Vedrana IKALOVIĆ
Leonardo CHIESI

A dynamic sense of home: Spatio-temporal aspects of mobility of young Tokyo residents

In highly industrialized and institutionalized societies aiming for maximum efficiency, individual activities must be synchronized with the daily rhythms of a city. As a spatial and institutional realm, the city imposes on people and influences their level of attachment, consequently altering their sense of home. This is most obvious in contemporary cities, where daily life involves movement, and where rest is often sought outside the living place, while on the move. By examining the spatial and temporal aspects of mobility of young Tokyo residents, this article explores how their sense of home and levels of attachment to the physical environment are affected by the city. It reveals a dynamic sense of home in which routes are more significant than roots and in which attachment is not restricted to a single location. Instead, it is understood as attachment to temporal and spatial relationships produced by the activities of people and institutions.

Keywords: sense of home, place attachment, movement, contemporary city

1 Introduction

"Once we give up the belief that our life-world is rooted in the ground, we may thus come to a point where ungroundedness is no longer experienced as existential anxiety and despair but as freedom and lightness that finally allows us to move." (Rajchman, 1998: 88)

The everyday world has its own standard time based on the seasons, the calendar, and people's inner time, which is intersubjectively available (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). In urbanized areas, where more than half the world's population lives, it is necessary to synchronize and coordinate activities in time and space with the daily rhythms produced by the city. Lifestyles and changes to them in modern societies that were caused by industrialization, which significantly altered traditional ways of living, are explored in this study through the concepts of place attachment and sense of home. The city is explored as a spatial and institutional realm from the perspective of an individual. As a spatial realm, with the distribution of places that provide and embody homelike activities, the city provides spaces where individuals live, work, and socialize (Maki, 1979; Ashihara, 1983; Caballero & Tsukamoto, 2006; Maki & Mulligan, 2008). It connects these significant places through means of transportation, creating a network or a field of daily activities (Ikalovic & Chiesi, 2018). As an institutional realm and as a socially constructed objectivity, it imposes and enforces various spatial and temporal systems, within which individuals need to adapt and adjust their inner time (Berger & Luckmann, 1991).

Since the second major industrial shift from heavy industries to services, the centre of economic, industrial, and institutional power in Japan has been the capital city, Tokyo. It is a metropolis with the world's largest population,[1] accommodating the highest number of corporations and employees in the world (Fujita & Tabuchi, 1997). Within this spatial and temporal system, external and internal relocations[2] are common practice, and they have been described as one of the most interesting features of the Japanese employment system. As a consequence of relocations, various social and psychological implications are discussed, such as the weakening of family bonds (Geis & Ross, 1998) and the impact of new environments on wellbeing (Brett, 1982). How does a city like Tokyo, as a spatial and institutional realm, alter residents' sense of home and level of attachment to the physical environment? This study revisits the concepts of attachment and home through their physical, social, temporal, and psychological aspects following Werner et al. (1985) and Scannel and Gifford (2010), with an emphasis on the temporal dimension.

The exploration of temporality and urban daily rhythm leads to the definition of the dynamic sense of home, in which routes are more significant than roots (Hall, 1995; Massey & Jess, 1995; Clifford, 1997; Gustafson, 2001). The attachments that arise in urban environments are those to a place that are produced by the activities of people and institutions and to the city's spatial and temporal systems.

2 Theoretical background

2.1 Home and place attachment

Since the Industrial Revolution and the separation of living places from places of work, place attachment and home have departed from the traditional, static concept. For the exploration of both concepts and their relationships, two decades are significant. The first is the 1970s, when humanistic geographers focused on individuals as knowing and feeling subjects rather than objects or simply rational beings (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977). The second is the 1990s, when tourism (especially mass tourism) resulted in increased mobility, threatening rootedness as its negative counterpart (Urry, 2002; Augé, 2008).

In the 1970s, the relationship between people and the world through experience transformed an abstract realm of space into an experienced and felt place, and attachment to places has been explored and defined through terms such as *topophilia*, *insideness*, and *authenticity* (Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977; Werner et al., 1985; Smaldone, 2007). These terms became a common ground for the exploration of spaces and places on different scales and within different borders (either in real, physical entities or within conceptual, abstract, theoretical borders). It became possible to explore attachment to houses, neighbourhoods, cities, countries, and their social complements: family, friends, neighbours, or social groups such as co-workers, and nationality (Marston, 2000; Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Beatley, 2005; Ng et al., 2005; Blunt, 2007; Lewicka, 2010). As different social and spatial forms emerged and evolved, frameworks became more complex and the boundaries of research dealing with these phenomena started to intertwine. Methodologically, there have been attempts to define a comprehensive multiscalar and multidimensional framework involving various aspects of the same concept. Tripartite frameworks including spatial, social, and psychological/temporal aspects of the phenomena were developed as a result (Werner et al., 1985; Mallett, 2004; Scannell & Gifford, 2010). Attachment and home have become dynamic concepts.

This was manifested through the exploration of movement and places that accommodate movement, dislocation, and travel: non-places that are in many ways identical and lacking con-
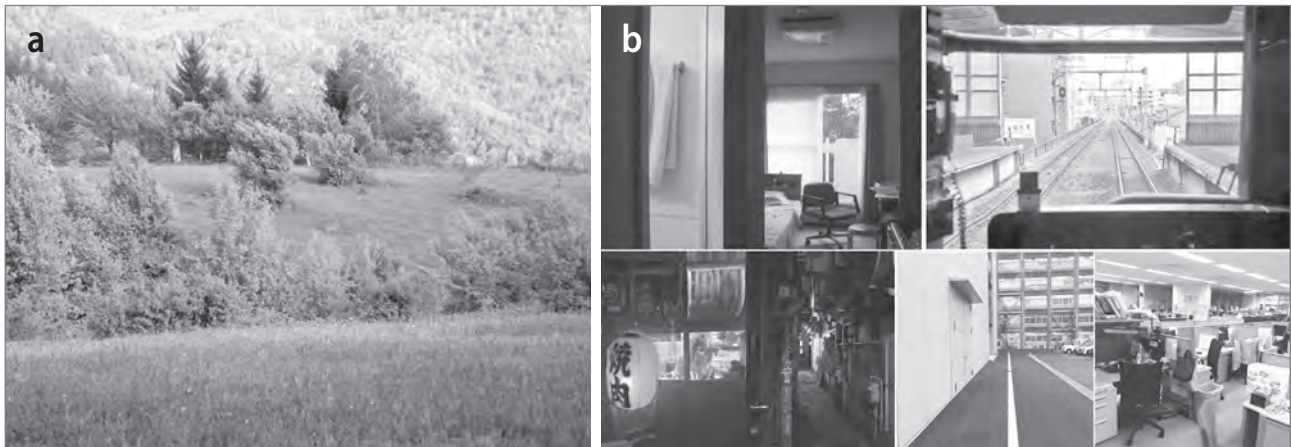
Figure 1: Static and dynamic concepts of home; a) home as a geographic reference point; b) dynamic home as a network of four significant places connected by means of transportation (photo: Vedrana Ikalović).

textual qualities (Zukin, 1998, 2009; Augé, 2008). Travelling and commuting with the increased use of extensions (portable devices such as mobile phones and computers) and networking became a norm and added to the detachment from physical environments (Park et al., 2011).

However, today place attachment and mobility are not the opposites they used to be; rather, they should be explored as complementary or compatible concepts. Movement is already an integrated part of life, whether one explores it from the perspective of daily actions or from the life-course perspective. Movement is a norm, an inevitability, often not even questioned but taken for granted. The mobilities paradigm emphasises that all places are tied into networks of connections that extend beyond each place, and this goes beyond the imagery of terrains as spatially fixed geographical containers for social processes (Sheller & Urry, 2006). In network societies, spatial practices and their constant reiteration are defining and creating places, and the meaning of places arises from habitual mobilities and time-space routines, which are simultaneously individual and social (Pred, 1984; Blunt, 2007; Cresswell, 2013; Seamon, 2015). However, certain practices and their reiteration depend on what the environment allows (Berger & Luckmann, 1991; Gibson, 2014). On a daily basis in contemporary cities, this manifests itself in two ways: 1) through daily practices and habitual mobilities that rely and depend on a city's infrastructure (and are accelerated by it), and 2) in practices and routines that take place in public, semi-public, and commercial spaces that are provided, planned, designed, made, and maintained by the city through its industrialized sectors.

In an individual's lifetime, in industrial societies (and specifically in Tokyo) there is strong dependence on the presence of corporate cultures, in which corporations, regardless of the consent or dissent of their employees, have a tradition of inter-company relocations.[3] Relocations have become a rou-

tine, they impose spatial and temporal fragmentation, and they create temporary relationships between individuals and their temporary environments.

2.2 Place and city

When changing places of residence and moving home from one place to another, people are forced to (re)learn the patterns of daily life in their new environment (and, in the case of contemporary cities, within the network of places). As Seamon (2015) points out, a change in patterns may cause emotional stress because new behaviours must be repeated many times until they are learned. The point when the body familiarizes itself with new environment and reaches a state of rest is "becoming-at home" and a time of inactivity whose essential experiential structure is "at-homeness" (Seamon, 2015: 70), or the usually unnoticed, taken-for-granted situation of being comfortable in and familiar with the everyday world (Dovey, 1985).

Pred (1984) develops and defines a place as a process that produces and is produced by the activities of people and institutions. He argues that social divisions allow some mobilities and force constraints on others (Pred, 1984, cited in Cresswell, 2013). Pred's places are highly institutional and appropriate individuals' time. It is therefore possible to discuss the characteristics of appropriated time within each society and culture, on the city scale, and in different types of cities (Hall & Barrett, 2012). As an example, Savage et al. (1993) define the following types: third-world cities, cities in communist countries, global cities, older industrial cities, and new industrial cities. In network societies and information societies, which depend on and arise from mobility and connectedness, the contemporary city (especially the metropolis) is produced by the activities of people, who familiarize themselves with the daily urban dynamics, and the activities of institutions. From

Figure 2: Homelike activities "out of home"; a) actions usually associated with the concept of home; b) home extrapolated onto urban space (photo: Vedrana Ikalović).

the residents' point of view, dwelling involves movement and fragmented life, and daily life is spread throughout the entire network. The metropolis has become a connectedness, a spatial and temporal system with a specific rhythm that imposes upon a person (Altman, 1975; Somerville, 1997).

2.3 City and home

Through industrialized sectors, development of technology, and a massive influx of people into urban areas, physical, social, and temporal aspects became important for the concept of home. In a spatial sense the city had to provide varieties of accommodation, and in an institutional sense it accelerated the flow of information, goods, services, capital, and people (Fujita et al., 2004). On the architectural scale, during and after the Industrial Revolution (or the Meiji Revolution or Meiji Restoration) in Tokyo, traditional forms of living gradually transformed into medium-sized houses, rental houses, multifamily dwellings, and so on for what was to become the sal-

aried middle class, which resided in various accommodations developed by corporations, agencies, and / or associations.[4] Moreover, because of time management, the synchronisation and coordination of activities in time and space, and distances, homelike activities were displaced and transposed from the private (living place) to the public realm (place of work) and socializing places (Oldenburg, 1989; Caballero & Tsukamoto, 2006) such as trains, convenience stores, noodle shops, public baths, coin laundries, love hotels, and so on. Therefore, talking about home in a spatial sense was not necessarily talking about the place of residence, which was used as storage or a bedroom (Ashihara, 1989; Yūko & Yokokawa, 1995).

Nomadic life, between here and there, is not restricted to a single locality and dwelling is now accomplished by travelling. One does not move to a dwelling, but "dwells by moving" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988; Casey, 2013). In the contemporary city, attributes usually embodied in the home are dispersed into at least four places (living place, place of work, socializing
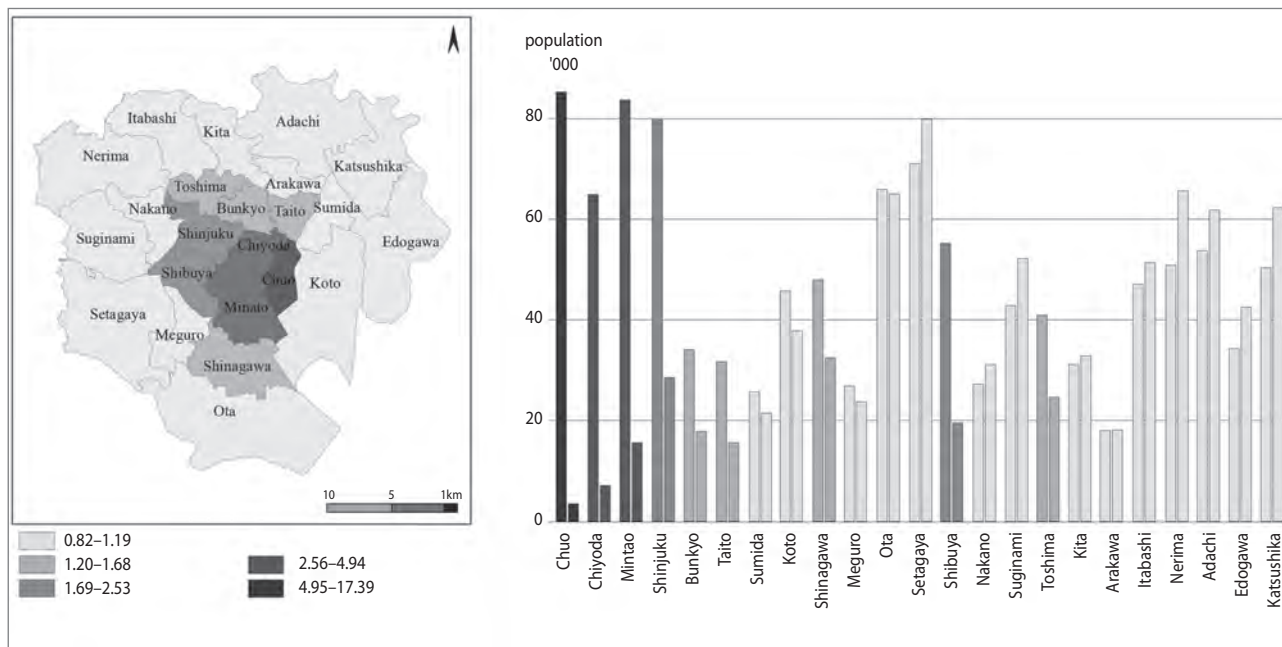
Figure 3: Daytime and night-time population ratio in twenty-three central Tokyo wards (illustration: Vedrana Ikalović).

place, and place of rest) connected by means of transportation, which also accommodate homelike activities (Ikalović & Chiesi, 2018). Through this network, industrialized sectors make impositions on individuals' daily rhythm. Time spent "in traffic", "on the way", "on the move", and "in-between" significant places equals time spent in the intimacy of home (Figure 2).

2.4 Case study: Tokyo

Even today, in the post-industrial era in Japan, a frequent reason for changing residence is a job relocation. The possibility of relocating employees between companies has been described as one of the most interesting features of the Japanese employment system[5] (Dirks, 1999; Meyer-Ohle, 2009). Relocations consist of moving employees around to perform different work, and the practice of relocations at Japanese companies includes, among other characteristics, temporary and permanent external relocations, often generating friction between the employee's family life and work (Maeura, 2016). Relocations often do not require the consent of the employee, with a higher level of flexibility within large companies. Inter-company relocations have been studied and assessed at different levels. Some studies review relocations at the individual level (motivational factors), organizational development (cost-efficient transactions), and structural changes (at a micro-economic level; Dirks, 1999), but, even despite being studied from the employees' perspective in some cases, these studies do not deal with the sense of attachment and sense of home. Moreover, whether exploring personality and demographic factors, micro- or macroeconomic factors, or institutional conditions (Frey & Stutzer, 2000),

they are commonly quantitative studies. This study therefore takes a different approach: spatial and temporal systems are explored from the personal perspective, through the cases of young Tokyo residents. Young Tokyo residents are individuals that currently live and work in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area. During their life, they have moved from multiple cities, which have different spatial and temporal characteristics and different urban daily rhythms. The attachment to previously lived places is explored, compared, and analysed from the perspective of the life-course and with an emphasis on frequent relocations.

With the industrial shift from the Tokyo – Osaka bipolar regional system to the Tokyo monopolar regional system and with two shifts of manufacturing industries (the first shift from light to heavy industries and second shift from heavy to high-tech and service industries), Tokyo grew into a major international financial centre with a high concentration of large companies[6] (Fujita & Tabuchi, 1997). Development of communication networks caused greater dependence on information, it encouraged the concentration of business sectors in Tokyo (Okamoto, 1997), and commuting became an integrated part of life. The population of commuting workers and students, constituting a daytime influx mainly from the three neighbouring prefectures of Saitama, Chiba, and Kanagawa, raised the awareness of the daytime and night-time population in cities. The concept of the daytime population refers to the number of people present in an area during normal business hours, including workers. This is in contrast to the "resident" population, which refers to people that reside in a given area and are typically present during the evening and night-time

hours. As an illustration, the Chuo Ward has an index of 17.39, making its daytime population up to seventeen times the night-time population (Figure 3).

The complexity of the existing administrative borders is graphically presented in Figure 4, which illustrates 1) the Tokyo Metropolis with twenty-three central wards, commonly perceived as Tokyo; 2) the Tokyo Metropolitan Area, which includes twenty-three central wards, twenty-six cities, three towns, and one village, 3) borders defined by the Japan Statistics Bureau with night-time / daytime population changes (municipalities with 10% or more of the population commuting to central wards are included), and 4) the Greater Tokyo Area.

The Japanese government provides statistics only for legal jurisdictions (i.e., cities and prefectures). There is no official or formal definition of metropolitan areas, and a number of researchers have developed their own definitions[7] (Fujita et al., 2004). The aforementioned characteristics of Tokyo are explored from the viewpoint of an individual, a person whose inner time is imposed upon by the city and city's spatial and institutional realities.

3   Method

Semi-structured interviews were designed following Scannel and Gifford (2011), who synthesized an analysis of place attachment into an applicable three-part framework (person, place, process) that may be used for investigating this multi-dimensional concept. The person dimension refers to individually or collectively determined meanings, the place dimension emphasizes the characteristics of a place at the spatial level, and the psychological dimension includes affective, cognitive, and behavioural components. At the same time, studies of home as a multidimensional concept provide a framework for its examination as an integrated unity of physical, sociocultural, psychological, and temporal features (Dovey, 1985; Werner et al., 1985; Sixsmith, 1986; Després, 1991). Therefore, following the three-part framework, questions included 1) social, 2) spatial, and 3) temporal-psychological characteristics.

Thirty interviews were conducted with seventeen males and thirteen females living in the Greater Tokyo Area and working in the Tokyo Metropolis. Twenty-five out of thirty respondents were employed, two were self-employed, and three were students. The age of the participants was between twenty-three and sixty, and they belonged to the working-age population. The main focus of the study was on twenty-five young adults, as defined by Erikson and Erikson (1997), who were twenty-three to thirty-nine years old, and an additional five interviews were used to make comparisons across different ages.
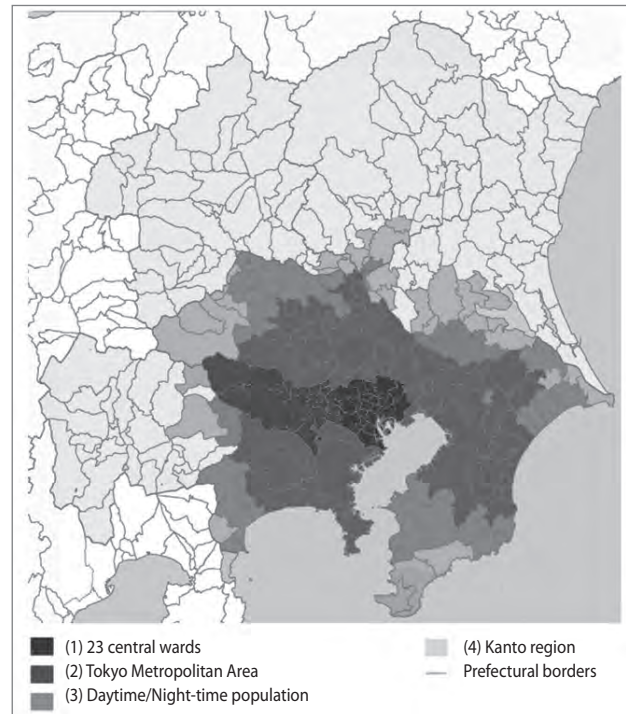

Figure 4: Tokyo borders: Tokyo central wards, the metropolitan area, and the Kanto region (illustration: Vedrana Ikalović).

Analysis of the interviews was based on "selective coding", in which all the categories stand in a relationship to the "core" category as conditions, action / interactional strategies, or consequences (Strauss & Corbin, 1997). Data collection and analysis were interrelated processes, and all the concepts and findings were incorporated into the following set of interviews. Interviews were from thirty to sixty minutes long, recorded, transcribed, and examined line by line. The data were generated following Strauss and Corbin (1997), Moran (2013), and Glaser and Strauss (2017)

In addition, the spatial and temporal systems of respondents are represented with time-space diagrams visualising the frequency of relocations and the length of dwelling in each city (Pred, 1984; Hägerstrand, 1985; Latham, 2003; Knowles & Sweetman, 2004).

Interviews were conducted, transcribed, and coded in English and, in order to avoid possible language barriers, keywords were discussed in both English and Japanese.

4   Analysis

Two main categories are recognized from the analysis of interviews: "fragmented temporality" and "lack of nostalgia". "Fragmented temporality" refers to spatial and temporal changes caused by frequent relocations, which are most obvious during

"operational life", feelings about these relocations, and the process of becoming at home (Dovey, 1985). "Lack of nostalgia" concerns questions about environments previously lived in, childhood homes, memories, and objects with meanings – that is, the concept of home as a place to store memories, a shelter, and a place one hopes to return to (Tuan, 1977; Dovey, 1985; Bachelard & Jolas, 1994).

4.1 Fragmented temporality

> I was born in Sasebo[8] . . . close to Nagasaki.[8] And . . . um . . . I lived there only one year. [From Sasebo I moved] to Kumamoto.[8] Again one year. And then . . . Mita[8] in Tokyo. And afterwards we moved to Ogikubo[8] in Tokyo and there . . . we were for something like five years. So I finished preschool and um . . . spent maybe two years at the primary school there. And then we went to Sendai.[8] Again five years. . . . [From Sendai I moved] to Niigata,[8] again five years. And there I graduated from high school and afterwards I passed the entrance exam for Sapporo[8] University in Hokkaido. So I moved to Sapporo. . . . In total I lived in Sapporo for eight years. . . . afterward I went to Greece for two years and then I moved to this area [Mitaka[8]]. . . . Now it's been about ten years. (Interview 22)

Tokyo residents move often, and childhood homes include different towns. In some cases, it is difficult or even impossible to say which city or town is their hometown among all the cities and towns they have lived in. The reasons for moving are different in different life stages: in childhood, it is the relocation of a parent (usually a father), and in adulthood their own relocation or the relocation of a spouse.

> My mother grew up in Tokyo so . . . she . . . delivered in a hospital in Tokyo but actually I grew up in Kansai. . . . In Nishinomiya.[8] So I . . . grew up in Nishinomiya . . . up to middle school, and after that I went to Manila. Because of my father's job. . . . After that we lived in Kobe, not far from Nishinomiya. Then . . . I moved to . . . to the Kanto area. . . . And after that I got married and because of my husband's work I went to Singapore. (Interview 19)

Respondents born in Metropolitan Tokyo moved from one Tokyo ward to another, whereas in the case of respondents born in small towns relocation meant different districts of the same town or different towns of the same prefecture. Movement and change of the place of residence has been an integral part of their lives.

> I was born in Akita prefecture. And it's the city of Akita, but not the same place. I lived there eighteen years . . . and we moved . . . . hmmm . . . maybe more than five times. My father was a policeman. So . . . so we had to move. (Interview 14)

The commuting hours of respondents that were born in suburban Tokyo (in surrounding prefectures, such as Saitama, and in Tokyo towns) are the longest, and some of them still live with their families in a family house. The sense of attachment and sense of home are different from two other cases because they have not changed their place of residence, although their place of work keeps changing; they are internally relocated every year to offices located in different Tokyo wards, and, because of that, they have to constantly adapt to the new working environment.

> Actually I wanted to change my job when I got relocated last time. . . . And . . . after that I . . . asked my manager to quit the job. I had already tried to find a new job, but she tried to . . . how can I say it . . . make me stay here. She said: I will try not to relocate you again. So . . . after getting used to the environment and the atmosphere I started to feel it's easy to work so . . . a few months afterward I didn't feel like I wanted to change jobs. (Interview 23)

A 29-year-old woman says she was relocated four times in four years, and now she is getting used to it. At first, it took a very long time to start feeling comfortable at work, but because the job itself is the same – the process is the same – she is now more relaxed. A woman in her twenties feels the same:

> Um . . . I think the first relocation . . . it took a long time [to adjust]. But now I have been doing it for a long time at this job, so maybe just one or two months. (Interview 25)

The commuting time from home to work every time is almost the same (about an hour and a half), and so in this sense there is no significant change: the process is the same and the time-space relationships do not change, although the place and working environment do. A twenty-four-year-old man started to live in Kyoto while working in Osaka. What he was not willing to change was the distance between his living place and place of work. The commuting time from his house in Kyoto to his office in Osaka was similar to the commuting time in Tokyo, which helped him adjust quickly.

A twenty-six-year-old respondent that was relocated to another city says the relocation changed his personality. Because of the nature of his work but also because of the frequent dislocations, he says that he is not afraid of change (anymore).

> Actually . . . it was difficult for me at first. . . . But . . . as I had more experience in changing places . . . I kind of got used to it. To introduce myself . . . start communicating with people. . . . Maybe one of the biggest experiences and changes in my mind is . . . that I am no longer afraid of changes. (Interview 26)

All homes previously lived in are juxtaposed. There is no su-perposition or home that is more significant than other homes, and all the places respondents lived in were important at the time. At the moment, the most important place is their current city – and, when they were living in another city, it was that other city. In interview number nine, a thirty-four-year-old man says:

> . . . when I get to Ayase[8] station . . . oh, I'm home. I can say. And also Shizuoka as well. Because I spent so much time there. . . . I used to live on the east side of London, in an area called Liverpool Street. When I'm there I would also say, this is my home. (Interview 9)

This is how a twenty-five-year-old man explains his sense of home:

> When I'm in Japan it really feels like home . . . but then when I went back to Australia it really felt like home. . . . then when I went to New York it really felt like home also . . . . (Interview 12)

4.2 Lack of nostalgia

Nostalgia is defined as a sentimental longing or wistful affec-tion for a period in the past, a desire to return in thought or in fact to a former time in one's life, to one's home or home-land, or to one's family and friends; a sentimental yearning for the happiness of a former place or time. As such, it arises from changes; it is a spatial and temporal emotion, and it is associated with former significant people and places, and it is commonly explored as a concept that is inseparable from the concept of home. Talking about leaving and journeying is as-sociated with the nostalgic feelings and sense of loss, roots, and belonging (Mallett, 2004; Casey, 2013). However, in Japan, nostalgia has been exploited and commercialized by the travel industry as a quest for a traditional lifestyle, and "the nostal-gic imagination implies the return to a pre-industrialized, and nonurban past" (Creighton, 1997: 239).

In Tokyo residents' case, once they move, they do not seem to have nostalgic feelings about the places they leave. A thirty-one-year-old man feels that moving can be both troublesome and good, but he also finds it refreshing.

> At the same time [it is] troublesome and it feels good. . . . Because the atmosphere is changing and makes me . . . refreshed. And like . . . it changes my . . . thinking. Toward my job and toward my lifestyle. (Interview 28)

He was born in Fukuoka and he lived there for twenty-five years, but after moving to Tokyo he has moved five times in six years. His family is still in Fukuoka, and keeping in touch is reduced to the occasional gathering during winter or summer holidays or on special occasions such as weddings. However, he does not miss his family; he feels good.

Another respondent says that while living away he did not even keep in touch with his family and that he rarely responded to their calls, but only knowing that he could reach them was enough.

> . . . my mother calls me on the phone sometimes and later I didn't call them a single time . . . . If I felt lonely I could do that. I didn't feel lonely; I had friends and colleagues and a lot of communication through my work . . . that was enough for me. (Interview 26)

Once they leave the place, they rarely go back, and nostalgic feelings appear only during the visit. A twenty-six-year-old man says that he does not think about going back to Sendai or Osaka, where he used to live; he does not miss them, but he did use the word *nostalgic* to describe how he felt during a short visit to Sendai. It was only there, in the city, that he felt nostalgic. Both cities were important for him at the time, but he does not feel the need to return.

> Places that I lived? Maybe Sapporo. I'd like to visit it again. If I can't I don't care so much. Like that. . . . Otherwise . . . I met a friend from Sendai and he travelled there and he talked about many things . . . about the city . . . to me . . . "Well . . . that's nice", that was my reaction. Basically like most Japanese do, I am (also) worried about the Big Earthquake . . . Sendai is recovering.[8] "Oh, that's nice", like that. (Interview 22)

The return itself is not relevant, whereas the *possibility of return* is. If they do return, they do not return to places; they return to people. Family members also move frequently, and it is rare for significant people to live in a home that was previously lived in. As in the case of temporality, a significant difference appears between the interviewees born in small, local towns and respondents born in Tokyo. For the former, the family is often still living in the place of birth and, in one case only, in the same house. For the latter it is always a different house, not the one the respondents grew up in, and for this reason they do not have nostalgic feelings associated with the house itself (they are attached only to their families). This places the social aspect of home over the spatial aspect of home.

> Actually, because my parents are not from Fukuoka, but they live in Fukuoka,[8] when I go to their house I have . . . I don't have any friends there. . . . I go there to see my parents, but I don't feel it's my house. I don't have my room because when they bought the house I was not there. (Interview 21)
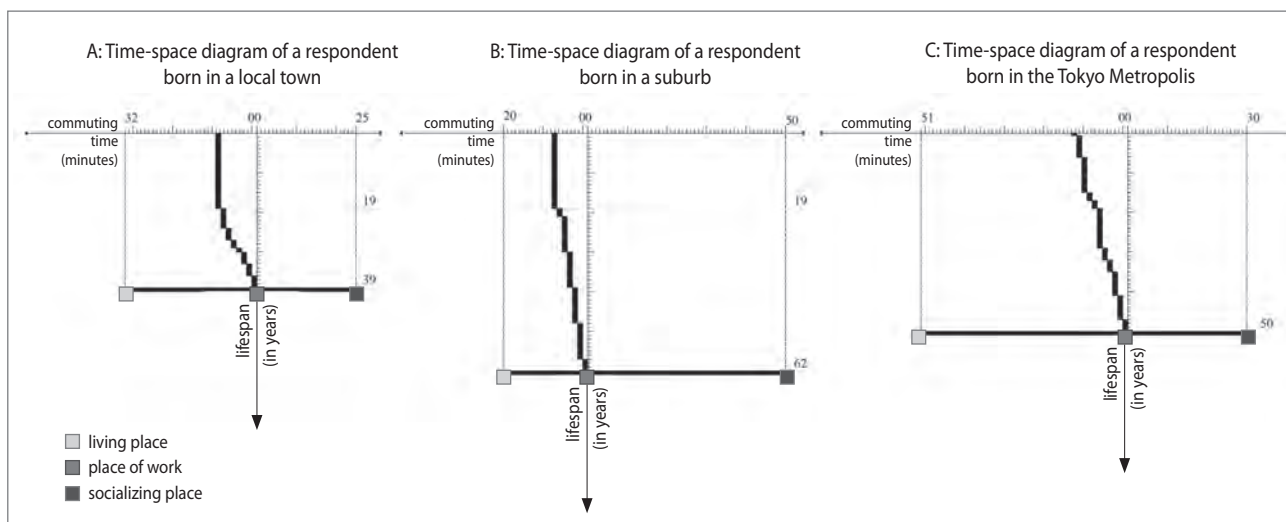
Figure 5: Time-space diagrams (illustration: Vedrana Ikalović).

For respondents that lived in different countries (twelve respondents lived abroad), it is also the city that they remember. If and when they go back, they always mention that they miss the city, their habits and habitual actions, lifestyles, and daily rhythms.

> Actually I will tell you honestly. When I lived in New York I never missed Tokyo. . . . I was living close to the Central Park, a very beautiful place, and perfect for jogging, walking . . . I was living in . . . what it is like in the Ginza[8] area . . . buildings, buildings, buildings . . . so I really needed to go out, to the park. I really wanted to. I was living on the twenty-fifth floor and . . . noise . . . smog . . . I really wanted to go to the park, green, trees . . . just watching dogs, people . . . so I felt relaxed. (Interview 18)

Memories of their childhood homes and previous homes are also memories of actions, activities, and processes (such as playing with their friends, walking to school, etc.). When mentioning the spatial properties of places previously lived in, they usually remember natural elements such as orchards, riverbanks, forests, and so on.

5 Discussion

The level of attachment and sense of home are discussed through three groups that emerged from the data and suggest different kinds of relationships with the city. Respondents born in small local towns in other prefectures belong to the first group, those born in Tokyo suburbs or neighbouring prefectures (such as Saitama in the north and Kanagawa in the south) to the second group, and those that were born in central Tokyo belong to the third group. In Figure 5, time-space diagrams were used to represent and visualize the time

an individual lived in each city (vertical axis), their current location, and commuting time to the working and socializing place (horizontal axis). In cases A and B, respondents moved from a local town or Tokyo suburban area at age nineteen, and after moving to Tokyo the frequency of their relocations changed significantly. In the case of respondents born in Tokyo, the number of relocations is higher.

The first group of respondents has a sense of home that is clearly located: their (childhood) home is where their family is. They were born in small, local towns, and they had to move to another city to study and/or look for a job after graduation. Once they start working, their movement becomes more frequent, and the places where they moved for work become significant. The time-space relationship changes, and they usually live close to their place of work, in an apartment provided by the company. In these cases, participation in homemaking and involvement is low, and therefore the attachment to the place develops with time; however, it is an attachment to the lifestyle and the process rather than to the physical environment; it is an attachment to the place that is produced through the activities of people and institutions.

Respondents born in the Greater Tokyo Area usually live in their birthplace with their families during their studies. Commuting hours are long and they are mostly central Tokyo residents only during the day, constituting the daytime population of the city. The distance between the living place and university is acceptable, and it is not necessary to leave the family house during studies, even if commuting time is as much as two hours in some cases. With this group, relocations start and become more frequent once they start working. Relocation is manifested in two different ways: 1) respondents are relocated to another city, or 2) respondents are relocated to

different Tokyo wards and they change their place of work once a year. In this case, their place of residence is the same, the distance between the living places and places of work is more or less equal (between 1 hour and 20 minutes to 1 hour and 40 minutes), and their place of work and working environment change. The time-space relationship remains the same and therefore habitual actions do not change.

The third group has the weakest attachment to their physical environment and is the group that moves the most. In this group, place of birth and hometown are two different places. Respondents move mostly within Tokyo wards and they are attached to the process, to the lifestyle. Relationships that are developed with their environment can be easily recreated in Tokyo, and therefore the time of adjustment is short.

The attachment of the respondents from the first and second group to the childhood home is stronger because they remained with their families during the school years. They moved once or twice within the same town, and it was usually in the vicinity of the first home. Their place of birth is their hometown.

All respondents have developed strong spatial and temporal relationships with their urban environments, recreating them daily through activities and actions, and reconstructing them in a lifetime of relocations. Therefore, in different cities, as a result of habitual activities developed in a relationship with the city, different time-space relationships may emerge.

6 Conclusion

The new mobilities paradigm posits that activities occur while on the move, and it examines various modes of travel as forms of material and sociable "dwelling-in-motion", and places of and for various activities (Sheller & Urry, 2006). The contemporary city, where movement is an integral part of daily life and where a state of rest is achieved in public space, in motion, becomes a place that imposes upon a person's time-space routines and habitual actions. From residents' perspective and their time-space organisation, the city manipulates and impedes their daily dynamics and experiences as a spatial realm within which (semi)public and (semi)private places are connected by means of transportation on a daily basis.

In this study, a three-part framework is applied to the design of semi-structured interviews with young Tokyo residents conducted in order to understand their sense of home and level of attachment. Questions included social, spatial, and temporal-psychological characteristics; there were questions about

spatial and temporal characteristics of places they previously lived (place of birth and hometown), about social relationships (significant others), and about memories of places and respondents' belongings and possessions. From those, it was possible to analyse the frequency of movement and dislocation, and how respondents felt about them.

Conceptually, two main categories were recognized: those of "fragmented temporality" and "lack of nostalgia". Fragmented temporality defines home as a progressive and embodied concept, not restrained by the physicality of the place. As presented, relocations are the most extreme in the case of Tokyo residents that spent their childhood in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area. Nostalgia, a feeling that is closely related to the concept of home and memories, was explored as a "need to return" but was shown to be a "lack of nostalgia". In a metropolis that provides and imposes constant accessibility, the importance of the former and the sense of loss are reduced, and the possibility of return is more significant than the return itself.

From these two categories, this paper introduces the dynamic sense of home, which is grounded less in physical or even social or psychological aspects of a place, and which is grounded in a familiarity with processes and in habituality. The role of the city manifests itself through the time-space relationships that individuals develop with the cities they live in. In Tokyo, specifically, through the dependence on the transportation system and through the time appropriation caused by institutions, the sense of home and attachment to the spatiality of place are altered. However, this is not the case only in Tokyo. As they keep growing, urban populations around the world are populations born in cities and raised in cities, and their attachments are developed in a close relationship with the city.

This article explored attachment and the sense of home from a qualitative point of view and emphasized people's sense of attachment to a city as a process that produces and is produced by the activities of people and institutions. For the concept of home, this signifies the shift from roots to routes, integrating movement and connections into the concept. Both traditional (static) and contemporary (dynamic) concepts of home highlight the connection between the planned, designed, and built environment, and the sense of belonging and attachment to places. The relationship between individuals and their environment is a consequence of the ways cities are planned, designed, and built. With this in mind, architectural and urban planning practices need to bring the conceptual and empirical research closer to one another, while cross-examining the perceived, conceived, and lived realities (Lefebvre, 1991) of the rising number of urban dwellers that "permanently temporarily" belong to the flows of interconnected contemporary cities.

Vedrana Ikalović, Keio University, Department of Systems Design Engineering, Yokohama, Japan
E-mail: vedra@keio.jp

Leonardo Chiesi, University of Florence, School of Architecture, Florence, Italy
E-mail: chiesi@unifi.it

Notes

[1] According to the Population Census website, as of 1 October 2010, the population of Tokyo was 13.16 million. This number was divided into three age categories: children (ages 0 – 14) at 1.48 million, working-age people (ages 15 – 64) at 8.85 million, and the elderly (age 65 and over) at 2.64 million. These figures are 11.4%, 68.2%, and 20.4%, respectively, of the overall population.

[2] The internal movement rate indicates the percentage of the workforce that has moved internally during the period. Internal movements are those resulting from employees' internal job changes within the organisation, whether through actions of relocation, promotion, or demotion.

[3] Such as *syataku*, *danchi*, and *doujunkai*: corporate towns (*syataku*) were homes encouraging or fostering a "corporate, family atmosphere". *Doujunkai*, on the other hand, was an association founded after the earthquake to provide public housing to city residents. *Danchi* (developed by the Japan Housing Corporation, now known as the Urban Renaissance Agency, UR) were owned by large corporations and they charged low or no rent to employees (Jinnai, 1995).

[4] According to a survey carried out by the Japanese Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare, 92.5% of companies with more than one thousand employees have relocated workers. The survey also found that the average length of relocations was 3.87 years (standard deviation 2.04 years), with the average length of the most extreme cases lasting for 13.43 years (standard deviation 8.45 years; Meyer-Ohle, 2009).

[5] According to 2010 census (Tokyo's History . . .), 4.26 million people (70.8%) work in the tertiary industry of commerce, transportation, communication, and services.

[6] Examples of definitions are the Standard Metropolitan Employment Area (SMEA) by Yamada and Tokuoka (1991), the Functional Urban Core (FUC) by Kawashima (1981), and the Integrated Metropolitan Area (IMA) by Takeuchi and Mori (1981). Recently, Kanemoto and Tokuoka (2002) proposed a new version called the Urban Employment Area (UEA). The Integrated Metropolitan Area of Shogo Takeuchi combines a municipality (city, town, or village) with another if doing so increases the internal movement rate (Kanemoto et al., 1996).

[7] The Greater Tokyo Area is the most populous metropolitan area in the world, consisting of the Kantō region of Japan, including the Tokyo Metropolis. The Tokyo Metropolis is one of the forty-seven prefectures of Japan. It consists of twenty-three central wards, twenty-six cities, three towns, and one village. All special wards are commonly referred to in English as cities, although the Tokyo Metropolitan Area is also referred to as a city.

[8] Sasebo, Nagasaki Prefecture; Nagasaki, Nagasaki Prefecture; Kumamoto, Kumamoto Prefecture; Mita District, Minato Ward, Tokyo; Ogikubo District, Suginami Ward, Tokyo; Sendai, capital of the Miyagi Prefecture (which was affected by the 2011 Tohoku earthquake); Niigata, Niigata Prefecture; Sapporo, capital of the Hokkaido Prefecture; Mitaka, Tokyo Metropolitan Area; Nishinomiya, Hyogo Prefecture; Fukuoka, capital of the Fukuoka Prefecture; Ginza District, Chuo Ward, Tokyo; Ayase Station in Adachi Ward, Tokyo.

References

Altman, I. (1975) *The environment and social behavior: Privacy, personal space, territory, and crowding*. Monterey, CA, Brooks / Cole Publishing Company.

Altman, I. & Werner, C. (1985) *Home environments: Human behavior and environment*. New York, Springer.

Ashihara, Y. (1983) *The aesthetic townscape*. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press.

Ashihara, Y. (1989) *The hidden order: Tokyo through the twentieth century*, New York, Kodansha America Inc.

Augé, M. (2008) *Non-places: An introduction to supermodernity*. London, Verso.

Bachelard, G. & Jolas, M. (1994) *The poetics of space.* Boston, Beacon Press.

Beatley, T. (2005) *Native to nowhere: Sustaining home and community in a global age*. Washington, DC, Island Press.

Berger, P. L. & Luckmann, T. (1991) *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. London, Penguin.

Blunt, A. (2007) Cultural geographies of migration: Mobility, transnationality and diaspora. *Progress in Human Geography*, 31(5), pp. 684–694. DOI: 10.1177/0309132507078945

Brett, J. M. (1982) Job transfer and well-being. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 67(4), pp. 450–463. DOI: 10.1037//0021-9010.67.4.450

Caballero, J. A. & Tsukamoto, Y. (2006) Tokyo public space networks at the intersection of the commercial and the domestic realms study on dividual space. *Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering*, 5(2), pp. 301–308. DOI: 10.3130/jaabe.5.301

Casey, E. (2013) *The fate of place: A philosophical history*. Berkeley, CA, University of California Press.

Cieraad, I. (2010) Homes from home: Memories and projections. *Home Cultures*, 7(1), pp. 85–102. DOI: 10.2752/175174210x12591523182788

Clifford, J. (1997) *Routes: Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.

Creighton, M. (1997) Consuming rural Japan: The marketing of tradition and nostalgia in the Japanese travel industry. *Ethnology*, 36(3), pp. 239–254. DOI: 10.2307/3773988

Cresswell, T. (2013) *Place: A short introduction*. Chichester, UK, John Wiley & Sons.

Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F. (1988) *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia.* London, Bloomsbury Publishing.

Després, C. (1991) The meaning of home: Literature review and directions for future research and theoretical development. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 8(2), pp. 96–115.

Dirks, D. (1999) Limits and latitude of labour adjustment strategies in Japanese companies. In: Huchet, J.-H., Dirks, D. & Ribault, T. (eds.) *Japanese Management in the low growth era: Between external shocks and internal evolution*, pp. 267–289. New York, Springer.
DOI: 10.1007/978-3-642-58257-8_18

Dovey, K. (1985) Home and homelessness: Introduction. In: Altman, I. & Werner, C. M. (eds.) *Home environments*, pp. 33–64. New York, Springer. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-4899-2266-3_2

Erikson, E. H. & Erikson, J. M. (1997) *The life cycle completed: Extended version*. New York, W. W. Norton

Frey, B. S. & Stutzer, A. (2000) Happiness, economy and institutions. *The Economic Journal*, 110(466), pp. 918–938. DOI 10.1111/1468-0297.00570

Fujita, M., Mori, T., Henderson, J. V. & Kanemoto, Y. (2004) Spatial distribution of economic activities in Japan and China. *Handbook of Regional and Urban Economics*, 4(1), pp. 2911–2977. DOI: 10.1016/s1574-0080(04)80022-1

Fujita, M. & Tabuchi, T. (1997) Regional growth in postwar Japan. *Regional Science and Urban Economics*, 27(6), pp. 643–670. DOI: 10.1016/s0166-0462(96)02167-9

Geis, K. J. & Ross, C. E. (1998) A new look at urban alienation: The effect of neighborhood disorder on perceived powerlessness. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 61(3), pp. 232–246. DOI: 10.2307/2787110

Gibson, J. J. (2014) The theory of affordances. In: Gieseking, J. J. et al. (eds.) *The people, place, and space reader*, pp. 56–60. London, Routledge.

Glaser, B. G. & Strauss, A. L. (2017) *Discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research*. London, Routledge.

Gustafson, P. (2001) Roots and routes: Exploring the relationship between place attachment and mobility. *Environment and Behavior*, 33(5), pp. 667–686. DOI: 10.1177/00139160121973188

Hägerstrand, T. (1985) Time-geography: Focus on the corporeality of man, society and environment. In: Aida, S. (ed.) *The science and praxis of complexity*, pp. 193–216. Tokyo, United Nations University.

Hall, S. (1995) New cultures for old. In: Massey, D. B. & Jess, P. M. (eds.) *A place in the world? Places, cultures and globalization*, pp. 175–213. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Hall, T. & Barrett, H. (2012) *Urban geography*. London, Routledge.

Hidalgo, M. C. & Hernandez, B. (2001) Place attachment: Conceptual and empirical questions. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 21(3), pp. 273–281. DOI: 10.1006/jevp.2001.0221

Ikalović, V. & Chiesi, L. (2018) Dispersion of home in contemporary city: A case study of perception and behavior in young Tokyoites. *Space and Culture*, pp. 1–14. DOI: 10.1177/1206331218775916

Kanemoto Y. & Tokuoka K. (2002) Proposals for the Standards of Metropolitan Areas of Japan. *Journal of Applied Regional Science* 7, pp. 1–15. DOI: 10.1006/jjie.1996.0022

Kanemoto, Y., Ohkawara, T., & Suzuki, T. (1996) Agglomeration economies and a test for optimal city sizes in Japan. *Journal of the Japanese and International Economies*, 10(4), pp. 379–398.

Kawashima, T. (1981) Urbanization phenomena and analysis of metropolitan area. *Shintoshi*, 35, pp. 11–21.

Knowles, C. & Sweetman, P. (2004) *Picturing the social landscape: Visual methods and the sociological imagination*. London, Routledge. DOI: 10.4324/9780203694527

Latham, A. (2003) Research, performance, and doing human geography: Some reflections on the diary-photograph, diary-interview method. *Environment and planning A,* 35(11), pp. 1993–2017. DOI: 10.1068/a3587

Lewicka, M. (2010) What makes neighborhood different from home and city? Effects of place scale on place attachment. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30(1), pp. 35–51. DOI: 10.1016/j.jenvp.2009.05.004

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *Critique of everyday life: Foundations for a sociology of the everyday* (Vol. 2). London, Verso.

Maeura, H. (2016) *Allocation and transfer of human resources*. Tokyo, The Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training.

Maki, F. (1979) The city and inner space. *Ekistics*, 278, pp. 328–334.

Maki, F. & Mulligan, M. E. (2008) *Nurturing dreams: Collected essays on architecture and the city*. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press. DOI: 10.7551/mitpress/7596.001.0001

Mallett, S. (2004) Understanding home: A critical review of the literature. *The Sociological Review*, 52(1), pp. 62–89. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-954x.2004.00442.x

Marston, S. A. (2000) The social construction of scale. *Progress in Human Geography*, 24(2), pp. 219–242.

Massey, D. B. & Jess, P. M. (1995) *A place in the world? Places, cultures and globalization*. New York, Oxford University Press.

Meyer-Ohle, H. (2009) *Japanese workplaces in transition: Employee perceptions*. New York, Springer.

Moran, N. (2013) Music, bodies and relationships: An ethnographic contribution to embodied cognition studies. *Psychology of Music*, 41(1), pp. 5–17. DOI: 10.1177/0305735611400174

Ng, S. H., Kam, P. K. & Pong, R. W. (2005) People living in ageing buildings: Their quality of life and sense of belonging. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 25(3), pp. 347–360. DOI: 10.1016/j.jenvp.2005.08.005

Okamoto, K. (1997) Suburbanization of Tokyo and the daily lives of suburban people. In: Karan, P. P. & Stapleton, K. E. (eds.) *The Japanese city*, pp. 79–105. Lexington, KY, University Press of Kentucky.

Oldenburg, R. (1989) *The great good place: Cafés, coffee shops, community centers, beauty parlors, general stores, bars, hangouts, and how they get you through the day*. Saint Paul, MN, Paragon House Publishers.

Park, Y., Fritz, C. & Jex, S. M. (2011) Relationships between work-home segmentation and psychological detachment from work: The role of communication technology use at home. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 16(4), p. 457. DOI: 10.1037/a0023594

Population census. Available at: http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/kokusei/index.htm (accessed 7 June 2017).

Pred, A. (1984) Place as historically contingent process: Structuration and the time–geography of becoming places. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 74(2), pp. 279–297. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-8306.1984.tb01453.x

Rajchman, J. (1998) *Constructions*. Cambridge, MA, MIT press.

Relph, E. (1976) *Place and placelessness*, London, Pion.

Savage, M., Warde, A. & Ward, K. (1993) *Urban sociology, capitalism and modernity*. London, Macmillan.

Scannel, L. & Gifford, R. (2010) Defining place attachment: A tripartite organizing framework. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30(1), pp. 1–10. DOI: 10.1016/j.jenvp.2009.09.006

Seamon, D. (2015) *A geography of the lifeworld: Movement, rest and encounter*. London, Routledge. DOI: 10.4324/9781315715698

Sheller, M. & Urry, J., (2006) The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning A*, 38(2), pp. 207–226. DOI: 10.1068/a37268

Sixsmith, J. (1986) The meaning of home: An exploratory study of environmental experience. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 6(4), pp. 281–298. DOI: 10.1016/s0272-4944(86)80002-0

Smaldone, D. (2007) The role of time in place attachment. *Proceedings of the 2006 Northeastern Recreation Research Symposium*, pp. 47–56. Newtown Square, PA, United States Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Northern Research Station.

Somerville, P. (1997) The social construction of home. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 14(3), pp. 226–245.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. M. (1997) *Grounded theory in practice*. London, Sage Publications.

Takeuchi, A. & Mori, H. (1981) The distribution of industry in Tokyo metropolitan area and its recent changes. *The Human Geography*, 33, pp. 154–167. DOI: 10.4200/jjhg1948.33.154

Tokyo's history, geography, and population. Available at: http://www.metro.tokyo.jp/ENGLISH/ABOUT/HISTORY/history03.htm (accessed 7 June 2017).

Tuan, Y.-F. (1977) *Space and place: The perspective of experience*. Minneapolis, MN, University of Minnesota Press.

Urry, J. (2002) *The tourist gaze*. London, SAGE Publications.

Werner, C. M., Altman, I. & Oxley, D. (1985) Temporal aspects of homes. In: Altman, I. & Werner, C. M. (eds.) *Home environments: Human behavior and environment*, pp. 1–32. New York, Springer. DOI: 10.1007/978-1-4899-2266-3_1

Yamada, H. & Tokuoka, K. (1991) A study of the urbanization process in post war Japan. *Review of Urban & Regional Development Studies*, 3(2), pp. 152-169. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-940x.1991.tb00026.x

Yūko, N. & Yokokawa, M. M. (1995) The changing form of dwellings and the establishment of the katei (home) in modern Japan. *US–Japan Women's Journal. English Supplement*, 8(1), pp. 3–36.

Zukin, S. (1998) Urban lifestyles: Diversity and standardisation in spaces of consumption. *Urban Studies*, 35(5–6), pp. 825–839. DOI: 10.1080/0042098984574

Zukin, S. (2009) Changing landscapes of power: Opulence and the urge for authenticity. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 33(2), pp. 543–553. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2427.2009.00867.x