was the battle between the companies over real estate and ropeways on 六甲山 (Rokko Mountain), overlooking Kobe.

³¹⁴ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

³¹⁵ Hatsuda, 1993

³¹⁶ The team was originally known as the Osaka Tigers in 1935 but was officially renamed Hanshin Tigers in 1961. (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005)

³¹⁷ Okada, 2003

³¹⁸ The team was later named the Hankyu Braves in 1947. The Hankyu Braves were sold by Hankyu in 1988 to the Orix Corporation. Initially the team was named the Orix Braves, then in 1991 the Orix BlueWave. A merger with the Osaka Kintetsu (railway) Buffaloes resulted in the present day name of Orix Buffaloes. In terms of private railway owned teams, only Hanshin retains its pro-baseball team (Wikipedia, 2007).

³¹⁹ Hankyu Railway Company, 57th year of the Showa Period (1982)



Figure 5.23: Hankyu Nishinomiya-kitaguchi Stadium, circa 1949



Figure 5.24: Osaka Hankyu Baseball Club, circa 1927



Figure 5.25 Hankyu Club, Rokko Mountain, circa 1925



Figure 5.26: Hankyu Ropeway, circa Showa Period

Source: 京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 1959 = Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 1959

Rokko Mountain was originally a cottage community for foreigners of the Kobe area; as a result, the first developments were led by foreigners (展実行委員会, 1997³²⁰). However, from the 1920s onward, both Hanshin and Hankyu competed on Rokko Mountain with the establishment of hotels, cable car and ropeway, buses (connecting railway stations below the mountains), restaurants, shopping and gardens/parks (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³²¹). Hankyu's first Rokko Mountain-oriented business was the exclusive Rokko Hankyu Club³²² in 1925, which welcomed customers to enjoy the luxuries of imported foods (Figure 5.25) (京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和 34 年³²³).

³²⁰ The Executive Exhibition Committee, 1997

³²¹ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

³²² The Club later became Rokko Mountain Hotel.

³²³ Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 34th year of the Showa Period (1959)

Hankyu then opened a ropeway in 1931 (阪急電鉄株式会社, 昭和 57 年³²⁴) in order to complement existing bus services (Figure 5.26). Hanshin was in hot pursuit opening a cable car in 1932 (神戸市, 2006³²⁵) (Figure 5.27). In 1933, Hanshin opened a botanical garden on the mountain which would be the start of a series of family-oriented enterprises including a hotel, ski-run and shops (Figure 5.28) (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³²⁶).

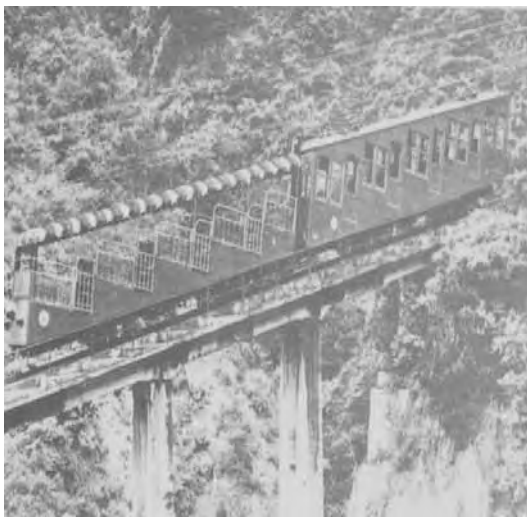


Figure 5.27: Hanshin Cable Car, Showa Period. **Source:** 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005 = Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005



Figure 5.28: Hanshin Rokko Commercial Area. **Source:** the author, 2005

The example of Rokko Mountain shows that competitive business between Hankyu and Hanshin was not confined to one business per location, nor were their target markets likely the same due to the historical development of the region³²⁷. The companies engaged in aggressive competition through various businesses that opened up around

³²⁴ Hankyu Railway Company, 57th year of the Showa Period (1982)

³²⁵ Kobe City, 2006

³²⁶ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

³²⁷ Although it must be confirmed through primary data that Hankyu and Hanshin were targeting different markets, evidence in Chapter 4 has demonstrated that the locational attributes, industrial and economic growth, and social change of the area resulted in distinctions in urban space. These included, for example, distinctions in social class, settlement patterns, housing, and land use patterns.

major company-owned landmarks. Opened around the Hanshin-owned baseball stadium for example, were shops (food, souvenirs and so on), as well as transport and housing, all owned and operated by Hanshin. Similarly, Hankyu created a variety of businesses surrounding its baseball stadium at Nishinomiya-kitaguchi. This competition came to represent much more than attempts for renewed finance at the Kitahama Bank: it was also driven by concerns for profit and the need to attract, and maintain, passengers and customers alike.

5.5.2 Attracting and targeting residents

As indicated, Hanshin built its railway lines mainly around existing population, whereas Hankyu laid tracks in relatively unpopulated territory. That is not to say that Hanshin was not required to attract or target customers; rather approaches to such strategies may have been different from those of Hankyu. Investigation of advertising materials is useful for this research as “much of advertising tells stories because stories involve the corporations, captivate, and entertain consumers” (Escalas, 1998: 267). Some of these approaches will be explored here as one window on the corporate brands that were established through competition between Hanshin and Hankyu, as “communication is the driving force behind a brand” (Bonsall and Harrison, 2006: 199). These brands will be examined further in Chapter 6 using primary data collected from the corporate interviews of this research.

In order to increase passengers, Hanshin planned to construct quality amusement parks and hold events along its line; first, however, it was determined that housing development surrounding the line would be the plan for increasing population (阪神電

鉄, 昭和 48 年³²⁸). Therefore, in 1907, Hanshin published a booklet entitled ‘Suburban living recommendations’ (市外居住のすすめ) (Figure 5.29) in which it advertised migration from the cities to the suburbs (阪神電鉄, 昭和 48 年³²⁹). This illustrated the image of life in the suburbs being better than life in the city; in the pamphlet, existing residents described the area surrounding the Hanshin line as “warm in winter, cool in summer” and having “good air and good water” (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005: 65³³⁰).

At this point in time suburban life was perceived as being inconvenient, as daily necessities were expensive, shopping facilities were limited and police services were not yet extensively established. Life in the city, however, was not necessarily better as pollution and illness were on the rise due to industrialisation (北村, 2004³³¹). As a result, Hanshin chose to focus on projecting an image that living along its line would equate to a higher quality of life. To do this, it wrote that the health condition of most of the people living around its line had improved after migrating there (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³³²). This image was complemented by one of housing that was “better than usual, but just fine” which could be rented for an inexpensive price (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005: 93³³³).

Two years later, Kobayashi Ichizo put his writing skills to good use in order to attract customers to the Hankyu line, where he claimed residents could enjoy a leisurely and idyllic life. In a 1910 newspaper advertisement he wrote:

³²⁸ Hanshin Railway, 48th year of the Showa Period (1973)

³²⁹ Ibid

³³⁰ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005: 65

³³¹ Kimura, 2004

³³² Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

³³³ Ibid: 93

“Unfortunate Osaka citizen living in this smoke-darkened metropolis, its once sparkling waters gone as if in a dream of yore...let each of you breathe at ease in your own home, your own castle. What we have always spoken of as “clothing, food, and shelter” must be rearranged in its natural sequence to “shelter, food and clothing”...Coming into the city to work the day through, day upon day, batters the brain; you who would ease your tired body at home should awaken the following morn to Chanticleer’s call, rejoice in the evening to the music of insects, in the heath, savor fresh, hand-cultivated vegetables. You should demand the spacious garden of your desires that you might live amidst these pastoral pleasures....if one were to proposes to present this idyllic home to you, without hesitating, you would decide in favor of living in the country. Just as you expected! This perfect new homesite, this idyllic new house, is right at hand. Read carefully the following: “Exemplary Suburban Life-Ikeda New Town.”

Kobayashi Ichizo, 1910:³³⁴

The above passage went beyond suggesting suburban life was cleaner than that of smoke-darkened Osaka. Words such as “spacious”, “pastoral”, “idyllic” and “exemplary” portrayed something even better. The success of Kobayashi’s clever marketing was in selling something unique to that of Hanshin; namely, images usually only portrayed in books³³⁵, and these images were further solidified in slogans and

³³⁴ Translated by Kato Hidetoshi in 1972 in: Kato, Hidetoshi. (1972) “The Growth and Development of Terminal Culture,” *The Japan Interpreter*, Vol.2, pp.3-4. The reference to Chanticleer was in the original Japanese advertisement which suggests that Kobayashi was communicating to an audience with the expectation they would recognise the citation from middle-English literature.

³³⁵ Hankyu’s case was also dissimilar from Hanshin as it not only advertised housing constructed by Hankyu but also Hankyu-constructed and owned, amusement and entertainment facilities, as discussed in Section 5.4 of this chapter.

pamphlets selling Hankyu properties³³⁶ (Figure 5.30). Images of spacious housing surrounded by various luxury and leisure facilities – all created by Hankyu.



Figure 5.29: Hanshin's *Suburban Living Recommendations*, circa 1907. **Source:** 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005



Figure 5.30: The first Hankyu Housing Brochure, circa 1910. **Source:** 京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 1959 = Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 1959

The side-by-side comparison of Hanshin's earliest housing brochure and that of Hankyu, further illustrates the different marketing approaches of the two corporations. That is not to suggest that one promulgated images that were of lower quality or less persuasive than the other. The image portrayed in the *Suburban Living Recommendations*

³³⁶ The use of such imagery in order to attract new residents is not uncommon. In the later half of the 19th Century, suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne were advertised and sold by real estate companies in a similar fashion; however, the real estate company was not owned by the railway company that serviced the area (Davison, 1969; Cannon, 1966).

brochure has been described by Hanshin as ‘rental properties’ (Hanshin employee, 2008). Conversely, the brochure for Hankyu’s Ikeda Muromachi has been described as representing ‘the wealthy livelihood of society around its railway line’ (Hankyu employee, 2008). Both the images portrayed are positive and desirable, yet distinct. This promotional material shows attempts by the two companies to capture audiences who might be particularly drawn to the images found in the brochures³³⁷, and this distinction persists in present day marketing materials.

The 2005 corporate mottos of Hankyu and Hanshin illustrate this point. Hankyu’s motto (Figure 5.31) clearly draws on the pioneering innovation of Kobayashi Ichizo and, in particular, the passion with which Hankyu has always performed business. But it is the statement ‘even grander aspirations’ that acknowledges the luxuriant nature of Hankyu’s past and the ostentation of its aspirations for the future. Just as Kobayashi sought to set Hankyu apart from Hanshin in the early 1900s, Hankyu sees itself today as continuing a distinct path, unique among other private railway companies.

³³⁷ Whether or not the audiences did consume the images in the way they were marketed will be investigated in Chapter 7.

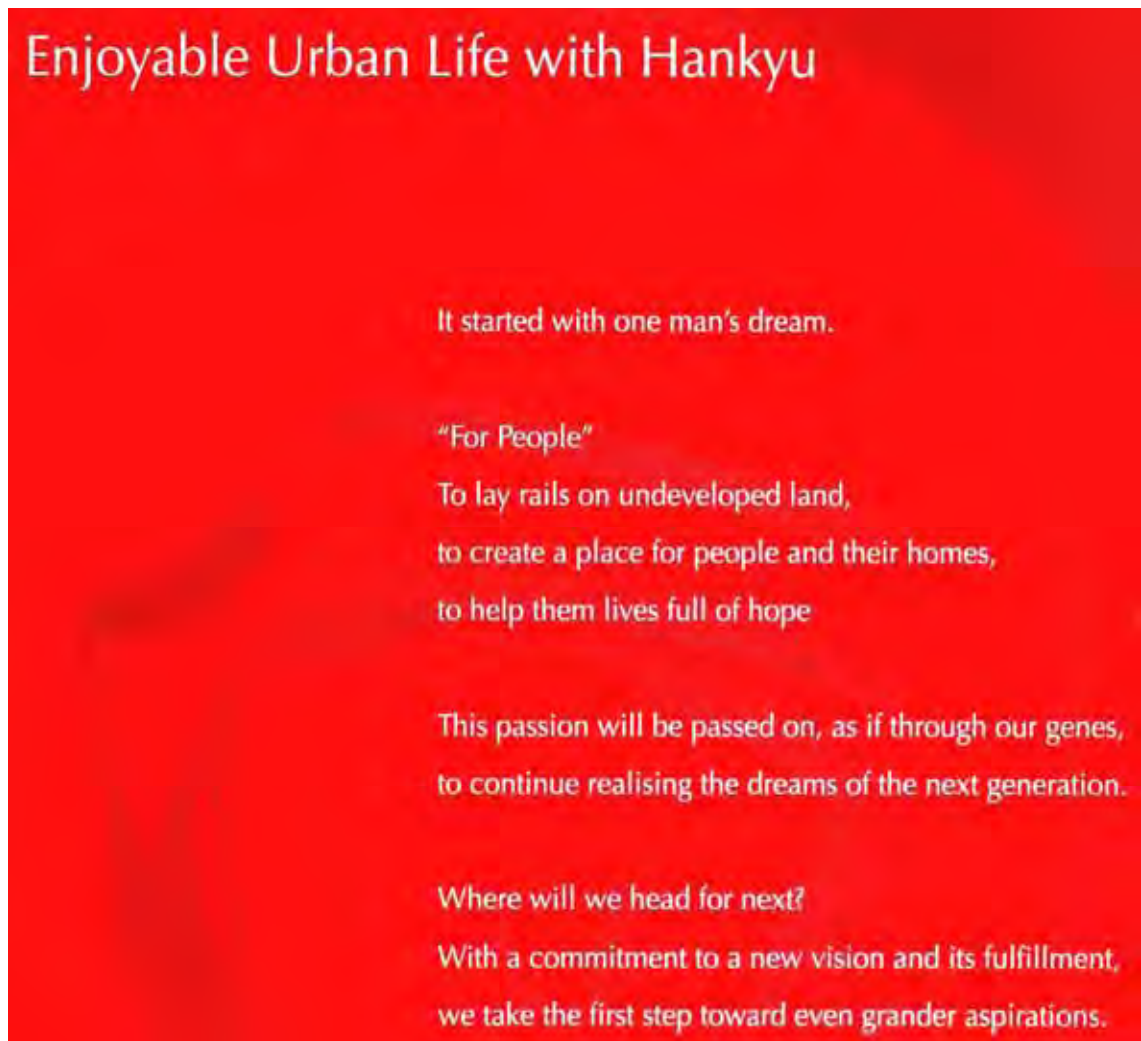


Figure 5.31 Hankyu's 2005 corporate motto. **Source:** 阪急ホールディングス株式会社, 2005³³⁸

In contrast, and perhaps not entirely different from the past, Hanshin's corporate mottos (Figures 5.32, 5.33 and 5.34) evoke images of 'comfort', and 'happiness', and as a result, further sustain the distinction between the two companies that grew out of the earliest competition. These characteristics are valuable and important for quality of life, but they do not convey the more exclusive images evident in Hankyu's grand vision, nor are they intended to. Rather, they are in keeping with the distinct corporate image that has evolved throughout Hanshin's 100-year history.

³³⁸ Hankyu Holdings Corporation, 2005



Figures 5.32, 5.33 and 5.34 Hanshin's 2005 corporate slogans. *Source:* 阪神電気鉄道株式会社, 2005³³⁹

These present-day slogans and mottos clearly represent continued competition between Hankyu and Hanshin: not only in their efforts to attract and target customers, but also in their attempts to market two distinct images. While they do not definitively demonstrate the spatial manifestation of the distinctions they do provide visual reference points of the ways in which both corporations have marketed their identities over the past 100 years. Additional clues regarding the extent to which two private railway groups have, through their diversified businesses, contributed in some way to distinctions in place can be found in the oligopolistic nature of their competition and the way in which this was manifested in urban space

5.5.3 Oligopolistic competition

³³⁹ Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation, 2005

Competition between Hankyu and Hanshin Groups has continued up to the present time with Hankyu's recent efforts to dominate, through the purchase of Hanshin shares in 2006³⁴⁰. Today, Hankyu recognises that Hanshin customers compose an entirely distinct area of the private railway business market; as such, the goal is not to turn Hanshin into Hankyu, but to maintain competitiveness between the businesses (朝日新聞, 2005³⁴¹). Consequently, the contest between the 'Hanshin Region rivals' (Hankyu, Hanshin and JR), has been an important factor in the evolution of corporate brands (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005; 関西鉄道研究会, 1997³⁴²). As evidenced in the sketch 'The great champion train race of the Hanshin Region' (阪神間の覇車大レース) (Figure 5.35), distinctions in image can even be seen in the design of the trains³⁴³.

³⁴⁰ See Chapter 8 for an overview of these events.

³⁴¹ Asahi Newspaper, 2005

³⁴² Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005; Kansai Railway Research Association, 1997.

³⁴³ The trains can also be distinguished by their exterior and interior colours.

Hankyu's exterior is garnet while the interior furniture is green; Hanshin's exterior is orange and beige or, blue and beige with grey furniture inside; JR's trains are silver on the outside with white furniture inside.



Figure 5.35 ‘The great champion train race of the Hanshin Region’. Hankyu is portrayed in the lead, JR in the middle and Hanshin in third place. *Source:* 関西鉄道研究会, 1997³⁴⁴

Kuenne (1998) has coined the term ‘integrated rivalry’ to describe the competition that takes place between firms concerning prices, brands and the nature of their activity within the industry. According to Frank (2006), the creation of brands (including associated images) and effective advertising measures, is vital in such rivalries. In order for Hankyu, Hanshin and JR to survive in such close proximity therefore, the establishment of distinct identities would have been a necessity.

In this instance, the management structures of Hankyu and Hanshin provided a unique framework through which such identities might be established (Soudien et al, 2006³⁴⁵).

³⁴⁴ Kansai Railway Research Association, 1997

³⁴⁵ Japanese management structures have been described as pyramids or ‘A’ type strategy whereby the corporate brand is applied to all goods, images and services of the corporation and decisions are centrally made. This style is recognised as inherently

The ability to ensure that all aspects of the company are consistently and successfully communicated to an external audience lies in the creation and unified communication of a corporate identity³⁴⁶ (de Chernatony and McDonald, 2003). As described in Section 5.3, the management structures of Hankyu and Hanshin enabled such internal coordination of strategies, decisions and capital. Further, the connectivity of their diversified businesses enabled the corporation proper to direct the activities of all of its subsidiaries. This type of framework is what Kuenne (1984: 4) would call ‘oligopolistic’, which takes the form of a ‘community’ – “goals and decisions are shaped by a mixture of rivalry and cooperation varying with[in] the industry, the personalities of the presently and historically active agents, and the market strength of the contending firms.”

Further, the longevity of Hankyu and Hanshin’s operations, their relative proximity and apparent distinctions parallel Kuenne’s (1998) definition of a ‘mature oligopoly’; exhibiting three main characteristics: 1) staying power; 2) a distinct identity in the industry; and 3) coexistence within a context of active competition (1998: 53-54). This would suggest that Hankyu and Hanshin have been, and continue to be, in mature oligopolistic competition with each other. The combination of oligopolistic competition and the management structures of the corporations therefore constitute a unique platform from which corporate images can be generated and promulgated. This can be confirmed by examining visual evidence in search of corporate logos and images portrayed by different branches of the corporations³⁴⁷.

Japanese (Soudien et al, 2006).

³⁴⁶ This might include all promotional activity, core values, corporate structure, logo, letter-head, all company-owned properties, even the way the telephone is answered at the company (de Chernatony and McDonald, 2003).

³⁴⁷ As explained in Chapter 3, the set variables used for examination are: 1) the presence of the Hankyu or Hanshin corporate logo or name and; 2) the type of image

As previously discussed, catchphrases of the ‘Hanshin Region rivals’ were motivated by competition and these appeared in newspaper advertisements, and company-printed posters (Figure 5.36, 5.37). However, the companies went even further: these catchphrases were made into neon lights which were displayed in prominent locations on key railway properties such as their termini (Figure 5.38).



Figures 5.36 and 5.37: Newspaper clipping and Hankyu poster showing the changing slogans: “25 minute express to Kobe’s downtown Sannomiya”; “You only have to wait 12 minutes”, circa Showa period. *Source:* 関西鉄道研究会, 1997³⁴⁸

portrayed and whether or not this is consistent.
³⁴⁸ Kansai Railway Research Association, 1997.



Figure 5.38: Hanshin Motomachi Station in Kobe with company slogan at the top: “Ride without waiting,” circa Taisho era. **Source:** 関西鉄道研究会, 1997³⁴⁹

Examination of other historical properties and advertisements further demonstrates that the corporate logos of Hankyu (previously Mino-Arima Railway) and Hanshin have always been clearly communicated - consistently identifying their ownership in urban space, although they represent various branches of the corporations (Figures 5.39-5.42). Further, the logos and images of Hankyu have historically been distinct from those of Hanshin. Their train stations (Figures 5.39, 5.40), which were located adjacent to each other in Umeda, Osaka, clearly portray two distinct images: that of Hanshin was ‘lively’ and ‘post-World War 1 retro’ in design whereas that of Hankyu ‘expressed creativity and the birth of Japan’s terminal department stores’ (Hanshin employee, 2008; Hankyu employee, 2008). This type of distinction can be seen again in Figures 5.43 and 5.44, where the Hanshin Railway line brochure projects images of ‘family’ and

³⁴⁹ Ibid

‘leisure’, while that of Hankyu conveys the “birth of Hankyu enterprises” (Hanshin employee, 2008; Hankyu employee, 2008).



Figure 5.39: Hanshin Electric Railway train station at Umeda, Osaka, circa 1907. *Source:* 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005



Figure 5.40: Mino-Arima (present day Hankyu) Railway train station at Umeda, Osaka, circa 1910. *Source:* 阪急電鉄株式会社, 昭和57年=Hankyu Railway Corporation, 57th Year of the Showa Period (1982)



Figure 5.41: Hanshin Electric railway line opening announcement, circa Taisho era. *Source:* 岡田, 2003=Okada, 2003

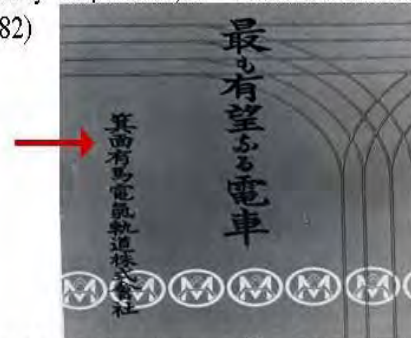


Figure 5.42: Mino-Arima Railway Pamphlet, circa 1909. *Source:* 阪急電鉄株式会社, 昭和57年=Hankyu Railway Corporation, 57th Year of the Showa Period (1982)



Figure 5.43: Hanshin Railway line brochure. *Source:* 岡田, 2003= Okada, 2003



Figure 5.44: Hankyu Railway line brochure. *Source:* 阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和時代 =Hanshin Express Railway Corporation, Showa Period.

Hankyu and Hanshin corporate images and logos can even be found at a micro-scale on the railway tickets/cards (Figures 5.45-5.48). These cards often advertise other non-railway branches of the companies such as the Hanshin Tigers Baseball Team or the Hankyu Takarazuka Theatre. The cards displaying trains can be tied to the images illustrated earlier by their railway songs; Hanshin's card depicts 'comfortable and fine' services which are 'in full fling' whereas that of Hankyu resonates with 'the merging of Hankyu trains with the scenery typical of its railway line' (Hanshin employee, 2008; Hankyu employee, 2008). These comparisons demonstrate that the diversified management structure of the private railway companies has long-strengthened the ability of the companies to communicate their corporate images consistently in the face

of competition.



Figure 5.45: Hanshin Railway fare card with Hanshin Tigers logo. *Source:* 阪神電気鉄道株式会社, 2005=Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation, 2005.



Figure 5.47: Hanshin Railway fare card with Osaka-Kobe train. *Source:* 阪神電気鉄道株式会社, 2005=Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation, 2005.



Figure 5.46: Hankyu Railway tickets with Takarazuka Theatre actresses. *Source:* 阪急電鉄株式会社, 昭和57年=Hankyu Railway Corporation, 57th year of the Showa Period (1982)



Figure 5.48: Hankyu Lagare card with Shukugawa train. *Source:* 阪急電鉄株式会社, 2005= Hankyu Railway Corporation, 2005.

The oligopolistic competition and management structures of Hankyu and Hanshin have been in existence since the beginning of the companies, and they appear to have facilitated the consistent marketing of distinct corporate images. According to Prebensen (2007: 747) “image is an essential part of powerful brands.” Central to the strategy of branding is the presentation of visual stimuli including: “logos, signage, packaging, product design, and advertisements” (Henderson et al, 2003). Therefore, in portraying consistent images and continuously displaying their logos, the diversified

businesses of Hankyu and Hanshin were communicating two brands through their various business branches (de Ruyter and Wetzels, 2000)³⁵⁰. These were successful because they were “positioned to capitalise on their unique characteristics – their competitive advantages” (de Chernatony and McDonald, 2003: 321).

Schultz and Hatch (2006: 16) have also argued that “successful corporate branding resides in the alignment of strategic vision, organisational culture, and stakeholder images.” In this sense, the earliest managers of both companies, particularly Imanishi Rinzaburo and Kobayashi Ichizo, played an important role because they had vision. As illustrated in Figure 5.31, this vision is relevant still today. The management structures bolstered and maintained consistent internal values, beliefs and the heritage of the corporations. What then were the views of external stakeholders?³⁵¹

Also relevant to this investigation therefore, is the motivation behind these ‘brands’ and the way in which they were consumed. Competition certainly played a role in stimulating different mottos; however, it is possible that the companies were also responding to other processes. According to Sakai (1997: 60), “Osakans have no patience: whether eating, in the station, or shopping, they are easily irritated.” If this is true, it hints that the changing slogans of Hankyu, Hanshin and JR were in part also shaped by an awareness of their audience. This accords with the work of Ogilvy (1983), who explained that advertising, particularly that of a brand, is often designed to fit the ‘self-image’ of the target audience. This is something that must be considered further in the following two chapters in order to determine what influence private

³⁵⁰ The strategies behind the corporate brands will be more thoroughly addressed in Chapter 6.

³⁵¹ This will be explored in Chapter 7 using primary data that illustrates the perceptions of the passengers/residents.

railway groups might have had in terms of the unfolding of distinctions in place.

5.6 Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, lyrics from the Mino-Arima Railway (present day Hankyu) and the Hanshin Electric Railway songs provided a small window on the symbols of two private railway groups and the space through which their lines run. Moreover, the images conveyed by these songs hinted that an inter-play between setting, and processes exogenous and endogenous to Hankyu and Hanshin Groups might have occurred³⁵². A history of company names, private railway groups in the Hanshin Region, management structures, key individuals, events, and competition has demonstrated the beginnings of two distinct corporate brands.

The history of the two companies described in this chapter has provided a context for understanding these distinct images, at times in direct competition while, at others, divergent in their strategies. Hanshin was the original pioneer of railway, housing and amusement parks whilst Hankyu, under the guidance of Kobayashi Ichizo (小林一三), ultimately became the pioneering powerhouse in private railway business. Hanshin provided services and businesses to accompany urbanity and progress while Hankyu charted new idyllic territory for those in search of something greater. The images associated with these were present not only in their corporate brochures, but also in signage on their properties and, as demonstrated at the beginning of this chapter, in their songs³⁵³. Management structures and oligopolistic competition between the two were

³⁵² This interplay will be investigated further in Chapter 6 using primary data from the corporate interviews.

³⁵³ As Gibson and Davidson (2004) have suggested: images can appear visually as well as through sound.

integral processes not only in the evolution of their images, but also in their promulgation.

This corporate history has focussed on the context in which the two private railway groups developed in relation to each other, and their resultant corporate images. In so doing, it suggests that the corporate images have come to symbolise two very distinct 'brands'. To consider this further, as it relates to the motivation behind these 'brands', and their manifestation in urban space, Chapter 6 addresses in greater detail the involvement of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups in urban development. The manner in which these brands were promoted and consumed will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Chapter 6

Two corporate brands and their presence in the urban space of the Hanshin Region

The present chapter specifically addresses key urban developments of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. Using the method of historiography, Section 6.1 considers how individual projects of both corporations were distinct in nature. This narrative is illustrated by historical photographs, and maps labelled with Hankyu and Hanshin properties, in order to provide visual evidence of the physical presence of the two corporations in urban space. In so doing, it endeavours to demonstrate that Hankyu and Hanshin constitute two brands in the urban space of the Hanshin Region. Section 6.2 presents results obtained from the semi-structured interviewing of the corporate elite. These results are used to investigate the strategies behind the two distinct corporate brands and the extent to which those strategies might have been influenced by factors outside of the corporations themselves; elements rooted in the history and geography of the region.

6.1 Key Urban Developments of Hankyu and Hanshin

The modernisation of Japan³⁵⁴, including wide-spread urbanisation, was largely fuelled by a desire to ‘catch up to the West’ and, as a result, involved the adoption of various Western practices (Jansen, 2000l; Hunter, 1989; Masai, 1998). At this time, railways became a significant aspect of modernisation and their construction was propelled by an

³⁵⁴ Modernisation took place during the Meiji Restoration Period (1868-1912) (Hunter, 1989; Jansen, 2000).

industrial revolution, which stimulated a separation between the place of production and residence (角野, 2000). In this way, the expansion of private railways in the Hanshin Region was accompanied by an evolving economy that saw the birth of the Japanese salary man (サラリーマン) (角野, 2000³⁵⁵).

As described in Chapter 4, new wealth from secondary industries enabled people to afford the move away from the problems found in large cities, such as Osaka. Further, the establishment of railway lines such as Hankyu and Hanshin's, coupled with land development, facilitated commuting and the growth of the suburbs. It reflected Howard's Garden City philosophy (片木³⁵⁶, 2000), even though Mizuuchi (1995) has suggested that Japan's experience might be more appropriately called that of the 'Garden Suburb'.

The garden 'suburbs' of this era, which include those developed by Hankyu and Hanshin, created distinct physical characteristics that can still be seen in the Hanshin Region today. They featured a broad main street design, with the train station as the focus and wide-open public space in front of it (角野, 2000) (Figures 6.1 and 6.2). The provision of functions within the Garden City philosophy, however, were not fully understood, and only the most convenient parts of the philosophy, which served the strategies of private railway companies, were emphasised (角野, 2000³⁵⁷; Watanabe, 1980).

³⁵⁵ Kadono, 2000

³⁵⁶ Katagi, 2000

³⁵⁷ Kadono, 2000



Figure 6.1: Plan of Hankyu Mukonosono prepared by Hankyu. *Source:* 角野, 2000³⁵⁸



Figure 6.2: Hankyu Mukonosono construction, circa 1937 (taken from the roundabout in front of the

³⁵⁸ Kadono, 2000

train station). **Source:** 阪急電鉄株式会社, 昭和 55 年³⁵⁹.

Those convenient parts involved the need for development to be anchored by railway stations, as well as that which served all businesses run by the private railway groups³⁶⁰; stimulating demand for strategic and planned development rather than chaotic sprawl. For this reason, it is believed that Japan's experience of 'Garden Suburb' development, marshalled by private railway companies including Hankyu and Hanshin, was an original idea which emphasised well planned housing, sight-seeing, hot springs facilities and other leisure facilities that were all fed by the railway line and its stations (作道, 1998³⁶¹). These emphases not only served the development strategies of the two railway companies: but as introduced in Chapter 5, they also provided outlets through which the images of both companies could be consistently marketed³⁶².

Hankyu and Hanshin Groups obtained the land necessary for this development through purchase (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005; 小林, 2001³⁶³) and land readjustment³⁶⁴ (Cervero, 1998). The real estate and construction branches of their companies carried

³⁵⁹ Hankyu Railway Company, 55th year of the Showa Period (1980)

³⁶⁰ Creating accessibility for passengers between the train stations and private railway group businesses was an important aspect of this.

³⁶¹ Sakudo, 1998

³⁶² The management structure of the diversified businesses facilitated the consistent marketing of logos and images. These logos and images were evident on all of the Hankyu and Hanshin buildings, tickets, and pamphlets which advertised these goods and services.

³⁶³ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005; Kobayashi, 2001

³⁶⁴ Land readjustment in Japan generally involves the development of land on the urban fringe by the 'pooling' of land ownership within a development area (Sorensen, 2002). Land readjustment is a cooperative mechanism used to acquire land needed for railway tracks and development (Cervero, 1998). In the earliest stages Hankyu and Hanshin were developing suburban areas in which space was still available for purchase. However, Hankyu and Hanshin became involved in land readjustment projects in the 1960s. From 1960 to 1969, for example, Hankyu engaged in 9 different land adjustment projects through the Osaka Prefectural Government. Until 2002, Hankyu has not been involved in additional projects due to its ownership of land (大阪府, 平成 14 年=Osaka Prefecture, 14th Year of the Heisei Period (2002).

out construction on the land, which ensured that the properties were designed consistent with the strategies and images of the two corporations³⁶⁵. The properties were used as commercial space for the retail branch of the companies or, through their real estate branches, treated as rental or sale property. According to Watanabe (1980) private railway groups established the rights for ownership and development through their Articles of Association³⁶⁶. The articles of Den-en Toshi Company Ltd. for example, (present day Tokyu), which modelled its business on Hankyu, included:

“1) managing the urban area it would develop; 2) buying, selling and renting real estate properties and acting as an agent for them; 3) designing, performing and supervising construction and engineering works; and 4) undertaking, or investing in, related businesses in order to fulfil the above purposes”

(Watanabe, 1980: 133)

Leaders of Hankyu and Hanshin, such as Kobayashi Ichizo, were also instrumental in introducing urban building concepts such as height-for-space that involved compact and less industrialised urban planning (Hasegawa, 2003). This planned, strategic and quality development can be traced back to early publications on the garden city. According to Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation (2005), the publication of a brochure (1907) explaining the ideals of The Garden City (田園都市) by the Volunteer Local Bureau of the Home Ministry (内務省地方局有志³⁶⁷), impressed many

³⁶⁵ This was due to the management structure of the two corporations which facilitated the consistent marketing of goods, images and services.

³⁶⁶ As explained in Chapter 5, the articles were the basis on which they were founded and, the operations approved by the Japanese government.

³⁶⁷ The publication occurred in December 1907 (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005)

prominent citizens, including Imanishi Rinazburo who was Manager of Hanshin at the time³⁶⁸. It was this publication that influenced Hanshin's publishing of “*Suburban Living Recommendations*” (都市居住のすすめ) three weeks later³⁶⁹ (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³⁷⁰).



Figure 6.3: Hanshin-owned rental housing in front of Hanshin Nishinomiya Station, circa 1909. **Source:** 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005= Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

Under the leadership of Imanishi, Hanshin saw the opportunity to develop housing surrounding its line as a means of increasing the general population of the area (阪神電鉄, 昭和48年³⁷¹). The

consequent 32 rental houses (Figure 6.3) constructed by Hanshin in front of Nishinomiya Station (西宮停留) in September 1909 (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³⁷²) were an attempt to adapt the Garden City ideal within local context. This involvement also marked the beginning of Hanshin's Real Estate Business (不動産事業) (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³⁷³). The setting at Nishinomiya ensured that houses would be conveniently located next to the Hanshin train line but also closer to

³⁶⁸ This publication was not a translation of Howard's work but “rather an introduction to Howard's concept based largely on A.R.Sennet's *Garden Cities in Theory and Practice* (1905)” (Sorensen, 2002: 137).

³⁶⁹ Hanshin's publication occurred in January, 1908 (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005).

³⁷⁰ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

³⁷¹ Hanshin Railway, 48th Year of the Showa Period (1973)

³⁷² Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

³⁷³ Ibid

nature.

Built on 5500 tsubo (坪³⁷⁴) of Hanshin-purchased land, each unit was rented for approximately 10 to 25 yen (円) per month (阪神電鉄, 昭和 54 年³⁷⁵). Although the overall goal of Hanshin's business diversification was to attract more passengers to its line, it acknowledged that residential areas were already starting to develop due to the nearby location of factories (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³⁷⁶). Hanshin therefore decided to construct housing that was "better than usual, but just fine, and set a cheaper rent that would suit the existing population while enticing more people to migrate there" (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005: 93³⁷⁷). This approach to station-front housing with its good use of space and land³⁷⁸, received favourable reviews; so much so that Hanshin determined it would be the model for all of its future residential developments (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³⁷⁹).

Hanshin may have pioneered the private railway housing development of the Hanshin Region; however, just one year after this founding initiative (1909), the Mino-Arima Electric Railway (箕面有馬電気軌道; present day Hankyu) challenged Hanshin's housing management with the instalment of a spacious housing division called Ikeda's Muromachi (池田室町) (展実行委員会, 平成 9 年³⁸⁰), located on the railway's first line between Osaka and Takarazuka. Land could be inexpensively purchased for 1 yen

³⁷⁴ 'Tsubo' is the Japanese measurement employed to housing. It is the approximate equivalent of 3.3 m².

³⁷⁵ Hanshin Railway, 54th year of the Showa Period (1983)

³⁷⁶ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

³⁷⁷ Ibid: 93

³⁷⁸ Each house had approximately 43 tsubo in space (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005).

³⁷⁹ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

³⁸⁰ The Executive Exhibition Committee, 9th Year of the Heisei Period (1997)

(円) per tsubo, leading Kobayashi to argue that once the land had been developed, it could be sold at a huge mark-up rewarding the company with profit (小林, 2001³⁸¹).

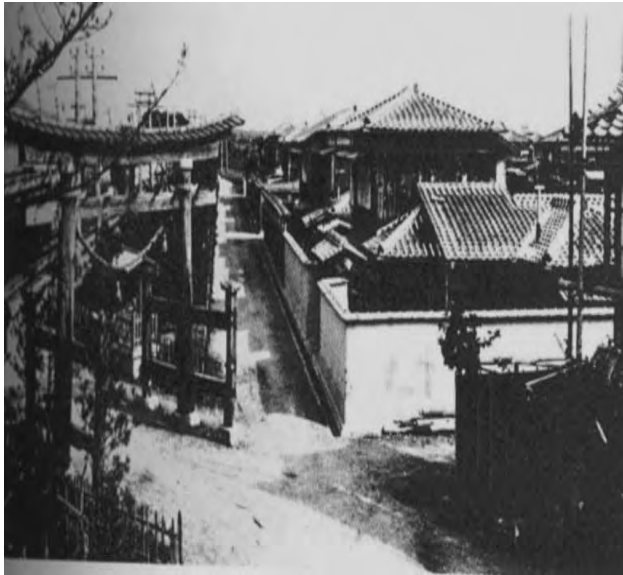


Figure 6.4: Hankyu's housing at Ikeda Muromachi, circa 1910. **Source:** 京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 1959=Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 1959.

Although it would be only the first of many housing developments, Ikeda's Muromachi (池田室町) set the image of Hankyu's real estate apart from that of Hanshin's. The 200 houses were a spacious 300 tsubo (坪³⁸²) each (Figure 6.4) and they incorporated a similar station-front location to those of Hanshin's (京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和 34 年³⁸³). However, Ikeda was unlike

Nishinomiya in that the area was completely unsettled (Figure 6.5), thereby enabling Hankyu the space required for 'good quality residential environment' (Hankyu employee, 2008).

Hankyu's development at Ikeda was further dissimilar from that of Hanshin's in being the very first 'New Town' development in Japan: properties were for sale, not rent (Cervero, 1998). For 2,500 yen, prospective buyers could receive a plot of land, a two-storey house on a foundation, and a garden (京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和 34

³⁸¹ Kobayashi, 2001

³⁸² This size was grandiose in comparison to Hanshin's meager 171 tsubo per house at Nishinomiya.

³⁸³ Keihanshin Express Railway Company, 34th Year of the Showa Period (1959)

年³⁸⁴). According to a senior Hankyu employee (2008), this residential development projected images of “high quality with both train and housing facilities”, and this was likely facilitated by the availability of land due to the more rural setting with fewer people. The absence of existing population, however, also meant that Hankyu would have to attract its first inhabitants by selling houses at cost and coaxing its own company employees to purchase them (Demery Jr., 2002). A down-payment of 50 yen was required up front following which purchasers could pay 24 yen each month directly to Hankyu, over the course of 10 years (京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和 34 年³⁸⁵).



Figure 6.5: Ikeda prior to development, circa 1909. *Source:* 京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 1959 = Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 1959

To complement residential development at Ikeda, Kobayashi oversaw the construction of entertainment facilities in the surrounding area. These included: a zoo at Mino (November, 1910), Japan’s first outdoor swimming pool at Takarazuka (May, 1911) which was converted into the Takarazuka Paradise

Amusement Park³⁸⁶, and the Takarazuka Opera Theatre (July, 1913) (阪急電鉄株式会社, 2004³⁸⁷). Kobayashi commented that all of this activity rounded out Hankyu’s ‘New Town’ approach and made the area a desirable place of residence as well as a destination of leisure (小林, 2001³⁸⁸). It was also a reflection of the Garden Suburb

³⁸⁴ Ibid

³⁸⁵ Ibid

³⁸⁶ Kobayashi was forced to cover the pool and change it into an amusement park due to the fact that the water was unheated, which kept swimmers away (Robertson, 1998).

³⁸⁷ Hankyu Railway Corporation, 2004

³⁸⁸ Kobayashi, 2001

ideal more aggressive than Hanshin's first development at Nishinomiya (Figure 6.6).



Figure 6.6: Early developments of both Hankyu and Hanshin (1905-1911). Hankyu's development surrounding its Osaka-Takarazuka line was more aggressive than Hanshin's rental housing at Nishinomiya. **Source:** Zenrin Co., Ltd., 2002; property information: 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005; 京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 1959³⁸⁹

³⁸⁹ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005;

The ‘New Town’ competition created by Hankyu directly affected Hanshin’s decision to engage in development at Koshien (甲子園) (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³⁹⁰).

The opening of the Hankyu Kobe line in 1920 further intensified competition between the two companies and this “side-by-side competition between the two occurred in earnest at important times in the development of both companies” (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005: 112³⁹¹). In response, Hanshin purchased approximately 20,000 tsubo to the west of the Mukogawa River in 1922³⁹² (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³⁹³).

At the heart of the development was Hanshin Koshien Station from which “broad streets, lined by tall pines radiated with beautiful scenery and clean air” (展実行委員会, 平成9年: 238³⁹⁴) (Figure 6.7). Hanshin’s real estate and construction branches first built and sold 70 stand-alone houses (1928) in front of the station (角野, 2000³⁹⁵) at an average cost of 50 to 70 yen (円) per unit of tsubo. The total price of homes varied based on the size of plot, architectural style and so on; however, the unit price per tsubo demonstrates the increased cost in comparison to previous Hanshin developments (Hanshin Group, 2008). These properties represented a shift in image when compared to Hanshin’s rental housing at Nishinomiya. In fact, as illustrated in Figure 6.7, the original advertisement for this development marketed an image similar to Hankyu’s development at Ikeda: one of a ‘dream-like setting’ and the ‘future’ (Hanshin employee, 2008).

Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 1959.

³⁹⁰ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

³⁹¹ Ibid

³⁹² The land was purchased from the Hyogo Prefectural government.

³⁹³ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005: 112

³⁹⁴ The Executive Exhibition Committee, 9th Year of the Heisei Period (1997).

³⁹⁵ Kadono, 2000

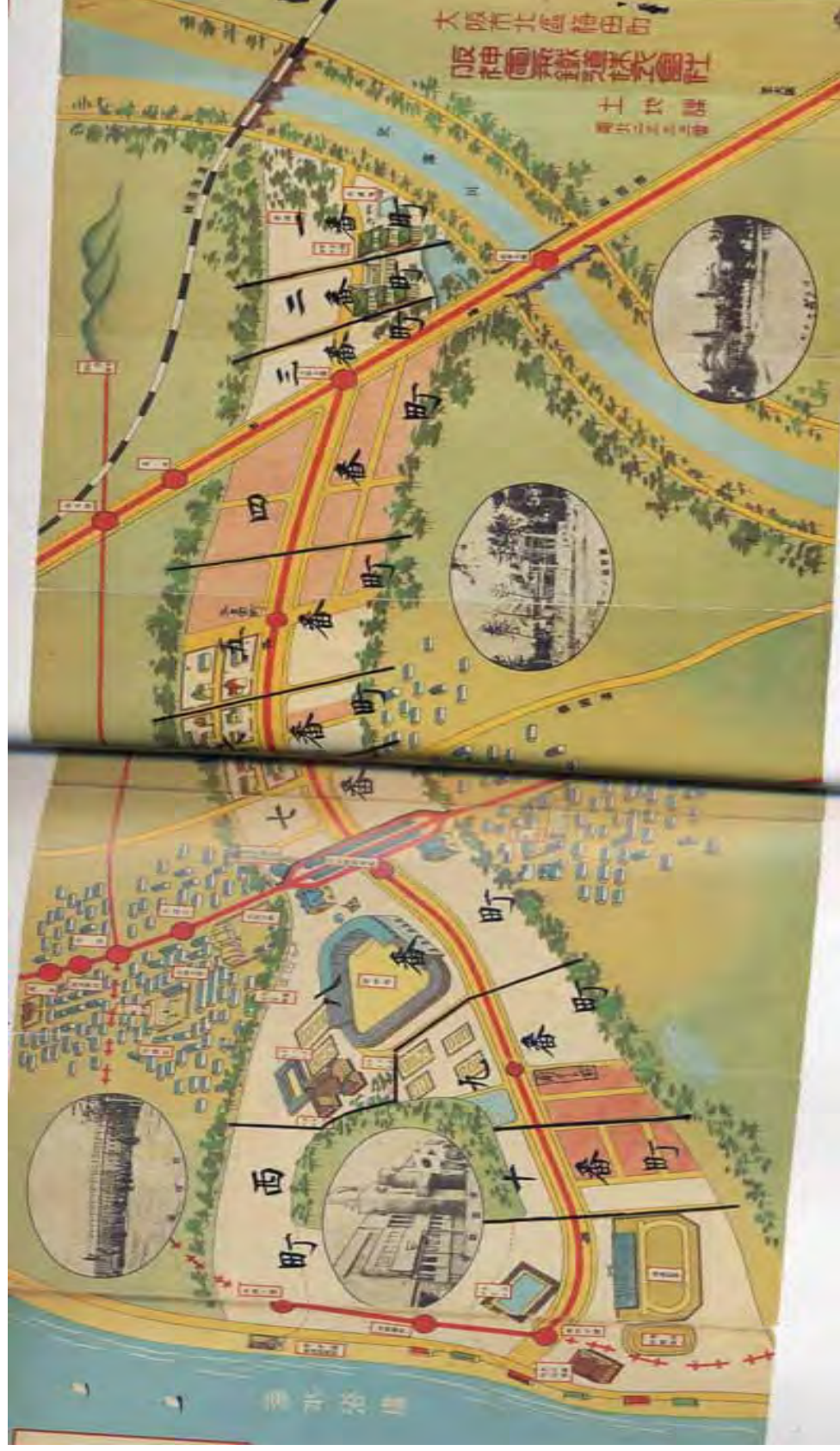


Figure 6.7: Hanshin Development Poster for Koshien, circa Taisho era. *Source:* 展美行委員会, 平成 9 年=The Executive Exhibition Committee, 9th Year of the Heisei Period (1997).

Although variations occurred from one purchaser to the next, the average size of each house was over 100 tsubo – quite a significant change from the 43 tsubo per home at Nishinomiya (Hanshin Group, 2008). The principal theme of the development was its coexistence with recreational sporting facilities (展実行委員会, 平成 9 年³⁷⁷); Hanshin in fact constructed Koshien Baseball Stadium prior to the construction and sale of houses (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³⁷⁸). This ‘sports-leisure’ approach to development included not only the Koshien Baseball Stadium (1924), but also an amusement complex at Hanshin Park (1929), followed by a sports stadium used for rugby and soccer, tennis courts and a swimming pool (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³⁷⁹) (Figure 6.9).

Although quite distinct from the more amusement-oriented development of Hankyu, it was a more concerted effort by Hanshin to compete with Hankyu, and to adopt the environmental ideals of the Garden City approach. The intense competition between the companies spurred Hanshin’s “management style to become more aggressive” (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005: 115³⁸⁰). One example of this was Hanshin’s purchase of additional land on Koshien Beach (1933) and, through its real estate and construction divisions, the building of a ‘seaside’ residential district (Figure 6.8) with some houses as spacious as 220 tsubo (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³⁸¹).

The houses, which were modelled on a ‘tidy’ ‘residential district’, (Hanshin employee, 2008) were stand-alone structures in a favourable location next to the sea. The

³⁷⁷ The Executive Exhibition Committee, 9th Year of the Heisei Period (1997).

³⁷⁸ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

³⁷⁹ Ibid

³⁸⁰ Ibid: 115

³⁸¹ Ibid

development fostered the presence of Hanshin over a large area of land. At a cost between 8,000 and 10,000 yen (円) per house and land, it attempted to rival Hankyu's Ikeda with a scenic and beautiful garden town atmosphere (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³⁸²).



Figure 6.8: Hanshin Housing at Koshien Beach, circa 1930s. **Source:** 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005.

Inevitably it prompts the question why Hanshin did not initially engage in such development, when it was in fact the pioneer in residential development. Possibly it was the existent population surrounding its railway line, leaving less available land for purchase and development (阪神電鉄, 昭和 48 年³⁸³). It might also have been due to the company's

unstable management at this time, or its lack of desire to maximise capital expenditure and risk (Ogawa, 1998), but curiously, Hanshin had already developed seasonal bathing facilities at idyllic locations such as 打出³⁸⁴ (Uchide) in 1905 and then linked similar operations at Koroen (香炉園³⁸⁵) (1908) (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³⁸⁶, Ogawa, 1998). These areas were relatively undeveloped in comparison with

³⁸² Ibid

³⁸³ Hanshin Railway, 48th Year of the Showa Period (1973)

³⁸⁴ Uchide is present-day Ashiya.

³⁸⁵ Hanshin's bathing facilities at Koroen preceded Hanshin's Koroen Amusement Park and the two were later combined (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005)

³⁸⁶ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005)

Nishinomiya and were recognised as desirable locations where the wealthy went to enjoy nature (展実行委員会, 平成9年³⁸⁷). This point will therefore be considered further in the latter Sections of this chapter as it relates to the motivation behind corporate branding.

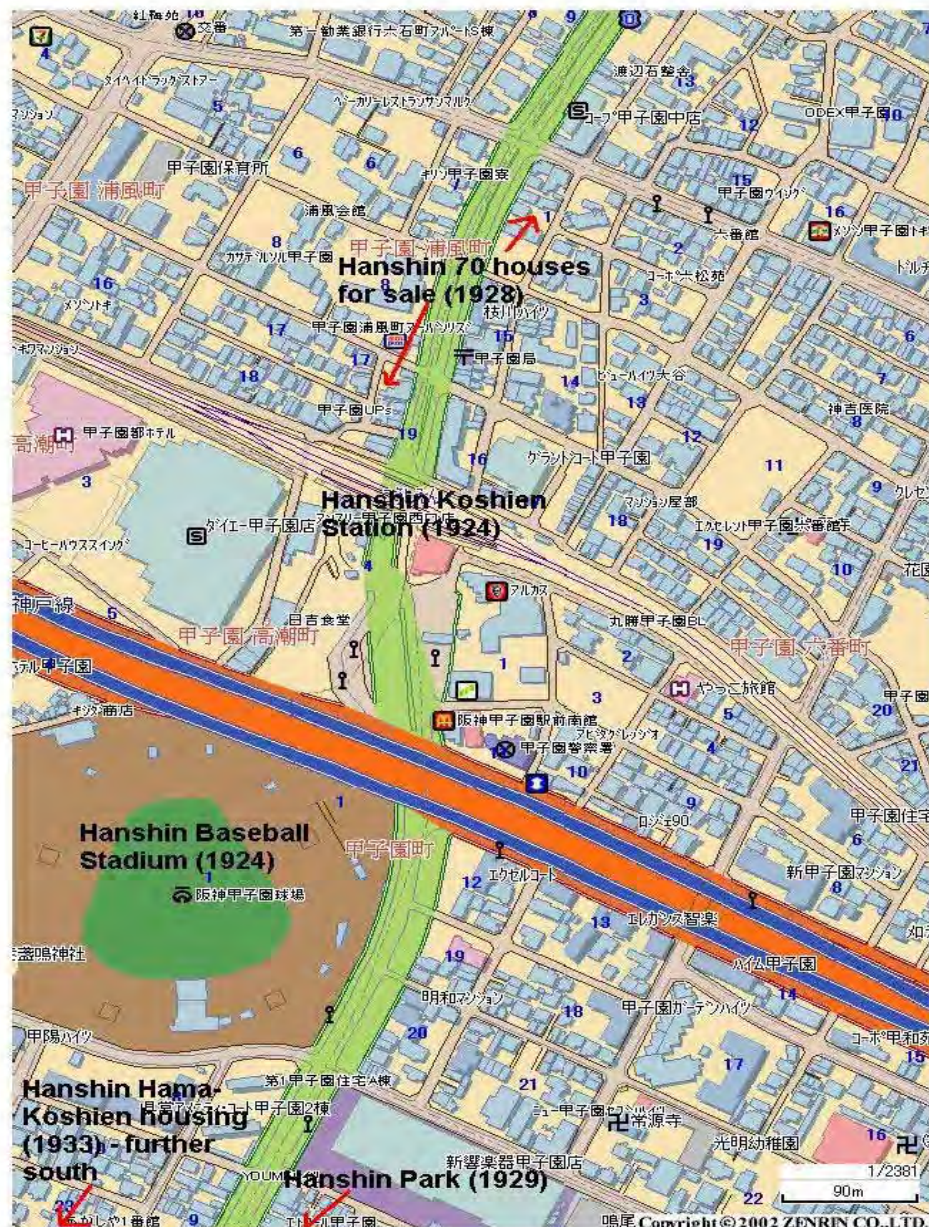


Figure 6.9: Map of Hanshin developments in Koshien. *Source:* Zenrin Co., Ltd., 2002; property

³⁸⁷ The Executive Exhibition Committee, 9th Year of the Heisei Period (1997).

information: 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³⁸⁸



Figure 6.10: Tree-lined avenue connecting the southern exit of Hanshin train station and Koshien Baseball Stadium. *Source:* the author, 2005

Koshien has since grown to be recognised as an ‘upper-class and elite’ residential location (展実行委員会, 平成 9 年³⁸⁹) - famous for its images of a leafy garden suburb with up-market shopping (Figure 6.10). In 2005 the original site of Hanshin Park was converted into an upmarket shopping mall called ‘LaLaPort’³⁹⁰ (Figure 6.11). The complex is marketed as representing the “history of the region with a modern

attitude” (Hanshin Electric Railway Company, 2005). This suggests that Hanshin’s development was not always so distinct from that of Hankyu and this is something that must be considered further in this chapter, in light of primary data from the corporate interviews.



Figure 6.11: LaLaPort Mall on the site of the former Hanshin Park. *Source:* the author, 2005

³⁸⁸ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005.

³⁸⁹ Ibid

³⁹⁰ LaLaPort is a shopping management company exterior to Hanshin. The site is still owned by Hanshin; however, it is leased to LaLaPort.



Figure 6.12: Hankyu housing at Nishinomiya-kitaguchi, circa 1923. **Source:** 阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 1932= Hanshin Express Railway Corporation, 1932

At the same time Hanshin was developing Koshien, Hankyu turned its attention to developing land in Nishinomiya³⁹¹. Housing development was carried out in several locations including: Nishinomiya-

kitaguchi (西宮北口) (1923), Kotoen (甲東園) (1923), Nigawa (仁川)

(1924), and

Mukonosono (武庫之荘) (1937) (展実行委員会, 平成 9 年³⁹²).

In competition with Hanshin, Hankyu aggressively developed Nishinomiya-kitaguchi

with spacious

houses³⁹³ (1923) near



Figure 6.13: Hankyu mansions at Nishinomiya-kitaguchi, circa 1949. **Source:** 京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 1959= Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 1959

the station (Figure 6.12) and later, a massive apartment colony (Figure 6.13) (1948)

³⁹¹ Hankyu's line is located in northern Nishinomiya and is recognised as 西宮北口 (Nishinomiya-kitaguchi-meaning the northern entrance of Nishinomiya) whereas Hanshin's is located to the south and is simply recognised as 西宮 (Nishinomiya).

³⁹² The Executive Exhibition Committee, 9th Year of the Heisei Period (1997).

³⁹³ Although the actual plot size cannot be confirmed, the total area developed equalled 25,000 tsubo, just 2,000 tsubo smaller than the development at Ikeda.

(京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和 34 年³⁹⁴).

Matching Hanshin's baseball stadium at Koshien, Hankyu constructed its own baseball stadium at Nishinomiya-kitaguchi in 1936, and this became home field to the Osaka Hankyu Baseball Club (阪急電鉄株式会社, 昭和 57 年³⁹⁵). What is important to note about this increasingly aggressive development by both companies is that it resulted in a growing physical presence in the urban space of the region. Whereas they had started as railway service providers they were quickly expanding into diverse areas such as housing, amusement and entertainment, sports, and retail. Each property became a vehicle through which the name Hankyu or Hanshin could be communicated.

Although contemporary in origin, the term 'brandscape' might be an appropriate means to describe the visual impact of Hankyu and Hanshin's developments in urban space:

"Brandscapes constitute the physical manifestations of synthetically conceived identities transposed onto synthetically conceived places, demarcating culturally independent sites where corporate value systems materialise into physical territories."

(Klingmann, 2007: 83)

Zukin (1991: 232) has argued that architecture in urban space makes powerful statements, "not because it is a symbol of capitalism, but because it is the capital of symbolism." The more the two corporations built physical structures in the region, the more these translated into powerful symbols in the urban space. The visual stimuli³⁹⁶

³⁹⁴ Keihanshin Express Railway Company, 34th Year of the Showa Period (1959). In Japan, condominium or apartment blocks are called 'mansions' (マンション).

³⁹⁵ Hankyu Railway Corporation, 57th Year of the Showa Period (1982).

³⁹⁶ Visual stimuli can include logos, signage, packaging, product design, advertisements,

that is so critical to branding was appearing not only in Hankyu and Hanshin's logos, advertisements and signage, but also in their growing number of properties throughout the region. Domosh (1992) has written that corporate decisions regarding the location and design of company properties are intentional as they represent the communication of the corporation's symbol. As was previously seen in the case of Hanshin's development at Koshien then, Hankyu's extensive development of Nishonomiya-kitaguchi (Figure 6.14) would make its physical presence in that area symbolic of the company.

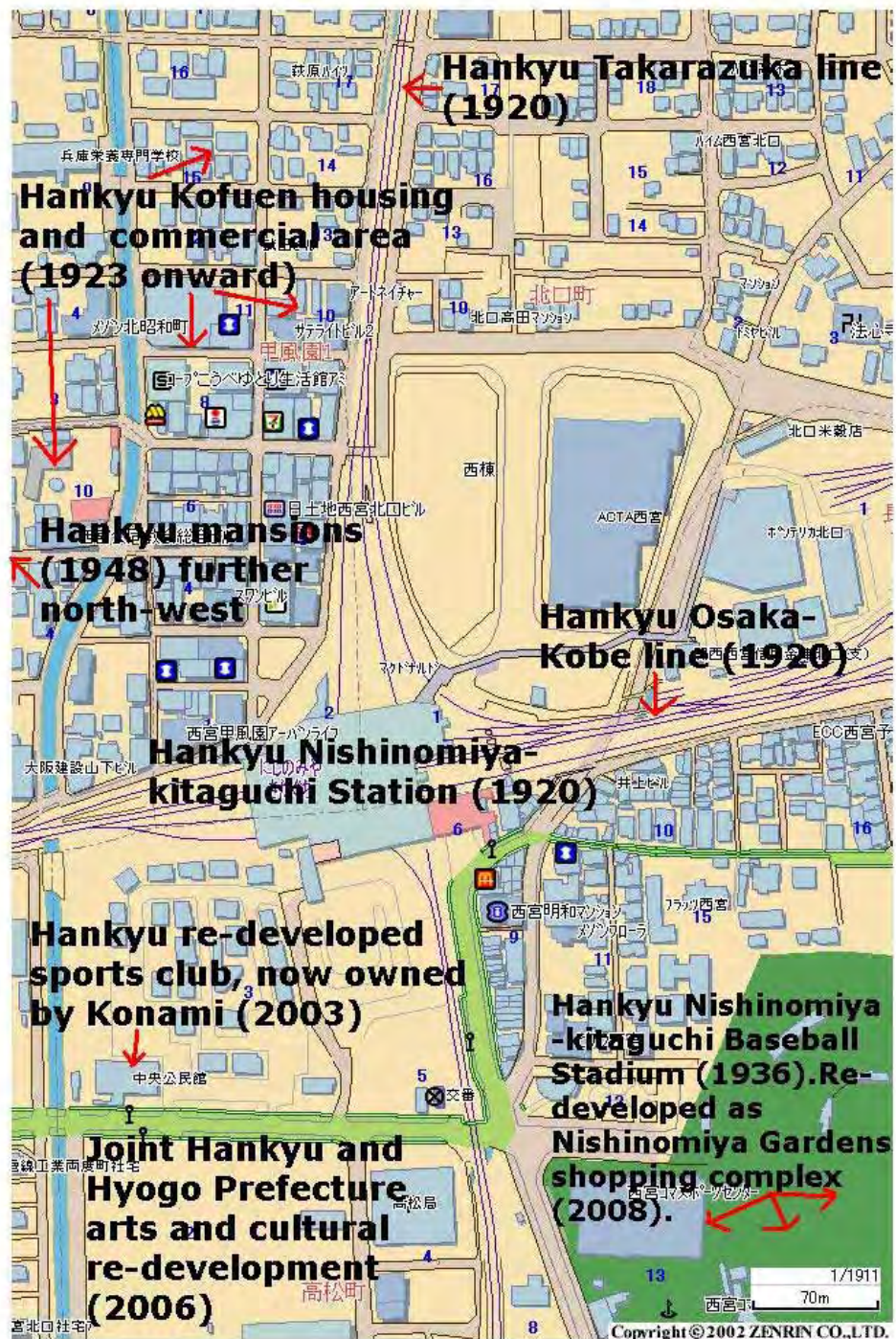


Figure 6.14: Map of Hankyu developments in Nishinomiya-kitaguchi. *Source:* Zenrin Co., Ltd., 2002; property information: Hankyu Corporate Interview, 2005; 京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和34年³⁹⁷

³⁹⁷ Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 1959.



Figure 6.15: Hankyu Kotoen housing, circa 1923. **Source:** 阪急電鉄株式会社, 1980 = Hankyu Railway Corporation, 1980

It was during the period of development at Nishinomiya-kitaguchi, that Kobayashi decided to adopt yet another original strategy to draw residents and passengers to Kotoen, two stops north-east from Nishinomiya-kitaguchi. Similar to the land at Ikeda when the Mino-Arima

Railway (present day Hankyu) first

developed housing, the area surrounding Kotoen was also in large part farmland (関西大学, 2007³⁹⁸). Hankyu owned land surrounding Kotoen Station, including 70,000 tsubo on the higher plain of Uegahara (上ヶ原), just above Kotoen Station (阪急電鉄株式会社, 昭和 55 年³⁹⁹) and it commenced construction of spacious, gated, traditional-design housing at Kotoen Station in 1923 (吉田, 2000⁴⁰⁰) (Figure 6.15). With this, Kobayashi began devising a way in which Hankyu could attract residents and passengers alike to the area. Mindful of an expanding college in nearby Kobe, Kobayashi offered to sell the land at Uegahara to Kwansei Gakuin University (関西大学) for the amount of 55,000 yen (円), in exchange for Hankyu purchasing the original property of the college, located near to Kobe, for 320,000 yen (円) in 1928 (阪急電鉄株式会社, 昭和 55 年⁴⁰¹).

In 1929, Kwansei Gakuin University took ownership of the land and relocated to

³⁹⁸ Kwansei Gakuin University, 2007

³⁹⁹ Hankyu Railway Corporation, 55th Year of the Showa Period (1980)

⁴⁰⁰ Yoshida, 2000

⁴⁰¹ Hankyu Railway Corporation, 55th Year of the Showa Period (1980)

Uegahara (関西大学, 2007⁴⁰²). In this, Kobayashi had already envisaged the potential increase in passenger traffic on Hankyu trains from the commuting students, as evidenced from the passenger statistics from Kotoen Station. In December 1950, almost 9,000 passengers boarded at Kotoen Station per day, a significant number for an area that was once farmland. Only five years later, this number would grow to over 17,000 passengers per day in December 1955, rising to 30,000 per day by 1965 (阪急電鉄株式会社, 昭和 57 年⁴⁰³). Hankyu's development of Kotoen (Figure 6.16) is another important example of its continued innovation for attracting passengers and residents alike, as well as the physical manifestation of its brand in urban space. It also signalled Hankyu's move beyond its original Takarazuka model of mixed residential and entertainment development by delving into academic town development; thereby stimulating an image of students and schools surrounding its line; a new feature of the Hankyu brand.

⁴⁰² Ibid

⁴⁰³ Hankyu Railway Corporation, 57th Year of the Showa Period (1982)

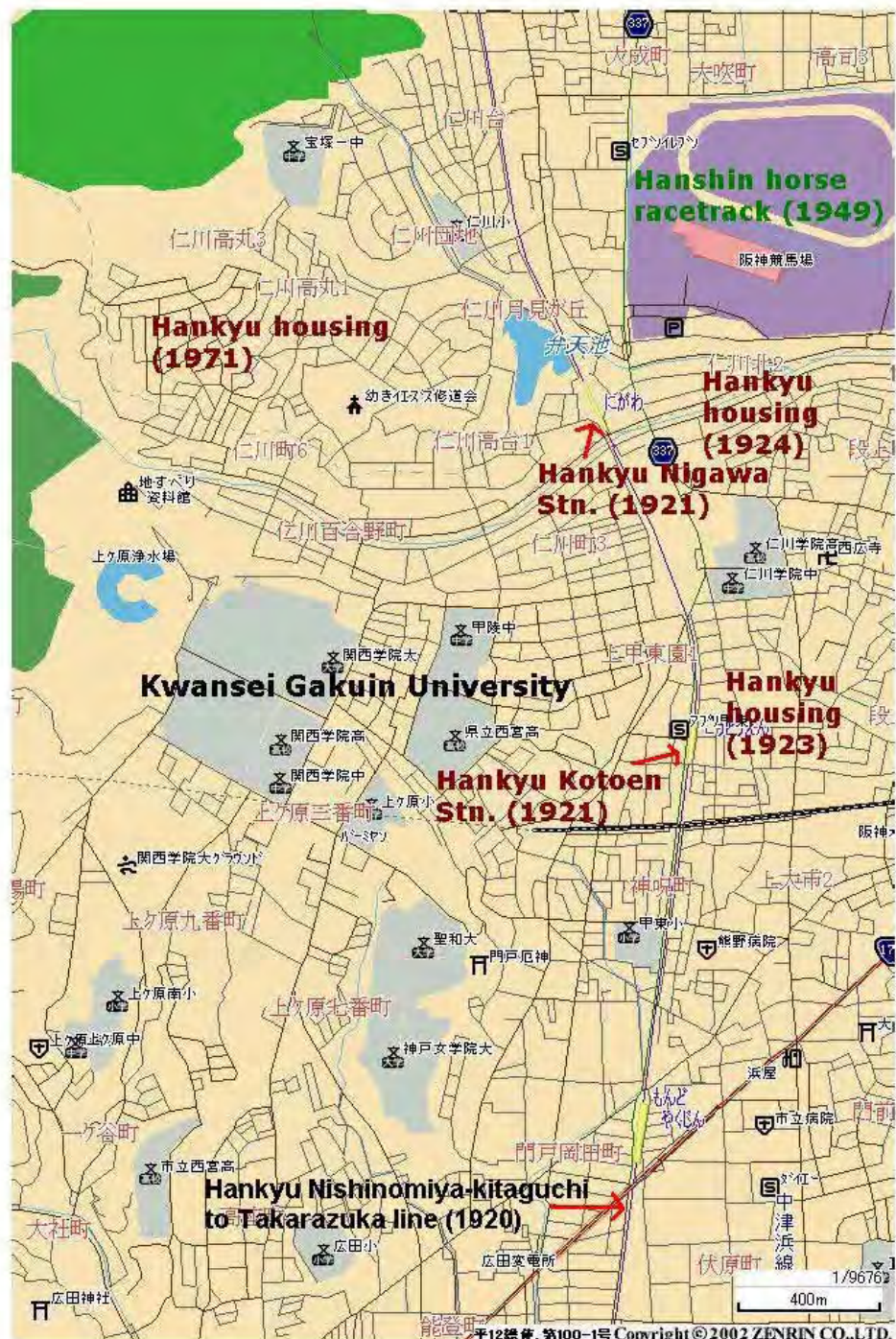


Figure 6.16: Map of Hankyu Development at Kotoen. *Source:* Zenrin Co., Ltd., 2002; property information: 京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和 34 年⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁴ Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 1959.

In addition to distinctions in the nature of these developments, dissimilarities were evident in their sale and rental prices. As previously indicated, Hanshin's rental properties at Nishinomiya could be leased for between 10 and 25 yen (円) per month (阪神電鉄, 昭和 54 年⁴⁰⁵). Conversely, Hankyu's houses at Ikeda were being sold for 2,500 yen each. In light of the evidence found in Chapter 4, these prices would have had direct correlation with other factors such as the location of industries, and economic and social change. This can be considered further by comparing more recent values in locations which have been discussed from historical perspectives in this thesis.

Figure 6.17 is a diagram showing the average value of housing within 1 kilometre of railway stations in 1990. Radiating westwards from Osaka, the differentiation occurs not relative to the proximity or distance from Osaka, but between the Hankyu line to the north and that of Hanshin in the south. Hankyu Mukonosō (武庫之荘), which was mentioned at the beginning of this Chapter for Hankyu's application of a garden suburb design, had an average housing value of 1,170,000 yen (approximately \$13,953 AUD) per m². To the south of Mukonosō, however, houses at Hanshin Amagasaki (尼崎) were valued at 600,000 yen (approximately \$7,156 AUD) per m².

These present day urban areas, although both within the jurisdiction of Amagasaki City, have two very different histories: that of Mukonosō involved the Hankyu construction of two-storey houses (Figure 6.2) and broad main streets with the train station as the focus (角野, 2000). As early as 1905, however, Hanshin Amagasaki was an industrial area with a growing number of factory workers as residents who were responsible for the majority of national manufacturing in certain industries (財団法人日本経営史研究

⁴⁰⁵ Hanshin Railway, 54th year of the Showa Period (1983)

Figure 6.17: Announcement of the housing land value within railway lines and station areas, 1990.
Source: 国土庁土地鑑定委員会編, 平成 2 年⁴⁰⁸

Similar variations occur at Hanshin Nishinomiya with values recorded at 653,000 yen (approximately \$7,785 AUD) per m², while to the north at Hankyu Shukugawa (夙川 -one stop to the west of Hankyu Nishinomiya-kitaguchi) houses were worth 1,090,000 yen (approximately \$12,995 AUD) per m². Once more, a reflection on the history of these places reveals that Shukugawa developed as an exclusive garden suburb with a river from the nearby mountains flowing through it (展実行委員会, 平成 9 年⁴⁰⁹), while Hanshin Nishinomiya developed through industry, particularly sake breweries (西宮市, 2008⁴¹⁰).

Differences in the housing between the Hankyu and Hanshin lines are further evident in the area of floor space per person (m²) (Figure 6.18). In general, properties along the Hanshin line average between 0.0 and 29.9 m² per person. Floor space in buildings surrounding the Hankyu line, however, is on average higher ranging from 30m² to more than 40m² per person. Once more historical factors such as the earlier settlement of the land nearest to the coast (present day Hanshin area), the nearby location of industries, and the relatively unsettled land to the north (present day Hankyu) would have affected the amount of space available for property development.

Although this Section has thus far demonstrated the role played by Hankyu and Hanshin in key urban developments, it is important to remember that as evidenced in Chapter 4, historical processes and the physical setting of the region have also influenced

⁴⁰⁸ Ministry of the Land Judgement Committee, 2nd year of the Heisei Period (1990)

⁴⁰⁹ The Executive Exhibition Committee, 9th Year of the Heisei Period (1997).

⁴¹⁰ Nishinomiya City, 2008

distinctions in the urban space along their two lines. Increasingly then this raises questions about the relationship between setting and processes such as industrial and economic growth, social change, and practices internal to the two corporations. Before this can be addressed using primary data from corporate interviews, the remainder of this Section will discuss some of Hankyu and Hanshin's more recent urban developments as well as their involvement in department stores.

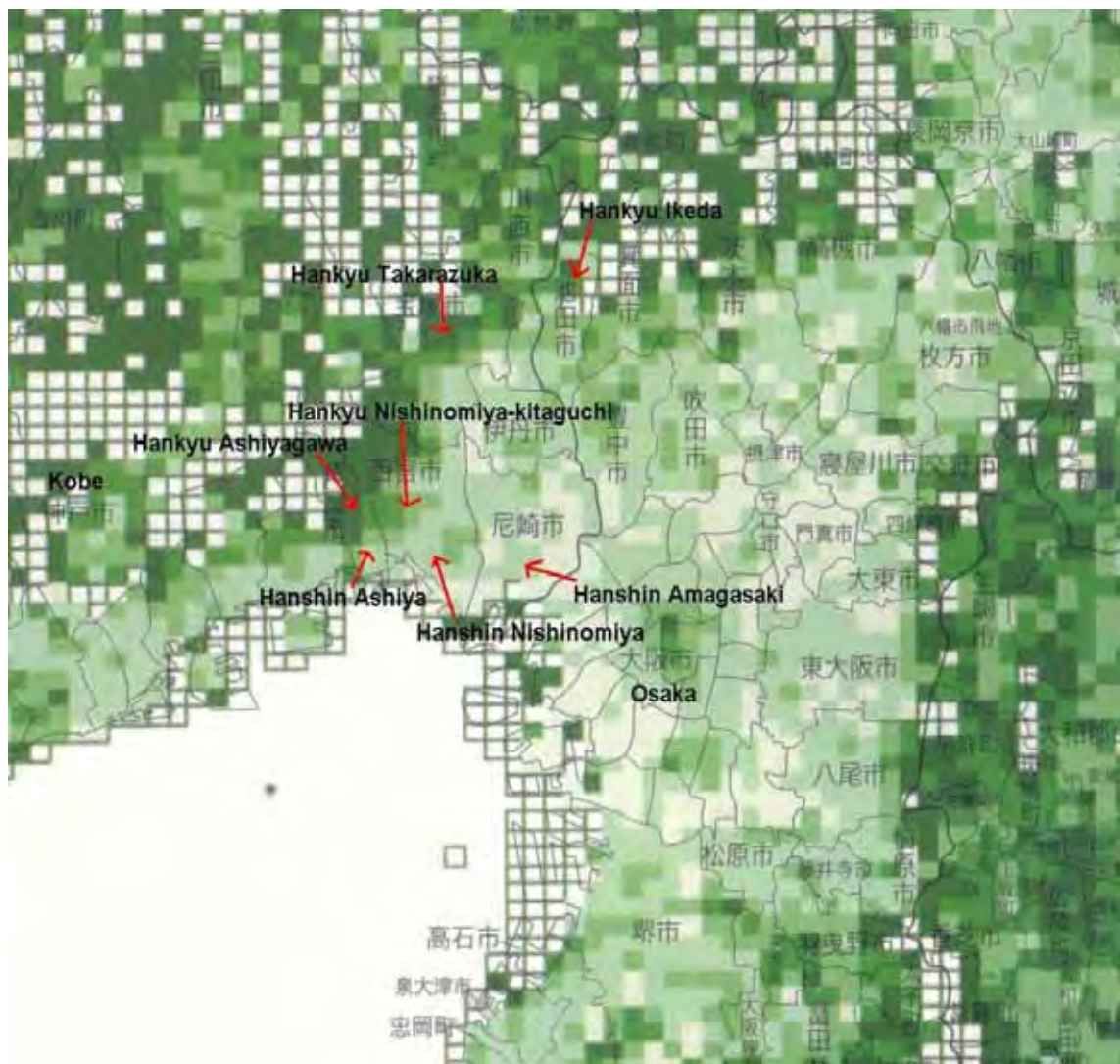




Figure 6.18: Area of floor space per person (m²) in 2004. *Source:* 総務省統計局, 平成 16 年⁴¹¹



Figure 6.19: Hankyu Market, circa 1925. *Source:* 京阪神電鉄株式会社, 1959= Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 1959.

Another important example of urban development carried out by both Hankyu and Hanshin was that of the terminal culture at Umeda, Osaka. As indicated in Chapter 5, Hankyu opened Japan's first terminal department store there (阪急電鉄株式会社, 昭和 57 年⁴¹²) when it opened the 'Hankyu Market'

(Figure 6.19) in its headquarters at Umeda (松田, 2004⁴¹³). The Market sold cooking goods and

daily necessities as well as having a cafe, all directly managed by Hankyu. (松田, 2004⁴¹⁴). The market soon became a full-fledged department store in 1929 (阪急電鉄株式会社, 2004⁴¹⁵) (Figure 6.20) with several floors of goods, all overseen by Hankyu. Not only did the Hankyu Department Store increase the flow of passengers and create retail opportunities: but it also shaped lifestyle by directly affecting Japanese eating patterns.

⁴¹¹ Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Posts and Telecommunications, 16th year of the Heisei Period (2004)

⁴¹² Hankyu Railway Corporation, 57th Year of the Showa Period (1982).

⁴¹³ Matsuda, 2004

⁴¹⁴ Ibid

⁴¹⁵ Hankyu Railway Corporation, 2004.

“During a voyage to Europe [by sea], Kobayashi developed a taste for an early example of ‘fusion’ cuisine: beef curry and rice. He hired the ship’s cook for [Hankyu Department’s] restaurant, and sought to popularise ‘curry rice’. The Hankyu restaurant’s signature dish became so popular that Kobayashi contracted with farmers to raise cattle exclusively for Hankyu. In time, curry rice became as much of a Japanese staple as sushi.”

Demery Jr., 2002: 5

In addition to influencing the eating patterns of its customers, Hatsuda (1993) noted that from the beginning of the Showa Period (1926) the core principle of the Hankyu Department Store changed from one of general sundries to selling high-class, exclusive items. These items conveyed a certain image – one of high-class exclusivity. This image, when combined with the offering of rare foods in its department store,



Figure 6.20: Hankyu Department Store, circa 1929. Hankyu Market, circa 1925.
Source: 京阪神電鉄株式会社, 1959= Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 1959.

helped define further Hankyu’s image as one of high-class sophistication.

Hankyu’s example stirred Hanshin to compete with the establishment of its own department store in Umeda, directly across from that of Hankyu in 1937. Hanshin had opened ‘Hanshin Mart’ (Figure 6.21) in front of its Umeda Station in 1933 because the facilities for a full-sized department store were only part way through construction. After the department store opened, this mart, which sold everyday foodstuffs, moved to



Figure 6.21: Hanshin Mart, circa 1947.
Source: 阪神電気鉄道株式会社, 2007=Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation, 2007.

the basement of the Hanshin Building, where it remains today. During the establishment of the department store, Hanshin received strong opposition from Hankyu but both companies came to establish niche markets based on the passengers of their respective trains (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005⁴¹⁶).

The two department stores continue today as one component of the station areas developed by Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. Hankyu's Department Store has expanded from one building to an enclosed complex of nine (阪急電鉄株式会社, 昭和 55 年), which is currently undergoing a complete renewal,⁴¹⁷ increasing floor space and building height in order to make it one of the largest buildings in Japan⁴¹⁸ (阪急ホールディングス株式会社, 2005⁴¹⁹). The department termini are one more important component of Hankyu and Hanshin's symbolic presence in the urban space of the region as "flagship brand stores are an invaluable presence in consumerspace – they let consumers experience the brand [as well as consume] it" (Solomon, 2003: 167). Not only do the physical structures symbolise their corporate 'brandsapes' but the signage and advertising throughout, and the interior space of these buildings are all physical manifestations of Hankyu and Hanshin's brands.

⁴¹⁶ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

⁴¹⁷ The renewal is a project for the 100th anniversary of the founding of Hankyu (阪急ホールディングス株式会社, 2005=Hankyu Holdings Corporation, 2005).

⁴¹⁸ Hankyu was successful in "obtaining a relaxation of the floor-area ration specified in the Special Measures Law for Urban Redevelopment," (阪急ホールディングス株式会社, 2005:15=Hankyu Holdings Corporation, 2005:15).

⁴¹⁹ Hankyu Holdings Corporation, 2005.

The above-mentioned expansion is a small fraction of Hankyu's present involvement in re-development of their urban properties including both commercial and residential land assets. In a reverse from its earliest suburban housing at Ikeda, Hankyu now offers the 'Real Umeda' (Figure 6.20) to those interested in 'downtown living' within six minutes of Hankyu Umeda's Station (阪急不動産, 2006).



Figure 6.22: Hankyu 'Real Umeda' Housing Advertisement. *Source:* 阪急不動産, 2005⁴²⁰

Counter to Hankyu's earliest housing advertisements, the image that is portrayed in Figure 6.22 suggests that living in the heart of the city is the future of residential life. In so doing, it emphasises the convenience of the nearby location of the Hankyu train station. But more than this, the image depicted is vibrant and exciting; the slogan

⁴²⁰ Hankyu Real Estate, 2005

inscribed on the building welcomes the individual to make living there an actuality. Although this is not in keeping with Hankyu's earliest garden suburb developments, the attempt to portray 'a new era of living environment' (Hankyu employee, 2008) is in fact consistent with Hankyu's earliest of images.

Additional properties nearby, such as 'HEP 5' (Hankyu Entertainment Plaza 5⁴²¹) (Figure 6.23) have also been developed by Hankyu in which massive shopping and



Figure 6.23: HEP building. *Source:* the author, 2005

entertainment complexes are housed; according to Hankyu Group (2005) all target specific corners of the social market. But according to Hankyu (2005) these targets are not socio-economically related; rather, "HEP 5 targets teenagers and young adults in their 20's,



Figure 6.24: Hankyu NU. *Source:* the author, 2005

while the most recent development, NU, generally targets young women in their 20's and 30's" (Hankyu Corporate Interview, 2005). Standing for 'North Umeda' (Figure 6.24), NU is a clear symbol of how buildings are identified

⁴²¹ The '5' means that it is the 5th main building of Hankyu Properties in the area.

with Hankyu - quite simply, the area surrounding North Umeda is called the ‘Hankyu Village’ (Saito, 1997), and it is understood that most of the massive properties in the area, either developed or under re-development, are owned by Hankyu Group (Figure 6.25). This is indicative of the extent to which the Hankyu brand is visible in the urban space of Osaka.



Figure 6.25: Map of North Umeda with Hankyu Properties Marked. **Source:** 阪急ホールディングス株式会社, 2005⁴²²

In response to Hankyu’s ‘HEP 5’ and ‘NU’, Hanshin spawned ‘Herbis Osaka’ (1997)

⁴²² Hankyu Holdings Corporation, 2005.

(Figure 6.26) (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005⁴²³) in Western Umeda (西梅田) housing the upscale Ritz-Carlton, in addition to office and commercial facilities (阪神電気鉄道株式会社, 2004⁴²⁴). Cleverly, the ‘Her’ in the name represents ‘Hanshin Electric Railway’, and ‘urbis’⁴²⁵ is Latin for ‘city’. In 2004, Hanshin opened a massive retail, office and entertainment complex surrounding the first Herbis building (1997), naming it ‘Herbis ENT’⁴²⁶. With four floors underground and 28 above ground, and with expensive retailers such as Bvlgari and Tiffany’s maintaining retail



Figure 6.26: Hanshin’s Herbis ENT.
Source: 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005= Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

space, the complex aims to project for Hanshin a very high-end image that is normally associated with Hankyu Department Store, (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005⁴²⁷). This association might eventually have an effect on Hanshin’s brand image, changing it from one of the every-day, and families, to one of exclusivity. With this, Nishi-Umeda is now recognised as ‘Hanshin’ Nishi-Umeda (阪神電気鉄道株式会社, 2004⁴²⁸): a competitive branding spatial counterpart (Figure 6.27) to Hankyu’s brand Village at North Umeda. Hanshin’s goal to turn

the area into an “ideal gateway to [the] International Visitor-friendly City [of] Osaka,” (阪神電気鉄道株式会社, 2004⁴²⁹) may in fact do more for the company by

⁴²³ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

⁴²⁴ Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation, 2004.

⁴²⁵ ‘urbis’ has been adjusted to ‘bis’ in order to suit the combination of both meanings.

⁴²⁶ ENT stands for entertainment and can also be interpreted as entrance (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005.

⁴²⁷ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

⁴²⁸ Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation, 2004.

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

representing a turning point in its corporate image and the way its brand appears in urban space.

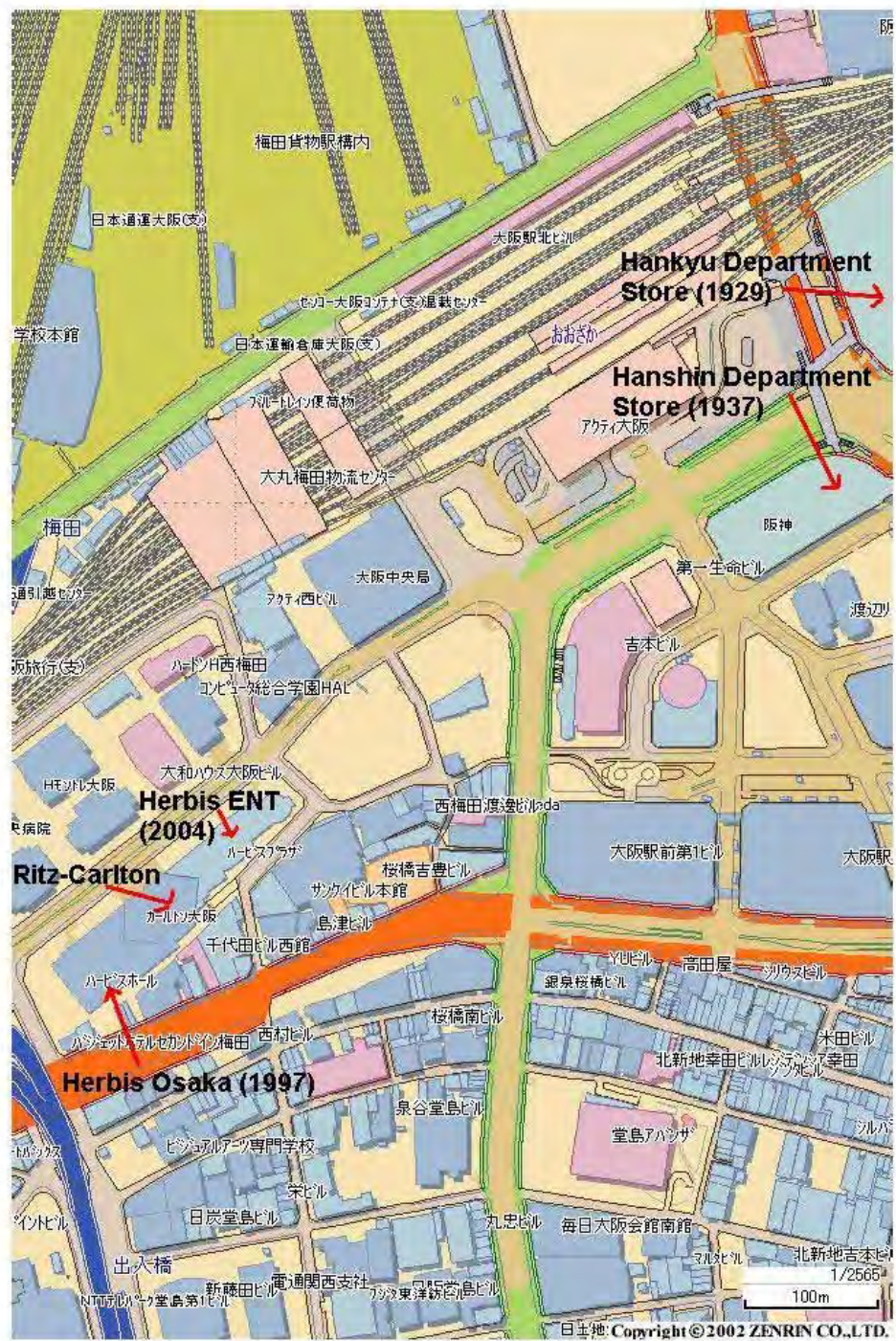


Figure 6.27: Map of Western Umeda. Source: Zenrin Co., Ltd., 2002; property information: 財団

This Section of the chapter has highlighted the urban development activities of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups and the way in these have become three-dimensional manifestations of two corporate brands in urban space. As suggested by Holt (2005: 278), “strong brands result from expressing the brand’s symbolism consistently over time.” The more places both corporations developed, the more strongly they were able to project their brands in the urban space of the Hanshin Region. A map of the region showing a selection of these early urban developments (Figure 6.26) provides a visual illustration of this physical presence.

Despite Hankyu and Hanshin’s extensive involvement in the urban development of the region and the clear physical presence of their brands, however, evidence presented in Chapter 4 demonstrates that they were not solely responsible for the distinctions that evolved in the urban space along their two railway lines. As previously suggested, this raises questions as to the influence of the two private railway groups and conditions that might have influenced their strategies. Using primary data the next Section will therefore investigate more closely what the Hankyu and Hanshin brands really represent and how these may be symbolic of broader implications.

⁴³⁰ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005.



Figure 6.28: Map of the Hanshin Region with select Hankyu and Hanshin urban development projects indicated. **Source:** Zenrin Co., Ltd., 2002; property information: 京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和 34 年; 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005⁴³¹

⁴³¹ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005; Keihanshin Express Railway Corporation, 1959.

6.2 Hankyu and Hanshin brands

The results of this research began in Chapter 4 where it was illustrated that the historical processes of industrial and economic growth, and social change, combined with the locational attributes of the Hanshin Region, influenced certain distinctions in urban space. Building on this, evidence presented in Chapters 5 illustrated that the management structures of Hankyu and Hanshin, and their oligopolistic competition facilitated the evolution of two distinct corporate images that were at times in direct competition while, at others, divergent in their strategies. These images came to symbolise two brands and as demonstrated in the first Section of this chapter, their symbols increasingly appeared in the urban space of the Hanshin Region through the urban developments of both corporations.

It is not possible, however, to discern the influence that private railway groups had in terms of the unfolding of distinctions in place without more closely examining the intentions and strategies behind the two corporate brands. The following Section will therefore present primary data⁴³² from the semi-structured interviewing of the corporate elite to investigate the strategies behind these two distinct corporate brands; particularly whether or not they evolved in response to the local setting and historical urban processes external to the corporations.

6.2.1 Hankyu and Hanshin's brand strategies

⁴³² As addressed in Chapter 3, 'chunks' of text from interview transcripts are 'written-IN' and analysed in the main text (Cameron, 2000); a matter of moving back and forth between the collected data and the main text of the thesis (DeVault and McCoy, 2001).

Hankyu and Hanshin Groups emerged against a complex backdrop of locational attributes, industrial and economic growth, and social change. Although distinctions in housing, society, urban development, and leisure activities can be found to have ties to this setting and events, “the development of the private railways cannot be separated from the development of the Hanshin Region” (展実行委員会, 平成 9 年: 28⁴³³). As commented by Hankyu (2005), this context provided a series of ‘business chances’.

“都市が、日本の場合は国土も狭いですし、その中でいろんな産業とか都市機能が大阪圏・東京圏ということで中心になるところを集中にしてくるという読みがあった。ビジネスという部分は都心部、住むところは郊外。そこに鉄道をひいて人を動かすというところでのビジネスと、住むことというビジネスと、あとレジャーで人が集まってくればそういうところにもいろんなビジネスの機会があるということで事業がどんどん拡大していった。”

“In the case of cities in Japan, the land is narrow and within that, there are many industries and urban functions – the observation [by Hankyu and Hanshin management, in the past] has been that there would be a concentration in the hearts of Tokyo and Osaka. The place of business is in the city and the place of residence, in the suburbs. In this way, railways are in the business of moving people, residential business, then the collection of people for leisure- there are many chances for business and gradually this has expanded.”

Hankyu Corporate Interview, October 19, 2005

The acknowledgement of Japan’s physical geography as well as its urban settlement

⁴³³ The Executive Exhibition Committee, the 9th year of the Heisei Period (1997): 28.

patterns demonstrates that the business development of private railways has occurred on the premise of these conditions. Not only were these companies aware of their surroundings, but they sought to capitalise on them. As Hankyu would further comment, favourable geographical and social conditions were particularly crucial for their success:

“居住権というのがどんどん拡大していっているんで、どうしても交通機関が必要になってくる。その人口の集中する中で、車ではカバーしきれない。大量の、高速の輸送機関として、特に私どもは幸い、大阪・神戸・京都という非常に輸送密度の高いところを走っているんで、そういう意味ではビジネスとしてもいい条件に恵まれている。”

“Because residential areas are gradually expanding, transport is increasingly necessary. Cars cannot service the population concentration sufficiently. We are especially fortunate because our abundant and rapid trains run through the favourable conditions in Osaka, Kobe and Kyoto, which are very densely populated ...in this way it’s good business.”

Hankyu Corporate Interview, October 19, 2005

To this Hankyu has more recently added that the ability to succeed was entirely based on a management path that incorporated the synergies between businesses of housing and railway development (Hankyu Group, 2008). The shift to provide mansion (マンション)-style housing at Nishinomiya-kitaguchi in 1948 (p.266) is a good example of this. According to Hankyu, a sudden jump in land prices in the area drove the

company to build a gathering of high-rise residential properties so that they could continue to run profitable housing business while attracting more railway passengers (Hankyu Group, 2008). Hanshin similarly recognised the importance of processes external to the private railways by saying:

“おそらく鉄道会社は同じような答えをすると思うんですが、やはり地域密着型なんですよ。”

“I think probably other railway companies will have the same answer but as I suspected, we adhere to a regional model.”

Hanshin Corporate Interview, March 6, 2006

Hanshin (2006) went on to explain that this regional model is based on the need to offer comfort and convenience to its customers whether it is in general development, housing, commercial facilities, services in front of the station, or the elevating of railway tracks for safety purposes. Further, the 100-year history of the Hanshin Electric Railway quotes that the “premise for that [the characteristics of the railway and its offerings] was in relation to the Hanshin Region’s economics and population” (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005⁴³⁴). As evidenced in remarks made by Hankyu, it would appear that these considerations have, and continue to, influence the business decisions of both

⁴³⁴ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

corporations:

“100年の歴史の中での積み上げですね。それが路線の基盤になるところも含めて、そこにお住まいの方に合った、またそこに来ていただける方のニーズに合った事業をしている間に、結果としてそうなったという捉え方が正しいと思う。”

“I think the correct opinion [in regards to Hankyu’s strategies] is that they are a result of businesses aimed at matching the needs of people who go there and they matched the people who lived there, this includes the basis for the [railway] lines. It is really an accumulation of 100 years of history, isn’t it?”

Hankyu Corporate Interview, October 19, 2005

In this statement Hankyu makes clear that their operations have been dependent on the needs of their market- indeed the long-standing history of the region has provided the basis. If the regional history of the past 100 years has played a part in the business strategies of both Hankyu and Hanshin, what role has it specifically played vis-à-vis their corporate brands? While they acknowledged that the area surrounding the Hankyu railway line had come to represent images such as ‘sophisticated’, ‘refined’, and ‘elegant’ (Hankyu Corporate Interview, 2005), initial responses from the corporate elite denied responsibility for these brand trademarks:

“我々がブランド戦略でそうしたというのはあまりないかな。むしろ、住まれる方がそうしてくださった。無理やりにそういう方に住んでもらうために集めたというわけではない。歴史の中で、そういう方が増えてきて、イメージができあがった。清潔さとか。”

“We may not have so much played a role through a brand strategy. It was created by the residents. We didn’t force people to gather in order to live. Through this history, images were made possible when these people increased.”

Hankyu Corporate Interview, October 19, 2005

As evidenced in Chapter 4, a number of factors did indeed influence distinctions in the urban space of the Hanshin Region prior to, and during the founding of Hankyu and Hanshin. However, as previously acknowledged by both corporations, they could not have competed and survived to this date without interacting in some way with these conditions. As de Chernatony and McDonald (2003: 321) have argued, “the first stage in developing a competitive advantage is to analyse the environment in which the brand will compete.” By investigating Hankyu’s analysis and targeting of this environment its role in branding becomes more evident.

Hankyu Group made reference to Kobayashi Ichizo’s vision of creating ‘culture for the public mass’, and made clear that Hankyu is still very much a corporation that considers the ‘public standard’ by keeping train and theatre fares inexpensive (Hankyu Corporate Interview, 2005). Kobayashi’s autobiography (2001) cites his vision of creating the

Takarazuka Theatre for the public; but it also illustrates his competitiveness with Hanshin Electric Railway⁴³⁵. Kobayashi also spoke of Hankyu as providing ‘something better’ ‘something unique’ to that of Hanshin and this was evident throughout his advertisements for housing (Chapter 5).

The introduction of rice-curry to Hankyu Department Store is one example of Kobayashi’s efforts - it was a rare item, special, foreign, and something that could be consumed by those who were in search of something unusual. Although Hankyu might argue that its strategies over the years have only been targeted at serving the public, they have inevitably set Hankyu apart from the competition.

⁴³⁵ This included Kobayashi’s determination to out-perform Hanshin in order to retain funding from Kitahama Bank (Ogawa, 1998).

“たまたま日本の成長に合わせて、90数パーセントが中流意識を持つという状況とあいまって、全体が割りと質の高いいろんなサービス、商品を楽しむ時代になってきたゆえに、なんとなく、当社グループが上質なところを最初から狙っていたんじゃないかとなってしまっているが、決してそうではない。阪急百貨店が始めた“ライスカレー”もやはり洋風なおしゃれな食べ物を大衆に食べていただけるというような思いがあって、家族団らんで楽しむ、そういう機会を提供できるような仕掛けを考えていく中で、それが支持されていった。”

As it happened, in addition to Japan's development, the condition of 90% [of the people] being of middle consciousness went hand in hand with the ability for all average people to enjoy high quality services and goods, therefore, Hankyu Group did not target wealthy people from the beginning. This offered the chance to think about, and agree on devices that would bring enjoyment for the family. When Hankyu Department Store started, the thought was that 'rice curry'- a fashionable and foreign food could be eaten by the public people.”

Hankyu Corporate Interview, October 19, 2005

In the early stages, Hankyu's tactic was not to target the wealthy *per se* but what Gordon (2003) has called the increasing number of new wage-earning masses. This strategy would change, however, as the income of people living around its line rose and people increasingly sought rare and high quality goods. As Hankyu (2005) noted, the needs of people living around their lines, their 'consumers', changed based on time period. Takashima (2004: 49) has argued that Hankyu's proximity to the mountains and exclusive residential areas is the reason “why Hankyu's trains have a high-end design emphasising the company's refined image.” Whether the tastes of consumers

modified or there were statistical changes such as a declining birth rate, the efforts of the corporation were adapted based on the needs of the customers:

“ただ、当然のことながら、ニーズをきめ細かく吸い上げていくということからすると、徐々にお住まいの方の所得レベルもあがってきて、そういう方が求めておられる提供できるチャンスがあれば、提供したいということで...私がお話した中で、例えでうまいこと言った方がいて、阪急グループがしているのは“ちらし寿司“ですねと。とろのにぎりで上等の1種類だけ提供するのではなく、いろんな楽しみ、ちらし寿司のようにいろんな楽しみがある。そういうようなサービスの仕方じゃないかなと言われたのを印象的に残っている。玉手箱といってもいいかな。”

“But, of course, the income of people living [around the lines] slightly increased and if these people want high quality goods there is a chance to meet their request...In what I was saying, someone said that Hankyu is metaphorically like chirashi zushi. Like chirashi zushi, there are many delights [at Hankyu] because we do not offer only toro no nigiri. (tuna sushi). This impression remains today and Hankyu service is like this.”

Hankyu Corporate Interview, October 19, 2005

This quote epitomises what Kobayashi Ichizo had ultimately intended for Hankyu

Group: that it provide something better or unique to other private railway groups.

Chirashi zushi (ちらし寿司) is a rare type of sushi with several ingredients, normally

only eaten on special occasions while tuna sushi is quite ordinary. Metaphorically then,

Hankyu's strategies *have been and are* like chirashi zushi - rare and special, and it is this

approach to business, that has resulted in the Hankyu brand; distinct from that of

Hanshin. According to Hankyu:

“そういう方が求めておられる提供できるチャンスがあれば、提供したいということで、例えば、梅田のターミナルの17番街のショッピングセンターへ行くと、われわれの所得レベルに比べると一桁違うような商品がたくさんあるし、そういうものを提供している場所もかたやある”

“Due to the increased demand [for rare and high quality goods], we have the chance to offer expensive goods. For example, if you go to the shopping centre on the 17th avenue (shopping corridor within the Hankyu Umeda terminal building), and you compare our level of earnings, it is a place with many different goods. We have places where such [expensive] goods are offered.

Hankyu Corporate Interview, October 19, 2005

In 2004, Hankyu devised a brand strategy called ‘Hankyu Taste’. The slogan of ‘Hankyu Taste’ was intended to represent ‘culture’, ‘elegance’ and ‘refinement’; something unique from other companies. As in the past, it drew inspiration from its audience. Further, to the corporate elite of Hankyu, this slogan refers to *class* and this, in turn, produces a taste for elegance, sophistication and fashion as a way of life.

“こちらの方に書いてはいるが、他とは一味違う、ちょっとした遊び心、文化の香りを感じさせる商品を生み出す力。個人的な意見かもしれないが、ちょっと普通の生活じゃなく、ちょっと潤いを与えるような安らぎ、コンテンツを提供する。象徴的なものが宝塚歌劇だと思う。ちょっと文化的というような、上品さとか、スマートな生活を体験していただけるような要素を提供していくということだと思う。”

“What is written there has a slightly different meaning than usual- it means to strongly produce products that have a feeling of culture, a little bit of unique fun. In my opinion, it is not the usual life-style; it is to supply contents that are reflective of elegance and peace. I think a symbol of this is the Takarazuka Theatre. I think it is to supply a little bit of culture, elegance and refinement, customers can experience ‘smart’ lifestyle elements.”

“百貨店やプロ野球に参入したところはほかにもあるが、歌劇という事業をもっているのは阪急だけ。阪急テイストの源泉。他社と違うところ。沿線にお住まいの方のイメージとつながってくる。階級をもちながら、上品であるとか、洗練であるとかおしゃれな方々にお住まいになっているということがあいまって、かもし出されるテイスト。阪急独自のものだという認識。阪急らしさ、阪急独自のアイデンティティというとらえ方でいいと思う。”

“Hankyu is the only rail company that has a theatre in particular, whereas other rail companies have department stores and baseball teams. This is the source of Hankyu ‘Taste’. This is different (from other companies). This is connected to the image of the people living around the railway line. Also, having class produces a taste of elegance, sophistication, fashion; as a way of life. This is an original Hankyu realisation. I think this is an original Hankyu identity.”

Hankyu Corporate Interview, October 19, 2005

Analysis of these passages reveals two things: 1) Hankyu clearly perceives itself as ‘producing’, or ‘selling’ culture, elegance and refinement through its diversified businesses; and, 2) it believes these characteristics are an original Hankyu identity.

Dowling (2001: 19) has written that “corporate identity helps people find or recognise a company” as symbols are consistently communicated to consumers, and this is one component of a corporate brand. In this way, the images associated with Hankyu’s slogan are not only connected to the perceptions the corporate elite have of the people living around their railway line, but the adoption of those impressions as a corporate identity results in their promulgation by Hankyu.

As argued by Bonsall and Harrison (2006: 26), “the brand is the essence of the relationship built between the consumer and the product or service for sale...the ultimate aim of branding is to manage the image of a product or service so that it creates a desirable identity which consumers can relate to.” Cleverly, Hankyu has not only created a brand, but its image is almost self-perpetuating as its roots are directly tied to the people living around its railway line.

Like Hankyu, the corporate elite of Hanshin had perceptions of the area surrounding their railway line. Although distinct from those described by Hankyu, images such as ‘old downtown’, ‘human emotion’, ‘the smell of the seashore’, ‘baseball and Koshien Stadium’ are similarly connected to the historical and physical context of the area. Just as Hankyu drew on its audience and the setting in which they resided to create its brand,

Hanshin was conscious of its surroundings:

“昔は阪神の海側に重工業の会社があったが、バブル後景気が悪くなって会社が閉まって・・・残っているところはたくさんあるが。イメージとしてブルーカラーがある。”

“Long ago there were many heavy industry companies along Hanshin’s ocean side. Many companies closed after the bubble when the economy went downhill...and there are many things remaining as a result of this. There is a blue-collar image.”

Hanshin Corporate Interview, March 6, 2006

According to Hanshin, the industrial land surrounding its line played an important role in its strategies and image. For example, sake breweries located along the line “were the first non-railway businesses to be involved in Hanshin Electric Railway’s planning process” (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005: 12⁴³⁶). Some of the earliest planning involved the development of residential areas along the line in response to “the nearby location of factories and the migration of people to work in these factories” (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005: 62⁴³⁷).

Hanshin was therefore not only cognisant of the conditions around its line and their associated images, but like Hankyu, it catered to them. In this way, Hanshin’s

⁴³⁶ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005: 12

⁴³⁷ Ibid: 62

concerns lay fundamentally in the people living around its line and this brand identity has remained relatively consistent today (Hanshin Corporate Interview, 2006).

Commenting on a recent slogan:

“これはそのままの意味だと思います。食べることとか、着ることとか、住むこと、遊ぶこと。生きていく中でのすべてのシーンで阪神グループが関わっていたいという思いですね。”

“I think the meaning is as it (the slogan) is: eating, clothing, living, playing. I think Hanshin Group wants to be concerned with the seesaw of everything to do with living.”

Hanshin Corporate Interview, March 6, 2006

The slogan represents Hanshin’s continuing desire to be involved in everything to do with the livelihood of its passengers/residents. More than this, Hanshin’s success hinges on its ability to “put [itself] in the minds of [its] potential customers or audience, and know what it is they want” (Bonsall and Harrison, 2006: 16). While it does not suggest the level of exclusivity associated with Hankyu, Hanshin’s brand of providing day-to-day goods and services has succeeded “because [it was] positioned to capitalise on the unique characteristics” of its passengers (de Chernatony and McDonald, 2001: 321). The brand’s power lies in the ability for Hanshin consumers to identify with

what it represents. Two important symbols of this are ‘downtown’ and the Tigers (Hanshin baseball team):

“あとで、阪神のイメージとか阪急とのいうことを聞かれていますけど、非常に庶民的だとか、いわゆるアップタウンに対してダウンタウン。阪神のイメージ戦略の中でもある意味ブランド価値を高めることに貢献しているのがその梅田の開発であったととらえております。”

“I was asked about Hanshin’s image and about Hankyu, it is very common-like, on the other hand, it is uptown versus downtown. I think that Umeda’s development contributes to the high brand value meaning of Hanshin’s image strategy.”

“タイガースブランドを全面的に押し出して、いわゆる流通の面でも力を入れていこうとしている。社長もよく言っているのは、ストック型とフロー型にビジネスを分けてそれを両方うまくまわしていくということです。でもタイガースブランドもここ最近ですね。力を入れたしたのは。前までは、ただ野球チームを持っていただけ。しかしやはりそれを生かしてグループ会社に還元していこうという考えは最近です。”

“Everything is crowded with the Tigers brand...on the other hand, even if it is strengthening the distribution. The Managing Director often says we must make both business divisions of stock and flow better. But the Tigers brand is recent. We strengthened it. Before, we only had a baseball team. The recent thinking is to reduce the group companies but this [Tigers brand] has brought them back to life.”

Hanshin Corporate Interview, March 6, 2006

In these statements, Hanshin Group is acknowledging three very distinct aspects of its brand, each representative of its present day corporate image: 1) ‘downtown’; 2)

Hanshin's development of Nishi-Umeda; and 3) the Hanshin Tigers. At the heart of all of these is the over 100 year patronage of Hanshin passengers/residents who have consumed the goods, images and services associated with the Hanshin brand. When Hanshin's 100 year birthday occurred on April 12th, 2005, the company hung posters with images symbolic of the Hanshin brand in order to express their gratitude to all of the people living around their railway line. The message in the posters politely asked for another 100 years, and the images depicting Hanshin's commitment to its passengers/residents were encapsulated in a monument located outside its corporate headquarters (Hanshin Corporate Interview, 2006).

Like Hankyu, Hanshin is cognisant of the important role played by the setting in which its line is situated and the historical processes that took place there. According to Takashima (2004: 49) it is for this reason that "Hanshin has implemented carefully planned strategies...concentrating its efforts not so much on speed but more on taking advantage of the fact that its station density is about three times that of Japan Rail West." Without passengers and residents, Hanshin would neither profit from its goods, images and services, nor would it have a profile on which to build a competitive advantage over Hankyu. It is Hanshin's capitalisation of this competitive advantage which has powered a brand distinct to that of Hankyu.

6.3 Conclusion

For many years, the diversified businesses of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups have enabled them to not only be involved in, but largely responsible for the fundamental development of certain areas in the Hanshin Region. These urban development initiatives, when combined with their two corporate brands, have created a unique opportunity for Hankyu and Hanshin to physically manifest their corporate symbols in the urban space. As Klingmann (2007: 64) has written, “brands give products, services, places, and events an added symbolic value that, as it were, elevates them above themselves, and makes them more than they are in just a material or functional sense.” The places developed by Hankyu and Hanshin, therefore, were made symbolic for their association with the two companies due to the presence of their two brands.

As highlighted in Section 6.2, however, these brands were not disconnected from locational attributes and processes external to the corporations. Not only did Hankyu and Hanshin seek to capitalise on opportunities created by the unique physical, economic, industrial and social conditions of the region, but their brands were made powerful because they were based on characteristics with which the people surrounding

their two lines could identify. The inter-play between setting, processes exogenous and endogenous to the two corporations, demonstrates that distinctions in place character were influenced by all of these factors as well as their complex interaction. Hankyu addressed this condition well when it spoke of a ‘cycle’ between consumers, branding, and distinct needs:

阪急沿線にブランド価値を持っていたというところが強みとして大きいと思う。それもブランド戦略を特別なことをしてるわけではないんですけど、そういう良質な都市生活のサービスを地道に提供していったお客様の評価につながって、それが沿線に住みたいという人を増やすことになって収益も向上して、また新たなサービスが提供できる。そういういいサイクルをまわしてきた。

I think [customers] having a brand value of the Hankyu line is a big advantage. There isn't a special brand strategy but connected to customer evaluation the kind of services [needed] for a quality urban lifestyle are consistently offered, and the people who want to live around the line increases, and this improves profit, so it is possible to offer new services. It goes around in this kind of cycle.

Hankyu Corporate Interview, October 19, 2005

Rather than solely influencing the distinctions in the areas surrounding their railway lines, Hankyu and Hanshin capitalised on other processes causing distinctions to be reinforced and made more visible. The nature of these brands, therefore, would ultimately affect the capacity for the two railway comps to influence. To consider this

further, particularly as it relates to an influence over a long period of time, the next chapter explores whether or not there the promotion of Hankyu and Hanshin's goods, images, and services corresponds with their consumption by passengers/residents.

Chapter 7

The consumption and persistence of two distinct brands in the Hanshin Region

Hankyu and Hanshin Groups have a clear physical presence in the Hanshin Region and through these properties their corporate brands have been consistently communicated for more than 100 years. These brands and their associated images have been influenced by locational attributes and historical processes of the region such as economic and industrial growth, and social change, and this has resulted in the two companies reinforcing certain characteristics of place⁴³⁸. However, the ability for the two private railway groups to influence the urban development of the region also lies in the consumption of their goods, images, and services.

This chapter further explores the influence of two private railway companies by examining the experiences of passengers/residents and their consumption, both purchased and perceived, of the goods, images, and services of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. In particular, it examines whether or not the *promotion* of Hankyu and Hanshin's goods, images, and services mirrors their *consumption* by passengers/residents. If they have been consumed in the same way as they were promoted, the inter-play between the strategies of the two companies, historical processes, and the setting in which these have evolved, is made more evident. Further, consumption by the passengers/residents may have contributed to the perpetuation of

⁴³⁸ As described in Chapter 4, setting and historical processes influenced distinctions settlement patterns, housing types, leisure and lifestyle activities, and society. By intentionally shaping their strategies based on these conditions, the two companies have reinforced them.

two brands in the urban space of the region for more than 100 years, and thus, the ability for Hankyu and Hanshin to influence.

These matters will be addressed through tables of data from surveys and interviews, which compare perceptions of the areas surrounding both railway lines, and Hankyu and Hanshin's department stores – one extension of their corporate brands. The data is supported by the visual analysis of present day photographs⁴³⁹ of select urban developments by Hankyu and Hanshin, as well as the side-by-side display of corresponding recent and historical images. The purpose of the latter is to show the continued presence of Hankyu and Hanshin's 'brandscape' and to demonstrate that many of these historical private railway symbols persist in the urban space of the region to this day⁴⁴⁰. As was the case in the previous chapter, each set of results will be accompanied by an interpretative discussion, thereby setting the stage for the next and final chapter, in which the narratives and results presented in this thesis are woven into conclusions.

7.1 Similarities between promotion and consumption

Dowling (2001: 18) wrote that "images of things (countries, industries, companies and brands) reside in the heads of people...we all have different information about, and sometimes different experiences with, these things." Allowing people to freely indicate adjectives which in their opinion, illustrate perceived characteristics, is therefore a helpful tool in charting images of the areas surrounding Hankyu and

⁴³⁹ As discussed in Chapter 3, analytical comments are based on commentary from the corporate elite of both corporations.

⁴⁴⁰ See Chapter 3 for an explanation of the manner in which present day images were captured to mirror photo compositions of the past.

Hanshin lines, and their corporate brands (Kim et al, 2001). These images are important because they are symbolic of what has been consumed, for consumption can involve both the purchase and the adoption of perceptions of a good, image, and service (Holcomb, 2001; de Ruyter and Wetzels, 2000; Pagano and Bowman, 1995).

To determine whether or not the promotion of Hankyu and Hanshin's goods, images and services corresponds with their consumption by passengers/residents, it is useful to start with perceptions from within the two corporations. Corporate brands are symbolic of the companies which have created them – in this case, Hankyu and Hanshin – therefore the perceptions of their corporate elite can provide a window on their attributes. Further, they can provide insight into the promotion and consumption of their brands in those locations (de Ruyter and Wetzels, 2000).

The corporate elite of both corporations were asked to provide adjectives to describe their perceptions of the area surrounding both the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines. Their responses can be found first in Table 7.1, which presents observations of the Hankyu line vicinity, then Table 7.2, which provides images of the Hanshin line locality. As explained in Chapter 3, the tables list the responses from each company in English followed by the original Japanese comments. The number of interviewees is identified by 'n=' and the numeric frequency of responses can be found in a separate column to the right of the perceptions. The purpose of these tables is to allow the dominant themes of the collected data to be coded without influence by the researcher. Analytical discussion of their contents follows after the presentation of the tables.

Table 7.1: Perceptions of the area surrounding the Hankyu railway line by corporate elite

Hankyu corporate elite	Japanese	Freq.	Hanshin corporate elite	Japanese	Freq.
n=3		#	n=2		#
there is trust/safe for the individual	個人的には安心・信頼感がある	1	feels high-class, exclusive	高級感	1
sophisticated, smart	洗練、スマート	2	elegant, refined	品がある	1
progressive	先進的	1	beautiful town rows	街並みがきれい	1
elegant, refined	上品	1	New	新しい	1
cleanliness	清潔	1	new, rising	振興	1
historically residents flocked	歴史的に住む方が集まった	1	Takarazuka Theatre	宝塚歌劇	1
maybe not so much brand strategy	ブランド戦略あまりないかな	1	elegant, refined	上品	1

Source: Based on field research by author, 2005

Table 7.2: Perceptions of the area surrounding the Hanshin railway line by corporate elite

Hankyu corporate elite	Japanese	Freq.	Hanshin corporate elite	Japanese	Freq.
n=3		#	n=2		#
I would like to refrain from specific comment	具体的なコメントは差し控えたい	1	old downtown	下町	1
common feeling	庶民的な感じ	1	human emotion	こてこて (人間情緒)	1
(Hanshin) Tigers	タイガース	1	smell of the beach	浜辺のにおい	1
Intimate	親しみやすい	1	History	歴史	1
solid property	手堅い資産	1	Baseball	野球	1
like Osaka	大阪っぽい	1	Koshien Stadium	甲子園スタジアム	1

Source: Based on field research by author, 2005

In both Groups, there is consistency in perceptions describing the areas surrounding both lines. The area surrounding the Hankyu line has been portrayed as ‘elegant and refined’, ‘high-class and exclusive’, ‘sophisticated and smart’, and a place of ‘residential properties’. Conversely, the area bordering the Hanshin line has been depicted as ‘old downtown’, a place of ‘human emotion’ and ‘common feeling’, and home to ‘Hanshin Tigers’ baseball. The ‘Tigers’ baseball team and ‘Koshien Stadium’ are not only symbolic of the Hanshin line vicinity, they are businesses that have been owned and operated by Hanshin Group for over 100 years. As commented by Hanshin’s corporate elite (Chapter 6), the Tigers are integral to Hanshin’s overall brand. Mention of these characteristics confirms not only their physical relevance to the locality, but also the association of the Hanshin brand with place. Given Dowling’s (2001) comments about images and how they vary from one person to the next, it is interesting to find consistent words between the two companies, whose elite were unknown to each other and interviewed at separate times. Reflection on the evidence presented in Chapters 4 through 6, however, provides clues to why this consistency might be.

The ‘high-class and exclusivity’ used to describe the Hankyu area, for example, has roots in the mountain homes built by Osaka merchants during the Meiji Period (展実行委員会, 1997⁴³⁷). Similarly, the ‘old downtown’ portrayal of the Hanshin area is tied to some of the earliest settlement in the region which took shape along the trading and navigational routes that follow the coast between Osaka and Kobe (Taniuchi, 1984; Yazaki, 1968). Images such as these represent historical events and physical conditions that are intrinsic to the Hanshin Region; however, the perceptions can also be

⁴³⁷ The Executive Exhibition Committee, 1997

found to have connections to the business activities of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups.

As discussed in Chapter 6, Hankyu's recent corporate slogan 'Hankyu Taste' is an attempt to embody themes of 'elegance', 'sophistication', and 'refinement' – not unlike the words the corporate elite have used to describe the area surrounding the Hankyu line. Historically, Kobayashi Ichizo attempted to convey similar impressions in housing brochures and newspaper articles. Words such as 'spacious', 'pastoral', 'idyllic' and 'exemplary' represent Hankyu's strategies in residential development, particularly its attempts to be exclusive. This corresponds with the corporate interview data found in Chapter 6, which explained the acknowledgement and adoption of factors outside of the corporations in order to develop two corporate brands. To illustrate this evidence further, it is useful to compare the perceptions of the corporate elite with those of the region's passengers/residents.

7.1.2 Comparison of the corporate and passenger/resident perceptions of the areas surrounding the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines.

The research data presented in Tables 7.1 and 7.2 reflect the intentions of the two corporations and thus provide a starting point from which the active consumption of these goods, images and services can be determined. Individuals have choices as consumers (Schiffman et al, 2005) and the marketed images of Hankyu and Hanshin might have an impact on consumers in varying ways (Marder, 1997). As de Chernatony and McDonald (2003: 70) have suggested, "consumers face a complex world. They are limited both by economic resources and their ability to seek, store and process brand information."

Therefore, passengers/residents of the Hanshin Region might not necessarily share the perceptions of the corporate elite, or the images portrayed in their media. However, the series of tables (Tables 7.3, 7.4) that follow clearly show a consistency of perceptions held by Hankyu and Hanshin passengers/residents. This is a fascinating point when one considers that responses to the surveys were gained over the course of several months from a wide audience. In certain cases, the exact same terminology was used by participants of both lines; in others, terminology may have differed but the sentiment was much the same.

Using manifest content analysis the collected data in Tables 7.3 (which describes the area surrounding the Hankyu line) and 7.4 (which presents observations on the Hanshin line vicinity) has been separated into six codes based on the dominant themes evident in the participant responses – those most frequently mentioned. These categories are: 1) people; 2) businesses and facilities; 3) housing and lifestyle; 4) ambience; 5) locational attributes; and 6) general⁴³⁸. Once again the number of participants are indicated using ‘n=’ and the frequency of responses can be seen in a separate column to the right of the original and translated answers.

⁴³⁸ Although these themes were not envisaged prior to data collection, they can be linked back to some of the processes under examination in this thesis.

Table 7.3: Hankyu and Hanshin passenger/residents' perceptions of the area surrounding the Hankyu railway line.

Category	Hankyu passengers/residents n=82	Japanese	Freq. #	Hanshin passengers/residents n=55	Japanese	Freq. #
People	wealthy	お金持ち	9	high-class, exclusive	高級	10
	students	学生	6	affluent people	富裕層	6
	confident	信頼	3	Celebrities	セレブ	1
Businesses & Facilities	Takarazuka Theatre	宝塚歌劇	4	many fashionable shops along line	おしゃれな店が沿線に多い	1
	educational zone (many schools)	文教地区	3	Takarazuka Theatre	宝塚歌劇	1
	stores	店	1	many schools	学校が多い	1
Housing & Lifestyle	residential district	住宅街	11	residential cities	住宅地街	2
	good living environment	住環境がよい	4	high-class/exclusive residential	高級住宅地街	1
	medium-high income bracket	中高所得者層居住地域	1	Cities		
Ambience	residential area			bedroom town	ベッドタウン	1
	high-class feeling	高級感	22	elegant, refined	上品	8
	elegant, refined	上品	20	Quiet	静か・閑静	8
Locational Attributes	quiet	閑静	17	Fashionable	おしゃれ	6
	lots of green	緑が多い	10	Mountains	山	5
	mountainside	山側	5	High	高い	5
General	steep roads	坂道	2	good environment	環境がよい	3
	gorgeous elegant clothes	華やかで上品な服	1	Unchanging	変わらない	1
	atmosphere of trains is good	車両環境良好	1	Uptown	山の手	1
	young	若い	1	in the direction of Kyoto	京都方面	1

Source: Based on field research by author, 2005

Table 7.4: Hankyu and Hanshin passenger/residents' perceptions of the area surrounding the Hanshin railway line

Category	Hankyu passengers/residents n=82	Japanese	Freq. #	Hanshin passengers/residents n=55	Japanese	Freq. #
People	commoners	庶民	21	Commoners	庶民	13
	open-hearted, frank	気さく	1	open-hearted, frank	気さく	1
	grannies (elderly women)	おばちゃん	2	Hanshin (Tigers) fans	阪神ファン	2
Businesses & Facilities	(Hanshin) Tigers	(阪神) タイガース	13	Hanshin Tigers	阪神タイガース	6
	industrial land	工業地	8	many shops	お店が多い	3
	Koshien Baseball Stadium	甲子園球場	7	old railway line	古い沿線	1
Housing & Lifestyle	Koshien	甲子園	1	Koshien	甲子園	7
	cheap houses	安い家賃	1	residential cities	住宅地街	1
	cheap land	土地が安い	1	land seems quite cheap	土地がわりと安そう	1
Ambience	old downtown	下町	25	old downtown	下町	11
	noisy	騒がしい・騒音・喧騒	15	Noisy	うるさい	5
	irritatingly crowded and messy	ごちゃごちゃしている	9	Dirty	汚い	6
Locational Attributes	seaside	海側	8	sea/close to ocean	海・海が近く	6
	bad environment	環境が悪い	3	Nature	自然	2
	narrow	狭い	1	bad environment	環境が悪い	1
General	convenient	便利	7	Convenient	便利	9
	low prices	物価が安い	3	mass public	大衆	1
	congested	混雑	1	too many people	人が多い	1

Source: Based on field research by author, 2005

Passengers/residents of the Hanshin Region clearly perceive more distinctions than similarities between the people, business and facilities, housing and lifestyle, ambience, locational attributes, and general features along the two railway lines. If it is unlikely for people with different information and experiences to consume goods, images and services in the same manner because humans possess different information and can experience things differently (de Chernatony and McDonald, 2003; Dowling, 2001) why should the perceptions of the passengers/residents of the Hanshin Region be so consistent?

Crang (1998: 40) has written that landscapes are not simply material, they are also “texts, that can be read, and which tell both the inhabitants and us stories about the people – about their beliefs and identity.” As was suggested in relation to the responses of the corporate elite, perceptions held by the passenger/residents of the region’s landscape point to a number of shared experiences. Attempts to decipher this landscape begins once more with historical processes and the setting in which they took place.

Numerous respondents view the people living around the Hankyu railway line as ‘wealthy’, ‘high-class’ individuals with ‘good sense’. Conversely, they view the people inhabiting the area surrounding the Hanshin railway line as ‘open-hearted and frank’ ‘commoners’ who are ‘Hanshin Tiger fans’⁴³⁹. Although it is difficult to confirm linkages between the ‘open-hearted and frank’ nature of people living around

⁴³⁹ More extreme perceptions towards the area surrounding the Hanshin railway line included people who are vulgar and drunk.

the Hanshin line and its settlement history, the area is known to have been settled as early as the 1600s by sake brewers and farmers (灘五郷博物館, 2008; 展実行委員会, 平成 9 年⁴⁴⁰). In the late 1800s and throughout Japan's industrial revolution the area was further populated by industrial labourers who worked in the nearby factories (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005⁴⁴¹). As discussed in Chapter 4, this resulted in a certain socio-economic dynamic which might be responsible for the perception of 'commoners'.

Dr. Yamaguchi of Kwansei Gakuin University identified the land surrounding the Hanshin line as industrial, with a series of industrial cities (November 2, 2005). In an interview Dr. Mizuuchi of Osaka University also commented that locations along the Hanshin line such as Amagasaki (尼崎), Mukogawa (武庫川), and Nishinomiya (西宮) were 'commoner cities' where many 'blue-collar workers are gathered' (October 12th, 2005). These accounts further confirm the evidence found in Chapter 4 and the idea that such present day characteristics have origins in early settlement history.

As was discussed in relation to the perceptions of the corporate elite, the idea of 'wealthy' and 'high-class' nature of people living around the Hankyu line also has roots in historical processes. Beginning with the holiday cottages of Osaka merchants in the mountains, additional areas were permanently settled from the early 1900s onward in response to Japan's economic growth. New wealth from secondary industries enabled people to place distance between the place of production and residence. A number of

⁴⁴⁰ Nada-gogou Museum, 2008; The Executive Exhibition Committee, the 9th year of the Heisei Period (1997.)

⁴⁴¹ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

locations along the Hankyu line were developed as ‘garden suburbs’ for those who could afford to move away from the city (角野, 2000⁴⁴²). The distinctions found between the people who now reside along the Hankyu line and those along the Hanshin line therefore have origins in the economic and industrial growth, and social change of the region.

Also connected to the above-mentioned events is the housing in both localities. Housing in the Hankyu area is viewed as ‘medium-high income’, ‘exclusive’ and as having a ‘good living environment’ – likely a residual of garden suburb design which catered to a growing white collar workforce (Walthall, 2006; Gordon, 2003). Further, as Allinson (1984) wrote, since Tokugawa times (1603-1867), residences located on higher ground have always been home to the wealthy and social elite.

Conversely, housing along the Hanshin line is described as consisting of ‘mansions’ (マニション) and inexpensive property – again, a possible extension of the predominantly blue-collar employees residing in the area and their housing needs. As illustrated in Chapter 6, the residential land value of properties nearest to the Hanshin line is certainly less expensive in comparison with those closest to the Hankyu line. These lower values would have been driven in part by the nearby location of industry (Asabere and Harvey, 1985).

The perceived ambience of the area surrounding the Hanshin line is ‘old downtown’⁴⁴³,

⁴⁴² Kadono, 2000. Hankyu’s specific role in this, as it relates to these perceptions, is discussed on page 307.

⁴⁴³ The term ‘old downtown’ represents both the atmosphere of old urban Japan, as well as the negative connotation of a tired or undesirable atmosphere. A number of old

(下町) with ‘noisy’, ‘dirty’, and ‘crowded’ characteristics, peppered with more pleasant features such as ‘quiet’ and ‘cultural’ atmospheres. The ‘old downtown’ (下町) connotation is fitting given the early settlement of the coastal area (Taniuchi, 1984; Yazaki, 1968). The noise and dirt associated with this was once more likely in large part because of the nearby industrial factories; and as demonstrated in Chapter 4, their associated effects⁴⁴⁴. More positive in image was participants’ definition of the locational attributes surrounding the Hanshin railway line which included nearness to the sea, albeit with a poor environmental condition. As noted in Chapter 4, the sea south of the Hanshin line was once a popular resort area (McCormack, 2001; 展実行委員会, 1997⁴⁴⁵); however, its desirability has most likely been damaged as a result of the neighbouring factories. Generally, the area surrounding the Hanshin line is observed as both convenient and inconvenient, and home to dense population (mass public).

The perceived ambience of the land surrounding the Hankyu line, which includes ‘high-class’, ‘elegant’ and ‘refined’, and of ‘beautiful’ features, is likely to have originated from early housing developments, the type of people who were drawn to that housing, and the nearby mountainous features⁴⁴⁶. The perceived locational attributes of the Hankyu area, which include a ‘clean environment’ and ‘mountainous’ features correlate with the topography of the region described in Chapter 4. Further, while the land nearest to the coast, through which the Hanshin line runs, was heavily industrialised, neighbourhoods in the vicinity of the Hankyu line were predominantly

Japanese urban areas have started to advertise old districts for tourism purposes.

⁴⁴⁴ See Chapter 4 for an historical overview.

⁴⁴⁵ The Executive Exhibition Committee, 1997

⁴⁴⁶ As discussed in Chapter 4, The topography of the Hanshin Region is characterised by a narrow belt of flood plains set against mountains of strong relief (Japanese Geographical Survey Institute, 1990; 梅田, 1998= Umeda, 1998)

zoned as residential. In many instances these districts were exclusively residential and this would have resulted in a ‘clean environment’ in comparison with that of the Hanshin line (株式会社大阪人文社, 平成 8 年⁴⁴⁷).

Generally, participants remarked that the area surrounding the Hankyu railway line was ‘uptown’. This term ‘uptown’ (山の手) represents a residential area in a high location; and because of the cost of building and living in a high location, the term ‘uptown’ also carries the connotation of affluence. This image would appear to be in line with sentiments expressed by the passengers/residents in other categories, and the historical processes and setting of the region.

Analysis in conjunction with data presented in Chapters 5 and 6, however, reveals that these perceptions are symbolic of more than just the locational attributes, economic and industrial growth, and social change of the region. These perceptions apply also to the marketing materials and properties of Hankyu and Hanshin – a result of a conscious decision by both corporations to shape their strategies based on existing conditions of the region. The inter-play between endogenous and exogenous processes, and setting, resulted in two distinct brands and as de Ruyter and Wetzels (2000: 641) have suggested, “brands serve as cues for triggering image perceptions.”

That is to say, the perceptions of the passengers/residents of the Hanshin Region can also be found to be congruent with the brands of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. Passengers/residents are actively consuming the Hankyu and Hanshin brands, and perceptions of the area surrounding the railway lines consistent with advertised images

⁴⁴⁷ Osaka Humanities Corporation, 8th year of the Heisei Period=1996

are one sign of this. They further illustrate that the manifestation of the two corporate brands in urban space has enabled Hankyu and Hanshin to reinforce distinctions in the people, businesses and facilities, housing and lifestyle, and ambience in the urban space around their railway lines.

This link is first evident in the way passenger/residents have perceived Hankyu and Hanshin businesses that have long been visible in the urban space surrounding their railway lines. For the area surrounding the Hankyu railway line, survey participants identified the Hankyu-owned 'Takarazuka Theatre', the colour of Hankyu's trains, and the existence of many 'schools'. The identification of Takarazuka Theatre (owned by Hankyu) and the colour of Hankyu trains not only depict a physical presence but also evoke the Hankyu brand images of 'culture', 'sophistication' and 'refinement'. Perceptions associated with schools relate to Kobayashi Ichizo's urban development strategies (Chapter 6), through which he invited schools to set-up in the area surrounding the Hankyu railway line.

For the area surrounding the Hanshin railway line, participants identified Hanshin Group businesses such as the 'Hanshin Tigers' baseball team, 'Koshien' baseball stadium and 'La-La Port' (Hanshin-leased shopping complex in Koshien on the site of the former Hanshin Park). Not only are these diversified businesses of Hanshin Group, but they are directly connected to Hanshin's brand images of 'leisure' and 'everyday lifestyle'. 'Koshien' in particular is emblematic of Hanshin's historical 'sport-leisure' approach to development and the continued significance to its present day brand⁴⁴⁸.

⁴⁴⁸ An interview excerpt in Chapter 6 revealed that the Hanshin branding of the Tigers baseball team at Koshien has brought much of Hanshin's business back to life.

It is not just the physical presence of Hankyu and Hanshin's businesses that have enabled the two companies to *influence*, but also their long-time involvement in housing development along their lines. As discussed in Chapter 6, the period in which Hankyu and Hanshin opened their rail services and commenced residential development was one in which the economy was evolving and the Japanese salary man was born (サラリーマン) (角野, 2000⁴⁴⁹). Hankyu, with its broad unsettled lands had the space in which to build larger housing, and the target audience for its advertising was the salary man, including those who worked for Hankyu. This strategy has resulted in a high-class residential area of medium-high income bracket for salary men and their families (展実行委員会, 平成 9 年⁴⁵⁰).

Hanshin's line was mainly built around existing population⁴⁵¹ and many of these people were "blue-collared employees of the nearby industries" (Dr. Yamaguchi, November 2nd, 2005). Rather than change this dynamic, Hanshin catered to it, by building and renting its first set of row houses in front of its Nishinomiya Station. Although not responsible for the area's earliest settlement, Hanshin set its products and services to existing norms. In turn, this gave individuals a less expensive option than that advertised by Hankyu, although certain developments such as those at Koshien were unique. This strategy facilitated a continued settlement of 'commoners' who were blue-collar labourers in nearby factories as perceptions suggest.

⁴⁴⁹ Kadono, 2000

⁴⁵⁰ The Executive Exhibition Committee, 9th Year of the Heisei Period (1997)

⁴⁵¹ In 1905 the population surrounding the Hanshin line was approximately 90,000 people. (阪神電気, 昭和 48 年=Hanshin Railway, 48th year of the Showa Period=1973)

The departure of Koshien's housing strategy from Hanshin's earlier development at Nishinomiya is further indication of the way in which the company was prepared to adapt its branding strategies based on its audience. Such market awareness is necessary if a company is to be competitive (de Chernatony and McDonald, 2003). The same approach can be seen in Hanshin's development of Ashiya, which began as a seasonal bathing resort (展実行委員会, 1997⁴⁵²). Famous cultural entities such as authors and artists moved to places such as Ashiya (on the Hanshin line) following the Tokyo earthquake of 1923 (Hankyu Group, 2005). This resulted in a connotation of 'high class' and Hanshin's response to these conditions can be seen in its attempt to retain a 'village' atmosphere while providing the most convenient and central transport services (Dr. Mizuuchi, October 12, 2005).

In conjunction with the types of people and housing that began to take shape through Hankyu and Hanshin's development activities, the ambiances of those areas also became symbolic of their diverse businesses. This was stimulated by "the fact that consumers purchase goods that act as a vehicle to express their identity" (Kressman et al, 2006: 956). In the process of consumption, reputation or corporate image can greatly influence consumers in their buying decisions (Cretu and Brodie, 2007); therefore, those who consumed the goods, images and services of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups were likely to have decided what to consume based on the images advertised and with which they chose to identify.

As Hankyu built and sold spacious homes it also developed train and business facilities to serve those individuals (Chapter 6). Facilitated by its management structure,

⁴⁵² The Executive Exhibition Committee, 1997

consistent images were marketed through these diversified businesses and this, coupled with the people who chose to consume those businesses, further solidified images of a ‘high-class’, ‘elegant’ and ‘refined’, and ‘beautiful’ ambience. In contrast to this, Hanshin’s row-style residential developments contributed to the ‘crowded’ nature of the land surrounding its line; not only was the vicinity already settled to some extent, but Hanshin’s more compact properties enabled more people to live in a small amount of space (Chapter 6). Although the region as a whole is now densely populated, 2005 population statistics indicate that the entire area along the Hanshin railway line has a population density of 2,000 or more people per km², while that of the Hankyu line ranges from 500 to 1,000 people per km² (総務省統計局, 2005⁴⁵³). By virtue of these conditions, the land immediately surrounding the Hanshin railway line is more crowded and Hanshin’s development strategies were one contributing factor.

The company songs displayed at the beginning of Chapter 5 provide another example of the way in which the ambience of the two areas also became symbolic of their diverse businesses. The Mino-Arima Railway song (present day Hankyu) poetically depicts the mountainous topography in the north of the region, and through which the railway line ran. Words such as ‘easterly breeze’, ‘see below’ (the impression of looking down from above), and ‘northern field’ resonate with the locational attributes, which have an historical connotation of affluence. Conversely, references made to ‘Osaka City’, ‘prosperous’, ‘circling train’, and ‘Umeda Station’ in Hanshin’s song reverberate with the economic and industrial prosperity of the region; something with which the industrial workers living along the Hanshin line could strongly identify.

⁴⁵³ Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2005

The posters that hang inside their trains, and which advertise businesses run by Hankyu and Hanshin, have provided another channel through which goods, images and services could be promulgated. Photographed on the same day, the posters illustrate how the symbols associated with the two corporate brands are made visible for consumption by their passengers/residents. Hanshin was advertising an in-house publication which highlighted attractions along the whole Hanshin railway line (Figure 7.1).



Figure 7.1: Advertisement for the Hanshin railway line book. *Source:* the author, 2005

Interestingly the points of interest were all based on the feedback of Hanshin passengers/residents – further evidence of Hanshin’s conscious attempt to base its strategies on its customers. A grandmother from Ashiya recommends going together with the grandchildren to the Heian Period Ebisu Shrine⁴⁵⁴. An Office Lady (OL) who is a Hanshin fan suggests that it is fun to eat delicious food near to Koshien Stadium before a Hanshin Tigers game. Other passengers/residents from Amagasaki and Mikage describe childhood memories of eating traditional foods such as sweet bean

⁴⁵⁴ Ebisu Shrine, located in Nishinomiya, was built in 1172. In keeping with Nishinomiya’s history of sake brewing and industry, the shrine is believed to be the home of the god of commerce (西宮えびす神社, 2008=Nishinomiya Ebisu Shrine, 2008).

paste-filled cakes, and the ability to still enjoy such treats today. The demographics of these people and the features they have mentioned not only echo the perceptions of the area surrounding the railway line: they correlate with the vignettes found in Chapter 1, in which the Office Lady (OL), grandmother, and traditional foods are symbolic of Hanshin Group.

Equally emblematic, yet distinct, are the goods, images, and services found on a poster inside the Hankyu train which advertised an Italian exhibition at the Hankyu Department Store (Figure 7.2). Promoting Italian imports from wine, designer leather goods, marble, and sheepskin coats, to dining facilities offering pasta made by a famous chef and coffee made by Japan's 2004 'barista champion', the poster also parallels tangible traits as well as the experiences described in Chapter 1. The international fashion and food marketed by Hankyu, and the family and traditional food publicised by Hanshin, demonstrate their active role in reinforcing distinctions not only in perception, but also in concrete aspects of the urban space. This has an impact not only on the types of people, housing and lifestyle, and businesses and facilities, but also the ambience of urban space.



Figure 7.2: Poster announcing an Italian Exhibition at Hankyu Department Store. *Source:* the author, 2005

Distinctions between the Hankyu and Hanshin areas clearly exist in the minds of passengers/residents as well as the elite of both corporations. Further, these dissimilarities are not only perceived, they are visibly real⁴⁵⁵ in the consumption of goods, images and services, and evidenced by the profits of their real estate, railway and retail businesses (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005; 京阪神急行電鉄株式会社, 昭和 34 年⁴⁵⁶).

The capacity for these complex processes to solidify images in the minds of individuals can be further illustrated by the perceptions of those who were not involved in the corporations or affected by them. This research therefore surveyed the perceptions of urban planners, independent businesses surrounding the line and Japanese geographers. Following the same format of tables presenting data from the corporate elite, Table 7.5 introduces comments associated with the Hankyu line first by urban planners, followed by Japanese geographers, Hankyu line independent businesses and independent businesses of the Hanshin line. Data in table 7.6 which pertains to the Hanshin line vicinity is similarly organised.

The results of the survey (Tables 7.5, 7.6) show similar distinctions among the perceptions of urban planners, Japanese geographers and independent businesses of the region. The area surrounding the Hankyu railway line is recognised for its ‘high-class’

⁴⁵⁵ Additional concrete examples using photographic documentation of the Hankyu and Hanshin Department Stores (p.326) will illustrate this further.

⁴⁵⁶ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005; Keihanshin Express Railway Company, 34th Year of the Showa Period (1959)

‘exclusivity’; its ‘uptown’ status which includes ‘fashionable’ and ‘wealthy’ characteristics. In comparison, the land along the Hanshin railway line is recognised as being a place of ‘commoners’, ‘noisy’, ‘industrial’ and emblematic of the ‘Hanshin Tigers’ baseball team.

Table 7.5: Perceptions of the area surrounding the Hankyu railway line by urban planners, Japanese geographers, and independent businesses.

Urban Planners		Japanese		Freq ・ #		Japanese geographers		Japanese		Freq ・ #			
n=2						n=4							
high-class, exclusive	高級		1	mansion (English definition)		お屋敷		1		1			
elegant, refined	上品		1	fashionable, smart		ハイカラ		1		1			
wealthy, rich	お金持ち		1	fashionable		おしゃれ		1		1			
beautiful houses	きれいな家		1	Takarazuka		宝塚		1		1			
wide, broad	広い		1	high-class, exclusive		高級		1		1			
uptown	山の手		1	commuters		通学		1		1			
				uptown		山の手		1		1			
				mountain		山		1		1			
				wealthy, rich		金持ち		1		1			
Hankyu line independent			Japanese		Hanshin line independent						Japanese		
businesses; n=6					businesses; n=4								
like Tokyo	東京的		1	uptown		上町		1		1			
white collar	ホワイトカラー		1	stuck-up		きどっている		1		1			
elegant, refined	上品		3	exclusive, high-class residential area		高級住宅地		1		1			
high level of intelligence	知的レベルの高い		1	big houses		家が大きい		1		1			
peaceful, calm	のどか		1	exclusive, high-class		高級		1		1			
wonderful, lovely	ステキ		1	elegant, refined		上品		1		1			
calm, quiet	落ち着いている		1	expensive		高い		1		1			
easy to live	住みやすい		1	elegant		エレガント		1		1			
quiet	閑静		1	tradition		伝統		1		1			
safe	安全		1	wealthy, rich		金持ち		1		1			
good people	人が良い		1										
good law and order	治安が良い		1										

Source: Based on field research by author, 2005

Table 7.6: Perceptions of the area surrounding the Hanshin railway line by urban planners, Japanese geographers, and independent businesses.

Urban Planners n=2		Japanese	Freq. #	Japanese geographers n=4	Japanese	Freq. #
noisy		にぎやか	1	commoners, common	庶民的	1
common		庶民的	1	Tigers	タイガス	1
amusement, pleasure		遊び	1	Amagasaki	尼崎	1
industrial land		工業地	1	sake brewing	酒造	1
crowded		混んでいる	1	old urban district	旧市街	1
old downtown		下町	1	narrow	狭い	1
				solid, sound	堅実	1
				workers, labourers	労働者	1
				sea	海	1
Hankyu line independent businesses; n=6		Japanese	Freq. #	Hanshin line independent businesses; n=4	Japanese	
old downtown		下町	2	old downtown	下町	2
blue collar		ブルーカラー	1	common	庶民的	2
bad atmosphere		ガラが悪い	2	free	自由	1
common		庶民的	1	environment/nature	環境・自然	1
open-hearted, frank		気さく	1	easygoing	気楽	1
wasteful		物を大事にしない	1	frank	フランク	1
personality, character		人柄	1	convenient	便利	1
				inexpensive, cheap	安い	1
				Hanshin Tigers	阪神タイガース	1
				young internet generation	インターネット若い世代	1
				people who normally wear kimonos	普段着で着物を着ている人	1

Source: Based on field research by author, 2005.

The perceptions of the urban planners and Japanese geographers demonstrate that the areas surrounding the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines appear distinct, not only to the corporations and passengers/residents but also to those who are involved in the planning and study of urban areas. This is further evidence of the influence of both historical processes and the setting in which they took place, as well as processes internal to the two corporations. The combination of all of these factors has created a number of shared experiences from which powerful images, and concrete distinctions, have evolved. These images have become symbolic of both the Hanshin Region, and the Hankyu and Hanshin brands.

This may further be seen in perceptions of the Hankyu and Hanshin Department Stores. As Moore and Corrigan have noted, “the flagship is the nerve of a brand in a local market” and its advent in the middle of the 19th Century was one of the most important developments in consumer culture (Moore, 2000: 272; Corrigan, 1997). Data associated with the Hankyu and Hanshin Department Stores provide a strong representation of consumer patterns among their passengers/residents.

Consumption is one of problem-solving as in reality, consumers “are limited by economic resources and their ability to seek, store and process information” (de Chernatony and McDonald, 2003: 58). As Frank (2006) has commented, variables such as income affect the volume and nature of goods and services people consume. According to his theory of rational consumer choice, however, despite these constrictions, all consumers have ‘preferences’ and allocate their incomes to best obtain these, albeit if in limited ways. It is also relevant that consumption includes both the

act of purchase and the adoption of perceptions or images as they are advertised⁴⁵⁷ (Holcomb, 2001; de Ruyter and Wetzels, 2000; Pagano and Bowman, 1995). It is from this viewpoint that consumer data was collected.

When passengers/residents were asked to list three words best describing a Hankyu or Hanshin Department Store, their responses strongly corresponded to perceptions of the areas surrounding the two railway lines (Tables 7.7, 7.8). Identical words appear as well as terminology representing much the same sentiment as expressed for the land around the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines. This pattern suggests what Kressman et al (2006) call 'brand loyalty', which involves the evaluation of a brand based on its symbolic attributes. For those who invest in that particular brand, there is a desire to consume it continuously because the individual identifies with what it represents (Kressman et al, 2006).

While the findings⁴⁵⁸ in Tables 7.7 and 7.8 are relatively consistent with the perceptions held by passengers/residents of the urban space surrounding the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines, they in fact pertain to flagship businesses of the two corporations. Passengers/residents of both lines generally view the Hankyu Department store as 'wealthy', 'elegant' and 'refined', 'fashionable', 'expensive', of 'uptown' customers, and a purveyor of 'brand goods'. Conversely, passengers/residents generally view the Hanshin Department store as a place of 'commoners' where 'Hanshin Tigers goods' and 'groceries' can be purchased 'inexpensively' in an 'old downtown' atmosphere.

⁴⁵⁷ De Ruyter and Wetzels (2000: 644) comment that consumers can establish "impressions and associations, beliefs and attitudes that are held in consumer memory with regard to [a] company."

⁴⁵⁸ Table 7.7 pertaining to Hankyu Department Store, and Table 7.8 which is associated with Hanshin Department Store, show both the number of respondents as well as the frequency of their responses as in previous tables.

Table 7.7: Perceptions by Hankyu and Hanshin passengers/residents of Hankyu Department Store

Category	Hankyu passengers/residents n=82	Japanese	Freq. #	Hanshin passengers/residents n=55	Japanese	Freq. #
Hankyu Department Store	wealth, big money	高級	18	wealthy feeling	高級感	10
	Fashionable	おしゃれ	12	clothes	服	8
	elegant, refined	じょうひん	8	expensive	高い	6
	good selection	しなぞえがいい	7	elegant, refined	上品	6
	many goods	しなものがおおい	6	many people	人が多い	4
	long-standing shop	しにせ	3	fashionable	おしゃれ	4
	Western clothes	ようふく	3	gorgeous	華やか	2
	Luxurious	豪華	2	chic feeling	シックな感じ	1
	Expensive	高価	2	modern	モダン	1
	Beautiful	きれい	2	high-definition quality	高品質	1
	show window	ショーウィンドー	2	beautiful	きれいい	1
	brand atmosphere	ブランド感	1	charming, appealing	魅力	1
	brand clothing	ブランドの服	1	many shops	店舗が多い	2
	Celebrities	セレブ	1	old	古い	1

Source: Based on field research by author, 2005

Table 7.8: Perceptions by Hankyu and Hanshin passengers/residents of Hanshin Department Store

Category	Hankyu passengers/residents n=82	Japanese	Freq. #	Hanshin passengers/residents n=55	Japanese	Freq. #
Hanshin Department Store	Tiger Shop	タイガースショップ	14	Tigers	タイガース	23
	(Hanshin) Tigers goods	タイガースグッズ	1	Hanshin (Tigers) goods	阪神グッズ	1
	underground department	デパ地下	6	underground department	デパ地下	10
	grilled squid	いか焼き	6	groceries	食料品	9
	Groceries	食品	6	cheap	安い	4
	Commoners	庶民	4	Hanshin (Tigers) victory sale	阪神優待セール	2
	Warmth	ぬくもり	1	there are few shops	店舗が少ない	1
	formless, messy	雑然	1	narrow	狭い	1
	like old downtown	下町的	1	middle-age	中年	1
	Cheap	安い	1	commonalty	庶民的	1
	Grannies	おばちゃん	1	congested	混雑	1
	not for young people	若者向きではない	1	grilled squid	いか焼き	1
	unrefined, unsophisticated	あかぬけない	1	unsophisticated	素朴	1
	there are few kinds of goods	品物の種類が少ない	1	small-time	小規模	1

Source: Based on field research by author, 2005

These findings suggest a number of things. First, they are further evidence of an inter-play between historical processes, the setting in which they took place, and processes internal to Hankyu and Hanshin. The department stores are important components of the Hankyu and Hanshin brands and their associated images, as was discussed in Chapter 6, were deliberately informed by the locational attributes and historical processes of the region. Further, as described in Chapter 5, they were in response to the oligopolistic competition between the two companies. Throughout this competition the management structures ensured the consistent communication of goods, images, and services, and the adoption of these impressions by the passengers/residents confirms that their promotion mirrors their consumption.

Second, consistency of the words applied by passengers/residents to the two department stores and the areas surrounding the two railway lines demonstrates the capacity for the private railway groups to *influence*. Not only did Hankyu and Hanshin develop physical properties in the urban space of the region through which their brands could be communicated, but the intentional characteristics of those brands have resulted in the two companies reinforcing distinctions in place. Bonsall and Harrison (2006) have argued that a brand is very powerful when mention of its very name triggers attributes, strong benefits, and personality in the mind of the consumer. The clear correlation between the promotion of Hankyu and Hanshin's goods, images, and services, and their consumption, reveal the true power of the two brands – indeed Hankyu and Hanshin's influence in the urban development of the Hanshin Region.

The influence of these brands in sustaining visible distinctions in the urban space of the Hanshin Region is evident in the perceptions and decisions of independent businesses surrounding the two lines. Of the six Hankyu-area businesses surveyed, all indicated that their location near to the Hankyu railway line had been advantageous because of its ‘good and high-class image’ (Hankyu line independent business interviews, October 2005). On the other hand, the four businesses located near to Hanshin railway stations also indicated the benefits of its ‘casual and laid back’ atmosphere (Hanshin line independent business interviews, October 2005). But these viewpoints are also a reality; the types of customers who frequent the businesses (Table 7.9⁴⁵⁹) confirm, for example, the type of people living in these areas.

⁴⁵⁹ The types of customers frequenting these businesses are listed first as it relates to the Hankyu area (left-hand side of the table), then as it pertains to that of Hanshin (right-hand side of the table). Businesses described customers only in relation to the railway line on which they were located.

Table 7.9: Types of customers frequenting independent businesses of the Hankyu or Hanshin railway line area.

Hankyu line independent businesses; n=6		Japanese	Freq. #	Hanshin line independent businesses; n=4		Japanese	Freq. #
Housewives	主婦		2	Young people using internet		インターネット若いせいんむ	1
under 20 year olds	20 代前		1	low-price		安い	1
Commuting students	通勤学		1	salary man returning home from work		会社帰りのサラリーマン	1
residents of the area	地域の住宅人		1	Middle-aged housewives		中年の主婦	1
government employees	公務員		1	Family		家族	1
Locals	地元(2)		2	Elderly		高れい者	1
Salarayman	サラリーマン		1	couples		カップル	1
Females	女性		1	Elderly		老人	1
broad (types)	広い		1	People who have interest in pottery		陶芸に興味ある人	1
Nurses	看護師		1				
old people	高齢の方		1				
young people	若い方		1				

Source: Based on field research by author, 2005.

The data in Table 7.9 demonstrates that characteristics of the consumers are very real, not just a matter of perception. The types of consumers around the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines correspond to the complex interaction of processes and setting as previously described. Once again, the presence of ‘students’ and ‘salary men’ are a reflection of Kobayashi Ichizo’s successful initiatives of developing garden suburbs and academic towns (Chapter 6). The ‘family’ and more ‘elderly’ customers of the Hanshin line are a reflection of both Hanshin’s successful ventures of the comfort and amenities-based family-oriented development (Chapter 6). Further, the demographics of these people have roots in the locational attributes, economic and industrial growth, and social change of the region. This analysis can be extended into the physical design and layout of both flagship stores.

7.1.3 Examining the physical design and layout of Hankyu and Hanshin Department Stores

Further evidence of distinctions can be seen in the physical design and layout of their department stores. As Solomon (2003: 193) has commented, retail environments are cleverly and intentionally “controlled to manipulate shoppers’ perceptions.” These flagship properties are important in understanding the influence of Hankyu and Hanshin as they are platforms from which brand activities are projected; “they let consumers experience the brand [as well as] purchase it” (Solomon, 2003: 167). In particular the physical appearance and design of retail space is consciously created in order to evoke a response from consumers (Solomon, 2003).

Moreover, goods which are symbolic of the two brands and purchased from these

commercial settings become a part of the urban landscape as they can be seen on individuals or in the homes of passengers/residents of the area. This Section will therefore close with visual analysis of photographs showing certain aspects of Hankyu and Hanshin's department stores. The methodology for this analysis may be found in Chapter 3, Section 3.3.5 and Table 3.4. The technique is continued later in Section 7.2 of this chapter with reference to the development of 'brandscape'. Meanwhile, the images projected in these photographs provide visual evidence of the way in which Hankyu and Hanshin Groups bolster distinctions in the urban space of the region.



Figure 7.3: Hankyu Department Store and Hankyu Grand Building, Umeda, Osaka. *Source:* the author, 2004



Figure 7.4: Hanshin Department Store, Umeda, Osaka. *Source:* the author, 2004

The Hankyu (Figure 7.3) and Hanshin Department (Figure 7.4) Stores are adjacent to each other in Umeda, Osaka. The photos demonstrate the continued physical manifestation of the corporations, and that through their logos and images on the

facades of their diversified properties, their brands are made visible in urban space (Klingmann, 2007; de Ruyter and Wetzels, 2000). The architecture of the Hankyu department store has been described as ‘charming and stylish’ (Hankyu employee, 2008) while that of Hanshin has been described as ‘common’ (庶民的) and a design for the ‘public mass’ (Hanshin employee, 2008). These qualities, although describing the facades of their flagship stores, remain consistent with both the perceptions of the areas surrounding the two railway lines, and themes evident in the marketing strategies of both corporations. Such distinct qualities can also be found in the entrances of both stores (Figure 7.5 and 7.6); not only in their locations relative to human traffic, but also in their appearance.



Figure 7.5: Entrance to Hankyu Department Store at Umeda, Osaka. *Source:* the author, 2005



Figure 7.6: Entrance to Hanshin Department Store at Umeda, Osaka. *Source:* the author, 2005

Located at street level the entrance to the Hankyu Department Store is reflective of a ‘grand hall’ (Hankyu employee, 2008); situated underground that of the Hanshin

Department Store is a 'modern hall' which is 'directly connected' to the train platform area (Hanshin employee, 2008). Both provide a form of direct access for the passengers/residents of the two railway lines, yet they are inspired by dissimilar styles of architecture. These spaces hint at the interior of the stores and the goods sold there; they are distinct and therefore provide consumers with the possibility for two types of retail experiences. As Cretu and Brodie (2007) commented, reputation or corporate image can greatly influence consumers and the goods or services they choose to consume.

The images conveyed by these entrances and their surrounding display windows (Figures 7.7 and 7.8) illustrate how two distinct brands are available for consumption. It is the choice made by the consumer that further enables these brands to translate into the broader urban space of the region. This can be illustrated by considering the goods or services being sold in the department stores, and how the consumption of those goods or services might appear in the region after consumption.



Figure 7.7: 'Bohemian Luxury' window display of Hankyu Department Store, Umeda, Osaka. *Source:* the author, 2005



Figure 7.8: Window display of Hanshin Department Store, Umeda, Osaka. *Source:* Yukiko Matsuoka, 2007

The 'Bohemian luxury' advertised in the window of Hankyu Department Store is symbolic of 'high-class fashion' (Hankyu employee, 2008); whereas the Hanshin display window projects an image of 'comfortable' goods for '40 year olds' (Hanshin employee, 2008). These goods, visibly dissimilar, provide two distinct consumer experiences representative of Hankyu and Hanshin respectively. Passengers/residents are relatively committed to shopping at the department store corresponding to the line on which they live; 80% (65 of 82 people) in the case of Hankyu and 67% (37 of 55 people) for Hanshin⁴⁶⁶. In so doing, they are purchasing goods, such as those found in these windows, and then displaying them through their daily livelihood.

For example, Hankyu passengers who purchase the leather winter coat with fur trim are

⁴⁶⁶ 17 participants indicated that they shop at both and Hankyu and Hanshin Department Stores; 18 Hanshin passengers/residents indicated that they shop at Hankyu Department Store, rather than Hanshin.

likely to wear that item in their daily comings and goings from their home near to the Hankyu railway line. The presence of such fashion in the area surrounding the Hankyu railway line sustains the image of the Hankyu brand – one that is ‘high-class exclusivity’. Conversely, Hanshin passengers who buy the neutral tan-coloured overcoat might be dressed in their new purchase when carrying out daily activities around the Hanshin railway line, where their home is located. The appearance of this type of fashion in the urban space around the Hanshin railway line is symbolic of the Hanshin brand image – one that is ‘everyday lifestyle’. Again, both of these consumer choices are attractive, yet unique.

The goods found in Figures 7.7 and 7.8, and the brand images they project, are not an isolated occurrence. On a number of occasions when photographed, including that found in Figures 7.9 and 7.10, the display windows projected two different images. In January 2008, the department windows of Hankyu displayed ‘artistic’ and ‘traditional’ arrangements with calls for peace in the New Year (Hankyu employee, 2008); while those of Hanshin announced a winter clearance sale through dressings that were intended to give the impression of ‘inexpensive’ (Hanshin employee, 2008). In light of data presented in Chapters 4-6, these dissimilar retail exhibits correspond with the corporations’ strategies which are in response to local urban processes and the setting in which these took place.



Figure 7.9: New Years window display of Hankyu Department Store. *Source:* the author, 2008



Figure 7.10: New Years window display of Hanshin Department Store. *Source:* the author, 2008

This idea can be considered further by analysing the ‘atmospherics’⁴⁶⁷ of the food halls of both stores. Lighting and colour, for example, are important elements of retail spaces as the atmosphere created by them can affect consumer behaviour (Solomon, 2003). The meat counters of both department stores provide an instance of how two retail spaces, offering the same types of goods, can have two quite different feelings. That of Hanshin (Figure 7.11) is very brightly lit with colourful banners and various stands in order to create ‘liveliness’ and a ‘festival atmosphere’ (Hanshin employee, 2008). Conversely, that of Hankyu (Figure 7.12) has warmer lighting, earthen tones and consists of a straight corridor lined with different counters which project an image of ‘sophistication’ (Hankyu employee, 2008). Both of these atmospheres are desirable,

⁴⁶⁷ Solomon (2003: 193) describes ‘atmospherics’ as “the conscious designing of space and its various dimensions to evoke certain effects in buyers.”

yet distinct: Hanshin's bright lighting and colours stimulate 'excitement' while Hankyu's warmer lighting and colours "impart a feeling of spaciousness and serenity" (Solomon, 2003: 193).



Figure 7.11: Hanshin meat hall. *Source:* the author, 2008



Figure 7.12: Hankyu meat hall. *Source:* the author, 2008

Traditionally, the food area of Hankyu Department Store has been recognised for its specialised counters of imported wines, cheeses and expensive delicacies (Figure 7.13). On the other hand, the food area of Hanshin Department Store has been well-known for its array of traditional Japanese foods (Figure 7.14); equally desirable but dissimilar in the images they project⁴⁶⁸. If Hankyu passengers/residents visit the Hankyu food hall to purchase expensive imported wines, cheese and gourmet delicacies, their

⁴⁶⁸ At the end of fieldwork this trend was starting to change as Hankyu was in the process of purchasing the majority of Hanshin shares (see Chapter 8) and an attempt to introduce cheese to Hanshin Department Store was being made.

consumption of those goods projects a certain image of their consumer behaviour as being ‘fashionable’ and associated with ‘Western food’ (和食) (Hankyu employee, 2008).



Figure 7.13: Gourmet foreign-style foods in the Hankyu Department Store food hall, Umeda, Osaka. *Source:* the author, 2005



Figure 7.14: Traditional Japanese foods in the Hanshin Department Store food hall, Umeda, Osaka. *Source:* the author, 2005

Hanshin passengers/residents, however, shop in the Hanshin Department food hall for more traditional Japanese foods which are then taken home for the family meal. Their consumption not only projects the image that their consumer behaviour is more closely associated with ‘everyday goods’ (日常品) such as ‘tempura’ (Hanshin employee, 2008), but this image carries onward into the urban space surrounding the Hanshin railway line as it is representative of its customers as a whole. In this way, passengers/residents of both lines consume the goods, images, and services of the Hankyu and Hanshin brands that are sold through their diversified businesses. It is this consumption that reinforces and re-engraves these brands onto the urban space of the region.

The reinforcement of these distinctions can even be seen at the micro-level of trains. Dr. Mizuuchi of Osaka City University has spent a considerable amount of time over the years studying the private railway companies in the Hanshin Region. During an interview he commented how Hankyu makes a concerted effort to distinguish its trains from those of Hanshin, and these remarks create one more visualisation of the goods, images, and services that are promoted, and consumed by passengers/residents.

“阪急は、音・においに力をいれている。ブラインドとか、蛍光灯も違う。電車の壁のデザイン、シートのカッション。全てのものにおいてワンランク上のものをもってくる。電車そのものが家の中のような。家具調度品をならべて。ソファのように。銀色のブラインドをおくとか。とにかく窓は絶対にきれいに磨く。電車の色を塗り替える期間が短い。蛍光灯も何年前から新しい色をいれた。阪急だけ。なんという蛍光灯かはわからない。消毒液も香水をふっている。阪急は色々と都市文化研究所をもっていて、クリエイティブなことをしていくことに敏感。駅の発車の音もおもしろい。梅田とか。車内放送で次の駅を何回呼ぶかとか。色々工夫している。トレーニングが行き届いている。ほぼ、完璧に近い会社かな。いろんなサービスを与えていく、地域を変えていくという意味で。”

“Hankyu is cautious about the sound and smell. The fluorescent lights and blinds are different....the cushion seats, the design of the train walls....everything is of the air that it is one-rank higher. Inside the train it is like the interior of a house – furniture is arranged, like a sofa. The blinds are silver, for example. Anyway, the windows are polished completely clean. The period for changing the coating of the train is short. Even new colours of fluorescent lights have been put in from however many years ago. Only Hankyu. Why fluorescent lights, I don’t know. Even the disinfectant is scented. Hankyu is sensitive to creative things; they have an urban culture institute. Also, the departure sound at the stations is interesting. At Umeda, for example. The number of times the in-car broadcast announces the next station is pre-determined. There are many devices arrived at through training. Perhaps it is that it is a perfectly close company. Many services are provided and the meaning is that these change with the region.”

Interview with Dr. Mizuuchi, October 12, 2005

Mizuuchi's (2005) observations are fascinating for they demonstrate the degree to which the Hankyu brand permeates through all aspects of its businesses and the space in which they function. Not only is the interior of Hankyu trains designed to be 'one rank higher', but passengers/residents can distinctly identify Hankyu trains by the in-car announcements, scented disinfectant, and their complete cleanliness. Similarly, trademark distinctions can be found with Hanshin trains. Instead of the Hankyu chimes for example, the arrival of Hanshin trains is announced by the tune of 'I've been working on the railroad'. The exterior colour of the trains ranges from beige and blue, to beige and orange, while those of Hankyu are consistently red-burgundy.

Further supporting primary data from the corporate interviews, Mizuuchi (2005) also recognises that the meaning of the goods, images, and services provided is dependent on the context in which they were created. In the case of Hankyu and Hanshin, that context was the locational attributes, industrial and economic growth and social change of the region. By playing to these conditions, both perceptions of place, and tangible characteristics found in the urban space of the region, have to some degree been *influenced* by Hankyu and Hanshin Groups. As a result, places have become symbolic not only for their historical processes and locational attributes, but also two private railway groups. Mizuuchi (2005) commented:

“箕面とか豊中に住んでいる人は、阪神間に住んでいるというイメージはなくて、阪急平野、阪急文化に住んでいるというイメージ。阪神というのは庶民・阪神タイガース。と、尼崎というイメージかな。競輪とか。工場のまちとか、庶民の町。下駄履きのまち。JR の尼崎はほとんどイメージがない。最近の再開発で大幅にイメージが変わった。ハイカラおばさん。”

“The image of the people living in Mino or Toyonaka is not that they are living in the Hanshin Region; rather, they represent an image of Hankyu culture or the ‘Hankyu Plain’. In the case of Hanshin, it is commoners and the Hanshin Tigers. Perhaps the image of Amagasaki. Bicycle race. Commoner’s city or cities of factories. Cities where it is okay to wear getta.”

Interview with Dr. Mizuuchi, October 12, 2005

Mizuuchi’s comments and the findings in this thesis do not suggest that one area is better than the other; rather that the two project images that have evolved from a complex interaction of setting, and processes both external and internal to the two corporations. Through their management structures and oligopolistic competition both corporations have strategically purveyed symbols – brands – drawn from the local context of setting, industrial and economic growth, and social change. The consumption of these brands in a manner similar to their promotion has ultimately caused distinct characteristics in the urban space, both to take shape and to be reinforced.

Cross-examination of data illustrate that the two private railways had *influence*, not only in the way in which these places were portrayed and perceived, but also in further strengthening distinctions between the two places. Through their diversified businesses Hankyu and Hanshin Groups *influenced* the types of people, business and facilities, housing and lifestyle, and the ambience of areas surrounding their railway lines by reinforcing characteristics associated with historical processes of urbanisation and locational attributes intrinsic to the Hanshin Region.

7.2 Consumption and persistence

Investigation of the consumption of their goods, images, and services in conjunction with evidence presented in previous chapters, has shown how the two companies have played a powerful role in the urban development of the Hanshin Region. To conclude this examination, this Section considers their continued ‘brandscape’, in order to determine the degree to which many historical symbols of the private railways still persist in the urban space of the region to this day. Once more, the correspondence between the promotion and consumption of Hankyu and Hanshin’s goods, services, and images plays a role. Evidence provided in Section 7.1 demonstrated that passengers/residents of the two railway lines maintained brand loyalty. According to Kressmann et al (2006), brand loyalty can be determined through an examination of a consumer’s planned commitment and the percentage of purchases from a given brand company. These high percentages indicate that in terms of behaviour, consumers are relatively loyal to the two distinct brands.

This is an essential element of ‘brandscape’. Over 70% (58 of 82 people) of Hankyu railway line survey participants indicated a choice to stay in their current home because the area has characteristics that they desire. These are the very same features that they associate with Hankyu Department Store and the land surrounding the Hankyu railway line. For example: ‘fashionable’, ‘convenient’, ‘good environment’, and of an ‘uptown’ atmosphere. Similarly, along the Hanshin line, 75% (41 of 55 people) of survey respondents were committed to staying in their present home because they desire the prominent features of that area. This includes ‘convenient transport’ and its

‘family-oriented livelihood’ – adjectives also provided to portray the Hanshin Department Store and the surrounding area of its line.

The parallels between the perceptions of the neighbourhoods along the two lines, the department stores, and features of homes of which respondents were fond, are not by chance. They further substantiate the shared experiences of passengers/residents – a result of a complex inter-play between functions of the two corporations, historical processes of urbanisation, and location. Moreover, a continued desire to consume these distinct characteristics of place in fact causes their self-perpetuation. It is not just the maintenance of the effects of locational attributes and conditions born out of historical processes, but also Hankyu and Hanshin’s brands. This can be shown by comparing historical photographs of private railway properties with their present day persistence.



Figure 7.15: Hankyu Railway housing at Hankyu Mukonoso (circa 1937) *Source:* 阪急電鉄株式会社, 1980=Hankyu Railway Corporation, 1980



Figure 7.16: Present day persistence of the original Hankyu railway housing development. *Source:* the author, 2004.

Some of the original houses (Figure 7.15) constructed and sold by Hankyu in their Mukonoso development (1937) remain today. These properties (Figure 7.16) represent the continued presence of Hankyu, and historical symbols of its corporate brand, in the urban space. Although houses such as the one in Figure 7.16 may be older and more traditional than those surrounding them, their history as one of Hankyu's early garden suburb developments provides them a certain symbolic status⁴⁶⁹ - and this is a persistence from Hankyu's earliest residential development activities.

⁴⁶⁹ Hankyu has described housing such as this at Mukonoso as 'the offering of good quality living environment' (Hankyu employee, 2008).



Figure 7.17: Hankyu Department Store (circa 1929).
Source: 阪急電鉄株式会社, 1980= Hankyu Railway Corporation, 1980.



Figure 7.18: Current Hankyu Department Store.
Source: the author, 2004

When the Hankyu Department Store opened in 1929 (Figure 7.17), it was the first terminal department store in Japan (阪急電鉄株式会社、昭和 57 年⁴⁷⁰). But as evidenced in Figure 7.18 its ‘charming and stylish’ (Hankyu employee, 2008) presence in the heart of Osaka persists to this day. Key symbols of the Hankyu brand such as this would not have survived were it not for the brand loyalty of consumers. When it announced the re-development of the complex in 2003, Hankyu wrote:

“To firmly establish competitive advantage in each of our core businesses, we strive to maintain customer loyalty to our products and services while keeping profits at an adequate level. [This involves] offering the services our customers really want, attracting new customers, and securing customer loyalty.”

⁴⁷⁰ Hankyu Railway Corporation, 57th year of the Showa Period (1982).

(Hankyu Corporation, 2003: 4)

So strong is this loyalty and consumption that the present day building complex has nine different buildings including the tower, known as Hankyu Grand Building, which is seen rising high above the original structure.

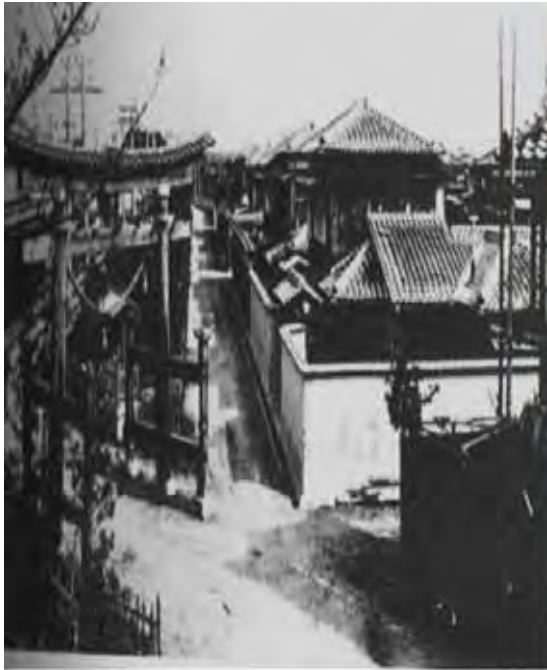


Figure 7.19: Hankyu Railway Muromachi housing at Ikeda (circa 1910). *Source:* 阪急電鉄株式会社, 1980= Hankyu Railway Corporation, 1980.



Figure 7.20: Present Hankyu Railway Muromachi housing at Ikeda. *Source:* the author, 2005

Similar to the houses at Hankyu Mukonoso, some of Hankyu's first houses (1910) at Ikeda's Muromachi (Figure 7.19) continue to define urban settlements. As visible in Figure 7.20, some of this persistence has involved little change in the original housing structure. Consequently, many icons of Hankyu's competitive strategies to distinguish its brand from that of Hanshin (Chapter 6) persist in the region today.



Figure 7.21: Hanshin Railway Baseball Stadium at Koshien (circa 1924) *Source:* 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005



Figure 7.22: Present Hanshin Railway Baseball Stadium at Koshien. *Source:* 阪神電気鉄道株式会社, 2005= Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation, 2005.

In the case of Hanshin, its stadium at Koshien (Figure 7.21) was the first ballpark to be built in Japan (1924) (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005⁴⁷¹). Home to the Hanshin-owned Tigers from 1935, the park and its Hanshin-developed surroundings have become the most recognised symbol of the Hanshin brand (Interview with Hanshin Corporation, March 2006). It persists today (Figure 7.22), both spatially and in its social value, because people continue to consume its goods, image, and services. In 2004 alone, Koshien Baseball Stadium made a profit of 7,788,000,000 JPY (approx. \$75,972,767 AUD) with 30,131,000 fans attending games (財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005⁴⁷²).

⁴⁷¹ Ibid

⁴⁷² Ibid

In addition to the persistence of Hanshin's baseball stadium at Koshien, the surrounding residential area also continues to be symbolic of Hanshin's diversified business activities. The wide streets constructed in both the Koshien and Hama-Koshien (Figure 7.23) residential developments (1928, 1933) were an attempt by Hanshin to pursue a garden suburb model (Chapter 6). These areas have retained such features (Figure 7.24) and they continue to be consumed, ensuring Hanshin's symbolic presence in the urban space for years to come.



Figure 7.23: Hanshin Railway housing at Hama-Koshien (circa 1933) *Source:* 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005



Figure 7.24: Current street running from Hanshin Koshien Station to Hanshin's Koshien housing. *Source:* the author, 2008

Although the majority of properties at Hanshin Nishinomiya Station were badly damaged during the Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake in 1995, and Hanshin Group subsequently decided to re-develop the area, as recent as last year part of the original rental housing built in 1907 (Figure 7.25) could still be seen (Figure 7.26). Remnants

such as these provide visual documentation of Hanshin's earliest housing developments, aimed at accommodating workers in nearby factories. The continued presence of symbols such as this, further re-iterate the historical association of Hanshin Group's brand with the 'everyday' needs of its customers.



Figure 7.25: Hanshin-owned rental housing in front of Hanshin Nishinomiya Station (circa 1909)
Source: 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005



Figure 7.26: Hanshin-owned property converted into a small restaurant. *Source:* the author, 2008.

Similar traces of the past can be found in housing developed by the two private railway groups at Hanshin Koshien (Figure 7.27, 7.28) and Hankyu Nishinomiya-kitaguchi (Figure 7.29, 7.30). The persistence of these properties indicates that the consumption of Hankyu and Hanshin's goods, images, and services has enabled their 'brandsapes' or, two 'brand' communities to remain. Keller (2002) suggested that the power of a brand depended on how customers perceived it: brand symbolism will succeed if it is strong, favourable and unique. In this way the Hankyu and Hanshin brands have become long-standing and powerful influences in the urban development of the region because

they were, and continue to be, distinct.



Figure 7.27: Inset photo from Hanshin's development poster for Koshien (circa 1920s). *Source:* 展実行委員会, 1997= The Executive Exhibition Committee, 1997



Figure 7.28: Hanshin Group housing in front of Hanshin Koshien Station. *Source:* the author, 2008.



Figure 7.29: Hankyu housing at Nishinomiya-kitaguchi (circa 1923). *Source:* 阪神急行株式会社, 1932= Hanshin Express Railway Corporation, 1932



Figure 7.30: Hankyu housing at Nishinomiya-kitaguchi. *Source:* the author, 2008

7.3 Conclusion

This chapter has provided the evidence for explaining the remaining research question of this thesis: it has demonstrated that the promotion of Hankyu and Hanshin's goods, images, and services mirrors their consumption. This is the final piece of the puzzle in terms of understanding the influence of two private railway groups in the urban development of the region. Consumption of these goods, images, and services has not only caused the images associated with historical locational characteristics of the region to persist, but it has also resulted in the continued symbolism of place with two private railway groups and their corporate brands.

Further, the loyalty of passengers/residents suggests what O'Guinn and Muniz (2005) defined as 'brand communities': 1) consciousness of kind; 2) evidence of rituals; and 3)

a sense of obligation to the community and its members. The intentional consumption of Hankyu or Hanshin goods, images, and services shows a desire of people to be a part of a particular ‘brand’ community, in which they can enjoy the “attributes and benefits that characterise the most important dimensions of the brand” (Keller, 2003: 51). In this way, the distinctions found in the urban space are self-perpetuated through a complex inter-play of locational attributes, and processes endogenous and exogenous to the two companies. The next and final chapter embodies conclusions drawn from the research.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

This thesis began by describing the paths taken by four travellers on the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines operating from Umeda Station in Osaka, Japan. At night both the company executive and the Office Lady (OL) commuted from Osaka towards Kobe, using either Hankyu or Hanshin trains respectively. During the commute they encountered posters representing businesses owned by the two companies. Earlier in the day, the executive's wife and her friends shopped in the Hankyu Department Store, and ate in the Hankyu Grand Building. The Office Lady's grandmother ate in the Hanshin Department Store cafeteria and purchased food from its food hall. Their passages through urban space might have appeared separate and unrelated; however, this thesis has demonstrated that they are in fact interrelated, due to a series of historical processes and the setting in which these took place.

This has therefore prompted a study that investigated three research questions:

Question 1

What are the main historical processes and locational attributes that have influenced distinctions in urban space along the Hankyu and Hanshin railway lines over time?

Question 2

What influence do private railway groups have in terms of the unfolding of

distinctions in place?

Question 3

Does the promotion of Hankyu and Hanshin's goods, images, and services mirror their consumption by passengers/residents?

Those passages set the stage for the examination of distinctions in the urban space surrounding two railway lines. Further, they raised questions with regard to the extent to which two private railway groups have, through their diversified businesses, contributed in some way to these perceived distinctions. The result of this investigation has been to 'make sense' of the urban development of the Hanshin Region and, within it, the influence of two private railway companies.

In doing so, the study has used Relph's (1976) concept of *place* as a basis for understanding how distinct qualities (and the images associated with them) could have evolved, persisted, and over time contributed to the character of a particular place. Drawing on various facets of the geographical tradition the study stemmed from transport geography to pursue the geography of the city, themes of place-making, and consumption. Embodied in these were the important subjects of history, culture, corporate behaviour and the economy. Inspired by these fields, the research questions were designed in order to examine the popular view that states that transport is a 'permissive factor rather than a direct stimulus' (Hoyle and Knowles, 1998: 13).

Analysis of the research questions began with an historical narrative on the Hanshin Region's physical characteristics and key processes that were external to the two private

railway groups. This presented a starting point; for as Whitehand (1987: 145) has noted, “no society can detach itself completely from its past and the landscape is never a blank sheet on which a society can draw unfettered.” In response to the first research question, distinctions in ambience, socio-economic settlement patterns, urban development, land use, and leisure activities were all found to have been influenced by the region’s locational attributes, economic and industrial growth, and social change.

Emerging from this complex backdrop were the two railway groups Hankyu and Hanshin. It was an objective of this study to consider the influence of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups on the urban space surrounding their two railway lines, and the way in which their inner-workings might have been shaped in response to the above-mentioned historical processes and setting. For this reason, their corporate histories were explored through a chronology of company names, railway companies in the region, management structures, key individuals, events, and competition. It was found that management structures, and the oligopolistic competition between the two companies, were processes integral to the evolution of corporate images and their promulgation. These processes facilitated the consistent projection of two distinct corporate images and logos that were at times in direct competition; while at others, divergent in their strategies. Ultimately these images and logos came to symbolise two distinct brands.

Investigation of the presence of these brands in urban space was further necessary in order to understand the influence of the two companies in the urban development of the region. For many years, the diversified businesses of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups have enabled them to not only be involved in, but largely responsible for the fundamental development of certain areas in the Hanshin Region. When combined

with their two corporate brands, the associated railway properties have created a unique opportunity for Hankyu and Hanshin to project their corporate symbols in the urban space.

The term ‘brandscape’ was applied to these corporate projections as they constituted “the physical manifestations of synthetically conceived identities transposed onto synthetically conceived places, demarcating culturally independent sites where corporate value systems materialise into physical territories” (Klingmann, 2007: 83). Although branded spaces are viewed as contemporary phenomena (Klingmann, 2007; O’Guinn and Muniz Jr., 2005), the case of Hankyu and Hanshin suggests that railway brand communities first appeared at the beginning of the 20th Century and continue to this day. Further, the success and persistence of these branded spaces was dependent on the recognition of the region’s locational attributes, industrial and economic growth and social change.

In fact, both Hankyu and Hanshin capitalised on the opportunities that were presented to them. Their brands were made powerful because people living near their two railway lines could identify with them. Distinctions in place were not only influenced by historical urban processes and locational attributes, but also by a complex interaction between these features of place and processes endogenous to the two corporations. To answer the second research question, the fundamental involvement in urban development and the bolstering of distinctions in the urban space of the Hanshin Region constitutes the influence that private railway groups have had in terms of the unfolding of distinctions in place.

This ability to reinforce distinctions would not have been possible, however, without the consumption of their goods, images, and services by passengers and residents of the region. Analysis of the third research question in Chapter 7 revealed that the promotion of Hankyu and Hanshin's goods, images, and services has mirrored their consumption. This has not only caused the persistence of distinctions associated with the region's historical urban processes and setting to persist: it has also resulted in a place symbolic of two private railway groups and their corporate brands.

In marketing their corporate images, as well as their involvement in urban development, both corporations have purveyed symbols of two very distinct sets of characteristics, indeed two different brands. As Hosany et al (2006) commented, brand image is the key to creating powerful and influential brands. The corporations have therefore become the brands, rather than the products and services they provide (Berry, 2000) and these have extended into the urban space surrounding their respective railway lines. In this way, the areas around the Hankyu and Hanshin lines have become "both concrete and symbolic; literally and metaphorically made up: of buildings, field systems, roads and railways as well as myths and legends, statues and ceremonies that link people to a place" (McDowell, 1997: 2).

Rather than being simply a permissive factor in economic development or spatial change (Hoyle and Knowles, 1998), transport has been shown in this thesis to have a direct influence on place as defined by Relph (1976: 29)⁴⁷³.

⁴⁷³ As explained in Chapter 1, Relph's (1976: 29) definition stated: "Places are not experienced as independent, clearly defined entities that can be described simply in terms of their location or appearance. Rather, they are [a combination of] setting, landscape, ritual, routine, people, personal experiences."

The locational attributes of the Hanshin Region constituted a 'setting' in which various historical processes, both internal and external to the two private railway groups, have taken place. Over time, a 'landscape' has evolved as a result of urbanisation, and the private railway groups had some influence in that. 'Rituals' were to be found in corporate brands, the diversified management structure of the private railway groups, and the long-standing competition between the two corporations. Consumption of those images, goods and services was to become a part of a lifestyle- a 'routine' that is now a part of people's daily lives. Finally, in this context, the 'people' of the region were the consumers and decision-makers, and their 'personal experiences' were integral to understanding distinctions found in the areas surrounding the Hankyu and Hanshin rail lines.

Rodrigue et al (2006: 3) have written that "the fundamental purpose of transport is geographic in nature, because it facilitates movements between different locations". However, examination of private railways in Japan, particularly Hankyu and Hanshin, has demonstrated that the geographic quality of transport is more than just the movement of people – it also involves the re-engraving in place of distinctions in people, business and facilities, housing and lifestyle, and ambience. Such influence is beyond the generally perceived spatial imprints of urban transportation which, according to Rodrigue et al (2006: 177), are the "pedestrian areas (the amount of space devoted to walking), roads and parking areas, cycling areas, transit systems, transport terminals (Rodrigue et al, 2006: 177).

Going beyond the idea that the purpose of transport "is to overcome space, which is

shaped by a variety of human and physical constraints such as distance, time, administrative divisions and topography (Rodrigue et al, 2006: 1),” this thesis has shown that the private urban railways of Hankyu and Hanshin serve much more than this. Indeed, they have made use of components of place in their business strategies, and this has enabled them to influence the urban development of the Hanshin Region. This suggests a need for transport geographers to be more aware of diverse geographical approaches and to incorporate these in theory. Recent developments in transport studies have suggested recognition “that transportation operates within a much wider societal context, including various approaches to transportation modes, costs and impacts” (Fox, 1995: 105; See also Divall and Schmucki, 2003).

The conceptual contributions of this thesis begin with recognising the need for more emphasis on an historical and cultural approach, and the treatment of railways as more than lone entities of service provision. In adopting such an approach, it has put transport geography more in touch with other sub-disciplines, enabling the historical and cultural significance of transport to be considered from a contemporary perspective. In this way, the real influence of transportation may be better understood.

The influence of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups extends well beyond the projection of company images in company offices as suggested by Domosh (1992). The consistent communicating of two distinct corporate images through their diversified businesses is reflected in the urban space of the region, particularly that surrounding the two railway lines. Hankyu and Hanshin have, through their many businesses, created a self-representation, not just in their buildings but in the urban space along their respective lines. In this, the two distinct places have come to constitute their own

brand meanings, ones that are symbolic of two private railway groups (McDowell, 1997).

In pursuing its geographical study of place, the present thesis has taken into account the complex, diverse and unique characteristics specific to the Hanshin Region. Yet, as Massey (1997: 319; 1983) suggests, the recognition of variability and diversity “in no way implies abandoning wider movements or wider levels of organisation[;] it is a recognition and understanding of the reality and conditions of diversity, and of the actual processes which link the local particularities”. In line with Massey’s thinking (1997; 1990), the thesis has not promoted the local condition as a fetish or overemphasised its importance; rather, it has allowed an inter-disciplinary approach to transport theory that would reflect a “grounding of ideas in the specific contexts of place and time” (Jackson et al, 2000). In this way, it has also contributed to methodological discussions on corporate interviewing and the means through which access can be gained to corporate elite in the cultural context of Japan.

This thesis makes several other contributions. Although it can be said that modern Japanese geography has been heavily influenced by the achievements of geographical studies in Western countries (Takeuchi, 2000) it is important to recognise that certain Japanese geographers have carved out quite independent niches. As a result, present day Japanese geography might best be described as contributed to by Western thought but not entirely influenced by it. Mizuoka et al. (2005) have suggested that Western and Japanese geographic disciplines started to move in different directions following 1973. One example of this may be the continued adaptation in Japanese geography of models, like Burgess’s Concentric Ring Model, to explain present day Japanese urban

form in former castle cities (Masai, 1998; Mizuuchi, 2003). Mizuoka et al. (2005) have suggested that Japanese geographers have lost the intellectual power necessary to grasp growing international geography trends. They claim that it has become an embarrassing fact that, “Japanese social scientists outside of geography started to adopt the conceptions of critical geography developed abroad, bypassing the Japanese geographers’ circle” (Mizuoka et al, 2005: 453).

The continued use of dated knowledge and the loss of intellectual power within the discipline have resulted in a lack of Japanese geographical literature that comprehensively explains present-day distinctions in Japanese cities within the context of Japan itself (Mizuoka et al, 2005). Thus, while the Hankyu and Hanshin Groups have significantly influenced the presence of distinctions in the urban space of the Hanshin Region, Japanese literature has not yet explained these distinctions within the context of Japan itself.

The thesis therefore suggests potential avenues for future research in which these distinctions might be considered within the Japanese context. The semi-structured interviews with Japanese geographers that occurred for this research provide the groundwork for such a study.

As a further contribution, this research has also questioned the way in which ‘differences’ in the city are addressed, particularly in the context of Japan. While it has focused on the capacity for two private railway groups to influence distinctions in urban space, there is value in devoting further study to ‘differences’ or ‘distinctions’ among Japanese cities. The issue arises not from whether or not social distinctions exist but

the way in which these distinctions are defined in literature - and that leaves the greatest amount of room for debate. As discussed in Chapter 2, Sugimoto (2003: 5) has written that some of the most obvious differences in Japanese society stem from non-racial based sub-cultures such as “region, gender, age, occupation, education, and so forth.” To this a sub-culture of railways might be worthwhile considering; for as this research has shown, the business activities of the private railway groups are directly tied to various urban functions that occur on a daily basis.

The focus of the thesis has been the 100 year history of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups, and their influence on the urban development of the Hanshin Region. The corporations, however, have now entered a new era of business that may or may not alter their corporate brands and direction. In September 2005, a young Japanese businessman, named Murakami Yoshiaki, made public that his investment fund portfolio had purchased a large stake in the Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation (Hisane, 2006). Recognised for his US-style of corporate raiding, Murakami’s announcement caused concern amongst private railway groups, particularly when he began “demanding management changes [within Hanshin] to increase returns” (Aoi and Hyuga, 2006: 1). Hanshin apparently approved the takeover initially (Aoi and Hyuga, 2006) but, under growing public sentiment that “Murakami’s ambitions were excessive”, Hanshin Group negotiated a counter-offer from the local rivalry railway Hankyu (Hisane, 2006:3).

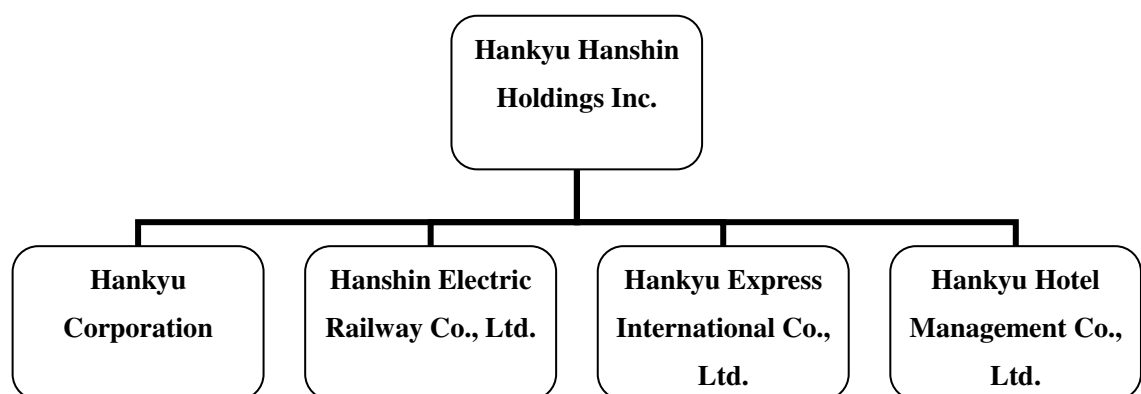
Murakami indicated that he would accept a buy-out from Hankyu provided the amount was sufficient return for his investors (共同通信, 2006⁴⁷⁴). Hankyu Holdings offered

⁴⁷⁴ Kyodo Tsushin, 2006

Murakami a counter-bid of ¥392.1 billion (approximately \$3,943,011,933 AUD) in May 2006, in return for a share of at least 45% in Hanshin's stocks. Murakami rejected the offer, claiming it was too low (Aoi and Hyuga, 2006); but it had become known that he was under investigation for insider trading claims. These ultimately resulted in his arrest and thus his failure to pursue interests in Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation (Hisane, 2006).

This event led to Hanshin and Hankyu agreeing on management unification in May 2006. It was determined that the unification would involve a corporate name change from individual company names (Hankyu and Hanshin) into Hankyu Hanshin Holdings. “As a result of the takeover bid, Hanshin Electric Railway [became] a consolidated subsidiary of the [Hankyu] Group on the 12th of June, 2006, and a wholly [Hankyu]-owned subsidiary on the 1st of October, 2006” (阪急ホールディングス, 2006: 9). The management change is illustrated in Figure 8.1.

Figure 8.1



Source: 阪急ホールディングス. (2006) アニュアルレポート 2006, 阪急ホールディングス株式会社, 大阪⁴⁷⁵.

⁴⁷⁵ Hankyu Holdings. (2006) Annual Report 2006, Hankyu Holdings Corporation, Osaka.

While the corporate union of Hankyu and Hanshin has involved management re-structuring, Hankyu recognises that Hanshin pursues a management philosophy quite distinct from that of Hankyu. In particular, Hankyu has identified that Hanshin's "management philosophy of contributing to the public good by providing a living environment that offers comfort, good health and fine culture" (阪急ホールディングス, 2006:33), should be preserved. Similarly, the particulars of the companies remain identified as Hankyu (阪急) and Hanshin (阪神) and continue to be referred to as such by the public.

The continued distinction between the two corporations is an interesting point. Initially, it seemed that the purchase of Hanshin shares by Hankyu could, in future, affect the brands of both companies, which might in turn have an impact on the urban space of the region. Nevertheless, their brands continue to persist. For example, Hankyu has publicly acknowledged (since the takeover), as well as during its corporate interview for this research, that Hanshin represents a different market from that of Hankyu. Hankyu does not appear interested in dismantling that distinction but rather in retaining its unique character, most likely because it provides Hankyu with an increased opportunity to profit from a wider audience.

Early evidence of the persistence of both brands can be seen in the posters (Figures 8.2 and 8.3) that now hang in Hankyu and Hanshin trains, which advertise attractions (in this instance local shrines) along both lines and simultaneously display the trademarks of both companies. Similarly, these distinct brands continue to be manifested in the urban space through the continued display of corporate logos and names on properties

owned by the private railways (Figure 8.4).



Figure 8.2: Joint Hankyu and Hanshin poster hanging in a Hankyu train. *Source:* the author, 2008.



Figure 8.3: Hankyu and Hanshin company logos at opposite corners of the same poster. *Source:* the author, 2008.



Figure 8.4: Neon lights on various private railway properties in Osaka and Kobe displaying the Hankyu and Hanshin corporate logos and names. *Source:* the author, 2008.

Equally fascinating is that, in many ways, the Hankyu buy-out of Hanshin shares epitomises the very competition on which Kobayashi Ichizo founded Hankyu 100 years ago. Investors in Japan have commented that although Hankyu had to borrow money from Sumitomo Mitsui Financial Group in order to complete the takeover, this debt is “manageable and the merger may strengthen the new Hankyu Group’s competitiveness” (Aoi and Hyuga, 2006). Hankyu, therefore, has once more distinguished itself from Hanshin, as it did 100 years ago, through aggressive competition.

The long-term impact of Hankyu’s takeover of Hanshin remains to be seen and provides an interesting avenue for future research. As the takeover further solidifies the ability for Hankyu and Hanshin to continue well into the future, it will be interesting to see

what new or continued influence they play in the urban [re]-development of the Hanshin Region. Where this thesis closes a chapter in the 100 year history of Hankyu and Hanshin Groups in the Hanshin Region of Japan, another chapter is just beginning.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Semi-structured Corporate Interview Questions

Anne-Louise Semple

Doctoral Candidate, Geography Program, FBE

University of New South Wales, Sydney, 2052

THE UNIVERSITY OF
NEW SOUTH WALES



FACULTY OF THE
BUILT ENVIRONMENT

CORPORATE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS-HANKYU GROUP

To entice people to move to sparsely populated areas, Hankyu has been trying to develop attractive cities along with the development of railways.

- How does Hankyu define “attractive city”?
- To what extent has the attempt to develop attractive cities been successful?
- What are the key incentives that have produced successful development?
- How does Hankyu define its role in the creation of urban form?
- What relationship does Hankyu perceive itself as having with the present day urban form?
- Does Hankyu Group continue to attract certain types of businesses or organizations to areas surrounding its lines? If so, what types of businesses and why?

Please indicate three words that best describe the area surrounding the Hankyu rail line:
(area includes housing, businesses, atmosphere)

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

Please indicate three words that best describe the area surrounding the Hanshin rail line:
(area includes housing, businesses, atmosphere)

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

Hankyu generally plans ahead by ten years in order to contemplate how people's lives or worlds might change.

- Over the course of Hankyu's history, how many stages of change had significant impact on the company's vision and what words would you use to identify those stages?

In the past, Hankyu has targeted middle to upper class families.

- What was the reason for targeting these particular groups?

Today, Hankyu is attempting to develop many kinds of businesses in order to meet the satisfaction of a broader group of customers.

- What is the reason for this change?
- Has the attempt to reach out to a broader base of customers been successful?

When non-Hankyu Group businesses wish to open a store or office along the Hankyu lines, does Hankyu Group have any involvement in approving or declining these businesses? Or are such decisions left to local government?

- If Hankyu Group has the ability to approve or decline these businesses, what types of businesses are approved? Declined?

Hankyu Group rents space to various types of business owners in the Hankyu Department Building.

- Does Hankyu attempt to rent to a certain kind of clientele? If so, how would you define that clientele?

Is the management style of the Hankyu Department Store similar to that of other

Hankyu Group stores? Or is it different? If it is different: how so and why?

What is the vision of Hankyu for the next ten years?

Hankyu does not view JR or Hanshin as a rival because each company has unique targets and scale.

- How would you describe the unique targets and scales of JR and Hanshin in comparison with Hankyu?

One element of the Hankyu Corporation Group's one-year management plan for fiscal 2004 was to enhance the "Hankyu taste" and 'strengthen customer-oriented management'.

- How would you describe "Hankyu taste"?
- Who does Hankyu aim to target with this strategy?

Many literary sources have stated that there is no interaction between private railway groups and government. Based on meetings in 2004, we understand this information to be false.

- In the process of Hankyu Group developing urban areas, to what extent does Hankyu interact with national government offices/groups? If there is interaction: with which offices/groups?
- In the process of Hankyu Group developing urban areas, to what extent does Hankyu interact with prefectural/municipal government offices/groups? If there is interaction: with which offices/groups?
- In the process of Hankyu Group developing urban areas, to what extent does Hankyu interact with local city government offices/groups? If there is interaction: with which offices/groups?
- What are the key national legislations, if any, directly affecting the business activity of Hankyu Group?
- Are these legislations flexible or inflexible?

- Do these legislations foster the business activity of Hankyu Group or do they impede business activity?
- What are the key prefectural/municipal legislations, if any, directly affecting the business activity of Hankyu Group?
- Are these legislations flexible or inflexible?
- Do these legislations foster the business activity of Hankyu Group or do they impede business activity?
- What are the key local city legislations, if any, directly affecting the business activity of Hankyu Group?
- Are these legislations flexible or inflexible?
- Do these legislations foster the business activity of Hankyu Group or do they impede business activity?

Please rank the following organizations in the order of which one has the most power (1) to the least amount of power (10) during the process of Hankyu Group developing urban areas.

Hankyu Group	_____
National government	_____
Prefectural/municipal government	_____
Local City government	_____
Other _____	_____
Other _____	_____
Other _____	_____
Other _____	_____
Other _____	_____
Other _____	_____

Does Hankyu Group interact with any private businesses or additional non-governmental organizations in the process of Hankyu Group developing urban areas? If so, which ones and to what extent?

According to the White Paper on Transport, written by the Ministry for Transport, Information and Technology in 2004, there is a need for transport providers to adjust stations and systems to suit the needs of an ageing society.

- Does Hankyu Group have any plans to upgrade its facilities to meet this demand?
Have adjustments already commenced?
- As Hankyu Group runs a private railway line, will it be the responsibility of Hankyu Group solely to make these adjustments to facilities or will government assist in the upgrading?

As the main business of the Hankyu Corporation Group, how does urban transportation interact with all other businesses of the Hankyu Corporation Group?

With the 100 year anniversary of Hankyu private railway approaching, is Hankyu Group planning on special events or strategies to celebrate the lengthy history of Hankyu Railway Company?

- In particular, will there be any attempt to display or utilise historical material such as old train posters and brochures? If yes, how does Hankyu Group intend on relating that material to the present day region and consumers of Hankyu Group businesses?

Do you have any maps or land use diagrams that show the location of the various properties/businesses of Hankyu Group in the area between Osaka and Kobe?

- If yes, would it be possible to see these items and potentially use copies of select items for this research?

Would it be possible to obtain colour/black and white copies of old Hankyu Railway brochures, train posters or other memorabilia including photographs?

Is there additional information that you feel is relevant to explaining the history of Hankyu Group and its involvement in developing the present day built environment of the Kansai Region?



阪急電鉄は、住居が点々としていた未開発のエリアに人を誘致するため、鉄道を発達させ、同時に魅力的な都市づくりを進めてきました。

- ・ 貴社が考える“魅力的な都市”の定義を教えてください。
- ・ 魅力的な都市づくりは、どの程度成功しているとお考えですか？
- ・ 開発を成功させてきた要因は何だとお考えですか？
- ・ 都市作りを行う際に、貴社はどのような役割を担っているとお考えですか？
- ・ 貴社と今日の都市の形態にはどのような関係があるとお考えですか？
- ・ 貴社は阪急沿線に商いを始める際、そこに誘致する業者や組織の種類にこだわりがありますか？もしそうであるならば、どのような種類の業者を歓迎しますか？また、それはなぜですか？
- ・ 阪急沿線の周辺地域を最も的確に表現する 3 つの言葉を述べてください。（沿線地域の住居や企業、雰囲気なども含みます）

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

- ・ 阪神沿線の周辺地域を最も的確に表現する 3 つの言葉を述べてください。（沿線地域の住居や企業、雰囲気も含みます）

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

阪急は、世界の情勢や人々の生活がどのように変化するのかなど、常に先のことを見通してプランニングを行っています。

- ・ 貴社の創業から現在に至るまで、変遷の大きな節目が何度ありましたか？またそれぞれ

の時期を表現するとすれば、どのような言葉があてはまりますか？

- 創立当初、阪急は中流～上流クラスの家庭にターゲットを置いてきました。
- ・ 中流～上級家庭にターゲットをおいた理由は何ですか？
- 今日、阪急グループは様々な顧客層のニーズを満たすために、多岐に渡るビジネスを手がけています。
- ・ 顧客ターゲットに変化をもたらした理由を教えてください。
- ・ このような広い顧客層に目を向けたアプローチは成功していますか？
- ・ 阪急グループ以外の企業が阪急沿線に店舗やオフィスを開く場合、貴社にはこれらの企業の開業に賛成、あるいは拒否する権限がありますか？もしくは、そのような権限はそれぞれの市町村に委ねられているのですか？
- ・ もし貴社にそれらの開業を賛成、あるいは拒否する権限があるとしたら、どのようなビジネスを歓迎しますか？または、拒否しますか？
- 貴社は多様な業者に阪急百貨店内のスペースを賃貸しています。
- ・ 貴社は賃貸する業者の種類に基準を設けていますか？もしそうであれば、その種類はどのようなものですか？
- ・ 阪急百貨店の経営スタイルは、その他阪急グループの店舗のスタイルと同じ方針を敷いていますか？もしそうであれば、どのようなスタイルですか？また、それはなぜですか？
- ・ 貴社の今後10年のビジョンを教えてください。
- 阪急電鉄はJRや阪神をライバルと考えていません。なぜならそれぞれの企業には独自のターゲット客層や戦略があるからです
- ・ 貴社が考えるJRと阪神のターゲット客層や戦略を教えてください。
- 阪急ホールディングスの2004年度経営計画で“阪急テイスト”と“顧客に基づいた経営の強化”を掲げています。

- ・“阪急テイスト”とはどのようなものか教えて下さい。
- ・ 貴社がその戦略の中心においているターゲット客層を教えてください。
- ・ 多くの文献は私鉄会社と政府の間にビジネスのやりとりがないことを述べています。2004年のインタビューに基づくと、私達はこの情報と食い違う部分を見つけました。
- ・ 貴社が都市開発を進める際に、政府との間にどのようなやりとりが持たれますか？もし持たれるのであれば、それは政府のどのような機関や部署ですか？
- ・ 貴社が都市開発を進める際に、都道府県庁との間にどのようなやりとりが持たれますか？もし持たれるのであれば、それは都道府県庁のどのような機関や部署ですか？
- ・ 貴社が都市開発を進める際に、市町村との間にどのようなやりとりが持たれますか？もし持たれるのであれば、それはどういった市町村の機関や部署ですか？
- ・ 貴社の経営に強く影響している国家規制があれば教えて下さい。
- ・ それらの規制は ^{じゅうなん}柔軟 に対応できるものですか、それとも対応の難しいものですか？
- ・ それらの規制は貴社の経営にとって助けとなるものですか、それとも計画を阻むものですか？
- ・ 貴社の経営に強く影響している都道府県が課す規制があれば教えてください。
- ・ それらの規制は柔軟に対応できるものですか、それとも対応の難しいものですか？
- ・ それらの規制は貴社の経営にとって助けとなるものですか、それとも計画を阻むものですか？
- ・ 貴社の経営に強く影響している、市町村が課す規制があれば教えてください。
- ・ それらの規制は柔軟に対応できるものですか、それとも対応の難しいものですか？
- ・ それらの規制は貴社の経営にとって助けとなるものですか、それとも経営を阻むものですか？
- ・ 貴社が都市開発を進めるプロセスの中で、最も力を持っているもの（1）最も力の少な

いもの（１０）として、それぞれの機関に順位をつけ てください。

阪急グループ	_____
都道府県	_____
市町村	_____
その他 _____	_____
その他 _____	_____
その他 _____	_____
その他 _____	_____
その他 _____	_____

・ 貴社は、都市開発を進めるプロセスにおいて、その他の私鉄会社や非政府組織（NGO）との間にビジネスのやりとりがありますか？

・ 国土交通省発行の２００４年度「交通白書」によると、交通機関に対して、高齢化社会のニーズに合わせた駅づくりを望む声があります。

・ 貴社はその需要を満たすために、施設を改善する計画がありますか？その整備はすでに始まっていますか？

・ 阪急鉄道に關係する施設を改善する責任は全て貴社にあるのでしょうか？もしくは、政府も改善を援助することになるのでしょうか？

・ 貴社のメインビジネスである都市における交通機関は、その他阪急グループのビジネスとどのように関わりあっているのでしょうか？

・ 大阪と神戸間のもので、阪急グループに關係するビジネスや土地開発を示した地図や資料をお持ちですか？

・ もし可能であればそれらを拝見し選別したものを研究のためにコピーさせてもらえますか？

・ 貴社のパンフレット、ポスター、写真付きの資料をコピーさせて頂くことは可能でしょうか？

・ 最後に、阪急グループの歴史や、関西における都市開発の取り組みについて、何か付け加え等がありましたらよろしくお願いします。

Anne-Louise Semple
Doctoral Candidate, Geography Program, FBE
University of New South Wales, Sydney, 2052
Australia

THE UNIVERSITY OF
NEW SOUTH WALES



FACULTY OF THE
BUILT ENVIRONMENT

CORPORATE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS-HANSHIN GROUP

Hanshin Group seeks to create an “attractive and comfortable urban and residential environment”.

- How does Hanshin Group define “attractive and comfortable”?
- To what extent has the attempt to develop attractive and comfortable cities been successful?
- What are the key incentives that have produced successful development?
- How does Hanshin Group define its role in the creation of urban form?
- What relationship does Hanshin Group perceive itself as having with the present day urban form?
- Does Hanshin Group attempt to attract certain types of businesses or organizations to areas surrounding its lines? If so, what types of businesses and why?

Please indicate three words that best describe the area surrounding the Hanshin rail line:
(area includes housing, businesses, atmosphere)

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

Please indicate three words that best describe the area surrounding the Hankyu rail line:
(area includes housing, businesses, atmosphere)

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

Hanshin Group has decided to pursue dynamic development in the first decade of the 21st Century.

- Over the course of Hanshin Group's history, how many stages of change had significant impact on the company's vision and what words would you use to identify those stages?

In the past, what type of customer did Hanshin Group target for its businesses?

- What was the reason for targeting these particular groups?

Today, what types of customers is Hanshin Group attempting to attract to its businesses?

- If there has been a change, what is the reason for this change?
- If there has been a change, to what extent has reaching out to a new dynamic of customer been successful?

What is the vision of Hanshin Group for the next ten years?

Does Hanshin Group view Hankyu Group and JR as rivals or are they each perceived as having unique targets and scale?

- If they are perceived as being unique, how would you describe the unique targets and scales or competition of JR and Hankyu Group in comparison with Hanshin Group?

When non-Hanshin Group businesses wish to open a store or office along the Hanshin lines, does Hanshin Group have any involvement in approving or declining these businesses? Or are such decisions left to local government?

- If Hanshin Group has the ability to approve or decline these businesses, what types of businesses are approved? Declined?

Hanshin Group rents space to various types of business owners in the Hanshin Department Building.

- Does Hanshin Group attempt to rent to a certain kind of clientele? If so, how would you define that clientele?

Is the management style of the Hanshin Department Store similar to that of other Hanshin Group stores? Or is it different? If it is different: how so and why?

One motto of the Hanshin Corporation is to offer “comprehensive daily-life support service”.

- How would you describe “comprehensive daily-life support service”?
- Who does Hanshin Group aim to target with this strategy?

Many literary sources have stated that there is no interaction between private railway groups and government. Based on information acquired in 2004, evidence suggests otherwise.

- In the process of Hanshin Group developing urban areas, to what extent does Hanshin Group interact with national government offices/groups? If there is interaction: with which offices/groups?
- In the process of Hanshin Group developing urban areas, to what extent does Hanshin Group interact with prefectural/municipal government offices/groups? If there is interaction: with which offices/groups?
- In the process of Hanshin Group developing urban areas, to what extent does Hanshin Group interact with local city government offices/groups? If there is interaction: with which offices/groups?
- What are the key national legislations, if any, directly affecting the business activity of Hanshin Group?
- Are these legislations flexible or inflexible?
- Do these legislations foster the business activity of Hanshin Group or do they impede business activity?

- What are the key prefectural/municipal legislations, if any, directly affecting the business activity of Hanshin Group?
- Are these legislations flexible or inflexible?
- Do these legislations foster the business activity of Hanshin Group or do they impede business activity?
- What are the key local city legislations, if any, directly affecting the business activity of Hanshin Group?
- Are these legislations flexible or inflexible?
- Do these legislations foster the business activity of Hanshin Group or do they impede business activity?

Please rank the following organizations in the order of which one has the most power (1) to the least amount of power (10) during the process of Hanshin Group developing urban areas.

Hanshin Group	_____
National government	_____
Prefectural/municipal government	_____
Local City government	_____
Other _____	_____
Other _____	_____
Other _____	_____
Other _____	_____
Other _____	_____
Other _____	_____

Does Hanshin Group interact with any private businesses or additional non-governmental organizations in the process of Hanshin Group developing urban areas? If so, which ones and to what extent?

According to the White Paper on Transport, written by the Ministry for Transport, Information and Technology in 2004, there is a need for transport providers to adjust stations and systems to suit the needs of an ageing society.

- Does Hanshin Group have any plans to upgrade its facilities to meet this demand? Have adjustments already commenced?
- As Hanshin Group runs a private railway line, will it be the responsibility of Hanshin Group solely to make these adjustments to facilities or will government assist in the upgrading?

As the main business of the Hanshin Corporation Group, how does urban transportation interact with all other businesses of the Hanshin Corporation Group?

With the 100 year anniversary of Hanshin private railway approaching, is Hanshin Group planning on special events or strategies to celebrate the lengthy history of Hanshin Railway Company?

- In particular, will there be any attempt to display or utilise historical material such as old train posters and brochures? If yes, how does Hanshin Group intend on relating that material to the present day region and consumers of Hanshin Group businesses?

Do you have any maps or land use diagrams that show the location of the various properties/businesses of Hanshin Group in the area between Osaka and Kobe?

- If yes, would it be possible to see these items and potentially use copies of select items for this research?

Would it be possible to obtain colour/black and white copies of old Hanshin Railway brochures, train posters or other memorabilia including photographs?

Is there additional information that you feel is relevant to explaining the history of Hankyu Group and its involvement in developing the present day built environment of the Kansai Region?

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FACULTY OF THE
BUILT ENVIRONMENT

CORPORATE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS-HANSHIN GROUP

企業インタビュー 阪神グループ

- 阪神グループは“ゆたかでうるおいある都市・住空間を提供する”ことをコンセプトにおき、それを推進しています。
- ・ 貴社では“ゆたかでうるおいある”というコンセプトをどのように定義していますか？
- ・ ゆたかでうるおいある街づくりへの試みはどの程度成功していますか？
- ・ 開発の結果、どのような恩恵がもたらされてきましたか？メインとなっている恩恵について教えてください。
- ・
- ・ 都市作りを行う際に、貴社はどのような役割を担っているとお考えですか？
- ・ 貴社と今日の都市の形態にはどんな関係があるとお考えですか？
- ・ 貴社は阪神電鉄沿線に商いを始める際、そこに誘致する業者や組織の種類にこだわりがありますか？もしそうであるならば、どのような種類の業者を歓迎しますか？また、それはなぜですか？
- ・ 阪神沿線の周辺地域を最も的確に表現する 3つの言葉を述べてください。
(沿線地域の住居や企業、雰囲気なども含みます)

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____
- ・ 阪急沿線の周辺地域を最も的確に表現する 3つの言葉を述べてください。
(沿線地域の住居や企業、雰囲気なども含みます)

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

- 阪神グループは21世紀の最初の10年間で新たな発展を遂げることを目標に掲げています。

・ 貴社の創業から現在に至るまで、大きな変遷の節目が何度ありましたか？またそれぞれの時期を表現するとすれば、どのような言葉があてはまりますか？

・ 創立当初、どのような顧客をターゲットとしていましたか？

・ これらの客層にターゲットをおいた理由は何ですか？

・ 今日では、どのような顧客にターゲットにしていますか？

・ 顧客ターゲットを変更した理由は何ですか？

・ もし顧客ターゲットを変更したのであれば、新しい顧客層へのアプローチは成功していますか？

・ 貴社の今後10年のビジョンはどのようなものですか？

・ 阪急グループやJRをライバルと見なしていますか？もしくは、それぞれが独自のターゲットやカラーを持っているとお考えですか？

・ 貴社が考えるJRと阪急の顧客層やカラーについて教えてください。

・ 阪神グループ以外の企業が阪神沿線に店舗やオフィスを開く場合、貴社にはこれらの企業の開業を承諾、あるいは拒否する権限はありますか？もしくは、そのような権限はそれぞれの市町村に委ねられているのですか？

・ もし貴社にそれらの開業を承諾、あるいは拒否する権限があるとしたら、どのようなビジネスを歓迎しますか？または、拒否しますか？

- 阪神百貨店内のフロアは多様な業者から成り立っています。

・ フロアを貸す業者に対し、何か基準を設けていますか？もしそうであれば、その基準はどのようなものですか？

・阪神百貨店の経営スタイルは、その他阪神グループの店舗のスタイルと同じですか？もしそうであれば、どのようなスタイルですか？また、それはなぜですか？

・阪神グループのモットーの一つに“総合生活サービス産業として人々の暮らしをサポートする”というものがあります。

・“総合生活サービス産業として人々の暮らしをサポートする”とはどういうことですか？

・阪神がその戦略の中心においているターゲット層を教えてください。

・多くの文献は私鉄会社と政府の間にビジネスのやりとりがないことを述べています。2004年の情報によると、私達は食い違う部分を見つけました。

・貴社が都市開発を進める際に、政府との間にどのようなやりとりが持たれますか？もし持たれるのであれば、それは政府のどのような機関や部署ですか？

・貴社が都市開発を進める際に、都道府県庁との間にどのようなやりとりが持たれますか？もし持たれるのであれば、それは都道府県庁のどのような機関や部署ですか？

・貴社が都市開発を進める際に、市町村との間にどのようなやりとりが持たれますか？もし持たれるのであれば、それはどういった市町村の機関や部署ですか？

・貴社の経営に強く影響している国家規制があれば教えてください。

・それらの規制は柔軟に対応できるものですか、それとも対応の難しいものですか？

・それらの規制は貴社の経営にとって助けとなるものですか、それとも計画を阻むものですか？

・貴社の経営に強く影響している都道府県が課す規制があれば教えてください。

・それらの規制は柔軟に対応できるものですか、それとも対応の難しいものですか？

・それらの規制は貴社の経営にとって助けとなるものですか、それとも計画を阻むものですか？

・貴社の経営に強く影響している、市町村が課す規制があれば教えてください。

・それらの規制は柔軟に対応できるものですか、それとも対応の難しいものですか？

・それらの規制は貴社の経営にとって助けとなるものですか、それとも計画を阻むものですか？

・阪神グループが都市を開発する進める際、最も力を持っている機関を（１）、そうでない機関を（１０）として順位をつけてください。

阪神グループ	_____
政府	_____
都道府県	_____
市町村	_____
その他	_____
その他	_____
その他	_____
その他	_____
その他	_____

・都市開発を進めるプロセスにおいて、その他の私鉄会社や非政府組織（ＮＧＯ）との間にビジネスのやりとりがありますか？

・国土交通省発行の２００４年度「交通白書」によると、交通機関に対して、高齢化社会のニーズに合わせた駅づくりを望む声があります。

・その需要を満たすために、施設を改善する計画がありますか？その整備はすでに始まっていますか？

・阪神鉄道に関係する施設を改善する責任は全て貴社にあるのでしょうか？もしくは、政府も改善を援助することになるのでしょうか？

・貴社のメインビジネスである都市における交通機関は、その他阪神グループのビジネスとどのように関わりあっているのでしょうか？

・大阪と神戸間のもので、阪神グループに関係するビジネスについてや土地開発を示した地図や資料をお持ちですか？

・もし可能であればそれらを拝見し選別したものを研究のためにコピーさせてもらえますか？

・貴社のパンフレット、ポスター、写真付きの資料をコピーさせて頂くことは可能でしょうか？

・阪神グループの歴史や、関西の都市を発展させるための取り組みについて、何か付け加え等がありましたらよろしくお願いします。

Appendix B: Semi-Structured Interview Questions for Geographers

Anne-Louise Semple

Doctoral Candidate, Geography Program, FBE

University of New South Wales, Sydney, 2052

Australia

THE UNIVERSITY OF
NEW SOUTH WALES



FACULTY OF THE
BUILT ENVIRONMENT

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS: GEOGRAPHERS

How would you describe the urban development that has occurred in the Kansai Region between Osaka and Kobe?

- Please indicate any key stages in this development and the reason for identifying such stages.
- Please explain whether or not this development has been unique to Japan and if so, in what way?
- Please explain whether or not this development can be compared to urban development in other locations around the world and if so, what similarities exist?
- Is there a model or theory that you would use to describe this form of development? If so, what model or theory and why?

In 2003, a well known Japanese geographer, Toshio Mizuuchi, wrote about the urban history of Osaka. In his work, Mizuuchi stated, "The urban built environment that surrounds the old castle town of Osaka city with the shape of ring reminds us of the Burgess's concentric circle structure."

- Is it commonly accepted amongst Japanese Geographers that the present day urban pattern continues to represent a shape similar to that defined by Burgess's Concentric Ring Model?

- If so, is this perception applied to the area between Osaka and Kobe or primarily the area surrounding Osaka City, in all four directions?
- If not, why is there disagreement with Mizuuchi's statement?
- Mizuuchi's work was based on the discussion of 'The Historical Transformation of Poverty, Discrimination, and Urban Policy in Japanese City: The Case of Osaka'. Is it possible that outside of Osaka where poverty is at a much lower degree and in some areas non-existent, that this statement is inapplicable?

Are there any other well known Japanese sources that use Burgess' Concentric Ring Model to explain the urban development that has occurred in Japan?

Using the options below, please select the terms you feel best describe present day Japanese geography.

- Positivist
- Structuralist
- Marxist
- Modern
- Post-modern
- Other: _____

How does Japanese Geography define agency?

Please indicate three words that best describe the area surrounding the Hankyu rail line: (area includes housing, businesses, atmosphere)

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

Please indicate three words that best describe the area surrounding the Hanshin rail line: (area includes housing, businesses, atmosphere)

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

Please indicate three words that best describe Hankyu Department Store

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

Please indicate three words that best describe Hanshin Department Store

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

Please indicate what places you consider to be urban centres within the Kansai Region

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

Please indicate why you consider these places to be urban centres:

- They have extensive shopping facilities
- They have dense population
- They are key transport stops
- Other _____

Private railway companies of the Kansai Region are well known for their diversified business. Please number the following private railway business activities in order of what you believe to have been the most impacting (1) to the least impacting (8) on the local urban form.

- ___ railway transport provision
- ___ department store/retail
- ___ amusement/entertainment/sports/leisure
- ___ other transport provision (taxi/bus/ferry)
- ___ real estate and housing development
- ___ travel agency
- ___ construction
- ___ other (engineering, media, communications)

Based on your own understanding of the social and urban history of the Kansai Area, what key points do you think have caused the present day urban social pattern? (For example: the location of industry, the cost of land, the availability of land etc.)

- In your opinion, have Hankyu and Hanshin Groups greatly influenced the present day social pattern? If so, in what way?

- If not, do you perceive the private railway groups to have any amount of agency as it relates to the urban form?

Is there anything else you consider important in the study of the present day urban form of the Hanshin Region and the agency of private railway groups in its creation?

Appendix C: Semi-Structured Interview Questions for Independent Businesses

Anne-Louise Semple

Doctoral Candidate, Geography Program, FBE

University of New South Wales, Sydney, 2052

Australia

THE UNIVERSITY OF
NEW SOUTH WALES



FACULTY OF THE
BUILT ENVIRONMENT

QUESTIONNAIRE-LOCAL BUSINESS-HANKYU/HANSHIN LINE

For questions where options for response are provided, please circle the box that best suits your personal response. Where appropriate, please feel free to circle more than one option for your response.

Please feel free to keep your responses brief.

1. Approximately how long has this business been in operation?

_____ months _____ years

2. Is this the only location of the business or are there additional locations?

- This is the only location
- There are additional locations

3. If there are additional locations, where are they located?

4. Why did you decide to open the business in this location?

5. During the process of opening your business, did you interact with any of the following organizations?

- Hankyu Group/Hanshin Group
- Prefectural Government/Municipal

- Local/City Government
- Other_____

6. If you interacted with Hankyu (Hanshin) Group, please describe what interaction

7. Please indicate three words to describe the type of customers who utilize your business.

a._____ b._____ c._____

8. Please indicate three words that best describe the area surrounding the Hankyu (Hanshin) rail line: (area includes housing, businesses, atmosphere)

a._____ b._____ c._____

9. Please indicate three words that best describe the area surrounding the Hanshin (Hankyu) rail line: (area includes housing, businesses, atmosphere)

a._____ b._____ c._____

10. Is your business positively affected by the existence of the Hankyu (Hanshin) railway line?

- Yes
- No

11. If yes, how does the existence of the Hankyu (Hanshin) Railway line positively affect your business?

12. Is your business negatively affected by the existence of the Hankyu (Hanshin) railway line?

- Yes
- No

13. If yes, how does the existence of the Hankyu (Hanshin) Railway line negatively affect your business?

14. Do you hope to open additional businesses in future?

- Yes
- No.

15. If yes, in what location(s) do you hope to open additional business?

17. For what reason would you choose this/these location(s)?

16. If yes, will that/those business(es) be similar or different to your existing business?

- Similar
- Different

18. If they will be different, what type of customer do you hope to attract?

- approx. 10 years-20 years in age
 - approx. 20 years-30 years in age
 - approx. 30 years-40 years in age
 - approx. 40 years-50 years in age
 - approx. 50 years and above in age
-
- lower income
 - middle/average income
 - upper income

20. Please indicate what places you consider to be urban centres within the Kansai Region

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

20. Please indicate why you consider these places to be urban centres:

- They have extensive shopping facilities
- They have dense population
- They are key transport stops
- Other _____

21. Private railway companies of the Kansai Region are well known for their diversified business. Please number the following private railway business activities in order of what you believe to have been the most impacting (1) to the least impacting (8) on the local urban form.

- ___ railway transport provision
- ___ department store/retail
- ___ amusement/entertainment/sports/leisure
- ___ other transport provision (taxi/bus/ferry)
- ___ real estate and housing development
- ___ travel agency
- ___ construction
- ___ other (engineering, media, communications)

22. Please number the following business activities from most important (1) to least important (8) based on what you feel the responsibility of Hankyu (Hanshin) Group should be in the future for the success of the Kansai area.

- ___ railway transport provision
- ___ department store/retail
- ___ amusement/entertainment/sports/leisure
- ___ other transport provision (taxi/bus/ferry)
- ___ real estate and housing development
- ___ travel agency
- ___ construction
- ___ other (engineering, media, communications)

23. Are you satisfied with the transportation services provided by Hankyu (Hanshin) Group?

- Yes
- No

24. Do you feel the overall services provided in your area by Hankyu (Hanshin) Group are sufficient?

- Yes
- No

25. If no, what additional services or improvements to existing services should Hankyu (Hanshin) Group undertake?

Use by researcher only

Type of business_____

Gender_____

Age_____

Appendix D: Hankyu and Hanshin Passenger/Resident Surveys¹

Anne-Louise Semple

Doctoral Candidate, Geography Program, FBE

University of New South Wales, Sydney, 2052

THE UNIVERSITY OF
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FACULTY OF THE
BUILT ENVIRONMENT

QUESTIONNAIRE-PASSENGERS OF HANKYU LINE

For questions where options for response are provided, please circle the box that best suits your personal response. Where appropriate, please feel free to circle more than one option for your response.

Please feel free to keep your responses brief.

1. What is the nearest train station to your home?

2. When travelling between the train station and your home do you:

- walk
- drive/are picked up by car
- travel by bus
- ride bicycle
- take a taxi

3. How long does it take for you to travel from the station to your home?

_____ hour(s) _____ minutes

¹ Only the Hankyu passenger/resident survey will be displayed in English/Japanese; however, the Hanshin passenger/resident survey was identical with the exception of framing questions in relation to Hanshin Railway.

4. Do you use any train lines between Osaka and Kobe other than Hankyu on a regular basis? If yes, which one(s)?

- Hanshin
- JR

5. For what purpose do you use this/these other lines?

6. Approximately how often do you use this/these other lines?

- rarely (a few times a year)
- now and then (every few months)
- relatively often (every few weeks)
- often (every week)

7. Do you live in a house or mansion?

- House
- Mansion

8. Please use three words to describe your current home.

9. Does your household own a car? If so, please indicate the origin and size of car.

- _____
- Japanese manufactured
 - Foreign manufactured

-
- Compact
 - Medium
 - Large

10. At what store (for example, Hankyu Department, Hanshin Department, Daiei, Ikari, Co-op, Kansai Super) do you normally purchase household groceries?

11. Where is this store located?

12. When shopping for other items (ex: clothes, books, gifts etc.) in what urban area do you tend to shop?

13. Are there any stores in particular that you frequent regularly? (Please list names or general location of store)

14. How long have you approximately been residing in your current home?

_____months _____years

15. Please list three characteristics that you like about the area in which you live:

_____ a._
b._____ c._____

16. Why did you/your family choose to live here?

17. If you have not always resided there, in what area did you live before?

18. If you have not been residing in your current home all of your life, when you/your family were looking for a place to live, what other areas did you consider and why?

_____ (place)	_____ (reason)
_____ (place)	_____ (reason)
_____ (place)	_____ (reason)

19. Do you think the area in which you live has changed over time? If yes, how has it changed?

20. Do you intend to stay in your current home or would you like to move in future?

- I want to stay
- I want to move

21. If you intend to stay in your current home, what is your reason for staying?

22. If you are interested in moving, to where would you like to move?

23. Please indicate three words that best describe the area surrounding the Hankyu rail line: (area includes housing, businesses, atmosphere)

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

24. Please indicate three words that best describe the area surrounding the Hanshin rail line: (area includes housing, businesses, atmosphere)

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

25. I like to shop at:

Hankyu Department Store _____ Hanshin Department Store _____

Both _____

26. Please indicate three words that best describe Hankyu Department Store

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

27. Please indicate three words that best describe Hanshin Department Store

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

28. Please indicate what places you consider to be urban centres within the Kansai Region

a. _____ b. _____ c. _____

29. Please indicate why you consider these places to be urban centres:

- They have extensive shopping facilities
- They have dense population
- They are key transport stops
- Other _____

30. Private railway companies of the Kansai Region are well known for their diversified business. Please number the following private railway business activities in order of what you believe to have been the most impacting (1) to the least impacting (8) on the local urban form.

___ railway transport provision
___ department store/retail
___ amusement/entertainment/sports/leisure
___ other transport provision (taxi/bus/ferry)
___ real estate and housing development
___ travel agency
___ construction
___ other (engineering, media, communications)

31. Please number the following business activities from most important (1) to least important (8) based on what you feel the responsibility of Hankyu Group should be in the future for the success of the Kansai area.

___ railway transport provision
___ department store/retail
___ amusement/entertainment/sports/leisure
___ other transport provision (taxi/bus/ferry)
___ real estate and housing development

___travel agency
___construction
___other (engineering, media, communications)

32. Are you satisfied with the transportation services provided by Hankyu Group?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

33. Do you feel the overall services provided in your area by Hankyu Group are sufficient?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

34. If no, what additional services or improvements to existing services should Hankyu Group undertake?

Use by researcher only

Gender_____

Age_____

Profession_____

オーストラリア ニューサウスウェールズ大学
地理学専攻 博士課程
アンールイズ センプル

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FACULTY OF THE
BUILT ENVIRONMENT

アンケートの方法

- 提出期限は平成18年09月20日までです。
- アンケートは10～15分かかります。回答は日本語でして下さい。
- アンケートに答える前に同意書に署名をお願いします。署名は英語でも日本語でも構いません。
- 参加者は18歳以上とさせていただきます。研究員は18歳未満の方にはこのアンケートをお渡しできません。研究員は配付枚数を記録しています。
- アンケートは匿名ですので直接アンケートには名前を書かないで下さい。
- アンケート結果は研究にのみ使用します。
- このアンケートは阪神電鉄株式会社や阪急電鉄株式会社とは一切関係がありません。このアンケートはニューサウスウェールズ大学の地理学専攻博士課程のアンールイズ センプルが管理します。
- もしよければ、性別、年齢、職業をアンケートの最後にある記入欄に記入してください。これは統計処理のためです。
- 1世帯につきアンケート用紙は1枚ですが家族内で共同で完成していただいても構いません。ただし、18歳未満の方はこのアンケートに参加できません。
- このアンケートに対する回答者への報酬はありません。

アンケートの提出

- 回答後のアンケートは、直接研究員にアンケートと同意書を渡すか、もしくは下記の住所に郵送してください。
- E-mailで回答を添付し、送信することもできます。ただし、同意書は署名を手書きし、直接研究員に渡すか郵送をお願いします。

郵送先：アンールイズ センプル

9 - 4 4 Pittwater Rd., Gladesville, NSW, 2111, Australia

E-mail : asemple@mta.ca (英語で) dewberry29@hotmail.com (日本語で)

- アンケートを（研究者ではない）第三者から受け取った場合は、その第三者に直接渡してください。

アンケートの結果について

- アンケートを取り消したい場合は、署名と“同意の撤回”と書いた研究説明書に署名し、その指示に従って提出して下さい。
- このアンケートの結果に興味のある方はお気軽にオーストラリアにいる研究員に連絡して下さい。

- Anne-Louise Semple, Postgraduate Centre, Red Centre, Faculty of the Built Environment, University of New South Wales, 2052, Australia. E-mail: asemple@mta.ca (英語で) dewberry29@hotmail.com (日本語で)

ご協力よろしくお願いします。



阪急電鉄利用者調査

選択肢のある質問に対しては当てはまるものをチェックして下さい。複数選んでもらってもかまいません。質問には簡潔にお答え下さい。ご協力どうぞよろしくお願いします。

①. 最寄り駅を教えてください。

②. 自宅と最寄り駅間の移動手段を以下から選んで下さい。

- ☐ 徒歩
- ☐ 車
- ☐ バス
- ☐ 自転車
- ☐ タクシー

③. 最寄り駅から自宅までの所要時間を教えてください。

____ 時間 ____ 分

④. 大阪神戸間を移動する際に阪急電車以外に普段利用している交通機関はありますか？ありましたら、以下から選んで下さい。

- ☐ 阪神電鉄
- ☐ JR

⑤. 大阪神戸間を移動する際に④の鉄道を利用する理由を教えてください。

- ☐ 年に数回程度
- ☐ 2・3か月に一度
- ☐ 2・3週間に一度
- ☐ 毎週

⑥. 大阪神戸間を移動する際にどのくらいの頻度で④の鉄道を利用していますか。
以下から選んで下さい。

⑦. あなたの住居形態について教えてください。

- ☐ 一戸建
- ☐ マンション

⑧. 現在の住まいを表す言葉を3つ挙げて下さい。

⑨. 自家用車をお持ちですか？お持ちでしたら、車のタイプとサイズを教えてください。

- ☐ 国産車
- ☐ 外車

- ☐ 小型車
- ☐ 中型車
- ☐ 大型車

⑩. 日用雑貨を購入するお店を教えてください。(例：阪急百貨店、阪神百貨店、ダイエー、いかりスーパー、コープ、関西スーパーなど)

⑪. ⑩のお店がある場所を教えてください。

⑫. 服や贈り物を購入する際に出掛ける都市を教えてください。

⑬. ⑫の都市で、決まって足を運ぶお店やデパートなどの商業施設があれば、その名称を教えてください。

⑭. 現在の住まいの居住期間を教えてください。

_____年 _____ヶ月

⑮. 現在の居住地域の好きなところを3つ挙げて下さい。

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

⑯. なぜその地域に住むことを決めたのですか？理由を教えてください。

⑰. 引っ越してきた方に質問です。以前住んでいた地名を教えてください。

⑱. 引っ越してきた方に質問です。現在住んでいる地域の他にも引越し先の候補に挙げた地域はありましたか？ありましたら、その地域と理由も合わせて教えてください。

_____ (地域)

_____ (理由)

_____ (地域)

_____ (理由)

_____ (地域)

_____ (理由)

⑲. 現在の居住地域は以前と比べて変わりましたか？そうであれば、変化したことを教えてください。

⑳. 現在お住まいの地域に住み続ける予定ですか？もしくは今後引っ越す予定はありますか？教えてください。

□
住

み続ける

☐ 引っ越す

㉑. もし住み続けるのなら、その理由を教えてください。

㉒. もし引っ越しするとしたら、住んでみたい場所がありますか？教えてください。

㉓. 阪急沿線のエリアに対してお持ちの雰囲気やイメージを表す言葉を3つ教えてください。

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

㉔. 阪神沿線のエリアに対してお持ちの雰囲気やイメージを表す言葉を3つ教えてください。

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

㉕. 買い物する際に阪急百貨店、阪神百貨店どちらを多く利用しますか。以下から選んで下さい。

阪急百貨店 _____

阪神百貨店 _____

両方 _____

㉖. 阪急百貨店と聞いて思い浮かぶ言葉を3つ教えてください。

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

㉗. 阪神百貨店と聞いて思い浮かぶ言葉を3つ教えてください。

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

㉘. 関西で主要都市だとあなたが思う場所（梅田、三宮など）を教えてください。

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

⑳.㉔の都市を選んだ理由を以下から選んで下さい。

- ☐ 商業施設が充実しているから
- ☐ 人口が集中しているから
- ☐ 交通機関が集中しているから
- ☐ その他_____

㉑.関西の私鉄各社はそれぞれ多彩なビジネスを展開しています。その中で、最もインパクトがあるものを（１）ないものを、（８）として順番を付けて下さい。

- ___鉄道輸送
- ___百貨店、ショッピング施設
- ___スポーツ（野球など）、娯楽施設、遊園地
- ___鉄道以外の交通機関（タクシー、バス、フェリー）
- ___不動産、住宅開発
- ___旅行会社
- ___建設
- ___その他（土木、出版、広告など）

㉒.関西で阪急グループが成長を続けていくために力を入れて取り組むべきことを最も重要度が高いものを（１）、低いもの（８）として順番を付けて下さい。

- ___鉄道輸送
- ___百貨店、ショッピング施設
- ___スポーツ（野球など）、娯楽施設、遊園地
- ___鉄道以外の交通機関（タクシー、バス、フェリー）
- ___不動産、住宅開発
- ___旅行会社
- ___建設
- ___その他（土木、出版、広告など）

㉓.阪急グループが運営している交通機関に満足していますか。以下から選んで下さい。

- ☐ はい
- ☐ いいえ

㉓ 阪急グループがあなたの住んでいるエリアで展開しているサービス全般について満足していますか。以下から選んで下さい。

- ☐ はい
- ☐ いいえ

㉔ 満足していない場合、阪急グループへの要望や改善点を教えて下さい。

ご協力ありがとうございました。

性別_____

年齢_____

職業_____

Appendix E: List of Hankyu Group Businesses

Hankyu Group Businesses

Urban Transportation	
会社名前	Company name
阪急株式会社	Hankyu Corporation
北大阪急行電鉄(株)	Kita-Osaka Kyuko Railway Co., Ltd.
能勢電鉄(株)	Nose Electric Railway Co., Ltd.
阪急バス(株)	Hankyu Bus Co., Ltd.
阪急観光バス(株)	Hankyu Sightseeing Bus Co., Ltd.
阪急タクシー(株)	Hankyu Taxi Co., Ltd.
阪急モーター技術(株)	Hankyu Motor Technology Co., Ltd.
レールウェイテクノロジー(株)	Railway Technology Co., Ltd.
(株)アーバン エース	Urban Ace Corporation
(株)グローバルテック	Globaltech Co., Ltd.
阪急電気コミュニケーションシステムズ(株)	Hankyu Electric Communication Systems Co., Ltd.
(株)阪急レールウェイサービス	Hankyu Railway Service Co., Ltd.
アルナ車両(株)	Alna Sharyo Co., Ltd.
ニッポンレンタカー阪急(株)	Nippon Rent-A-Car Hankyu Inc.
(株)服部緑地自動車教習所	Hattori Ryokuchi Driving School Co., Ltd.
アルナ輸送機用品(株)	Alna Transport Goods Co., Ltd.

大阪空港交通(株)	Osaka Airport Transport Co., Ltd.
大阪神鉄豊中タクシー(株)	Osaka Shintetsu Toyonaka Taxi Co., Ltd.
神戸高速鉄道(株)	Kobe Rapid Railway Co., Ltd.
神戸電鉄(株)	Kobe Electric Railway Co., Ltd.
下津井電鉄(株)	Shimotsui Electric Railway Co., Ltd.
(株)ステーションネットワーク関西	Kansai Station Network Co., Ltd.
(株)スマイル	Smile Co., Ltd.
全但バス(株)	Zentan Bus
丹後海陸交通(株)	Tango Sea and Surface Transport Co., Ltd.
西山ドライブウェイ(株)	Nishiyama Driveway Co., Ltd.
阪急航空(株)	Hankyu Aviation Co., Ltd.
阪急田園バス(株)	Hankyu Garden City Bus Co., Ltd.
北神急行電鉄(株)	Hokushin Express Electric Railway Co., Ltd.
Real Estate	
阪急株式会社	Hankyu Corporation
阪急不動産(株)	Hankyu Realty Co., Ltd.
(株)阪急ファシリティーズ	Hankyu Facilities Co., Ltd.
(株)阪急コミュニティサービス	Hankyu Community Service Co., Ltd.
阪急リート投信(株)	Hankyu REIT Asset Management Inc.
阪急インベストメント パートナーズ(株)	Hankyu Investment Partners Inc.
(株)梅田センタービル	Umeda Centre Building Co., Ltd.

オーエス(株)	OS Co., Ltd.
国際文化公園都市(株)	International Cultural Garden City Co., Ltd.
下電開発(株)	Shimoden Development Co., Ltd.
(株)タクト	Tact Co., Ltd.
阪急東宝リース(株)	Hankyu Toho Lease Co., Ltd.
(株)阪急ハウジングサポート	Hankyu Housing Support Co., Ltd.
(株)森組	Morigumi Co., Ltd.
芦有開発(株)	Ashiyu Development Co., Ltd.
Travel and International Transportation	
(株)阪急高速インターナショナル	Hankyu Express International Co., Ltd.
(株)阪急トラベルサポート	Hankyu Travel Support Co., Ltd.
阪急カーゴサービス(株)	Hankyu Cargo Service Co., Ltd.
(株)阪急インターナショナル交通(アメリカ)	Hankyu International Transport (USA) Inc.
(株)阪急インターナショナル交通(香港)	Hankyu International Transport (Hong Kong) Ltd.
(株)阪急インターナショナル交通(イギリス)	Hankyu International Transport (UK) Ltd.
(株)阪急インターナショナル交通(オランダ)	Hankyu International Transport (Netherlands) B.V.
(株)阪急インターナショナル交通(ドイツ)	Hankyu International Transport (Deutschland) GMBH
(株)阪急インターナショナル交通(台湾)	Hankyu International Transport (Taiwan) Ltd.
(株)阪急インターナショナル交通(シンガポール)	Hankyu International Transport (Singapore) Ltd.
(株)阪急インターナショナル交通(中国)	Hankyu International Transport (China) Ltd.

(株)阪急インターナショナル交通(韓国)	Hankyu International Transport (Korea) Ltd.
(株)阪急インターナショナル交通(フィリピン)	Hankyu International Transport (Philippines) Ltd.
(株)阪急インターナショナル交通(マレーシア)	Hankyu International Transport (Malaysia) Ltd.
(株)阪急インターナショナル交通(タイランド)	Hankyu International Transport (Thailand) Ltd.
(株)C. F. H. 保険会社	C.F.H. Insurance Pte.
(株)阪急グアムツアー	Hankyu Guam Tours Co., Ltd.
(株)阪急サイノTRANSインターナショナル交通(中国)	Hankyu Sinotrans International Transport Co., Ltd. (China)
(株)阪急インターナショナルロジスティクス(中国)	Hankyu International Logistics (China) Co., Ltd.
Hotels	
阪急ホテル経営(株)	Hankyu Hotel Management Co., Ltd.
(株)高知新阪急ホテル	Hotel New Hankyu Kochi Co., Ltd.
(株)第一ホテル九州	Dai-ichi Hotel Kyushu Co., Ltd.
(株)有馬ビューホテル	Arima View Hotel Co., Ltd.
(株)天橋立ホテル	Amano Hashidate Hotel Co., Ltd.
(株)天満橋ホテル	Tenmabashi Hotel Co., Ltd.
大井開発(株)	Oi Development Co., Ltd.
第一ホテルサービス(株)	Dai-ichi Hotel Service Co., Ltd.
宝塚ホテルサービス(株)	Takarazuka Hotel Service Co., Ltd.
真庭リゾート開発(株)	Shintei Resort Development Co., Ltd.

Entertainment and Communications	
阪急株式会社	Hankyu Corporation
(株)宝塚クリエイティブアーツ	Takarazuka Creative Arts Co., Ltd.
(株)宝塚舞台	Takarazuka Stage Co., Ltd.
(株)梅田芸術劇場	Umeda Arts Theatre Co., Ltd.
(株)阪急コミュニケーションズ	Hankyu Communications Co., Ltd.
(株)阪急広告代理業務	Hankyu Advertising Agency Inc.
(株)阪急アミューズメントサービス	Hankyu Amusement Service Corporation
(株)インターナショナルミュージカルズ新社	New International Musicals Co., Ltd.
(株)エキスポランド	Expo Land Co., Ltd.
関西テレビ放送 (株)	Kansai Television Broadcasting Co., Ltd.
宝塚映像(株)	Takarazuka Video Co., Ltd.
(株)阪急サイバーズ	Hankyu Cybuzz Co., Ltd.
(株)阪急仁川スポーツガーデン	Hankyu Nigawa Sports Garden Co., Ltd.
Retailing	
阪急株式会社	Hankyu Corporation
(株)阪急リテールズ	Hankyu Retails Co., Ltd.
(株)ダブルデイ阪急	Doubleday Hankyu Co., Ltd.
(株)いいなダイニング	Iina Dining Co., Ltd.
(株)クリエイティブ阪急	Creative Hankyu Co., Ltd.

(株)池田名店街	Ikeda Famous Street Stores Co., Ltd.
(株)シネモザイク	Cine-Mosaic Co., Ltd.
(株)神鉄エンタープライズ	Shintetsu Enterprise Co., Ltd.
(株)東京楽天地	Tokyo Rakuten Co., Ltd.
(株)ラガールショップ	Lagare Shop
Other	
(株)ステーションファイナンス	Station Finance Inc.
(株)阪急ビジネスアソシエイト	Hankyu Business Associate Co., Ltd.
(株)あしすと阪急	Assist Hankyu Co., Ltd.
池田エルビーガス(株)	Ikeda LB Gas Co., Ltd.
エイチアンドエムコンサルタント (株)	H&M Consultants Co., Ltd.
神鍋高原開発(株)	Kaminabe Mountain Development Co., Ltd.
京浜サービス(株)	Keihin Service Co., Ltd.
千里朝日阪急ビル管理(株)	Senri Asahi Hankyu Building Maintenance Co., Ltd.
(株)ディーディーテクノ	D.D.Techno Co., Ltd.
(株)阪急エムテック	Hankyu M-tech Co., Ltd.
(株)阪急カード	Hankyu Card Co., Ltd.
阪急産業(株)	Hankyu Industry Co., Ltd.
阪急電気工事(株)	Hankyu Electricity Construction Co., Ltd.
(株)阪急電気通信システムズ	Hankyu Electric Correspondence Systems Co., Ltd.

(株) 阪急フィナンシャルサポート	Hankyu Financial Support Co., Ltd.
(株) 阪急メディアックス	Hankyu Medias Co., Ltd.
(株) メイツ大阪	Mates Osaka Co., Ltd.
(株) 遊時創造	Yuji Creations Co., Ltd.
るり溪開発(株)	Rurikei Development Co., Ltd.

Source: 阪急ホールディングス株式会社. (2005) *Hand Book Hankyu 2005*, 阪急ホールディングス株式会社, 大阪.
Hankyu Holdings Corporation. (2005) *Hankyu Handbook 2005*, Hankyu Holdings Corporation, Osaka.

Appendix F: List of Hanshin Group Businesses

Hanshin Group Businesses

Transportation	
会社名前	Company name
六甲摩耶鉄道 (株)	Rokko Maya Tetsudo Co., Ltd.
阪神タクシー(株)	Hanshin Taxi Co., Ltd.
新阪神タクシー(株)	Shin-Hanshin Taxi Co., Ltd.
高砂交通 (株)	Takasago Kotsu Co., Ltd.
神戸阪神タクシー(株)	Kobe-Hanshin Taxi Co., Ltd.
大阪阪神タクシー(株)	Osaka-Hanshin Taxi Co., Ltd.
山陽自動車運送 (株)	Sanyo Jidosha Unso Co., Ltd.
阪神トラック (株)	Hanshin Truck Co., Ltd.
阪神運送 (株)	Hanshin Unso Co., Ltd.
新和運輸 (株)	Shinwa Unyu Co., Ltd.
阪神エアカーゴ (株)	Hanshin Air Cargo Co., Ltd.
阪神エアカーゴ USA (株)	Hanshin Air Cargo USA, Inc.
阪神フレイトインターナショナル(欧州) (株)s	Hanshin Freight International (Europe) Co., Ltd.
阪神フレイトインターナショナル(シンガポール) (株)	Hanshin Freight International (Singapore) Pte. Ltd.
阪神フレイトインターナショナル(香港) (株)	Hanshin Freight International (Hong Kong) Ltd.

阪神フレイトインターナショナル(タイランド) (株)	Hanshin Freight International (Thailand) Co., Ltd.
阪神フレイトインターナショナル(マレーシア) (株)	Hanshin Freight International (Malaysia) SDN.BHD
阪神フレイトインターナショナル(中国) (株)	Hanshin Freight International (China) Ltd.
西大阪高速鉄道 (株)	Nishi-Osaka Railway Co., Ltd.
石見交通 (株)	Iwami Kotsu Co., Ltd.

Retail

会社名前	Company name
(株) 阪神百貨店	The Hanshin Department Store, Ltd.
(株) 阪神みどり会	Hanshin Midorikai Co., Ltd.
(株) 阪神ギフトサービス	Hanshin Gift Service Co., Ltd.
(株) 阪神ステーションネット	Hanshin Station Net Co., Ltd.
阪神商事 (株)	Hanshin Shoji Co., Ltd.
(株)ハックス阪神	Hax Hanshin Co., Ltd.
阪神リテール	Hanshin Retail Co., Ltd.
石見交通商事 (株)	Iwami Kotsu Shoji Co., Ltd.

Real Estate

会社名前	Company name
阪神不動産 (株)	Hanshin Real Estate Co., Ltd.
大阪ダイヤモンド地下街 (株)	Osaka Diamond Chikagai Co., Ltd.

尼崎築港 (株)	Amagasaki Chikko Co., Ltd.
Construction	
会社名前	Company name
(株) ハンシン建設	Hanshin Construction Co., Ltd.
中央電設 (株)	Chuo Densetsu Co., Ltd.
阪神園芸 (株)	Hanshin Engei Co., Ltd.
阪神緑地 (株)	Hanshin Ryokuchi Co., Ltd.
上中造園石材 (株)	Uenaka Zoen Sekizai Co., Ltd.
上中造園 (株)	Uenaka Zoen Co., Ltd.
Leisure and Service	
会社名前	Company name
ビアヘス阪神(株)	Viajes Hanshin S.A.
阪神トラベルインターナショナル (株)	Hanshin Travel International Co., Ltd.
(株)ホテル阪神	The Hotel Hanshin, Ltd.
阪神エンタープライズ(株)	Hanshin Enterprise Co., Ltd.
(株) 六甲オリエンタルホテル	Rokko Oriental Hotel Co., Ltd.
(株) 阪神ホテルシステムズ	Hanshin Hotel Systems Co., Ltd.
ホテル阪神レストラン システムズ (株)	Hotel Hanshin Restaurant Systems Co., Ltd.
(株) ヘンゼル	Hansel Co., Ltd.
(株)阪神タイガース	Hanshin Tigers Baseball Club, Ltd.

(株) ウエルネス阪神	Wellness Hanshin Inc.
阪神総合レジャー(株)	Hanshin Leisure Facilities, Co., Ltd.
(株) 阪神コンテンツリンク	Hanshin Contents Link Corporation
(株)鳥取砂丘会館	Tottori Sakyu Kaikan Co., Ltd.
石見観光開発(株)	Iwami Kanko Kaihatsu Co., Ltd.
(株) 鳴尾ウォーターワールド	Naruo Water World Inc.

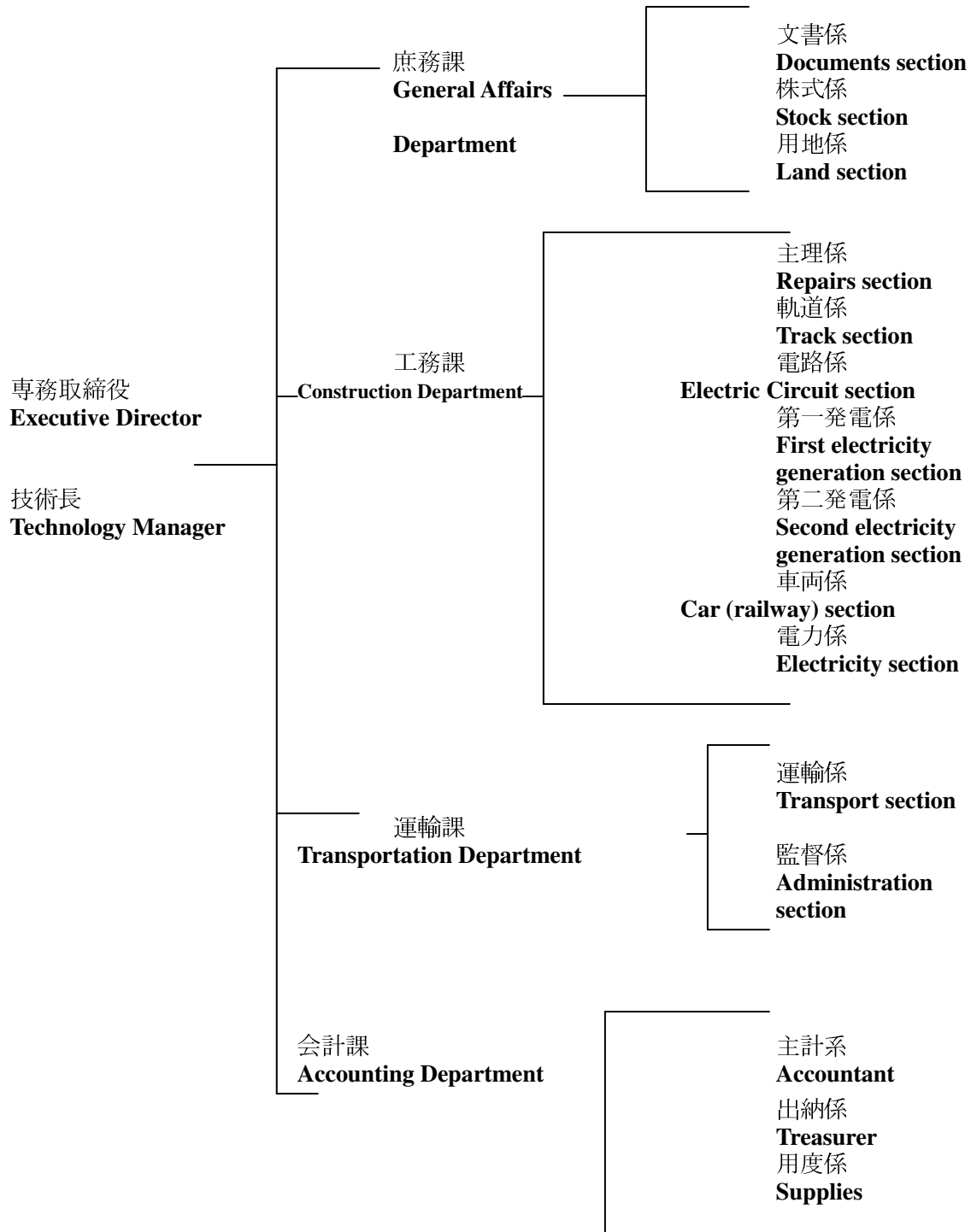
Other Businesses

会社名前	Company name
阪神エンジニアリング (株)	Hanshin Engineering Co., Ltd.
新阪神サービス(株)	Shin-Hanshin Service Co., Ltd.
アイテック阪神(株)	ITEC Hanshin Co., Ltd.
(株) ベイコミュニケーションズ	Bay communications Inc
(株)阪神モーター ドック	Hanshin Motor Dock Co., Ltd.
(株)阪神シルバー ランドリ	Hanshin Silver Laundry Co., Ltd.
(株) ハイセキュリティシステム	High Security System Co., Ltd.
(株) エフエム キタ	FM KITA INC.
阪神車両メンテナンス (株)	Hanshin Sharyo Maintenance Co., Ltd.
(株) ビルケア阪神	Buil-care Hanshin Co., Ltd.
阪神アメニティ サービス (株)	Hanshin Amenity Service Co., Ltd.
(株) ケーブルネット神戸芦屋	Cable Net Kobe Asiya Co., Ltd.

Source: 財団法人日本経営史研究所. (2005) 阪神電気鉄道百年史, 阪神電気鉄道株式会社、東京.=Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation. (2005) 100 Year History of Hanshin Electric Railway, Hanshin Electric Railway Corporation, Tokyo.

Appendix G: Hanshin Management Structure (1907)

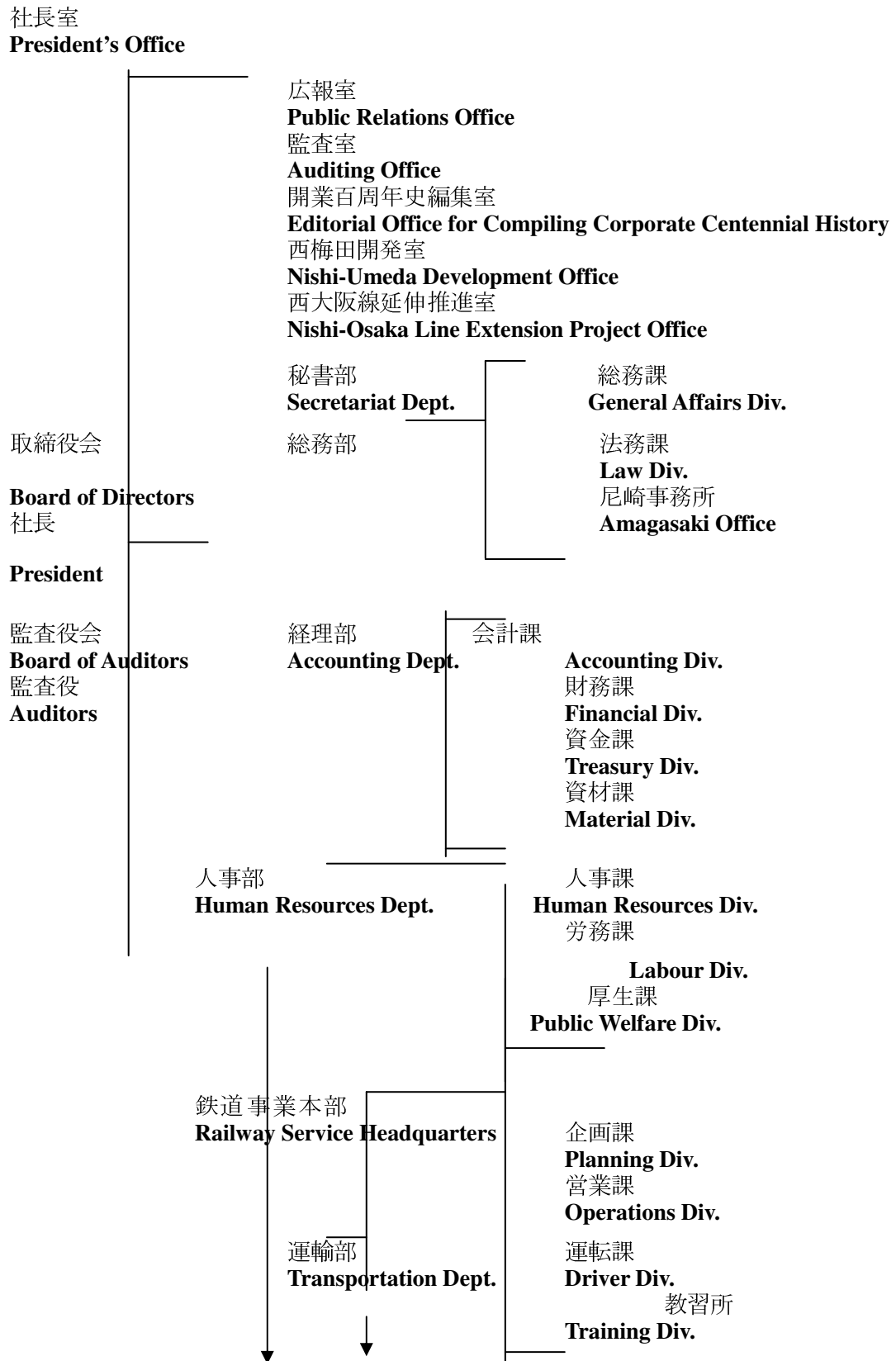
Hanshin Corporate Structure (1907)



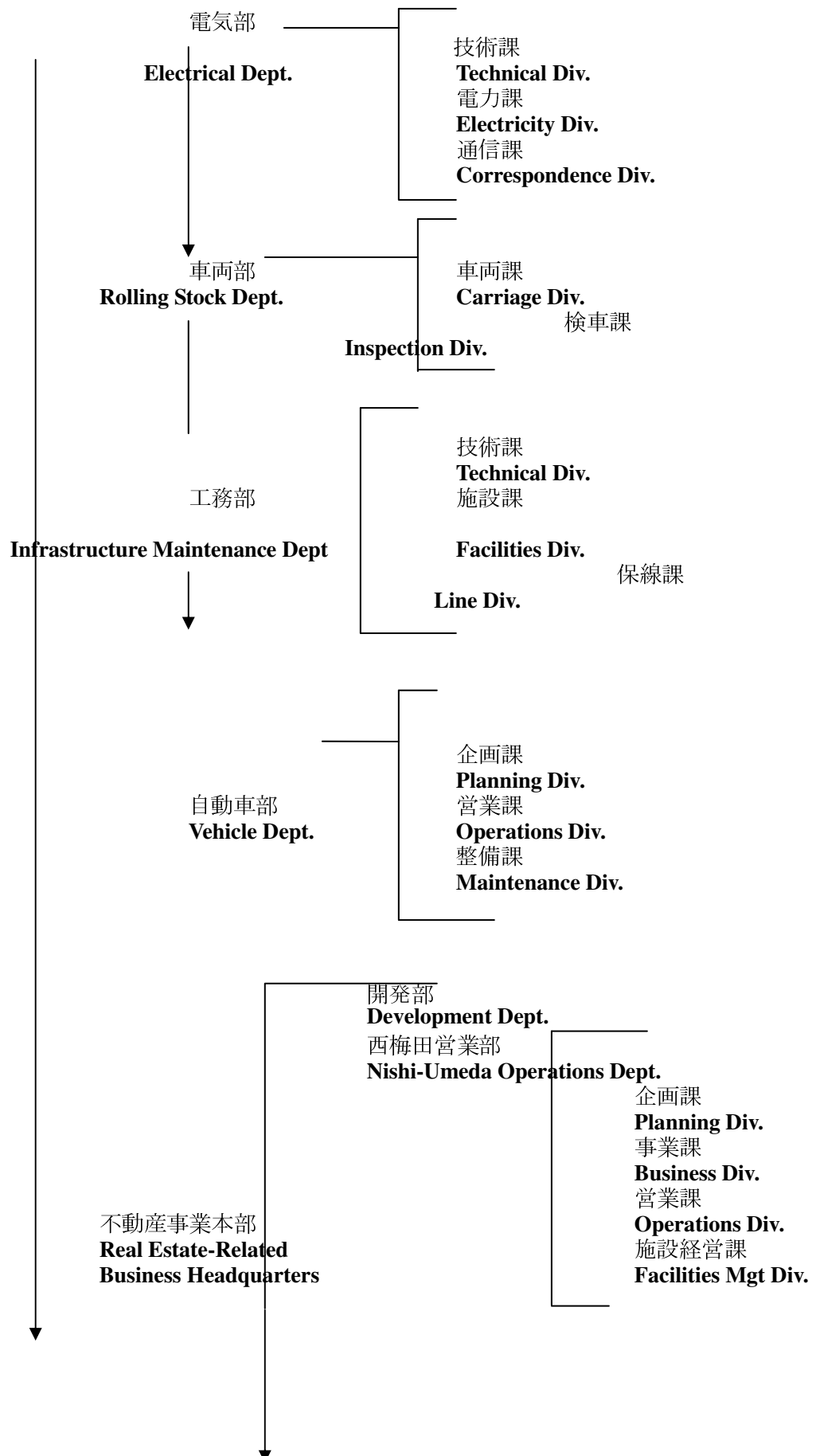
Source: 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005²

²Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005

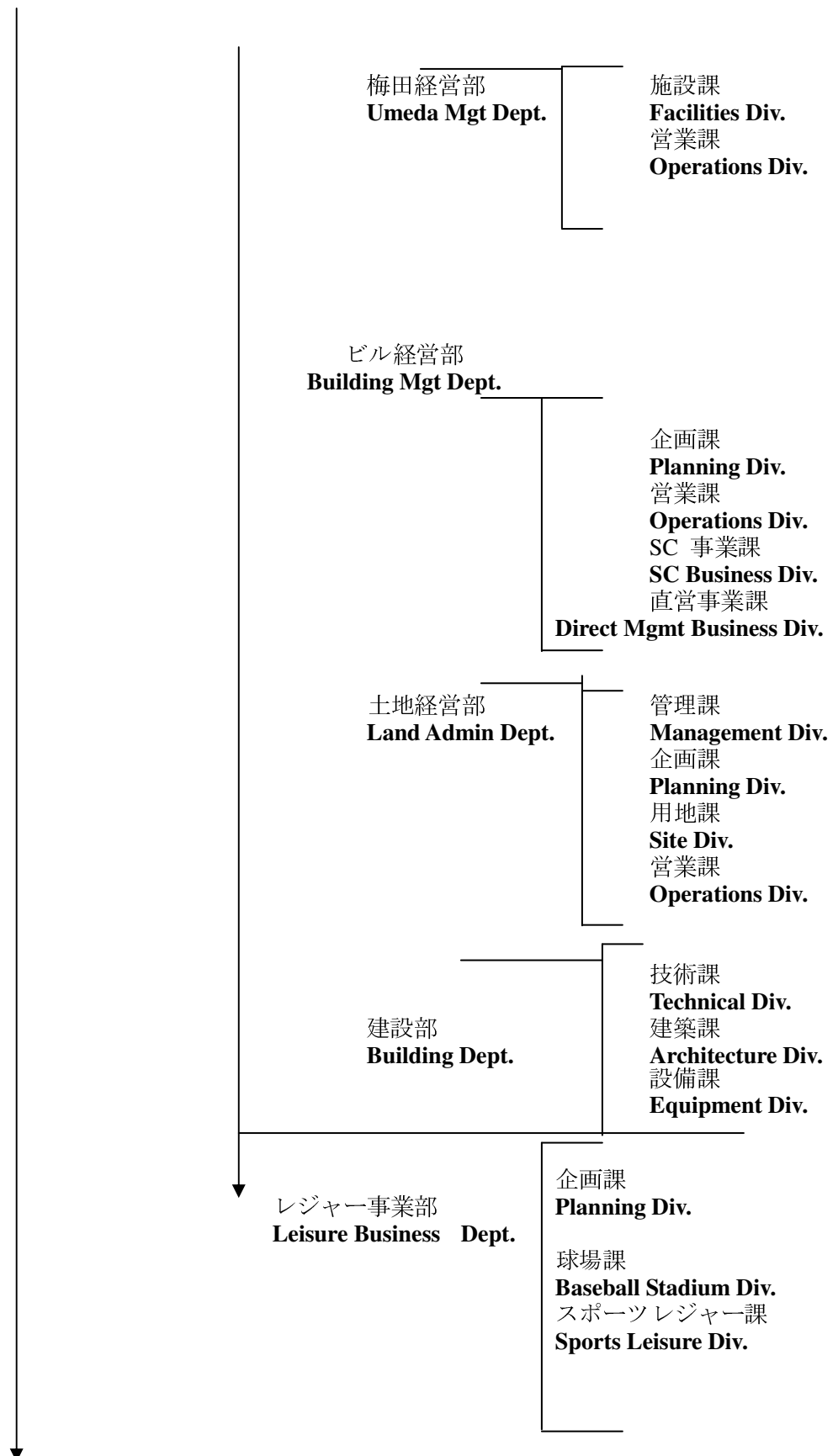
Appendix H: Hanshin Corporate Structure (2004)

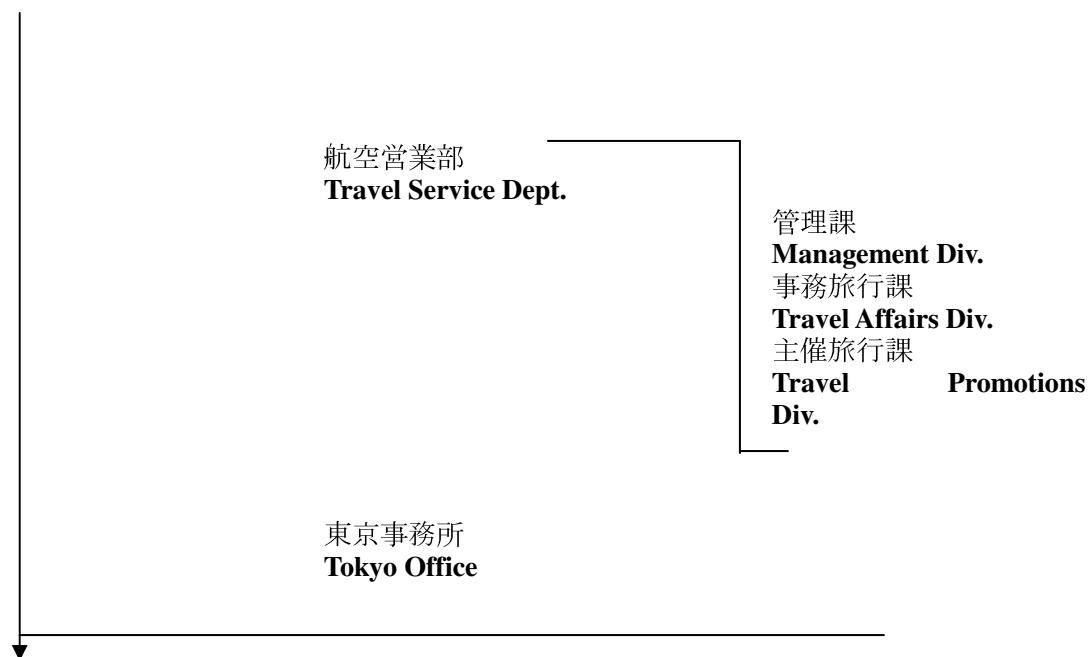


Hanshin Corporate Structure (2004) *continued*



Hanshin Corporate Structure (2004) *continued*

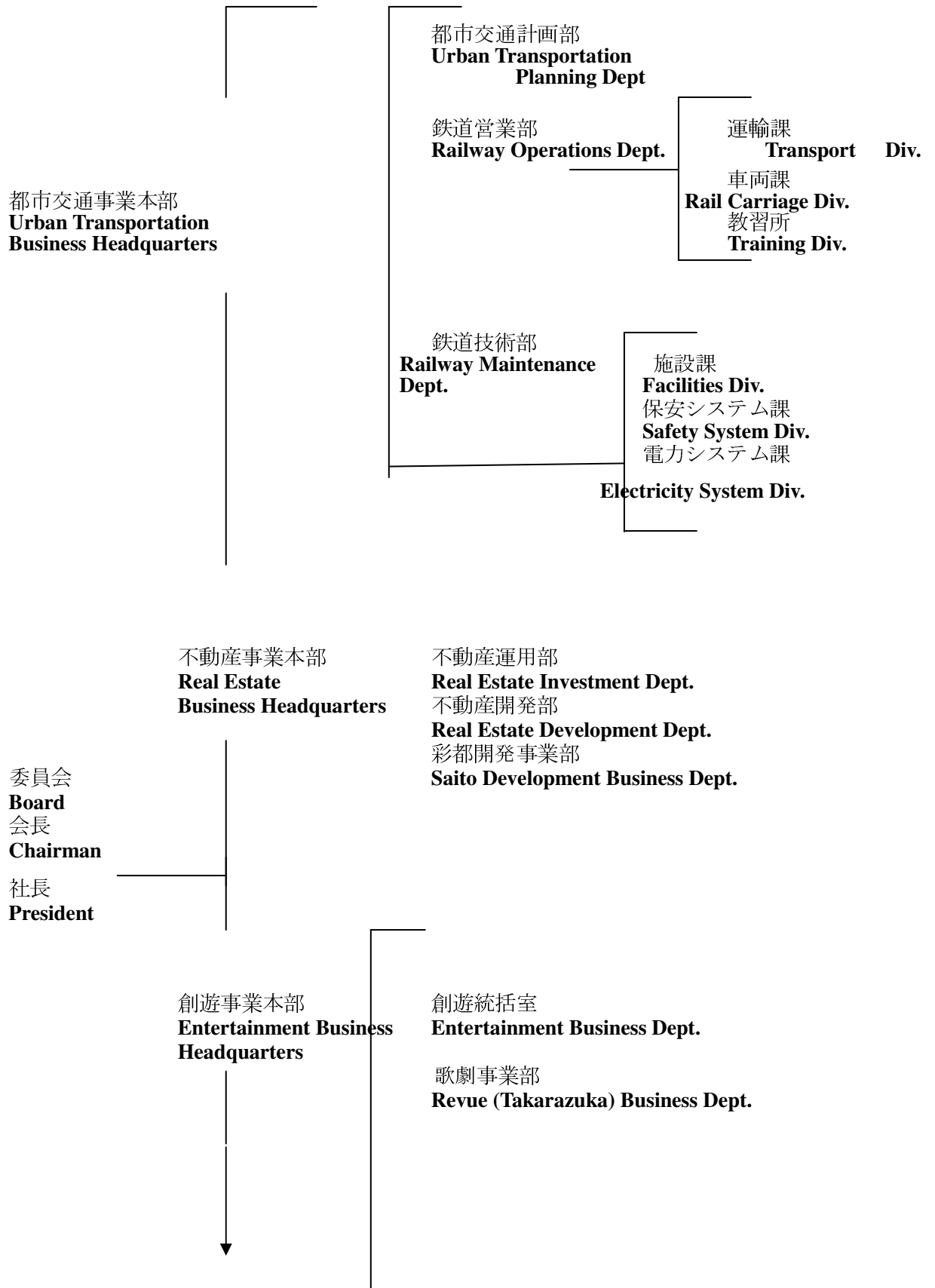


Hanshin Corporate Structure (2004) *continued*

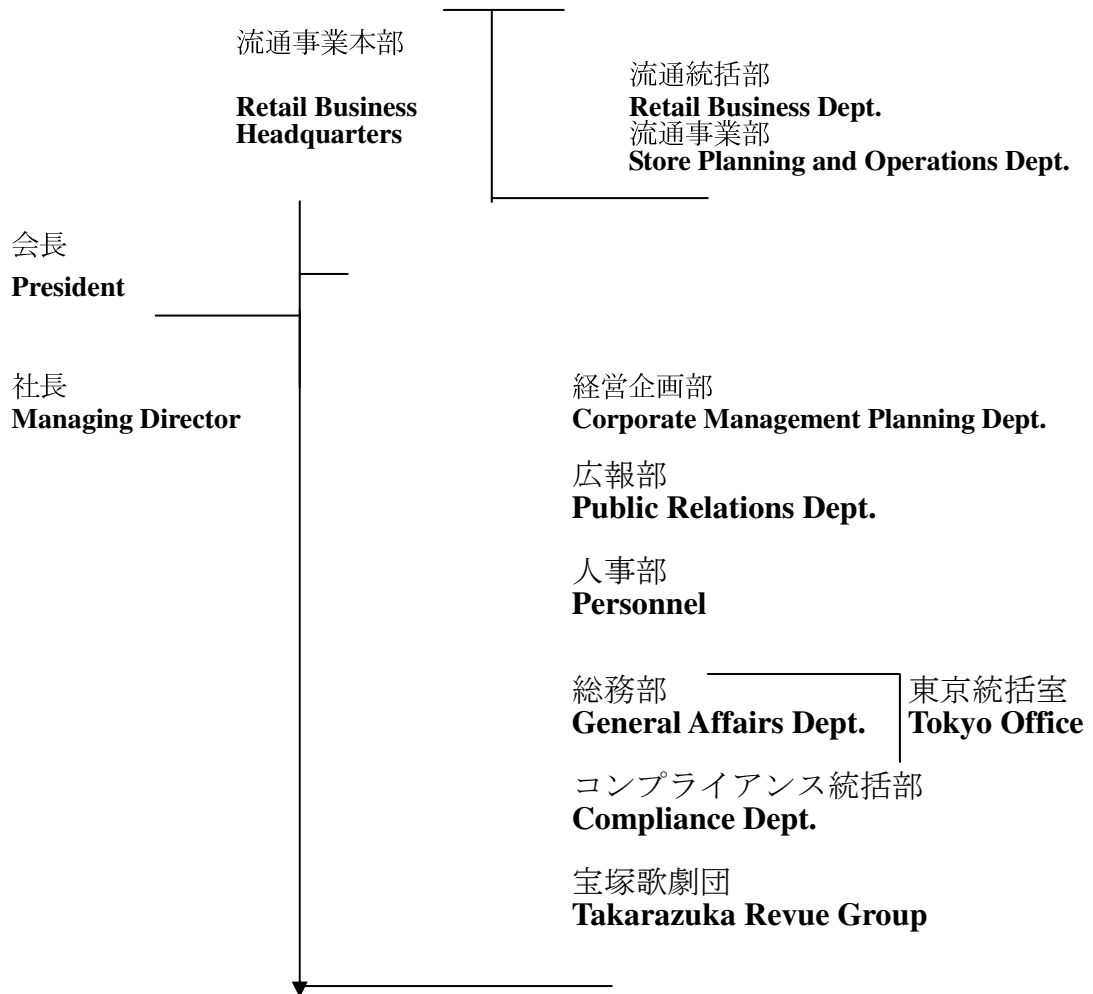
Source: 財団法人日本経営史研究所, 2005³

³ Research Office of the History of Japanese Management Foundation, 2005.

Appendix I: Hankyu Corporate Structure (2004)



Hankyu Corporate Structure (2004) *Continued*



Source: 阪急電鉄株式会社, 2004⁴.

⁴ Hankyu Railway Corporation, 2004