

TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT MÜNCHEN

Lehrstuhl für Geographie

The internationalisation of retailing
and the development of retail centres
- from the cases of Frankfurt am Main, Germany and Tokyo, Japan

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Vollständiger Abdruck der von der Fakultät für Wirtschaftswissenschaften der Technischen Universität München zur Erlangung des akademischen Grades eines Doktors der Philosophie (Dr. phil.) genehmigten Dissertation.

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Die Dissertation wurde am 26.10.2004 bei der Technischen Universität München eingereicht und durch die Fakultät für Wirtschaftswissenschaften am 19.01.2005 angenommen.

Acknowledgement

My grateful thanks are, first of all, to my supervisor, Professor Heinritz for initially giving me a great chance to challenge Ph.D degree at his institute, and his constructive advice and supports for the thesis, and also Professor Batey, the University of Liverpool for his help for my successful application and registration at the German University.

I appreciate many experts, who kindly offered me meaningful opportunities to ask and discuss some issues on the theme, responded to enquires, and gave me comments, suggestions or necessary information to improve my work. They were Professor Arai, Tokyo University; Associate Professor Hashimoto, Waseda University; Mr. Nakazawa, Sangyorohdou-kyoku, Tokyo Metropolitan Government; Professor Kawabata, Ryukoku University; Mr. Höppner, Industrie- und Handelskammer Frankfurt am Main; Mr. Schönfeld, Einzelhandelsverband Frankfurt/Main Hochtaunus Maintaunus e.V.; Dr. Lutzky, Metropoliana Frankfurt RheinMain; Professor Kenji Yamamoto, Hosei University; Dr. Schröder, LMU München; and a number of people working for shops, retail firms, libraries and public organisations.

I would like to give special thanks to Kanae and Peter in Sydney, Australia, and James in Hanau, Germany, for proof-reading of the English texts. Without their kind help and important suggestions, I could not have finished this thesis.

Lastly my thanks are to Harald and my families in Japan and Germany, who patiently supported me all the time.

Masako Gröger-Suzuki
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Introduction

“A social space cannot be adequately accounted for either by nature (climate, site) or by its previous history. Nor does the growth of the forces of production give rise in any direct causal fashion to a particular space or a particular time. Mediations, and mediators, have to be taken into consideration: the action of groups, factors within knowledge, within ideology, or within the domain of representations”(Lefebvre, 1991:77).

A phenomenon of interest is the internationalisation of retailing and its inherent geographical and social context. “Recent developments in international retail activity have led to a dramatic increase in the number of publications on international retail activity” (Alexander, 1997:5). These publications, however, merely present fragmented pictures of the phenomenon.

This thesis explores its macro and micro geographical development in Germany and Japan and the metropolitan cities, Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo, and considers its relationship to the development of retail centres from economic and social perspectives.

The macro-geographical development of the internationalisation of retailing

From a long historical perspective, the international dimension in retailing is a relatively constant one of commercial and trade development. A more recent trend in the internationalisation of retailing is, however, particularly made up of geographical expansion of retail *operations* rather than that of merely trading. The roots of such developments can be first identified within and among late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Europe, US and Japan. Since these beginnings, many retailers have come to vigorously expand their retail business to foreign markets. Nowadays more than half of “the top 100 global retailers” (by the sales in US dollars) are operating not only in their countries of origin but also in others (Sternquist, 1998:44-59).

Regarding this trend, much is studied of the geographical process and conditions of the development. As Whitehead (1992) argues, however, the attention is usually on the geographical extension of retail activity, i.e. in which country the activity occurs, and the specific geographical condition of the home and host country of a retailer or retail format. The flow of the international business and the geographical extension has often been traced separately in the context of the regions among Europe, US, and Japan. These regions are

the major source of international retailing. Emphasis is usually placed on European or American process, while there is only supplemental information on the retail activities of Japanese firms (Alexander, 1997; Lingenfelder, 1996; Sternquist, 1998; Sternquist & Kacker, 1994). Some attempts are made to associate the development of internationalisation of several retailers to some environmental or cyclical models. This is done by description and analogy. Many concentrate on the particular retail sector and its geographical expansion of retail activity.

From a macro-geographical perspective, not many studies compare the process of internationalisation in each country or region such as among Europe, US and Asia. Region or location-based enquiries on the internationalisation of retailing are seldom found. While indeed some retailers develop internationally, a question arises whether they develop similarly among regions and nations. At the same time, as exploring 'internationalisation', many studies fail to distinguish two directions of the international retail activity: whether inward or outward flowing, in the context of one country or region.

In order to explore this, Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia will be examined. They lie in different geographical, political, economical and cultural contexts. While Germany aims at co-operating within European countries, Japan maintains a considerable political and economic relationship with US.

The micro-geographical development of the internationalisation of retailing

Few studies look at the terminal points of this flow of internationalisation in retailing. While international retailing develops, it emerges in particular places as retail locations in host countries. Some retail outlets of foreign retailers, such as designer fashion houses or multiple shop retailers take hold in locations, while others close shop soon after they enter the market.

This dissertation explores such local geographical contexts of the internationalisation of retailing by studying the cities of Frankfurt am Main, Germany and Tokyo, Japan. These cities exhibit similar economic and social conditions as urban centres to their respective regions. While it is true that their demographic and urban features differ significantly, this comparative study does not have a pure quantitative approach.

Local circumstances of internationalisation of retailing in these cities are illustrated here with some cases. *Boots* and *Sephora*, drugstores and cosmetics speciality shops from the UK and France respectively, launched their business in Tokyo, Japan in 1999 (*Boots*:

four outlets, *Sephora*: seven outlets in the Tokyo conurbation). Soon after, however, in 2001, both of them left the Japanese market. Business literature comments that it was due to the insufficient assortment, compared with the department stores and drugstores already there.

A British retailer, *Marks & Spencer* entered the German market in 1996. Its Frankfurt shop opened in Zeil Street, the main shopping street, in 1999, and then closed in 2001 very soon after opening. By the closure, while most of the stores in Germany were being closed, the strength in the Frankfurt store was said to be the distinct British grocery selections, although it seems in general that the clothing assortments were neither sufficient nor attractive (FAZ, 2001b).

“Marks & Spencer offers on many floors poor assortments of clothing for people, who want to look like British-Airways stewardesses or guards. The closing is so frivolous, and the grocery department on the ground floor is not replaceable” (FAZ, 2001c).

The range of merchandise is obviously a significant factor of retailing to influence whether a shop stays in a location or not. Of course, shop closures come from complex factors and circumstances ranging from finance to organisational issues. However clearly, if foreign retailers do not attract local customers, they will not survive.

Foreign retailers seem to settle in particular retail centres for a while. There seems to be an agglomeration of sites of retailing businesses, which are related to “foreignness” in shops and goods. These groups of retailers with common addresses are often referred to in popular media. Many designer boutiques are in Goethe Street in Frankfurt am Main and the Ginza and the Omotesando areas in Tokyo. In Tokyo the locations of *Boots* and *Sephora* are, for example, these areas for the first phase of their shop expansions. There are many places where retailing takes place, and some places are called ‘retail centres’, where such an activity is distinctively fostered. These distinct retail locations may be related to each other in various dimensions. In these centres, some sites are selected by international retailers.

Why are decisions made for certain sites, while some shops have left these locations? Why does the particular address seem so significant for the success of international expansion? Apart from their merchandise range, for example, what underlies unsuccessful attempts of foreign retailers in local markets? The failure of some businesses to ‘attract’ and ‘satisfy’ potential customers may be partly borne out of their location.

Furthermore, another question arises. To what extent are these differing locations related to the development of retail centres? What are the changing relationships between all the retail centres? One of the common arguments in business and retail geographical literature concerns the micro-geographical context of the internationalisation of retailing in host countries. It is argued that the internationalisation of retailing is involved in much of the spatial change in retail centre structure, undermining retail development policies, such as the “central place” system in Germany. This leads to the degradation of the retail environment and quality. When the international retailers lead out-of-town retail developments, actions may be called for to support small and medium size retail establishments in the traditional locations. Such local retailers may find themselves in severe competition from multi-nationals for retail locations. Others may be concerned by the growing monotone or homogenous nature of a retail environment against their own aesthetic and business perspective of an attractive shopping environment. It is, however, first necessary to explore the local geographical contexts. To what extent does internationalisation of retailing influence the system of retail centres? ‘System’ refers to whole complex relationships between retail centres and retail sites, although ‘system’ may often be associated with a narrower meaning of quantitative models.

To begin, this thesis reviews retail location theories based on classic economic theories, e.g. central-place theory. In such theories, it could be considered which economic features the internationalisation of retailing is related to distinctively. This will be explored. As a consequence of this exploration, the qualitative and image dimensions of the system of retail centres (the perspectives from individuals or consumers) are highlighted. The images of retail centres and their relationship with the internationalisation of retailing will be discussed. The approach to the link between the image system of retail centres and the geographical development of international retailing concerns “representations of space” according to Lefebvre.

This thesis then goes on to explore why the internationalisation of retailing is connected to the image system of retail centres. This is interpreted by considering the relationship between consumption, social relations and places. Sociological and anthropological perspectives suggest that consumption does not simply mean meeting needs or demands of individuals through goods purchased but rather filling their wishes and desires. A further argument is that representations of social relations in consumption are interrelated with “representations of space”, i.e. the image system of retail centres. Through the comparative study of Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo, it will be suggested that

the process of geographical development of the internationalisation of retailing in host countries is closely related to social relations formed in consumption and to places in the image system. The locally different geographical developments of foreign retail operations between these cities will then be explained. Is it simply because German and Japanese consumers are different? This needs to be considered.

In the conclusion of this thesis, the local retail and town planning issues will be reiterated. There are sites newly marketed as retail centres in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo. For example, in Frankfurt am Main a large-scale redevelopment of the inner city site will be completed by 2007. The old German Telecom building and site will be redeveloped into a mixed-use complex of an office, retail space, a residential section, and a hotel including a reconstructed palace (the MAB Zeil project). In this site, the largest part is occupied by retailing at 40,000 sq.m. sales area. In Tokyo, many redevelopment projects are being completed one after another. One of the next largest developments including retail properties is the Omotesando Dojyunkai Apart redevelopment. To what extent do international retailers have an influence in the development of these retail centres? The comparison of the international phenomenon in local conditions suggests implications for retail centre developments for each other and maybe for other cities.

Before the main part of this thesis, in the following sections the definitions of: retailing; retailer; retail centres; and 'internationalisation' of retailing are considered as the basis for further exploration. Many authors study the international activity of retailers or, more accurately, that of firms relating to retailing by defining 'internationalisation' for each perspective and purpose. It is often obscure in discussions on 'internationalisation', whether the 'retail' firms or 'retailing', or 'retail locations' by foreign investment is the focus of such discussions. It is indeed confusing, whether the retail operations, own products, techniques, organisations, or firms are being internationalised, when the definition of 'internationalisation of retailing' is not defined or inconsistent in these studies.

Firstly the more basic terminology is explained. This thesis distinguishes 'place' from 'space' in principle. A philosophical point of view is not discussed. In this study, 'place' refers to more conceptual dimensions, where people live and where various relationships are anchored. 'Space' refers to more physical dimension, which is described geometrically as an existing location.

Definitions of 'retail' and 'retailer'

The function of retailing lies in the context of commerce. “Commerce is the transfer of possessions through the medium of exchange”(Beaujeu-Garnier & Delobez, 1979:xii). The last part of this transfer is regarded as ‘retail’. ‘Retail’ is to distribute completed or nearly completed products directly to consumers. This activity is usually based in space, where the exchange of products between people takes place. The connection between goods, people, and space is the core meaning of ‘retail’.

German and Japanese official definitions highlight this connection from different perspectives. The German National Statistics Agency (Statistisches Bundesamt, 1998) looks first at the relationship between goods and consumers. It defines a retailer as one of the subjects involved in the activity of retailing. A retailer is “a business establishment mainly selling goods to private households in sales area, which anyone can access. This includes mail order business establishments, home visiting or telephone sales, shops in streets and markets, or sales from storage spaces”. On the other hand, The Japanese Census of Commerce (by The Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry) looks first at the space of the activity. It begins with the definition of ‘shop’ (retail outlet) as a business establishment. A retailer is one operating such a shop, which sells goods for personal and household consumption. It includes any business establishments also doing ancillary service in repairing or manufacturing as well as those without retail space but as administration offices for home visiting sales and mail orders.

In both definitions, ‘retailer’ is so classified according to its financial significance of retailing to the whole business. This thesis, more simply, refers generally to ‘retailer’ as a business establishment, which undertakes retailing.

Definition of 'retail centre'

A centre is “a place where most of the important things happen that are connected with a particular business or activity” (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*). A ‘retail centre’ usually means a physical concentration of retail outlets of commercial significance in retailing by, for example, the scale of total sales and sales area. These two perspectives may show different pictures of retail centres. One single large-scale supermarket may be a significant retail site for an area to be called a ‘retail centre’ due to its commercial significance, while a few individual shops may not be regarded together as

a retail centre due to their insignificant sales or scale of their sales area. This thesis refers to a 'retail centre' as an analytical unit for types of retail locations. Each definition is given later according to the course of a survey of the locations of international retailing.

Additionally, when development types are considered, a retail centre could be termed according to its planned and developed backgrounds (or undeveloped as the case may be). The developed one is generally called a shopping centre. It is "a group of shops built together in one area, often under one roof" (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*). More narrowly, The International Council of Shopping Centres defines a shopping centre as "a complex of retail and other commercial establishments which is planned, developed, owned, and administrated as a single property, with its own parking space"(Omoto, 2000:133-134). From its possible retail concentration, a shopping centre can be regarded as an independent 'retail centre'. Although the definition of 'shopping centre' is dependent on local conditions, this study considers a physically and administratively integrated form of a developed retail centre as a 'shopping centre' as distinct from other retail centres.

Definition of 'internationalisation' of retailing

The core meaning of 'international' is "connected with or involving more than one nation" (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*). Based on this meaning, the 'internationalisation' of retailing could be understood as the development of retail activity associated with foreign nations. The literature on internationalisation of retailers, international retailers, international retailing and so on (e.g. Alexander, 1997; Dawson, 1993; EC, 1993; Hollander 1970; Lingenfelder, 1996; Sternquist, 1998; Sternquist & Kacker, 1994) shows the various development forms from different international relationships between retailers and related organisations. These relationships are summarised as per the following:

- expansion of retail operations abroad
- development of international trade and communications for retail business,
- establishment of co-operation for retailing with firms abroad,
- diffusion of retail techniques

First, a distinction should be made between foreign investment in retailing and that for international expansion of retail operations. Regarding the former, some retail business establishments are thought of as foreign investment due to the foreign nationality of the

investors. This case is not necessarily related to the foreign expansion of retail operations. Regarding the latter, retailers do their business in foreign markets as the expansion of their business at home. This study refers this to international retail activity.

Secondly, regarding the international trade and communication for retail business, attention is paid to the international development of retailers' organisation. International trade development of retailers aims at marketing goods rather than the geographical expansion of retail concepts and outlets. In this case goods are internationalised. Forms of international co-operation with other retailers (foreign or otherwise) may include sharing a part of the purchasing or marketing strategy, such as for product supply, or the free exchange of information. Additionally, licensing of retailers' products can be internationally organised. This may be regarded as production co-operation, the transfer of the production rights of particular goods to a host country.

Thirdly, co-operative organisations can be formed by several firms for their common business interests in retail operations, and these may include foreign partners. A group of retailers can establish its wholesale supply facilities as a 'co-operative chain', e.g. the Edeka group and Rewe group in Germany. The assortments available may vary between the outlets belonging to a group; however, the outlets are usually integrated with the same identity, such as a common shop name and some common products. Likewise, a group of retailers can be organised by a wholesaler-supplier as a 'voluntary chain', such as *Spar*. According to Hollander (1970:56), these associated retailers are supported by particular services offered from the central organisation. This could be advertising, management and financial assistance or an "identifying insignia" such as a common shop name. This is done in return for the purchase of commitments. For consumers the outlets by these co-operative organisations may appear those operated by chain retailers. However, the retail operations by co-operative organisations are, in principle, independent from each other.

Fourthly, the diffusion of retail techniques can be seen as 'internationalisation' of retailing. Some invented retail formats prevail internationally, such as the supermarket format, the self-service format, or the franchising retail operation.

Objectives and aims of this study

The objectives and aims of this study are firstly summarised, as follows:

Objective 1

- To understand trends of, and compare the process and the recent development of the internationalisation of retailing in Germany and Japan

Aims

- examine the processes of the development of the internationalisation of retailing in Germany and Japan
- identify and compare the features of these processes
- survey recent developments particularly in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo

Objective 2

- To examine how and to what extent the internationalisation of retailing influences the development of retail centres

Aims

- discuss the approaches to the system of retail centres as an analytical framework
- analyse the retail locations of international retail activity in relation to the system of retail centres suggested
- compare and contrast the findings

Objective 3

- To explore why the development of the locations of international retailing relates closely to the development of retail centres through the image system in the cases of Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo

Aims

- discuss 'consumption' as an act towards constructing *self* in social relations
- suggest key concepts to analyse social relations included in consumption
- interpret with the key concepts of consumption the relationship between the features of internationalisation of retailing and the image system of retail centres
- explain the apparent different retail-geographical features of the development of international retail activity in the study cities

Objective 4

- To expose any implications for town planning and retail policies from the findings

Aim

- consider town planning and retail policies for the study cities

Methodology and structure of this thesis

This thesis includes an empirical study of the geographical phenomenon of the internationalisation of retailing. This is based on collecting and analysing published materials as well as undertaking a survey of the locations of international retailing in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo. It comprises three chapters.

The first chapter looks at the macro-geographical relationship of the international development of retailing, by examining the process and recent development in the differing geographical contexts of not only Germany and Japan but more specifically of Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo. The process will be outlined by a literature review. The recent development of locations of international retailing will be surveyed by focusing on those of international retail activity. Before presenting the results, the study cities will be introduced with socio-economic conditions, such as basic geographical information as well as the general spatial organisation of retail locations.

The second chapter analyses the surveyed locations of international retail activity and considers their relationships to the development of retail centres. This will be done firstly by an economic, 'rational-consumer' approach. The economic types of retail centres will be suggested for each study city from the available retail geographical studies. The political frameworks of retail developments will also be examined in the study cities respectively. According to the results of this economic approach, an image system of retail centres for each study city will be suggested. Studies of cognitive and humanistic approaches as well as those by critical geography will be reviewed to consider the image system of retail centres and its relationship to the development of internationalisation of retailing in local retail centres.

The third chapter explores the underlying social relations of the phenomenon of the internationalisation of retailing from discussions on geographical, sociological, and anthropological studies on consumption. It will then consider an explanation for the findings of the first and second chapters.

Additional information and discussions on detailed methodological issues, such as the terminology of German and Japanese retail formats, the information sources for the survey, and the delimitation methods of retail centres, are provided in Appendixes at the end of this thesis.

1 . The process of the internationalisation of retailing in Germany and Japan and the recent development in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo

1.1. The internationalisation of German and Japanese retailers and the development of international retailing in Germany and Japan

This section examines German and Japanese retailers expanding abroad and retailers entering Germany and Japan. It presents the retail activities of these firms chronologically as the outward and inward flows of the international retailing. It does this in terms of the economic features of these retailers by retail formats, goods, entry modes and the general backgrounds of internationalisation. It also considers the causal relationships involved in the development. The objectives are to examine the process of the development in these countries and to understand the trend of internationalisation of retailing in the macro-geographical contexts.

The information source is the available academic and commercial literature. Regarding the European or German process, Alexander (1997) and Lingenfelder (1996) are the major references, since their work deals extensively with it. No Japanese study, however, is found in such an extensive review on this theme. The information source for Japan and Japanese retailers, therefore, relies on collected business information.

1.1.1. The process - Germany

Early European development of international retailing

In Europe, the development of retailing occurred in the context of population growth, urbanisation and industrialisation (Lingenfelder, 1996:25). From the late nineteenth century, some European retailers began to expand their retail operations abroad, while others concentrated only on local, regional or national markets (Alexander, 1997:78). Hollander (1970:49,105,107-108) and Alexander (1997) see that the early development of international retailing in northern Europe comprised the internationalisation of some department stores, specialist retailers in the luxury goods trade (such as jewellery or arts), and retailers serving people from their home countries including tourists and business people, e.g. British bookshop, *W.H.Smith*. Germany was one of the markets for such types

of international retailers. European department stores particularly came to flourish. They vigorously invested their outlets abroad, for example, *Leonhard Tietz* - a German department store (Alexander, 1997:79; Lingenfelder, 1996:27). At that time, another type of general merchandise store, a 'variety store', emerged. These were low price shops of groceries, textiles, clothing and household goods. This retail format can be seen in *Woolworth*, which increasingly developed the outlets in North America and Europe in the early 1900s (Lingenfelder, 1996:28; Alexander, 1997:6).

By the late 1920s to the early 1930s, European multiple retailers in general fashion and personal goods, such as shoes and clothes, developed their domestic as well as foreign markets (Jeffery & Knee, 1965:61-62). For example, clothing and textile specialist, *C&A* was founded in the Netherlands, but has also successfully established its business in Germany, nowadays operating more than seventy outlets (Alexander, 1997:84; Lingenfelder, 1996:32).

There was also another form of internationalisation. Some producers used franchising systems for the retailing of their products to expand into foreign markets, for example, German producers *Rosenthal* and *Salamander* (Lingenfelder, 1996:29). The concept of franchising arrived from U.S., by which *Singer Sewing Machine* developed its international retail operations (Kaynak, 1988:43). Later by the 1970s, this system was widely adopted by retailers of gasoline, automobiles and electrical appliance to name a few (Hollander, 1970:62-70).

The development of the internationalisation of German retailers in the grocery sector

A self-service retail format in the grocery sector (i.e. supermarkets) emerged in 1930 in US, and as a business concept drew interest from European retailers (Lingenfelder, 1996:30). From the late 1940s to the early 1950s the supermarket format was adopted by many European retailers (Alexander, 1997:82-85; Lingenfelder, 1996:30). It was first in the 1970s that some European supermarkets began to multiply their outlets over the borders within northwestern Europe and to US (Hollander, 1970:41-49). There was particularly much European investment in US retailers during the 1960s and 1970s (Alexander, 1997:88-89; Sternquist & Kacker, 1994:157). It is often stated that at that time the fall of US Dollar attracted investors to purchase US companies (Sternquist & Kacker, 1994:153-154; Hallsworth, 1992:6). *Tengelmann*, a German grocery supermarket, invested in an American supermarket, *Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. Inc (A&P)* and

acquired fifty-three per cent ownership in the late 1970s (Lingenfelder, 1996:36; OXIRM & Corporate Intelligence Group, 1994b:39).

Supermarket retailers gradually became dominant in European grocery retail markets (Jeffery & Knee, 1965:65). The retail co-operative organisations between retailers and wholesalers were first organised in the grocery sector. Some of them extended their co-operation over the borders, e.g. voluntary chains, such as *Spar* from the Netherlands and co-operative chains (buying groups), such as *Edeka* from Germany.

Then European supermarkets came to include formats of extended floor space as well as those of discounting. In Germany, the former is called 'Verbrauchermarkt' and 'SB-Warenhaus' referring to those offering both groceries and non-grocery goods. The latter is discounter. Some of these retailers entered foreign markets. German grocery discount shops, *Aldi*, *Lidl*, and *Norma*, proliferated in the 1980s, and by the early 1990s, became major European discounters (OXIRM & Corporate Intelligence Group, 1994a:31; Zentes, 1998:213). *Aldi* founded its business in 1962 and soon after developed shops in Austria. It moved into the Netherlands, Belgium, and Denmark by the 1970s (Lingenfelder, 1996:35) and later in 1990 into the UK (Wrigley, 1993:61).

The domestic development and the internationalisation of German non-grocery retailers and the concentration of retailing

The scale of outlets grew also in the non-grocery sector. Large-scale specialist stores called 'Fachmarkt' emerged from the 1980s in the sectors of DIY, drugstore, media and electrical goods (EC, 1993:73). By the end of 1990s, the concentration of retailing had gone further. Some retail concerns and groups had grown to dominate German retail markets, such as the Metro, Tengelmann, and KarstadtQuelle groups. They operate many different retail formats, such as supermarkets, department stores, and/or this new format of 'Fachmarkt'. In spite of retail development policies supporting small, independent retailers and discouraging large-scale developments, it is said that such retailers, being capable of handling the "complicated and lengthy process of authorisation", vigorously developed their domestic markets (Vielberth, 1995:82,86). Some of them undertook direct foreign investment eagerly as well as co-operations with foreign retailers. For example, the Metro group shows "some forty per cent of sales coming from outside Germany" (Robinson, et al., 2000:220) while it formed the Deuro-Buying group with other northwestern European retailers, such as *Carrefour* (France) and *Asda* (the UK)(EC,

1993:28). The Metro group established *Media World* as an Italian joint venture, and it currently operates more than twenty outlets mainly in northern Italy (Schröder, 1999:104). Some DIY's and garden centres, e.g. *Bauhaus*, *Praktiker*, as well as drug stores, e.g. *dm-drogerie Markt* also developed their outlets in neighbouring countries by establishing subsidiaries (Hoppenstedt Firmeninformationen GmbH, 2003a&b). A cosmetics specialist, the Douglas group set up a co-operation with French LVMH group in the late 1990s in order to operate the cosmetics and perfumes shop, *Sephora* from France in Germany (Zentes, 1998:183). The group also began its international operation of its shop of *Douglas* in the mid 1970s in neighbouring countries. By the mid 1990s it operated around two hundred outlets in Europe (Kreke, 1998:180, 183). Others choose franchising for European market development, such as *OBI*, a German 'garden and home-centre' retailer (Deutscher Franchise-Verband e.V. (ed), 1999).

The major background to the increased investment in Europe in the 1990s is the 'fall of Communism' in the late 1980s and the establishment of the European Single Market in 1993 (Alexander, 1997:92, EC, 1993:26; Sternquist & Kacker, 1994:163; Gröppel-Klein, 1999:111-114). The new opportunities for northwestern European retailers were in southern Europe (Spain, Italy and Greece) and eastern Europe. German retailers often looked at eastern neighbouring countries, such as Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary (Gröppel-Klein, 1999:111; Lingenfelder, 1996:278).

Apart from these chain retailers, some in the luxury designer fashion sector, such as *Escada* and *Hugo Boss*, established their subsidiaries in the world for retailing and trading (Hoppenstedt Firmeninformationen GmbH, 2003a).

The inward flow of international retailing

In contrast to the considerable volume of outgoing international retailing from German retailers, the inward flow of international retailing to Germany seems of less significance. Entry modes of foreign retailers to the German market are direct investment, joint venture (JV), or the acquisition of a local retailer. An example of JV is the discount shop, *Netto*, which is a joint venture of Danish *Dansk Supermarked* and German *Spar* (Lingenfelder, 1996:380). *Wal-Mart* entered the German market in 1997 by the acquisition of *Wertkauf hypermarket*, and first opened twenty-one shops (Arnold, 1999:49).

However, many European grocery retailers, such as *Carrefour*, *Delhaize*, *Promodes* and *Intermarche*, as well as non-grocery retailers, such as *Virgin* or *Fnac*, have had

unsuccessful attempts to enter Germany (Gröppel-Klein, 1999:114). *Marks & Spencer* opened many stores in metropolitan cities and shopping centres in the mid 1990s. Its withdrawal however, came five years after its launch into the German market in 2001. There surely are more cases of such, which have not been reported. That which made such retail operations in Germany difficult includes generally the competition with German retail concerns as well as other operational constraints, e.g. opening times and waste packaging (Alexander, 1992:180,190; Sternquist, 1998:297-298). German grocery retailers became dominant not only in other European markets but also at home (Corporate Intelligence on Retailing, 1997:111-112).

Nevertheless, there are several foreign retailers, which have established their business in Germany successfully. One of the oldest is *Woolworth*, which originally comes from US and operates nowadays with more than three hundred outlets (notwithstanding the German subsidiary is currently German owned)(Hoppenstedt Firmeninformationen GmbH, 2003a). Some of the most successful recent examples are *Toys'r'us*, *IKEA* and *Hennes & Mauritz (H&M)*. *Toys'r'us* established its German subsidiary in 1986. It achieved around seven per cent of the German toy market through eighteen outlets in 1990, and by 1996 the market share increased up to around sixty percent (Hoppenstedt Firmeninformationen GmbH, 2003a; OXIRM, 1996:22). *IKEA* (Sweden) entered the German market in the 1970s, and nowadays has more than thirty outlets, which account for the highest proportion of its total turnover (*IKEA Website*). *H&M* (Sweden) multiplied their outlets, which are now seen probably almost in every German city centre (Corporate Intelligence on Retailing, 1997:113-114; Hoppenstedt Firmeninformationen GmbH, 2003a). Other fashion retailers include the American *Gap*, and the Spanish fashion specialists *Mango* and *Zara* (JV with the German Otto group) by direct investment. *Oviessa*, an Italian multiple clothing and textile special shop of the Italian Coin group, entered the German market through the acquisition of the German Kaufhalle AG (*Multistore*).

As mentioned above, franchising is another form of international retailing. In the 1990s franchising saw a boom across Europe. More than one hundred German companies offer franchising of their retail and service (Stammen, 1999:106-108). Other European franchisers include the Italian *Benetton*, the Austrian *Wolford* and the French *Yves Rocher*. Many franchising businesses are made directly between franchisers and franchisees, particularly those of European Union countries, rather than indirectly through master-franchisees in host countries. The advantages for such direct franchising in EU countries

obviously include free trade principles and geographical proximity convenient for the control of product supply, distribution and retail operations.

Regarding luxury fashion retailers, traditionally the German metropolitan cities of Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Cologne, Düsseldorf and Frankfurt am Main are the locations of such fashion shops.

1.1.2. The process - Japan

Early development of international retailing in Japan

The beginning of the international development of Japanese retailers can be found before the Second World War. It is reported that two Japanese retailers developed their outlets in Europe and China respectively in the 1930s, although they ended their operations due to the war (Davies & Fergusson, 1996:115). At that time, the common international elements in Japanese retailing were merely imported goods and the retail format of the department store. Department stores were the most prominent retailers introducing imported luxury goods. In the early 1900s, many department stores founded their business on selling Kimonos (traditional Japanese clothing), the retailing of which was already well established in the early seventeenth century. The Japanese term for department store, 'hyakkaten', means a large shop with a lot of merchandise (Larke, 1994:166). This meaning corresponds largely to the features of European and American department stores of the time. It can therefore be assumed that the concept of the department store comes from Western countries. It was not until after the war, however, that foreign retailers first expanded their business into Japan, at the same time as Japanese retailers expanding their business overseas.

The development of the internationalisation of Japanese retailers

The concept of the 'supermarket' arrived also in Japan. It was at the end of the 1960s that one of the current major 'superstores', *Ito-Yokado*, developed its self-service general merchandise store (Larke, 1994:207). Soon this format prevailed in Japanese retailing. From the 1960s, both full-service department stores and self-service 'superstores' began to expand their businesses abroad. Their common destinations usually included major South Asian cities, such as Hong Kong and Singapore. Many of the department stores also opened their outlets in Western metropolitan cities, such as Paris,

London and New York (Toyo Keizai Inc., 1998:1421-1444). Some of them are still in these locations, while many were closed in the 1990s. In contrast to the Japanese superstores or department stores, which concentrated firstly in the domestic market and then expanding into foreign markets, the *Yaohan* superstore was from the beginning keen to expand across Asia. It opened its first foreign outlet in Singapore in 1974 (Alexander, 1997:146). This strategy is said to be as a reaction to the dominant superstore retailers in Japan. Its considerable turnover from foreign markets has been frequently cited for Japanese international retailing by business literature (in 1997, however, the company went into liquidation (Toyo Keizai Inc., 1998)).

Apart from these general merchandisers, Japanese specialist retailers seldom developed into foreign markets. The one expansion is *Mikimoto*, which has operated several outlets in foreign countries since the 1960s (Toyo Keizai Inc., 1998).

During the 1980s and 1990s the internationalisation of Japanese retailers was probably more prevalent than the 1970s (Davies & Fergusson, 1996:105-106). Their activities have been directed towards Asian markets. Later in the 1990s China became the market for superstores, such as *Ito-Yokado* and *Daiei* (Sternquist, 1998:515-520). The environmental factors behind the recent expansion include the deregulation of foreign investment and the improved economic conditions of host countries, the stagnating Japanese domestic market from severe competition, and increasing operation costs because of the strength of the Japanese Yen (Davies & Fergusson, 1996:109). Furthermore, Japanese customers were increasingly in foreign markets as expatriates sent by other internationally expanding Japanese firms (e.g. McGoldrick & Ho, 1992) as well as leisure tourists. After the Plaza Agreement in 1989 the Yen became dramatically stronger. It generated more Japanese travellers, who came to know more foreign products abroad, and learned to take advantage of the price difference abroad for the same products available domestically (Davies & Fergusson, 1996:108,110; Chen & Sternquist, 1996:112). Japanese tourists may well become good customers of foreign retailers both in Japan and abroad.

Asian expansion of Japanese retailers however could not be of significance in the overall financial results, due to the weaker currencies of the invested Asian countries. Even one of the largest 'superstores', *Daiei*, does not have a significant turnover in Yen terms from its foreign market (less than five per cent)(Greipl et al., 1999:100). Branch shops of Japanese department stores in foreign metropolitan cities are often referred to as representative of internationalisation of Japanese retailers in business literature. Their

business is, however, usually small scale and serves generally for Japanese tourists as gift shops. Additionally other case is licensing of shop name. Daimaru department store ended the Joint Venture in Thailand, but the operation of department store is taken over still as *Daimaru* by a local firm (Kawabata, 1999b).

The most international of all Japanese retailers in terms of the number of the outlets developed abroad may be convenience stores diffusing into Asia. *Family Mart* and *Ministop* had developed a few hundred outlets in South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand or Malaysia from 1999 to 2000 (Davies, 2000:345).

Some Japanese non-grocery sector retailers are also active in Asian countries. They are discount retail formats in the electrical goods, clothing, shoes, or sports goods sectors (Larke, 1994:136-143; Toyo Keizai Inc., 1998). *Best Denki*, an electrical shop, has outlets in southeastern Asia, which accounted for around eight per cent of the total turnover in 1997, and *Aoyama Shoji*, a clothing specialist, has several outlets in China and Taiwan (Toyo Keizai Inc., 1998).

The inward flow of international retailing

After the War to the 1970s, the general economic growth in Japan meant improved and expanded markets for foreign retailers. Some foreign brand fashion retailers tended to develop their trade through the 'shop in shop' format in department stores at that time (Hollander, 1970:70). Whether the business trend was to invest as a retail operation or wholesaling is not obvious however. Direct investment as a retail operation may not have been so prevalent; however, several firms did directly establish retail outlets, such as *Brooks Brothers* (from US) in 1979. This retailer was one of the earliest cases of direct investment by a foreign retailer and that is still in operation.

As domestic retailers grew, co-operation with foreign retailers in purchasing arrangement was also made for product supply (Hollander, 1970:62). Co-operative organisations originating abroad had also arrived in Japan, such as *Spar*, a voluntary chain since 1977. *Spar* nowadays operates its own franchising convenience shop business as a Japanese retailer (Spar Japan website).

Indirect investment through Japanese partners was the more popular form for foreign retailers to enter Japanese markets. *7-Eleven* (a convenience shop chain) launched its business first through franchising to *Ito-Yokado* in 1973, and now its operation is undertaken by the Ito-Yokado group (Alexander, 1997:286). A French department store,

Printemp, started a joint venture with the Daiei group; later however, only the name of the shop remains on the shop. A retail group, the Aeon group is more specialised in master-franchiser business of foreign retailers, e.g. *Laura Ashley* and *The Body Shop*. After the franchising agreements, it even acquired not only fifteen per cent of *Laura Ashley* but also the whole firm of *The Talbots*, an American women's clothing shop in 1988, then it expanded its retail operation across southeastern Asia (Alexander, 1997:285; Larke, 1994:215).

Since the 1990s, more cases of direct foreign investment in retail operations are reported (Iwashita, 1997:35). A case in point was the political-symbolic one of *Toys'r'us* in 1989. Its entry was in the context of Japanese trade restructuring after conflicts with US about the Japanese distribution system. The US government criticised Japanese regulations in retailing and retail developments and their unclear business customs. These were regarded as attributable to the unbalanced trade between Japan and US (Iwashita, 1997:26). The political discussion on the Structural Impediments Initiative in 1989 resulted in the series of deregulation processes (Iwashita, 1997:30-31). After this development, many retailers followed entering the Japanese market. They included specialist retailers in fashion and personal goods, sportswear and sports goods, and stationary discount retailers. The specialist retailers in the entertainment sector are nowadays predominantly foreign, such as *HMV*, *Tower Records* (by direct operation), and *Virgin* (by JV) (JETRO, 1999; Davies, 2000:346).

At the same time, retailers in the luxury trade are the other source of direct foreign retail investment. It is said that gradually many designer fashion retailers came to change their business strategy from trading through co-operation with Japanese partners to direct investment by establishing subsidiaries in both distribution and their retail operations.

Regarding the grocery sector, it was not until recently that foreign supermarkets began to expand their business in Japan. French hypermarket *Carrefour* established its subsidiary, and opened several outlets in the Tokyo conurbation. *Metro* opened its first 'cash and carry' wholesale outlet in the Tokyo conurbation through a joint venture with a Japanese trading house. Even though *Wal-Mart* entered through the Japanese supermarket, *Seiyu*, as the major stockholder, it intends to acquire the Japanese supermarket in the future. While the outlets are operated under the name of *Seiyu*, *Wal-Mart's* retail concept of "everyday low price" is introduced and product supply is in the *Wal-Mart* format. However, *Seiyu* sees this case clearly as a partnership and co-operation between *Seiyu*, *Sumitomo Corporation* and *Wal-Mart Stores Inc.* The relationship between these firms

may be in a transitive stage heading towards *Wal-Mart* completely acquiring *Seiyu*, so that *Wal-Mart* would be able to freely withdraw its investment at any time.

In spite of favourable conditions, not all foreign retailers in the Japanese market are successful. Some retailers closed their shops very soon after entering the market. As stated in the Introduction previously, *Boots* from the UK, as a joint venture with the trading house of Mitsubishi Corporation stayed in Japanese locations only for a few years. Other cases are, for example, *Sephora* from France, *REI* (an American outdoor and home centre), *Office Max* (an American office supply discount store), and *Warner Brothers Store*. Japanese business culture or customs based on the long-term relationship of retailers, wholesalers and producers may neither allow outsiders to establish retail operations easily nor develop their Japanese market (Sternquist, 1998:429-435). The point is that foreign retailers usually need to establish their product supply and distribution in co-operation with Japanese partners and producers, particularly when they sell local products rather than imported specialised goods.

1.1.3. Consideration of the factors influencing the internationalisation of retailing

The development of the internationalisation of retailing depends on diverse backgrounds. These can be summarised generally by “push” or “pull” factors as well as extraneous and endogenous factors (see Table 1-1-1). Push and pull factor analysis gives a useful overview of possible factors in general. However, it tends to focus on the observable and quantifiable factors only. As often argued, it does not explain the interrelationships between each “push” and “pull” factor either those factors within each. Push factors can be obstacles for businesses; but are not insurmountable ones. In spite of these push factor obstacles, there are many retailers operating in foreign environments. Likewise, pull factors do not necessarily induce firms to invest. The context of this analysis is a static environment, so that a limitation of this model is that possible dynamic factors are necessarily reduced to these two static categories. From these factors, it can be identified that the most fundamental necessities are potential consumers and successful local business operation.

Table 1-1-1 Push and pull factors in internationalisation of retailing

	<i>Boundary</i>	<i>Push</i>	<i>Pull</i>
<i>Extraneous factors</i>	<i>Political</i>	Unstable structure, Restrictive, regulatory environment, Anti-business culture dominant, Consumer credit restrictions	Stable structure, Relaxed regulatory environment, Pro-business culture dominant, Relaxed consumer credit regulations
	<i>Economic</i>	Poor economic conditions, Low growth potential, High operating costs, Mature markets, Small domestic market	Good economic conditions, High growth potential, Low operating costs, Developing markets, Property investment potential, Large market, Favourable exchange rates, Depressed share prices
	<i>Social</i>	Negative social environment, Negative demographic trends, Population stagnation or decline	Positive social environment, Positive demographic trends, Population growth
	<i>Cultural</i>	Unfamiliar cultural climate, Heterogeneous cultural environment	Familiar cultural reference points, Attractive cultural fabric, Innovative business/retail culture, Company ethos, Homogeneous cultural environment
<i>Endogenous factors</i>	<i>Retail structure</i>	Hostile competitive environment, High concentration levels, Format saturation, Unfavourable operating environment	Niche opportunities, Company owned facilities, 'Me too' expansion, Favourable operating environment
	<i>Internal issues</i>	Advantage in the firm's strategy, Location strategy	Personal initiative

Source: the author, based on Alexander (1997:129), Hollander (1970), Kawabata (1999a), Sternquist (1998)

The factors can be also summarised with extraneous and endogenous factors, as Table 1-1-1 shows. This relation is based on the distinction between the general economic and social conditions for international retailing and retail business environment. In business literature the extraneous factors are usually emphasised. However, like push and pull factor analysis, the favourable extraneous and retail conditions are not necessarily decisive for the internationalisation of retail operation.

Consequently, internal issues appear initially of the most significance. Hollander (1979:102-111) remarks that decisions tend to be made, based on personal motivations or perspectives and the discussions between concerned staff members, rather than based on concrete marketing research. Kawabata (1999a&b) reveals the important decision-making process in the internationalisation of Japanese retailers. He studied the process of Japanese general merchandisers expanding their business to Asian countries from the 1980s to the 1990s. He illustrates how relevantly personal motivations influence decisions in the internationalisation of some businesses, causing over long periods of time the considerable and continuous loss of foreign investment (Kawabata, 1999a:15 & 1999b). According to him, key persons tend to make decisions, top-down in business, without any clear prospect, as if it were their own project. Decisions may be made due to their personal contacts with local government and firms in Asian countries (Kawabata, 1999a:10-16). He stresses that

involvement in international retailing cannot be understood as a particular milestone achieved in the process of corporate development.

1.1.4. Conclusion

The process of the internationalisation of retailing in Germany and Japan is reviewed, although precise data on all international retailing does not exist. The information for review is rather fragmented. Business forms of international retailing are in continuous change. Academic and business interests tend to focus favourably on retail concerns and large-scale retail investments. As many argue, the launching of international retail operations may be paid close attention and reported on well, but failures and withdrawals are not.

Nevertheless, this review of the process indicates features of internationalisation of retailing regarding Germany and Japan. The internationalisation of German and Japanese retailers suggests that international retailing does not depend merely on the macro-economic extraneous factors but also, more importantly, on the decision making of each individual retailer and its internal organisational development for any new retail condition.

Table 1-1-2 The various forms of entry to a foreign market by retailers

<i>Entry mode</i>	
<i>For retail operation</i>	<i>Retailing by</i>
Direct Investment	A subsidiary, Joint venture with local partners Acquisition of local firms, Participation in local firms as a stock holder
-----	-----
Indirect Investment	Franchising to local retailers, master franchiser
-----	-----
<i>Not for direct retail operation</i>	<i>Local business</i>
Organisation	Establishment of local voluntary or co-operative chain organisation by local organisation distribution of goods, management of member retailers
-----	-----
Trading of goods	Distribution (wholesale/retail) of goods by local partners (e.g. wholesaler, trading house, manufacturer), (including by those with exclusive rights for trading)
-----	-----
Co-operation	Operation of particular retail concepts, productions and distribution of goods by local partners

Source: the author

The forms of international retailing are diverse. This review highlights the distinction between the internationalisation of ‘retail operation’ by retailers and that of a part of business of retailers, as Table 1-1-2 summarises. ‘Joint venture’ means the co-operative establishment of a subsidiary by two or more firms. It does not necessarily

depend on whether capital investment is undertaken for a joint firm or not. The core of any joint venture is generally the co-operating businesses, as stated in business literature (e.g. Lingenfelder, 1996). It is quite another case when a foreign retailer invests in a local retailer. It is not a business co-operation. It may be the first step for a foreign retailer, through a local one, to transfer its retail operation in a targeted market. 'Co-operation' is based on the contracts in terms of certain part of retail concept between retailer and local partner, such as product supply of particular goods (e.g. a series of private brand goods of supermarket) and licensing of trademark (e.g. for production of goods, using shop name). Additionally some firms undertake direct investment in foreign markets (e.g. establishing subsidiaries) not for retail operation but merely for other businesses, such as trading, licensing, and advertisement management.

The various forms of international retailing are transitional and flexible, in so far as their continuous decision-making process is concerned, according to Burt (1993:407). Hollander (1970), Alexander (1997) and Sternquist (1998) deal simply with the entry modes to foreign markets, as if retailers undertake one single form for their whole international retail operation. However, as examined above, the retailers could organise several forms for each targeted market. According to business monitoring, they sometimes adjust the business forms flexibly or even make decisions to end their business after some time.

With regard to the geographical development, the internationalisation of retailing of German and Japanese retailers may appear oriented to foreign markets in the geographical and cultural proximity. Alexander (1997:92) notes, "Retailing is not global, but is increasingly macro-regional in nature and structure." However, it is not so simple. It is often pointed out that many European retail concerns are operating not only in Europe but also in other countries. The one different regional pattern is that Japanese retailers' development is in predominantly the neighbouring Asian markets.

Regarding development features of international retailing in Germany and Japan, the process in these countries is related to the particular retail formats and the similar retail-operational obstacles and market conditions. The process of development does not, however, lie in any regional patterns. The internationalisation of retailing in these countries has no specific tendency of inward flowing foreign retailers. There are many US retailers operating both in Europe and Japan. The fact is that many firms operating in multi-national locations are likely to have a presence in Germany and Japan. Competent

retailers develop appropriate strategies for each market, as stated above, no matter which type of retail format they undertake or goods they sell.

Similar trends in internationalisation of retailing in these countries are epitomised by fashion and personal goods specialist retailers including those in the luxury goods trade. Regarding those of the non-luxury types in multi-regional and national locations, they appear to bear similar types of retail concepts in goods and distribution. Table 1-1-3 shows some such major chain retailers. Their businesses are characterised by their own signifier outside outlets and standardised products (e.g. clothing) and integrated production and distribution channels.

In terms of specialist retailers in luxury goods, they tend to be foreign for Germany and Japan, as many such retailers originate from other European countries and US. Moore, et al. (2000) study more than one hundred international fashion design houses that have direct involvement in foreign markets. They identify that most of them (over eighty per cent) originate in Italy, France, the UK, and US. Some luxury fashion goods specialists develop international groups, such as the French LVMH group, the Gucci group, and the Prada group.

Table 1-1-3 Retail strategies of popular international multiple shop retailers

<i>Firms (Country of origin)</i>	<i>Brands</i>	<i>Goods</i>	<i>Relative price range</i>	<i>Production and distribution features</i>
HMV (UK)	No specific brands	CD, Video, DVD	Discount- oriented	General products
Toys'r'us (US)	No specific brands	Toys	Discount- oriented	General products
Tie Rack (UK)	Tie Rack	Neckties, scarves	Not particularly expensive	Own labelled and distributed products
The Body Shop (UK)	The Body Shop	Cosmetics, Toiletries	Not particularly expensive	Products available only at their shops
Gap (US)	Gap	Clothing, fashion accessories	Not particularly expensive	Products available only at their shops
Benetton (Italy)	Benetton	Clothing, fashion accessories	Not particularly expensive	Products available only at their shops
H&M (Sweden)	Several names	Clothing, fashion accessories	Affordable prices	Products available only at their shops
C&A (Netherlands)	Several names	Clothing, fashion accessories	Affordable prices	Own labelled and distributed products

Source: the author, based on information provided by the firms in the electronic media sources, i.e. websites

The local retail conditions in Germany and Japan cause partly these kinds of similar features of international retailing in these countries. Firstly the domestic retail concerns and groups are traditionally dominant in their own markets. They seem to give outsiders little opportunity to enter the market. Some successful cases of foreign retailers entering these markets point to the possibility of the internationalisation of German and Japanese

retailers after some time. The interests of foreign retailers may be taken over by domestic firms.

Next, the operational difficulties in retailing are considerable. The regulations for environmental issues and retail operations in Germany and the retail business culture in Japan may deter foreign retailers from entering these markets. Retail policies on large-scale retail developments are obstacles for prospective market development, particularly concerning the grocery sector, such as supermarkets.

Nevertheless, many retailers have entered the German and Japanese markets, and successfully established their businesses. One plus may be the affluence of the actual and potential customers, as much of the business literature points out.

1.2. The introduction of the study cities

1.2.1. Frankfurt am Main

The city of Frankfurt is the centre of the region and state Hessen. It has historically and geographically developed as an important trading conjuncture on Main River, and is called “Messe” (trade fair) city and financial centre. The recent city population accounts for around 650,000, and that of the regional planning area is around two million (see Table 1-2-F-1). Although the geographical definition of the region is locally at issue, this current planning area includes most of the areas, where are closely socially and economically related as a conurbation. The region is demographically the centre of the state. The population of this regional planning association accounts for almost forty percent of the state population.

Table 1-2-F-1 The population of Frankfurt am Main and the conurbation

Area	Area (sq. km)	Population (person)	
		1987 (25.5.1987)	2002 (31.12.2002)
Year			
Frankfurt am Main	248.3	618,000	641,000
Frankfurt Region Rhein-Main Planning Association*	2,458.5	1,991,000	2,166,000
State Hessen	21,114.3	5,508,000	6,078,000

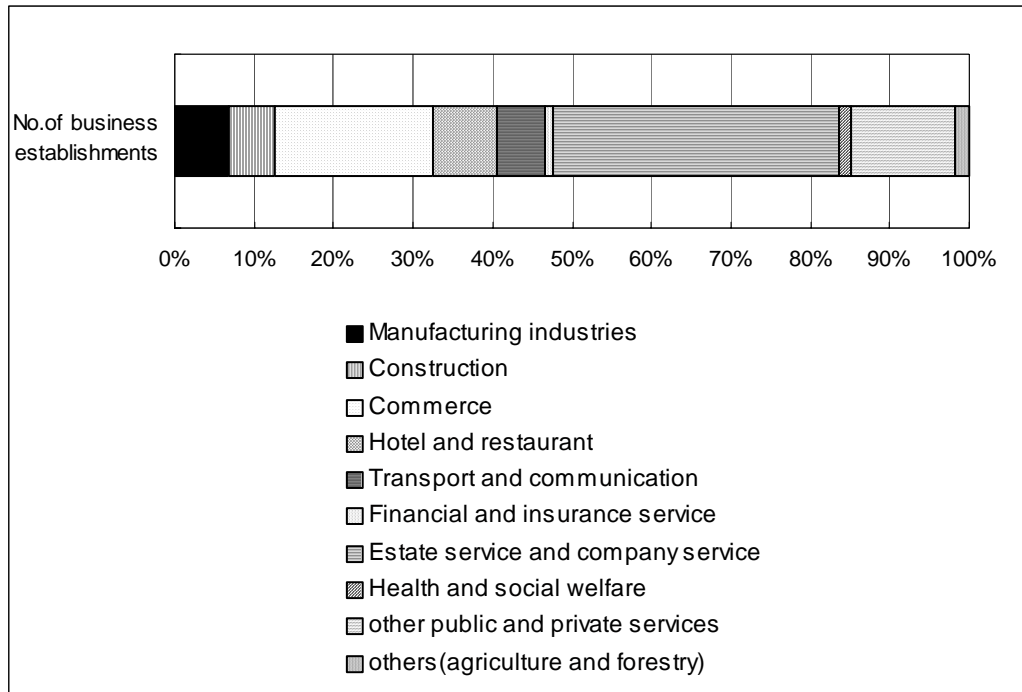
Source: Planungsverband Frankfurt Region Rhein-Main (2003), Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2002:156-8)

The major demographic features of the city are one-person households, foreigners, a low-income population, and the unemployed (Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main(ed), 1995:13), while the surrounding affluent suburban population in Hochtaunus-County and Main-Taunus-County, has grown (Berge & Block, 1997:59; Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main, 2004:36). The city has a relatively large foreign population compared with other German metropolitan cities. The foreign population includes much of the socially weak, such as the unemployed and the recipients of social welfare. For instance, the rate of foreigners in need of social welfare (89 in 1000 persons) is higher than those of German nationality (44 in 1000 persons). Such socially weak groups tend to be concentrated geographically. Some quarters in the city centre have foreign population as a majority (Stadt Frankfurt am Main, 2002).

Although the city may be demographically in decline, as often mentioned, the city is still the regional economic centre. The city’s ‘Gross Value Added’ in 2001 accounts for almost a quarter of the state total (Stadt Frankfurt am Main, 2002). This area offers

important employment opportunities particularly in the financial, commercial and service sectors (Figure 1-2-F-1).

Figure 1-2-F-1 The structure of industry in Frankfurt am Main



Source: Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2002)

*according to the economic classification system of 1993

**the business establishment subject to tax, which amounts to more than € 16,617 of supply and activities.

The city centre is made up of the commercial centre of offices, the internationally renowned trade fair centre, and the commercial centre of Zeil Street. Many building developments are being undertaken there. The particular feature of the service industry is the financial sector. The stock market, the German Central Bank, the European Central Bank and many national and international banks form a landscape of financial business in the city centre. There are more than three hundred banks with more than fifty thousand employees (Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main(ed), 1999:52). The Frankfurt international airport is Germany's major airport, and it is another important source of employment and leisure and business tourists for the region.

Cultural and entertainment facilities also characterise the city, particularly the city centre. The city centre includes many museums, concert halls, public or private theatres and cinemas. The old city centre comprises historical buildings including city hall, the cathedral, churches, and buildings for local government agencies.

Regarding the general retail locations (Footnote, 1-2-1), the city centre is the most important. The main shopping street is Zeil Street and it is here that some of the local

department stores originally launched their businesses only to disappear later (e.g. *Kaufhaus Hansa* founded in the first decade of 1900 as *the Grand Bazar*). Some of the other shopping streets around Zeil Street specialise partly in particular types of goods, like Goethe Street and the adjacent streets known for luxury brand-goods, or Kaiser Street concentrated with outlets of wedding dresses, antiques and furniture. Fressgass offers many traditional delicatessen shops (Hofrichter, 1990).

The retail built environment is constituted by properties on the ground floor of the buildings. Some retail space in the city centre is a part of buildings, such as 'Einkaufspassage' and 'Galerie'. The former is a passage in the lower floor of a building. Although it may not necessarily meet the official technical definition of shopping centre, the latter consists of many tenants of retail and entertainment facilities as well as eating and drinking places.

Apart from the city centre, there are many district and town centres. The number of such retail centres, which are considered in the retail development policy as "central places", is forty-two (not including the city centre, two shopping centres and five sites of "not-central retail agglomerations") (see Table 2-1-F-1, pp50). The developments of these district centres (B and C Centres) are based on the commercial and public centres of the former towns and villages. They usually stem from the interchange of people and activities, such as market places with town hall and transportation nodes (Seipel (ed), 1993). They include a certain concentration of retail outlets around the market place. Nowadays, however, most of them may be losing their former features as commercial and cultural centres in the socio-economic change of the area. Nevertheless, according to a recent study of retailing in Frankfurt, many of them are still popular shopping destinations for the local residents (FR, 2002). In addition to these official centres, there are many sites consisting of several shops and services in the residential and business areas.

The developed shopping centres are located within and outside the city. The shopping centres as "central places" are *Hessen-Center*, *Nordwestzentrum* and the retail space in the airport. In the adjacent cities, there are also several shopping centres. The largest one is *Main Taunus Zentrum* with its multiplex cinema (73,000 sq.m. sales area, developed in 1964). In German shopping centres, generally, the goods available are not usually the exclusive types but mainly of general quality and price. The single-standing large-scale retail outlets, such as 'Fachmarkt', as a complex on its own, are also developed. Their locations are usually referred to as "not-integrated sites", or "out-of-town" locations.

1.2.2. Tokyo

Tokyo has been the capital of Japan since the early seventeenth century, and includes many commercial and industrial centres. It is the most important location for the national economy, politics and culture, and is the centre of its region, including other million-people populated cities, such as Yokohama and Kawasaki. The conurbation lies on the extensive flat land surrounded by Tokyo Bay and the mountains.

Tokyo referred to in this study means the Tokyo Metropolitan area (twenty-three Tokyo Metropolitan boroughs), although its government includes not only metropolitan boroughs but also the suburban cities and towns and even small islands.

The demographic feature of Tokyo is the concentration of population and its growing conurbation population (see Table 1-2-T-1).

Table 1-2-T-1 The population of Tokyo and the conurbation

Area	Area (sq. km)	Population (person)	
		1970*	1995*
Year			
Tokyo 23 Metropolitan boroughs	620.84	8,841,000	7,968,000
Tokyo Metropolitan Government Area	1054.4	11,408,000	11,774,000
Tokyo Conurbation (Kanagawa, Chiba, Saitama Prefectures)(excluding Tokyo)	2184.7	12,705,000	20,803,000

Source: Sohmucho Toukei-kyoku (1997), Sohmucho (2001), Sohmu-kyoku, Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2001)

*As of October 1 of each year

The important economic and political locations are concentrated in a few metropolitan boroughs in central Tokyo (within and along the Yamanote railway ring line)(see Figure 2-1-T-1, pp160). These areas are the locations of many headquarters of large firms in manufacturing, commerce and the finance sector, as well as the locations of most of the central governmental agencies. Around half of the headquarters of the largest Japanese firms (in terms of the scale of capital - more than five thousand million yen) are located in the Tokyo Metropolitan boroughs, and most of them are in the Chiyoda, Chuo, Minato, and Shinjyuku boroughs in central Tokyo (Sohmu-kyoku, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2001). While national and international firms make up much of central Tokyo, the economy in Tokyo also comprises a number of small individual business establishments in manufacturing, service and commerce (see Figure 1-2-T-1).

The commercial centres in central Tokyo are where modern Japanese retailing began to flourish. Many traditional types of department stores established their business here in the modern era in Japan. Some centres are also closely related with the developments of religious places, such as temples and shrines, and with those of wholesale businesses.

Figure 1-2-T-1 The employment structure of Tokyo (Tokyo Metropolitan boroughs) by industry



Source: Sohמושou Toukei-kyoku (2000)

Excluding public sector

* Including full-time, part-time and temporary employees

** Including retailers of fuel and oil, and of car parts and tyres

*** e.g. restaurants, cafes and bars

Most of the retail locations belong to certain agglomeration of retailing (1-2-1). These agglomerations are retail centres, called generally ‘hankagai’, ‘shotengai’, or shopping centres largely planned and developed as such. ‘Hankagai’ is a general expression for a commercial centre with many retail outlets and restaurants. ‘Shotengai’ is simply ‘shopping street’ in English. They are organisational units of retail centres, which are based on an informal or formal association of retail and service business establishments in an area especially for small and medium-size business establishments (1-2-2).

Regarding ‘shopping centres’ (planned and developed centres), independent out-of-town locations in Tokyo are not necessarily implied by this terminology. The Association of Japanese Shopping Centres (1998) defines a shopping centre as: a planned and developed centre with more than one thousand five hundred sq.m. sales area; more than ten retail outlets other than key-tenants: key-tenants not occupying most of sales area (around not more than eighty percent); and having a co-operative organisation of the tenants. The availability of parking space, which other international definitions include, is not taken up in the Japanese one. Unlike the Western definition of shopping centres, Japanese shopping centres include so-called ‘fashion buildings’ or leased retail space. These are developed

often as a part of the properties of department stores and supermarkets, office buildings, hotels, apartments and stations. 'Fashion buildings' are a major component of the retail built environment in Tokyo and other metropolitan cities. They usually constitute a vertically developed retail space.

In terms of the access to these centres, features can be distinguished as a "roadside" location. This means usually a complex of larger-scale speciality shops, for example, car dealers, multiple restaurants and fast foods outlets, with parking facilities (Kawano, 1999). Car access implies larger trade areas, particularly when they include discount shops. "Roadside" retail sites may have a connotation of 'out-of-town' in the suburban areas of the Tokyo conurbation. However, usually in Tokyo or other metropolitan cities they are not geographically independent but integrated into residential or industrial areas. They are then accessible even to people without cars and therefore do not necessarily filter out particular socio-economic groups of customers.

Footnote:

(1-2-1) Photographs of some retail locations are presented at the end of the thesis (see Reference: Photographs...). They are not given in order to show any representative types of retail locations nor of those in the typology later, but to provide general pictures of the retail environment of both cities.

(1-2-2) The formal 'shotengai' association has more than 30 establishments (or "kumiai" as a co-operative association with more than four members). It is qualified to apply for state funds for investment in the built environment (Sato, 1997:90; Tokyo-to Shoukoushidousyo, 1986:3-7). It is said that many multiple shops are unwilling to join the association, while the memberships are confined to certain proportions in the organisation due to the purpose of the Acts (Tokyo-to Shoukoushidousyo, 1986:3-7). In addition, it should be noted that 'shotengai' might include the other non-retail establishments as the majority of the overall business of the street. Therefore, 'shotengai' may not be a 'retail' centre. Regarding the number of 'shotengai' in Tokyo, also see Appendix 3, Table A-3-1

1.3. The recent development of the internationalisation of retailing – locations of international retail activity in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo

This section presents the current micro-geographical state of the internationalisation of retailing by examining the case of Frankfurt and that of Tokyo. For the survey of locations of the internationalisation of retailing, this study focuses on ‘international retail activity’, i.e. foreign retailers operating in these cities by direct investment (subsidiaries, branches, joint ventures or acquisition of local retailers) and by franchising. As stated above, the feature of recent trend of the internationalisation of retailing is related particularly to these forms of international expansion of retail operation, e.g. that by chain retailers. The locations of these forms could highlight particular locations of interest of international retailing in these cities.

Information sources for these examinations include academic and business literature, materials and references to firms provided by official commercial and industrial organisations. The details of survey, methodology, information sources and the presentation of data are covered in Appendix 2 & 4. The data is current to the end of 2002.

Features of international retail activity

The foreign retailers in these study cities are categorised by market entry modes, types of goods in basic terms, and retail formats. Furthermore, as per current trends in the internationalisation of retailing, retail activities of the firms are classified into luxury goods or non-luxury goods (Table 1-3-1 distinguishes these meanings).

Table 1-3-1 Definitions of luxury goods and non-luxury goods*

<i>Main goods for sale</i>	<i>Definition</i>
Luxury types	Goods of relatively expensive price compared with others of same assortments, including those depending on one or several product names, as the central retail concept.
Non-luxury / general types	Goods relatively affordable in price, appealing to general, mass consumers

Source: the author
*see also Appendix 2

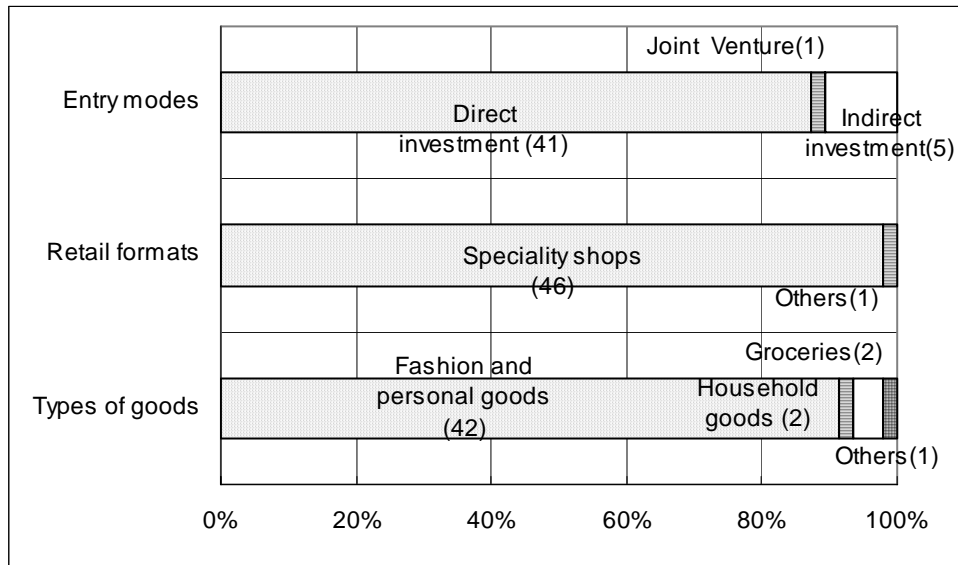
Lastly the major locations of outlets are presented by address. Location classification by address in Tokyo is not, however, necessarily meaningful and does not correspond to the particular retail centres’ location due to the Japanese address system. Regarding Frankfurt am Main, ‘city centre’ locations can be adequately described for those

relatively concentrated areas, by addresses in the city centre in general. The relationship of these locations to the retail centres is explored in the next chapter.

Frankfurt am Main

Most foreign retailers are specialist retailers in fashion and personal goods, and they invest directly in retail operations in Frankfurt (Figure 1-3-F-1). Foreign retailers of larger scale formats in the grocery sector are seldom found. Regarding these specialist retailers in the fashion and personal goods sector, Figure 1-3-F-2 shows that they include both luxury goods and non-luxury goods.

Figure 1-3-F-1 Features of international retail activity in Frankfurt am Main



Source: the author, as of Dec. 2002 *() = no. of firms

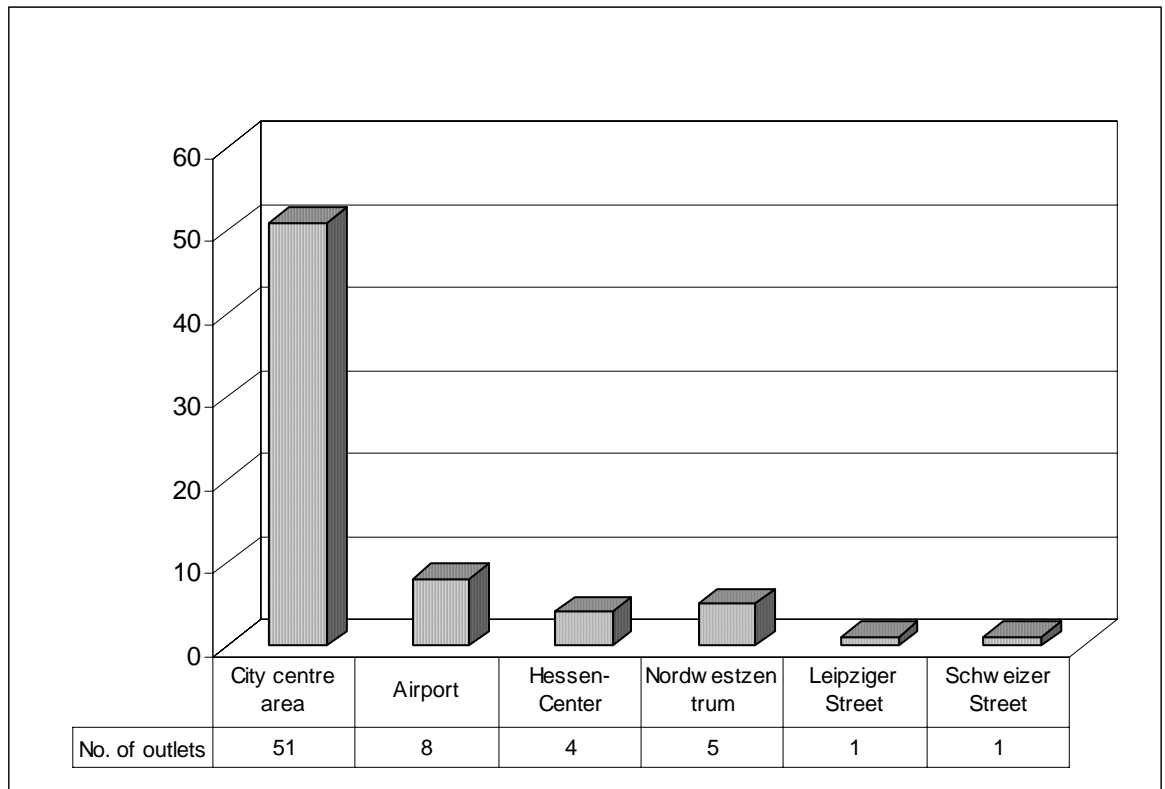
Figure 1-3-F-2 International retail activity by luxury/non-luxury goods in Frankfurt am Main



Source: the author, as of Dec. 2002

The majority of outlets, however, are comprised of those by retailers of non-luxury goods, and these are developed in multiple locations. International retailing in this city is concentrated in particular locations (Figure 1-3-F-3). The city centre is the location for retailers of both types of goods. Other locations are largely the shopping centres (*Nordwestzentrum* and *Hessen-Center*), including many non-luxury fashion and personal goods retailers. *Wal-Mart* has developed retail outlets in this region but not in the city.

Figure 1-3-F-3 Addresses of major locations of international retail activity in Frankfurt am Main



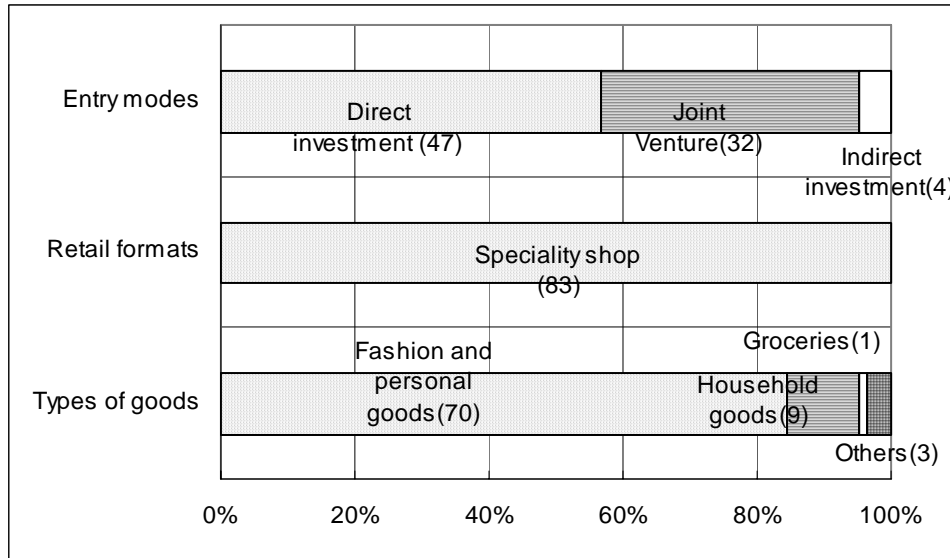
Source: the author, as of Dec. 2002

Tokyo

Most foreign retailers in Tokyo invest directly through their subsidiaries or as joint venture with Japanese partners (Figure 1-3-T-1). Franchising businesses from abroad are seldom found. Foreign retailers are largely specialist retailers in the fashion and personal goods sector. Those in supermarkets or the general grocery sector are not found in the study city. *Carrefour* opened its outlet not in central Tokyo but in the Tokyo city area and neighbouring Chiba and Saitama Prefectures. (The *Wal-Mart* case is not considered as an international retail activity, as stated above.)

Many of the foreign retailers are in the business of luxury fashion goods. They account for a considerable part of the international retail activity in Tokyo by number of firms and even by number of outlets (Figure 1-3-T-2). The retailers here include not only those in fashion goods but also those in household goods, such as chinaware and glassware. As far as was surveyed, many of these operate their own retail outlets as well as wholesale their goods through ‘shop in shops’.

Figure 1-3-T-1 Features of international retail activity in Tokyo



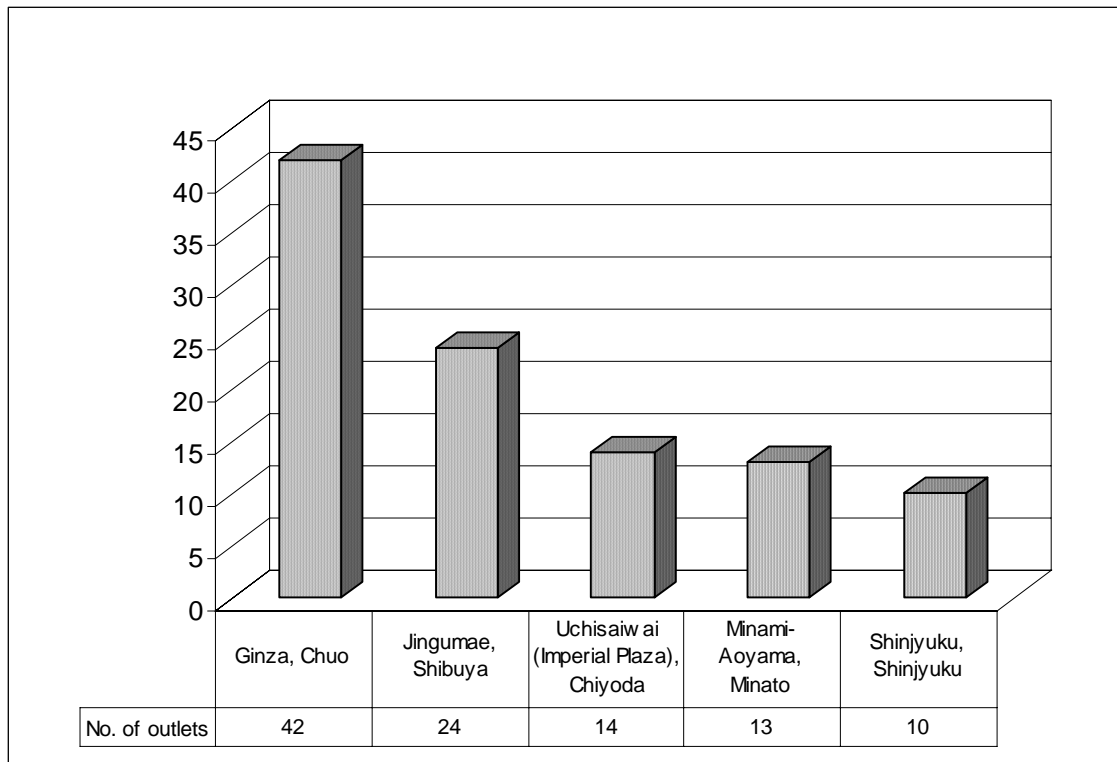
Source: the author, as of Dec. 2002
 *() = no. of firms

Figure 1-3-T-2 International retail activity by luxury/non-luxury goods in Tokyo



Source: the author, as of Dec. 2002

Figure 1-3-T-3 Addresses of major locations of international retail activity in Tokyo



Source: the author, as of Dec. 2002

Foreign retailers, then, make up distinct areas of international retail activity (Figure 1-3-T-3). Almost twenty percent of all retail outlets invested by foreign retailers are concentrated in the Ginza area in Chuo borough. The other locations not included in this table are, for example, the Odaiba area in Minato borough and the Higashi-Ikebukuro area in Ikebukuro borough.

1.4. Conclusion

The macro-geographical development of the internationalisation of retailing has been examined in terms of Germany and Japan. It is suggested that the outward and inward flows of international retailing do not follow concrete regional patterns, such as would be described as European or Asian. There are indeed many retailers successfully establishing their business in both countries. The development of the internationalisation of retailers cannot be generalised with a simple model of causal relationships between several factors. The development significantly depends on the internal decision-making for retail operations in targeted foreign markets.

Despite the various internal and organisational issues and conditions for each retailer entering to the German and Japanese markets, the development of international retailing in these countries results in similar features in terms of the retail formats and goods to be sold. These countries are surely important markets for foreign fashion and personal goods specialist retailers.

These similar trends of development in these countries were further examined by focusing on the cases of Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo in a micro-geographical context. As a result, it was found that the micro-geographical development of international retail activity is characterised by fashion and personal goods specialist retailers geographically concentrated in particular locations. Particularly in Tokyo, foreign luxury brand goods specialists epitomise international retailing. Foreign retailers in the supermarket sector are not found in these areas.

From these results, a further question arises: to what extent do such developments of internationalisation of retailing in particular sites influence the relationship between local retail centres? In the next chapter, this will be explored in relation to the development of retail centres initially in the economic system.

2. The internationalisation of retailing and the development of retail centres in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo

The internationalisation of retailing emerges in space and place. As examined in the last chapter, many firms are investing eagerly in German and Japanese locations through diverse forms of international expansion of retail business. This chapter goes on to explore the micro-geographical context of the phenomenon of the internationalisation of retailing through the cases of Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo. Why are some retail centres selected by international retailing from the many possible locations?

Numerous studies in the field of retail geography highlight three interrelating dimensions of spatial organisation of retail centres, i.e. economic, political, and social systems. By looking at these dimensions, the relationship between the development of the internationalisation of retailing and that of retail centres will be explored.

Firstly, the economic dimension is considered. The locations of international retailing are examined with economic relations of retail locations. It is also looked at that the economic relations are closely related with the political framework of retailing and retail development. As a result of these, however, the qualitative dimension is turned to in the second section of this chapter. It is discussed in terms of the images of retail centres. Accordingly this suggests the image system of retail centres for each study city. In this image system its distinctive relationship to the locations of international retailing will be demonstrated. The argument concerns that the images of retail centres are the powerful commercial and political images in the contemporary world, which are intertwined with the development of the internationalisation of retailing.

2.1. Economic system of retail centres and international retail activity

The locations of international retail activity in the study cities are analysed with some basic economic relations of retail locations. Although no theory could explain fully the whole complex system of retail locations and spatial distribution of the agglomerations, there seem to be common tendencies despite different conditions. The spatial distribution of retail centres is featured by certain types and variety of goods and retail formats, the scale of total sales and sales area, rent/land price, distances to travel, or with various available activities, which cause the nature of trip, such as single-purpose (shopping) trip or multi-purpose trip (2-1-1). According to these features, retail centres could be presented in a hierarchical structure (2-1-2). Regarding the locations of international retail activity, they could simply be related to the types of goods. The first chapter on the process of the internationalisation of retailing in Germany and Japan and in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo shows the recent development of international retailing in the fashion and personal goods sectors in these countries and its geographical agglomeration rather than a dispersed distribution. According to the tendency of relative commercial significance of the higher order retail centres featured by such goods in the hierarchical “central place” structure, the locations of international retail activity then could be assumed to associate to those of considerable commercial results. Moreover, the agglomerations may relate to the qualities of ‘foreignness’ in retailing as well as the customers, such as leisure and business tourists and foreign residents, as Hollander (1970) remarks. Such a clustering of international retailing may result in commercial growth of the whole retail centre, for example, in terms of turnover, sales area, range of assortments, visitors, or retail property market.

Apart from the possible agglomeration of international retailers in the central locations, international retailers may develop new retail locations and change the economic relationship between the existing retail centres. The general retail trend of the development of larger scale retail formats, such as ‘Fachmarkt’ or DIY centres implies that retail locations are increasingly sought in out-of-town in Frankfurt am Main and the region. However, as reviewed in the last chapter, this trend seems particularly led by dominant domestic supermarket retail concerns. Furthermore, a question arises whether it is possible to mention and prove to what extent international retailing relates to such an economic development of a retail centre and the economic relationship between retail centres.

In summary, from economic perspectives, the assumption drawn so far is that retail locations of international retail activity emerge in ‘central’ or commercially important locations of ‘similar’ retail centres in terms of goods and retail formats, in agglomeration of foreign retailers, and in relation to international customers. In order to explore this assumption, however, a complete quantitative model of economic system of retail centres will not be constructed. Instead, the author suggests the types of retail centres by reviewing the available studies and taking into consideration the distinctive economic and political features of retail locations in each study city (2-1-3). Then, based on the types of retail centres suggested, the locations of international retail activity are analysed. The related figures, specifically the maps and plans of the retail locations and centres are presented at the end of this thesis as reference (Reference: Figures (maps and plans), pp 157 - 166).

2.1.1. Types of retail centres in economic system of retail centres

Frankfurt am Main

The economic types and spatial structure of the retail centres in Frankfurt are understood first of all in the context of “central place” system, which is based on economic perspectives (2-1-4). “Central place” system is the basis of retail developments (see Blotevogel, 1996). “Central places” are hierarchically ordered according to the functions of consumer goods as well as private services supply for the welfare of residents (Vielberth, 1995:96; Bundesministerium für Raumordnung, Bauwesen und Städtebau, 1996:50-51). Large-scale retail developments that could substantially change the hierarchical order of “central places” are particularly subject to control by planning permission according to land use plans and building plans of local authorities. Frankfurt City is designated as the regional “central place” in the state level (Regierungspräsidium Darmstadt, 2000), and the city centre of Frankfurt corresponds to it.

The latest study of retail centres in Frankfurt presents the “central place” structure (2-1-5), as in Table 2-1-F-1 and Figure 2-1-F-1 (pp157). This is the basis of retail development policy. The types of goods are given as in Table 2-1-F-2. Goods in daily needs refer to those in short-term needs. According to the “central place” concept, the goods needed for the longer-term or for special occasions are supposed to be located in

central business locations, i.e. in the city centre, while those for the shorter-term are in smaller retail agglomerations in the residential areas.

Table 2-1-F-1 Central places of Frankfurt am Main

<i>Type</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Trade area</i>	<i>Types of goods and services and range of assortments</i>
A Centre	City centre	1	Frankfurt and the region	Wide and deep range of goods in middle- and long-term needs
B Centre: Upper- District centre (at least 25 retailers and 10,000 sq.m. sales area)	Airport, Nordwestzentrum, Hessen-Center, Berger Street, Höchst, Leipziger Street, Schweizer Street	7	District and neighbouring districts	Different range of goods in short and middle-term needs, specialised offers in long-term needs
C Centre: District centre (at least 10 retailers, and 2,000 sq.m. sales area)	Hauptbahnhof, Rödelheim, Fechenheim, etc.	19	District and neighbouring residential area	Goods for daily (short-term) needs and selected goods in middle- and long-term needs
D Centre: Neighbourhood centre (at least 5 retailers and 700 sq.m. sales area)	Hausen, Niederursel, Ginnheim, Bonames, Sossenheim, Bergen	29	Residential area	Goods and services in daily needs
Not-central retail agglomerations (at least 5 retailers and 5,000 sq.m. sales area)	Hanauer Landstraße, Mainzer Landstraße, etc	5	Across districts	Various ranges of goods, parking space available

Source: Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2003:26), Block (1994), Berge & Block (1997)
*see Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2003:28-29) for the detail of each retail centre in terms of no. of business establishments, sales area and turnover.

Table 2-1-F-2 Types of goods

<i>Grade of needs</i>	<i>Group of branches</i>
Goods in short-term needs	Groceries; pharmaceutical goods and perfumery; flower and plants
Goods in middle-term needs	Book, paper and stationery; toys; clothing; shoes and leather goods; sports and leisure goods
Goods in long-term needs	Electronics, entertainment and household appliances; household goods and glassware, porcelain and ceramics; furniture; textile; DIY and garden goods; camera and glasses; watches and accessories;

Source: Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2003:36)

As Table 2-1-F-3 shows, there are fifty-six retail centres and five “not-central retail agglomerations” (retail sites not-integrated to the “central places” of the city). Most of the retail outlets in Frankfurt are located in A - D Centres (constituting ca. sixty percent of the total retail outlets, ca. sixty percent of the total sales area, and ca. seventy percent of the total turnover of the city retailing), and the decentralisation of retail locations is, therefore, not considerable (Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main, 2003:26).

The commercial significance in terms of sales and sales area scale corresponds to the hierarchical order from A to D types of “central places” in Table 2-1-F-1. Table 2-1-F-3 presents the economic data of major retail centres in the study of Planning Department,

Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2003:28-29). The city centre produces the highest sales volume with the largest sales area as A Centre in Frankfurt.

Table 2-1-F-3 Annual turnover and total sales area of major retail centres in Frankfurt am Main

<i>Retail centres (areas)</i>	<i>Types of central place</i>	<i>Types of retail centres (Table 2-1-F-3)</i>	<i>No. of outlets</i>	<i>Sales area (sq.m.)</i>	<i>Annual turnover (Mill. €)*</i>
City Centre (Innenstadt, Altstadt, Bahnhofsviertel)	A Centre	City	1,114	281,000	1,436.3
Nordwestzentrum	B Centre	Developed district centre	89	49,410	228.8
Hessen-Center	B Centre	Developed district centre	97	40,500	165.5
Berger Street	B Centre	Non-developed district centre	254	29,020	142.7
Airport	B Centre	Developed district centre	101	10,080	85.6
Leipziger Street	B Centre	Non-developed district centre	157	17,840	76.7
Höchst	B Centre	Non-developed district centre	129	14,020	54.1
Schweizer Street	B Centre	Non-developed district centre	108	9,650	40.7
5 sites	Not-central retail agglomerations	Developed Not-integrated locations	101	119,990	338.4
<i>Total</i>	-	-	4,988	934,800	4,083.2

Source: Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2003:28-29) as of Jan.2002

“Central place” system of Frankfurt am Main includes no differentiation of developed and non-developed types. Between these types, however, there seems a considerable difference in the scale of turnover. This implies the different types of major goods (e.g. daily goods, such as groceries, or goods in middle to long term needs, such as fashion and household goods) and the scale of outlets in retail centres. Within B Centres, the total turnover differs largely between developed and non-developed types of retail centres, although Berger Street, a non-developed centre, has the largest number of retail outlets with relative large sales area and exceptionally shows so large turnover as the developed type of *Hessen-Center*. Developed retail centres in the city are two independent shopping centres and a shopping area in the airport, then additionally several sites of large-scale speciality shops along major roads. They are *Hessen-Center* (around one hundred outlets, and 40,000 sq.m. sales area) and *Nordwestzentrum* (around ninety outlets, and 49,000 sq.m. sales area). Another developed airport retail space has a considerable sales area of 10,000 sq.m., although it does not necessarily serve the city but mainly the airport users.

Apart from these, there are many retail centres and sites not integrated into residential and business areas. Large-scale retail formats, such as ‘Fachmarkt’ or self-service department stores and their complexes are developed along the major roads increasingly since the 1970s within the city and in the adjacent cities (Berge & Block, 1997:56,58). In the latest “central place” structure of the city, these developed retail sites

are included as “not-central retail agglomerations”, due to its considerable scale of retail activities.

Accordingly, the types of retail centres are suggested as the analytical basis for the next section, as Table 2-1-F-4 presents. Not to mention, “central places” are regarded as ‘retail centres’ in general.

Table 2-1-F-4 Types of retail centres in Frankfurt am Main

<i>Location</i>	<i>Development type</i>	<i>Major function</i>	<i>Major goods</i>	<i>Possible retail formats</i>	<i>Examples</i>
City	Non-developed	Business centre including retailing	Goods in middle and long-term needs	Department stores, Speciality shops	City centre
Not-integrated locations	Developed	Airport	Goods in middle and long-term needs	Speciality shops, supermarkets	“Frankfurt International Airport “
District centres	Developed	Retailing, Public/private service	Goods in short and middle-term needs	Department stores, supermarkets, Speciality supermarket ('Fachmarkt'), Speciality shops in fashion and personal goods	Hessen-Center, Nordwestzentrum
District centres	Non-developed	Retailing, Public/private service	Goods in short and middle-term needs	Department stores, supermarkets, Speciality supermarket ('Fachmarkt'), Speciality shops in fashion and personal goods	Berger Street, Höchst, Leipziger Street, Schweizer Street
District centres	Non-developed	Retailing, Private service	Goods in short-term needs	Speciality shops, supermarkets	Rödelheim, Fechenheim, Oberrad
District centres	Non-developed	Retailing	Goods only in short-term needs	Supermarket, Grocery shops	Bergen, Bonames, Heddernheim
Other locations integrated into other land use	Non-developed	-	Any types	Supermarket, Speciality shops	-
Not-integrated locations	Developed	-	Any types	Hypermarket, 'Fachmarkt'	Site on Hanauer Landstrasse

Source: the author, based on Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2003:26); Block (1994); Berge & Block (1997)

Tokyo

There are a number of retail outlets in the Tokyo Metropolitan boroughs for the conurbation of large populations that accounts for more than a quarter of the Japanese population (126 Million in 1999, Sohmushou Toukei-kyoku, 2001)(see Table 2-1-T-1). Most of the retail outlets are operated by small, individual business establishments (Sohmu-kyoku, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2000). They tend to lie in proximity to

each other and in agglomeration (Ikuta, 1990). Such clusters of retail outlets contribute to a considerable part of turnover in the retail sector (Table 2-1-T-1)(regarding the number of the sites of commercial concentration, see Appendix 3, Table A-3-1).

Table 2-1-T-1 Retailing** in Tokyo Metropolitan boroughs

Area	Total No. of outlets	%	No. of Employee	%	Annual turnover*** (Mill. €)	%
The sites of commercial concentration*	62,145	48.4	381,839	46.9	86,298	60.1
Metropolitan boroughs	98,230	76.4	590,935	72.6	110,454	77.0
Tokyo	128,510	100.0	813,885	100.0	143,520	100.0

Source: Sohmu-kyoku, Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000); Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000), as of 1999

*The definition of "the site of commercial concentration" (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2000) is the site of more than 100 wholesale, retail and restaurant business establishments including more than 50 retail establishments, or the sites with the total sales of more than one billion Yen. It is based on the site defined in The Census of Commerce. The Census of Commerce defines the site as 'shotengai' of more than 30 of retail outlets, as well as restaurants and services located near the areas designated to "near-commercial area" and "commercial area" Land Uses by Town Planning Law.

** Including retail establishments of fuel and oil, and car parts and tyres

***1€ (ECU)= 121.31; the rate is the annual average of 1999. Source: European Central Bank (2003) Monthly Bulletin, September 2003
also see Appendix 3, Table A-3-1

The spatial distribution of these retail agglomerations, i.e. retail centres, is closely related to the structure of railway network of the conurbation (Ikuta, 1990:89-90; Tokyo-to Shoukoushidousyo, 1993;2000a). The urbanisation and suburbanisation of the Tokyo conurbation after the World Wars were accompanied with the development of the centralised structure of the railway network. Particularly, private railway companies, which also undertake retail business, have been of significance in the process, as they supply housing for the growing conurbation population (Larke, 1994:174).

Figure 2-1-T-3 (pp163) shows that the general spatial distribution of retail centres in Tokyo comprises many clusters of 'shotengai' units for regions or areas (serving larger service areas than so-called neighbourhood centres) in relation to the nodes of railways and to central Tokyo (2-1-6&7). The railway nodes in central Tokyo could be viewed as the convergence points of hierarchically ordered retail centres from the suburban area (see Figure 2-1-T-1, Figure 2-1-T-2, Figure 2-1-T-3 - pp160-163). Then, there are a number of retail centres and sites comprising 'shotengai' units at a station even in central Tokyo (Figure 2-1-T-3, pp163).

The centralised spatial structure of retail centres developed with the railway network is supported by local policy. Tokyo development policy supports the poly-central structure consisting of "Tokyo Centre" (Toshin) (2-1-8) and "Sub-Centres" (Huku-Toshin) in central Tokyo (Tokyo-to Toshikeikaku-Kyoku, 1997; Tokyo-to Toshikeikaku-Kyoku, 2001a)(Figure 2-1-T-1, pp160). At the same time, this structure is supported indirectly through

Japanese commercial policy and town planning policy for the protection of small and middle size business establishments, which constitute mainly 'shotengais'.

This spatial structure can be understood with the typical convenience-comparison goods relationship. The centres at the railway nodes and in central Tokyo are characterised by comparison goods (2-1-9), as Kawaguchi (1985) and Ikuta (1990:58-60) show, while other retail centres in the residential area generally offer groceries (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2000:73-74). Some may argue that the current tendency of central locations of comparison goods changed according to the change in travel mode, i.e. the increase use of private cars and the development of freeway network. However, it seems that the railway network still influences the centralised structure in terms of the retail locations of comparison goods, such as fashion goods, including highly specialised goods. Iwama (2001) studies the types of goods offered in the branches of major department stores in the Tokyo conurbation. He confirms the centralised comparison and decentralised convenience goods locations. If only the department store retail format, which is usually associated to 'central' locations, is considered, its decentralised locations increasing in the conurbation may be regarded as a change in the retail spatial structure. However, as Iwama (2001) shows, department stores flexibly develop their assortment strategy for the demand of customers of each outlet.

Additionally, as stated in the last chapter, the development type of retail centres is generally not associated with retail locations in Tokyo. Developed shopping centres could be everywhere and integral to residential or commercial areas in the extensive developed urban land use.

In summary, the retail centres in Tokyo and the spatial structure are characterised by the conurbation railway network and its nodes in central Tokyo, and certain concentrations of comparison goods. In order to suggest the types of retail centres according to these features, this thesis takes up the study of Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000), which presents the economic relationships of most retail centres in Tokyo. Based on the data, the types of retail centres are suggested as Table 2-1-T-2.

The detail of the method is presented in Appendix 3. In brief, the retail centres in the study of Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000)(i.e. the sites of commercial concentration) are reorganised by 'classification from above', according to the major retail format indicating the goods available as the first index, and the location in the railway network as the second index. Additionally other significant businesses are given.

Table 2-1-T-2 Types of retail centres in Tokyo

<i>Goods by major retail formats</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Other business</i>	<i>Retail centres (by the name of station)*</i>
General Merchandise	At stations or a station of many lines (railway/underground nodes)	-	Akabane, Asakusa, Ayase, Ogikubo, Nishi-Ogikubo, Nerima, Hutakotamagawaen, Nishiaraitaishi, Shinagawa, etc
		Wholesale	Ueno/Okachimachi
	At a station	-	Koiwa, Hikarigaoka, Ohmori, Kinshicho, Kameari, Nishikasai, etc
Including a considerable concentration of textile retailing	At stations or a station of many lines (railway/underground nodes)	Wholesale /Eating & drinking places	Ginza/Tokyo/Shinbashi
		Eating & drinking places	Shibuya/Omotesando/Aoyama, Shinjyuku, Ikebukuro
		-	Shimokitazawa, Kitasenju, Daikanyama/Ebisu, Nakano, Ohimachi, Ichigaya, Jiyugaoka
	At a station	-	Musashikoyama
Miscellaneous (no specific type of goods)	At stations or a station of many lines (railway/underground nodes)	Wholesale	Kanda
		Eating & drinking places	Akasaka
		-	Akihabara, Suidoubashi/Kanda/Ochanomizu, Meguro, Kamata, etc
	At a station	Wholesale	Kappabashi/Tawaramachi
		Eating & drinking places	Roppongi
		-	Hiroo, Nakanosakaue, etc
	Not at stations	Wholesale	Shinkawa
-		Shirogane, Mukoujima, etc	
Groceries	Any locations	-	Takadanobaba/Waseda, etc.

Source: the author, *based on Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000)

Consequently it is shown that there are also many retail centres with no particular features in the types of goods. Table 2-1-T-2 does not present a single-structured hierarchical order of the retail centres, unlike in Frankfurt am Main, but roughly two groups of the higher and lower centres (those of comparison goods and those of convenience goods as major goods). Within the higher retail centres the locations in railway network indicate further the relation of higher and lower order.

The commercial significance of retail centres in Tokyo is presented below in Table 2-1-T-3. The largest twenty retail centres are shown from top to bottom in terms of number of retail outlets, annual turnover, and scale of sales area. In relation to the types in Table 2-1-T-2, some retail centres, which include a considerable concentration of textile retailing and/or at the nodes of many train lines and are featured by other businesses than retailing, tend to have the higher economic indicators of these.

Table 2-1-T-3 Major retail centres in Tokyo (Metropolitan boroughs)

<i>Major retail centres (the largest 20 centres) in terms of</i>		
<i>Number of retail outlets</i>	<i>Annual turnover</i>	<i>Sales area</i>
Ginza/Tokyo/Shinbashi	Ginza/Tokyo/Shinbashi	Ginza/Tokyo/Shinbashi
Shibuya/Omotetsando/Aoyama	Shinjyuku	Shinjyuku
Shinjyuku	Ikebukuro	Ikebukuro
Ikebukuro	Shibuya/Omotetsando/Aoyama	Shibuya/Omotetsando/Aoyama
Kamata	Okachimachi/Ueno	Okachimachi/Ueno
Koiwa*	Akihabara	Ohimachi
Okachimachi/Ueno	Suidoubashi/Kanda/Ochanomizu	Suidoubashi/Kanda/Ochanomizu
Jiyugaoka	Hutako-tamagawaen	Kamata
Suidoubashi/Kanda/Ochanomizu	Kamata	Akabane
Kitasenjyu	Ohmori*	Kinshicho
Shimokitazawa	Kinshicho	Akihabara
Takadanobaba/Waseda	Nakanosakaue*	Hutako-tamagawaen
Daikanyama/Ebisu	Kitasenjyu	Jiyugaoka
Ogikubo	Koiwa*	Koiwa*
Nishi-Ogikubo	Akabane	Ohmori*
Hutako-tamagawaen	Takadanobaba/Waseda	Nishikasai*
Asagaya	Jiyugaoka	Kameari*
Akabane	Ogikubo	Ogikubo
Nishiaraishishi	Asakusa	Hikarigaoka*
Kouenji	Nakano	Asakusa

Source: the author, based on Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000)

* centres at a station, otherwise centres at railway nodes

2.1.2. Analysis of the locations of international retail activity in economic system of retail centres

The locations of international retail activity in the study cities are analysed with the economic types of retail centres suggested above in the perspectives of macro-location (the locations within the city) and micro-location (the locations within a retail centre). The survey method is presented in Appendix 4. The factor of locations of foreign retailers in terms of international tourists is also considered.

Frankfurt am Main

The locations of international retail activity are all in the “central places” of the city, as Table 2-1-F-5 shows. They are A and B Centres including both developed and non-developed types of retail centres (Figure 2-1-F-2, pp158). The city centre and developed types of district centres, i.e. shopping centres include most of the locations. From a macro perspective, obviously it is confirmed that foreign retailers tend to choose the commercially and politically important retail centres. Nevertheless, within non-developed

types of B Centres, the most commercially attractive centre, Berger Street, is not a location of international retail activity (see Table 2-1-F-3).

Table 2-1-F-5 Features of the locations of international retail activity in Frankfurt am Main and the types of retail centres

<i>Location</i>	<i>Development type</i>	<i>Major function</i>	<i>Major goods</i>	<i>Possible retail formats</i>	<i>No. of outlets of international retail activity</i>
City	Non-developed	Business centre including retailing	Goods in middle and long-term needs	Department stores, Speciality shops	51
Not-integrated locations	Developed	Airport	Goods in middle and long-term needs	Speciality shops and supermarkets	8
District centres	Developed	Retailing, Public/private service	Goods in short and middle-term needs	Department stores, supermarkets, Speciality supermarket ('Fachmarkt'), Speciality shops in fashion and personal goods	9
District centres	Non-developed	Retailing, Public/private service	Goods in short and middle-term needs	Department stores, supermarkets, Speciality supermarket ('Fachmarkt'), Speciality shops in fashion and personal goods	2
District centres	Non-developed	Retailing, Private service	Goods in short-term needs	Speciality shops and supermarkets	0
District centres	Non-developed	Retailing	Goods only short-term needs	Supermarket, Speciality shops	0
Other locations Integrated with other land use	Non-developed	-	Any types of goods	Supermarket, Speciality shops	0
Not-integrated locations	Developed	-	Any types of goods	Hypermarket, 'Fachmarkt'	0
Total	-	-	-	-	70

Source: the author, the data as of Dec. 2002

These macro-locations are possibly related to foreign tourists and residents. Tourists to Frankfurt do constitute the largest volume of visitors to German cities, and usually their stay is short; however, they do comprise the highest proportion of foreign tourists (Stadt Frankfurt am Main, 2002). More than two million tourists (including the half from abroad) for over-night stays nearly equal the total population of the Rhein-Main region. Most of them obviously stay in the city, the business and cultural centre. Many customers on the luxury-fashion Goethe Street in the city centre are tourists: French, Italian, Japanese, new rich Russian or Sheikhs (FAZ, 1999). A luxury designer brand shop has a few Japanese shop staff to serve exclusively Japanese tourists. According to one of the shop staff, "many tourists travelling and transferring in Frankfurt are many of our customers, and at

the time of a trade fair we have particularly many foreign customers.” A Japanese department store branch, *Mitsukoshi* is a small souvenir shop in the city centre (around 600 sq.m. sales area) full of German and European designer fashion goods. Another major location of foreign retailers is the international airport as the conjunction of business and leisure tourist traffic. On the other hand, foreign customers for international retailers in the city do not necessarily include the foreign residents. This foreign residential population consisting of a considerable part of socially weak groups, as stated above, does not likely correspond to the group of luxury fashion retailers’ customers.

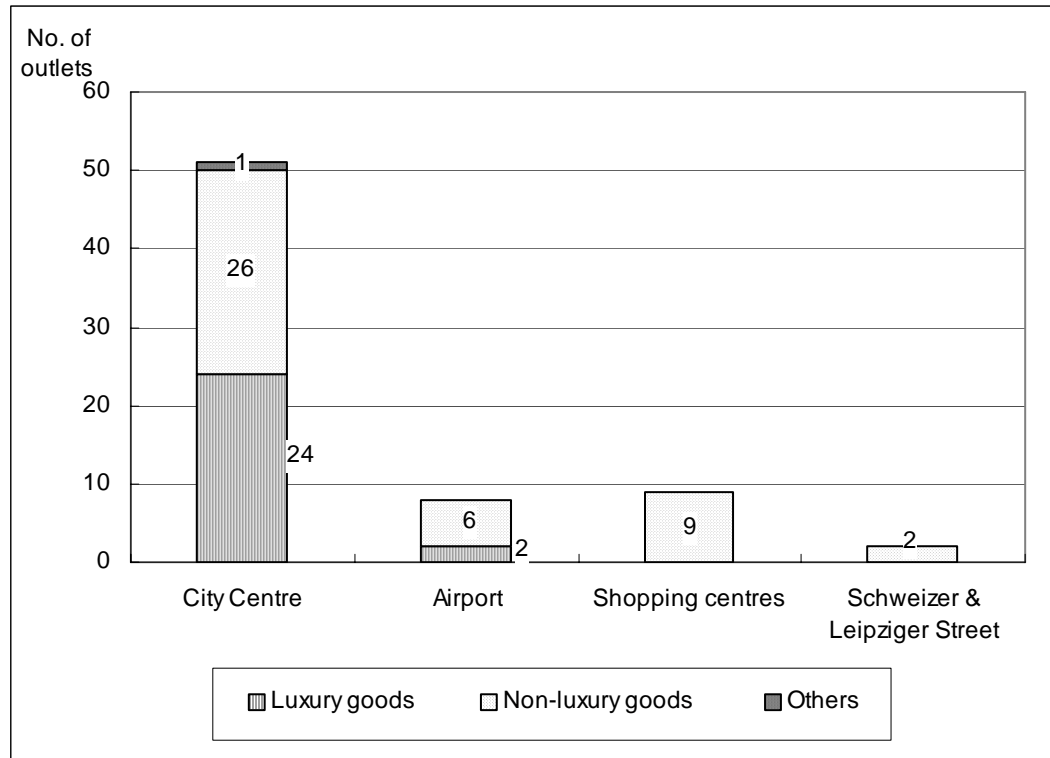
The development of the internationalisation of retailing in the city may imply the pressure on local retailing. In the city centre, “few local retailers are doing their business in their original locations in Zeil Street for a long time” (Interview with Industrie- und Handelskammer Frankfurt am Main). Retail property in the city centre is highly valued. The pedestrian zone including Zeil and Goethe Streets is the highest rent and property value in the city, as “1a-Lage”(assessed with pedestrian volume by a German property firm) (Kemper’s, 1997). This causes the difficulties for local independent retailers to maintain their retail business.

Such a circumstance is, however, not necessarily related to the development of internationalisation of retailing. Generally speaking, such city-centre locations in German metropolitan cities are dependent on international as well as domestic multiple shop retailers (Albert Speer & Partner GmbH, 1997). Although direct property investment by domestic as well as international retailers is seldom made in the city (e.g. FAZ, 1999; Hofrichter, 1990), many foreign and domestic fashion specialist chain retailers comprise the common names between Zeil Street in the city centre and both shopping centres. It could be said from this condition that local individual retailers have to accept that the dominant development of foreign multiple shops in their retail centres, so that the properties are occupied and not in decline as retail centres. The retail property in city centre is also under the pressure from non-retail sectors, such as financial institutes (Berge & Block, 1995).

Regarding the micro-locations, Figure 2-1-F-3 shows that foreign luxury goods retailers are distinctively agglomerated in the city centre. Within the city centre, Figure 2-1-F-4 (pp159) clearly shows that the ‘foreignness’ agglomeration is formed in particular addresses in and around Goethe Street. These locations belong to the most expensive level of the rent of commercial properties in Germany, like Munich, Berlin, and Hamburg (FAZ, 1999). Due to the efforts of a property agent in the 1990s, Goethe Street became such a

luxury designer-fashion shopping street, and the demand for its retail property is not likely to decrease (FAZ, 1998b; 1999).

Figure 2-1-F-3 Retail centres of international retail activity and the types of goods in Frankfurt am Main



Source: the author, as of Dec. 2002

In contrast, other retail centres are seldom chosen not only by such luxury fashion retailers but also by international fashion multiple shop retailers. The decline of non-developed district centres is a political and commercial concern locally. It cannot be, however, associated merely with the absence of foreign retailers. It possibly results from the overall change of retail structure, as reviewed above (see Chapter 1-1). As a result of the survey, the locations of international retail activity highlight the commercially prosperous retail centres within the official “central places”.

Tokyo

Many locations of international retail activity are related to particular types of retail centres (see Table 2-1-T-4), i.e. those with considerable concentration of fashion retailers. Some of them are located in the other types featured by general merchandise stores, located at railway nodes not only in central Tokyo but also in other more residential part of Tokyo.

The other than retailing business concentration is the additional feature of the locations of international retail activity in central Tokyo (Table 2-1-T-4). Additionally, wholesale business concentration characterises the Ueno/Okachimachi centre, and the Nihonbashi area and Tokyo Fish Market in the Ginza-Tokyo-Nihonbashi centre.

Table 2-1-T-4 Features of the locations of international retail activity in Tokyo and the types of retail centres

Possible feature in goods	Location	Other business	No. of outlets of international retail activity	Retail centres of international retail activity* (No. of outlets)
General Merchandise	At stations or a station of many lines (railway/underground nodes)	-	8	Asakusa (1), Ayase (1), Hutako-Tamagawaen** (5), Shinagawa (1)
		Wholesale	4	Ueno/Okachimachi (4)
	At a station	-	2	Kinshicho (1), Ohizumigakuen (1)
Textile (clothing)	At stations or a station of many lines (railway/underground nodes)	Wholesale /Eating & drinking places	80	Ginza/Tokyo/Shinbashi (80)
		Eating & drinking places	83	Shibuya/Omotosando/Aoyama (53), Shinjyuku (17), Ikebukuro (13)
		-	13	Shimokitazawa (2), Daikanyama/Ebisu (2), Nakano (1), Ichigaya (1), Jiyugaoka (7)
	At a station	-	9	Odaiba (9)
Miscellaneous (no specific type of goods)	At stations or a station of many lines (railway/underground nodes)	Wholesale	0	-
		Eating and drinking places	3	Akasaka (3)
		-	1	Kamata (1)
	At a station	Wholesale	1	Gotanda TOC (1)
		Eating & drinking places	3	Roppongi (3)
		-	4	Hiroo (1), Haneda Airport (1), Hatsudai (1), Ariake (1)
	Not at stations	Wholesale	0	-
-		11	Kioicho (8), etc.	
Groceries	Any locations	-	5	Takadanobaba/Waseda (1), Asabu-jyuban (1) etc.
Total			227	-

Source: the author, the data as of Dec. 2002

*named by the station or/and area, **Retail centres in bold letter mean those including the locations of foreign retailers of the luxury types of goods

Also see Appendix 4

These macro-locations of foreign retailers clearly correspond to the regional types of retail centres shown by Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000)(Figure 2-1-T-4, pp163). This means that other retail centres 'not' directly at the railway network (not at a station) generally offering groceries are the minor locations for international retail activity. The survey shows, nevertheless, that not all the retail centres including those of the regional type are locations of international retail activity.

In these locations, some major retail centres of international retailing are characterised by either the agglomeration of foreign luxury fashion and personal goods

retailers or that of foreign non-luxury fashion chain retailers, as Figure 2-1-T-5 indicates. Not only more than half of the outlets of foreign retailers belong to the Ginza/Tokyo/Nihonbashi and Shibuya/Omotesando/Aoyama centres, but also they include most of foreign luxury designer fashion retailers in Tokyo.

Figure 2-1-T-5 Retail centres of international retail activity and the types of goods in Tokyo



Source: the author, as of Dec. 2002

* the Ginza/Tokyo/Nihonbashi centre, ** the Shibuya/Omotesando/Aoyama centre

Furthermore, within these retail centres, specialised retail centres in such goods are formed. Figure 2-1-T-6 A)&B) (pp165-166) show particular micro locations in these centres. In the Ginza/Tokyo/Shinbashi centre, the Yurakucho, Hibiya and Ginza areas are the distinct locations of luxury fashion retailers including those of foreign (Figure 2-1-T-6, A), pp165). Imperial Hotel is one of the major addresses in them. It has more than sixty units of retail space, twelve of which are operated by the subsidiaries of foreign luxury fashion retailers. A few projects but in considerable scale of direct property investment indicate other important addresses for international retailing, such as Namiki-Dori and Chuo-Dori in these areas. The recent largest retail property investment is made by French *Hermes*. In 2001, *Hermes* invested around one hundred sixty million Euro in six hundred sq.m. land in the Ginza for an eleven-storey building designed by a prominent architect, and facilitated with its museum and repairing service centre (FAZ, 2001a). There are

many retailers following this investment, for example, an American leather goods retailer, *Coach*. Its renovated outlet of five hundred sq.m sales area, which was once used by a British drugstore, *Boots*, stands next to *Hermes*.

The recent increasing interests in the Ginza property by foreign investors are said to be due to the land price decrease. The Ginza area usually records the highest commercial land price not only in Tokyo but also in Japan. However, in the early 1990s the dramatic decrease took place actually not only in this area but also generally in any land use of all metropolitan boroughs. Between 1991 and 2001 the commercial land price of the Tokyo Metropolitan borough standard areas fell more than eighty percent (Tokyo-to Toshikeikaku-kyoku, 2001b). It is, nevertheless, obvious that for retail locations the Ginza area is the most demanded. The latest developments of luxury designer fashion retailers, e.g. *Prada*, *Cartier*, *Ferragamo*, *Bally* and *Gucci*, show further agglomeration of such a type of retailing there. Their outlets are in the large scale of multi-floors and include the second locations, although they are not included in the data of this thesis.

The Shibuya/Omotesando/Aoyama centre is another distinctive centre of international retailing in the fashion sector. It comprises the different types of international retail activity in terms of the types of goods (Figure 2-1-T-6, B), pp166). Most foreign non-luxury fashion and personal goods retailers are located around the Shibuya station, while those of the luxury types in the Harajyuku, Omotesando, Aoyama. In the latter areas, much larger scale foreign investment is found, like in the Ginza. *Luis Vuitton*, for example, opened 'flagship store' of its world largest outlet in this area with more than three thousand sq.m. sales area in 2002, while it has developed already forty-five shops in Japan (including thirty-five 'shop in shops'). A fashion building (named *Esquise*) in the Omotesando is occupied largely by many designer fashion retailers belonging to the Gucci Group.

These retail centres featured by foreign luxury fashion retailers are not surprisingly the commercially prosperous ones, as Table 2-1-T-5 shows. However, they are not the best retail centres in economic terms. The Shinjyuku and Ikebukuro centres are the commercially similar types of retail centres as analysed above, and should be generally attractive locations for retailing. They are, nevertheless, not particularly invested by foreign retailers in the luxury fashion sector in Tokyo. The Shibuya/Omotesando/Aoyama centre does not indicate the best sales potential from the economic types of retail centres; however, the survey results imply that it is surely an important location for such a type of retailing.

Table 2-1-T-5 Major retail centres and international retail activity in Tokyo

<i>Major retail centres (the largest 20 centres) in terms of</i>		
<i>Number of retail outlets</i>	<i>Annual turnover</i>	<i>Sales area</i>
Ginza/Tokyo/Shinbashi	Ginza/Tokyo/Shinbashi	Ginza/Tokyo/Shinbashi
Shibuya/Omotesando/Aoyama	Shinjyuku	Shinjyuku
Shinjyuku	Ikebukuro	Ikebukuro
Ikebukuro	Shibuya/Omotesando/Aoyama	Shibuya/Omotesando/Aoyama
Kamata	Ueno/Okachimachi	Ueno/Okachimachi
Koiwa	Akihabara	Ohimachi
Ueno/Okachimachi	Suidoubashi/Kanda/Ochanomizu	Suidoubashi/Kanda/Ochanomizu
Jiyugaoka	Hutako-Tamagawaen	Kamata
Suidoubashi/Kanda/Ochanomizu	Kamata	Akabane
Kitasenju	Ohmori	Kinshicho
Shimokitazawa	Kinshicho	Akihabara
Takadanobaba/Waseda	Nakanosakaue	Hutako-Tamagawaen
Daikanyama/Ebisu	Kitasenju	Jiyugaoka
Ogikubo	Koiwa	Koiwa
Nishi-Ogikubo	Akabane	Ohmori
Hutako-Tamagawaen	Takadanobaba/Waseda	Nishikasai
Asagaya	Jiyugaoka	Kameari
Akabane	Ogikubo	Ogikubo
Nishiaraitaishi	Asakusa	Hikarigaoka
Kouenji	Nakano	Asakusa

Source: the author, based on Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000)

* The retail centres, which include the locations of international retail activity, are presented in bold letters.

On the other hand, many foreign retailers in the non-luxury fashion and personal goods sector are located in the most commercially significant centres. The common names include *Gap*, *Eddie Bauer*, *HMV* and *The Body Shop*. These retailers are usually located in the type of retail centres featured by the concentration of textile retailing at the railway nodes (see Table 2-1-T-4). Many are in the Shinjyuku and Ikebukuro centres. This does not mean, however, that these retail centres are not for luxury retailing. It is implied by the locations of international retail activity. Some of foreign luxury fashion retailers often operate the 'shop in shops' in these centres, while fashion multiple shop retailers operate 'shop in shops' in the centres characterised by considerable agglomeration of luxury fashion retailers, such as the Ginza (Figure 2-1-T-6 A), pp165). These contrasted types of foreign retailers and their investment in retail operation imply the different quality of retail locations within the same economic type of retail centre.

These results clearly indicate that the economic system of retail centres does not fully explain the distinct locations of luxury goods retailing by foreign retailers. Many foreign luxury fashion retailers are found in the Kioicho centre. This location is an international hotel of Hotel New Ohtani and the adjacent addresses near central government quarters. It is not directly connected to the underground network; however, it cannot be regarded as an

'out-of-town' luxury shopping centre in very centre of Tokyo. Some may relate this location to foreign tourists possibly there. A question, however, arises: do European and American tourists in Tokyo demand so much of such goods, since they know them from home or other international locations?

Other locations of foreign retailers are also generally difficult to associate clearly with tourist places, as well, unlike in Frankfurt, due to the dispersed tourist places and a number of retail centres existing in Tokyo. The typical tourist places, such as on shrines and temples, e.g. Asakusa, or the airport (2-1-10) and leisure places like the Odaiba area are indeed the locations of international retail activity; however, these are rather minor locations in comparison to the major locations presented above. At the same time, the locations of international retailing are not associated specifically with foreign residents in Tokyo either, although Tokyo population includes more of them than other regions'. Around ten percent of foreign residents in Japan live in Tokyo. Then, each nationality tends to dwell geographically together, as Machimura (1994:268-274) shows. The Minato and Shinjyuku boroughs have the highest proportion of foreign residents within Tokyo (around ten percent respectively) (Sohmu-kyoku, Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2001). However, these foreign residents do not account for a considerable proportion of the whole population of Tokyo (around three percent), and these boroughs do not include the retail centres of the major locations of international retail activity.

2.1.3. Conclusion

The comparison of findings on the locations of international retail activity in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo confirms that international retailing in these cities, which are particularly characterised by the fashion and personal goods sector, tends to find its locations in the central types of retail centres. It shows that within some of these types of retail centres the distinctive retail concentrations of 'foreignness' are formed. Particularly in terms of the luxury goods retailing in Frankfurt, the existence of international tourists as its customers is an important factor for the macro-locations of such retailers. However, the considerable agglomeration of foreign luxury fashion retailers in Tokyo is not specifically linked to tourists but generally Japanese. Customers of such shops may become tourist customers elsewhere in the world. It may seem even that the internationalisation of retailing in Frankfurt am Main relates to the internationalisation of tourists including Japanese tourists.

The most important result of this section is that it is shown that the internationalisation of retailing does not necessarily influence the process of spatial development of retail centres in these study cities. The macro-locations of international retail activity largely correspond to the existing retail locations, like “central places” in Frankfurt am Main, rather than change the spatial structure of retail centres through generating new retail locations and centres in the study cities. The locations of international retail activity highlight rather other retail centres of the similar economic types in decline in Frankfurt. The centres neither commercially attractive nor invested are contrasted to other centres including the considerable agglomerations of international retailing. In Tokyo, the agglomerations of international retailing imply the different qualities of retail centres within the similar economic type of centres according to the different features of retailing (luxury and non-luxury fashion and personal goods retailing).

It is, therefore, not fully explained, although the economic factors of retail location (e.g. accessibility, pedestrian flow implied by the economic types of retail centres) are of significance, why some locations are focused by foreign retailers in macro- and micro-location perspectives. In Tokyo there are several distinctive retail centres of international retailing; however, it is not clear, why the considerable direct retail and property investment by foreign fashion retailers are made in particular locations. In Frankfurt, why are luxury fashion retailers including many foreign retailers merely in Goethe Street? These questions are explored further in the following section by turning to qualitative dimensions of the system of retail centres.

Footnote:

(2-1-1) There are various economic factors of retail locations and their spatial relationship, as Table below shows.

<i>Factors</i>	<i>Dimensions and possible indexes</i>
Functions	Business/commerce/service/culture/transportation
Accessibility/Travel mode	Public transportation/private car use
Goods available / trip purpose	Variety of groups of goods, assortments/fashion and personal goods/convenience goods (in short/middle/long term needs, basic/special needs)
Types of retail outlets	Department stores/fashion and personal goods speciality shops/luxury goods shops/household goods/grocery shops, supermarkets
Service/trade/catchment area (distance to travel)	Neighbourhood/district/regional centre
Rent/Land value	High/low, Integrated/not integrated into urban land use (isolated/out of town)

Source: Guy, C.M. (1998:263), and the author

These tendencies result in spatial distribution of agglomerations of particular types of goods or retailers, such as those in similar or complementing business, or “generative business”(Nelson, 1958), forming a hierarchical structure of retail centres.

(2-1-2) According to the scales of the variables in the Table above, retail centres can be classified into the hierarchical order of "central places". The quantitative classification methods are either "logical division or 'classification from above' or Grouping or 'classification from below' (Harvey, 1969:332-338). According to Potter (1982:94-96) and exemplified with German and Japanese retail centre studies, the classification methods from above include the subjective method which does not establish any clear criteria to examine and classify (e.g. Stewig, 1974), and quantitative methods by one or several variables, e.g. the univariate method (e.g. Takasaka, 1976), the bivariate method (e.g. Higuchi, 1963:37-39; Koch, 1982), the functional index method (e.g. Borchardt & Schneider, 1976; Dietsche, 1984), the functional trait complex method (e.g. Carol, 1956; Tomioka, 1973). A method of classification from above is the multivariate statistical method (e.g. Neda, 1999; Potter, 1981; Thiel, 1994). Then, some of these methods can be combined (e.g. National Economic Development Office, 1988; Neda, 1999; Potter, 1982:59-85).

These attempts tend to be merely applications of classification methods or some variables, which have been suggested elsewhere. In research practices some types of retail centres appear, as if they were universe due to their academic prominence or popularity. For example, a hierarchical structure of retail centres that Christaller (1933) showed in southern Germany almost seventy years ago, represents a useful device for studies and practices dealing with retailing and the locations. Berry's model is familiar for retail geographers as well as planners. Planners seek devices to justify "proper" location of facilities, while classifying of retail centres may help to identify the important elements in social and economic life of an area (Berry, 1967:131). In Japanese retail-geography studies it is not difficult to identify the influences of Christaller's Central Place Theory and Berry's model of retail centres. According to these, Japanese studies usually either describe built and socio-economic environments of a certain retail site or retail centre, or operate quantitative techniques without critically reviewing them.

The point is that it is often disregarded that classification is relevant merely for a particular purpose (Harvey, 1969:326-332). Therefore, it is not very meaningful to argue subjectivity and intuitiveness included in the process and results of a classification, as purposes of classifying retail centres are often political, no matter how much sophisticated the method is. At the same time, perfect data for operations of economic model is usually difficult to establish due to lack of statistics, availability of relevant data, and temporal fluctuations in the data.

(2-1-3) This thesis looks at German and Japanese features of retail centres respectively by setting up the economic types of retail centres. Schröder (1999) argues in his critical review of Stewig's international comparative study of retail centres (1974), a very general common classification can distort any possible distinct features of the concerned retail centres in comparison. It is not necessary here to undertake a survey of all retail sites, for example, by one of various classification methods stated above. There are some retail centre studies in both cities, and based on them the economic features are presented. Based on these studies, the economic system of retail centres in each study city is suggested by the author.

The different institutional frameworks between the systems of retail centres of different countries need also to look at. Simmons, et al (1998) attempt to indicate similar retail markets in the world through an international comparative study of many cities. Guy & Lord (1991) compare the systems of American and English retail centres, seeking for the underlying system of urban retailing. However, their international comparison studies result in no clear indication of distinctive similarities between them, but in highlighting diverse and interrelating factors in the economic systems and the political frameworks, which considerably influence retail developments and the spatial organisation of retail locations and centres.

Some may still argue that suggesting the types of retail centres is merely a reduction of diversity and there is always a danger that a classification insists itself, as if it were only one reality. Nevertheless, for this study it is still useful to consider German and Japanese features of the economic system of retail centres for the analysis of the locations of international retail activity. German and Japanese studies fail to show clearly the national or regional features usually, as they focus on any common 'economic models' of system of retail centres. This may well tend to be so within local discussions, where the concerned parties share to a certain degree intuitive and prevalent knowledge on the retail centres and sites at issue. In Japanese "central place" studies, it is often that they fail to clarify the point, to what extent such models and typologies suggested in American and European studies are relevant in the Japanese system, while the need for attention to "Japanese" factors in the system of retail centres is pointed out (Morikawa, 1977:224).

(2-1-4) A concept of "central places" has been a tradition not only in retail geography but also retail and town planning policy after Christaller's study (1933) (Blotvogel, 1996). Christaller (1933) showed the different size and functions, such as particular goods and services, of "central places" hierarchically ordered and spatially organised with hexagonal service areas as the centre of residential population in Southern Bavaria in Germany. By the early 1960s this "central place" structure became a goal of German town planning policy, and the terminology on hierarchical types of retail centres has been officially formulated, such as Upper, Middle, Under, and Small Centre (Blotvogel, 1996:15). "The development of retailing... is left entirely to marketing bodies", while the laws and regulations control the issues with regard to the management, hygiene, safety, and individual rights" (Vielberth, 1995:78). However, retail developments have to meet the principle of "central places" since Federal Town and Country Planning Acts 1968 (Raumordnungsgesetz: ROG) (Vielberth, 1995:96). One of the planning principles in the latest Act 1997 is that "the activities in a settlement should be physically concentrated and adjusted to a system of efficient "central places"(ROG, Abs.1, 2(2) 2).

“Central places” are to designate at least in the state or regional level. “Central place” system is first an issue of state level. Town planning is legitimated and organised differently by each state (Bundesministerium für Raumordnung, Bauwesen und Städtebau, 1996:8; David, 1996:77-78). Therefore, the contents of Central-Place system vary considerably among the states according to their definitions of “central places” (Blotevogel, 1996). For example, State Bavaria explicitly indicates seven levels of retail centres for each city and town, according to total retail sales, non-agricultural employment and central functions (Bayerische Staatsregierung, 1994).

“Central places” are set usually according to minimum functions, scale of service areas, population to serve for planning practices etc (Rüppel, 1982). Many German studies (e.g. Borscherdt & Schneider, 1976; Dietsche, 1984; Wolf, 1969) based on extensive field works show the types of public and private services in different centres in different regions, providing a list of them. Services in “central places”, for example, include medical and financial service, such as bank and insurance agency, consumer or private service, such as barber and travel agency, restaurants and entertainment facilities, and public service, such as lawyers, city library and educational facilities.

Retailing is a function supposed to be located in “central places”. Despite the recent changes in retail structure and spatial organisation of retail locations in Germany, the role of “central places” has been emphasised through the revision of the acts (Blotevogel, 1996:15). There are several critical issues on the system. At the same time, the designation as “central places” is a considerable local political interest. The designated “central places” are officially advantaged for further investment.

(2-1-5) The latest study surveyed all retailers in Frankfurt am Main in terms of the turnover and sales area in 2002 and indicates the retail centre structure by city district. In this study “retail centre” refers to an agglomeration of at least 5 business establishments and 700 sq.m. sales area (1,200 sq.m. outlet area). The “central place” structure of the city follows the one, which was suggested by Albert Speer & Partner GmbH (1997), Block (1994), and Berge & Block (1997). There are other studies of certain retail centres, such as Wolf (1969), Bross (1990), Hofrichter (1990), GfK (1988).

(2-1-6) Here each point in the map (Figure 2-1-T-3, pp163) does not mean ‘retail centre’ of commercially and physically integrated concentrations of retail outlets, but “the sites of commercial concentration” i.e. units of ‘shotengai’ organisation by Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000). The concept of service area and retail centres based on such a unit is discussed in Appendix 3.

(2-1-7) The spatial structure consisting of numerous retail locations and agglomerations in Tokyo is implied by a shopping tendency that Japanese consumer’s preferences to buy groceries frequently, the business customs, such as return of unsold products and financial supports offered by suppliers (e.g. Larke, 1994; Meyer-Ohle, 1995), the trend of proliferation of convenience stores (Meyer-Ohle, 1995:92-98,112-113) as well as retail developments possible in most of the Town Planning Land Uses.

(2-1-8) “Tokyo Centre” means central business districts of the Ohtemachi, Marunouchi, Yurakucho, Uchisaiwaicho, Kasumigaseki, Nagatacho, Nihonbashi, Yaesu, Kyobashi, Ginza, and Shinbashi areas. “Sub-Centres” are the Shinjyuku, Shibuya, Ikebukuro, Ohsaki, Ueno/Asakusa, Kinshicho/Kameido, and Rinkai areas. The Osaki and Rinkai areas in the policy are rather the strategic sites to develop as such centres, while others are established business and commercial centres in Tokyo.

(2-1-9) Distinction of comparison and convenience goods is, for example, given in the table below.

Table: Comparison and convenience goods* by Japanese Standard Industry Classification

Comparison goods : Goods which consumers select from several shops and which are relatively expensive, specialised or luxury	Convenience goods : Goods which are relatively inexpensive daily and household goods sold near consumers’ residents
Textile, apparel, accessories (55), furniture, fixtures and straw-mat (tatami)(581), chinaware and glassware (583), Household appliances (584), other household utensils (589), sporting goods, toy, amusement goods and musical instruments (595), camera and the related goods (596), watch, grasses and optical goods (597) second-hand goods (598), Others (599)	Other general merchandise (549) (general merchandise stores with less than fifty employees) , groceries (56), bicycle (572), hardware and kitchenware (582), drugs and toiletries (591), farm and garden supply (592), book and stationery (594)

Source: Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000:13)

* () is the classification number by Japanese Standard Industry Classification. Department stores (general merchandise stores with more than fifty employees)(541), retailers of motor vehicles (571) and fuel (593) are not included.

(2-1-10) Additionally, the airports include retail space. Tokyo International Airport in Haneda is mainly for domestic flights. ‘New’ Tokyo International Airport for international flights is not located in Tokyo, but in Narita, Chiba Prefecture in the conurbation.

2.2. Images of retail centres and international retailing

As the previous section concludes, this section turns to qualitative dimensions of the system of retail centres. Hollander (1970) analyses that luxury fashion retailers choose their shop locations for an advertisement function. Their location needs to be 'appropriate' for their retail business. Such 'appropriateness' is a quality of place, which connects retailers and consumers. Crewe & Lowe (1995) interview retailers in certain street in Nottingham, England, and highlight social and cultural dimensions of fashion retailing and its spatial relation. They show that such 'appropriateness' of business locations of fashion industry and retailing in the street does not relate merely to economic factors. Independent fashion retailers in this street are dependent on affordable rents as well as convenient adjacency to production sites, which enable them to take flexible and rapid responses to ever-changing fashion demands. More importantly 'fashion' and 'unique' images of the street attract both high designer fashion and non-luxury fashion retailers, such as second-hand clothing shops. These images are independent from economic features in goods of the shops, such as quality and price range. This case shows that the quality of place is interpreted, presented and shared between retailers and consumers.

This section analyses the locations of international retail activity in the image system of retail centres, which encompasses interpreted, presented and shared qualities of places. The definition of 'image' in this thesis does not refer to an entire cognitive structure but more generally to a conception of places. A certain image of place is embedded in the fluctuation of meanings of perceptions and conceptions over time. It could not be separated from history and culture of certain group of people. Images of places can then become symbolic, corresponding to a source of individuals' identity (Brown, 1992:150-154; Heinritz, 1979:157-158).

However, how to approach the qualities of places in such nature? What are images of places? Stating a quality of place inevitably faces with the problem of dualism: subjective and objective. This problem becomes explicit in the first part of following discussion on positivistic, cognitive and humanistic approaches to the images of places. That is, images are not just selective abstractions of an objective reality but are intentional interpretations of what is or what is believed to be (Relph, 1976:56). Then, how can be such a world of interpretations explored?

As discussed below, in brief the approach of this thesis to the image system of retail centres is based on the concepts of “representations of space” according to Lefebvre (1991) and “spatiality” according to Soja (1989). It is more important to look at the image elements of retail centres in the study cities, rather than to try to organise and present all possible qualities of each retail centre as the images.

In the following sections, therefore, the image structure for each study city will be suggested. Then, based on it, it will be considered to what extent international retailing relates to the development of retail centres in the image systems.

2.2.1. Reviews on approaches to the images of retail centres and internationalisation of retailing

While economic approaches disregard non-rational consumers who are not in accord with economic laws and generalisations, an exploration on the images of retail centres begins here with consumers, who have any images consciously or unconsciously. So-called consumer behaviour approach deals with the conceptions of consumers on places. It includes quantitative methods dealing with qualitative variables on retailing and shopping opportunity, which are usually related to economic types of goods, retail format available, condition of retail property, or accessibility and convenience in shopping and related activities. Based on these indicators, commercial public and private organisations undertake consumer or shopping survey (e.g. Tokyo-to Shoukoushidousyo, 2000a; Gfk Marktforschung, 1988; Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main, 2004). These qualities are, however, always those selected and assessed according to researchers for certain purposes.

Cognitive factors in the system of retail centres and internationalisation of retailing

Qualities of retail centres as the images can be interpreted in relation to cognitive and aesthetic dimensions of retail built environments. Certain architectural features of retail environments may be closely related to people’s actions and particular events. In the context of international comparison, however, the relationship between the images of places and some cognitive features can be different. It depends on local, regional or national aesthetic views on qualities of built environments. The quality of window displays, for example, does not seem to count much in Tokyo as a relatively minor part of the retail landscape extending in the vertical extension of retail space, while it appears

important information sources for consumers and an aesthetic and physical component in Europe. Therefore, if the attempt is made to establish the image system of retail centres of the study cities based on cognitive features of retail built environments, it has to be done for each city.

A fundamental question, however, arises: do the built environments of foreign retailers in a local retail centre present any international or foreign identification so distinctively that they constitute particular cognitive features of the site and consequently the images of the whole retail centre? There is an argument that multi-national retailers developing in similar locations, such as traditional city centres and shopping centres, cause the homogenisation of retail environments as well as shopping opportunity due to their features of standardised outlets and merchandises. This view may stem from aesthetic concerns of academics, retailers and politicians. Peron (2001) argues that standardised retail concepts of multi-regional and national retailers lead to “homogenised disgusting and degrading” retail landscapes in Europe. The similar arguments concern Americanisation of landscapes, for example, by Disneyland and McDonalds (e.g. Miles, 1998; Zukin, 1998).

Obviously the major thrust of international development of retail operation rests much upon such a standardisation in products, the production and distribution system as well as service and business management system. It is, therefore, not very difficult to identify geographical concentrations of the standardised retail outlets in many retail centres, including those characterised by international retailers as seen in the study cities. In the city centre of Frankfurt am Main, its seventy-five percent of “1a-Lage” is occupied by multiple shop retailers (Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main, 2004). However, the standardisation in retailing and monotone environmental elements do not relate specifically to foreign retailers in the local retail landscapes. Domestic multiple shop retailers, such as supermarkets, drugstores and convenience stores develop their outlets possibly so much uniformly as the foreigners. Built environments, which include agglomerations of international retailing, are so distinct as those domestic ones.

At the same time, another question arises: are retail built environments so relevant to influence people’s images of retail centres? The fact is that such negatively assessed environments as stated above, nevertheless, appear even favoured, as they are commercially prosperous. Whose aesthetics is relevant to retail landscape in this context? Shopping centre developers and retail property investors are certainly interested in some images of retail locations, which link certain built elements to some groups of customers by sociological features, e.g. gender, class, or family status. Such interpreted images,

however, may be substantially different from the images of places, which local people share in general. Interpretation of the images of places may refer to apparent cognitive features as the evidence. It, however, always rests upon some purposes. Much marketing literature provides an assembly of numerous interchangeable and contradictory images of places. Why do any 'positive' images of retail centres suggested in studies frequently refer to economic dimensions? Now the point is clear what is the central problem to study the images of retail centres.

Humanistic approaches to the images of retail centres

Humanistic and phenomenological approaches emphasise feelings attached to places. They search for substantial meanings of places, such as cultural and social meanings of places. These can be then represented by symbols and myths in visual and written materials, such as certain qualities of architecture and part of literature. Such meanings can be suggested as the images of places.

One of these approaches, semiotics approach particularly focuses on built elements, such as designs and styles of architectures and landscapes, and attempts to read them as text. The argument is, however, that landscapes and architectures are not constructed with the linguistic system to encode discretely, but merely with the metaphors given contextually (Burgess, 1990:146).

Other approaches also focusing on built elements suggest images of places by connecting social or historical meanings to certain features of built environments. Regarding retail built environments, some interpret the symbolic rise of modern department stores with the empowerment of women and middle class. Goss (1993) links nostalgia of contemporary Americans to the architectural designs and analogue clock in American shopping centres. It is, however, argued that such an emphasis on built environments and interpretations of iconic and symbolic meanings ignore the active role of consumers, who actually in the environments, experiencing the places (Crewe, 2000; Jackson & Thrift, 1995).

A question arises: what is the source of social and historical meanings and images of places? Do any or many Americans feel indeed nostalgia for the past in the shopping centres, as Goss says? Goss (1993) stresses that shopping centre environments are carefully controlled to exclude the unwelcome people, such as drug dealers, teenagers, who do not contribute the sales and disturb other affluent customers. His feeling appears to

represent merely that of the welcomed. Again it should be asked in which context his interpretation of an image of built environment lies.

Instead of attempting to draw any meanings of places from built elements and social events, it is also possible to emphasise certain view of a researcher who is experiencing places. Examining several European city centres, Schröder (1999) insists that the landscapes of European traditional city centres remain unchanged in the development of internationalisation of retailing, by referring to the less-significant spatial constitution of foreign retailers in built environments. He neither refers to a relative view to circumstances of other retail centres, nor interprets that of people experiencing the same landscape, but states his own view.

Furthermore, a problem may be that although humanistic approaches initially reject positivistic approaches, there is always a danger in concentrating in quantitative manifestations of images and qualities. Some studies even appear obsessed in proving quantitatively their evaluations on qualities of places (e.g. Takinami, 1995).

Feelings on places, here retail centres, can be drawn from some texts in literature rather than interpretations by a geographer. Literature includes the most elaborated descriptions on qualities of places, which are certainly shared between many people as the images. However, meanings which one, even prominent authors, feels are contradictory and ephemeral. Regarding Frankfurt City in the late eighteenth century, Goethe severely criticised that the architecture and town planning of Frankfurt (the old city) show “no liberal concept of public administration and no intention for arrangement for better conformity of civil life”(Goethe, 1978:706-712). Nevertheless, he can name no better city than Frankfurt, when he thinks of his life (2-2-1). The city is indeed his hometown in spite of the built environment once negatively assessed. Intuitive experiences may tell numerous contradictory feelings on places. Then, how should images of places be drawn from the texts? Lefebvre (1991) mentions this point in his discussion on space, as follows.

“Clearly literary authors have written much of relevance, especially descriptions of places and sites. But what criteria would make certain texts more relevant than others?” (Lefebvre, 1991:14)

This point is now discussed further through Relph’s work (1976).

Images of retail centres and “representations of space”

The substantial meanings of places in humanistic approach are not discussed further here; however, its emphasis on the meanings of ‘lived’ places is considered. This highlights consequently the institutional and reflective nature of images of places in our contemporary world.

Relph (1976) argues that places are standardised for business profits of leisure, industrial or housing developments of international styles in design and architecture, so that they bear “placelessness”. His critics is placed on “placelessness” transmitted in our society through the mass media, central authorities, the international economic system, due to their “inauthentic” attitudes in favour of technique and kitsch. In his argument concerning mainly urban landscapes in a danger of “placelessness”, it is highlighted how images of places are constructed. According to him, there are four types of space from the perspectives of recognition and experience of place, as follows. “Pragmatic or primitive space” is experienced by infants with their instinct to recognise space. “Perceptual space” includes existential spaces, such as sacred space. “Geographical space” is where individuals able to perceive and arrange their environment with self-consciousness and cultural and social purposes. “Architectural space and planning space” are spaces, which experts, such as architects, town planners and geographers deal with for the functions and control. In these types of spaces, he differentiates individuals’ experience on space from that of experts. This reflects the main argument of humanistic and phenomenological approaches to places, which his work belongs to, based on the critics on positivistic approaches, such as spatial sciences, which were once dominant in town planning in the 1970s (Unwin, 1992:146-150).

Relph (1976) goes on further to discuss the degree of profoundness and manner of experience and involvement in places by suggesting the concepts of “outsideness” and “insideness”. He stresses that the identity of place is realised, only when it belongs to individuals’ own involvement in experiencing and creating meanings of places, which may be then shared with others through objects and activities taking place in the space. He refers to such an involvement as “rootedness” of place, which is based on “care for place”. “Rootedness” means “ a close attachment, a familiarity that is part of knowing and being known *here*, in this particular place in contrast to placelessness” (Italic from the original text)(Relph, 1976:37-41).

However, as a consequence this means that individuals have profoundly experienced places and those not, since they actually cannot know and experience every places on their own. Relph (1976:36) refers to particular places, which are generally not accessible to public but experienced mostly indirectly through the mass media, for example, Downing Street or White House. Individual experiences of such places are increasingly replaced with the images of places interpreted and presented by others. He states as follows,

“...in present-day technical cultures cognitive notions everywhere influence our experience and creation of spaces. Knowledge of maps and plans is a fundamental part of our experiences of existential and perceptual space – thus we use road and street maps to find our way around not only cities that are unfamiliar but also the cities and towns we live in, and a prominent image for any region or urban area is its map shape” (Relph, 1976:26),

Consequently, places most profoundly experienced by individuals as “lived” places appear merely home and a few places for everyday life. The other places exist for individuals as the images of “intentional interpretations” of others according to their interests and purposes. The images of places have to be, therefore, viewed in terms of the subjects and interests on the images, such as an individual, groups or public and mass, and of these most dominantly public agency and mass through the mass media (Relph, 1976:57-59).

“ ...mass media conveniently provide simplified and selective identities for places beyond the realm of immediate experience of the audience and hence tend to fabricate a pseudo-world of pseudo-places”(Relph, 1976:58).

According to him, the images of places are formulated so that they are significantly and unavoidably subject to “functional and political benefits” presented by spatial experts, such as regional science, and commercialism, e.g. tourism.

The more he attempts to extract the existential meanings of places under these multi-layers of the images, the more apparent it becomes that the superficial meanings inevitably construct our own images. As he himself remarks,

“Human intention should not be understood simply in terms of deliberately chosen direction or purpose, but as a relationship of being between man and the world that gives meaning” (Relph, 1976:42),

and

“...it appears that the image of a place *is* its identity and that to understand something of the social structure of images is an essential prerequisite for understanding identity”(Relph, 1976:56)(Italic from the original text).

His reaction to such a modern image world of places follows Heidegger, as Harvey(1993) argues. He emphasizes self-experienced space and “rootedness” in places, which are endangered in the modern world. Harvey (1993:13-14), however, warns by referring to this philosopher, that sentiments on places in humanistic and phenomenological perspectives easily turn to be “an interpretation and a politics that is both exclusionary and parochialist, communitarian if not intensely nationalist.” Experienced images of personal affections or dislikes and their inherent contradictions may be filtered with any images abstracted, as supposedly shared. Then these abstracted images can dominantly replace one’s own experience in places.

Institutional perspectives in the image formation process

It is implied above that the abstraction of images of places lies in political-economic contexts. Public agencies are increasingly concerned about the images of places. Promotion of cities to attract property investments, so-called “selling-places”, has become a pivotal economic, therefore, local political issue (Harvey, 1989; Philo & Kearns, 1993). This was the phase of “New Right” capitalism that faced with economic and spatial problems stemming from the urban unproductive space left in the industrial transition. A solution for these problems has been “mobilising local resources of private capital, entrepreneurship and self-help in the scramble for rewards available in the free (place) market” (Philo & Kearns, 1993:19). Private and public partnerships are promoted to create more investment opportunities, such as through large-scale development projects and promotion of tourism by city marketing, not only to local but also to international investors.

In Japan, private-public partnerships attracted Japanese national and local governments. They have been anyway already deeply rooted in their private-public corrupt partnerships, although such partnerships were supposed to be ended in the course of political reform later. Machimura (1994) shows the process of how commercial and public interests tried to justify large-scale urban redevelopment projects of Tokyo Metropolitan Government in the 1980s through taking up a popular and attractive “world city” concept (2-2-2). In Frankfurt, it was also in the same period that the city government began to promote high-storey office developments and city marketing for the city as the good business locations (2-2-3) rather than tackled with housing and social problems taking

place in the inner-city quarters very next to the skyscrapers (Ronneberger & Keil, 1995). Still the concept of “world city” seems to attract the city planning politics, as the latest image study by the planning department refers favourably to it (Planning department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main, 2004:9-12).

The concept of “world city” has been internationally taken up in a series of image promotion and creation projects. There are many other “world cities” commercially and politically promoting and applying such images and the candidates striving for such a status. Images attractive for investors discovered somewhere are reproduced elsewhere. The technique of such image creation and promotion usually includes reinterpretations of any negative image elements of places into those of economically positive, as seen in many image studies of the study cities.

Any distinctiveness stemming from ‘local’, such as local history and culture is frequently emphasised to market places externally as well as to convince local people of place marketing projects and the images suggested, as Philo & Kearns (1993:5) argue. Harvey (1989) precisely describes this, as follows.

“The shrinkage of the space that brings diverse communities across the globe into competition with each other implies localized competitive strategies and a heightened sense of awareness of what makes place special and gives it a competitive advantage. This kind of reaction looks much more strongly to be the identification of place, the buildings and signalling of its unique qualities in an increasingly homogenous but fragmented world.” (Harvey, 1989:271)

It is often claimed that the globalisation of economy and culture led to particular attentions to ‘locality’, i.e. local unique qualities, e.g. those evoking ‘nostalgia’. The attentions may stem from pure interests on ‘locality’ in conflict with the condition of globalisation in economy and culture. In Germany, for example, Blotevogel (2000) stresses the role of local media, such as local radio programmes or local newspapers, which bring ‘locality’ to the region. However, a problem in this condition is that such a local reaction is inevitably assimilated into the interests of the capitalist political economy. He fails to pay attention to the vulnerability of local media to political and commercial interests, while he views the local media as an important resource to promote regional identity. Local media surely becomes a useful tool, which influences effectively people in a region. On the other hand, the establishment of local media initially needs financial and political supports. This implies the influences of certain groups of people in the major support of it. The development of local media, therefore, may not necessarily imply that of pure local interests in local culture, history or heritage.

This circumstance corresponds to the danger of humanistic and phenomenological emphasis on authenticity of places as reacting to modern capitalistic world, as stated above. As Harvey (1989) argues, the attention to 'locality' is political and therefore inherent to the exclusion of "otherness". Others who do not share the 'locality' coexist actually in the local place and they are regarded as not belonging to its 'locality'. This point is later illuminated in the case of Frankfurt am Main.

Furthermore, humanists' concern about the attention for diversity and locality in landscapes (Relph, 1976) ironically plays an important role in the economic-political creation of space. Local interests for local distinctions consequently generate a nature of standardisation and uniformity based on "cultural-historical packages" in built environments. They tend to focus on the similar kinds of places, i.e. "the same sort of attractive image - the same pleasant ensemble of motifs (cultural, historical, environmental and aesthetic)"(Philo & Kearns, 1993). What has Frankfurt city planning sought in the landscape of its city centre called 'Mainhattan'?

Soja (1989:96) stresses,

"The industrialization and economic growth, the foundations of capitalistic accumulation, are shaped primarily by and through the social production of urbanised space, planned and orchestrated with increasing power by the state, and expanding to encompass more and more of the world's population and resources."

2.2.2. Approach to the images of retail centres for this study

The discussions made above stress that the images of places are profoundly subject to commercial and political interests on space. This can be understood with the concept of "production of space" according to Lefebvre (1991). His concept of space comprises interdependent and interactive dimensions, such as "spatial practice", "representations of space", and "representational space". He (1991:38-39) suggests these, as follows. Spatial practice "embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets of each social formation", which provides the basis of "continuity and some degree of cohesion" for social relations taking place there. This spatial practice is conceptualised and represented dominantly in the modern capitalist production and political system as "representations of space". Representations of space "are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes and to 'frontal' relations". Space is analysed and represented by

technocratic experts, such as town planners and regional geographers. “Representational space” is “space directly lived” and “overlaps physical space, making symbolic use of its objects, such as religious space and home”. It embodies “complex symbolism, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces)”.

Some distinctive qualities of “representational space” tend to prevail fragmentarily anywhere through the mass media as “representations of space”. This is not free from the capitalist ideology. Images of places shared between people may become indistinguishable from those as a result of “production of space”. The images are being reproduced through the mass media, e.g. advertisements. The image production industry develops further to formulate more sensible and more convincing images of products as well as places, as the spatial barriers collapse (Harvey, 1989). Furthermore, space takes a part of the presentation of products in consumption and consequently the representation dominantly constitutes the images of places. Sack (1992) argues that products are directly contextualised in space through advertisements in order to differentiate themselves from other similar products, and the images of places are in turn created in relation to the products.

Now the discussion turns to the images of retail centres. For this study any images of retail centres, which most people are likely to share, can be suggested, for example, from the interpretation of historical and cultural contexts of retail centres. As discussed above, however, the critical point on this is how and from which perspectives the distinctiveness of places should be drawn as the images.

Many traditional retail centres are initially developed as town centres into the commercial agglomeration of markets and trading conjuncture in relation to particular places of religious, cultural and social events. They can be “representational space”. In the modern industrial world, then, they are increasingly placed under state control. The condition of this is exemplified with the “central place” system in the German city and regional planning, the Japanese ‘shotengai’ organisation support, the urban development or redevelopment projects and place marketing with the images of places. Political and economic interests eagerly take part in constructing images of retail centres in town planning and retail policy, as stated above. Retail space is then “produced” with any images to attract investment.

It appears rather that the images of retail centres have become obscure as well as explicit. As considered above, more individuals may not experience 'places' of retail centres by themselves. At the same time the images of places are explicitly presented in city planning politics and the mass media. Furthermore the contexts of places, which generate images, are increasingly given in relation to products marketed. Retailers and producers manage to identify and draw the most interesting images of places for them and consumers and present possibly most impressively them in the mass media. The images of retail centres presented in the mass media can be illusions and abstractions. Retail centres as space for consumption, such as shopping centres and malls, become carefully designed landscapes of advertisements (Sack, 1992:138). The images of retail centres guide actual experiences of individuals in these spaces, while individuals are likely to know and experience few retail centres by themselves, particularly in metropolitan cities including many retail centres and sites.

According to Lefebvre, these images of retail centres are viewed in this study as "representations of space". It is first necessary to look at how the images of retail centres are formed and what are the distinct image elements. With regard to the image structure, then it will be considered the relationship between international retailing and the images of places.

2.2.3. The image structures of retail centres in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo

This section focuses on what are emphasised as the images of retail centres in these cities and the interrelations between the image elements, instead of surveying and interpreting the qualities of each retail centre to construct the image system of retail centres. It analyses the texts in the mass media, such as national or local newspapers and advertisements by property agents, and academic literature, as a reflection of political and commercial interests to represent space as well as consumers' interests in places. The qualitative analysis also includes interviews with interests groups and/or experts (2-2-4) of Frankfurt and Tokyo retailing.

This method suggested here is not based on assertions that the images are manipulated entirely by the mass media or the media can completely represent the images. The influences of mass media should not be exaggerated and not leave out interactions with receivers of information (Burguss, 1990). As discussed above, the objective is to

consider which image elements are presented and represented dominantly and by and to whom in the media texts and other sources.

Frankfurt am Main

Little literature deals with qualitative evaluations of retailing and retail centres, and more generally the images of retail centres in Frankfurt. There may be many image studies for particular sites or retail centres undertaken by marketing research and financial institutes and retailers, which are not published and unavailable to public.

Local media neither tells much about the retail centres nor enthusiastically advertises the city's shopping destinations and retailing. A local journal for city and regional shopping opportunities introduces a few retail centres, which are designated as "central places" and other developed shopping centres in the region. What does it mean that "clever" shopping guidebook (Ziemer, 1995) recommends merely the city centre and Berger Street from the city's "central places" and the Westend area? There are otherwise few popular shopping destinations.

Regarding the city centre, there are the image studies by Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2003:40-45; 2004). According to these, the city centre has no specific image as a retail centre except its good variety of merchandises, unsatisfactory parking space and shopping atmosphere, although most of the interviewed visit the city centre usually for shopping. A retail property agent has little to emphasise about the retail locations, although it has to promote them to investors, merely stating "Massen and Klasse (crowds and wonderful)" (Müller Retail Services, 2002). It stresses that the city centre is characterised by the most demanded address particularly by international firms, the most pedestrian volume of Zeil Street among the German cities, and the affluent "suburban" residents. This can be, however, negatively interpreted that the city-centre retail locations comprise a very spatially compact shopping area (Zeil Street and the neighbouring streets), which possibly contributes much to such an intensive pedestrian volume, retail space less demanded by domestic retailers, and the non-affluent residents.

With regard to the images of retail centres, retailing and places in Frankfurt, these reports and other literature often include the socio-economic features of customers of each retail centre. The affluence of visitors and residents in retail centres is a frequent reference as a commercially and socially positive image element. Regarding the city centre retailing, Berge & Block (1997) obviously link the socially weak minority population to the quality

of retail environment of centres. According to them, the city centre, particularly Zeil Street, is its “unfavourable” shopping environment due to its criminality, drugs and uncleanness. As Block (1994) stresses, Zeil Street is featured not only by full and hectic “shopping-mile” but also “social station, homeless home, meeting place, and small art stage”(FAZ, 1996). Such a street is actually the main component of the city centre image (Block, 1994:83). Furthermore, Berge & Block (1997) even argue that the young and foreign city population with weak-purchase-power and less mobility causes the domination of “low-price mass-production goods” in the main streets of city centre, while more affluent customers in the suburb choose shopping centres and their own aesthetically redeveloped town centres. Block (1994) notes as follows.

“The positive population growth of Frankfurt [however,] did not lead to a proportional rise of purchase-power, since at the same time the proportion of low-income population groups drastically increases” (Block, 1994:101, translated by the author).

Regarding retail centres and the environments, Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2003:42-43) asked the city residents for suggestions to improve this condition of the city centre. So many people (around ten percent of the answers) think of “less beggar, the homeless, and foreigners” as to “street cafes” as the points to improve. The critical point of this result is not that the survey is based on merely c.a. six hundred answers, but substantially that such social features are initially included in the questionnaire as one of possible answers. Another study (Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main, 2004:24), which focuses more on the images of city centre, does not so explicitly refer to such social features of the city centre as its image; however, it also associates the insecurity-feelings to the social dimensions, such as criminality, homeless people and drug dealers, as well as uncleanness in the space and the atmosphere in its suggestions for the improvement of city retailing.

The Frankfurt local media usually remark social features of people and associate them to the qualities of places, as well. Schweizer Street is, for example, distinct due to its affluent young people and families in their good quality and expensive clothes, and the exclusive shops and stainless environment, in contrast to the other retail centres, as follows.

“Sachsenhausen (the area of Schweizer Street) is different from the others, without no better, no junkies, and no “Hütchenspieler“(a street gamble game) like in the station quarters, no Turkish large family and junk vegetable shops like in Bornheim (Berger Street) and Bockenheim (Leipziger Street), no drug handlers, instead of

these, park tickets machines which function, the building facades without graffiti, the building line in the fresh spring green, only small amount of dog droppings, and for it large amount of nicer people”(Journal Frankfurt, 1999).

Another image element is associated more directly with retailing. German academic literature deals with the variety of goods as a focal point to evaluate ‘attractiveness’ of retail centres. Block (1994) regards in her analysis of the city centre retailing the variety of goods as retail attractiveness. This lies in the context of “central place” concept. More choices for shopping and more convenient opportunities for other activities in the city centre are rationally ‘attractive’. The other non-developed retail centres tend to be assessed as shopping destinations particularly in terms of the variety of merchandises in retailing (Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main, 2003: 40).

Department stores, therefore, can be a clear indicator of commercial condition of higher level of “central places” and retail attractiveness due to the variety of their merchandises. The first sign of decline of retail centres is the closure of department stores. Journalists refer to such conditions of some district centres in Frankfurt, in addition to the change in social structure of residents. The shop owners of Leipziger Street are afraid, whether their shopping street declines further, since the department stores are closed and many properties remain empty, in contrast to the past when “there was even Rosenthal chinaware in Leipziger Street” (FAZ, 2000).

Such ‘attractiveness’ of retailing and retail centres may , however, be contradictory to the social image of places. Regarding Frankfurt city centre, Block (1994) attempts to assess its ‘attractiveness’ through the variety of goods available there by referring to such qualities as “urbanity” and “diversity” in shopping and other activities as well as “vitality” seemingly meant by its significant pedestrian volume. She shows that the city centre has the most number of retail outlets in the most extensive retail space and probably the largest variety of goods in the city (Block, 1994; Berge & Block, 1997). This means that the city centre is in commercial meaning more attractive than the other retail centres. Actually residents in the region tend to assess the city centre as positive and satisfactory for a shopping destination, which offers a good variety of assortments (Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main, 2004:22). Nevertheless, the image of the city centre is largely regarded as unattractive and negative, as stated above, when it is associated with the atmosphere caused by social features in the place.

When shopping centres are considered in terms of 'attractiveness', their images also refer first to the social atmosphere from customers. The advertisements of shopping centres in Frankfurt say,

"Shopping with recreational value", "Here shopping is fun!" "Enjoy the relaxing shopping walk in a atmosphere flooded with light, which invite daily to something new to feeling well, you can forget the weather forecast: in Hessen-Center always full of sunny climate!";, Simply lying adjacent (to you)!"(from the news letter, *Hessen-Centre Aktuell*, and the advertisement);

"It is simply great: more than 2000 parking places in Nordwestzentrum", "all comfortable under the same roof!" "For the security, things in order, and cleanness Nordwestzentrum is known widely over the city border"(from *Nordwestzentrum Live*, and the advertisements of Nordwestzentrum).

Shopping centres are said to be generally attractive due to their controlled, comfortable and convenient shopping environment, certain level of variety of goods through the branch-mix retail space management, service opportunities and convenient private car access. It is implied that the 'comfortable' shopping environment is managed in contrast to the socially diverse city centre.

The social elements often emphasised in the images of retail centres can be traced to the city image promotions. The regional planning association of the city and the Rhein-Main region undertook an image study of the city in the early 1990s (Umlandverband Frankfurt Region Rhein Main, 1992) (2-2-5). It claims that it explores the image of the region by asking the residents and people in other regions about the conditions of employment, economy, housing provision, public transport and airport, park and environmental problems. It, however, does not state clearly how such a series of regional and city-planning issues is related to the image of the region. A catalogue of possible image elements is merely presented. It primarily comprises major issues of its local town and regional planning politics. As a result, the image study stresses the plurality of the region, as probably easy to assume, i.e. a "very attractive and very diverse region" with the future possibility with the EU market (Umlandverband Frankfurt Region Rhein Main, 1992:127).

The image of the city has been sought for probably more eagerly by commercial and industrial organisations in Frankfurt and the region, such as the Economic Promotion of Region Frankfurt Rhein-Main, the Economic Initiative Frankfurt Rhein-Main, the Frankfurt am Main Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and Metropolitana. These organisations are working for establishing the city and regional identity of the attractive

images for business and residential locations. This is because the Frankfurt business locations are often regarded as negative in business communities, as Lutzky (2000:12) asks,

“Why does it sent shivers down the spine of international executives when they think of the transfer in Frankfurt am Main?”; “Why are the European headquarters of international enterprises settled in Brussels, London, or Zurich rather than in Frankfurt?”(translated by the author)

The fact is that the city has no established attractive and renowned image shared not only regionally but also internationally. Many people in the region strongly share an image of the city as an international business centre, but that is all (Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main, 2004). It is pointed out that the city centre as the urban centre of region has little distinctive cultural attractiveness, compared with other metropolitan cities like Munich (Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main, 2004).

The images of Frankfurt taken up in the image promotions and studies by local and regional organisations are, therefore, associated mainly with “international”, such as “opened to the world”, “the gateway of Europe”, more specifically “guest-friendly” and “non-discriminating” as “immigration region” (e.g. Lutzky, 2002:55), or more generally “world city”. The sources of these images are international firms in the European commercial and financial centre and a distinct social condition of the considerable proportion of foreign residents. The social features of the city stated above are interpreted into the international and multi-cultural positive images as global business locations.

The image promotions do not appear to dramatically change the socio-economic features and related images of Frankfurt. The negative social images of the city have been prevalent firmly and profoundly among the middle class workers in the city, as Grimm & Ronneberger (1994) reveal. Grimm & Ronneberger (1994) study the attitudes towards multi-culture and internationalisation of the city. They research personal views of the interviewed middle class workers (particularly in the urban professional service sectors of finance, advertisement and information and computer) about foreign city residents. Despite their assumption that such groups in global working and living environments bear cosmopolitan character appreciating the plurality of culture, their interview reveals the strong but carefully expressed distinction of self and us of the middle class from others in the under social class including foreigners, young gang groups, and the homeless in the inner city public space. They argue that, while the “world city” status of Frankfurt

promoted local politicians to struggle with urban problems actually inherent to such a status, the social segregation is deepened.

The social segregation of the city is geographically developed. The socio-economic difference of residents is geographical, as tends to be linked to the built environments. As Block (1994) writes, controlled and aesthetically positive environments of retail centres may be a relatively instant source to identify the socio-economic features of customers. The urban development projects of the city are favourably reported by journalists and academic papers (e.g. Bross, 1990). A belief here may be that aesthetically positive environments bring its residents, who can appreciate them and can afford to the newly invested expensive property. Nevertheless, many “1a-Lage” properties rated as the most popular locations in the city centre do not seem to correspond to those in aesthetically distinctive architectures, such as classic or traditional styles. The architectural features of the city centre might be not so aesthetically attractive, as Zeil Street is referred to as “shoes-box style of the after-the-war period”(FAZ, 1998a). Goethe Street is the renowned address for luxury goods, as empirically shown in the last chapter. Its after-war built environment is, however, said to have no particular architectural attractiveness. The shopping centres are probably not distinctive as a built-environment component for the area. The aesthetic dimensions of built environments of retail centres in Frankfurt do not substantially constitute the images of retail centres without being associated with the socio-economic features of places and people.

As a conclusion, the image structure of retail centres in Frankfurt comprises mainly the images of places closely associated with the socio-economic features of visitors and residents (not necessary shoppers). The images of visitors and residents in places tend to refer to the contrast of socially and commercially negative foreign immigrants and elderly socially weak population and socially and commercially positive younger affluent residents and workers. The image of the city centre can be described as uninteresting and aesthetically unattractive, but at the same time miscellaneous and vital. The shopping centres have the positive socio-economic image from certain groups of customers and the managed retailing and environment.

Tokyo

There are indeed numerous academic and business studies on the retail centres and places in Tokyo, although the methods employed, such as questionnaires or arbitrary

interpretations, are usually not systematically presented. The focus of studies (e.g. Tokyo Shoukokaigisyo, 1984;1987; Bitou, 1996) is often placed on the relationship between the images of retail centres and the socio-economic features of visitors and residents of the areas, commercial activity by particular retail formats, and historical backgrounds presented in the mass media, such as TV, advertisement and literature. These image sources correspond to those of the Rhein-Main region.

With regard to these elements, most of the place-image studies regarding Tokyo include a geographical and social distinction of 'uptown' and 'downtown'. This distinction is based on the residential areas according to the official social class, which was established by the feudal and modern times (Iwabuchi, 1998). The official social structure was geographical. 'Uptown' largely refers to the western and southwestern part of Tokyo and 'downtown' to the eastern part of Tokyo around the Sumida River.

As Tokyo became the centre of modernisation, westernisation and urbanisation after the Second World War, such a spatial segregation of the social class became a source of images of places. The socio-economic images based on 'up-town' and 'downtown' have been emphasised by property developers and agents as well as retailers. Currently, as Iwabuchi (1998) notes, the concept of Tokyo 'up-town' is not only associated geographically with the original 'up-town' area, but also increasingly with the commercial value of residents, i.e. the purchasing power for consumption. The images of 'up-town' and 'downtown' have been most attractive for property developers of railway concerns including retail business, which played an important role in the urban development process of the Tokyo conurbation, as stated in the last section. The property developments necessarily include presenting their property as 'up-town'. The Tokyo Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Tokyo Shoukokaigisyo, 1987) shows by surveying their members about the images of particular places, that the 'up-town' and 'downtown' images are related not only to popular literature but also to advertisements of property developers. It is even studied where the board members of Japanese major companies own their house in Tokyo, in order to identify the 'up-town' area (Nihon Keizai Shinbun Inc.(ed), 1988). A series of business literature implies the growing interests in the images in the 1980s. It is represented by publications of Gekkan Across Hensyushitsu (e.g. *Tokyo no Shinryaku*, 1987; *Tokyo no Wakamono*, 1989) and public agencies, such as the Tokyo Chamber of Commerce and Industry (e.g. Tokyo Shoukokaigisyo, 1984). The publications insist which areas are 'up-town' in Tokyo and the conurbation and the 'positive' Tokyo shopping destinations (, although some approaches take rather a pseudo-academic manner). The

social and geographical images based on 'up-town' and 'downtown' are intensively formulated, and constitute the image structure of Tokyo places.

These images are the basis of various images on the retail centres in Tokyo. They are presented in the popular media. Many 'Tokyo' magazines and guides (e.g. Pia, Hanako, Tokyo Walkers, etc.) were published in the 1980s for the information on entertainment, restaurants and shopping places (Machimura, 1994:206-207). At that time, as the urban redevelopment and investment in Tokyo were promoted particularly through large-scale redevelopment projects based on the collected small residential and industrial sites in central Tokyo, the newly redeveloped mixed-use office and commercial properties had to be marketed. These 'new' locations of retailing in Tokyo extend the space of consumption into both horizontal and vertical dimensions. The retail properties are presented in the mass media as active shopping and leisure opportunities rather than simply as a catalogue of places to know. As stated above, Machimura (1994) argues that such a development of "Tokyo media" in the 1980s precisely reflected growing interests of the Tokyo metropolitan and national governments and developers to appeal 'Tokyo' as the centre of economy and 'world city' through their public-private partnerships.

This process of urban development and place marketing relies upon the 'up-town' image not only in the traditional 'up-town' area but also in the growing suburban area. The 'downtown' areas therefore need to create positive images to attract investment. The technique of this image creation primarily includes emphasising something traditional, such as nostalgia for Edo (the feudal time) traditions (for example, as found in tourist maps issued by Tokyo Metropolitan Government). Such qualities may be taken from other projects elsewhere in the world, while they may represent indeed the feelings of many residents in Tokyo. The distinction between the origin of images and the motivations and purposes for such image promotions is, however, obscure, as discussed above.

In the place-image promotions, the evaluation of 'up-town' and 'downtown' images is not objective and fixed, but relative, subjective and transitive. This involves elaborate reinterpretations of commercially negative images into the positive, likewise in Frankfurt. 'Reasonable' can mean 'negatively cheap', while 'lively' can be 'crowded and inconvenient'. The interpretations may be contradictory. The Shimokitazawa retail centre is, for example, named as "down-town in up-town" for the reasonable price and lively atmosphere (Sasaki et al., 2001). At the same time, some retail centres in the 'downtown' do have a commercially positive quality from its wholesale agglomerations, which are the origin of commercial agglomerations. Due to its shopping opportunity for specialised

goods concentrated in relation to certain wholesale business, many guides and articles on shopping in Tokyo do not fail to inform consumers of such wholesale centres as shopping destinations. They are attractive in price and interesting in assortments. This could promote the positive images as 'retail centres' despite the 'downtown' locations; however, the geographically inherent image of 'downtown' does not disappear.

As considered so far, the main image element of retail centres in Tokyo is based on socio-economic and geographical features of places, but it does not necessarily refer to retailing itself. Unlike in Germany in Tokyo the variety of goods is not associated directly to the quality of 'attractiveness' of retail centres in the media texts. Instead, a more specific fashion image is related to the specialisation in fashion retailing, and it is another distinct image element of retail centres. Numerous Japanese fashion magazines introduce any 'fashionable' retail centres in Tokyo. Business literature stresses the popularity of some retail centres for fashion, e.g. the Shibuya, Aoyama, Omotesando, and Ginza areas. Although the fashion retailing agglomeration may be physically and even commercially a minor part of the whole business area, it is the main elements of the images of retail centres.

It is no wonder that the developments of some 'fashion' retail centres originate the fashion industry and business developments in the centres, e.g. the Aoyama area (Nihon Keizai Shinbun Inc., 1988). The process is similar with that of a 'unique fashion' street in Nottingham stated first in this section. The Ginza, where many department stores were founded in the modern period, as stated above, is still taken up as a frequent reference for the fashion trend in the mass media. The media reports the survey of how many people purchase a certain piece of fashion goods there (e.g. Asahi Shinbun, 1952; Nihon Keizai Shinbun, 2001). The Shibuya is similarly the 'fashion' centre. Its 'fashion' image has been emphasised in the advertisements of department store concerns of *Seibu* and *Tokyu* department stores.

Furthermore, the 'fashion' image tends to relate to Western, European and North American 'foreignness' in Japan. Possible traditional Japanese adoration for such 'foreignness' can be traced most recently back to the governmental westernisation policy (Ohka-Seisaku) in the early modern period (2-2-6). The most spectacle of this policy may be a series of the modernisation of built environments in central Tokyo at that time. Imperial Hotel became one of the popular symbols of West due to its Western architecture and internationally prominent guests, and it itself has been engaged in such a Western image to promote its office and retail property (Imperial Tower) exclusively for

international foreign firms and retailers (Imperial Hotel, 1990). The neighbouring Marunouchi and Hibiya areas were certainly visually very Western, when they were redeveloped into the British-style building complex. This attracted many visitors merely to see the symbol of West; the areas were a tourist place (Yoshimi, 1987).

The national westernisation policy also included the promotion of westernised lifestyles to consume. Particularly the official high-class society and academic scholars were required to show as well as themselves interested in Western goods, such as housing, household goods and clothing in western style, etc. Accordingly the 'up-town' area of such groups became closely associated also with the image of 'foreignness'. Then, particular retail centres in the 'up-town' area bear 'foreignness' and 'fashion' images, like the Ginza. The Ginza was where the western built environments were first introduced and Western goods were sold in Western style shops, i.e. department stores.

In terms of cognitive elements in the images, at that time when these Western built environments were introduced, they may have been regarded as a considerable component of the images of retail centres in Tokyo. Still currently some retail centres particularly featured by 'fashion' and 'foreign' images, such as the Ginza and Omotesando areas, can be regarded as characterised by the typical Western, horizontally extended retail built environments, in contrast to the major structure of considerable vertical extension of fashion buildings and retail space in central Tokyo. The commercially positive images then may be associated with such a cognitive feature. This, however, needs further studies to be considered here as an image element.

The other 'foreign' element of images of places than Western, North American or West European appears not necessarily negative in the popular media texts, such as Tokyo magazines and town guides. In these, foreign exotic and interesting cuisine is usually favourable. Some retail centres actually include the non-western concentration of international retailing, e.g. the Shinjyuku centre. Foreign residents possibly closely related to such a concentration, however, seem a minor component to represent the relatively extensive retail centres and the images usually in Tokyo, as stated in the last section.

It should be noted that the underlying distinction of others, nevertheless, should not be disregarded, as Grimm & Ronneberger (1994) illuminate. It is implicit in the attitudes towards 'ethnicity' that the distinction to Western and other foreignness is covered with a favourable emphasis of 'exotic' and 'authentic' things as mere objects of consumption. This point will be considered in the next chapter.

In summary, the images of retail centres are suggested to comprise mainly the concept of ‘up-town’ and ‘downtown’ based on the very rough geographical areas, i.e. eastern or western Tokyo, and the qualities of ‘fashion’ and ‘Western foreignness’ often closely linked to the ‘up-town’ image of places.

2.2.4. Analysis of the images of retail centres, the retail concepts and locations of international retailing in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo

With the image elements suggested for each study city, this section considers the relationship between the images of locations of international retail activity and the images of retail centres from the location strategies of foreign retailers located in the study cities. Retailers have to identify their customers and locations according to their ‘images’ of retail business. *Gap* simply says about its shop locations (*Gap* website): “Where we are is as important as who we are.”

For the analysis, an indicator of the locations in distinctive images is the ‘showcase’ type of outlets of international retail activity. A showcase outlet is defined as one directly operated, often featured by luxury goods, while the goods are at the same time distributed through wholesale channels, and available at other retailers, such as independent specialist retailers (e.g. boutiques) and department stores. The materials to analyse are advertisements and information on products, retail outlets and locations issued by foreign retailers located in the study cities.

Frankfurt am Main

The positive images of retail centres in Frankfurt for the city economy are associated with the feature of socially and spatially segregated residential and working populations. As considered above, this element first highlights the macro-locations of international retailing of the city centre and shopping centres. The foreign multiple shop retailers in the non-luxury fashion sector are commonly located in these centres. It is rational that this type of retailers chooses the locations in the most commercially significant “central places”. *H&M* has three outlets in Zeil Street within the city centre as well as one outlet in each shopping centre, saying,

“It should (also) be easy to find an H&M store, so the principle of best business location applies, when opening new stores” (*H&M* website).

Promod, a French woman clothing multiple shop retailer, located in Zeil Street similarly says,

“Promod collections are distributed through our network of 330 shops located in Europe’s big cities, at the heart of the busiest town centres and the most successful shopping malls”(Promod website).

Stefanel, an Italian one also in the same street requires in its franchising store locations “in main commercial streets of towns or cities with a population of at least 50,000, or in major tourist resorts” (*Stefanel* website). It appears that the commercially negative image of the city centre from the social structure of residents and customers does not discourage the business of these fashion multiple shop retailers.

When the micro-locations of international retail activity are looked at, the images of retailing of foreign retailers are integrated into the images of locations and implicitly social features of the area. Goethe Street is renowned for international luxury goods not only in Frankfurt, but also in the region. This image of the street is clearly independent from that of the whole city centre, stated above. The showcase type of retail outlets are all located in the city centre and most of them are in this street, as shown in Table 2-2-F-1. This implies that the street is so successfully marketed as stated above and established such a fashion and luxury image necessarily through the images of such retail business of foreign retailers located there.

Table 2-2-F-1 Showcase type of retail outlets of international retail activity and the locations in Frankfurt am Main

	<i>City centre</i>	
Showcase type of retail outlet	12	23.5%
Total outlets of the retail centre	51	100.0%

Source: the author

Wolford, a luxury retailer located near this street, says that it requires its shop location “in a prime location ... in a high traffic area, where other luxury or high end consumer brands are existing”(Wolford website). This means that its two shops indicate the “prestigious” locations not in Zeil Street but near Goethe Street. *Jacadi*, a French children’s clothing retailer, has two franchised shops in Goethe Street and the neighbouring street. It says about its products and their market, as follows (*Jacadi* website),

“Jacadi commits itself in an active process of internationalization: ...Jacadi benefits from its high brand awareness and the Jacadi French-touch allows to position its products on the up / luxury market. Jacadi brand awareness together with the quality of its product enables Jacadi to position its products on the middle / up French

market. Abroad, Jacadi benefits from its high brand awareness and the Jacadi French-touch allows to position its products on the up / luxury market.”

Furthermore, it mentions in terms of their outlet location,

“in order to preserve the exceptional quality of its franchisees network, all our shops are situated in a No. 1 location in a shopping center or on a main street”.

Thanks to its ‘French’ origin and reputation of shop, its goods and outlets for the up/luxury market need to be situated in Goethe Street, the location with luxury images.

In contrast to many fashion multiple shops in Zeil Street, the showcase outlets of foreign luxury fashion retailers represent luxury, fashion and international images of the place. The interaction of the images of places takes place between being chosen by these retailers and representing such images for their business as well as for consumers.

Tokyo

Commercial interests are the powerful image leader of the retail centres in Tokyo. The major locations of international retail activity, such as the Ginza/Tokyo/Shinbashi and Shibuya/Omotesando/Aoyama centres are the centres emphasised in the mass media with their ‘fashion’ and ‘foreign’ images. This is highlighted by its considerable proportion of the showcase outlets located in these centres (see Table 2-2-T-1). Other unique locations of foreign luxury fashion retailers, like those in Hotel New Ohtani Tokyo, embody the image of ‘foreign’ and ‘international’ in the place. Such images are the connection between such types of retailing and the locations.

Table 2-2-T-1 Showcase type of retail outlets of international retail activity and the locations in Tokyo

	Ginza/Tokyo/Shinbashi		Shibuya/Omotesando/Aoyama	
Showcase type of retail outlets	24	30.0%	8	15.4%
Total	80	100.0%	52	100.0%

Source: the author

Many retail centres, where international retailing is located, are in western Tokyo of ‘up-town’ image, no matter which types of goods foreign retailers deal with. The Hutako-tamagawaen, Jiyugaoka, Hiroo and Roppongi centres, for example, belong to the ‘up-town’ area. These centres have a ‘fashion’ image, and this is possibly interrelated to their considerable concentration of fashion retailing (see Table 2-1-T-4, pp63). Particularly the Jiyugaoka and Hutako-Tamagawaen centres include both foreign luxury and non-luxury fashion retailers, and some of them are interestingly otherwise not located within Tokyo.

The locations of foreign multiple shop retailers in the non-luxury goods sector are straightforwardly in the commercially similar retail centres (see Table 2-1-T-4), likewise in Frankfurt, of both 'up-town' and other area. It appears then that they do not pay much attention to the images of their locations. However, their first locations in Tokyo at the crucial moment of entering the Japanese market are not necessarily those most commercially significant, but in the centres with the 'up-town' and clear 'fashion' images. The Omotesando is characterised by the 'fashion' image. *Benetton*, for example, opened its first Megastore (its larger-scale showcase outlets directly operated by the Japanese subsidiary rather than through franchising). It says that its Megastores have to be located with "the prestigious locations in historic and commercial centres" (*Benetton* website). *Eddie Bauer*, an American casual fashion retailer, did not choose its first shop location in central Tokyo, but the 'up-town' Jiyugaoka centre. *Laura Ashley* opened in the Ginza in 1985, while its home-furnishing outlet was first in the Jiyugaoka in 1995. The first location of *HMV* in Tokyo was in the Shibuya, not in other similar retail centres in the economic system.

The 'up-town' and 'fashion' images attached to particular retail centres are presented and represented in the mass media as well as in the retailing of foreign retailers located.

2.2.5. Conclusion

The image presentation and representation process of retail centres can be closely related to the internationalisation of retailing. This is shown in the cases of Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo. Some retail centres and particular locations are distinguished with the images of 'foreign', 'luxury' and/or 'fashion'. These images are closely linked to the retail concepts of foreign retailers, which necessarily distinguish such images for their shop locations.

Some may argue that there are multiple shop retailers in the non-luxury goods sector, which appear not to rely so much on the images of places but primarily on the economic factors of retail locations. Such retailers do not particularly appeal themselves as 'foreign'. They can be recognised so 'general' as domestic retailers. However, as found in the study cities, the foreign retailers in the non-luxury sector also look much on the images of their retail locations. After some time, their retail outlets may be multiplied in any similar retail centres in economic terms. The images of some retail centres are, however, maintained, as

many retailers have once recognised and relied on them for selection of the first locations to launch the local market development.

Retailers appear to identify and evaluate the distinctive images of local retail centres and specific locations within them, which they do or do not intend to establish in the business. In order to do so, retailers could not only rely upon the established locations of similar business, where their targeted customers are surely there, but also look at the images of retail locations presented in the mass media, which their customers are interested in, e.g. the images by social features of places in Frankfurt or distinctive fashionableness attached to retail centres in Tokyo. Some may be able to create such an image of retail centre and location as they need. As discussed above, the images of retail centres tend to be “representation of space”. Therefore, this could be done by intensively presenting it in the mass media and collaborating with city marketing of local government and/or property agent, although the whole investment in retail business may not turn out to be profitable in the short term.

This section shows a case that some retailers have to settle themselves in local locations through the images of places, when their retail concepts especially focus on ‘foreign’ and/or ‘fashion’ images in their retail concepts.

Footnote:

(2-2-1) “Wenn mich Jemand frage, wo ich mir den Platz meiner Wiege bequemer, meiner burgerlichen Gesinnung gemaer, oder meiner poetischen Ansicht entsprechender denke, ich konnte keine liebere Stadt als Frankfurt nennen“(in Korenke(ed), 1990)

(2-2-2) The “world city” status is given according to some economic indicators of the city, such as the number of financial institutes and headquarters of international firms (e.g. Sassen, 2000).

(2-2-3) In Germany, city-marketing projects are promoted by the initiatives of local governments rather than under the national town planning policy (Helbrecht, 1997).

(2-2-4) The organisations interviewed are Retailer Association of Frankfurt (Einzelhandelsverband Frankfurt/Main Hochtaunus Maintaunus e.V.); the Frankfurt am Main Chamber of Industry and Commerce (Industrie- und Handelskammer Frankfurt am Main); Metropolitana Region Frankfurt Rhein-Main; Sangyo Roudou-kyoku; Tokyo Metropolitan Government. The issues asked include the general retail trend of the city, retail or retail centre development policy, particularly in Frankfurt am Main, about which relatively little literature is found. The interviews followed the roughly structured open questions on retailing, retail centres, and the internationalisation of retailing. It was avoided to lead their certain answers by asking, e.g. ‘don’t you believe X?’.

(2-2-5) The background of this study is that the regional planning policy sought the justification of territorial boundary of the regional planning association.

(2-2-6) The government aimed at presenting the picture of westernised modern Japan to American and European guests with the Western lifestyles, in order to negotiate the unequal treaties made by that time. The current land use and infrastructure of Tokyo central business area are formed partly in this period through many Tokyo redevelopment projects to construct Western-style buildings (Ishida, 1992).

2.3. Conclusion - the internationalisation of retailing and the development of retail centres

The locations of international retail activity were first analysed with a traditional retail- geographical approach. It was confirmed that the spatial distribution of international retailing in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo relates to the economic system of retail centres. Foreign retailers particularly in the fashion and personal goods sector in these study cities represent the retail landscapes of the higher-order retail centres in the economic system. Foreign tourists also influence the macro-locations of international retail activity. It was, however, indicated in these cities that the internationalisation of retailing has no considerable direct reorganising effect on the spatial structure of retail centres. This is because the locations of foreign specialist retailers mainly in the fashion and personal goods sector and not in the large-scale format tend to be located in the existing retail locations.

Furthermore, it was found that economic and rational-consumer factors of retail locations do not fully explain the distinction of the locations and retail centres selected and those not by international retailing. Accordingly, the qualitative factors of retail locations were turned to. The discussion on the approaches to qualities of places suggested the image system of retail centres in order to consider the relationship between the locations of international retailing and local retail centres. The images of places, here retail centres are those contradictory in nature, which are abstracted, reflectively emphasised and shared between consumers, politicians, retailers and researchers. Due to the nature of 'image' of places discussed above, it is not possible to point out precisely the origin of images of retail centres in the reflective process of image formation. The interactions of images of retail centres appear to lie in a cycle: images attached to particular retail centres, identified, abstracted and shared to a certain degree to emerge as an imperative element of the images of places, which are then identified. The reflective nature of the capitalist image system of retail centres means the continuous differentiation process of places, which both retailers and consumers have to rely on.

This is the process, in which the internationalisation of retailing can be involved substantially. The locations of international retail activity are linked closely to the images of retail centres. Particular images of retail centres are fortified with retail concepts of foreign retailers located there. These retailers intend to present, and may consequently

represent the images of locations and retail centres, since they focus on 'foreign' (particularly in Tokyo) and 'fashion' images in retail concepts. This implies that other local retailers in the similar business, such as fashion retailers, comparably take part in the image presentation and representation process.

The cases of Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo indicated that the internationalisation of retailing can then influence the image relationships between retail centres. This may lead to the change in economic relationships, although this causal relation of international retailers located in retail centres and the economic development of retail centres is difficult to indicate exactly and prove.

However, why are the images of places of importance for international retailing in these cities? In Tokyo, the images of retail centres include the image element more directly associated with international retailing. At the same time, the disparities in the image structures and apparent geographical conditions of international retail activity between the study cities remain not explained. These will be explored in the last chapter of this thesis.

3. Consumption, retail centres and internationalisation of retailing

Geographical approaches to the relationship between consumption, retailing and the places of such begin usually with each place and its built elements, such as particular retail formats and tourist places. They then attempt to draw social implications from their distinct qualities. Frequent focuses are shopping centres as a symbol of middle class, and department stores as a reflection of the improved social status of women (e.g. Shields(ed) 1992). Regarding internationalisation of retailing, however, it relates specifically neither to certain retail formats and groups of customers, nor some features in their built environments, as considered in the last chapter. It is the image system of retail centres that incorporates the relationship between the locations of international retailing and the development of retail centres.

In this chapter, a further attempt will be made to explain the image system of retail centres. Why do foreign retailers rely on images of retail centres when locating their outlets? In order to consider this question, this chapter first turns to the fundamental relationship of actions to certain space (i.e. consumption and retail centres).

The meanings of 'consumption' are briefly introduced here. Generally consumption is simply an act or an amount of eating, drinking or buying or using objects (*Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*). This definition describes an act both towards material and immaterial objects, i.e. products and services, and implies a quantitative measure. Consumption simply bridges material objects and their users. It can be viewed, (although being economically restricted,) as an otherwise relatively free activity in daily life. However, many social scientists agree that consumption is an act directed towards constructing *self* in social relations. Once consumption is regarded as such an act, it becomes clear that this free activity is based on the imperative motivation and intention to achieve it. Retail centres are places for such activities. They do bear economic constraints in access and mobility in the conduct of the acts, but otherwise, appear dissociated from any powerful institutions (organisations) in control. (Consider extreme conditions of individuals under control and surveillance in enclosed space, e.g. prisons.) They are, however, also not completely free from the influences of social institutions. As discussed in the last chapter, the image system of retail centres is constituted by "representations of

space”, which stem from dominant commercial and political interests in those places of mass consumption.

In the following sections, the meanings of ‘consumption’ will be further discussed by reviewing several representative consumption studies. Consumption is considered not merely as material representations of social relations but as a process of self-construction, an act directed towards social relations. Social relations refer to a neutral conception of relations in a group and groups rather than a narrowly defined vertical class relation. The objective of the first two sections is not to draw a contrast between economic and social meanings of consumption, but to understand the process of consumption from both perspectives.

Next, the contexts of consumption in Modernity/Post-Modernity will be also considered by reviewing sociological and anthropological studies. Material objects consumed are the most manifest representations of social relations sought in consumption. The meanings of consumption objects and contexts are transient and variable within and between individuals in nature. Furthermore, they are increasingly subject to the rapid change of representations and presentations of social relations in the modern capitalistic production system. Accordingly, a consideration of the modern condition of consumption suggests fundamental social group relations in the process of self-construction and some key concepts to analyse the process.

These discussions on social relations of consumption suggest spatial dimensions of social practices in consumption. The argument is that the process of consumption is related necessarily to images of places, “representations of space” by commercial and political powers including international retailers.

Lastly, with the analytical concepts put forward, it will be shown through the cases of Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo, why local developments of the internationalisation of retailing are interrelated with image systems of retail centres. Disparities found in the image structure as well as in the retail-geographical conditions of the internationalisation of retailing in these study cities will also be explained.

Before going further, epistemological and methodological problems in dealing with meanings and qualities should be stated here. Due to these problems, an analysis on meanings becomes puzzling. It tends to lead to circular arguments of epistemological critics on interpretations of meanings and qualities in discussion. Some look, for example, largely on an economic distinction of consumption goods, such as those for utility, needs, or luxury, and juxtapose them without economic ‘rational’ utility to those with ‘symbolic’

or 'cultural' utility. Is 'cultural' irrational, however? Others may argue that symbolic qualities are regarded as 'utility', when they are fundamentally needed. The point is clear that meanings and qualities drawn from a phenomenon are necessarily defined according to each research purpose. By surveying differences between necessities and luxuries, Lunt and Livingstone (1992:150-158) illustrate that the interviewed neither define these qualities systematically by referring to particular items, nor make any explicit distinction between them. This is initially because of the epistemological gap between the authors of the survey and the interviewed people. Similarly, an experience of shopping can be assessed with any qualities from contradictory perspectives. Miller (1998:69) claims that "the ideal of shopping as leisure could not be realised, because in the event shopping was always carried out under the constraints of competition for the time spent in shopping". Shopping centres are a symbol of leisure shopping from the perspective of retailers and shopping centre developers; however, they actually serve, most of the time, for a mandate task of families.

This thesis does not devote itself to arguing about interpretations of each quality and meaning in literature. There is no need to discuss the plausible judgement of 'pleasure', 'duty' or 'boredom' in each case. It is more meaningful to consider the contexts and conditions in which meanings are given.

3.1. Consumption, social relations and places

3.1.1. Economic perspectives of consumption

A simple definition of consumption is usually given as an economic act directed towards consuming objects. The motivations and intentions of such an act can be abstracted into rational-consumer and economic terms. Objects are, for example, classified as primary biological, basic needs, or those of secondary or excessive needs. Consumer behaviour or consumption studies as well as retail location theories, like the “central place” theory, are based on this economic distinction.

Obviously, human beings’ biological need for food and shelter is certainly still the central concern to sustain life, as has always been in our long history of civilisation. As the next stage of such biological survival, literature on consumption emphasises the emergence of “modern consumption”. Modern consumption refers to a condition as the material basis of our everyday life, which is qualitatively and quantitatively improved through the development of modern production systems. Consumption objects increasingly take non-material forms, such as leisure and tourism, while service industry commercialises various experiences to consume.

Many stress that in the process of economic development consumption objects have come to include excessive qualities. Some emphasise the objects in excessive and non-biological nature and their symbolic meanings enabling constructing social and cultural life. Campbell (1987) and Borock (1993), for example, take this perspective. Campbell (1987:60-65) states that the feature of modern consumption is an active experience of “pleasure” in the process of consumption. By examining the consumption process in the modern British industrial society, Borock (1993:3) says,

“Consumption, in late twentieth-century Western forms of capitalism, may be seen [, therefore,] as a social and cultural process involving cultural signs and symbols, not simply as an economic, utilitarian process”.

Others argue that both symbolic and basic qualities can be inherent to an object. The distinction between them depends on the context of consumption, which determines each quality.

Symbolic qualities of objects of consumption tend to be particularly emphasised as the distinctive feature of modern consumption. Lunt & Livingstone (1992:24) claim, “Modern consumer culture and mass production create the needs for individuals to have personal identity”. However, it seems too simplistic to regard such a symbolic consumption as an advanced form of economic activity. Anthropological studies dealing with pre-modern or non-industrial societies are rich sources of cases that suggest such groups of people develop their symbolic meanings in consumption from very simple materials. Foods generally as the most biologically basic goods can be a very strong symbolic expression of self-identity. Organic foods, for example, nowadays represent one’s health and environmental consciousness in the modern industrial world, while some culinary rituals and religious practices for some groups of people strictly guide daily nutrition for biological survival.

By following the economic distinction of consumption objects, the structure of social relations may be drawn, according to the correlation of socio-economic features of groups of people and economic variables, such as prices of certain goods. Then, focusing on some groups, consumer types can be suggested. After all some consumer types suggested in business literature often appear as generalisations (e.g. Japanese consumer types by Larke, 1994:23). It is, however, argued that such types are the extraction and reduction of those commercially interesting (e.g. Douglas & Isherwood, 1979; Miller, 1987). Such an economic reduction disregards the interactive process of any social-context formations in consumption.

The economic reduction in turn highlights the diversity, due to the disparities between the abstract models of consumers and the actual observations. Economists also find themselves (though they are not necessarily conscious about it) faced with difficulties in abstracting and generalising consumer behaviour. For example, Secrist (1926) concludes his marketing study of shopping destinations for men’s clothing and furniture of university students and their fathers, as follows.

“Consumers vary in their attitude toward price. Some emphasize quality, distinctiveness, style, and particular brand, the basis of their judgement being developed, sharpened, and warped by the advertising material, which meets them at every hand and by companies which they make among themselves. They buy eagerly at one time, refuse to buy at another, and distribute their purchases where they will. They compete each other, and bring into competition stores remotely situated, dealing not alone in the same kinds of goods but also in those which in anyway serve as substitutes”(Secrist, 1926:116-117).

The elusive and plural nature of the consumer is merely confirmed. But the confirmation does not explain the act of consumption.

Hirsch (1976), an economist, goes further, mentioning the social conditions of consumption. Although his primary intention in carrying out the study is to criticise the liberal capitalist policies, which are based on rational consumer behaviour for profit maximisation and aim for nominal economic growth, he suggests that an act of consumption is dependent qualitatively on the meanings of objects, which are shared by a group of people, as well as quantitatively on the conditions of availability. By suggesting “positional goods”, he still makes an economic distinction of consumption objects. They are particular objects of secondary needs, such as holiday houses or various services, which can be obtained after biologically primary needs are fulfilled. Nevertheless, he looks at such social values of the objects of consumption. He does not disregard the relation to *others* in the social process of consumption. “Positional goods” take a durable form as manifest accumulated value from the past. At a particular point in time certain “positional goods” are available and affordable only for a certain consumer group, such as high class. This then increases the relative value or desirability of the goods after some time when *others* want to obtain them.

Furthermore, he pays attention to individuals’ subjective assessment of the meanings of “positional goods”. A motivation of consumption is to achieve satisfaction. Satisfaction depends on “aesthetic and sexual standards”, which reside in relations to *others*. He writes, “increased material resources enlarge the demand for positional goods, a demand that can be satisfied for some only by frustrating demand by others” (1976:67). It means that consumption of “positional goods” is satisfied, only when the value presented is shared between people, who are interested in such a value.

The social contexts of consumption, highlighted by the economist, Hirsch, are focused primarily in the fields of sociology, ethnography, and anthropology. Although specific emphasis in each field is variously placed on relationships to social class, for example, objects consumed, and the contrast between modern and pre-industrial societies, (as partly referred to above,) all of these attempt to reveal the social meanings underlying consumption over space and time.

3.1.2. Review of the studies on consumption and social relations

This section considers the fundamental social group relation in consumption by reviewing several studies. Social group structures in consumption are explored in relation to certain consumption goods (like Hirsch's "positional goods",) probably most prevalently in marketing studies. For such marketing studies, the representative academic works by Veblen, Bourdieu, and Simmel provide basic research concepts. These studies deal with the process and social meanings of consumption at a certain period of time but for different sites; therefore, they illuminate the underlying social relations in consumption.

Veblen

Veblen (1970) observes the manner of consumption between class groups in the early twentieth century US. Leaving aside any possible arguments to make for his evolutionist, racist or elitist views, his important assertion is that emulation, an instinctive quality of human beings, stimulates an act of consumption. According to him, there are different social groups due to biological differences inherent in race, gender and occupation. He then distinguishes social groups according to the degree of engagement in labour. This distinction implies a bourgeois/working class relationship. He contrasts the leisure class's indulgence and wastefulness in consumption of materials and time with other groups engaged in labour and the striving for life's necessities. Such ostentation displayed through consumption is to signify oneself explicitly as a member of the ruling class. This then, induces groups of people to "emulate" this ruling class. He precisely observes that such a class relation is represented by practices of consumption rather than a structure of certain consumption goods.

Bourdieu

Bourdieu (1987) develops a more systematic approach to the 'objects of consumption - social group relationship' than Veblen (1970). The context of his study is France in the 1970s. He focuses on constructing a structure of consumption goods and various socio-economic groups of people. He elaborately classifies and presents the surveyed people into groups according to correlation between occupations and organisational positions, education, family origins, and gender and age, and tastes characterised by different types of cultural products, such as pictures, theatres and literature. He refers to such cultural tastes cultivated in high-class groups of people as "cultural capital". This is the basis of

consumption. Aesthetic appreciation of cultural goods and practices is born of an informal family environment (e.g. an every day exposure to fine arts and classical music) and developed through public formal education (e.g. different educational objectives of schools and study fields particularly offered in higher education). “Cultural capital” depends not only on economic circumstances of individuals, such as income level, but also on the social and cultural cohesion preserved within a ruling group. He suggests such an environment and opportunity of life-style, inherent to each social group as “Habitus”, a system of difference. “Habitus” results in different attitudes towards the social world, including practices of consumption. He also observes that mere material possession of items representing a certain group does not instantly allow one to join that group as a member. Ruling groups try tactically to exclude superficial members disguised with material presentations of “cultural capital”.

In his study, it is shown that consumption aims to facilitate integration of oneself with *others* in a group as well as recognising and excluding some in *other* groups.

Simmel

Long before these studies reviewed above, Simmel (1905) captured precisely the dynamic system of representations of social relations in the case of fashion consumption. His observation is based on cases in Berlin in the early years of the twentieth century. He sees fashion (“Mode”) systems and tastes constituting the apparent difference between groups of people. A dominant group, such as the bourgeoisie, led fashion styles, while the others attempted to imitate their styles. He refers to the central motivation of this imitation as a feeling of envy towards the ruling classes. Most importantly he understood that the signifiers of each group are not fixed to that group but constantly changing in the interaction of imitation and creation of fashion between social groups. According to him, once certain distinctions of a group through a consumption of a certain style stand out, the style lasts only so long as its effect on its own distinction continues. This process is the interaction of social meanings derived from consumption goods between hierarchical social groups.

3.1.3. Material representation of social relations in Modernity

As the review of the several studies above suggests different conditions of consumption, it is important to view that consumption objects themselves are neutral.

They take on meanings only within various social contexts. Social contexts may be indicated in relationships to certain material presentations. This is a relatively apparent information system of social meanings in consumption. It involves some interpretation of consumption objects and practices, which are necessarily shared in a group of people (Goffman, 1973; Douglas & Isherwood, 1979: Chapter 4).

Understanding meanings of consumption is, however, problematic in order to explore social relations, when focusing only on objects consumed and their relative stable material forms. McCracken (1988) places much emphasis on consumed goods as a material medium to determine, stabilise and even change social relations. Social relations may be represented in material objects; however, the seemingly stable states alone do not have structuring effects on social relations. It is the contexts of an act of consumption that change initially, like in the case of fashion according to Simmel. Similarly it tends to presume a fixed relationship between certain goods and socio-economic groups. Discussing the study of Bourdieu (1987), Featherstone (1991:83) says,

“We are moving towards a society without fixed status groups in which the adoption of styles of life (manifest in choice of clothes, leisure activities, consumer goods, bodily dispositions) which are fixed to specific groups have been surpassed”.

However, a simple analysis of the economic types of goods, such as necessities or luxuries, and their relationship to different social groups does not show any clear group relationships, due to the increasingly ephemeral and diversifying modern system of material representation.

Modern consumption

In the modern capitalist world representations of social relations through consumption become dramatically transient. Featherstone (1991) points out that as more people seek representation of certain social relation in an object to consume, the object becomes over-supplied and rapidly circulated in our advanced capitalistic production system and loses its function to represent. The fashion-style interaction between social groups, about which Simmel (1905) writes in the early years of the last century, has become exposed to a more rapid change. McCracken (1988) remarks on particular quality of goods, e.g. Patina, which once represented social status and consumed for the attaining of such, but increasingly they are manipulated as “imitation”. The “imitation” then comes

to convey something other than the original implication. Furthermore, in the late modern times imitation becomes 'real' (Harvey, 1989).

The representations of social relations are extracted, fragmentarily emphasised, and created and manipulated by the production and retailing sides. Many agree that this condition owes much to the shift from producer-led to retailer-led or a consumer-oriented production system. The technological development in production, distribution, and marketing systems of retailers enables them at the end of the production-consumption spectrum to flexibly adjust their merchandise according to demands, which are diversified and need to update in a shorter duration. As Crewe & Davenport (1992) illustrate from the case of the oligopoly of British clothing retailers, retailers diversify their product lines for each targeted market segment not only at home but also in foreign countries. They take control over the production and distribution system. Such retail evolution is not only in the fashion sector. As shown in the first chapter of this thesis, there are many firms internationally operating and characterised by integrated production and distribution systems, such as the so-called category killers (e.g. *Toys'r'us*) and the supermarket chains.

At the same time, the diversity of products stimulates consumers' endless wanting in modern societies (Campbell, 1987:37-38). Here "wanting" does not refer to necessities for biological needs but the desire to ever replace, like different styles of clothing. In such a consumption process, a powerful tool for producers and retailers is advertising. Bourdieu (1987) does not fail to pay attention to the role of advertising and mass media, which provide information on lifestyles of different groups. As Giddens (1991:198) writes,

"Advertisers orient themselves to sociological classifications of consumer categories and at the same time foster specific consumption "packages". To a greater or lesser degree, the project of the self becomes translated into one of the possession of desired goods and the pursuit of artificially framed styles of life."

Choices to make in consumption never cease to increase, as diversified wishes and ephemeral desires of consumers are fulfilled and generated in the development of flexible production system. In such a condition of consumption the choices are difficult to make. This point will be discussed later.

Accordingly, the consumption goods pattern does not indicate a simple structure of leisure, middle or working class even within a certain period of time. Business practices even appear adept in grasping the complicated social group structure in material representations in order to market particular products. Marketing studies concentrate on discovering taste-makers or leaders based not only on sociological features by age, income

and occupation, but also by attitudes towards various lifestyles. Does this mean that social group relations are complicated or disappearing? This will be considered further in the next section.

Internationalised consumption goods

Some products marketed internationally can be taken to mean similar contexts in different parts of the world. These contexts can prevail inter-culturally. Certain representations of social relations through consumption objects in one setting can be transferred into others. For example, a catalogue of objects suggested as “cultural capital” according to Bourdieu can elsewhere attract other ruling groups that continuously seek their signifiers.

On the other hand, anthropological studies provide many examples of the development of local variations to the meanings of globally available goods, such as Coca-Cola and McDonalds. Jackson (1999:97-98) refers to this as the “localization” of meanings of goods. Therefore, as stated previously, it is too simplistic to regard international products being imported with the development of the global product market (including that of the internationalisation of retailing) as causing homogenisation of culture and society. Giddens (1991:200) says, “standardisation (of products) can often be turned into a mode of creating individual qualities”, as it enables mass production and consumption of more variety, availability and affordability; however, “much the standardising influence of fashion and other forces affects those individual decisions”. I suggest that the initial source of this standardising influence is self-construction in relation to *others*. What are, then, the social relations sought by and formed in consumption?

3.1.4. Social relations in consumption - inter or intra social-group relations?

In modern consumption, Giddens (1991) recognises the mechanisms of narratives on distinctions between social groups, which media filters, and with which individuals identify their social relations for self-construction. He writes:

“The mass media routinely present modes of life to which, it is implied, everyone should aspire; the lifestyles of the affluent are, in one form or another, made open to view and portrayed as worthy of emulation”(Giddens, 1991:199).

In this case a question arises: in which external social groups is a group of people interested? Intra-group relations may appear significant, and presented as relatively

explicit ties between individuals within their groups. This is because inter-group relations become obscure due to fragmented and diversified material representations, as considered above. Miller (1987:173) argues that in popular culture and consumption studies “the analysis tends to reduce the material to its place in reproducing or opposing given social positions and conflicts”. Following the contexts of the ‘modern’ development of the production system and economic growth discussed above, he (1987:197) contends that consumption plays an important role in establishing intra-class relations, as inter-class relations become blurred and unstable. Through cases involving home furnishings of British working class housewives, he interprets intentions to decorate homes as carefully balancing one’s own tastes with those of accepted norms of the social group. The housewives’ tastes in home furnishings present a common status to be maintained and confirmed. He (1998) also shows how housewives in North London carry out everyday shopping with active care and concern for their kinship relations.

“The shopping is hoping to influence [these] others into becoming the kind of people who would be the appropriate recipients for that which is being bought”(Miller, 1998:8).

That is, “shopping is the construction of the other as desiring subject”(Miller, 1998:148). He does not regard consumed goods as structuring the social relations desired, but rather representing the desired social relations. The construction of such intra-group relations is then necessarily based on the presumed “appropriateness” of objects purchased and displayed. The concerns of the surveyed housewives in his studies appear, therefore, directed internally rather than externally to their groups.

It, however, seems impossible to seek *intra*-group relations without a basis of *inter*-group relations. From the perspective of the process of consumption suggested so far, inter-group relations are still fundamental to any social group structure. I argue that the inter-group relations tend to be more and more implicitly presented in an act of consumption. The most implicit inter-group relation in Miller’s studies is one of gender taken up as the initial distinction of shopping behaviour in his theme of ‘women’s shopping’. Gender relations are more distinct in Chua’s (1992) study of Singaporean women in shopping. By observing the shopping process of some customers in an exclusive designer boutique in Singapore, he highlights the important communications among their social group and between others both by the very presence of such communication and by its absence. Their primary concern is to do with the religious clothing code for women, which must be verified by their partners.

Another case of the formation of inter-group relations in consumption is the fashion trend system. It is not so explicitly related with inter-group relations as observed around the time of Simmel, but still profoundly. The rapid change and complexity of material representations of *self* and social relations through the consumption of fashion does not straightforwardly mean that the ruling groups leading fashion styles disappeared. The imitation of fashion styles as in the case of Simmel necessarily points to the existence of styles to follow. Craik (1994:15) claims,

“Ironically, while elite designer fashion has endeavoured to remain distinct from high street fashion, its success has depended on the popularisation of styles in non-elite groups”.

However, the popularisation of any style by non-elite groups is owed initially to the authorisation of those styles by the ruling group. It appears that “street fashion” by non-elite/ruling groups, is able to become ‘fashion’, only after fashion designers (, which traditionally serve the ruling class) and their supporters, such as fashion experts show interest in it.

I stress that inter-group relations between ruling groups and the others profoundly affect social practices of consumption. Some may argue that the rise of the middle class through the development of modern consumption led to the collapse of the vertical class structure. The middle class consumers are emphasised as empowered and as increasingly to have become the centre of the economy, as put forward by business literature. Others even insist that the majority of people belong to the growing middle class. These perspectives imply the politics of economic-growth, which Hirsch argues. I point out that the economic growth achieved by such a middle class as a majority is even conditioned by the existence of the vertical social group structure. This is because middle class people as the thrust of any economy continuously need to follow such a social structure in consumption, so that economic output is able to grow.

3.1.5. Process of consumption and self-construction

Choices in consumption are influenced, amongst other factors, by their absolute scarcity. Hirsch (1976) says that both absolute and social scarcity of certain goods, such as “positional goods”, increases their market value. But, why does such scarcity drive people to strive for “positional goods”? Emotions and feelings can motivate an act of consumption. They are typified by emotions in connection with *others*, such as envy (e.g.

Douglas & Isherwood, 1979; Simmel, 1905), emulation (e.g. Veblen, 1970), or love (e.g. Miller, 1998). These reflect emotions and feelings towards *self*.

The emotions and feelings can be also interpreted as the inclination of attitudes in consumption, such as romanticism and hedonism (e.g. Douglas & Isherwood, 1979; Campbell, 1987). They may be profoundly based on religious norms (e.g. Weber, 1934). Campbell (1987) points out the growth of romantic and sentimental notions that are associated with consumption objects. This stems from puritan religious morals in the development of the modern industrial English society. His argument is based on the work of Weber (1934), which unveiled how Protestant morals influenced Protestants attitudes towards money, such as saving and spending for possessions. According to Weber, the asceticism in Protestantism contributed to the early modern capitalistic development because of Protestants' capital accumulation in the Western World.

The important perspective of consumption, which Campbell stresses, is the emotional and imaginative active experiences in the process of consumption, such as illusions and delusions. Further questions arise: what have Protestants achieved through their moral duties according to asceticism? Why does asceticism generate coherent emotional and imaginative experiences in groups of people?

Self-construction in social relations

This section goes on to explore sociological as well as human-geographical perspectives in the process of self-construction. The process depends on how individuals distinguish *self* and *others* in order to integrate oneself to the social world. *Self* means here the origin of one's conduct of activities through the course of life (Giddens, 1984). As suggested above, self-construction through consumption is no simple representation of economic dynamics of *self* by consumption objects but a continuous project of establishing *self* in one's social context. This may be represented partly by the act of consumption. It is not a passive but an active process of imagining *self* and *others* in a relationship.

The important aspect is that self-construction includes spatial dimensions. Here psychoanalytical discussions in the field of cognitive development are not undertaken in depth (see Borock, 1993; Giddens, 1984;1991); however, from the literature, in summary, a process of self-construction is dependent on the control of the body in space. *Self* confronts both cognition and conception of one's world, where one's body lies. According to Giddens (1984; 1990; 1991), individuals are able to construct *self* by establishing

“ontological security” over space and time. In order to do so, they have to be capable of autonomous action to secure *self* in relation to *others*. Securing *self* necessitates overcoming anxiety in social environments and establishing basic trust in *others*, such as that in healthy kinship relationships, then which is fostered through education, occupation, gender, religion and so forth.

Some may still claim that emotions and feelings in consumption stem from intensive affection for particular goods. However, Miller (1995:23-24) notes,

“Of course, there are pathologies of fetishism in which people become obsessed with goods which have no redolence of social relations about them, but ironically it may be far more often the narcissistic obsession with personhood which detracts from social relations, not the materialism which is often an expression of social relations through a process of objectification”.

‘Security’ found in relation to *others* is intensively sought by such an intensive possession of certain things. This can provide relatively substantial material conditions, upon which the desired social relations are manifestly projected.

Authority and authenticity in self-construction

In the late modern world the quantitative increase of choice becomes a problem of how one chooses an object associated with so many life style packages (Giddens, 1991). This aspect will be now considered. How can such difficult choices be made or satisfied? I suggest here firstly the concept of ‘authority’. Authority guides the search for “ontological security” in constructing *self*. It does not refer to particular institutions or organisations in power to control the act of consumption, but to the source of value, on which individuals rely, in order to conduct social life by securing *self*. It may be rituals and traditions including religion. The routines and commitments following these practices are the consistent source of general conduct in individuals’ “life projects”. Giddens (1991:194) mentions that in the late-modern condition “there are no determinant authorities”. The authorities he means are narrowly traditions and religions. Determinant authorities are Protestantism according to Weber; and Islam for modern Islamic Singaporean women according to Chua.

Within this condition in searching for ‘security’ by establishing trust in *others*, it seems that consumption, in turn, may well increasingly play an important role. Individuals need to establish a feeling of “ontological security” with a certain unity of *self* achieved by constructing their “lifestyle” through consumption (Giddens, 1990; 1991). At the same

time, importantly, the manifest expression of *self* may not always represent the same “lifestyle”. In the modern reflective system of such a commodification of “lifestyle”, I suggest that choices can be completed smoothly by conforming to ‘authority’. Giddens (1991) writes that “the dilemma of self” is eased most effectively by conforming to something “authoritative”. What ‘authority’ stresses is, therefore, the quality of ‘authenticity’ in consumption objects in the times, when ‘imitation becomes real’.

3.1.6. Spatial and social relations in consumption

This section argues that the “life-project” of self-construction resides in space. Trust in *others* and security of *self* have to be achieved and maintained by overcoming fear and anxiety in *others*. This process is spatially linked to the boundaries of *self* and various domains of *others*. This is because the relationship of *self* to *others* is developed, established, and anchored in space, where the body of *self* is situated. The structure of these various domains is based on the individual’s control of her/his body in space. Tuan (1979:206) suggests that the boundaries to recognise *self* apart from *other* are in the hierarchical order of the domain, the house and the body. Obviously the distinction between these boundaries tends to correspond to those between *self* and the different scale of social environments, although it does not necessarily depend on any absolute spatial relationship. It is, therefore, throughout history, as Tuan (1979) illustrates, that others in other domains than *self* can become the central source of fear and anxiety.

Religion can be the central norm for social practices to provide basic security of *self* in everyday life. It may not be apparently spatial, as religion does not necessarily have control over certain space. As Simmel (1903) points out, there are different religious groups prevailing in an area. However, it does appear that religious practices are spatially fixed, such as sacred places of built form, as “representational space” and territorially organised within an administration, e.g. parishes. When the domains of various religions are overlapped geographically, *self* may identify *others* more consciously and unavoidably in its domain.

Through analysis of the formation of social relations between groups, Goffman (1973) insightfully observes social relations shaped in spatial dimensions, as Giddens (1984) points out (, although he deals not only with the cases of consumption and class relation). Goffman (1973) shows with the concept of “front stage” and “back stage”, how groups of people present themselves and construct their domain, not necessarily physically

explicitly but partly spatially. According to him, in certain domains, for example, consumption for presenting *self* is accomplished successfully to its audience (i.e. *others*), only when the internal informal rules of that domain are maintained.

We will see the connection of the spatial dimension of the *self/other* relationship to the modern context of consumption considered above. 'Authority' of the domain of *self* may refer to that of other domains of *others*, according to the relationship between *self* and *others*. Appadurai (1986) precisely discusses the politically defined 'authority' dependent on spatial relations of different groups of people and their domains. He argues that elite politics mediate commodities and their values by controlling the knowledge of them and the flow of commodities. He means "objects of economic value" to be commodities (Appadurai, 1986:3). Referring to many anthropological studies (Appadurai(ed), 1986), he outlines the process of how the unequally distributed knowledge of commodities generates an exchange value in addition to any value stemming from these commodities' absolute availability, particularly when the exchange takes place over spatial distance. He suggests that objects begin their "social life", once they are marketed for exchange, i.e. in the process of consumption. The "social life" of consumption objects comprises the reflection of power plays of groups within and across domains.

There are other anthropological studies focusing on this spatial context of 'authority'. Some studies show 'authority' from 'outside' becoming dominant, when it supports the 'local' 'authority' of the ruling group. Friedman (1994) studies the practices of the Congolese and their social class distinction influenced by the relationship between Congo and its former suzerain. Since its local higher education is underdeveloped, a higher education in French guarantees a position in the privileged-class. It enables local people to achieve academic or professional occupations and higher organisational positions. Others present the case that the source of 'authority' may be sought in the domain of *self* but due to its relationship to 'authority' in other domains. Jackson (1999:100-104) illustrates the case of aboriginal art and black music. Aboriginal art empowers its own social and political position first through experiencing conflicts with the authorisation of aboriginal art by "outside" consumers. Similarly black music in promotion of its 'authenticity' paradoxically has to reflect the authenticity, which "outside" consumers expect, due to its increasing international popularity. These cases show that the endorsement of 'authenticity' from *others* in other domains is imperative for the reassertion of the domain of *self*. Friedman (1994) studies Hawaiian local cultural and political development through re-establishing and reasserting the authenticity of its local culture. It does this by

overcoming its subordinate status to the main land US. In this case, local Hawaiian people strive for establishing 'local' 'authority', which they had been long deprived.

Anthropological studies may deal with cases of a clear boundary between domains of *self* in the developing world and *others* in the developed capitalist world. In late-modernity, however, the boundaries between *self* and *others* are not easily geographically distinguishable. Self-construction based on the domain of *self* is being exposed to an accelerated rate of change, as considered in terms of modern consumption.

In such a condition, I emphasise the knowledge bridging *self* and *others* as being imperative to identify 'authority'. Chua (1992) highlights consumption dependent on expertise illustrated by the case of shopping of Singaporean women. He shows in this process of shopping, customers rely on shop staff knowledge and advice about others' tastes and choices within their group. Their knowledge mediates 'appropriateness' of clothing sought within the group of women. One problem here is that "knowledge about commodities is itself increasingly commodified"(Appadurai, 1986). This is a reference to advertising.

The conceptualisation of 'authenticity' of products refers to spatial qualities for selling products. Sack (1992) argues, as partly referred to in the last chapter, that standardised homogenised products must differentiate themselves from each other by being set in different spatial contexts within advertisements. Images given in advertising take over personal day-to-day experiences of places. Particular places consequently may come to bear particular qualities to present 'authenticity' of products and furthermore experiences of consumption. Places selected in these processes may initially refer to qualities and images of the products to be placed in these spaces. The images of products and places are interwoven, so that they may correspond to, and even replace, actual experiences of consumers. This condition implies a connection to the image system of retail centres, which is based on "representations of space". Individuals can lose themselves in authorised and authentic qualities projected by images of places. They do this, so that they may find secure paths to identify social relations for self-construction in consumption.

3.2. Process of consumption and the image system of retail centres in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo

Based on the perspective of consumption and its social and spatial connotations considered above, this section analyses (through the cases of Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo) the social practices of consumption in terms of international retailing and its link to the image system of retail centres. In doing so, it does not simply associate certain retail centres to sociological groups of people in each city and then to particular features of international retailing. The distinction between German and Japanese people does not necessarily correspond to that between Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo. Broader cultural classification is not necessarily geographically inherent to the consumer practices of each study city. (The last chapter shows furthermore that tourists in Frankfurt constitute a significant proportion of the customers of the luxury sector retailing.)

Instead, this section traces the nature of business of foreign retailers in each study city to the social process of consumption. First, some retail concepts of the retailers are analysed with the concepts of ‘authority’ and ‘authenticity’. In this analysis, social group relations will be considered by examining possible social contexts of retailing. Information sources include published materials and electronic information, such as websites, as was done for analysing the image system of retail centres in the last chapter. Lastly, it will be demonstrated how inter-group social relations are associated with places of consumption in the image systems of these study cities.

3.2.1. Analysis of social relations from international retailing in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo

Authority and authenticity in retail concepts

In both Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo, international retailing largely relates to the fashion and personal goods sector (see Chapter 1-3). Such goods serve obviously the most manifest presentations of *self*. Recent trends in this retail sector is said to be featured by the polarisation of retailing. There are retailers multiplying their outlets for mass consumers by offering affordable mass production goods (see Table 1-1-3, pp31), while those dealing with luxury goods thrive on narrowly targeted groups of consumers.

'Authenticity' is sought the least in the former type of retailing, while it is imperative for the latter. When retail concepts of retailers in the former type, which the foreign retailers in the study cities exemplify, are looked at, however the retailers notwithstanding emphasise and attempt to establish 'authority' to confirm the choices made. The business policies can be summarised briefly with the message, 'we know what you and your groups want'. They usually present their targeted groups of customers straightforwardly (by age, gender, style), and stress their advantage in price, quality, and style together with the advanced technology, which enables these advantages. They do this, as follows:

"First and foremost the Gant Store concept secures a genuine Gant lifestyle buying experience"(Gant website) (3-2-1)

"And you will love the way the collections are constantly updated! A powerful computer network is used to optimise stock control in all the shops, so that demand can be met more efficiently. By incorporating all the qualitative data, we can also analyse sales by country, theme, colour, size, etc., which helps us to fulfil your requirements more and more closely"(Promod website).

H&M, the most representative European fashion chain retailer, carefully develops fourteen brands according to the fashion styles and customer groups. It says,

"We offer fashion basics as well as clothes with a high fashion content within each collection, so that customers can easily combine different garments and find their own personal style. This allows customers to choose from a wide range – from the trendiest garments to modern classics, from new-born baby to fully grown adult!"(H&M website)

Gap (3-2-2) guarantees its fashion expertise, saying

"From color to concept, it all begins with inspiration — whether it's people-watching on the streets of Tokyo, a flash from a dream or a visit to a local art gallery. At Gap Inc.'s product development offices in New York City, designers, product managers and graphic artists create the look and feel for each season's merchandise" (Gap website).

While freedom of choice is emphasised by Gap, it is subject to a certain style suggested and confirmed by retailers consulted by fashion experts. 'Authenticity' of a style is surely not the critical point in the business of fashion multiple shop retailers. They usually follow the trend suggested by designer fashion houses. Their retail concepts promote their shops as 'authority' for consumers' choices. 'Experts' are, therefore, necessary to explicitly 'suggest', as in Gap's comments. One of the most renowned

international retailers, *The Body Shop* also presents itself as an expert in body care products specifically in terms of fair products and trades for animal and human rights.

At the other pole lies the luxury goods retailers. They emphasise their ‘authenticity’ in their core business concept. International luxury fashion retailers as found in these study cities certainly serve customers displaying their tastes and styles. The goods need not to be a straightforward presentation of *self* and one’s social group determined by wealth through high price ranges, but more importantly need to convey some social meanings to *others* in its group.

In Tokyo, the surveyed results of a considerable proportion of foreign retailers in this sector confirm the frequent remark that Japanese favour ‘brand’ and ‘names’. Indeed, the Japanese ritual of giving gift is one of the practices of consumption profoundly relating to ‘authority’ and ‘authenticity’ in retailing and the presentation of these qualities through goods. The gift giving practices often rely on names and brands of products as well as shops, from which they were bought. Gifts purchased at department stores, for example, confirm the authorised origin. This means that department stores become the source of ‘authenticity’. Clammer (1992:206) comments on gift ritual in Japan: “Life in Japan sometimes seems to be an endless round of gift giving, reflecting the networks of close social relationships that abound.” He points out the importance of appearances of gift packages offered as usual complemented service. Wrapping papers of department stores and renowned shops present ‘authenticity’ of the contents of gifts. This condition may be more important than the contents themselves. A gift package may even include more superfluous empty space than the contents themselves.

‘Authenticity’ stemming from ‘foreign’ countries for the Japanese (particularly American and European) has long been established in conjunction with department stores. Japanese department stores became an authority of retailing in the modern era (Yoshimi, 1996). Their ‘authority’ stems from their business origin of serving the ruling class (in the late feudal and the modern industrialisation period). Foreign goods were rarely available except in department stores, where they had a knowledge of them. This came about after a long period without official international trade. Featherstone (1991:104) finds it odd that “Japanese department stores regularly display art treasures and hold exhibitions of paintings”. This is because he expects mass culture in Japanese department stores. However, they are involved in art exhibitions and entertainment events in order to support their authoritative image for their retail business, as well as being philanthropically interested in high culture (Tsuganesawa, 1999).

The origin of the 'authority' of Japanese department stores consequently includes 'authority' by 'foreignness'. It seems that the current distinctive development of foreign luxury retailers in Tokyo reflects the Japanese consumption of 'foreignness' as 'authority'. Even though the Japanese do not have difficulties in geographic and social access to foreign products and the knowledge of them, as used to be the case, objects of consumption firmly linked with foreign 'authenticity' are still deemed 'authority'.

Furthermore, 'foreignness' can be associated instantly with luxury goods retailing in Japan, which is often 'foreign'. *Carrefour* first launched its stores in Japan in 2000. A case of misunderstanding about this French retailer occurred at the first shop opening. The visitors were disappointed as they expected 'French' supermarkets to be full of French foods and well-known French designers brand fashion goods, rather than cheap-price daily products, which are the centre of its business concept (Nikkei Ryutsu Shinbun, 2001a&b).

In contrast, in Frankfurt, the discussion on the relationship between retailing of foreign retailers and the images of retail centres indicates that 'foreignness' does not instantly represent 'authority'. More importantly there seems to be no distinction of 'foreignness' between 'German' and 'foreign' retailing in terms of luxury fashion retailers (, as seen in the image analysis of the retail centres in the last chapter). The traditional contexts of such luxury goods may be shared between people, like in the study of Bourdieu. Designer fashion shops are regarded in general as exclusive in terms of their price range and fashionableness, irrespective of from which nation the shops and merchandises originated. Mass-media reports on Frankfurt shopping indicate that European and American foreignness may not necessarily present 'prestige', but 'prestige' is first given in terms of the social contexts inherent to such luxury goods. They refer to luxury fashion retailers without reference to their specific foreign origin but usually to their 'international' origin, even though most of them are not German. Foreign origins of fashion goods, such as Italian or French, may be less associated with 'foreignness' but more associated with 'authority' of high fashionableness and therefore, exclusiveness. This means that 'foreignness' is only secondarily exotic. The image system of retail centres in Frankfurt am Main includes the perspective that 'foreignness' is a negative connotation for German residents in the city and region. 'International' and 'global' rather than 'foreign' are favoured.

Social group relations

Social group relations in consumption are considered in international retailing within the study cities. In Tokyo and possibly more broadly across Japan, luxury foreign fashion goods do not represent specifically high class. These goods are special due to their 'authenticity' and 'foreignness', and are available to all. Journalists and economists wonder at the sales growth in this market in the last decade, even during the general economic depression. *Luis Vuitton Japan*, a Japanese subsidiary of the French luxury retailer, accounted for around a third of its international sales in 2000 (Nikkei Ryutsu Shinbun, 2001c). *Hermes* also relies much on Japanese customers, who can afford to purchase handbags, which can cost more than a monthly salary. Prior to its shop on The Ginza opening in 2001, domestic as well as international media reported that many young women stayed overnight outside the outlet in sleeping bags with their friends (e.g. FAZ, 2001a). This attitude implies that there are other social contexts of such luxury objects than those for "it's not my thing" which Bourdieu (1987) identifies. The consequent prestige of such goods can be conveyed through their foreign exclusiveness and fashionableness. This prestige can be obtained upon merely overcoming the financial constraint of purchasing the product. When various sociological groups of people seek 'authority' in the 'foreignness' of consumption objects, inter-group social relations are covered with complex and diverse material representations.

In Frankfurt, on the other hand, social inter-group relations are highlighted by a more explicit link to 'exclusiveness' and 'otherness' through the social contexts of goods. Luxury fashion retailers not necessarily characterised by foreign retailers distinguish the customers finding 'my thing' in their shops and those 'the others' thing'. German media introducing the Japanese enthusiasm for foreign designer goods possibly reflect such an attitude in general. In mass media, designer fashion retailers display the distinctiveness in the qualities of 'luxury', 'exclusiveness' and 'fashionableness' of their merchandise as well as retailing, so that their customers are able to seek such features of *self*. This condition of luxury retailers differentiates in turn such groups of people, as relying on the standardised mass products for choices in fashion, which are authorised by fashion multiple shops. However, inter-group social relations are not explicitly articulated by the mass media, since *others* for *self* and *us*, except foreign tourists and fashion conscious people in Frankfurt, are not clearly referred to. As stated in the last chapter, the city elite workers' conception of negative 'foreignness' on the city residents implies also this condition.

In both cities, ruling groups are not apparent in the interpretation of social contexts of goods by international retailing. It is obvious, however, that fashion enthusiasts and Japanese foreign-authority-seekers are the important customers of international fashion retailers in both cities.

3.2.2. The link between consumption and the image system of retail centres in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo

This section explores the link between social relations formed in consumption and the images of retail centres. Considering the features of international retailing and their locations in the image system of the study cities, it attempts to show the spatialisation of social relations in consumption according to ‘authority’ presented in the “representations of space”, i.e. the images of retail centres. It argues that the establishment of ‘authority’ in retail concepts for retailers must reside in the images of places, while the images are the reflection of social dynamics, on which consumers need to rely for their choices in consumption.

Frankfurt am Main

‘Authority’ is implied by the political implication of “central places”. Retail centres featuring international retail activity, particularly that in the non-luxury goods sector are in the city centre and shopping centres. These “central places” are authorised retail locations by town planning and retail development policy. The city centre is the highest order of official “central places” and the most important location for retailing and shopping in the historical development of the city. It is furthermore the “representation of space” by social and cultural as well as political and economic interests. The shopping centres are “central places”, as well. They are able to offer locations associated with images of ‘popular’, ‘comfortable’ and ‘appropriate’ for their customers, who prefer such qualities.

In terms of micro-locations of international retail activity, the area in and around Goethe Street is related to clear images of ‘exclusiveness’ and ‘luxury’ within the miscellaneous social image of the city centre (see latter half of the last chapter). The locations have a distinctiveness and reputation for such luxury fashion retailing not only among actual and potential customers but also non-customers as well. Images of retail concepts corresponding to images of place, and vice versa, exclude the *others* of the

socially weak City Centre residents. They are open to customers from affluent groups of people including considerable numbers of tourists.

Tokyo

The case of Tokyo highlights the link between social group relations in consumption and the images of retail centres. Some retail centres have established their 'authority' as shopping destinations, particularly through the distinct development of international retailing. This is because European and North American 'foreignness' tends to be an instant resource of 'authority'. Foreign luxury retailers in Tokyo are integral to the 'foreign' and 'fashion' images of the retail centres, where they are located. While such retailers develop various outlets in different retail centres within Tokyo, considerable scale of capital investment is concentrated in distinctive 'fashion' and/or 'foreign' image locations, such as those in the Ginza, Shibuya, and Omotesando areas, as shown in the last chapter. This process can be interpreted as being the case that foreign 'authenticity' is transferred and transformed into the images of existing local places. Furthermore, such local places representing foreign 'authenticity' obtain so much commercial endorsement as to become themselves 'authority'. The Ginza is an example of such. It issues its own 'authenticity' beyond the origin of objects, as it is repeatedly referred to as the most traditional 'fashion' centre.

Similar cases are that of unique micro-locations of international retailing in several renowned hotels in central Tokyo. These locations present themselves as 'authority' by accommodating 'foreignness' through foreign luxury fashion retailers in their space.

From a macro perspective, 'authority' and the locations of international retailing are closely related. Tokyo has a clear social and geographical interdependence. The geographical segregation of 'up-town' and 'downtown' in the images of places in Tokyo is possibly a reflection of the most profound inter-group dynamic. 'Up-town' is the place for the image of 'authority'. This geographical distinction based on former class segregation still signifies groups with a family origin of up-town high class, and those who are interested in such an image. Firstly in Tokyo privileged groups may become privileged by being associated with this geographical context rather than by achieving other social-economic features. The foreign fashion retailers in Tokyo then choose such locations with this 'up-town' image. Even foreign fashion multiple shops appear to project themselves first as 'foreign' in Tokyo by their first up-town locations, as shown in the last chapter.

Nowadays for the Japanese the shops to visit are not confined to those in the local 'up-town' retail centres but extend to shopping abroad at the original locations of these foreign retailers. This attitude implies that consumption of objects includes the experiences of the images of places.

Footnote:

(3-2-1) *Gant* has no retail outlet in Frankfurt am Main either in Tokyo.

(3-2-2) *Gap* has no retail outlet in Frankfurt am Main.

3.3. Conclusion

Consumption is a process of self-construction. The process depends on how to identify and distinguish *self* in relation to *others* within one's group as well as across other groups. It relates to the most manifest form of presentation of *self* through the act of, and the objects of consumption. The objects consumed are neutral and their meanings are susceptible to social and cultural change. In order to explore social relations in the modern condition of consumption, focusing on the objects can lead merely to a discovery of the elusive nature of consumers, the blurred social group structure, and the emphasis of intra-group social relations. Nevertheless, discussions suggest that the formation of social relations is substantially directed towards inter-group relations. The concept of 'authority' is a key to understanding the relations. The ever increasing and diversifying choices to make for self-construction necessitate identifying 'authority'. 'Authenticity' is, then, an important quality in consumption objects. Complex material representations of social relations do not mean the collapse of 'authority' but the reassertion of 'authority' by commercial and political interests.

Furthermore, the social relations tend to be formed more importantly in relation to the spatial dimensions through the images of products, retailing and places. Consumption is interdependent on spatial and social relation of *self* and *others*. Self-construction in consumption relies on the images of places of consumption - "representations of space" by dominant political and commercial interests. The images, which are shaped in such power plays of the social world, indicate 'authority' and 'authenticity' for choices of consumption objects and experiences to have.

The cases of the local geographical developments of international retailing in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo show this process. Consumption is contingent upon experiences both in and of places. The 'popular' 'appropriate' 'positive' shopping destinations are proposed and confirmed in the popular media. Such images may be manipulated, but the manipulations need to generate the appealing and convincing images of such qualities. In order to achieve this, the images of retail centres consequently refer to the social dynamics, which the 'authority' of society aspires and indeed is built upon.

The reason why the locations highlighted by international retailing closely relate to the image system of retail centres in the cities studied, is because such retailers as found in the study cities in terms of international retail activity thrive on the images of retail centres

as the important resource of their retail business, at the same time their images of shops and goods can become the substantial component of the images for consumers. The cases in this study suggest that retail concepts aiming for 'fashion', 'luxury' and/or 'foreignness' must first exist in places authorised by such images. This means, on the other hand, that there are the other types of retailers, such as supermarket or discounter, which do not need to connect the images of outlet locations and their businesses but possibly primarily depend upon the profitability of investment.

Regarding the different retail-geographical features in terms of international retail activity between the study cities, the higher volume of foreign luxury fashion and personal goods retailers in Tokyo can be understood as a result of not only the possible economic factors, such as the different scale of customers (implied by that of population) or different structure of central places, as analysed above, but also the different image emphasis in the system. This difference can be explained as the different attitude towards 'foreignness' as 'authority'.

Conclusion

This thesis comprises the questions consequentially arising through exploring the phenomenon of the internationalisation of retailing. It began with retail business issues of the internationalisation of retailing in Germany and Japan. It highlighted the fact that many retailers developing internationally make seemingly irrational decisions without analysis of various retail environments. The second part of the first chapter went further into micro-locations of international retailing. It demonstrated the contents and spatial distribution of locations that incorporate international retailing in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo.

The second chapter explored the central question: why is the internationalisation of retailing settled in certain locations in these study cities? Based on the data surveyed, it first considered the distinct locations of international retail activity and the relationship to the development of retail centres in the traditional retail-geographical, economic relations. The case was shown through the examination of Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo, that the development of the internationalisation of retailing particularly in the fashion and personal goods sector does not cause the considerable change in the local spatial distribution of retail locations. The locations of international retail activity in these study cities are associated not merely with the economic factors of retail locations.

The second part of the chapter turned to the images of retail centres as “representations of space”. The image system of retail centres is not based on the quantitative approach dealing with the assessment of built environment and retail opportunity, which is usually applied in consumer surveys. It was argued that typical complains about the homogenous or uniform nature of retail built environment and the standardised products are not specifically relevant to the international retail activity, but generally to the modern development of retailing, distribution and production systems. The images of places are based on the omnipresent conceptions of illusion and reality. Subjectivity and objectivity converge into shared meanings of places. It is, however, stressed that the images of retail centres are dominantly represented for the interests of the political economy of the domain. By discussing humanistic approaches to these images, it becomes significant that Lefebvre’s “representations of space” and Soja’s “spatiality” play a central role in the images of retail centres. This is because retail centres tend not to be

“lived” space but are experiences presented in the media by commercial and political interests. The images of retail centres are dominantly commercially and politically represented.

The approach therefore was, to focus on the structure of retail-centre images. This thesis considered distinctive image elements of images of retail centres. By analysing the image structures of the study cities and their relationship to retailing of foreign retailers, a case was demonstrated that the internationalisation of retailing can depend on the images of places, while it can be integral to the image system. The business images of international retailers focusing on ‘foreign’ and ‘fashion’ in the study cities represent the most distinctive image of some retail centres. This interrelates to the differentiation of retail centres in such images, particularly between those in the higher-order centres in the economic system, where most of the international retailers are located, and the other centres.

It should be noted again that the image structure is not entirely dominant but interdependent with the economic system of retail centres. While potential customers are attracted by images, it is imperative from a business perspective (domestic or international), that indeed customers are there. This can be ensured not only by assessing the features of the possible customers, or the images of retail centres, but also by locating outlets amongst shops of similar trade or at transportation nodes in Tokyo or by choosing the “central places” in Frankfurt am Main. The Ginza is a case in point. While its image as a retail centre surely brings potential customers for luxury fashion retailers, a substantial basis for such business types is no less its affluent night working population and the customers of many hostess-served exclusive bars and night clubs in the area. Such luxury goods retailing businesses cannot disregard this source of customers.

The third chapter went further into the wider social dimensions of the relationship between consumption and space. What underlies the image system of retail centres? The discussion of this question began with understanding consumption as an act directed towards constructing *self* in relation to *others*. Sociological and anthropological studies were reviewed to suggest basic concepts of consumption and social relations formed through it. These concepts link consumption to place and the images. In the modern capitalistic world, the act of consumption is tied increasingly to ‘authority’. ‘Authority’ is sought in the objects of consumption, and more importantly, in the images of retail centres. Through the analysis of the study cities, the image system of retail centres oriented towards social group relations was linked to the process of self-construction in consumption. Some

may argue that such an analysis is a reduction of diversity, but a mere description of diversities does not explain the phenomenon of the emergence of the internationalisation of retailing in certain locations.

The social group relationships sought in consumption are both intra- and inter-group. The latter is, however, the fundamental relationship. This is clear, as it is represented by the image structure of 'authority', i.e. by the political economy of the domain. The social group relation of being privileged or underprivileged is the core orientation of *self* in the process of consumption. However, as was discussed, group relationships appear ambiguous due to transient variable material representations in a diverse world of modern production and advertising. The appropriate choice for self-construction in consumption has to be, nevertheless, ensured. 'Authenticity' is then another key concept, which is inevitably guided by 'authority'.

The analysis of retail concepts of international retailers in the study cities shows that some retailers attempt to establish themselves as 'authority' for choice in consumption. Importantly, however, it is possible through settling in the places, which represent 'authority'. Retailing insisting on 'authority' thrives on the images of locations. As considered in terms of foreign retailers in the study cities, retailing of such (both foreign and local retailers) may then become the substantial component in these images. How it is tied to the images of places in turn can influence the different economic features of retail centres, which are highlighted by the locations of international retail activity.

The relationship between consumption and image of the places discussed above suggests that the different features of international retail activity between the study cities are dependent partly on the different image element of 'foreignness' as 'authority' in retailing as well as locations.

The geographical exploration of the phenomenon of the internationalisation of retailing now concludes with an implication of "production of space", which Lefebvre discusses. Through the cases of Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo, concerning the internationalisation of retailing and its geographical contexts, it illuminates how social relations are reproduced in "representations of space".

Town planning implications

Internationalisation of retailing is at the heart of the global capitalist production system. While it is interdependent on the standardisation of objects and customers, it also

depends on qualitative differentiation from others. The international comparison highlighted such a contradictory feature of the internationalisation of retailing. This thesis suggests retailers, although mainly regarding those in the fashion and personal goods sector, not to underestimate the importance of images of places, where retail businesses have to be embedded. It is imperative to project recognisable images of shops at the time of entry into foreign markets. Although whether retail businesses survive in the locations would have also depended on the issues in retail operation, such as service or assortment strategy for the local markets, several unsuccessful cases of attempts outlined initially in this thesis may be due to the images of their locations being not precisely grasped and connected with their retail concepts. *Marks & Spencer*, the quality-oriented supermarket, may have survived in Frankfurt, if it had concentrated merely on its British grocery selections. More importantly, if it had been located around the adjacent Goethe Street, for example, and not in Zeil Street, it may not have failed. Likewise, the 'Western' (foreign) drugstore of *Boots* and the beauty shop of *Sephora* in Tokyo would surely have been appealing with 'foreign' products and selections of their European origin of shops. It was in The Ginza, the established 'fashion', 'luxury' and 'foreign' image retail centre. Their products in general were, however, neither luxury nor distinctively 'foreign' probably enough to connect the experiences of shopping with these images. In the Ginza there are many alternatives for these experiences, such as luxury cosmetics shopping in the department stores. Commonly for these German and Japanese cases, the retailers did not or could not develop sufficiently their images before jumping into the market. Of course their problems may also have been administrative, financial or general-economic in nature, but their locations and their relationship or lack thereof to the images of these retail centres were critical.

Contradictions often argued as inherent to the capitalistic production system may generate conflicts among the groups, such as those in western/non-western, or pre-modern/modern social group relations as in anthropological cultural-political cases, or class or cultural group relations within modern societies. Consumption is equal opportunity founded on the unequal dynamics of social groups. States then intervene conflicts stemming from unequal relations among groups, which in this case is retail and town planning politics.

The conflicts of the social segregation of Frankfurt City may reflect on the contrasting economic conditions between the relatively prosperous city centre and shopping centres, and the smaller district retail centres in decline. In this condition, its city

planning and retail policy should promote further the city centre to international retailers, while concurrently supporting the district retail centres by assisting with the establishment of their image strategies.

Regarding the former, the city centre should differentiate itself from the shopping centres and the other city centres in the area, region or German and European metropolitan cities. The retailing of Frankfurt City Centre could be first and foremost 'international' rather than simply 'diverse', 'fashionable', 'lively', or 'urban'. This may give rise to the international and global image of the city for people across Europe and the world, to which the city aspires. In terms of retailing, Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2004) suggests to promote the city centre locations for "Flagship stores", e.g. in the newly developed retail space. Flagship stores of international producers and retailers, which are usually related to fashion retailing and the international trend, can represent 'international' retailing for the image of city's retailing. However, as considered in this thesis, luxury fashion retailers, which are most fashionable to represent 'international' may not prefer newly developed locations, where everyone comes. Furthermore, promoting the city centre for fashion retail locations always needs to pay attention to an ephemeral nature of fashion.

A new large-scale mix-use locale including a shopping centre (the MAB Zeil project) will be opened in the city centre (as previously referred by this thesis). Its commercial success will partly rely on how it reconstitutes and integrates the hitherto disconnected and socially and commercially negative image structure of the city centre. It is not simply a matter of how much it changes the current image of the city centre through, for example, its distinctive architecture or built environment, but through its retailing and actual experiences of people in the space.

Regarding the latter, the problem of district retail centres in decline is, when attempts are made to improve socially negative images of retail centres, e.g. in some areas, local campaigns or events may leave images which unintentionally reinforce social segregation, i.e. images in which no one wants to invest. The condition then gets worse. The image strategy for the declining retail centres should not be to emphasise simply 'locality' or the local distinctions of the areas, but conversely it needs to emphasise a more specific distinctive flavour of retailing. The difference (not only in merchandise) between the centres has to be emphasised as the object of consumption. This idea may be argued, since it focuses merely on the material diversity and difference of the places. Grimm & Ronneberger (1994) argue that cultural diversity of the city tends to be appreciated merely

as an opportunity for consuming diverse materials, such as ethnic groceries and restaurants, while the residents, who actually bring such material diversity, are implicitly rejected by other groups of people in the city. A long-term project for Frankfurt and its region through education and social programs may be imperative so that the people come to appreciate cultural plurality of the city and region.

However, the economic decline in some retail centres seems to be the basis for the continual social segregation. The local initiatives of these declining retail centres could organise not only events or festivals but also focus on image promotion in retailing and consumption. They could more retail-specifically, for example, advertise the most independent shoe shops or best value second-hand shops rather than simply stressing mundane 'traditional' and 'local' values. Such images are then necessary for promotion not only to local residents, who may already know of the centre, but most importantly to others widely in the region, although all do not need to become the customers.

In Tokyo, on the other hand, other problems exist. Many consumers have become saturated with messages of the images of places. This is particularly prevalent in the relatively concentrated locations of international retail activity. The retail centres in the commercially positive areas, 'up-town' centres can continue to rely on their 'up-town' images, but other retail centres may have to establish a resource of 'authenticity' in their image of places. However, 'authenticity' generated in competition with 'up-town' can unintentionally emphasise a lack of image, like in Frankfurt. The 'shotengai' policy of Tokyo metropolitan government or borough authorities may not have to focus on generating the images of general locality or local identity. The images may need to be more specifically consumption-oriented (e.g. specific assortments offered). A message needs to be established. One which says: Buying in these locations is a part of the 'authenticity' of the choice itself.

It needs to be pointed out that, many sites in the last decades have been marketed one after the other by generating such images of 'authenticity' of place. The mass media conveys narratives of these places of redevelopment, as they emerge particularly in central Tokyo. It may be useless to differentiate and to confirm ideas of choice, if the same narratives are pushed, such as "fashionableness", "international urban life", and so on.

'Authority' and 'authenticity', which some retail concepts have established through being settled in some locations of certain images, may tend to change. For example, some luxury designer fashion houses may not remain exclusive in the ever-changing images of retail centres. There are many new retail developments marketing the similar urban

fashion images, such as *Roppongi Hills*, the Shiodome area, or the Dojyunkai Apart redevelopment in Omotesando. Among retail centres of such similar image types their image relation may be changing, as the retail locations are developed and replaced with one from the others. The reorganisation of international retail concerns and groups after mergers, acquisitions, or changes in joint venture management may result in the reorganisation of their existing shop locations. Consequently the images of retail centres, where this change takes place, may become subject to the powerful images issued from such retail concerns and groups through their advertising campaigns. For example, some of the shops of the Gucci group and the LVMH group retailers once located independently are integrated in certain location in a retail centre.

Shopping destinations are not only in Tokyo but also in the overall conurbation. *Ikspiari* developed as a part of Tokyo Disneyland Resort in the Maihama area in Chiba Prefecture is a complex of shopping and leisure centres open since 2000. The Minatomirai area in Yokohama City offers leisure, office, business and retailing properties and has been connected directly with Tokyo by Tokyu Railway Line (in 2004). Whether the existing retail centres featured by their particular images can maintain their status will depend on the 'Tokyo' image as an 'authority' for shopping.

At the same time, the focus on generation of the images of retail centres or places may pay attention to the establishment of retailing. Retailing and retailers connected well to the images can remain in locations. These images need to maintain the actual customers as well as reach new potential customers. The so-called Chushinshigaichi kattseika projects, the newly introduced inter-ministerial projects for the inner city regeneration projects should take into consideration the image strategy based on the recognition of the image structure of Tokyo. Also importantly it should not disregard potential customers. For example, regeneration projects including the mixed-use development for housing, offices and particular service industries to be accommodated should consider retailing also for the people there and around, not merely attempt to attract as many consumers as possible from the larger trade area.

Closing remark

Still a further question is left: why are images generated which tie places in seemingly different intensity in these study cities? In Tokyo the commercial images of retail centres seemingly long established, developed, and utilised are connected with

images of several places. In Frankfurt am Main, the social features of each centre are extracted well, contrasting such affluent and socially weak foreign groups, being a basis of the images. These differences may depend not only on the political and commercial interests on the images of retail centres but also on the degree of experience of consumption and images of places. The main difference between Germany and Japan may be about attitude not only towards 'foreignness' but also towards 'places'. This thesis showed in the first chapter that foreign luxury retailers in Tokyo develop not only one but also many outlets in many retail centres. Such a development reflects the almost fanatical desire for foreign luxury designer fashion goods. This attitude may be due to the intensive notions of experiencing the places of consumption. Lefebvre powerfully discusses the hegemony of the ruling class in "production of space". (This includes both social relations formed in space as well as the natural or physical components of space). He also stresses the feelings stemming from and attached to the places, i.e. human nature in experiencing space. He warns that such feelings can be easily controlled by the dominating authority in the society. The images of retail centres emphasised by the ruling groups must, however, be convincing.

Lefebvre in his extensive study of "production of space" appears to imply the different attitudes towards space between West and Asia, being based on the differing attitudes towards nature. This results in the distinctive spatial structures of "presentations of space" and "representational space". In consumption, social relations to *others* are constructed. It means that *self* needs to be recognised. The recognition of *self* and *other* then rests profoundly on that of place. Tuan (1979) notes that the boundaries between *self* and *other* are contingent upon culture, which one belongs to, and this cultural distinction of *self* from *other* generates one's faith in places, which is based on the different attitudes towards space and nature. If these attitudes are different between these study cities, for example, the concept of 'naturalness', which the ruling classes tend to appeal in order to appropriate space (Lefebvre, 1991), may be inevitably convincing in a different manner and to a different degree between people in Frankfurt and in Tokyo. If the humanistic perspective is to be referred, the "rootedness" according to Relph (1976) may be the difference between the image systems of retail centres of Frankfurt and Tokyo. The last question: why do I, a Japanese, sociologist, town planner and geographer, turn to this perspective, a faith in place? One must explore this with extreme caution.

German abstract

Die Internationalisierung des Einzelhandels ist ein geographisches und gesellschaftliches Phänomen. Die vorliegende Arbeit analysiert dieses Phänomen am Beispiel eines Vergleichs der Metropolen Frankfurt/Main und Tokio. Sie betrachtet den Zusammenhang zwischen der Entwicklung des internationalen Einzelhandels und dessen Standorte und lokalen Zentren in den Gastländern.

Das erste Kapitel untersucht, wie sich der internationale Einzelhandel in Deutschland und Japan, speziell in Frankfurt und Tokio, entwickelt hat. Bezogen auf die makrogeographische Entwicklung zeigt sich, dass die internationalen Einzelhandelsaktivitäten in beiden Städten ähnlich verlaufen, d.h. keinen als typisch europäischen bzw. typisch asiatisch beschreibbaren Mustern folgen. Die Geschäftsentwicklung in Gastländern hängt wesentlich von internen unternehmerischen Entscheidungen zu internationalen Erweiterungen der Aktivitäten ab. Die mikrogeographische Untersuchung der Standorte belegt, dass die Internationalisierung des Einzelhandels in beiden Städten vorwiegend mit den in einigen Zentren konzentrierten Angeboten für Mode und Waren des persönlichen Bedarfs verbunden ist. Besonders in Tokio charakterisieren ausländische Luxusmodegeschäfte den internationalen Einzelhandel. Ausländische Lebensmitteleinzelhändler, z.B. Supermärkte, sind dagegen in beiden Städten kaum ausgeprägt entwickelt.

Das zweite Kapitel betrachtet den Zusammenhang zwischen den Standorten des internationalen Einzelhandels und der Entwicklung der innerstädtischen Zentren. Dabei ergibt sich, dass die Internationalisierung keine wesentliche unmittelbare reorganisierende Auswirkung auf das Zentrensystem dieser Städte hat, da die räumliche Verteilung der internationalen Einzelhandelsstandorte der Hierarchie des Zentrensystems folgt, allerdings werden keineswegs alle hochrangigen innerstädtischen Zentren im gleichen Maß von internationalen Anbietern besetzt. Das wirft die Frage auf, welche qualitativen Unterschiede der Zentren für die Standortpräferenzen des internationalen Einzelhandels bedeutsam sind. Eine wichtige Rolle spielt hier das politisch und kommerziell geprägte Image von Zentren, dessen Analyse auf das Konzept des Representation of Space von Lefebvre fokussiert ist. Von diesem Konzept des Image wird die interpretative Analyse über die internationalen Einzelhandelsstandorte und deren Zentren abgeleitet. Die Analyse bezieht insbesondere Imageelemente aus Literatur und Medien ein und verbindet sie mit

den Einzelhandelskonzepten internationaler Einzelhandelsunternehmen. Die Images der Zentren werden durch die Konzepte der Einzelhandelsunternehmen verstärkt, deren Konzepte auf ein Geschäftsimage zielen, das durch Internationalität und ausgesprochene Modekompetenz bestimmt ist. Dieses für sie charakteristische Image, rückgekoppelt mit der Imagebildung der Zentren, hat zur Folge, dass sich die Images der innerstädtischen Zentren höheren Ranges deutlich mit Ankunft des internationalen Einzelhandels ausdifferenzieren beginnen.

Warum aber sind die Images der Zentren für den internationalen Einzelhandel von Bedeutung? Zur Beantwortung dieser Frage greift die Arbeit im dritten Kapitel auf soziologische und anthropologische Studien über Konsum zurück. Konsum ist nicht nur die materielle Repräsentation gesellschaftlicher Beziehungen, sondern auch ein Prozess der Selbstkonstruktion, d.h. auf diese Beziehungen zielendes Handeln. Die Selbstkonstruktion muss sich angesichts immer wachsender Auswahl auf anerkannte Autoritäten verlassen, die Authentizität als wichtige Qualität der Konsumobjekte garantieren kann. Auf der Grundlage dieser Konzepte analysiert das Kapitel die Strategien internationaler Unternehmen in den untersuchten Städten. Dabei stellt sich heraus, dass die internationalen Händler sich selbst als Autorität für die Auswahl von Konsumobjekten präsentieren. Das wird ihnen ermöglicht, wenn sie sich in Zentren niederlassen, deren Image selbst Autorität repräsentiert. Deshalb entwickelt sich in beiden Städten die Ausbreitung des internationalen Einzelhandels entsprechend der Imagehierarchie der Zentren. Dabei sind zwischen Frankfurt und Tokio deutliche Unterschiede zu konstatieren. Sie resultieren daraus, dass deutsche und japanische Kunden Internationalität in einem unterschiedlichen Maße mit Autorität verbinden und demzufolge auch die Images von Zentren, die diese Qualität vermitteln, unterschiedlich bewerten.

Abschließend werden aus den Ergebnissen der Arbeit Empfehlungen für die Stadtplanung und den internationalen Einzelhandel abgeleitet.

Appendix

Appendix 1: Summary of German and Japanese retail formats

There are many terms for retail formats, which are used commonly in Germany and Japan. However, the contents and connotations are not necessarily the same between these countries. Therefore, German and Japanese retail formats are here summarised in relation to English terms. The objective is not to list up all the possible formats but to provide basic terms for this thesis. Connotations of some general retail formats are also referred to.

The most general term for places of retailing is 'shop', in German 'Laden' and 'Geschäft', in Japanese 'Mise'. It is a retail outlet, where 'retail' activity takes place, as is discussed first in Introduction of this thesis. Potter (1982:3-7) defines a shop as a physical component of built environment as a "permanent or semi-permanent structure which is either wholly or partly devoted to the conduct of retail trade or complementary service and catering and which is accessible to the general public or prescribed segments of that public".

Shops are termed as a particular format according to business features, such as types of goods and service, price-range of merchandises, scale and location of outlets, and operation types of franchising or chain. There are many internationally common retail-formats, while others are regional and temporal. Terms for retail formats are not systematically but arbitrarily invented and used. Some terms may stem from marketing purposes to differentiate them from the other similar businesses.

General retail formats in English are summarised in Diagram A-1-1 by the outlet scales and the different degrees of specialisation in goods. Regarding these formats, the German and Japanese terms are summarised in Table A-1-1. They are based on a retail-geographic perspective rather than for lay people.

Figure A-1-1 General retail formats by specialisation and size in English

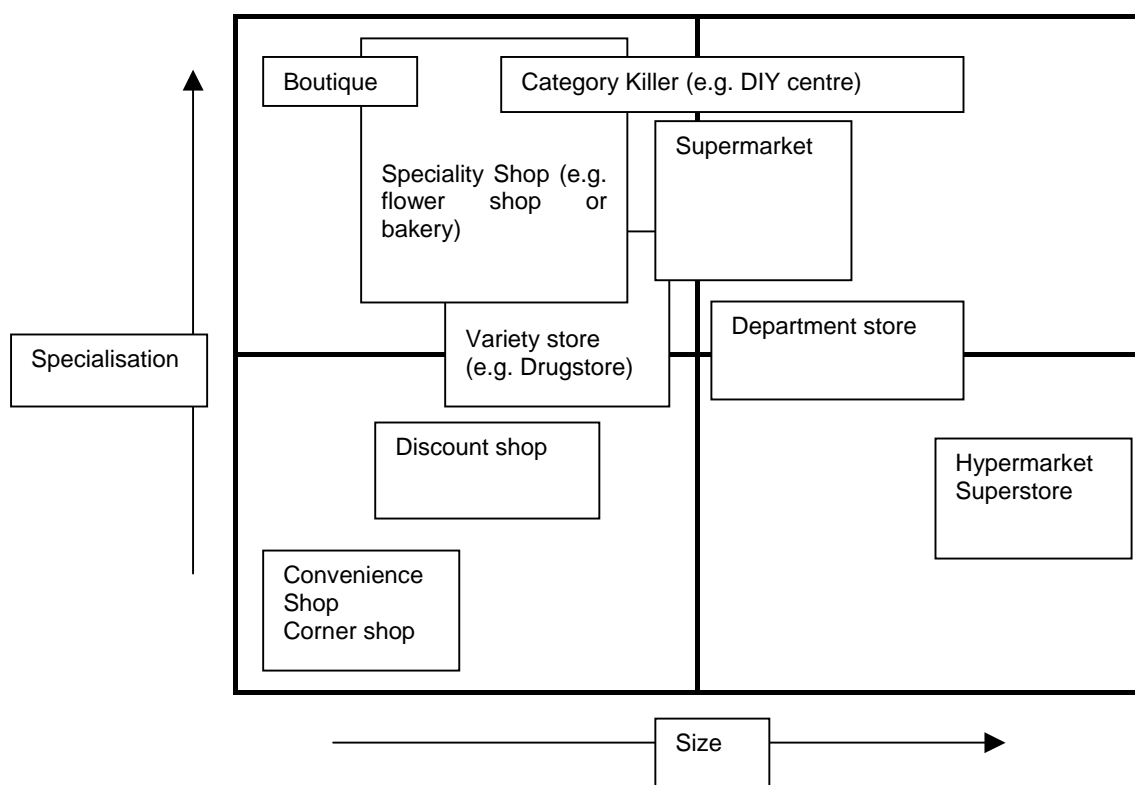


Table A-1-1 General retail formats in English, German and Japanese

English	Features	German	Features	Japanese *	Features
Corner shop, Convenience shop	Small shop for snacks, cigarettes, and newspapers	Kiosk, Nachbarschaftsladen	*1)	Convenience store	Self-service shop selling groceries with 30 to less than 250 sq.m. s.a.**, open for longer than 14 hours
		Convenience shop/store (open longer)	Usually at gas stations		
Supermarket	Very large shop, offering a large number of different kinds of food and other regularly needed goods	Supermarkt, Lebensmittel Selbstbedienung Markt; Lebensmittel Supermarkt	Mainly groceries with self-service	Super; Supermarket ; Superstore "Sogo super", (general merchandise stores)	Clothes, groceries and household goods, each of which consists of 10-70 % of total sales, where more than 50% of self-service and with more than 1500 sq. m. s.a.
		Verbrauchermarkt	Around 1000 sq. m. s.a., mainly with full assortments of groceries, additionally drogerie, household goods, shoes and clothes		

Superstore; Hypermarket	Very large supermarket (around 2,500 sq.m. s.a.), in out of town	Selbstbedienung(S B) -Warenhaus	More than 4,000 sq. m. s.a. for more non-grocery assortments than supermarket		of goods as more than 70% of goods
Department store	A large shop divided into separate departments for different types of goods in wide range, mainly household goods and clothing, offering various types of service	Warenhaus; Kaufhaus	-	Hyakkaten (Depaato)	Clothing, groceries and household goods with service. Each group of goods accounts for 10-70% of sales in more than 1500 or 3000 sq.m. *2) s.a. with less than 50% of self-service s. a.
Speciality shop	Specialised in particular groups of goods with service	Spezialgeschäft, including Handwerkhandel (e.g. Lebensmittel Laden)	Shop of specialised goods with advisory service (e.g. grocery shop)	Senmonten	Clothing, household goods either groceries as more than 90% of whole goods with less than 50% of self-service s.a.
		Fachgeschäft (e.g. Drugstores)	A certain group of goods		
		Fachkaufhaus	Several groups of goods (e.g. clothing and shoes)		
	DIY or Garden-centre, etc.	Fachmarkt	Large-scale, self-service speciality shop	Senmon Super	DIY or Garden-centre, etc.
Category killer	Toy store, etc, Assortment and price-oriented for a group of goods	Category killer	-	Category killer	-
Discount shop	Shop of cheap goods with or without specialisation in goods (e.g. variety shop, factory outlet, one-price-shop)	Lebensmittel Discounter; Discounter	Price-oriented, self-service shop mainly offering a narrower range of groceries	Discount shop	Price-oriented self-service shop offering a specialised or non-specialised general group of goods

Source: the author, based on Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, International Chamber of Commerce (1979), Guy (1998:258), Keizai Sangyo Shou (2000), Klein (1995:Appendix1-3), Kulke (1992b: 67), Tietz (1993:30-35)

*Definitions by The Census of Commerce by Keizai Sangyo Shou (2000)

**s.a. = sales area

*1) with special licence, "Trinkhalle" in some regions. According to the official industrial classification, it is no retailer.

*2) in the official urban areas (by Town Planning Law) and Tokyo Metropolitan boroughs.

Some retail formats follow the types of major group of goods. German and Japanese official statistics give the basic groups of goods, as follows (Table A-1-2). The most recent German official statistics does not include business establishments of retailing of car

and car parts (e.g. car dealers), fuel (gas stations) and mineral and chemical materials, machines for industrial use, snacks (fast food), and rental goods as retailers. The statistics by Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Mittel- und Großbetriebe des Einzelhandels e. V. (BAG Handels)(a German retailers' association) does not include some production retailers, such as bakery and butcher (BAG Handels, 1998).

Table A-1-2 Retail formats by goods

<i>German industrial classification</i>	<i>Possible retail formats</i>	<i>Japanese industrial classification</i>	<i>Possible retail formats</i>
General merchandise	Department store and self-service department store	General merchandise	Department stores, Super
Groceries, beverages and cigarettes	Supermarkets and grocery discount shops	Groceries and beverages	Senmon Super
Other goods (Textile; clothes; shoes and leather goods; furniture and household goods; electronic household goods; metal, paint, building and housework goods; books, magazines, newspapers, stationary, and others)	Shops/Kiosks, 'Fachmarkt' (e.g. DIY, Garden centres, Drugstores)	Textile, clothe, and personal goods	Shops
		Car and bicycle	
		Furniture, household machines	
		Others (e.g. medical goods and cosmetics; fuel; books, magazines, newspaper and stationary; sports, toys, free-time goods and musical instruments; cameras; watches and glasses; second-hand goods; others)	
Chemist and medical articles	"Apotheke"		-
Antiques and second-hand goods,	-		-
Other retailers without sales area.	Weekly market, Mail Order		-

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (1998), Keizai Sangyo Shou (2000)

Additionally, in both countries, there are also shops open only for members, 'Wholesale club', 'Cash and Carry' (for wholesale) (e.g. Metro in Germany).

German features in retail formats

Supermarkets in Germany usually mean those selling mainly groceries as those in English. Those with a larger scale sales area include for example, 'Verbrauchermarkt', as in Table A-1-1. Discount shops refer usually to grocery discount shops in Germany, which additionally deal with household goods, clothing and electronics, such as *Aldi*. A variety shop is a general merchandise store with the limited range of assortments offering usually goods in low-price ranges, such as *Woolworth*. German convenient stores (open longer hour and everyday) refer to the shops at gas stations usually operated by major fuel firms, train stations and airports, due to the regulation on opening hour.

In addition, there are some German retail format terms. A 'handwerkhandel' is a business establishment consisting of handwork or manufacturing and retailing of the

products with related service. A 'partievermarker' has a main product line and additionally offers other various goods (Tietz, 1993:35). For example, *Tchibo* is a coffee specialist and sells a theme of various types of goods weekly changed. Its sales in non-coffee products are not insignificant.

Some of these retail formats have connotations of German and Japanese consumers. Department stores are general merchandise stores offering wide range of goods in good quality and price, although they were rather special retailers for their assortments and luxurious shopping atmosphere at the early development period in the end of nineteenth century (Jeffery & Knee, 1965:66). Speciality department stores, e.g. 'Fachkaufhaus', include those in price-oriented retail concept. Speciality shops can be classified largely as those quality and service-oriented, such as fashion boutiques and grocery specialists, and those price-oriented and self-service, such as discount electronics speciality chains. And the images of retail formats usually follow this distinction.

Japanese features in retail formats

The business contents of some Japanese retail formats are slightly different in from the corresponding the Western terms. First, Japanese convenience stores refer to those offering groceries as defined in the national statistics. Their grocery offer comprises mainly snacks and drinks, as they attempt to differentiate their business from competitors (Tokyo-to Shoukoushidousyo, 2000b: 393). A 'super' (superstore) or supermarket means either a larger self-service grocery shop or a type of self-service department store mainly dealing with groceries (sogo-Super: general merchandise stores). 'Sogo supers' do not necessarily offer price-oriented assortments. Unlike Western supermarkets, some 'sogo supers' offer luxury goods, such as jewellery and imported brand fashion goods.

Regarding speciality shops, according to The Census of Commerce a 'senmonten' is a speciality shop. In the official definition, a 'chushinten' is a shop offering a certain group of goods, while this term is seldom used in general. A 'gyoshuten' is a term for business people and experts. It joins a wholesale association of so-called 'keiretsu' of manufacturer, e.g. electronics (Kato, 1998:61). A 'boutique' is also used so in Japanese as in English, and a similar term is 'select shop'. Experts refer to a small traditional individual speciality shop operated only by family members as 'nariwaiten' (Tokyo-to Shoukoushidousyo, 2000b: 143). The term can be associated with negative images of retailing by 'not-modernised' outlet and old-fashioned assortments (Hada, 1995:100). 'Shop-in-shops' are

tenant retail spaces often in department stores. The outlets are not leased to the retailers but retail space operated directly jointly by retailers and department stores through wholesale contracts.

Price concept distinguishes retail formats. The discount retail format is found in the retail sectors of electronics, alcohol and beverage, and general merchandise (one-price-shop). These specialised in groceries are seldom, unlike in Germany (Kato, 1998:66).

Availability and quality of service and advice, i.e. self- and full-services, which are usually in question in Germany, do not appear to influence the images of retail formats. This implies that certain degree of satisfactory service and advice is expectable, regardless of self or full service and price range in merchandise. Of all retail formats department stores usually have the most positive image in retailing of high quality goods and services and leisure opportunities, such as restaurants and cultural facilities, furthermore in their most convenient locations (as stated in the main body of thesis) (Sternquist, 1998:442-444).

Summary on the different German and Japanese retail formats

Unlike in German and English meanings, a Japanese 'supermarket' usually refers to a self-service large shop not only for groceries but also for general merchandise (with less groceries)('superstore' or 'super'). 'Superstores' correspond largely to German 'SB-Warenhaus'. Regarding connotations of some retail formats, department stores is referred to as positive more considerably in Japan than in Germany. Availability and quality of service appear more significantly to influence retail format images in Germany than in Japan.

Appendix 2: The objects and information sources of the survey of locations of international retail activity, and the presentation of the data

The objects and methodology of survey

- Not only official ‘retailers’ classified in the statistics but also firms doing retail operation through direct or indirect investment in the study cities are surveyed.
- Direct investment by foreign retailers means direct operation of retail outlets by firms, which establish business units in host countries through a subsidiary on their own, JV with local firms, and/or by acquiring local firms.
- Foreign firms doing business as stockholders of local retailers are not examined. For example, when their businesses are referred to as ‘co-operation’.
- Explicit references to entry mode to foreign markets in information sources are taken into consideration.
- Indirect investment refers to franchising of retail operation.
- Partner or partnership system may be similar to franchising; however, it is regarded as a form of co-operation. (Business contracts between retailers for partner system are made usually to transfer particular units of business, such as some service techniques, products and so on, to local partners. Retail operation is then undertaken by local firms.)
- Licensing is not surveyed, as it includes not necessarily involvement of licensor in retail operation (Peckert, 1999:47-48).
- Firms classified in information sources as operating eating and drinking place are excluded in this survey. The German and Japanese Standard Industry Classifications distinguish this business from retailing under the category of commerce. (Business of eating and drinking place is to sell goods, which are supposed to be prepared and served to consume at selling space)
- Initial entry modes of foreign retailers in the German and Japanese markets are referred to, so long as their direct investment is maintained.
- Complete acquisitions of subsidiaries of foreign retailers by local partners, or transfers of retail operation to local partners by a form of co-operation are not included in the survey, even though their initial entry modes were direct or indirect investment.
- Firms doing retailing without outlet operations, such as those through Mail order,

Home party or visit sales are excluded.

- Some industrial sectors are initially excluded. They are oil industries (as retail outlets, gas stations) and car manufacturing (as car dealers), transportation and communication, and various financial and service industries, such as printing, estate etc.

Information sources

- Membership directories offered by official organisations for commerce and trading, such as foreign chambers of commerce and industry (Table A-2-1). (Enquiries are also made to some, when necessary.)

Table A-2-1 List of the surveyed nations of chambers of commerce and industry in Germany and Japan

Region	Nations
West Europe	Austria, Belgian, France*, Germany, Italy *, the UK*, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Spain*, Switzerland,
Scandinavia	Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden
North America	Canada, US*

*Enquiries are made to these countries in Germany
Source: the author

- Commercial directories by Hoppenstedt Firmeninformationen GmbH (2003a&b) for Frankfurt am Main and Germany (this includes firms of more than thirty thousands major firms of minimum turnover of twenty million Euro and/or at least two hundred employees as well as middle size business establishments of the annual turnover between one million Euro and twenty million Euro and/or twenty to two hundred employees.)
- For Tokyo and Japan, Nihon Keizai Shinbun Inc. (2001) and Toyo Keizai Inc (ed) (2001 & 2002) (The former surveys firms invested fully and partly foreign and foreign-originated firms. The latter surveys firms in certain capital scale and invested by non-Japanese firms.)
- Information issued by German Franchise Association and Japanese Franchise Association
- Electronic information sources (Internet website of retailers)
- Annual reports and direct enquiries to some firms, if available and necessary
- The micro-level of location survey of international retail activity in Frankfurt am Main (by site visits and Local shopping guides (Journal Frankfurt, 2003)), due to fragmented information sources in Germany
- List of registered firms at local chambers of industry and commerce of the study cities,

and that at the local Legal Affairs Bureau in Tokyo are not examined (due to the contents and organisation of data, which do not allow convenient and exact archive for this survey).

List of information sources in Germany and Frankfurt am Main

1) Membership directories of chambers of commerce and industry in Germany

American Chamber of Commerce in Germany (AmCham)(2002) *Yearbook 2002, American German Business Guide and Marketing Directory of AmCham*, Frankfurt am Main, AmCham

2) Direct enquiries to organisations

Spanish Chamber of Commerce in Germany (Amtliche Spanische Handelskammer für Deutschland)

3) Others:

Forby's Guide, <http://fcms.franchiseportal.de>

Italian Institute for Foreign Trade,
<http://www.italtrade.com/countries/europe/germany/unternehmen.htm>

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung GmbH (2001) *Germany's Top 500*, 2001 Edition, Frankfurt am Main, F.A.Z. Institut für Management-, Markt- und Medien Informationen GmbH

List of information sources in Japan and Tokyo

1) Membership directories of chambers of commerce and industry in Japan

American Chamber of Commerce in Japan (ACCJ) (2001) *Membership Directory*, Tokyo, ACCJ

British Chamber of Commerce in Japan (BCCJ) (2001) *Directory of Members 2001*, Tokyo, BCCJ

The French Chamber of Commerce in Japan (CCIFJ) (1996) *The France and Japan Business Guide, The firm directory (Le Guide des relations économiques franco-japonaises)*, Tokyo, CCIFJ

CCIFJ (2001) *Annuaire 2001 42^e edition*, Tokyo, CCIFJ & The Economic Affairs of the Embassy of France

Italian Chamber of Commerce in Japan (ICCCJ) (2001) *The Membership Directory*, Tokyo, ICCJ

P&B International (UK) Ltd. (1996) *British Business in Japan, 1996/1997 ed.*, London, P & B International (UK)

2) Websites:

Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Japan <http://www.cccj.or.jp/links.html#members>

Danish Chamber of Commerce in Japan Denmark <http://denmark.or.jp/dccj/>

Finnish Chamber of Commerce Tokyo <http://www.finland.or.jp/>

Italian Trade Commission Tokyo <http://www.ice-tokyo.or.jp/jhtml/jpage.html>

Swiss Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Japan <http://www.gol.com/swiss/>

Swedish Chamber of Commerce in Japan <http://www.sccj.org/>

The Trade and Investment Division, Embassy of Spain
<http://www.mcx.es/tokio/jp/default.htm>

3) Information offered directly from organisations

The Belgian / Luxembourg Chamber of Commerce (2001) *Members Directory* (not published)

Swiss Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Japan

4) Others:

Nihon Keizai Shinbun Inc. (2001) *Ryutsu Kaisha Nenkan*, Tokyo, Nihon Keizai Shinbun Inc.

Presentation of the data

The classifications by goods are made by the author, not according to the goods of major sales, but according to the references on their businesses in the information sources, which they issue. “Other” type of goods is given to some retailers, when the classification is difficult to make (in terms of luxury and non-luxury distinction of goods, e.g. an art gallery in Tokyo and Japanese department store (souvenir gift shop) in Frankfurt). The examples of the types of goods are given below in Table A-2-2.

Table A-2-2 Types of goods in Germany and Japan

Major types of goods	Examples	German Standard Classification System (1993)	Japanese Standard Industry Classification System (2002)
Fashion goods: clothing and personal goods to wear or combine particularly in relation to clothing	Clothing, jewellery, underwear, accessory (bags, leather goods), shoes (leather goods), watch, wedding dress Necktie, glasses	52.42 Clothing 52.43 Shoes and leather goods 52.48.5 Watches and jewellery	55 Dry goods, apparel and accessories 597 Watches and glasses 5994 Jewellery
Personal goods: goods for hobby, personal interests and care	Media, outdoor goods, sports goods, toys cosmetics, toiletries, stationery, Arts and antiques, medicine, books and newspapers, musical instruments, bicycles	52.3 Chemist, Drugstore 52.45.3 Musical instruments 52.47 Books, magazines, and stationery, 52.48.2 Arts and collection goods, 52.48.4 Camera and computers, 52.48.6 Toy, 52.48.7 Bicycles and outdoor and sports goods, 52.5 Antiques	57 Car and bicycles 591 Drugs and toiletries 594 Book and stationery 595 Sporting goods, toy, amusement goods, and musical instruments 596 Camera, 5981 Antiques, 5991 Cigarettes
Household goods: Goods for house and decorations and the care	Audio electronics, household appliances, Chinaware, glass, furniture, home decoration goods, flowers	52.41 Textile, 52.44 Furniture and house decoration goods 52.45.1&2 Household appliances and electronics, 52.46 Household utensils, 52.48.1 Wallpapers and floor covering, 52.48.3 Garden goods and pets	58 Furniture, household utensils and household appliances 592 Farm and garden supply 593 Fuel 5992 Flowers and plants
General Merchandise: groceries, other goods, such as fashion, personal and household goods	-	52.1 Various types of goods	54 General Merchandise
Groceries	-	52.2 Groceries	56 Groceries
Others	-	Other classifications	Other classifications

Source: the author, based on Statistisches Bundesamt (1998), Keizai Sangyo Shou (2000)

Appendix 3: Methodology for the types of retail centres in Tokyo

The types of retail centres in Tokyo are suggested from the data offered by Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000) and a critical review of it.

Firstly, the study (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2000) this study does not include all possible retail sites in Tokyo. The main data includes around twenty percent of official ‘shotengais’ (Table A-3-1). There are more retail locations and centres not included due to the definition of ‘shotengai’. This means that there may be retail centres comprising small ‘shotengai’ units, which are actually commercially and geographically integrated as one retail centre. The author regard that these smaller retail centres not included in the data generally follow the economic tendency of retail locations by the types of goods.

Table A-3-1 Number of retail centres in Tokyo

	No. of sites in Metropolitan boroughs	% to all shotengai in Metropolitan boroughs
Sites of commercial concentration in Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000)*	427	19.7
Sites of commercial concentration in The Census of Commerce (Keizai Sangyo Shou, 2000)*	667	30.7
‘Shotengai’ organisation (Tokyo-to Sangyorohtoukyoku, 2002) **	2,171	100.0

Source: Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000); Keizai Sangyo Shou (The Ministry of Economy, Trade & Industry) (2000);

*see Table 2-1-T-1

**The figure is given by the association of Shotengai of Tokyo (Tokyo-to Shotengai Shinkoukumiai Rengoukai) to the author.

Secondly, ‘shotengais’, the retail centres are classified in this study with the “location”. This classification needs to review. The location types comprise five types, such as “at a station”, “in business area”, “in residential area”, “roadside” and “others”. The location “roadside” is not a distinctive feature in central Tokyo, as it does not present usually an ‘out-of-town’ location, but the location integrated in business or residential areas. The location “in business area of office and retail centres” is not defined at all (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2000:11). The location “in residential area” means one neither in central Tokyo nor at a railway station. However, such a location can be actually at a station in adjacent boroughs or those of the underground. The study classifies it as so, since it is not “at a station” in the same borough as the retail centre. The locations at a station of underground lines in central Tokyo are excluded, although underground lines are integral to the suburban railway network. There appears no difference between the

location at a 'railway' station and that at an 'underground' station to see the accessibility to the centres. Therefore, the locations of retail centres are examined and reorganised from the data in terms of actual locations "at a station" of both railway and underground lines. (Underground stations, which were not completed at the year of The Census of Commerce 1999, those along Toei Oedo Line and some along Nanboku Line and Toei Mita Line, are not included.)

Table A-3-2 Classifications of retail centres in the study of Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000)

Location	Business type*	Service area**	Major type of goods given by retail formats***
At a station	Retail	Regional	General merchandise
Business area	Wholesale	Area	Textile, apparel and accessories
Residential area	Eating and drinking places	Neighbourhood	Groceries
Roadside (along major roads)	Mixed business		Other goods (car and bicycles, furniture and household machines, others)
Others		Not classified +	Not classified +

Source: Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000:11-12)

* By the majority (50%) of the number of business establishments. The classification of "Mixed business" is given when there is no major business type from the number of business establishments.

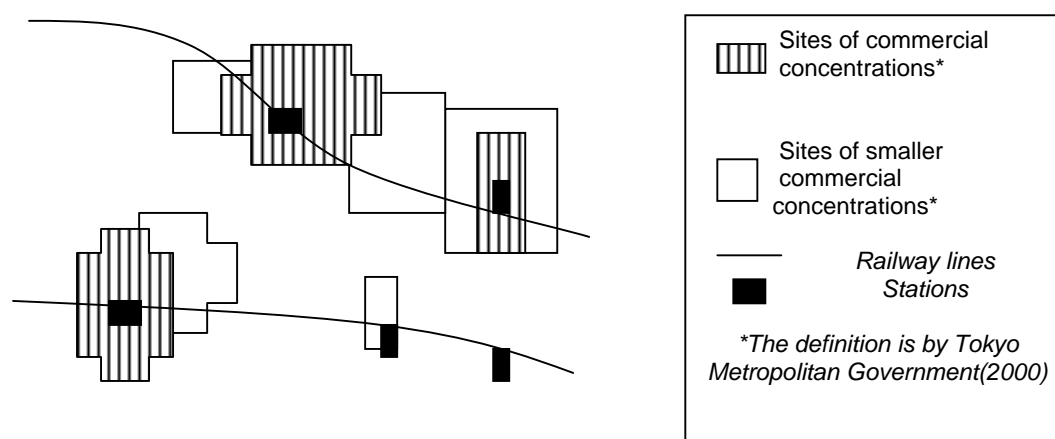
** By the proportion of comparison goods in the annual turnover "in principle"

*** Major types come from goods of major sales in annual turnover of the survey unit of 'shotengai'

+ This means that the major business type is 'wholesale' and 'eating and drinking places'.

Thirdly, as stated first, the survey units of 'shotengai' (sites of commercial concentration in the study) can be physically and commercially integrated. This geographical condition of retail centres is presented as a diagram of Figure A-3-1.

Figure A-3-1 Diagram of spatial relation of the sites of commercial concentration in Tokyo



Source: the author

The study also analyses some particular 'shotengais' as so-called "hankagai". It, however, does not explain why some are regarded as so and not. Some "hankagais", for

example, the Ginza or Shinjyuku centres can include more 'shotengai' units than the study deals with, if the proximity of commercial activities is looked at, as far as the author observed. Therefore, the author examined the actual commercial relation of survey units in the study. The data of "the sites of commercial concentration" are rearranged as the retail centres comprising these adjacent each other without considerable interruption. The degree of adjacency follows the 150 m-walking-distance principle, as set in Appendix 4 later. As a result, it is found that some retail centres extend over large areas including many underground stations and several railway stations. The Shibuya-Aoyama-Omotesando and Ginza-Tokyo-Shinbashi centres account for around 2 sq. km respectively, while the Shinjyuku centre is around 2.5 sq. km.

Fourthly, the classification by the types of goods, such as "general merchandise", "textile, apparel and accessories (textile and clothes)", "groceries", and "others" does not necessarily refer to the actual major type of goods available in retail centres, although the study seems to intend to present so. This is because the types of goods given as the classification depend on the types of retailers dealing with such goods as major sales, according to The Census of Commerce. Therefore, this classification should be regarded as presenting possible major retail formats in the sites, that is, department stores and superstores, speciality shops in textile, apparel (clothing) and accessories, or grocery supermarkets and shops.

Fifthly, the classification by service area is given according to the annual turnover of comparison goods in 'shotengais'. The study states that it corrects the classification according to the number of retail outlets and the location and distance to travel for shopping "etc" (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 2000:12). It seems, however, that the goods available alone do not simply determine the extension of service areas by regional, area, or neighbourhood service areas. Additionally, as Figure 2-1-T-3 (pp163) shows, when some survey units are regarded as belonging to each other as a retail centre in this thesis, the clusters of units ('shotengai') in central Tokyo include retail centres serving for region as well as area. Therefore, the classification by service area is not particularly referred to in the typology of this thesis.

Appendix 4: Methodology for the survey of locations of international retail activity in retail centres of Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo

The locations of international retail activity are analysed in terms of the types of retail centres. The locations are first assessed with the point, whether they belong to certain concentrations of retail outlets, in Frankfurt basically “central places” and in Tokyo “the sites of commercial concentration” by Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000). This follows “150m-walking distance principle”, as suggested later. Additionally, due to the time lag between the study of Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000) and the survey in Tokyo by the author (2002), some locations of the international retail activity are not included in the sites of commercial concentration. Therefore, the types of some retail centres, e.g. Venusfort and Sunwalk and Aquacity (shopping centre - amusement park complexes) are assumed according to the types of goods and the locations in railway network and other adjacent retail centres. When assumptions are difficult to make from available data, a retail centre, where a location of international retail activity is included, is classified as the type of “miscellaneous goods”.

In the next section, it is considered how to understand an area of retail centre.

Delimitation of retail centres

Delimitation methods of the area of retail centres are reviewed here. The methods depend on definitions of ‘retail centre’, i.e. focuses on physical and/or commercial degree of retail concentration.

One method is based on the concentration of retail activities by the physical relation of retail outlets. Physical concentration of outlets is, for example, measured with regularity of retail outlets standing next to each other, or distance between them (e.g. Dietsche, 1984:14-17; Koch, 1982:125; Potter, 1982:65). Then, an area comprising such a certain degree of retail concentration is delimited as a retail centre. The first critical point of this method is that the method presumes relatively uniform size of outlets located in ground floors of buildings. The regularity/distance of outlets does not necessarily indicate a retail concentration, like in central Tokyo, where retail outlets are developed frequently in vertical dimension. The second point is that consumers do not think much of a single distance between outlets to visit but of the total distance of a trip made not merely for shopping.

The second method is based on the measurement of intensity of retail activity. The intensity is measured more sophisticatedly than the first method with the ratio of retail outlets and/or other businesses than retailing to all properties in a street or a block (by the number of outlets or frontage length of retail outlets) (e.g. Wolf, 1971). The third method is to delimit a retail centre area by economic indicators, which imply the intensity of retail activity, such as commercial value of property, or pedestrian volume.

These methods do not suggest the delimitation of retail centres, when they deal with metropolitan areas, where various types of businesses are mixed and irregularly located. Regarding the first method, numerous small retail concentrations within central business area may be identified, while some concentrations may be regarded as belonging commercially together in spite of considerable physical interruptions, such as park and office building complex. Regarding the second and third methods, the quantified intensity of retail activity may not indicate any distinctive points to delimit an area of retail centre. Other methods include the combinations of some of these quantitative methods. The criteria to delimit an area are to set arbitrarily by researchers.

A qualitative method is to look at the dimension of local recognition by retailers and consumers, as Potter (1982:65) points out. Retailers and consumers recognise their own interests and businesses according to their own criteria possibly referring to physical and commercial dimensions. Their recognition can indicate a relatively common area of certain retail centre.

Method for this thesis

The objective of survey in this thesis is to focus on the areas of retail concentration and to assess whether certain locations of foreign retailers belong to such a concentration or not. It is not necessarily to set all retail centre areas. Therefore, this thesis views the physical distance of retail activities (the 150m-walking-distance principle) as the commercial relation of retail locations. It suggests such a unit of retail locations in concentration as retail centres. In German this principle is based on possible furthest distance which pedestrian shoppers are likely to make for a return trip to and from retail outlets (e.g. Popien, 1989). Following this principle, Frankfurt city centre extends over the main station area and the old city centre area including Zeil Street and the surrounding streets. City centre area in this thesis is therefore regarded in this survey as consisting of

“city centre” and “main station” in the centres surveyed by Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2004).

In Tokyo, the areas of retail centres refer to those of “the sites of commercial concentration” by Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000). The principle of walking distance is applied to assess, whether some adjacent sites are commercially integrated or not. The data of the smaller scale of retail centres in Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000) is also referred to, if necessary.

Reference: Photographs of retail locations in Frankfurt am Main and Tokyo

Frankfurt am Main

F-1 Zeil Street in the city centre



F-2 Goethe Street



F-3 A shopping street in the city centre



F-4 An Upper-District centre



F-5 An Upper-District centre



F-6 A site of not-central retail agglomeration



Tokyo

T-1 The Shibuya centre



T-2 An underground passage



T-3 A retail centre in central Tokyo



T-4 A Shopping centre in the Odaiba area



T-5 Chuo Street in the Ginza centre

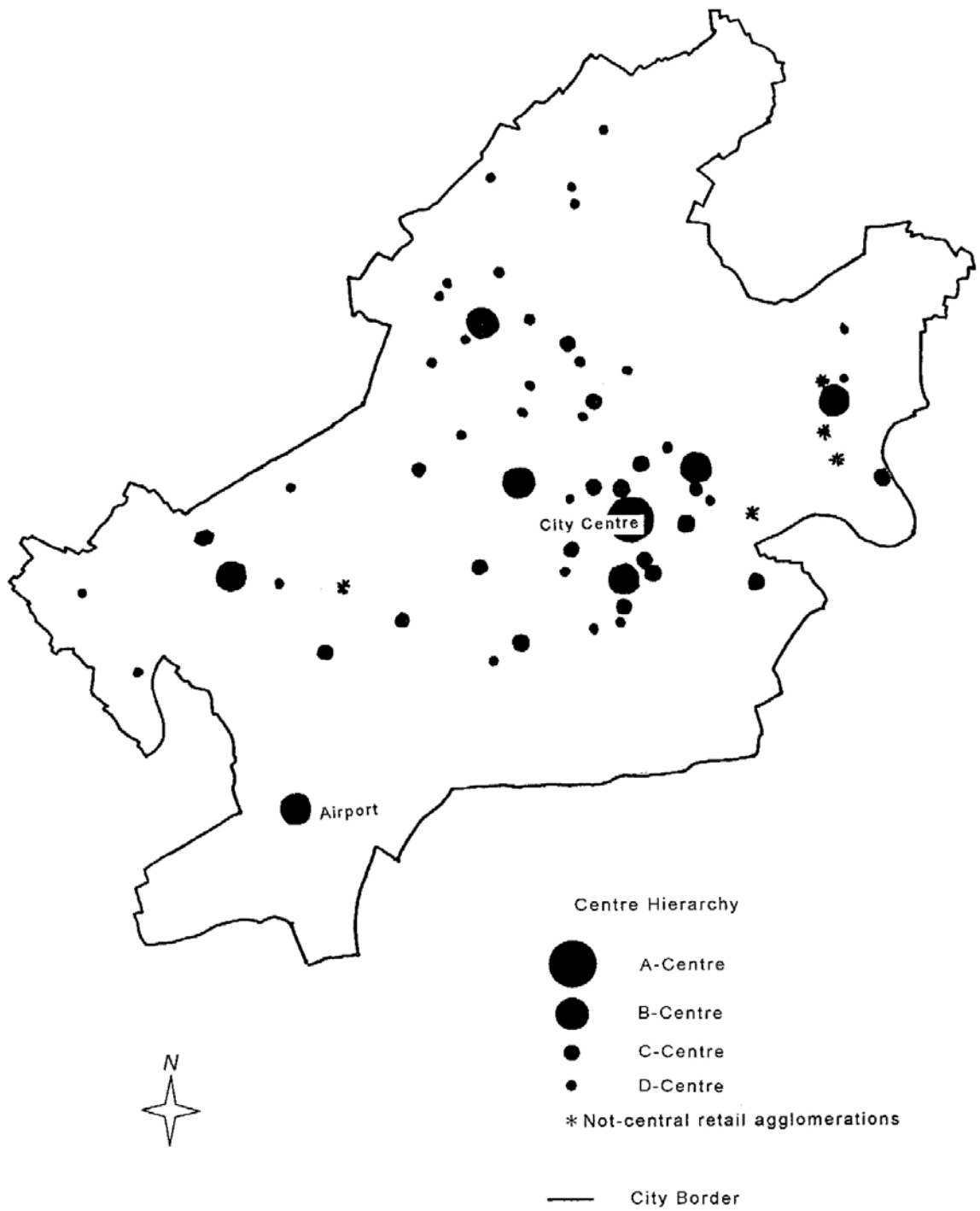


T-6 The Aoyama/Omotesando area



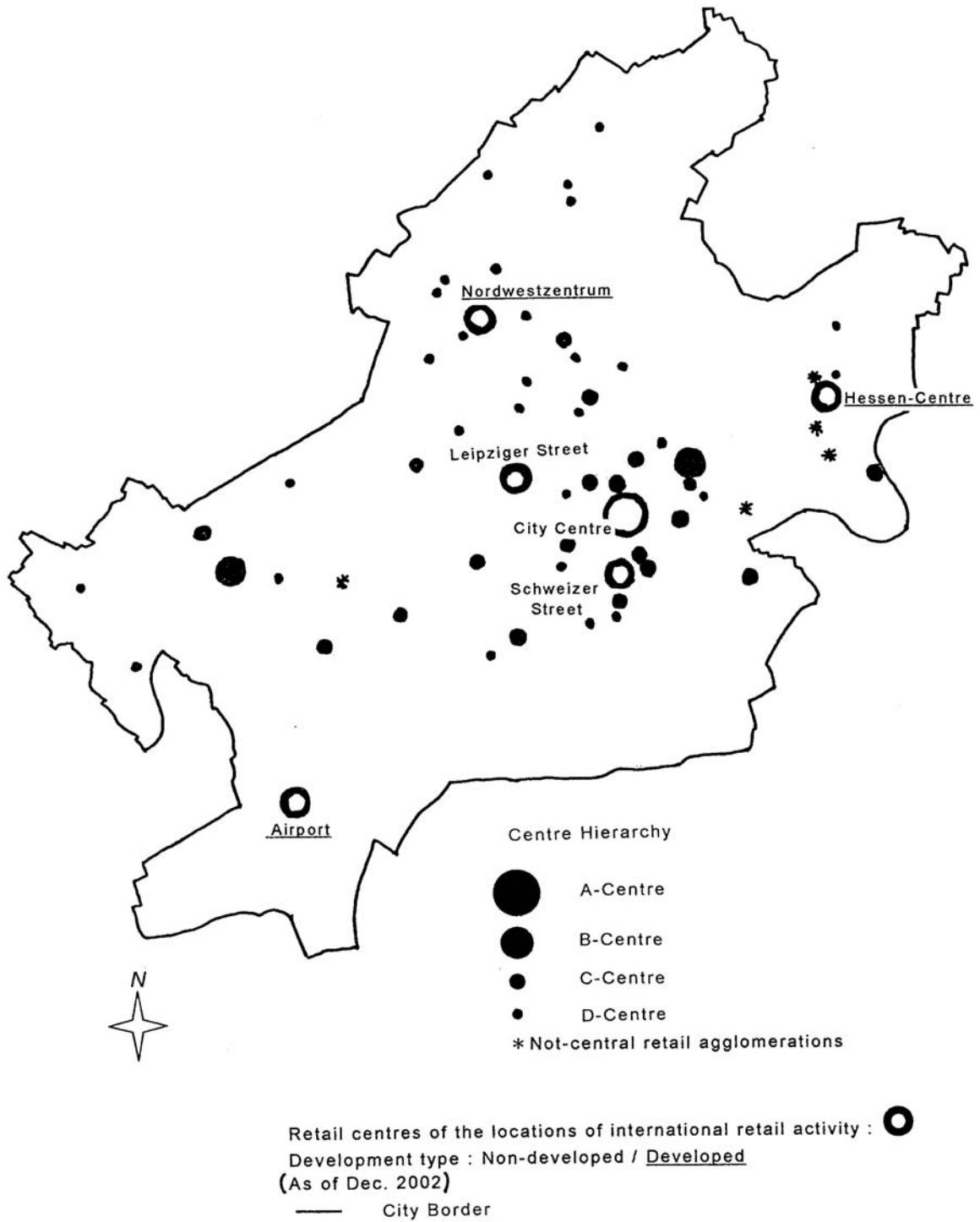
Reference: Figures (maps and plans)

Figure 2-1-F-1 Central places of Frankfurt



Source: the author, based on Planning Department, Stadt Frankfurt am Main (2003:27)

Figure 2-1-F-2 Central places and locations of international retail activity in Frankfurt am Main

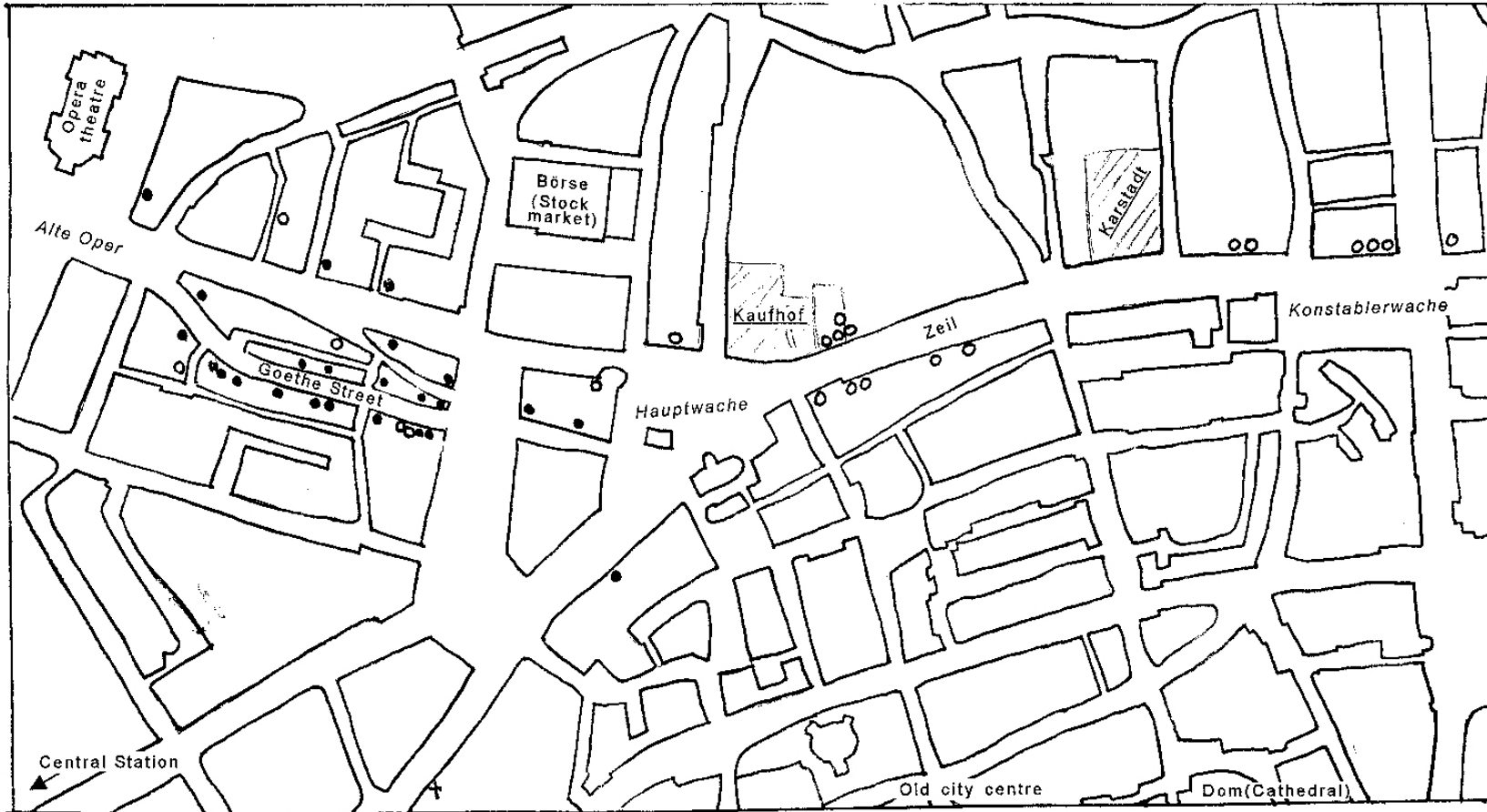


Source: the author, based on Figure 2-1-F-1

Figure 2-1-F-4 Micro-locations of international retail activity in Frankfurt City Centre (As of Dec. 2002)

Retail outlet and the types of goods

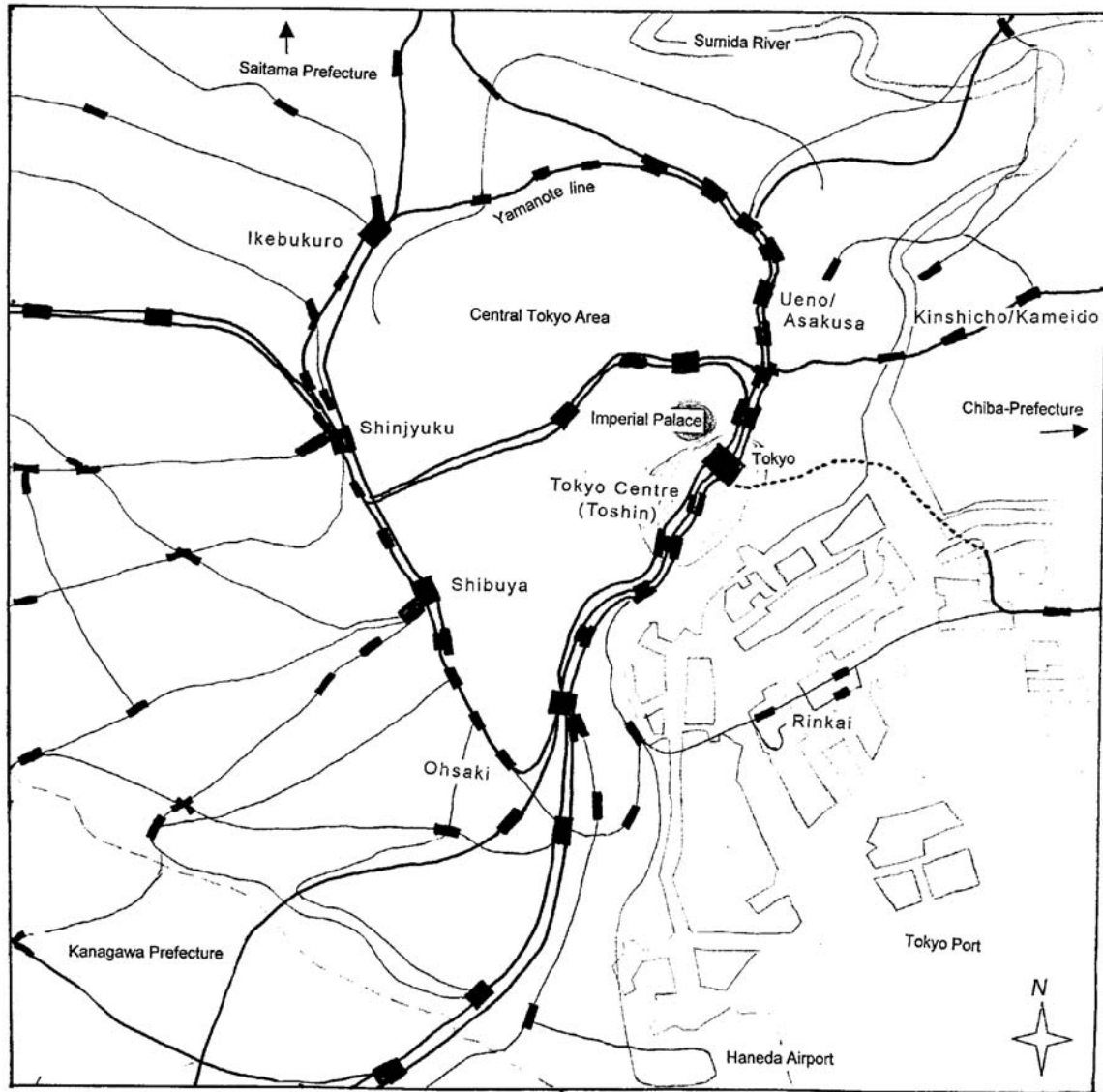
● Luxury goods / ○ Non-luxury goods / / (+ Others) Department store Train Stations (in underground)



Source: the author

- * The map does not present the whole city centre.
- ** It does not include a few locations of international retail activity

Figure 2-1-T-1 Central Tokyo and railway nodes



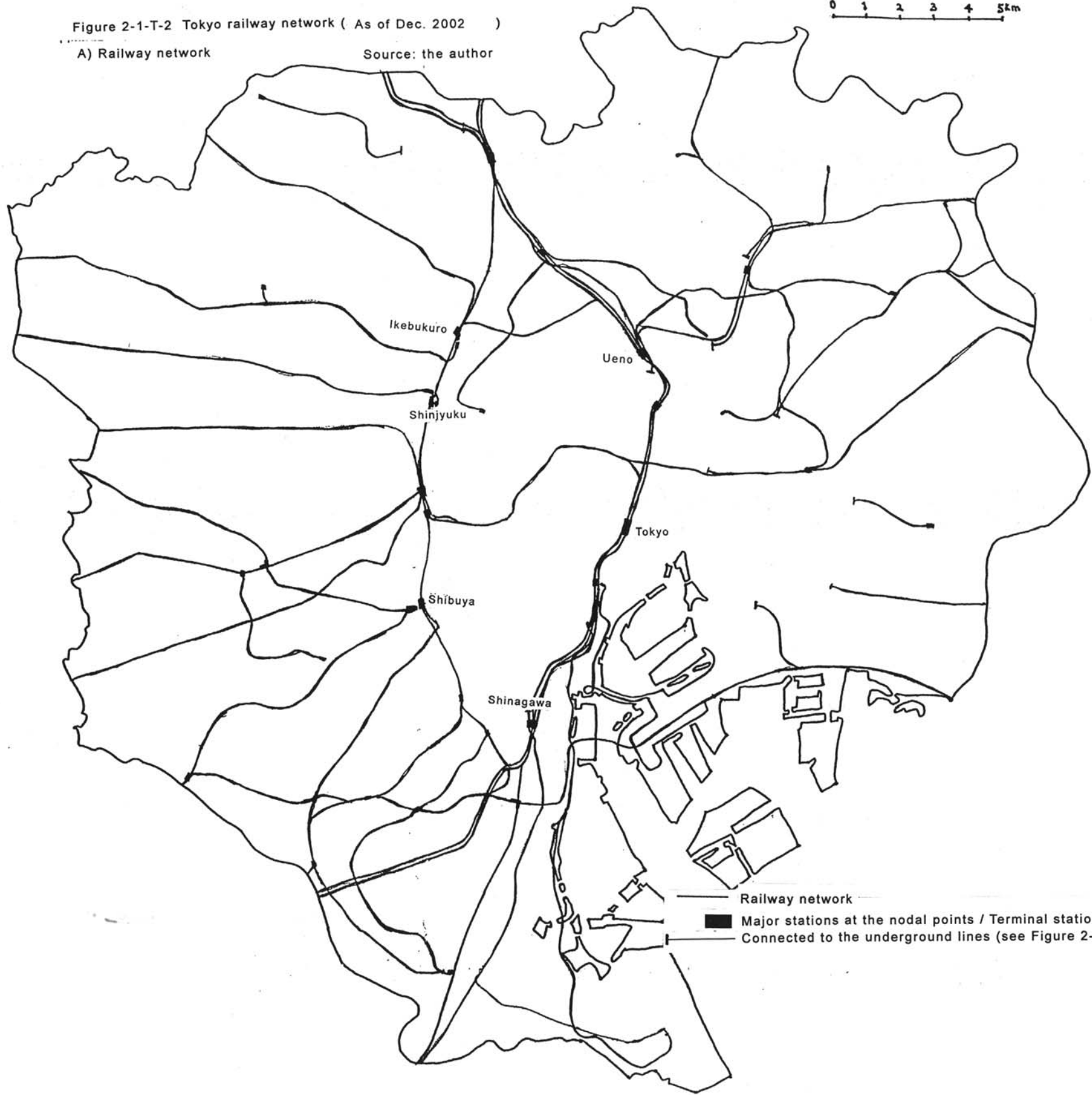
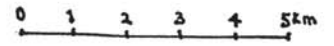
Source: the author

- JR railway network
- Other railway networks
- Major stations
- - - Tokyo Metropolitan Government Area

Figure 2-1-T-2 Tokyo railway network (As of Dec. 2002)

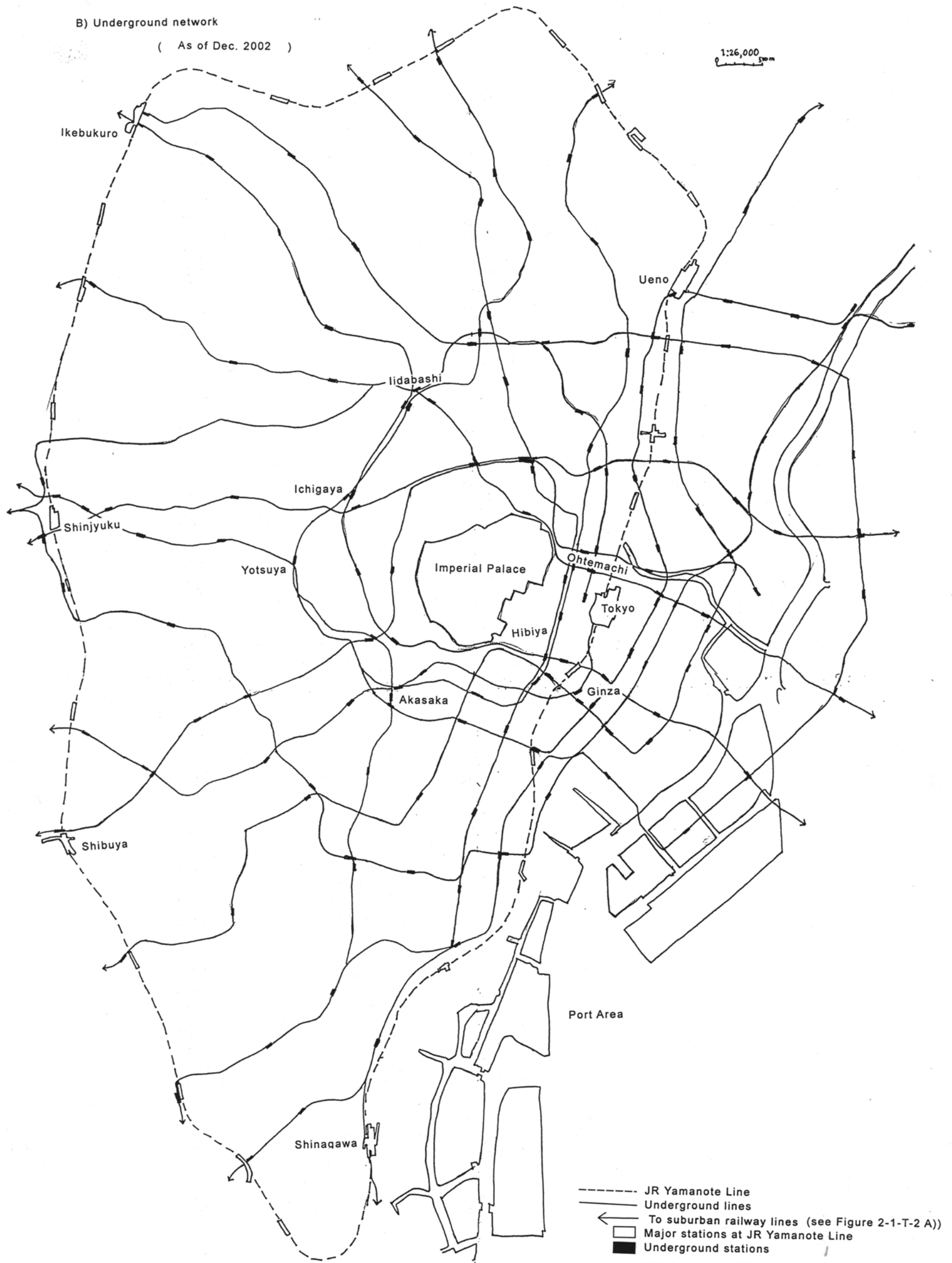
A) Railway network

Source: the author



- Railway network
- Major stations at the nodal points / Terminal stations
- Connected to the underground lines (see Figure 2-1-T-2 B))

B) Underground network
 (As of Dec. 2002)



Source: the author

Figure 2-1-T-3 Regional and Area retail centres in Tokyo



Figure 2-1-T-4 Locations of international retail activity in Tokyo

(As of Dec. 2002)

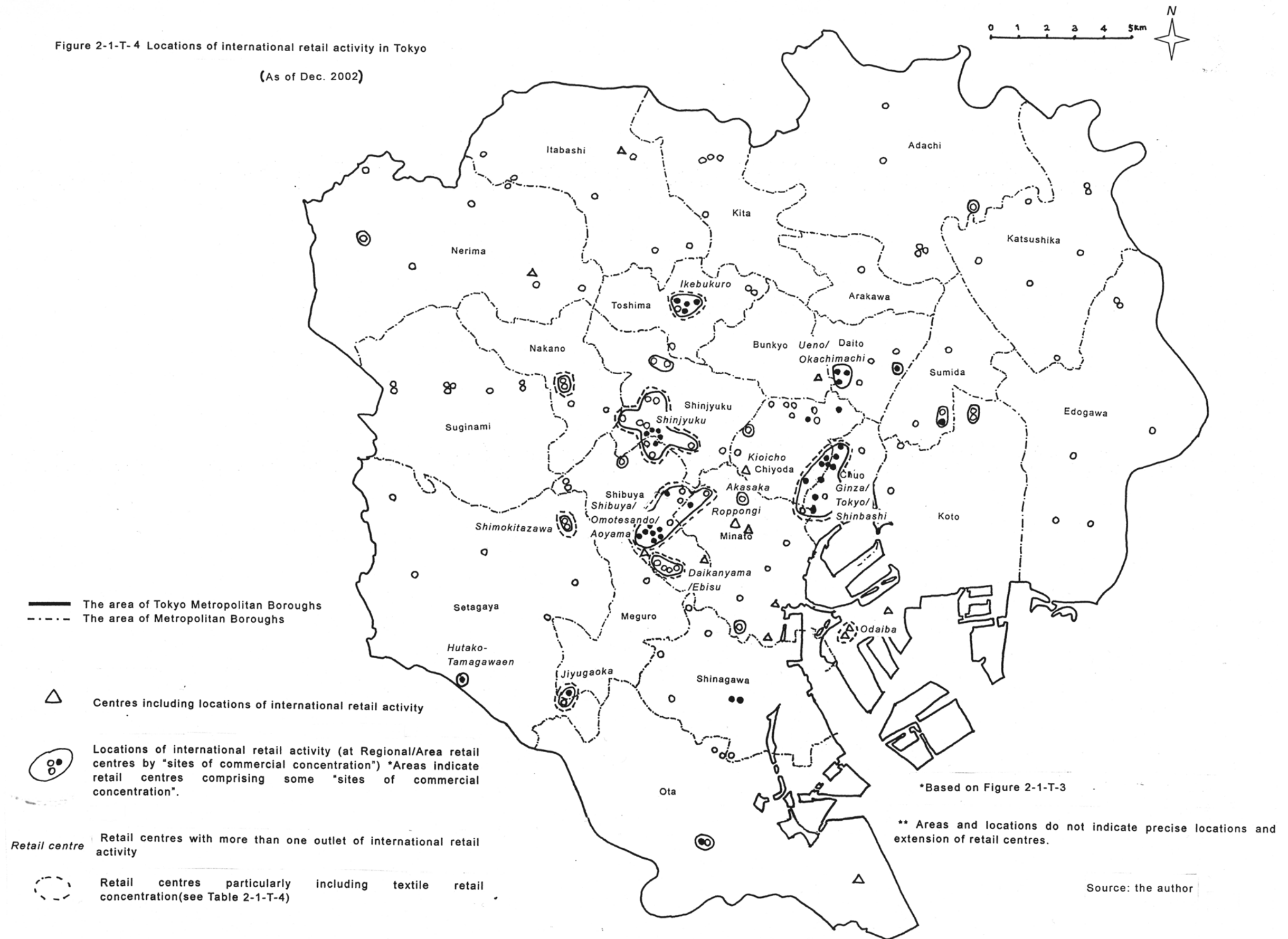
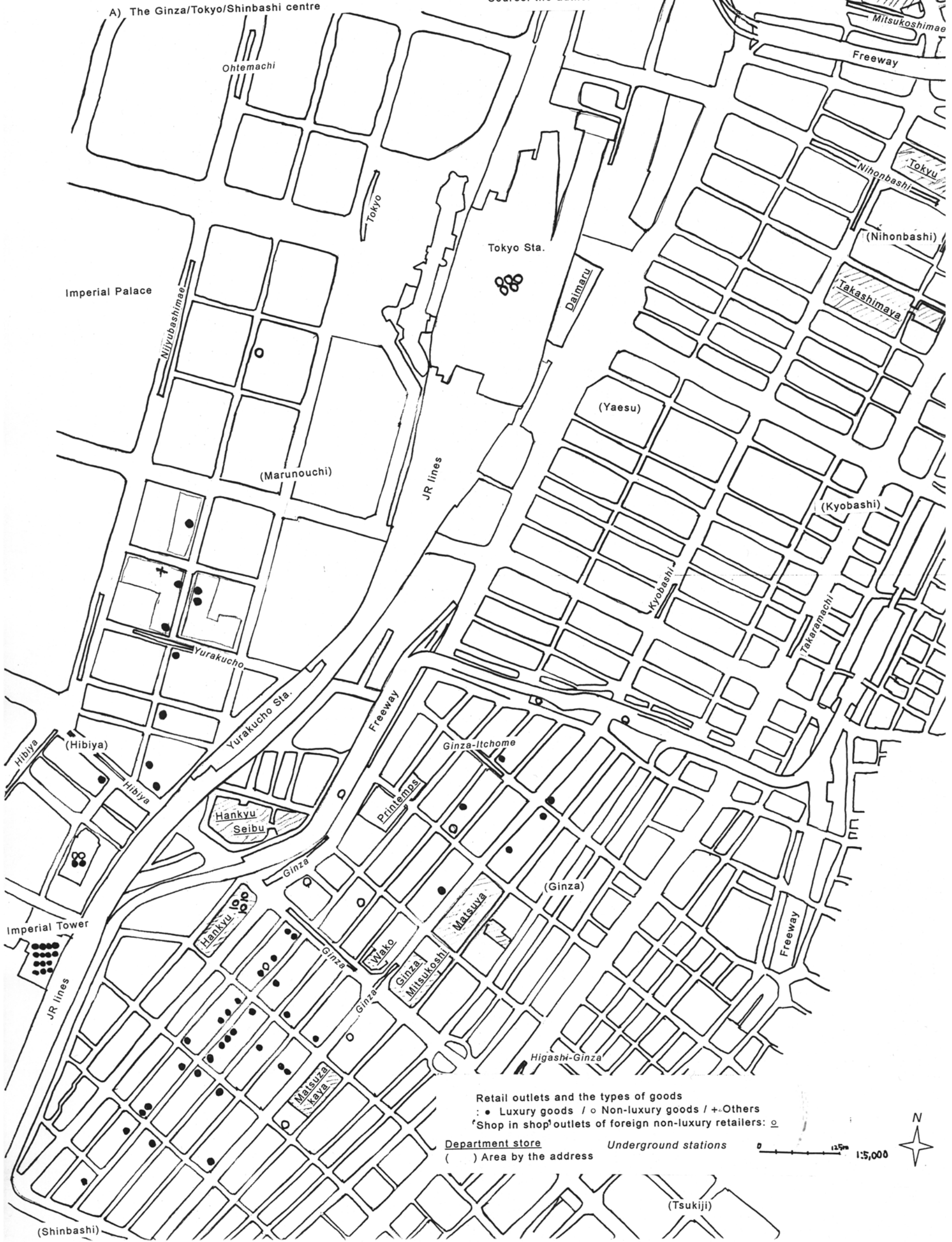
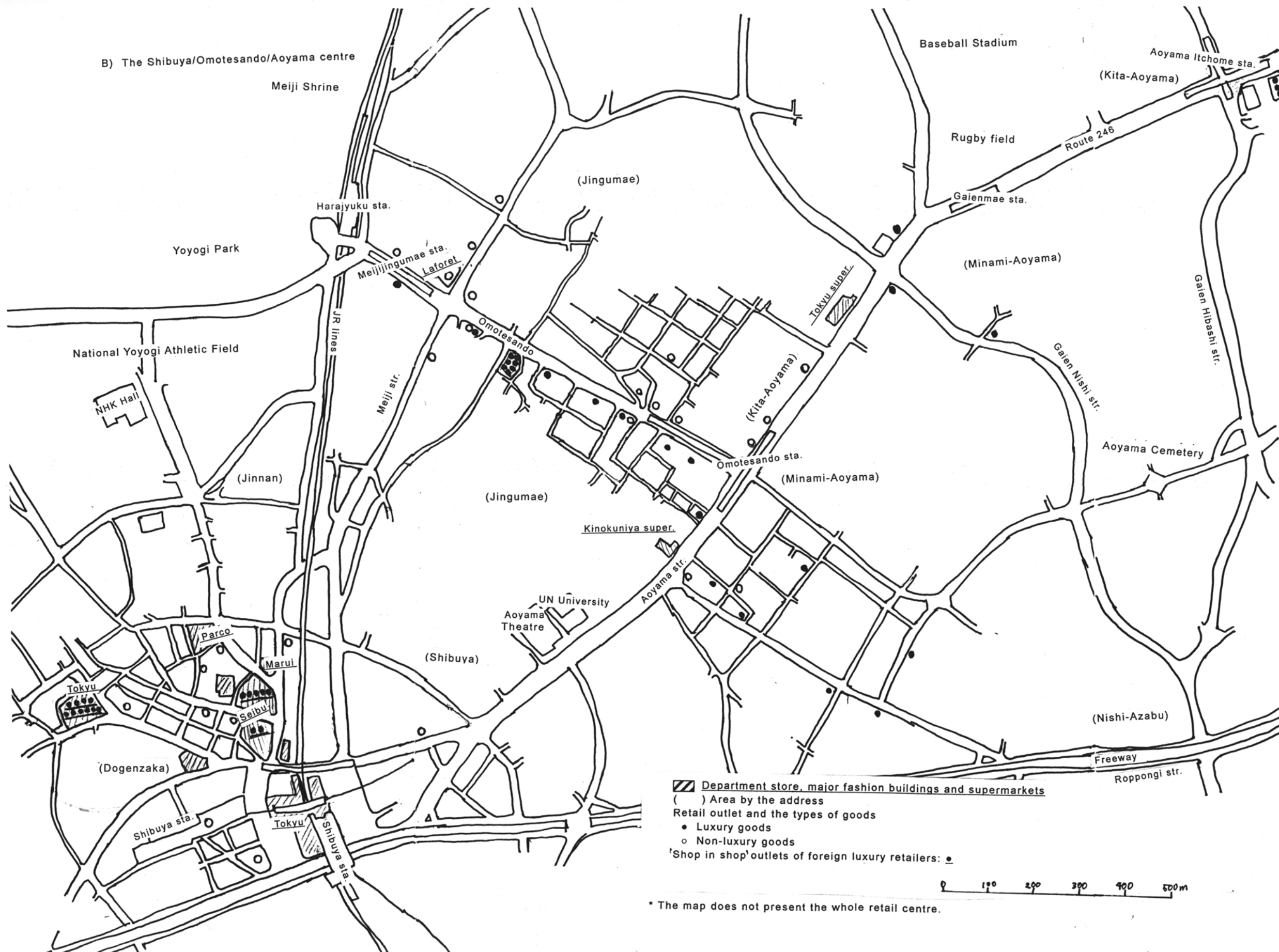


Figure 2-1-T-6 Micro-locations of international retail activity in Tokyo (As of Dec. 2002)
 Source: the author



B) The Shibuya/Omotesando/Aoyama centre



* The map does not present the whole retail centre.

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