Residents’ Evaluations of the Tourism Gentrification Caused by Guesthouses in the Central Area of Kyoto City: A Case Study of Shutoku District in Kyoto City

Haruka Kato

1 Osaka City University, Department of Housing and Environmental Design, Japan
haruka.kato0518@gmail.com

Abstract. The results of this paper clarify that the residents evaluated the tourism-gentrification caused by guesthouses negatively in a case study of Shutoku District in the central area of Kyoto City. The tourism-gentrification caused by guesthouses is defined as a phenomenon in which traditional communities are destroyed as part of the process of tourism-related gentrification. Three points are confirmed by this research. First, gentrification occurred from 2015 to 2019. Second, the residents evaluated it negatively. Third, there is a possibility that residents and guesthouses can form a symbiotic relationship if methods such as the employment of ‘resident managers’ are utilised.

1. Introduction
The background of this paper is the increasing prevalence of a social problem that has recently emerged in tourist cities throughout Japan – the troubles that occur between tourists and residents. This problem is pressing in Kyoto City, which is one of the most famous tourist destinations globally. Part of this problem is the ‘guesthouse problem’, or that of residences being converted to guesthouses, which has a serious impact on the surrounding environment. A guesthouse is a type of rental accommodation for tourists who use Airbnb and the like. For example, problems such as late-night noise and cigarette litter have become an issue. From among the problems related to guesthouses, the tourism-gentrification caused by guesthouses, which has destroyed longstanding traditional communities, has been selected as the focus for this paper.

Figure 1. Example of a guesthouse in Kyoto City
(The center of Figure 1 is a guesthouse, and both sides are house and shop.)
However, with the globalization of the economy and the advancement of sharing technology, the use of guesthouses is expected to become a common way to utilise unused houses and buildings. They are especially popular because tourists are increasingly seeking not only accommodations but also life experiences when they travel. Therefore, it is necessary to seek ways for residents to coexist peacefully with the tourists who stay in guesthouses by addressing the tourism-gentrification caused by them.

The purpose of writing this paper is to clarify the residents’ evaluations of the tourism-gentrification caused by guesthouses in the central area of Kyoto City. Collecting residents’ evaluations makes it possible to examine methods of promoting consensus and the peaceful coexistence of residents and the tourists who stay in guesthouses.

To achieve this purpose, three methods have been employed in this study. The first method is the case study method, which is applied to Shutoku District in Kyoto City. Shutoku District has been attempting to cope with guesthouse-related problems since 2016 in Shimogyo-ward, where the number of guesthouses has increased rapidly. The second method is a multi-scale analysis method, which has been adopted based on the neighbourhood association scale, which allows consensus among residents. The third method is the action research method used in a case study of Shutoku District. Specifically, the author emigrated to Shutoku District in 2016, the following year, when the number of guesthouses began to increase. I subsequently attempted to resolve the tourism-gentrification caused by guesthouses while serving as a member of the Shutoku townscape committee.

This study consists of the following five chapters. In Chapter 2, the number of households affected by accommodation facilities in the central area of Kyoto City is clarified using a geographic information system. Chapter 3 contains an analysis of residents’ evaluations of the rapid increase in tourist accommodations using a questionnaire administered to residents of Shutoku District. The results confirm that tourism-gentrification has been caused by guesthouses. In Chapter 4, the specific requirements for the coexistence of residents and guesthouses obtained through discussions at townscape consultations in Shutoku District are presented. Finally, Chapter 5 concludes this paper.

Finally, chapter 1 contains a definition of the concept of ‘tourism-gentrification caused by guesthouses’. Lees (2003) pointed out that gentrification is a ‘chaotic’ concept [1]. However, in the Dictionary of Human Geography, Smith (2000) defined the concept as ‘the reinvestment of CAPITAL at the urban centre, which is designed to produce space for a more affluent class of people than currently occupies that space’ [2], and Ley (2009) defined it as ‘middle-class settlements in renovated or redeveloped properties in older, inner-city districts formerly occupied by a lower-income population’ [3]. Among the social impacts of gentrification, the biggest problem is eviction of longstanding residents. Smith and LeFaivre (1984) argue that such residents are evicted and that traditional communities are destroyed [4].

Research on gentrification has become increasingly diversified. An area that is being studied is tourism-gentrification, as pointed out by Gotham. Gotham (2005) defined tourism-gentrification as a ‘heuristic device to explain the transformation of a middle-class neighborhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave marked by a proliferation of corporate entertainment and tourism venues’ [5]. Uchida (2015) analysed tourism-gentrification in Kanazawa city in Japan and pointed out that reinvestment is the same as gentrification. However, she pointed out that the destination, which becomes a place for people to consume, is different from the gentrification that causes the upgrading of middle-class settlements [6]. In recent years, Stors and Kagermeier (2017) have pointed out that sharing technologies such as Airbnb have caused changes in neighbourhoods, including increased gentrification [7]. In other words, the conversion of homes to guesthouses has led to reinvestment and the transformation of neighbourhoods into tourist destinations, causing residents who have lived in them for many years to be evicted and destroying traditional communities [8]. Since 2016, many Japanese researchers have suggested that tourism-gentrification has occurred in Kyoto City (e.g. [9] and [10]). Based on the previous discussions, the concept of ‘tourism-gentrification caused by guesthouses’ is defined in this paper as a phenomenon in which traditional communities are destroyed as part of tourism-gentrification through the reinvestment and recasting of neighbourhoods as tourist destinations that has occurred due to the increasing number of guesthouses.
2. Changes in the number of guesthouses and households
   2.1 Location of accommodations
   In Chapter 2, the relationship between the number of guesthouses and households in the central area of Kyoto City is verified using GIS analysis. Section 2.1 consists of two analyses. First, the locations of the accommodation facilities are analysed according to their type and business start year. Based on the results, the accommodation facilities and the target period to be analysed have been selected. The term ‘business start year’ refers to the year when the business was registered with the government.

   The data were taken from the ‘List of Permitted Facilities Based on the Accommodation Business Law (End of January 2019)’ provided by the Kyoto City Information Centre [11]. This section contains an analysis of the locations and business start years of the accommodation facilities for each hotel, ryokan, ryokan/hotel, and guesthouse from January 2013 to January 2019 (Figure 2). In Figure 2, ryokan is Japanese style accommodations. Figure 2 shows that the number of guesthouses increased rapidly from 2015 to 2019. Then, the number of accommodation facilities for each neighbourhood association was drawn using GIS (Figure 3). Figure 3 shows that Shimogyo-ward had a remarkable increase in the number of guesthouses. Shimogyo-ward is a convenient area for tourists because it is close to Kyoto and Karasuma Stations, which are important transportation points in Kyoto City.

   Based on the results described above, an analysis of the guesthouses located in Shimogyo-ward, Nakagyo-ward, Kamigyo-ward, and Higashiyama-ward during the period from 2015 to 2019 was conducted, and the results are presented in Section 2.2.

   ![Figure 2](image2.png)

   **Figure 2.** Changes in the number of hotels from 2013 to 2019

   ![Figure 3](image3.png)

   **Figure 3.** Amounts of guesthouses in each neighbourhood association
2.2 Effect of the number of household changes on the density of hotels

Section 2.2 contains an analysis of the effect of the increase in tourist accommodations from January 2015 to January 2019 on the number of households in each neighbourhood association. At this time, the neighbourhood associations were analysed on a basic scale because the central area of Kyoto City has hierarchical autonomous organizations, which consist of neighbourhood associations, school districts, wards, and the city, but the neighbourhood association is the autonomous organization that makes the decisions relevant to the subject of this paper.

Therefore, this section includes an analysis of the number of accommodation facilities for each neighbourhood association according to the type of accommodation facility. Multiple regression analysis was performed by setting the explanatory variable as the facility density, which is the number of accommodation facilities in the area covered by the neighbourhood association, and the objective variable as the number of household changes from January 2015 to January 2019 (Table 1). Table 1 shows that the density of guesthouses had a negative effect on the number of household changes ($B = -3283.735$). On the other hand, the table shows that the density of hotel facilities did not affect the number of household changes. The results suggest that the rapid increase in guesthouses caused the number of households to decrease.

As a result, it is confirmed in Chapter 2 that the number of households decreased from 2015 to 2019 in Shimogyo-ward, Nakagyo-ward, Kamigyo-ward, and Higashiyama-ward. This suggests that traditional communities may have been destroyed by the increase in the number of guesthouses. Therefore, the aim of writing Chapter 3 was to confirm the residents’ negative evaluations of the rapid increase in the number of guesthouses.

| Table 1. Effect of the number of household changes on the density of hotels |
|-----------------------------|---------|---------|--------------|
| B  | SE     | p       |
| Density of Guesthouses (N/m²) | -3283.735 | 1501.592 | 0.029       |
| Density of Hotels (N/m²)     |         |         |             |
| Density of Ryokans (N/m²)    |         |         |             |
| Density of Hotel & Ryokans (N/m²) | 2.532   | 0.327   | 0           |

B: regression coefficient, SE: standard error, p: significance level.

3. Residents’ evaluations of the increase in guesthouses

3.1 Abstract of the Questionnaire

In Chapter 2, it was confirmed that the number of households has decreased due to the rapid increase in the number of guesthouses since 2015 in the central area of Kyoto City. Based on the results, the residents’ evaluations of the rapid increase in the number of guesthouses are confirmed in Chapter 3. As a case study, the Shutoku District in Shimogyo-ward, where there was a remarkable increase in guesthouses, is analysed in this chapter. In Shutoku District, residents have tried to solve the problems caused by the increase in guesthouses in recent years through the use of a townscape council.

A questionnaire was administered to all households in Shutoku District from October 10 to 20, 2017. The main topics concerned the residents’ evaluations of tourism-related problems (Table 2). The questionnaire received many valid responses (valid responses = 296, response rate = 35.7%). In the centre of Kyoto, there are various types of neighbourhood associations in terms of coverage area and governance. For example, in Shutoku District, Yoshimizu-Shunsei-cho is operated by Yoshimizu-cho and Shunsei-cho, Gokara-Akuouji-cho is operated by Gojo-Karasuma-Cho and Akuouji-cho, and Gokushi-Cho is operated by Gokushi-cho and Naginatagiri-cho. Chapter 3 includes an analysis of neighbourhood associations operating as governance mechanisms from the perspective of building consensus among residents of the communities.
3.2. Residents’ evaluations of the increase in guesthouses
In Section 3.2, residents’ evaluations of the rapid increase in the number of guesthouses are confirmed. In the questionnaire that yielded the results in Table 2, multiple questions were asked about the residents’ evaluations of the rapid increase in the number of guesthouses (Table 3). Table 3 shows that many residents evaluated it negatively in terms of ‘Compliance with local rules (N = 124)’.

Among the results, this section clarifies residents’ evaluations, which have been influenced by the rapid increase in the number of tourist accommodations. Logistic regression analysis (Wald method) was performed by setting the objective variables as the answers aggregated for each neighbourhood association, and explanatory variables as the accommodation density for each neighbourhood association, which was analysed in Chapter 2. Table 3 shows that the guesthouse density influenced residents’ evaluations. This result suggests that guesthouse density had the greatest effect on the ‘Decline in the population in Shutoku District (B = 0.251), suggesting that the increasing number of guesthouses led to ‘tourism-gentrification caused by guesthouses’ and that communities have been destroyed as part of this process. Table 3 also shows that guesthouse density affected the number of reports of ‘Loud noise from guests at night (B = 0.153)’ and ‘Fires caused by cigarette litter (B = 0.131)’.

In Section 3.2, it is confirmed that the increase in guesthouses led to ‘tourism-gentrification caused by guesthouses’ and that local communities have been destroyed as part of this process. The residents also evaluated gentrification negatively.

### Table 3. Effect of the density of guesthouses on residents’ evaluations

| N   | Residents’ Evaluations                          | Density     | B    | SE  |
|-----|------------------------------------------------|-------------|------|-----|
| 105 | Strangers who walk around the neighbourhood     | Guesthouse  | 0.131| 0.064|
|     |                                               | (constant)  | -0.683| 0.159|
| 107 | Fires caused by cigarette litter                | Guesthouse  | 0.251| 0.073|
|     |                                               | (constant)  | -1.688| 0.203|
| 62  | Decline in the population in Shutoku District   | Guesthouse  | 0.153| 0.066|
|     |                                               | (constant)  | -1.005| 0.169|
| 89  | Loud noise from guests at night                 | Guesthouse  | 0.137| 0.064|
|     |                                               | (constant)  | -0.677| 0.159|
| 124 | Compliance with the regional rules (e.g. regarding garbage disposal). |             |      |     |
| 27  | Managers’ responses (e.g. sounding an emergency alarm) |             |      |     |
| 19  | Security in apartments                          |             |      |     |
| 35  | Future change from guesthouses to houses        |             |      |     |
| 52  | Increase in property tax                        |             |      |     |

B: Regression coefficient, SE: standard error.

3.3 Views on guesthouses according to the residents’ evaluations
Section 3.3 further clarifies residents’ views on guesthouses, which were presented in Section 3.2. To gather the necessary data, residents were asked multiple questions about which qualities they considered desirable in guesthouses on the questionnaire in Table 2. This section also contains an analysis of the
cross-tabulation of the views and the residents’ evaluations, which are clarified in Section 3.2 (Table 4). Cross-tabulation was used to perform an independence test on each answer.

Table 4 shows that residents who worried about the ‘declining population in Shutoku District’, which related to the evaluation of tourism-gentrification caused by guesthouses, want ‘guesthouses where managers stay (N=50)’ and ‘Guesthouses that join the neighbourhood association (N=43)’. The table also shows that the residents want ‘Guesthouses that cooperate with events in Shutoku District (N=22)’ and ‘Guesthouses where one can interact with guests (N=12)’. The same qualities were also desired by residents who worried about the ‘decline in the future population in Shutoku District’. On the other hand, Table 4 shows that residents who worried about ‘Loud noise from guests at night’ and ‘Fires caused by cigarette litter’, which are evaluations influenced by the increase in the number of guesthouses, want ‘Guesthouses where managers stay’, ‘Guesthouses that join the neighbourhood association’, ‘Guesthouses that cooperate with local beautification efforts’, and ‘Guesthouses that cooperate with disaster prevention efforts’.

Therefore, it is confirmed in Section 3.3 that, under specific conditions, residents may welcome guesthouses as members of the neighbourhood association despite negatively evaluating the rapid increase in the number of guesthouses.

**Table 4.** Views on guesthouses according to residents

| Strangers who walk around the neighbourhood (N) | 78 ** 47 71 69 * 31 * 10 |
| Crime at guesthouses (N) | 45 * 30 * 47 ** 44 * 19 7 |
| Fires caused by cigarette litter (N) | 76 ** 52 ** 81 ** 78 * 30 11 |
| Decline in the population in Shutoku District (N) | 50 * 43 ** 53 ** 50 ** 22 ** 12 ** |
| Decline in the future population in Shutoku District (N) | 31 * 29 ** 32 ** 33 ** 17 ** 8 * |
| Loud noise from guests at night (N) | 70 ** 48 ** 69 ** 63 ** 23 9 |
| Noise from guests carrying suitcases (N) | 80 ** 50 * 73 71 * 26 11 |
| Noise from guests at night (N) | 91 ** 59 ** 103 ** 94 * 35 18 * |
| Compliance with local rules (e.g. regarding garbage disposal) (N) | 21 16 * 22 * 22 ** 9 5 |
| Manager’s response (e.g. sounding an emergency alarm) (N) | 15 ** 8 17 ** 15 6 6 ** |
| Security in the apartment (N) | 29 ** 19 ** 29 ** 29 ** 11 5 |
| Future change from guesthouses to houses (N) | 32 29 ** 42 ** 38 * 18 * 11 ** |

**p<0.01, *p<0.05**

4. Residents’ requests for guesthouses

4.1 Abstract of Townscape Consultation in Shutoku District

In Chapter 3, the possibility that, under specific conditions, residents can coexist with guesthouses as members of neighbourhood associations despite negatively evaluating the tourism-gentrification caused...
by them is confirmed. Therefore, the aim of writing Chapter 4 is to elaborate on the detailed requests of residents for guesthouses.

To this end, an analysis of the results of townscape consultations in Shutoku District is included in Chapter 4 as a case study. The townscape consultations in Shutoku District are townscape-creation consultations sponsored by the Shutoku Townscape Committee. The Shutoku Townscape Committee has been certified under the Kyoto City Urban Townscape Improvement Regulations, which were established in 2011 [12].

The purpose of the consultations is to nurture communities in Shutoku District. To this end, the owners of buildings and residents can share their thoughts with the neighbourhood association by conversing about the townscape. The Shutoku Townscape Committee reports the minutes of the townscape conclusion to the Urban Planning Department of Kyoto City. In Shutoku District, 16 consultations were held for 14 guesthouses. Chapter 4 contains an analysis of the minutes of the 16 meetings.

4.2 Systematisation of residents’ evaluations by M-GTA
In Section 4.2, the requests made by residents of guesthouses in the minutes of 16 meetings are systematised. To this end, the worksheet in Table 5 is presented in this section using the method suggested by Akagi and Ajsaki (2012) [13], which is a partial modification of the M-GTA (Modified - Grounded Theory Approach) used by Kinoshita (2007) [14]. In the worksheet in Table 5, the data from the minutes are categorised as a ‘definition’, and a ‘concept’ is generated based on it. Furthermore, these categories are supplemented by ‘theoretical notes’. By analysing the ‘concept’ until it reached theoretical saturation, 39 concepts were created. Using the worksheet in Table 5, the M-GTA of the agenda of the townscape consultation (Figure 4) was systematised. In the M-GTA in Figure 4, referring to the method used by Akagi and Ajsaki [13], the ‘concepts’ converge into a superordinate concept called [Category] according to the actions of <Similarity>, <Development>, and <Duplication>. The categories also converge into a high-level concept called the [Core category].

Figure 4 shows four results. First, Figure 4 shows that the discussions at the townscape consultation are not limited to their original purpose but include a variety of topics related to daily life, for example, [Construction work], [Management of neighbourhood associations], and [Guesthouse]. Among them, residents intensively discussed [Guesthouse].

Second, Figure 4 shows that three points were discussed regarding [Guesthouse]: [[Guesthouse building], [Guesthouse management system], and [Relationship with guests]. Among them, Figure 4 shows that [Guesthouse building] was developed from [Townscape], and [Management of guesthouses] and [Relationship with guests] were developed from [Management of ‘Cho’].

Third, Figure 4 shows that the contents of [Guesthouse] are divided into topics that are discussed with the owners of most guesthouses and those that are discussed according to the types of guesthouses. Among them, the ones that are discussed with most guesthouses are ‘Conclusion of an agreement on management’, ‘Presence of managers at the counter 24 hours a day’, and ‘Installation of smoking rooms to prevent fires’. Figure 4 also shows that these three requests were developed from the discussion of ‘Requests to join the neighbourhood association’.

Finally, Figure 4 shows that the discussion is different between ‘Machiya-type guesthouses’ and ‘Apartment-type guesthouses’. In particular, apartment-type guesthouses provoked comprehensive discussions of, for example, the ‘Installation of stoppers on frosted glass windows’ and ‘Installation of illuminated signboards that are easy to find’.

In Chapter 4, it is confirmed that the residents’ requests for guesthouses are consistent with the analysed proceedings of the townscape consultations sponsored by the Shutoku Townscape Council. Therefore, this analysis clarified the demands made by residents on guesthouses. It was found that the residents and the owners of most guesthouses discussed not only the ‘Presence of managers at the counter 24 hours a day’ but also the ‘Installation of smoking rooms to prevent fires’ and ‘Conclusion of an agreement on management’.
Table 5. Example of worksheet for the ‘Installation of smoking rooms to prevent fires’

Concept: Installation of smoking rooms to prevent fires

Definition: Guesthouses should have an attached smoking room. The presence of a smoking room prevents fires caused by smoking on the street and dropping cigarette litter from balconies.

Case [R]. Smoking is expected to be a problem because there are the parks in the vicinity and the children’s house is in front of the guesthouse. Therefore, I want a smoking room to be built inside the guesthouse.

Case [R]. I was very annoyed by the smell and having to clean up the cigarette litter left by a guest who smoked in the alley. We want you to build a smoking room inside the guesthouse.

Example: [R]. You explained that the guesthouse had a non-smoking policy, but I would like you to build a smoking room inside the guesthouse.

Notes 1), Similar examples are not listed.
Notes 2) [R]: Remarks by residents.
[G]: Remarks by the owner or manager of the guesthouse.

Memo: Smoking rooms will be installed inside the building and will have fireproof walls and ceilings to prevent fires.

The smoke vents in the smoking room should not face the neighbours.

ID = <19> Cases = [1, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11-1, 11-2, 12-1, 12-2, 13, 14]

Figure 4. Systematization of discussions of the Shutoku townscape Committee by M-GTA
5. Conclusions
The major conclusion of this paper is that there is a possibility that residents and guesthouses can coexist despite the residents’ negative evaluations of the ‘tourism-gentrification caused by guesthouses’ in the central area of Kyoto City. The concept of ‘tourism-gentrification caused by guesthouses’ is defined as a phenomenon in which traditional communities are destroyed as part of tourism-gentrification through the reinvestment and recasting of neighbourhoods as tourist destinations that has occurred due to the increasing number of guesthouses. This has become a social problem in Kyoto City, which is one of the most popular tourist destinations globally. In particular, three results were confirmed in this paper using a multiscale analysis method.

First, hotels and guesthouses in the central area of Kyoto City were analysed using GIS analysis. The results of this analysis confirm the population decline from 2015 to 2019. It was found that the number of guesthouses increased more rapidly than that of hotels and ryokans from 2015 to 2019 in the central area of Kyoto City. It was also confirmed that the rapid increase in the number of guesthouses caused a decrease in the number of households in neighbourhood associations.

Second, the residents’ evaluations were analysed using data from a questionnaire as the basis of a case study of Shutoku District in Shimogyo-ward in Kyoto City. This analysis confirmed that the residents negatively evaluated the decreasing population. The result suggests that ‘tourism-gentrification caused by guesthouses’ had occurred in the central area of Kyoto City. However, this analysis also confirmed that residents do not want uniform regulations for guesthouses and that there is a possibility that residents and guesthouses can coexist if ‘guesthouses where managers stay’ become the norm.

Third, residents’ requests for guesthouses are recorded in the analysed proceedings of the townscape consultations managed by the Shutoku Townscape Council. Therefore, this analysis clarified what residents need the owners of guesthouses to do. It was found that residents and the owners of most guesthouses discussed not only the ‘Presence of managers at the counter 24 hours a day’ but also the ‘Installation of smoking rooms to prevent fires’ and the ‘Conclusion of an agreement on management’. It was also confirmed that they discussed the ‘Installation of illuminated signboards that are easy to find’, ‘Design of windows that protect the privacy of neighbours’, ‘Countermeasures against the noise created by tourists moving suitcases during the morning and night’ and so on, according to the characteristics of the neighbourhood association.

The future task of this research is to support the implementation of measures to encourage the peaceful coexistence of residents and guesthouses. It is necessary to determine rules that allow residents to form a consensus, such as requiring the ‘Presence of managers at the counter 24 hours a day’, ‘Installation of smoking rooms to prevent fires’, and ‘Conclusion of an agreement on management’ based on the results presented in this paper. The Shutoku Townscape Committee has worked on original regional guidelines for guesthouses. On the other hand, due to the external diseconomies caused by the rapid increase in the number of guesthouses, some measures should be regulated not only through residents’ voluntary efforts but also by government policies. Residents, governments, and guesthouses must cooperate and implement measures that allow them to coexist peacefully with each other. These results are useful not only for Kyoto but also for other tourist cities where the troubles occur between tourists and residents.

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