

LEARNING FROM TOKYO

Reading Japanese Architecture and Urbanism through Deleuzian Lenses



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Collage with Hokusai's Pink Fuji
Staging events of microspaces for the events of home and city

ABSTRACT

“What can we learn from Tokyo?” I asked an architect and an urban planner on a rooftop in Asakusa. We were facing a mesmerising view that brought all opposites together: old and new, big and small, serene and hectic, sleek and shabby. The answer was, “It is dangerous to learn from such a thing”. The journey of my thesis started there.

Tokyo is one of the most condemned cities of world because of its rather chaotic appearance. The radical difference of this city from its Western counterparts, not only in terms of the look of the cityscape but the way the city works, with a forbidden zone at its centre, labyrinthine unnamed streets and rather autonomous neighbourhood structures is seen as a value that reminds us of the existence of other possibilities and alternative solutions, which eventually serves to broaden the existing framework in this thesis. Often labelled as “ugly”, Tokyo is also one of the most liveable cities, with an advanced transport network; high-dense but low-rise, human-scale, serene residential neighbourhoods surrounded by busy and lively streets that are associated with the urban ideals of Jane Jacobs.

Although Tokyo is aesthetically challenging for the Western eye, it reveals these secrets in time. There is a group, however, that has been using this chaotic city as a source of inspiration for decades; Japanese architects such as Fumihiko Maki, Kazuo Shinohara, Yoshiharu Tsukamoto and Sou Fujimoto. The expertise of Japanese architects in residential architecture aside, the country has one of the highest numbers of Pritzker winners in the history of the prize. A thorough analysis of the city, which is both an inspiration and a canvas for them, brings us closer to the deeper layers of this fertile soil; Japanese spatial and urban thought.

My aim as a researcher is to be able exploit this zone and reveal what “chaotic” and “ugly”, but also fertile and liveable Tokyo says about the language of architecture and urbanism, so that the ideas that only Tokyo stores can be shared with a broader audience. The lessons borrowed from Tokyo may be an inspiration for others who have strong inclinations towards cities and our unique relationship with them through the events of everyday life shaped around the built environment.

PREFACE

One of the key research questions of the thesis is how Tokyo as a chaotic mass can be revealed. Existing theoretical frameworks do not work well on Tokyo, but this thesis constructs a new one using Gilles Deleuze's ideas. Through it, the thesis explores Tokyo at various scales starting from the patchwork of the city itself, to the smallest dot as the house in this framework. Deleuze took hold of the entire thesis as mentor and guide. His non-hierarchical and acentred thought, the *rhizome*, is associated with the chaotic state of Tokyo. However, this resemblance is only analysed at the surface level by focusing on the visual similarity between rhizomatic structures and the labyrinthine city structure of Tokyo. The connection between Deleuzian thought, which is against binary oppositions and categorical segmentation of Western thought with Greek origins, and traditional Japanese practices such as Zen, Shinto and the Japanese understanding of Buddhism goes well beyond this analogical similarity. This fundamental relationship creates a crack on the surface for me to insinuate my way into the hidden layers of Tokyo through selectively chosen Deleuzian concepts, which are first transformed into urban and architectural research tools and then reassembled as a conceptual framework that can both face the intimidating chaos of Tokyo and tackle its radical difference.

In addition to Deleuze, others also found their way in: Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour with *Learning From Las Vegas*; Yoshiharu Tsukamoto, Momoyo Kaijima and Junzo Kuroda with *Made in Tokyo*; members of ROJO with *Street Observation Studies Primer*; and the most humanistic of all, Kon Wajiro with *Modernology*. The process of learning through methods derived from the Deleuzian toolkit is enriched in various ways with borrowings from their works. The act of learning is specified as "learning from" instead of "learning for". The aim of research is not to benefit Tokyo itself but to learn from it with the mindset of an architect (as in the case of the names listed above) who can utilise these borrowings in other contexts. While the voices of concerned planners and social scientists coming forward with their analytical critiques on the future Tokyo is heading towards can still be heard, the dominant character in the thesis is an opportunist architect who only desires to first decipher the hidden order of the city then internalise the way Tokyo works and finally borrow from it. The reason why the gaze of an architect can be quite prominent is the freedom provided by creative practice. Although this particular type of PhD is relatively new with many unknowns, especially in the field of architecture, those unknowns liberate the researcher to go overboard to an extent and test the boundaries, which extend with every new trial. This work aims to be one of those trials.

When Tokyo is analysed in this framework, two fundamental concepts are created: *home as city*, and *microspace*. The first notion broadens the meaning of house – one's private space, shelter and temple. Just like "a room of one's own", there is the everyday space of one's own, and house is just a "part" of this "whole". It has physical, social and programmatic connections that melt the house into the city, and (necessarily) the city into the house with its broader meaning. The second concept is about the space that has no formal borders

like walls and doors. Space is seen as a form of density containing events. From this perspective, a few chairs and tables placed on a pedestrianised road can be more useful than implementing grand architectural gestures in the formation of a vibrant public space. Questioning and stretching this argument to an extreme also shows that space can emerge in the dimension of time between two durations, and then disappear (as in the case of a traditional Japanese house which becomes a living space in the daytime and a bedroom in the night-time, or Japanese streets becoming a public square in linear form during local festivals). The microspaces can be manipulated with simple interventions staging an event. Space affects people in a way that forces them to participate and people can affect the space by their very own intervention. The main motivation in this cycle is the potential of the space in terms of the events it promotes.

The study takes a design process as its route at this stage. Creative practice which was exploited to infiltrate the gaze of opportunistic architect into urban research is reinterpreted; the act of “learning from” mentioned above is further advanced by involving the experience of the architect as an active agent experimenting with the lessons drawn from Tokyo. Using the design process as a trial to test the concepts created not only gives the opportunity to internalise their capacity through practice, but also creates an opportunity to gain information that could not be gained previously. This is the uniqueness of creative practice. However, it is worth noting that creative practice is not a means to ignore the well-established routes of research in the arts and humanities and social sciences. The former and the latter are in correlation throughout the thesis. For example, the thesis has both an academic voice, explaining planning regulations or the taxation system, and a narrator directly passing the details of a seemingly trivial moment on the street with the sensitivity of an architect towards the events of space. The relationship between the academic voice and the narrator is a reciprocal one.

Such connection can be expanded over the use of visual materials. Photographs capturing a moment in which I encountered a singularity of Tokyo is shared with the reader. In one of those moments, I was walking behind the moats surrounding the Imperial Palace grounds. The “Keep Out” sign in this photo (see page 179) signifies the isolation of a sacred piece of land at the centre of the immensely dense Tokyo. It plays a role in the creation of the concept “Hole” representing this hole in the city structure of Tokyo. Photographs shared in the course of the thesis are actually a message to the reader, saying that, “I encountered a singularity of Tokyo at this point, at this time. I would like you to see what I noticed with my eyes”. In addition, they are used to visualise the thought in the text. For example, Augustin Berque says that the unusual happiness that one experiences walking down a little street in the immense city of Tokyo has this as its source: being there, in that place. A photo showing one of those many little streets in Tokyo (see page 78) accompanies Berque’s thoughts. The aim here is to show the reader not only what he says, but what he might have seen while “being there, in that place”.

Diagrams are used to illustrate the ideas that are quite hard to explain with text. For example, Deleuze's version of reality with planes, molar and molecular entities can be quite challenging to grasp at first. These rather abstract terms are explained in detail with various analogies in the text. However, a diagram illustrating each term in relation to one another (see page 56) can say more than a long body of text. The diagram on the cover of the thesis is another example. I struggled a great deal while explaining what I meant with the concept of "home as city", as if I had a lot to say but my voice was muted. The diagrams give me my voice back so that I can share the essence of my idea with the reader.

Sketches are used to tell a story. Rather than giving information about three-dimensional space, sketches shared in the thesis illustrate the effect of that space on a person. This person can be me in a café in Newcastle (see pages 133–134), or a couple enjoying watching the concrete facades of Marunouchi from a rooftop (see page 50). The relationship between people and the city in an exact space is visualised through sketches that blur the details while bringing forward the sensation of that space through the use of lines and colours. Sketches are also used to illustrate the moments in which I express my relationship with Tokyo through lines (see page 123).

Drawings are used to define the spatial relationships mentioned in the text. For example, the perspective drawing of Shibuya Station (see pages 224 and 228) makes the overall structure of the station relatively more understandable and also demonstrates the level of complexity in the station. Unlike sketches and photographs, drawings do not carry any trace of the observer's feelings or sensations in relation to the space. They explain the form and order of the space.

Architectural visuals shared at the end of the thesis in the form of collages and drawings are used in various ways. For example, the collage showing a character (Chihiro) for whom a house is designed, while she is sitting on her balcony (see page 324), is used to give a lot of information starting from the events of this particular space to the spatial relationship between the houses of other individuals. This is only natural, because the aim behind the design experiment is to create a new world on a small site for true Tokyoites with the lessons borrowed from Tokyo. This world includes architectural details, human relationships, building regulations and even the trivialities of everyday life. All of them might not be read but sensed from this collage showing the character while eating an ice-cream and watching the street in front of him; the narrowness of the road, the plant pots on the ground and a crow on the terrace belongs to another character. On the other hand, a collage showing an entire design work without walls (see pages 311–312) is used to illustrate the idea of microspace that is shaped around events signified by the use of furniture. Space is not defined with walls or any sort of boundaries; it is only the fluid circulation space and microspaces that are seen in this visual. The difference of this collage from a diagram is that the aim is not to explain a notion but to manifest a constructed reality with that notion. The design work itself is the manifesto of this thesis.

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to the brave and strong ladies of my family, to my loving mother for being an inspiration for me,

to my lovely father for introducing me what is meaningful in this life before he is gone.



to dad...

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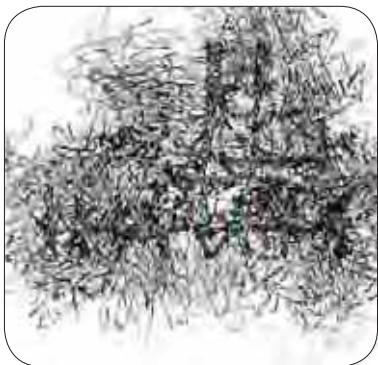


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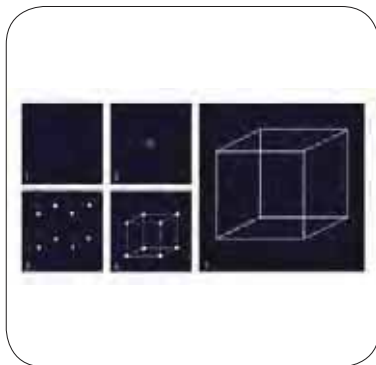


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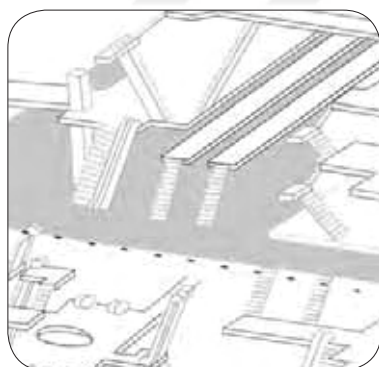
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A NOTE TO THE READER

The chapters often start with a narrative that is based on my relationship with the city, the interesting events I witnessed or experienced myself. This slightly whimsical short section introduces the chapter and then gradually fades away to leave its place to the main analysis. My journey shared with the reader at these openings is also an invitation to the reader to go to a particular moment in time and space and look through the city together.



PART 1

THE STORY

FROM TURIN TO TOKYO VIA ISTANBUL

Learning from Space in Turin

What can we learn from Tokyo? I asked this question on a rooftop in Asakusa to two of my friends, an architect and a planner, with whom I have a tradition of going on fieldwork every year. We established this ritual after a moment of realisation during our master's degree when we went to Turin to join UPWARD – Urban Project Workshop¹ as a part of our urban design module. Spending our free time on the streets of Turin made us realise that rather than contemplating the issues related to cities, space or people's relationship with it in a lecture hall, we could learn a great deal about them just by walking on the streets and looking around. By this, however, we do not refer to a practice that comes close to site analysis, which is an initial phase of architectural and urban design research enabling an in-depth review of a context

within the framework of well-established categories. The walking we mean lacks such technical profundity. It also has no human focus for observation studies such as William Whyte's outstanding works on behavioural patterns² in urban settings. What we refer to by walking and looking around, in fact, literally means just walking around even without consciousness of architects.

Spending some time in Piazza San Carlo, we set down at a cafe on Via Maria Vittoria and found ourselves talking about the studio projects, which somehow led to a conversation on San Carlo. While I was commenting on the excitement coming from the sudden scale change from claustrophobic side roads to the relatively large piazza, how the Church of



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Santa Cristina breaks the soul-crushing uniformity of space, the programmatic details of the buildings in the area, where exactly people gather and what places they avoid, the interaction between the pedestrians and the vehicles on Via Giovanni Giolitti opening to the southern corner of the piazza and the like with the confidence one can only find in the mayor of Turin, I noticed the strangeness of the situation and wondered how I knew what I knew, as I did not know anything about San Carlo until half an hour ago. And during this time my only conscious move was to finish off my gelato before it melted with the attitude of an indifferent tourist in the Generic City.³ After a long discussion, we came to a conclusion that the main activity that brought so much information to the table, regardless of its truth-value, is solely the experience of space, which is, in fact, what we do on autopilot since

the beginning of our existence as three-dimensional beings taking up space in the world.

Edmund Husserl, Martin Heidegger and Maurice Merleau-Ponty were not as familiar as Peter Zumthor or Steven Holl to us; we could not associate our humble discovery with phenomenological tradition at the time, but sensed a connection with Zumthor's atmosphere.⁴ We manipulated this discovery for Jane, as a practising architect interested about how she felt in certain buildings. She was trying to record her sensory experience while figuring out which aspects of the building triggered her reaction. However, my interest was always in the relationship between the city and the people. Naturally, I was inclined to use my own experience to read the space in the context of this relationship.

Istanbul: The City of Tower Blocks

Every member of our micro research group has a lot of jobs to do before fieldwork. My responsibility is to carry out research on the city and prepare a report on the prominent architects of the region; Jane is responsible for making a detailed plan while specifying significant buildings to provide a good start for us. She passes her list to Ding, whose job is to arrange the transportation and accommodation accordingly. Then, all we need to do is to meet in the fieldwork city.

Tokyo is the fourth city we studied together after Turin, London and Istanbul. At the time, I was already in the second year of my PhD. It was a very stressful period, as my doubts on the main argument of my work reached a point that I could no longer ignore. My work was on social housing in the context of Istanbul, which is my hometown and the reason why I have an interest in cities. It is a city with two souls, one residing in Europe the other in Asia. There is a saying in Istanbul from old times when there were no navigation applications, let alone smartphones; if a taxi driver is not confident about finding the directions to an address, he would usually say, “I am a taxi driver from the opposite/other side, so please could you tell me the directions yourself?” This is a good enough excuse for Istanbulites. While this other side usually means the Anatolian shores of Istanbul, it may also mean the European side, depending on one’s reference point.

As Istanbul has two souls, she is never alone. The other side is not close enough to reach, but it is not far enough to lurk out of sight. Finding a bench or a seat and enjoying the view of the Marmara Sea view to the south, strangely, brings a different feeling, which is closer to melancholia than joy at seeing the Bosphorus. Instead of the sadness surrounding infinity, the Bosphorus provides a friendly emptiness between the two coasts that is, in fact, not so vacant; the ferries carrying passengers between each side, cruises for sightseeing, small sailing boats, yachts and so on, keep floating on this emptiness. The bridges, which are busy at any hour, accompany them in the air.



2 Grand Mecidiye Mosque (known as Ortakoy Mosque) and Bosphorus Bridge.

Ortakoy Square and a cruise boat leaving the port are seen behind the sailboats.

Another characteristic of Istanbul are the hills which famously named the city; Istanbul, the city of seven hills. The Ottoman inheritance reveals itself with the works of Architect Sinan on the skyline; the view of the hills is exaggerated with the mountainous tombs of mosques. When sun goes down, it is hard to say what is a hill and what is a tomb. The joy of getting lost in this scene is to live; however, Istanbul is not only beautiful due to its views. One can see how lively it is by merely paying a visit to Ortakoy Square in Besiktas, or by getting lost around the streets in historical peninsula, or taking a long walk from Taksim to Eminonu or stepping into a cafe in Cihangir filled with the intellectuals and artists of the city.

However, this is only one side of the story. Since the late 1990s, the urban fabric of Istanbul, made of low- to mid-rise buildings, was disrupted by tower blocks mushrooming all around the city. The increase in numbers is linked with the rising popularity of gated developments, a highly popular housing model in the neo-liberal Turkey of the post-1980s.⁵ Although there are quite a few typologies starting from luxury residential towers at the centre to the mimics of American suburbs at the periphery, tower blocks are the most frequently used typology in the gated developments of Istanbul.

The reason why they became a real phenomenon in the last decades of the 20th century is thought to be the increasing concerns about safety in metropolitan regions; however, the studies investigating the rising popularity of gated developments shows no such correlation, nor a sudden increase in crime figures that could possibly be a trigger. The real reason, which is often concealed by safety, is the desire to feel prestigious by living in these so-called “high-status” housing complexes.⁶ It is worth to note that the material quality and finishing details of developments are above average, and facilities like sports centres, courts, pools and even shopping malls within the compounds are there not only for convenience but also to provide a luxury customer experience.

While there is no doubt that these developments deepen the issue of social segregation in Istanbul, there are more extreme cases worrying the researchers. Some inhabitants report behavioural changes in their children such as feeling uncomfortable outside the development or feeling threatened in crowded public spaces.⁷ What is more disturbing is that parents concerned with such changes of behaviour may be considered more aware of the situation, as there are cases showing that some are pleased to see that their children are embracing an “elite” version of reality in which they are growing up.⁸ However, this “elite” version can be truly kitsch (without the sense of irony appreciating the excessive garishness knowingly) in some cases, such as the mimicry of Venetian houses, waterside houses by the Bosphorus in the form of high-rise blocks or wannabe naming, as in the case of Mashattan estate that combines the name Maslak, the district where the development was built, with Manhattan.



3 *Istanbul Kayabasi TOKI Housing and Mashattan behind the gates*

Gated developments are not only concerning in the social context; once built at the periphery, exhibiting a rather scattered pattern, developers started to target the sites in central Istanbul. The dense and mid-rise fabric is now disrupted by massive estates with tower blocks. Strangely, this typology is also used by the Mass Housing Administration (TOKI), the public body responsible for social housing provision. In addition to social housing, TOKI works on urban regeneration projects targeting the low-income neighbourhoods in rather central locations, historical housing stock used by marginalised groups or the very few remaining squatter settlements at the periphery.⁹ The administration aims to produce resources from the projects at central locations and use them for the provision of social housing at rather distant locations. There is no room in this thesis to discuss such approach, but I will briefly mention a specific case that inspired me with the reactions of residents towards TOKI houses.

The social housing model in Turkey is based on ownership of the unit with flexible payments. The reasoning behind this is both cultural and strategic. Firstly, the property market, which is quite diverse, provides a variety of rental options; however, owning a property is desired within the culture. Secondly, the aim with an owner-occupied model is to prevent the decay of social housing developments as owners tend to take responsibility for maintenance-related issues in the long term.¹⁰ The target group of TOKI in this owner-occupied model is not only the low-income group; the administration has a well-diversified portfolio for middle-income and even upper-middle-income groups. The projects in central locations attract the attention of all sections of society.

One of these areas is Basibuyuk neighbourhood in the Maltepe district of Istanbul. TOKI provided a start to an urban regeneration project there and offered flats to the residents in the neighbourhood with the condition of paying the difference between the value of their house and new TOKI houses. While households from middle-income groups around Istanbul moved in happily, residents of Basibuyuk showed significant resistance and organised protests to attract media attention.¹¹ They were partly successful in preserving some of their houses, but TOKI



4 TOKI Blocks rising behind the low-rise houses of Basibuyuk



5 A protest banner in front of a resident's garden: "We will not let you demolish our houses, our health is not on sale. The residents of Basibuyuk."

development was still built in the middle of the neighbourhood.

What attracted attention was their reaction; they called the units "coffins" and claimed that their low-rise but decaying houses were better than the newly built modern flats in the TOKI blocks.¹² The aesthetics they were ridiculing was also a comparative topic of interest for the architects working on gated developments and social housing because Basibuyuk settlement is seen relatively more engaged with the existing context.¹³

While gated developments that have no connection with the city, either socially or physically, are popular among the new elite and TOKI blocks in central areas are

preferred by middle-income groups, the reactions of these residents in Basibuyuk, which was considered as a squatter settlement by the public bodies was extraordinary.¹⁴ The response to negative commentaries came from the elderly ladies from the neighbourhood with many banners stating that they will not give up on their healthy lifestyle and they preferred their streets and little gardens over social housing units.¹⁵

Power of Design or Power of Policy

I found encouragement in the case of Basibuyuk project, while thinking it is possible to build wealth with social housing, but social housing does not have to be a poor mimicry of gated developments, whose relationship with the city is problematic on many levels. What further motivated me is studies reporting that settlements does not meet residents' needs. While thinking I could not do anything for the gated developments spoiling the urban and social fabric of the city, a study on social housing seemed viable, as the residents do have complaints. My aim was to play a role in changing people's lives for the better with the power of design: social housing that was based on the formation of social capital with pro-urban projects integrated in the existing context rather sensitively. However, I could not see the arrogance and naive idealism hidden behind my good intentions at the time.

I started to work with great enthusiasm, while believing that all the fault was that of the architects who were copy-pasting these blocks all around Istanbul. The studies blaming architectural design for the failure of social housing, as in the case of Pruitt Igoe, or from the opposing side, studies praising architects who could tackle the issues of social housing with their design, such as Alejandro Aravena and his Quinta Monroy project, were encouraging me to keep on working, while my own analysis cast a shadow over such optimism. My doubts, however, were not groundless; the success of these cases and so many others depended not so much on the architectural design, but on the policies tackling the social housing approach in their context.

To exemplify the situation with the same cases, Pruitt Igoe, as a significant case in the history of social housing, has a quite dramatic end, which was famously associated with the end of Modernism by Charles Jencks. The author, calling the buildings "a prize-winning version of Le Corbusier's machine for modern living", offers to keep the ruins of Pruitt Igoe as a living memory of failure in architecture.

In his analysis, the architects creating uninhabitable places by following the progressive ideals of CIAM are the ones to blame.¹⁶ Yet, the information Jencks provides can be misleading, from the claims about prize-winning to the





design process, which he directly associates with the Purist style, reminding him of the salubrious hospital metaphor. The architects of the Pruitt Igoe project, who did not win a prize for it, prepared a radically different scheme to the built version. However, the designers were waylaid by bureaucrats of the federal Public Housing Administration, who kept lowering the budget even for the tiniest details such as doorknobs, removing all social facilities planned for ground level, interfering with the masterplan and enforcing high-rise blocks rather than the proposed low/mid-rise option. The architects conveniently blamed for the failure had to change their proposal several times to meet the demands of officials. They were not really trying to create a soulless monument for Modernism; their many attempts to keep some of the valuable aspects of the original scheme were reported in the literature.¹⁷

Even if their intention is not taken into account, they cannot be held responsible for the shortcomings of the public body that stopped paying for the maintenance of the blocks or preparing regulations banning the accommodation of adult males in the development.¹⁸ Families separated from the husband or the father, the broken windows, lifts, dirty alleys and racial tension in the area all triggered the end result: the architects, who had no say on any of these policies, were the ones blamed for the failure of the project, which shows the importance assigned to the discipline of architecture. However, the power of design cannot tackle the issues of poverty, racial tension or social decay on its own.



*7 Monterrey Housing in Chile by
Elemental*

*Half of the house is built and the
other half is left to be constructed
later by the residents.*

On the other hand, a certain success story could be achieved thanks to a quite flexible subsidy system that gave space for creative thinking; the Chilean government paid \$7,500 (per unit) for social housing without interfering with the choice of location or architectural design proposal.¹⁹ This is not to undermine what has been achieved with the “half a good house” idea that leaves half of the house to be filled in later when the residents can afford it. It is just to emphasise, firstly, that the innovative part of the work is not on the architectural side, as what was invented is a typology known since the 17th century – the terraced house; it is the idea of the “half a good house” itself which is a form of policy on its own. More importantly, the conjectures in the context of this work is open enough to welcome this idea.

Not just an exercise of a few cases, but studying on the mass housing strategy of Turkey retrospectively, compared with countries that prioritise quality over quantity, with a detailed review of the most significant projects of the last century, made me realise that I was looking for the right answer in the wrong place while trying to use the design as a tool to change people’s lives for the better in the context of social housing. Regardless of the fact that the definition of “better” here is flexible enough to be determined by each individual as a quality that could be appropriated in relation to one’s needs and desires, architecture can only achieve this in the context of its area of expertise: creating space. Expecting to solve problems such as issues of poverty, poor governance, or policies putting quantity before quality with a discipline based on creating space may not be realistic or fair.



*8 Quinta Monroy Housing by
Elemental*

*9 Quinta Monroy Housing after
residents built the remaining half*



The Uncertain Truth

At this point, I had the option of leaving creative practice and restructuring the work done over two years within the framework of the Marxist geographical tradition; this also meant that the focus would be on a critical analysis of the current situation of social housing in Istanbul, rather than a design-based experimentation on a viable alternative.

However, it took some time to get used to this idea and, strangely, I started reading the works of Karl Popper instead of jumping on the bandwagon that could save two years of work. Popper is not the most popular philosopher with the disciplines belonging to the realm of humanities due to his critique of empiricism.²⁰ Embracing his ideas not only conflicts with the form of learning mentioned in the case of Turin via experience, but also with thoughts on using Marxist urban geography to restructure the work when his position against utopian works²¹ is considered.

Rather than the content of his thoughts, what draws the attention is Popper's obsession with the truth, even if it is unattainable and uncertain. His rather pessimistic method of reaching this uncertain truth, known as falsification, is based on continuing to falsify hypotheses until one that cannot be falsified is formed.²² Even this non-falsified version is not the truth; it has only truth status for a while as there is no guarantee that one day, for example, a future version of Albert Einstein falsifies Einstein's physics as Einstein did for Isaac Newton. This method, which is a lot more elaborate than the simplistic summary provided here, shows how much importance he attaches to this so-called truth. His pain is inspiring, because while Popper is telling researchers to be harshly critical towards their ideas, he is also asking them to be honest with themselves.²³ His advice to young researchers influenced me to such a great extent that I took this radical version of self-honesty as an academic integrity tool driven by inner consciousness.

*10 Illustration of Karl
Popper and his intellectual
hammer*

Popper's Hammer

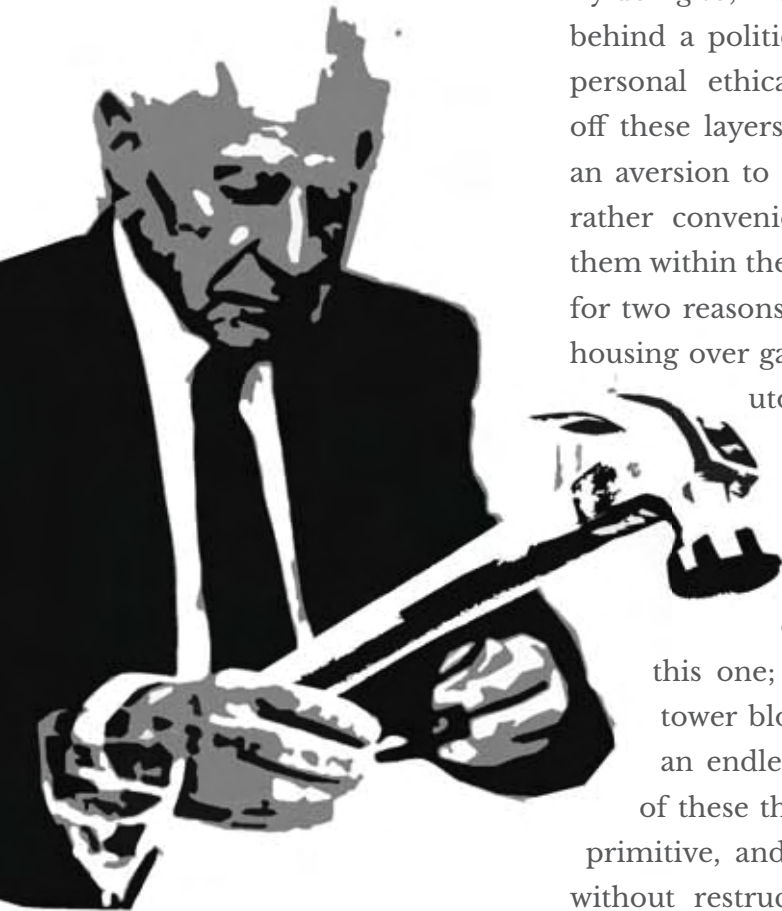
Being self-critical, as Ernst Gombrich states, is no different from hitting your head with a hammer.²⁴ Being honest, as an essential part of this critique, is as difficult, but looking back with a rather relaxed attitude without the pressure of time or sadness about failure helps one to hold the hammer with determination.

By doing so, I realised that my real motivation was hidden behind a politically correct cover of social housing and personal ethical statements of doing good. Stripping off these layers demonstrates a very simple fact; I have an aversion to tower blocks. The unconsciously but also rather conveniently invented method of dealing with them within the context of social housing is embarrassing for two reasons. Firstly, the expedient selection of social housing over gated developments as a testing ground for

utopian thoughts indicates how the former is seen as an easy target; what is worse is the fact that these thoughts are simply based on a personal dislike of a housing typology. Accepting them led to another discovery, which was as embarrassing as

this one; if there is anything I dislike more than tower blocks, it is a suburban house at the end of an endless sprawl. After many years, I have none of these thoughts, which are both authoritarian and

primitive, and although I am ashamed to share them without restructuring the sense in a more acceptable way with carefully chosen words, the aim is to reveal the moment of confrontation with all its nakedness, because this radically honest confrontation with myself created an epiphanic moment in which I discovered the common quality between the subconsciously settled images of a tower block and a suburban house in my mind; anti-urban antagonists targeting something so dear to humankind, the city.



The naive but idealistic me at the time was relieved to find the real motive, a sincere one this time, noticing that the idea of building up two years of work by wrapping it with a conveniently chosen layer of Marxist urban geography without believing in the work itself was not an act that could fit within the context of academic honesty – even though the work on social housing was carefully studied and critically analysed without falling into the trap of biased literature as in the case of Pruitt Igoe; any attempt to restructure this work with an appropriated theory after realising that the real issue was the poor policies, not design decisions, would be an opportunistic move, which is, in fact, not a forbidden zone for researchers, but Popper’s hammer playing a key role as an ethical control mechanism ruled out this option. The compensation is to gain a new perspective on my true passion, which eventually accelerated the acquaintance with Tokyo.

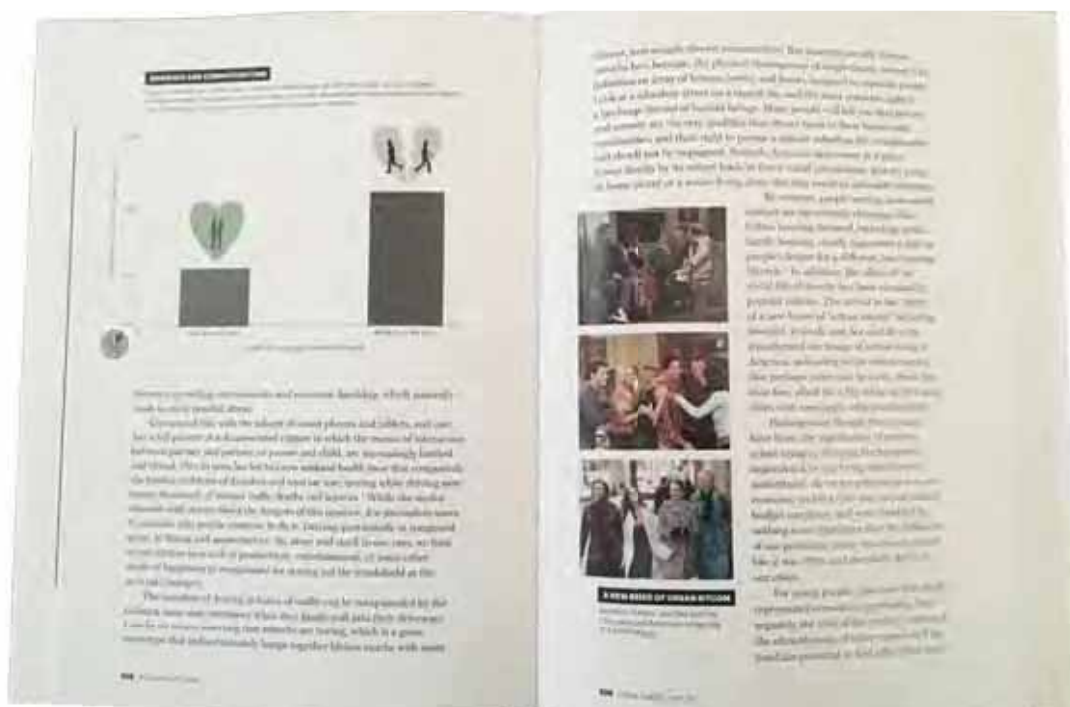
*11 A graphic on romance
and commuting time
by SHoP Architects in
“Country of Cities”*

Richard Sennett and Anti-Urban Antagonists

While the focus, which was blurred for some time, was smoothly transforming from social housing to the relationship between house and city, prominent names such as Jane Jacobs and Richard Sennett, who dedicated so much of their life to the protection of urban values in the city, both in spatial and social terms, gained more central roles. I was ready to target anti-urban enemies with my commanders-in-chief, who did not hesitate to state their dislike of suburbs, for example, by calling them “parasitic”²⁵ or “suffocatingly dull.”²⁶ Sennett, in his condemnation of suburbs, rather harshly believes that the city makes people more mature by forcing them to face the unfamiliar. He exemplifies this idea with a case of comparison in *The Uses of Disorder*: two teenagers, one living in a suburban neighbourhood, the other at the heart of the city, are the main characters. The fictional story giving details from

their everyday lives shows how the young girl living in the city ends up having more experience of unpredictable situations and naturally becomes an adult who can face the challenges of life while her opponent in the suburbs is getting bored in his room.

Likewise, Vishaan Chakrabarti, in his book *A Country of Cities*, compares the city to the suburb, and declares the superiority of the former at multiple points, from environmental pollution to the effect of the time spent on motorways on partners’ romantic relationships.²⁷ What Sennett and Chakrabarti have in common are the values they attach to the city in order to save it. These values are for the betterment of the society. It seems as if they are some kinds of excuse for one to promote cities, and when the pragmatist reasoning behind them is stripped off, one has the anxiety of whether what remains is convincing enough to support the idea of the city.



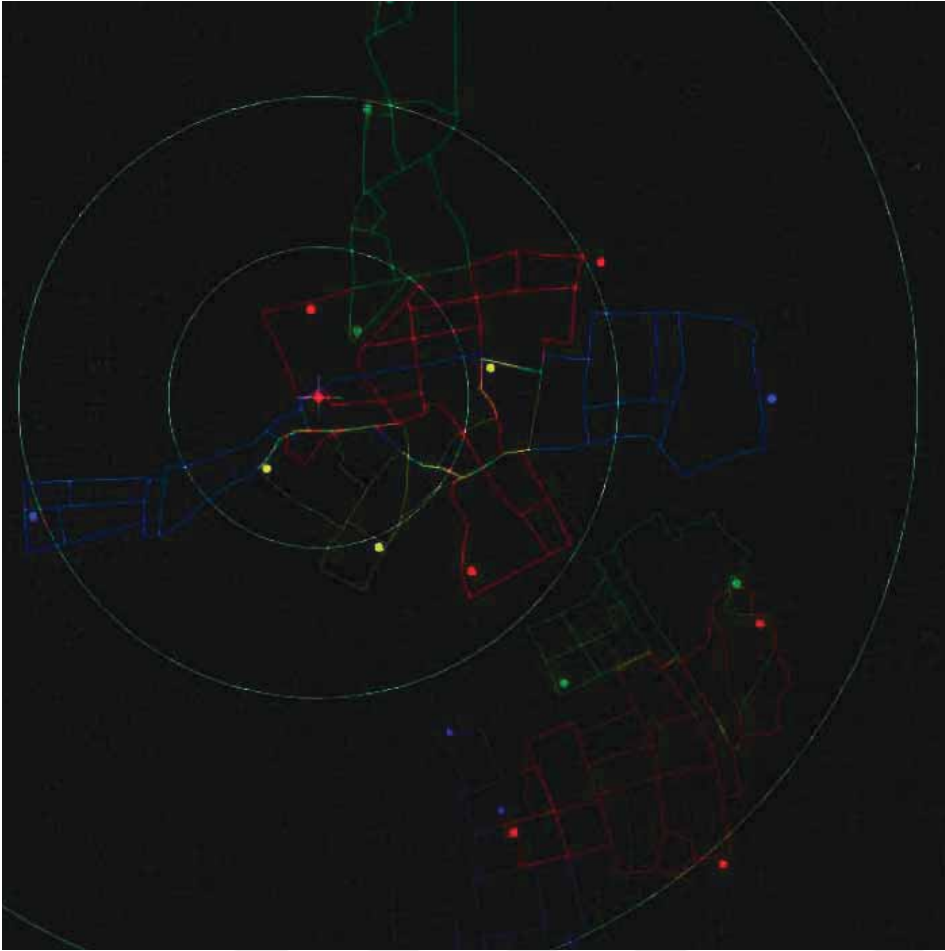
Sou Fujimoto on Tokyo Streets

After a long digression, I will now come back to the report that I needed to prepare on Tokyo for our fieldwork in Japan. While looking for information online, the *Learning from Tokyo* symposium organised by Hosoya Schaefer Architects in Zurich²⁸ seemed like a good option with which to start as I intended to sidestep a proper literature review for this extra work, which was a burden for me at a time when I was busy with hitting myself with Popper's hammer. I played the online recordings of the session and Sou Fujimoto started to talk at the background:

This is an early project, actually 15 years ago, just after my graduation from university. And at that time I didn't go to the architecture office to work. I was just alone, and I was thinking about architecture by myself. I didn't have any commissions, I didn't have any projects, so I had a lot of time. I joined the One Idea competition for young architects to think about the new house for the future. This is the diagram of that house, and it is based on my personal life and personal impression of Tokyo. First of all, I have to say I am now living in Tokyo, but I was born in Hokkaido. Hokkaido is a northern island in the countryside, full of nature and forest and green grass.

I came to Tokyo when I entered the university. And then I was so surprised because it was, somehow, very comfortable for me to live in Tokyo. I started to live in a small, one-room mansion. Of course, that room itself is very small and not so comfortable, but to go out from that room and walk around the small street, passing alleys surrounded by wooden houses was such an exciting experience for me. And it was very, very comfortable... I go out of the room and then walk around, come to the cafe, and come to the shop or something like that. It was my life and it was very nice to just to walk to have inspirations about architecture. And then I thought while I was walking around, if I have one more room around, for example, here [he shows a point on map], or around here, even though it is a small space, it could be nice.

For example, one square metre space for my usage would be nice. I have a room here, to start from here, and walk around; I have a room here too like a small library or just to take a nap... Then I proposed a kind of a house proposal or no-house proposal.



12 *House/No House* by Sou Fujimoto

Coloured dots represent the rooms of deconstructed home scattered around the neighbourhood.

So these plans are small places [he shows various points on the map]. Maybe this is four square metres just for a dining table, and this one just for a bed, a bathroom or something like that. That kind of small private spaces scattered around the town, the city. And I freely walk around and connect each space as I like, including the cafes or the bookshops, or the infrastructures of the city even could be a part of this house. So in this house project, the strong definition of the house is not there anymore, but the scattered small spaces and the walking around and connecting these

small spaces is the house itself, including these street views or experiences, some conversations with neighbours or cafes and something else. So, in that project I was thinking about living in a small house in Tokyo. It is not just living in a small house but living in the city, and experiencing the city as a part of your house... The small spaces are not the house itself but living in Tokyo is the future house.²⁹

“I was thinking about living in a small house in Tokyo. It is not just living in a small house but living in the city, and experiencing the city as a part of your house.”

Fujimoto's project is simply a house with many rooms scattered around an area in a walkable distance. The inspiration is the everyday places close to his house. What is interesting is that, actually, he does not need the rooms scattered around. The cafe he stops at every day is some sort of kitchen already, maybe not the kitchen in his house, but it still has the same programmatic value in his life. This notion broadens the meaning of the house; one's private space, shelter and temple. The house, in fact, is not an end in itself. Just like "a room of one's own", there is the everyday space of one's own, and house is just a "part" of this "whole". The spaces have physical, social and programmatic connections that melt the house into the city, and, naturally, the city into the house with its broader meaning. This shows what is missing in the tower blocks of social housing in Istanbul or the suburbs of the US where the dwelling is only a dwelling, unlike Tokyo where the house is the city and the city is the house: house as city.

Creative Practice: Sennett vs Fujimoto

Later on, this simple discovery inspired by Fujimoto's experience of Tokyo became a central phenomenon in the thesis. However, what draws more attention is how a simple project can solve the long-standing problems of the anti-urban enemies of the city so easily. One of the key differences is Fujimoto's rather optimistic and also opportunistic approach, which is a lot less defensive than that of my commanders-in-chief because, as an architect, he only uses Tokyo to be inspired. Unlike Sennett, Fujimoto has no concern about the protection of the

source of his inspiration or the values he extracted from the city. On the other hand, he can demonstrate those values quite effortlessly and admirably that he does not even need to state what is right or wrong; his talk quite humbly revolves around his experience while lacking any kind of "should" seen in others. Thanks to this blank space left for interpretation, his experience, transformed into an idea and conceptualised in the form of a design work, does not only illustrate the line of thought or where it comes from, but also works as a trigger for further thinking. Lastly, Fujimoto learns through experience, which is capable of cancelling out *a priori* dogma or pre-established categories of knowledge in one size fits all logic in the early stages of research.

When the use of architectural methods – such as the process of design itself in the form of an experiment or drawing as a tool to analyse the inner reflection of the three-dimensional environment with its events – is combined with well-established routes of research in the arts and humanities or social sciences, it is not only possible to tell more, but to gain information that could not be gained previously. This is creative practice.³⁰ Creative practice, while providing this opportunity, also unchains the researcher to go overboard to an extent. Although there is no guarantee that the information outside the box is of more value than that found in the box, such an opportunity is still an encouragement for researchers to be more courageous in the rather rigid framework of postgraduate research.

The Translator

The idea of using the facilities in the city as an extension of home, while being a brilliant idea, is nothing new for Tokyoites, where people think of the local coffee-shop as their dining room, vending machines popping up on any corner as their fridge and far too numerous restaurants as their sitting room where they meet with friends. Tokyo exhibits the patterns of living with the city rather than living in it by celebrating this indispensable connection between city and people. Fujimoto, while not being the inventor of this phenomenon, can still extract it from the context. In a sense, his role is like a translator who can tell us what the city says to him. While doing so, he slightly opens a door from where I could see glimpses of Tokyo for the first time.

Suspecting that Tokyo knows much more and wondering if there is a way to learn it, I created a method to decipher the alphabet of the language Tokyo speaks with the help of Gilles Deleuze and the architects who come close to him with their rebellious nature, such as Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour; Yoshiharu Tsukamoto and Momoya Kajima; Kon Wajiro and Terunobu Fujimori. Then, I asked the help of writers working on Tokyo, who can understand this language well, such as Barrie Shelton, Roland Barthes, Donald Richie, Peter Popham, Chris Fawcett, Paul Waley, Fumihiko Maki, Arata Isozaki, Kisho Kurokawa and Hidenobu Jinnai in the literature.

I also listened to Tokyo by experiencing the city as a resident in Nezu, as a passenger on the Tokyo Metro, as a shopper in Ginza, as a passer-by in Shibuya. My sole aim is to be able to translate what Tokyo says into the language of architecture and urbanism, so that the things only Tokyo knows can be revealed. These might be an inspiration for others as in the case of my short journey with the imaginary anti-urban enemies, which started in the tower blocks of Istanbul and ended in the streets of Fujimoto's neighbourhood in Tokyo.

13 A house in the maze of Nezu spilling some of its events through the narrow alley.





Figures and Illustrations

- 1 Matteo Sartori, *Zona Pedonale*, photo, 17 February 2012, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/msar67/6895579083/>.
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- 10 Nergis Kalli, *Popper's Hammer*, illustration, 2016.
- 11 SHoP Architects, 'Romance and Commuting Time', illustration, in *A Country of Cities*, ed. Vishaan Chakrabarti, 2013, 108.
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Endnotes

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THE MENTOR

Gilles Deleuze is a key figure in this work, as mentioned previously. His influence can be seen in the entirety of this thesis. This section introduces him to the reader while explaining why and how Deleuze became a central character, almost as dominant as Tokyo, with some necessary explanation of the use of his terminology, the organisation of the Deleuzian tools utilised in the course of the thesis and the particular referencing of the lineage of his thought under his name. His deliberately ambiguous style and my specific interpretation of this thought are also touched upon with a parallel line of text adding Deleuze or Deleuze and Guattari into the discussion directly.

Characterless Character

Tokyo is covered by a web of main roads and train lines on ground level; under the

ground there is an extensive metro line that gathers the fragments of the city, although it is invisible to the eye; the expressways above the ground take the inner-city traffic from the main roads while providing intercity connections. The imperial palace represents the empty centre of this web as a restricted area avoided by taxi drivers. The palace and its surroundings are separated from the rest of the city by a moat. Unlike the usual vanity of imperial palaces, it is far from showing off, almost hidden back in the greenery without a connection to the immediate surroundings adjacent to Marunouchi, the main commercial district. This geographical centre is not a spatial centre experienced as a city centre, which is why Roland Barthes famously calls it the “empty centre”.¹ When there is no hierarchical centre that posits itself on top of others, Tokyo’s various fragmented centres resonate on their own without



a unifying commanding centre. This situation is described as *integration without synthesis*.²

Such fragmentation occurs not only at the city level; it can be observed at any scale. Tokyo, although known as a dense city, is dense but also low-rise, with various small houses coming together to form neighbourhoods; and these neighbourhoods together form the city with additional heavy infrastructure superimposed on this soft maze. This

particle condition, without any sort of grandeur, creates a city of villages.³ Although Tokyo has both the grand boulevards of Paris and the splendid skyscrapers of New York, none of them are as dominant as they are in their original setting. In the absence of such monumental gestures or a relatable urban model, Tokyo's uniqueness becomes its *characterless character*. Two renowned Japanese architects, will show in this interview how far this characterless character can go:



1 Characterless character of Tokyo

The skyscrapers of Shinjuku, the roof of Yoyogi National Gymnasium and the neon advertising signs of Shibuya are on the same view

Koh Kitayama: What is it that makes Tokyo unique?

Ryue Nishizawa: I think the historic cities of America, Europe, and China all had master plans. But, with Tokyo, as rows of buildings formed, streets came into being. Of course, there was a master plan, but it was pretty slapdash. I think the city's landscape directly conveys the idea that the master plan has no meaning.

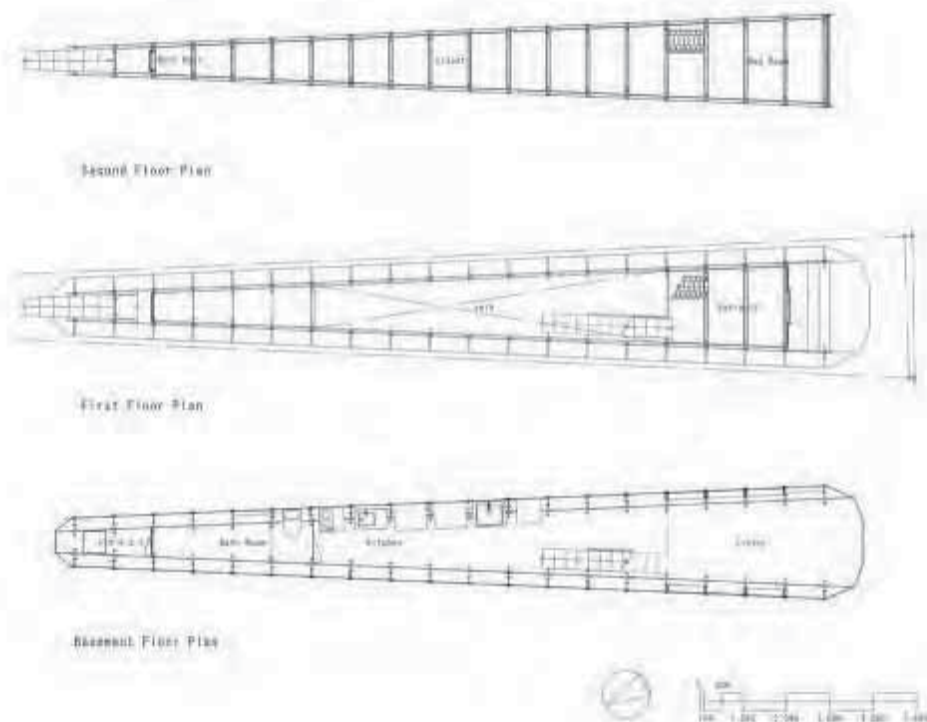
Koh Kitayama: You mean, there isn't any visible master plan in Tokyo...

Ryue Nishizawa: It isn't visible and there might not even be one. [laughs] There's some kind of master plan in each local area, but I don't think there's any firm idea that Tokyo as a whole should be a certain way.⁴

Democratic City

While Tokyo does have a master plan, the logic behind the formation of Japanese cityscapes narrows down its role to a mere infrastructure plan. Tokyo is a city of single-family houses,⁵ some of which are built on small plots that could be as narrow as 80cm wide on one side. Thanks to the land-use regulations that are comparatively more flexible in Japan, Tokyoites who prefer to live in the centre with a limited budget are not excluded from the land market by aiming for a smaller plot size. These houses, known as *jutaku*,⁶ are the testing ground of contemporary Japanese architecture coming forward with extreme cases of residential design. While a small plot size is not an obstacle to creative thinking, we see its real effect on the immensely complex cityscape of Tokyo. Small plot size

increases the number of landowners; there are 1.8 million different real estate owners, of which 1.7 million are private.⁷ According to fire regulations, these houses cannot share walls: there must be a minimum distance of 50 cm from the neighbouring building. This means that there are at least 1.7 million individual landowners who have a say about the built environment with rigidly protected property rights. Naturally, neither the government nor a developer with ambitious plans can easily enforce plans in a city where the land is literally owned by millions of people instead of a handful of aristocrats or investment funds with fancy names. The immensely complex cityscape of Tokyo is the result of its *democratic* nature.⁸





*2 Luck Drops House by
Atelier-Tekuto*

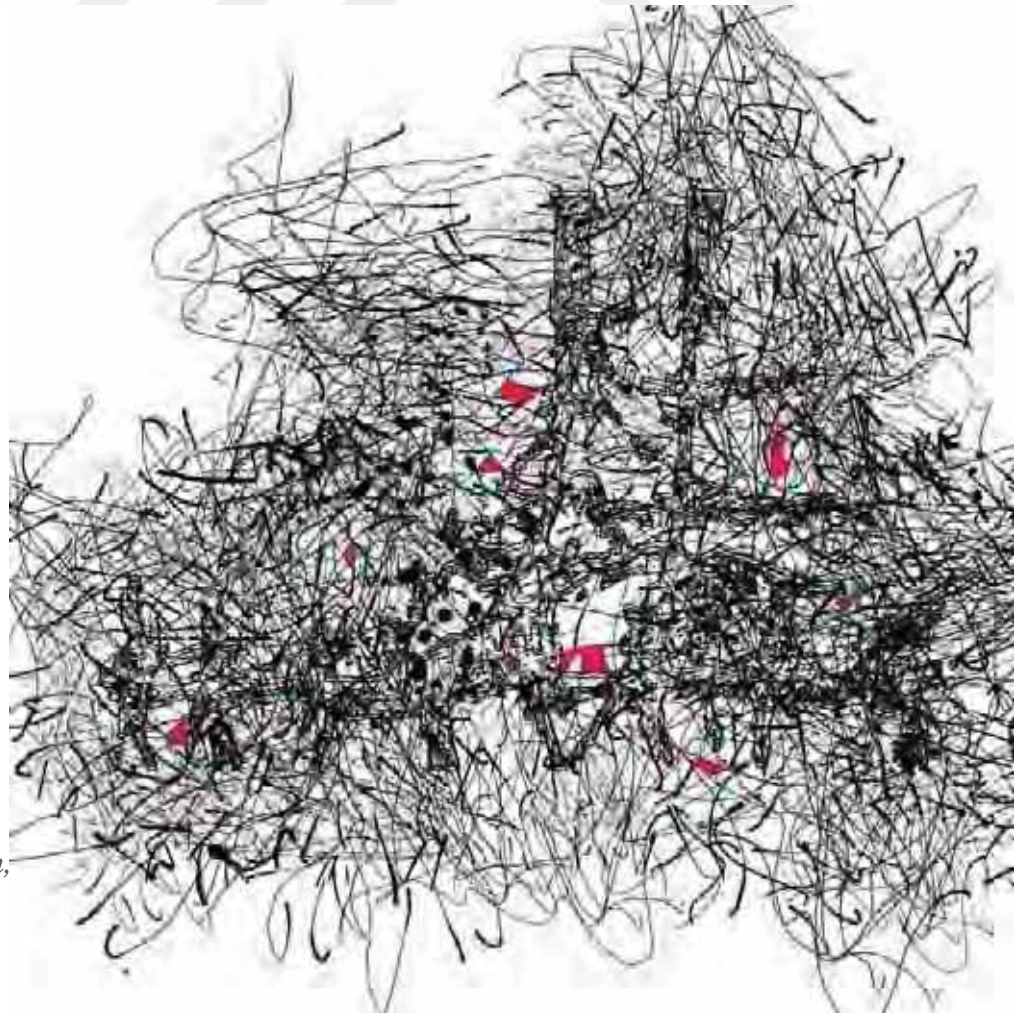
The maximum width of the elongated trapezoid site is 3.26m and the narrowest side is 0.79m. The small size and unusual form of the site makes it an affordable option even for a young people starting a family as in the case of Lucky Drops's owners who asked the architects whether it is possible to design a home for them on this unconventional site they could afford.

Rhizomatic Tokyo and Deleuze

Although investigating some of the reasons behind the complexity does matter, this is not enough to decipher the chaos in its totality. The terms created to work on the city fall short in the case of a disintegrated synthesis or a characterless character. For this reason, scholars working on Tokyo reference a term outside the realm of architectural and urban studies: Gilles Deleuze's *rhizome*.⁹ The rhizome is the concept that stands against the dominant tree model of thinking with its hierarchical positioning and restrictive structure. One needs to travel along all the connected branches to reach the trunk. Needless to say, a twig cannot dare to make a connection to another twig on its own. Rhizome, on the other hand, is a model in which every element can grow in every possible direction without a hierarchical centre. Tokyo is considered to be the city version of the rhizome with its empty centre, episodic subcentres and small but powerful particles.¹⁰

On the other hand, the connection between Deleuze and Japan goes further than the use of rhizome in architectural/urban texts as an analogy. The rejection of transcendence and Deleuze and Guattari's immanent thinking resonates with Zen tradition.¹¹ For this reason, Japan has been much more receptive to Deleuze and Guattari's work in comparison to the West. Individual concepts from *Anti-Oedipus* and *A Thousand Plateaus* were available in Japanese before the books were translated into English. *Body without Organs* was in use in creative circles even before the Japanese translation.¹² The references praising Oceania and the focus on immanence and rhizomatic thinking can be found in *A Thousand Plateaus* as well. Deleuze also shows his interest in Zen Buddhism in *Logic of Sense* and *What is Philosophy?*¹³ Although he could not travel much due to his health, Guattari visited Japan eight times and established close connections with creative circles.¹⁴

In contrast to centered (even polycentric) systems with hierarchical modes of communication and preestablished paths, the rhizome is an acentered, nonhierarchical, nonsignifying system without a general and without an organizing memory or central automaton, defined solely by a circulation of states. What is at question in the rhizome is a relation to sexuality – but also to the animal, the vegetal, the world, politics, the book, things natural and artificial – that is totally different from the arborescent relation: all manner of “becomings.” (A Thousand Plateaus, 21)



*3 Rhizome illustration,
bamboo roots*

Tortuous Toolkit

Although I realised that the connection between Deleuze and Japan is much deeper, the first time I became acquainted with Deleuze was only to learn about rhizome from its source: *A Thousand Plateaus*. This book has 15 chapters in total: the first chapter, which is also the introduction is called “Rhizome” and the last one is, not surprisingly, the conclusion, named “Concrete Rules and Abstract Machines”. And there is one rule Deleuze and Guattari have for the readers; one should start reading the introduction first and finish the book by reading conclusion last. Other than that, there is no linear order between chapters because the book is a rhizome in itself.¹⁵ A crucial explanation needed to understand an abstract term in Chapter 2 may be given in Chapter 8. Amazed by the creatively illustrated idea in the structure of the work, I continued reading the chapters following, which were relatively more complex than the rhizome.

At the time, I found myself in the position of a five-year-old in a fictional house full of thinkers from all centuries, some of whom really cannot get on well with each other, discussing important metaphysical issues in a cryptographic language that I could not decipher— even though, while working on Istanbul, I had a chance to become familiar with the authors whose work is not necessarily easy to comprehend, such as Karl Popper, Michel Foucault, Pierre Bourdieu and Charles Sanders Peirce. The strangeness of this combination aside, reading Deleuze is a laborious process, which is frequently expressed by experts working on his theories.¹⁶

The reason may be the fact that Deleuzian

philosophy is quite complex, with its extreme explanation of reality, which is an extraordinarily multifaceted synthesis that has no hierarchical order, but a chaos in which each idea works with every other. I question why would we suffer to understand this extreme version of reality? François Zourabichvili answers my question: “We wouldn’t need Deleuze if we didn’t sense in his oeuvre something that has never been thought, something capable of affecting philosophy in still inestimable ways.”¹⁷ However, enjoying the liberating aspects of Deleuzian thinking does not explain why we should prefer his complex theory over the “image of thought” that he accuses of being too simple and truly not tortuous enough.¹⁸ What is the benefit of his tortuous version? The answer depends on our problem.

"If it is a question of rediscovering at the end what was there in the beginning, if it is a question of recognizing, of bringing to light or into the conceptual or the explicit, what was simply known implicitly without concepts—whatever the complexity of this process, whatever the differences between the procedures of this or that author—the fact remains that all this is still too simple, and that this circle is truly not tortuous enough." (Difference and Repetition, 129)

The Mentor

Deleuze explains theory as a toolkit; the value of theory is determined by how well it functions in solving our problems rather than how true it is.¹⁹ If the tool in hand does not work well enough, he suggests trying another tool without hesitation, as all that matters is to find the one that can overcome the challenges we are faced. The Deleuzian toolkit solves my problems, because when Tokyo and Deleuze are both freed from their categories – a city and a human being – it can be seen that they do represent the same thought actualised in different bodies; a rebel against order, hierarchy, segmentation and categorisation. For this reason, I can become familiar with the logic of Tokyo by using Deleuze's approach, which gives me the vocabulary to express my problems, values the experience in the process of learning, gets rid of the hierarchical categorisation that prevents me realising seemingly unimportant but quite vital connections, and creates a perspective that brings hidden quasi-casual conditions to the surface. Most importantly, he makes it possible to create a toolkit exclusive to my problem. Deleuze solves all problems, answers all questions and even consoles me by reminding that reality is indeed messy when the complexity of Tokyo gets too overwhelming. Deleuze, whom I got to know in order to discover more about terms used frequently to describe Tokyo, became the mentor in this journey.

A theory is exactly like a box of tools. It has nothing to do with the signifier. It must be useful. It must function. And not for itself. If no one uses it, beginning with the theoretician himself (who then ceases to be a theoretician), then theory is worthless or the moment is inappropriate. We don't revise a theory, but construct new ones; we have no choice but to make others. It is strange that it was Proust, an author thought to be a pure intellectual who said it so clearly: treat my book as a pair of glasses directed to the outside; they don't suit you, find another pair; I leave it to you to find your own instrument, which is necessarily an instrument for combat. (Conversation between Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze, 1972)

Stylistic Clarification

Because I started to see the world through the lenses of this mentor, Deleuzian terms will be popping up from this point onward during the course of the thesis. However, there are issues that need to be clarified in relation to the use of them in the text. Deleuze's style is intimidating. His use of terms is so rich that there are dictionaries published to explain his terminology.²⁰ I think it is not unfair to say that Deleuze has his own language, like mathematics. The problem is that when one gets to know these terms, nothing else seems efficient enough when replacing them for the sake of simplicity. Rather, Deleuzian jargon penetrates into one's own vocabulary. When I come across them in others' works, I immediately feel a connection

as I recognise the language, but I also notice the author's pains to explain what he really means by that one word. There are others who tend to communicate via Deleuzian vocabulary without additional information, which keeps the text pure and simple.

The former option is preferred in this work. The main reason is not only to avoid ambiguity, but also to reveal the story of my exploration. I utilise Deleuzian thinking by freely combining various concepts borrowed from different works of Deleuze with each other in a way that solves the problem in hand. Deleuze never uses freely floating concepts; rather, they are structured in a system connecting



4 *The toolkit to solve different problems with different tools within the same theoretical framework*

each term to many others. For example, actual works with the *virtual* or a *plane of organisation* cannot be imagined without a *plane of consistency* (and the meaning of these two items is very close to each other if not the same). Although being loyal to the original structures, I utilise these terms borrowed from different works, which are meaningful in their own terminological system, rather freely. A concept from *Difference and Repetition* can be synthesised with another one from *Logic of Sense*, sometimes with a direct reference to the concept, as in the case of “actual”, and sometimes by bypassing the use of the term, which is the case in the discussion following this chapter avoiding the jargon of difference, recognition, repetition and

so forth. The toolkit is driven from this rather rich and fluid synthesis with the sole aim of solving problems rather than being a loyal follower.

In the end, this combination forms the toolkit. Each tool is interpreted and used to solve the puzzle of Tokyo, to transform the borrowed lessons into travelling ideas or even to define the act of borrowing itself; it is introduced in order to explore Tokyo. For this reason, I tried my best to explain them, but in some cases with a bit of extra interpretation and in some others by oversimplifying them. Although none of them are as pure or excellent as their original, they still make sense within the entirety of my journey of discovery.

Lineage Condensed in Deleuze

The analysis of Deleuzian philosophy is an outcome of reading not only Deleuze but also his books co-authored with Felix Guattari. However, I prefer to use the term *Deleuzian*, because his works, with or without Guattari, are already quite crowded with philosophers, authors, artists, mathematicians and scientists. Readers may find him transforming the essence of an idea (e.g. Kant's passive synthesis), attempting to demolish the foundation of a concept (e.g. Descartes' cogito), building a new theory on an ancient philosophy (e.g. the Stoics), or explaining a quite complicated mathematical event (e.g. Leibniz's differentials) or analysing a painting (Paul Klee's *Twittering Machine*). His method is based on revealing the singularities he encountered in others, advancing them in the process of critique, and finally synthesising them into a whole that is open to conflict. Therefore, his philosophy is not like a single point marked clearly in space, but more of a zigzag line of thinking that includes the Stoics, Spinoza, Kant, Hume, Nietzsche, Leibniz, Bergson, Husserl, Proust, Simondon and many others.

These names, although embedded in his work, are not homogeneously or plainly placed in the entire structure. It is not possible to take one out, because the boundaries are no longer there. Deleuze has mixed them all in his very unique way. While he is playing with or borrowing from others' work, he does it to an extent that there is almost no other left in the final result. This way, Artaud's "Body without Organs"²¹ becomes Deleuzian, although he makes Artaud talk and talks about Artaud frequently. Likewise, the term "individuation" comes from Simondon, yet it becomes Deleuzian from the perspective of Deleuze. He condenses a great amount of value, meaning and sense into one word, regardless of whether that word as a concept is originated by him or not. In the case of individuation, it is not; in the case of territorialisation it is; but they are equally Deleuzian, as the intensity of meaning in his use transcends the other versions. The traces of Artaud and Simondon are still there, but they resonate in the background. He is like a drop of ink changing the colour of a glass of water. For this reason, and for the sake of simplicity, I will not reference Simondon or Artaud but Deleuze only.



5 The crowded lineage
with some of the most
influential names

However, my use of Deleuze indirectly refers to the line of thinking that inspired him, which includes Simondon, Artaud and others listed above.

Facts with Error

What makes things even more complicated than the issue of crowded lineage is his style, which is poetic, implicit and quite chaotic. This is intentional, as a systematically organised and straightforward text carries the danger of creating a stencil or a guide book. He avoids such failure by creating something to sense rather than something to understand. He hardly makes concrete definitions, and if he ever defines a notion, he immediately blurs it by multiplying meaning with various other content. The reader gets what he says at the end without being able to define it clearly. He makes sure that the essence or the sense of his work is passed to the reader by explaining vital points repeatedly with various analogies and metaphors. These points (“singularities”, in his terms), work together as a structure that does not change from book to book. While it remains the same, the terminology and the metaphors proliferate. In this way, the reader senses the significant idea behind them.

However, I tried to get one step further to draw a method from his philosophy. For this reason, in addition to reading Deleuze himself, I read him from the perspective of others such as James Williams, Joe Hughes, Manuel DeLanda, Clare Colebrook, Andrew Ballantyne and François Zourabichvili. However, as Deleuze’s style encourages interpretation, on certain concepts there is no consensus on what Deleuze really means, even among such experts. In other words, although we can “get” the idea, nobody is a hundred per cent sure about the details. I tried to crosscheck my understanding of Deleuze with others working on him; however, it is still open to error. I can only guarantee that these errors, if there are any, cannot change the overall structure, as it is impossible not to see the essence of his idea with his countless examples in each book. The consolation is that, with or without error, the ideas borrowed from Deleuze have enlivened this study, which I do hope to pass on to the reader to the best of my ability.



Figures and Illustrations

- 1 Nergis Kalli, *Characterless Character of Tokyo*, 2017.
- 2 Yoshida Makoto, *Lucky Drops*, 2011, http://www.tekuto.com/en/works/a084_lucky-drops.
- 3 Nergis Kalli, *Rhizome, Bamboo Roots*, 2016.
- 4 Nergis Kalli, *Toolkit*, Illustration, 2016.
- 5 Nergis Kalli, *The Crowded Lineage*, illustration, 2018.

Endnotes

- 1 Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs* (New York: Anchor Books, 2005).
- 2 Botond Bognar, 'What Goes Up, Must Come Down', *Harvard Design Magazine*, 1997, <http://www.harvarddesignmagazine.org/issues/3/what-goes-up-must-come-down>; Botond Bognar, Tokyo, ed. Botond Bognar (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1997), 9.
- 3 Donald Richie, *Tokyo: A View of the City* (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 25,26; Donald Richie, *Tokyo Megacity*, 2 edition (Tokyo: Tuttle, 2014), 9,10; Stephen Mansfield, 'Tokyo, The Organic Labyrinth', *Japan Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (September 1998): 31–41; Henry D. Smith, 'Tokyo and London: Comparative Conceptions of the City', in *Japan: A Comparative View*, ed. Albert M. Craig (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 49–98, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400867929>. Likening the neighbourhoods of Tokyo that are relatively low-rise is common in literature. However, there are two sides to this argument; a group of visitors tend to underline the absence of monumentality in Tokyo with its villages, while others draw attention to the strong community spirit in Tokyo neighbourhoods which reminds them of the social structure of villages.
- 4 Koh Kitayama, 'An Interview with Ryue Nishizawa', in *Tokyo Metabolizing*, by Yoshiharu Tsukamoto, Ryue Nishizawa, and Koh Kitayama (Tokyo: World Photo Press, 2010), 103.
- 5 Philip Jodidio, *The Japanese House Reinvented* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2015), 8; Kenjiro Hosaka, 'Why Houses?', in *The Japanese House: Architecture and Life after 1945*, by Pippo Ciorra and Florence Ostende (London: Barbican Centre, 2017), 57. Jodidio notes a recent survey on housing typology in Japan; 60 per cent of all houses are single-family homes in Japan. Tokyo, although a metropolitan area, is no exception as mentioned by Kenjiro Hosaka. The house itself refers to a detached single-family house in the Japanese context. My observation correlates very much with the literature. Tokyo is changing due to the pressure of Tokyo Metropolitan Government, which promotes high-rise housing; however, this idea has not gained recognition by the general public.
- 6 Naomi Pollock, *Jutaku: Japanese Houses* (London: Phaidon, 2015), <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/enhancements/fy1606/2015487644-b.html,v>
- 7 Cathelijne Nuijsink, ed., *How to Make a Japanese House = Nihon No Ie No Tsukurikata* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2012), 98.
- 8 Kitayama, 'An Interview with Ryue Nishizawa', 103. Nishizawa defines Tokyo as democratic while underlining the absence of bounding criteria that liberate both the architects and the users: "Everyone is coming up with a variety of different ideas at the same time and creating whatever they want to without any regard for one another. No one thinks about uniformity, buildings are developed simultaneously, and the result of all this festive composition is right there in the landscape of the city." My use of "democratic" while referencing this festive composition is more in line with the land ownership situation that makes it possible for different income groups to have a say on the form of the city by taking advantage of rather flexible regulations on minimum lot size.

- 9 Ai Maeda, 'Urban Theory Today', *Current Anthropology* 28 (1987): 101–104; Kisho Kurokawa, *Intercultural Architecture: The philosophy of symbiosis* (London: Academy Editions, 1991), 34,146,165,188; Bogнар, *Tokyo*, 23; Hajime Yatsuka, 'The Architecture of Floating Signs', in *Beyond the Bubble: The new Japanese architecture*, ed. Botond Bogнар, 1st edn (London: Phaidon Press, 2009), 39,40; Barrie Shelton, *Learning from the Japanese City: Looking east in urban design*, 2nd edn, Planning, History, and the Environment Series (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2012), 126,127; Yoshinobu Ashihara, *The Hidden Order: Tokyo through the twentieth century*, 1st edn (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1989).
- 10 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus : Capitalism and schizophrenia*, 2004, 3–27.
- 11 Bronwyn Davies, 'Intersections Between Zen Buddhism and Deleuzian Philosophy', *Psyke & Logos* 32, no. 1 (31 July 2011): 18–18.
- 12 Francois Dosse and Deborah Glassman, *Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari: Intersecting lives* (Columbia University Press, 2010), 14–24.
- 13 Gilles Deleuze, *Logic of Sense* (Bloomsbury, 2004), 155; Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *What Is Philosophy?*, trans. Graham Birchill and Hugh Tomlinson (London: Verso Books, 1994), 140.
- 14 Gary Genosko, 'Japanese Singularity', in *Félix Guattari : An aberrant introduction, Transversals, New Directions in Philosophy* (London: Continuum, 2002), 125,126; Simone Brott, 'Guattari and the Japanese New Wave', in *Architecture for a Free Subjectivity: Deleuze and Guattari at the horizon of the real / Simone Brott* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2011), 75–95; Félix Guattari, 'Tokyo, the Proud', trans. Gary Genosko and Tim Adams, 1986. Guattari published an essay called 'Tokyo: The proud' in which he shared observations on Tokyo. A short section from his essay tells the story of Tokyo: "Three-tiered concrete highways span the mosaic city, legs wide apart like the heroes of the Kabuki theatre, crushing all in their path... Is it enough to say that the ancient surfaces of Yin and Yang, raw and cooked, analogical iconicity and 'digital' discursivity, still manage to merge opposites?"
- 15 Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, 22.
- 16 Joe Hughes, *Deleuze's 'Difference and Repetition': A reader's guide* (London: Continuum, 2009). Hughes is not the only expert who warns the reader about the difficulties waiting for him/her during the course of reading Deleuze. Other names such as Manuel De Landa, Eugene Holland or James Williams do mention that in their works quite frequently.
- 17 Francois Zourabichvili et al., *Deleuze: A philosophy of the event: Together with the vocabulary of Deleuze*, ed. Gregg Lambert and Daniel Smith, trans. Kieran Aarons (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 27.
- 18 Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition* (Bloomsbury, 1994), 129.
- 19 Donald F. Bouchard, ed., 'Intellectuals and Power: A conversation between Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze', in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected essays and interviews* (Cornell University Press, 1980), 208.
- 20 Adrian Parr, *The Deleuze Dictionary Revised Edition* (Edinburgh University Press, 2010); Eugene B. Young, *The Deleuze and Guattari Dictionary* (A&C Black, 2013).
- 21 Antonin Artaud, *To Have Done with the Judgment of God*, 1947.

TOKYO AS OTHER

Encounter

The journey that started at Turin eventually took us to Tokyo. I wrote my report, Jane made her list, Ding arranged the trip and all of us, coming from different continents, met in Haneda Airport. We will now flash forward to a few days later from arrival. I was walking with Jane and Ding on streets in Asakusa. We visited Sensoji Temple and the market street opening to the entrance of the temple. At the end of this street, there is a crossing that connects Kaminarimon to Asakusa Tourist Information Centre. Waiting for the traffic lights turn to green with the crowd, we were wondering whether the layers of Kengo Kuma's Information Centre on the facade were in line with

the interior volume or whether they were just a gesture on the facade. Following the holy ritual of architecture students who photograph every architectural detail in each corner, we finally found ourselves on the roof terrace. But something happened to me there. I will go back to what happened after telling the details of another moment.

Three days previously, in the morning, the three of us had an argument on something that none of us can remember now. Each of us went in different directions, as we were too angry to walk together. I decided to take advantage of a day off from our friendship, which declared that we needed



to visit a significant part of the city like Omotesando or Ginza, which is packed with starchitects' works. So, as a change of pace, I thought I could visit the small Nezu shrine in a rather traditional part of the city. However, things did not go so well for me. While trying to find the shrine, I became lost in this neighbourhood. I ended up in an urban block in which I managed to annoy the locals as a foreigner taking photos of people's windows in this non-touristic residential area. This, combined with the argument in the morning and being tired and hungry, made me expect to be quite down. But that was not the case at all; I was incredibly happy.

I tried to figure out why. Walking in the narrow streets of Nezu, I was amazed by

how different each house was from the one next to it. There was no one window that one could find on another facade. Neither houses nor architectural elements repeated themselves. Every house was unique, mostly modern and plain. I was surprised to see that there was a *haute couture* version of architecture for ordinary people like me in this part of the world. I kept walking. I hardly saw a house with a garden, but the street was green. Potted plants were everywhere. In extreme cases, they acted like a vertical garden with piled up pots on shelves. Like these miniature trees in small pots, the houses were comparatively small on small plots, and the fabric was quite dense.

On the other hand, this low-rise density and narrow streets, in line with the



1 A street from Nezu showing the individuality of each house and a human scale environment (opposite)

2 Narrow alleys, small gardens with potted plants and bikes parked on the street are the ordinary details of Nezu. (above and right)



height of the buildings, created a sense of familiarity between the space and the human in terms of scale. The human being me, I measured that the highest thing on the street was only four times taller than me. I took another turn at the end of the street. Various cafes, restaurants and shops were sprinkled throughout the residential fabric. Function wise, Nezu streets are rich, but there is almost no car traffic; only bikes and pedestrians. There is no rush, as if life is slowed down. I sat in a small park used as a playground for children, and wondered how this serene environment, which displayed the calmness of the suburbs, could actually be in the middle of central Tokyo, as I knew that I was only 50 metres away from a busy main road with high-rise buildings.

In every direction, these narrow streets opened on to wide main roads. I was in the city, but it was calm. And I knew I could reach the vibrant and busy areas by walking for five minutes. I wondered how these two- or three-storey low-rise houses on narrow streets could be adjacent to 13-storey buildings on main streets, and why I felt like there was nothing wrong with that, although my experience of the school of architecture told me that I should think that there is. What I felt and what I had learnt indicated two different directions. When I left Nezu in the evening, I realised that these questions that I could not answer had already taken a seat in my mind to bother me for the rest of the trip.

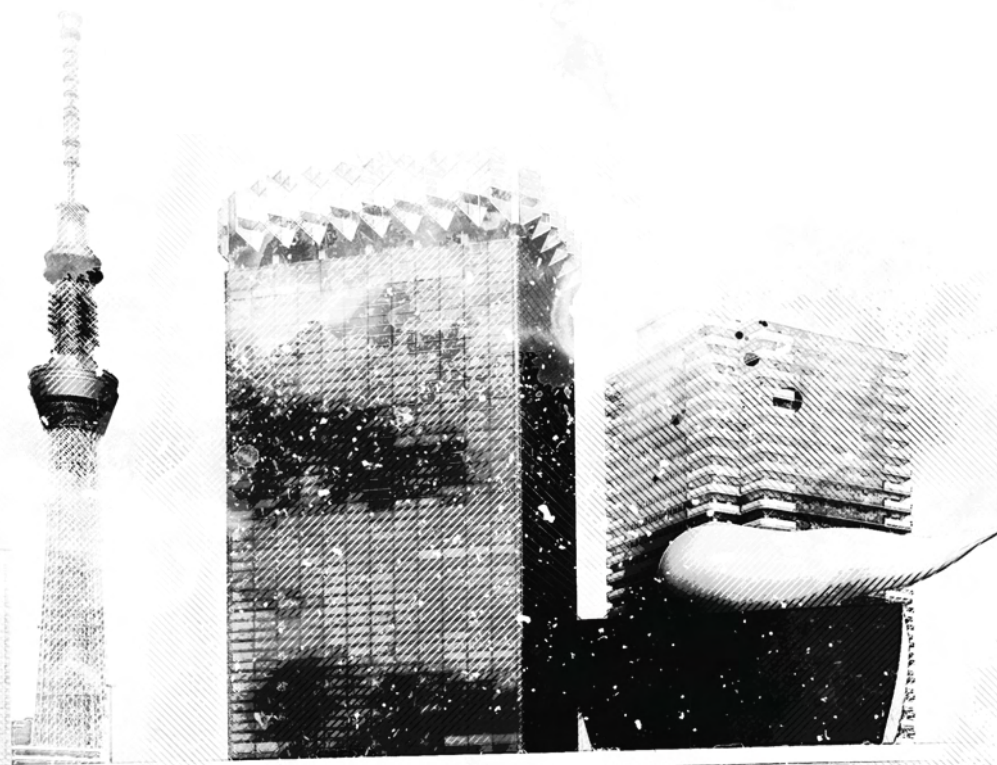
Before going back to the roof terrace in Asakusa and what happened to me there, there is one more instant to recall; another roof terrace in Marunouchi, which is one of the major business districts on the most valuable land in Tokyo between the Imperial Palace and Tokyo Station. Here, the Kitte Mall, right next to Tokyo Station, has an open terrace on the top floor. There, we were like ants next to huge, glass giants. As an ant, I was looking at the station from above. Its facade, which was borrowed from the other side of the planet, hid an enormous amount of complexity. Behind the station, various shades of concrete were piled up together as an immense mass. The signs popping up here and there made the view even less appealing. There was a Japanese couple in front of me who had been looking at this view, which at best can be described as an industrial bulk, for more than half an hour. I realised that the absence of aesthetic and order did not prevent us from being thrilled by the space. Foreigner ants speaking English around me were also expressing their admiration; they could not hide it, but it also carried some traces of scorn.

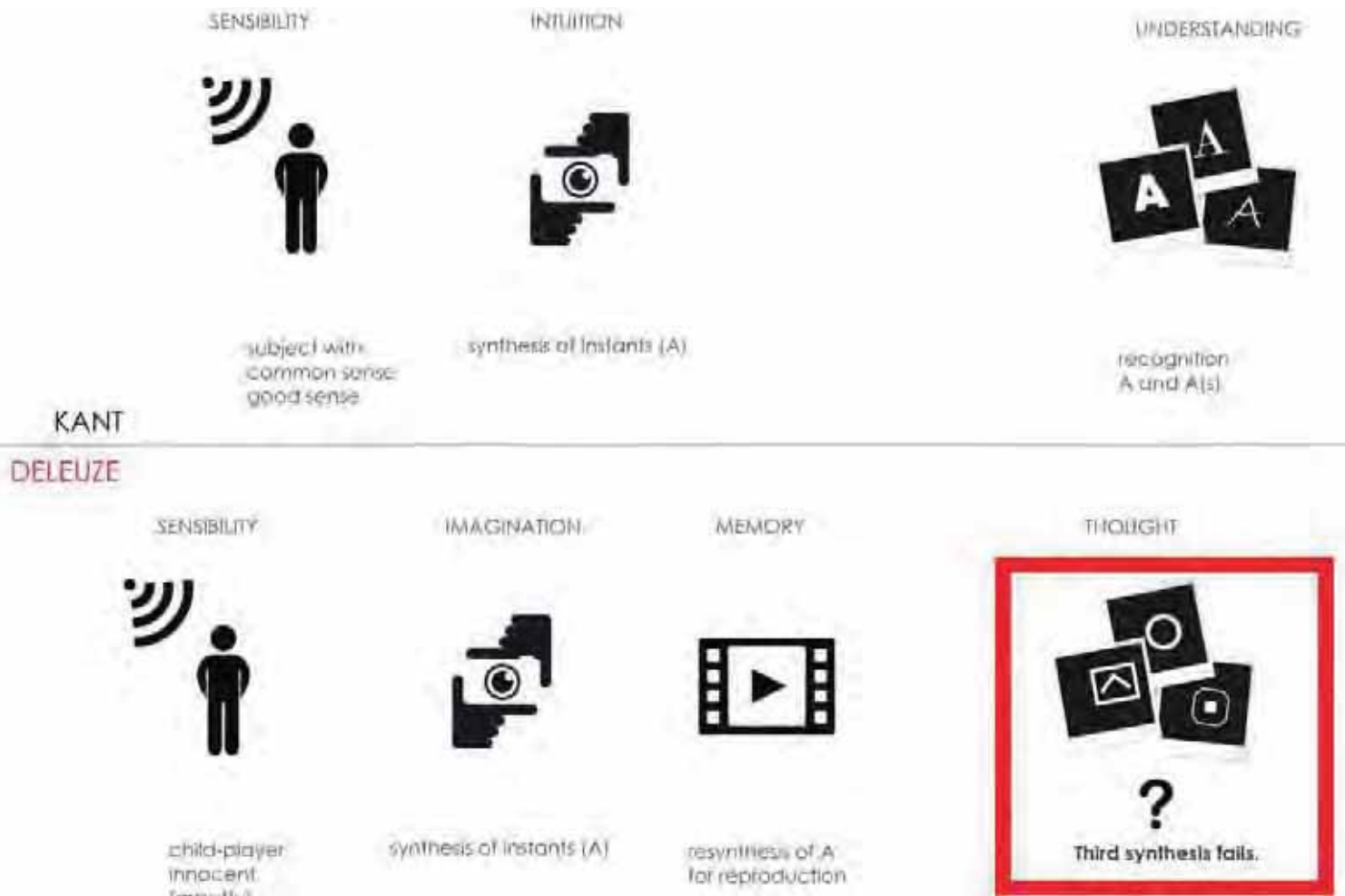
Now we were back at Kuma's roof terrace. I was seeing Asakusa from above. The grand Sensoji Temple was in this view, and it is the only thing that had an order. The rest of the picture was like an illustration of chaos. Right in front of me, a nine-storey building was standing next to a three-storey one. On the other side, I saw the Sumida River. There it was, Philip Starck's definition of kitsch: Asakusa Beer Hall; his recent work *Tokyo Sky Tree* was placed not so far from the beer hall. An expressway was flying over in front of them. A temple, a river, an expressway, buildings with all

sort of scales, a black mass with an odd gold twist, which is called poo building by locals, were in the same frame. Five minutes previously, when I was on the streets, and when they were still visible to me, none of them created this effect. At that exact moment on the roof, I could not process what I saw; an order of chaos without any sort of hierarchy, the composition of quite strange elements, and the contrasting experience of Tokyo from ground level. If this chaos works, then this means that what I have learnt in the school of architecture so far is not the absolute truth. Not being able to make sense of the situation, I was disturbed, annoyed, but also curious. This is what Deleuze calls *encounter*.¹

3 *The couple watching the neon signs and concrete facades of Tokyo in Marunouchi*

4 *The encounter with a new face of Tokyo in Asakusa*





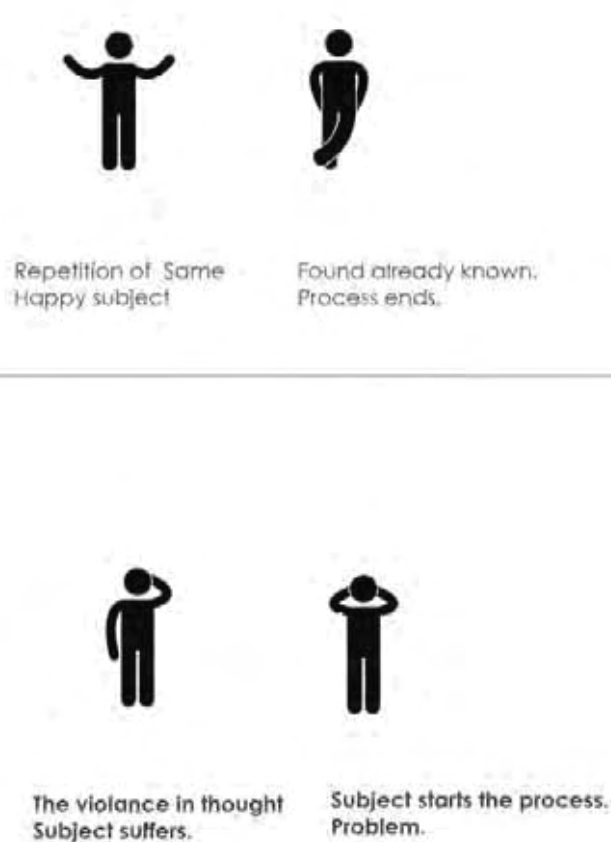
Sublime

Deleuzian encounter has an element of violence. He associates this violence with Kant's sublime, whose origin goes back to Edmund Burke. According to Burke, when one encounters an immense object, one cannot process it for a while. All senses are occupied by the object, and so the mind stops while evaluating the situation. At that moment, fear occupies the senses. However, in an instant, this gap is filled with relief as there is no logical reason behind the fear. The change in sensation from fear to relief produces a pleasure derived from pain. The term that defines the quality that generates such a change in sensation is called the *sublime*.²

Kant advances the sublime in his work

Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime. He associates beauty with the feeling of joy and familiarity, whereas the sublime is associated with signs of grandeur and horror, such as a beautiful flower blossom and a sublime mountain showing its peak behind dark clouds. Although both give rise to enjoyment, the types are different.³ The sublime is great and gloomy, just like the view of Tokyo from Marunouchi; the beautiful is relatively small and familiar, like the narrow streets of Nezu.

Burke thinks that the sublime catches us unarmed, which causes a delay in the mind in understanding that there is nothing to be scared of. The intensity of astonishment



The transcendental operation of the faculties is a properly paradoxical operation, opposed to their exercise under the rule of a common sense. In consequence, the harmony between the faculties can appear only in the form of a discordant harmony, since each communicates to the other only the violence which confronts it with its own difference and its divergence from the others. Kant was the first to provide the example of such a discordant harmony, the relation between imagination and thought which occurs in the case of the sublime. (Difference and Repetition 145, 146)

4 Deleuze and Kant on the faculties of mind

paralyses the mind. Kant explains it as the disharmony between imagination and reason. The sublime object exceeds the limits of our imagination, while reason makes demands of the imagination to process the data. This contrast is responsible for the unpleasant part of the sublime experience. However, the immensity of the sensations broadens the limits of the imagination, which replaces pain with enjoyment.⁴

This point is reinterpreted by Deleuze in detail. Deleuze thinks that the faculties of the mind – sensation, imagination, memory and thought – do not work in harmony, as Kant believes. Rather, this error created by the sublime is the fuel

of the mind. Everything starts with a sensation, but from sensation to thought there is a long path that we do not need to walk all the time. In cases when the imagination can process the data, or the memory can recall a similar experience to rationalise the current one, there is no need for thought to take place. However, if none of the faculties can manage the object, the data has to be transferred to the faculty of thought.⁵ First we sense, and if we cannot make sense of what we sense we have to pass it to thought. In other words, what makes us think is the encounter with an unknown that exceeds the limits of imagination and memory.

“Truth depends on an encounter with something that forces us to think and to seek the truth... It is the accident of the encounter that guarantees the necessity of what is thought... What is it that the man who says ‘I want the truth’ wants? He wants the truth only when it is constrained and forced. He wants it only under the rule of an encounter, in relation to such and such a sign.”

(Proust and Signs, 11–12)

The Bowl of Memory

Deleuze uses Hume's *habit* and Bergson's *virtual* frequently to develop his ideas on time. Likewise, I mixed these two concepts here to explain *memory*. The present moment is passing. Where is it going to? It is passing through the past, which archives what we experience to our memory. However, conceptualising time as a rigid line of chronology that moves between yesterday, today and tomorrow is misleading. Rather than a line, time is more like a bucket or bowl. For example, to recall my birthday party in my grandma's garden, I do not have to follow a sequence from what I ate five minutes ago to my six-year-old self. I can recall memories just like choosing a candy from a bowl. There is no chronological hierarchy. This matters, because the moments in the bowl of the past – our memory – generate responses to everyday situations. For example, when I was five, I learnt that I would burn myself if I touched very hot objects with bare hands by touching a heater. It seems as if I was not smart enough, as I had to learn this once again thanks to an encounter with boiling water when I was seven. However, based on my past experience, I expect/predict to be burnt when I am not careful around very hot objects.

Our bowl of the past creates expectations regarding to situations such as, “if A happens, B will follow, so in this situation I will do C”. I do not have to be alarmed all the time, as I passed what I learnt from my experience to the memory. It became a *habit*. Memory deals with it. What is interesting is what happens if it cannot; as Deleuze quite elegantly puts it, as an involvement with “*an encounter which escapes all recognition*”.⁶ The memory says,

“we do not have what you are looking for in the archive, what is going on out there?” while being pushed to its limits.

In this case, memory has to pass the data to thought. This is the moment one awakens with the astonishment and pain of the sublime. We are excited, but do not know how to make sense of the source of excitement. I will come back to this very important point once again in upcoming sections while illustrating the methods constructed with the ideas borrowed not only from Deleuze, but also a group of creative rebels such as Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour with *Learning From Las Vegas* (*Learning from Las Vegas*); Yoshiharu Tsukamoto, Momoyo Kaijima and Junzo Kuroda with *Made in Tokyo*; members of ROJO with *Street Observation Studies Primer*; and the most humanistic of all, Kon Wajiro with *Modernology*.

In this section, however, the focus is on a key characteristic of the process starting with sensibility and ending with thought. The encounter is with an *other*; an object outside our world. Thought does not come to the thinker on its own; the thinker crashes into a thing that wakes him up, he starts questioning what he knows and bothers his peaceful mind with a painful problem.

The Face

Encountering another being that we cannot recognise is a powerful experience. However, we can just leave it there and move on. It is still unclear, other than the astonishment accompanying pain, what convinces us to stay and problematise what just happened to us. In other words, what is our gain? Deleuze explains it with two people facing each other:

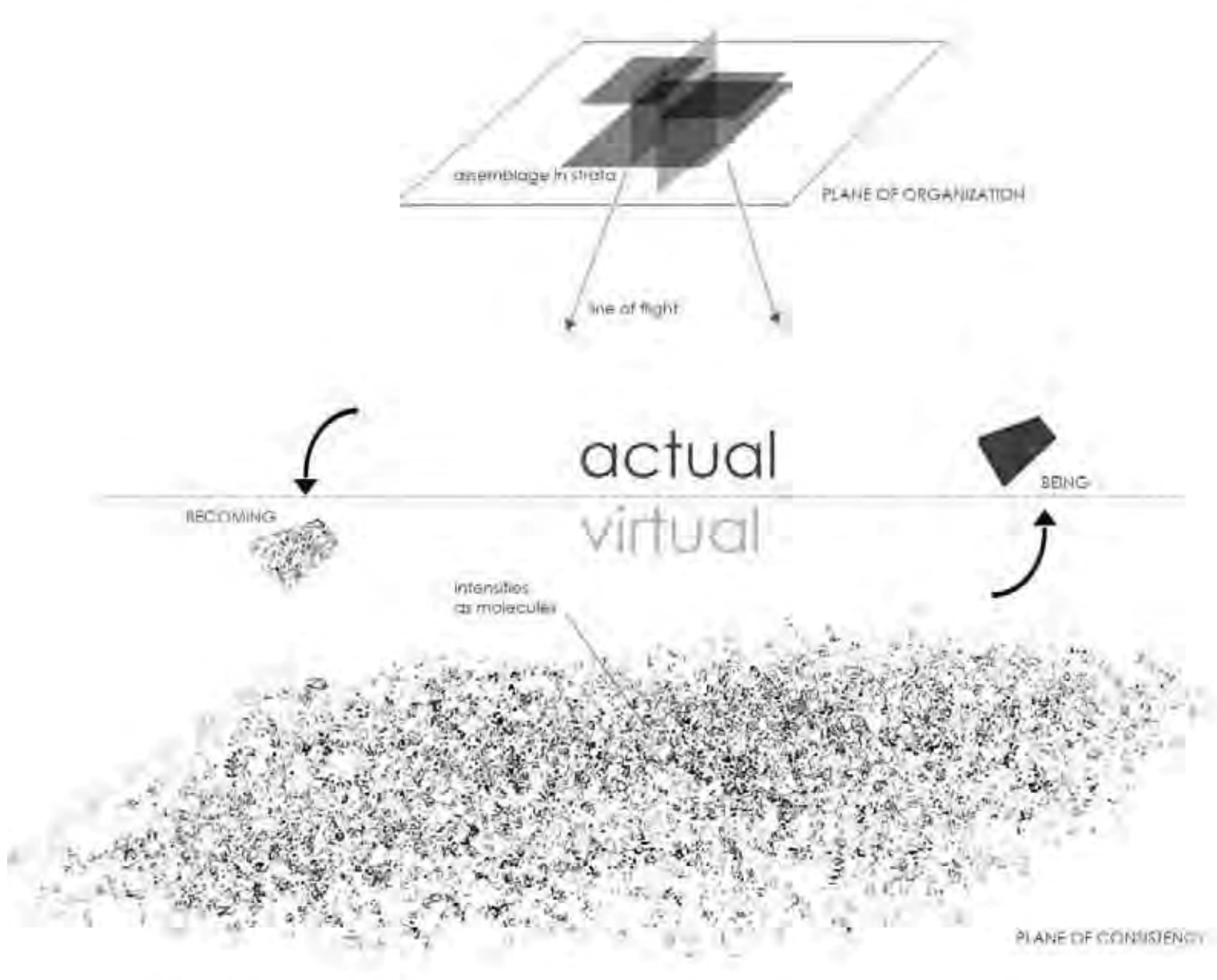
Consider a terrified face (under conditions such that I do not see and do not experience the causes of this terror). This face expresses a possible world: the terrifying world. ... By 'possible', we do not mean any resemblance but that state of the implicated or enveloped in its very heterogeneity with what envelops it: the terrified face does not resemble what terrifies it, it envelops a state of the terrifying world. In every psychic system there is a swarm of possibilities around reality, but our possibles are always Others.⁷

The present moment, the expression of the face and the spatio-temporal world we share with the face belongs to the realm of the *actual*, which can also be associated with the *plane of organisation*, or *strata* in different works of Deleuze.⁸ The actual is familiar to us; when I am typing at this moment, I am on the plane of organisation, or in the actual. Everything around me – the keyboard, notes, screen – are there as three-dimensional objects that I can identify. When the reader is reading this line, he/she is also surrounded with similar objects that can be identified with adjectives and nouns. The key point about the face in the actual world with which we are familiar is that we do not just see the eyes, nose, lips and skin that we could identify, but the expression, which tells us

something. Although we can describe the expression with the quality and extensity of the face (e.g. green eyes, a pointy nose) it does not help us to go beyond the face to see what happened to him, as there must be something that changed his expression from neutral to terrified. Also, if this face is the proof of a possible world that generates conditions that makes one terrified, then there must be other possible worlds out there.

The actual, spatio-temporal world in which I can describe the expression but not what is hidden behind it is inadequate on its own to explain the face. Deleuze claims that the actual is just one side of reality; there is also a virtual side to it. They complete each other in a reciprocal relationship; the realm of reality is neither the actual nor the virtual, but both. Not just the world behind the face, but every possible world is stored in the virtual. The difference is that there are no more objects there. Things are stored as *intensities*. This notion is explained in *ATP* in the chapter “Genealogy of Morals”. While using strata and planes of organisation instead of the actual, Deleuze and Guattari replace the virtual with the *plane of consistency*. Strata are the home of *molar assemblages*; in other words, objects. The plane of consistency consists of *molecular intensities* that determine the objects when they are actualised in the strata.

The virtual is opposed not to the real but to the actual. The virtual is fully real in so far as it is virtual. Exactly what Proust said of states of resonance must be said of the virtual: 'Real without being actual, ideal without being abstract'; and symbolic without being fictional. Indeed, the virtual must be defined as strictly a part of the real object – as though the object had one part of itself in the virtual into which it plunged as though into an objective dimension. (Difference and Repetition, 208–209)



The only danger in all this is that the virtual could be confused with the possible. The possible is opposed to the real; the process undergone by the possible is therefore a 'realisation'. By contrast, the virtual is not opposed to the real; it possesses a full reality by itself. (Difference and Repetition, 211)

Extraordinary Recipes

Let's imagine that we are going to cook something for dinner. The fridge is full of ingredients. We pick what we need and place them on the countertop. After washing, chopping, frying and boiling we have the meal ready. The fridge is the virtual, the plane of consistency. The meal is the object in the actual. Although what we have in the plate depends on the selection of ingredients, the meal on the plate has nothing to do with how the ingredients look in the fridge. Our meal is a molar assemblage, while the fridge stores the molecular entities. The key point is that the virtual is actually like a fridge but acting like the Tardis. It has no spatial limitations. It stores every single eatable thing on earth, not just the ingredients of the meal. We have endless possibilities. If we cooked spaghetti bolognese, for example, this means that one of the possibilities is actualised. There are many other combinations out there.

However, the moment we say I am planning to cook this or that, the meal is already determined with a recipe in mind. Deleuze warns us about the difference between the possible and the potential. He sometimes uses the word "possible" but his intention is to show the alternative realities outside our own world. When it comes to the virtual, the use of possibility

is actually referring to the potential. If we think of a recipe book, we can see the recipes corresponding to possibilities as each recipe orders an assemblage of ingredients. On the other hand, our Tardis-like fridge carries the potential for creating unknown, unthinkable recipes.

It is worth to note that the virtual or plane of consistency is as real as actual. The door of the fridge is closed, but this does not mean that it is unreal. Likewise, although all we can see is the terrified face, the conditions that cause terror are still there. While the actual is being shaped in the present moment as an assemblage, the virtual keeps operating in the background with the change of intensities that condition the formation of the assemblage in the actual. Deleuze defines this double process as *reciprocal determination*. This relationship also shows that they are both real.

Another Reality

The main characteristic of Tokyo, as mentioned above, is of a city without a character that is *becoming* more characterless constantly. The character, in this sense, is a hierarchical quality capable of characterising the city. The lack of such hierarchy, rational order and consistent entirety can be considered as being characterless, or it can be associated with being free of trees and filling their place with rhizomes. Whether the appearance of rhizomes is hideous or grand is not so important, because the real value of Tokyo is not based on the look of the city; it is the possibility of another reality. Botond Bogнар's comment on Tokyo gives a hint:

There are no clear relational patterns with which to structure both perception and understanding of the physical urban environment as a totality. Nor there is a sense of functioning and dominant centre in this maze-like network of events. Every attempt to come to terms with its essence by way of rational cognition or logic fails; the puzzling and often theatrical insubstantiality of the Japanese city wins out, and a feeling of impermanence prevails. Tokyo reminds the Westerner that the rational is merely one system among others.⁹

Tokyo is like a face that is unfamiliar, as in the case of Deleuze's terrified face. We sense a trace of terror on the terrified

face. We cannot know what is behind that expression. What we know is that this world, alien to us, carries possibilities for our own world. This has two outcomes: first, our world is not the only one out there, so we cannot equate it to reality. Second, the invisible parts of reality that we cannot see from the perspective of our world can be found in the worlds of others. Others carry the potential of enriching our very own world. Tokyo playing the role of the terrified face shows the "swarm of possibilities" that are invisible, unimaginable or forbidden. However, Tokyo, which commits almost all sins in the holy book of Western Urbanism is doing quite all right. Realising the existence of alternative solutions for the problems in hand and seeing that they are not failing as expected are the two key points in which the latter helps the first to be taken seriously, not as an exotic model, but a concrete demonstration. This indicates that the dominant knowledge on urbanism is just a perspective, a face. It cannot be considered as the total of all faces (reality), and if that were the case there would be no room for improvement. We can enrich our face by learning and borrowing from others, as our possibles are always others'.

Becoming Other/Becoming Better

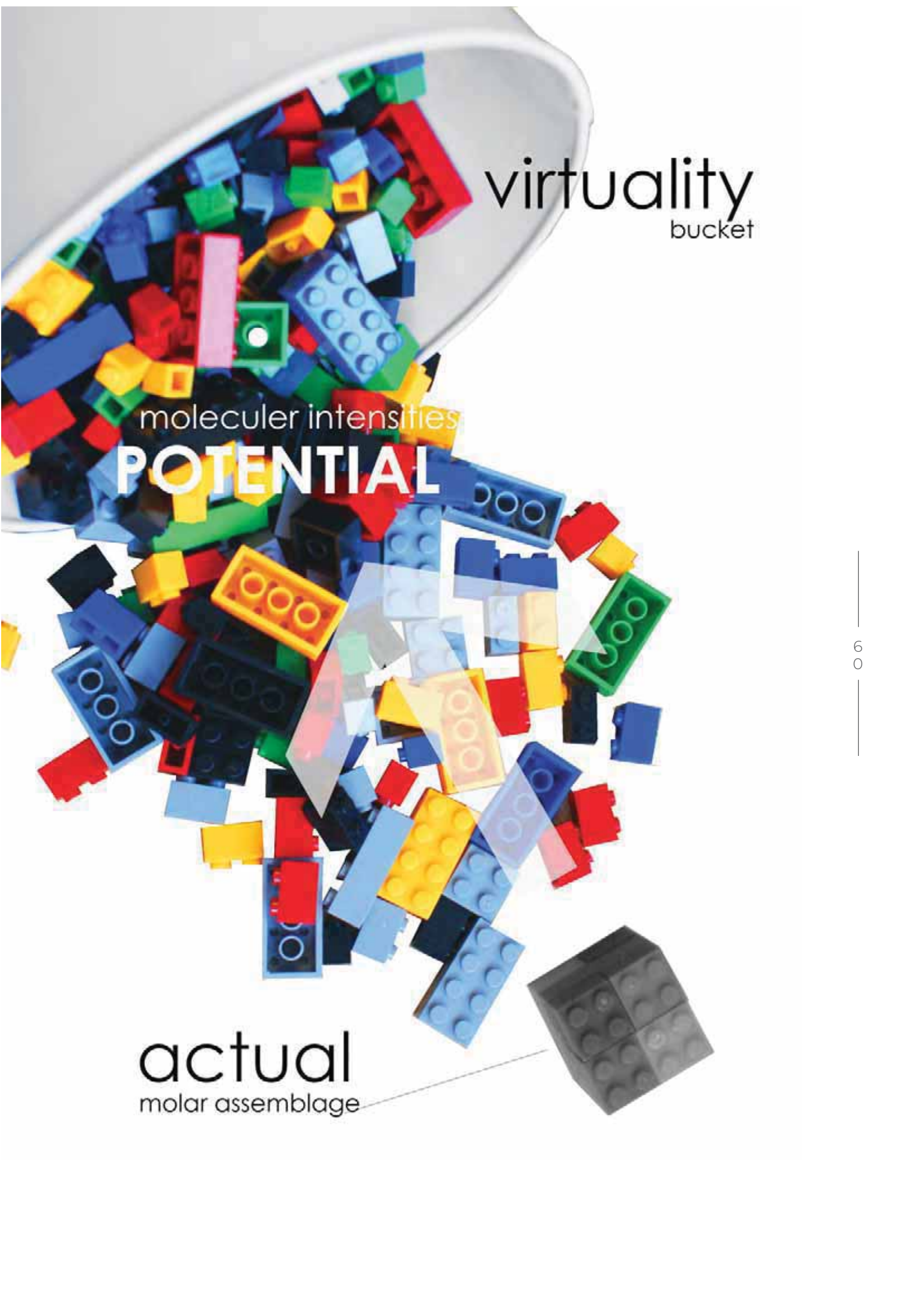
The existence of another reality also shows that the possibilities that are hard to imagine have already been in use in another context. As mentioned, the plane of consistency is where all possibilities (of problems) are placed, and the plane of organisation is the plane for actualised solutions. The former has the content of such solutions as molecules. When they are actualised or stratified, in a sense, they become molar assemblages in the strata that are located in plane of organisation as layers. The vital point is that assemblages are not static; they can change because they have the potential of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation.¹⁰

With lines of flight in the direction of the plane of consistency, they can become other/better things with the borrowed molecules from plane of consistency. This is called “becoming” as opposed to “being”.¹¹ While being is rather static, becoming represents a continuous change by being modified by the things that are not familiar in the actual world, yet ready to be borrowed from the virtual, which is always richer than the former. The plane of consistency is where this richness is stored as intensities. To reach it, one needs to deterritorialise in the right direction. This notion is very much related to the concept of the “body without organs” (BwO). The organs represent the ready-made truths, structures and restrictive ways of thinking. Without them, one is liberated to go in the direction of unknown possibilities in the virtual plane of consistency and freely become better in the desired direction.

Borrowing from Tokyo

Tokyo, as an alternative reality or an unfamiliar face, is not only a reminder of the existence of other possibilities; the city coming high in the liveability surveys of various organisations is a valuable source from which to learn.¹² Being pedestrian-oriented, with one of the finest public transportation systems in the world,¹³ prioritising mixed-use communities even at the periphery¹⁴ and keeping neighbourhood organisations as autonomous bodies challenging developers and authorities are some very basic qualities the city¹⁵ has at the planning level and there is much more hidden behind its mask of visual complexity. This unfamiliar face as another reality may have some answers to unanswered questions. The intensities in Tokyo’s virtuality bucket can be selectively chosen to form possibilities carrying potential solutions to the problems in any other context.

*7 The ideas stored in
virtuality bucket*



virtuality
bucket

molecular intensities

POTENTIAL

actual
molar assemblage

*Ahab does not imitate Moby Dick. . . Becoming is neither an imitation nor an experienced sympathy, nor even an imaginary identification. It is not resemblance, although there is resemblance. But it is only a produced resemblance. Rather, becoming is an extreme contiguity within a coupling of two sensations without resemblance or, on the contrary, in the distance of a light that captures both of them in a single reflection. Andre Dhotel knew how to place his characters in strange plant-becomings, becoming tree or aster: **this is not the transformation of one into the other, he says, but something passing from one to the other.** (What is Philosophy, 173) (emphasis mine)*

However, this does not refer to a mere copying exercise from Tokyo to another city, as these results are actualised in the assemblage of Tokyo where the conditions for them is already present. This is why it is crucial to go beyond the actual and see the virtuality bucket, which is full of ideas/essences not models, or potential not possibilities. If we take the rhizome, for example; *becoming a rhizome* does not literally mean taking the form of a ginger root, but first travelling to the plane of consistency via a line of flight. There, the molecules of the rhizome can be found as a directionless molecule, a non-hierarchical molecule, a self-healing molecule, etc.

Borrowing a few of these can be considered as becoming rhizomatic. But the assemblage we already have does not transform to the ginger root with this simple borrowing; it becomes a being in the strata with the qualities of a rhizome; naturally, rather than a rhizome, it *becomes*

a being with some rhizomatic qualities. In line with the rhizome, Japanese urban thought has another unique feature; the well-known dichotomies such as public and private, interior and exterior, centre and periphery, urban and rural, etc. can be observed not as polar opposites, but more like the different intensities of the same quality. White, for example, is not the antonym of black, but a much less dense version of it. As both colours belong to the same equilibrium, there is no longer any need for dualities.

Therefore, black *and* white takes over from black *versus* white. This acceptance of black and white solely as intensities makes it possible to have unusual compositions that are based on the use of very dark black and very bright white just next to each other, without various greys smoothing the transition between them. This can be seen from the chaotic cityscape of Tokyo, which melts high-rise



8 *Becoming other/becoming better*

1. *Actuality (what we have in hand)*

2. *Deterritorialization*

3. *Extraction (borrowing from the virtuality)*

4. *Becoming other/better*

5. *The new assemblage (reterritorialization)*

and low-rise together, elevated expressways with calm and serene inner-city neighbourhoods, or unimaginable programmatic uses combined together such as a temple on the roof of a supermarket. These cases might seem intimidating; however, they show the extent of how such togetherness and non-dualistic thinking can operate.

The role of Japanese traditions like Zen and the religious emphasis on immanence have a strong influence on this unique way of seeing the world; Zen and the notion of immanence are known as being unifying rather than dividing the world into opposites or drawing it with hierarchical structures. This cultural and religious phenomenon is suspected to be the reason why Japanese cities lack hierarchy and totality. Gunter Nitschke's (1966) essay on the Japanese sense of place gives a hint about this tradition. He explains Zen consciousness:

*In this approach towards reality, the duality of object and space or form and non-form appears as sound and silence or stillness. The presence or absence of sound is registered here as is and is not, or existence or non-existence. But to regard this transient stillness as true stillness would be foolish since stillness depends on sound.*¹⁶

This is only the first step of the Zen consciousness that I believe explains the basics sufficiently; sound and silence are not opposites, but different intensities of the same matter. They are like two points far from each other but on the same line. Kisho Kurokawa's philosophy of symbiosis theorises this non-binominal thinking inherent in Japanese thought superbly while showcasing the similarities between Japanese Zen and postmodernism (the mode of thought challenging Modernism, not the architectural style known by the use of eclectic signs).¹⁷

Similarly, the analysis of Japanese architects' works such as Arata Isozaki, Tadao Ando and Fumihiko Maki shows that architecture is interpreted and shaped to mediate between various, often opposing phenomena: city and private habitat, land and sky, the man-made and the natural, order and disorder, the old and the new.¹⁸ The mediation here is actually the act of playing with intensities. From this perspective, the world is a giant equilibrium that melts everything into everything and is close to the state of the plane of consistency.

However, this phenomenon is not very well received in creative circles, because when the opposites are combined together radically, as in the case of Tokyo bringing blacks and whites together, the end result lacks visual order. The absence of order, which is associated with chaos, was not something Japanese architects necessarily used to be proud of. Some tried to cancel out the visual complexity associated with chaos by adding a superimposed order, as in the case of metabolists' monumental designs for Tokyo; some reacted by turning their back to the city by building

blank facades.¹⁹

The correlation between characterless character and postmodernism against the meta-narratives of Modernism was established around the 1980s. In addition to postmodernism, the popularity of chaos theory at the time helped the Japanese to approve the values intrinsic to the culture and the city of Tokyo as a reflection of it.²⁰ Since then, Tokyo has been influencing architects by bringing all opposites together shamelessly. Both the 47-year-old Sou Fujimoto²¹ and the 90-year-old Fumihiko Maki²² use Tokyo as a point of reference in their works. Riken Yamamoto, Toyo Ito, Yoshiharu Tsukamoto and Ryue Nishizawa are some other architects connected with Tokyo, but most important of all is Kazuo Shinohara, a mathematician and architect at the same time, who came up with an earlier version of chaos theory while associating it with Tokyo. This rhizomatic city forces people to think differently.



*9 Tokyo Apartment by
Sou Fujimoto (completed
in 2010)*

*The architect identifies
the project as his own
understanding of Tokyo.*



*10 The Spiral by
Fumihiko Maki
(completed in 1985)*

*The complexity and
fragmentation of the
building is a reference to
Tokyo.*

And finally, continuous transformation, based on the religious belief that accepts death as a part of life (again the intensity phenomenon), and an uncommon conservation ethic increase the opportunities for an architect to practice with such differences. The average lifespan of a building in Japan is no more than three decades. The obvious reasons behind this are the frequently changing legislation for fire prevention in case of an earthquake, the desire to increase the building area with renewed building regulations and, more importantly, the obsession with the new.

The Japanese do not believe in the preservation of material world; rather, they try to preserve the life enveloped by that world. An impermanent house is left to age gracefully without paying extra attention to its preservation; one day, it is only natural for this house to be replaced by a new one.²³ The death gives space for the birth on the same land. Such a death and birth cycle, although it may be criticised from many aspects, starting from the economic burden of constant renewal to the low preservation ethic, increase the opportunities for an architect to practice his/her thoughts in the actual field. This means more trials, lines of flight and probably better results.²⁴ The Japanese understanding of space, which is infinite, non-measurable, entirely subjective and activity-based, provides a fertile ground for such creativity.

Japanese architecture is not only well-known around the world, with the expertise of the country in residential architecture gained due to the challenging site conditions; the country has one of the highest numbers of Pritzker

winner architects in the history of the prize. The role of Tokyo either as an inspiration or a canvas cannot be denied. It has an assemblage that is frequently deterritorialising and reterritorialising with many lines of flight originating in the non-binominal Japanese thought. Such a busy process of becoming can be considered to be a distant case for the West, especially the The Continent; however, learning from Tokyo's operations in its postmodern openness to change is still valuable for, for example, today's Paris and London, struggling to swallow Shard-like structures once kept out of the centre, since peaceful Tokyoites willingly demolishing their houses become radical activists when it comes to protecting their low-rise neighbourhood from developers.²⁵ What is preserved in characterless Tokyo may be a lesson to the European capitals forced to change under the pressure of so-called trickle-down economics.

More importantly, Japanese spatial thought takes some of its meaning from the studies carried out on Tokyo by architects who later showcase their borrowings within their individual works. A thorough analysis of the city brings us closer to the origin of creativity in their work; in other words, the intensities of Tokyo stored in the virtuality bucket carry some creative ideas that can be borrowed by us.

Value of Tokyo as Another Reality

To summarise, if we get back to Bogner's comment on Tokyo that reminds the Westerner that the rational is merely one system among others, it can be said that Tokyo is a reminder of the virtuality bucket, not by being a virtuality bucket itself, but by creating a suspicion of other realities in one's mind that might lead one to his/her own plane of consistency. Secondly, the value of Tokyo is not its actual physical state, but its close relationships with the plane of consistency, as what is aspired to is to borrow the rhizomatic qualities of Japanese urban thought rather than mimicking its look resembling a rhizome. The look of the rhizome might be only one of many other delightful anomalies. And finally, the Zen Tokyo as a proper playground for Japanese architects frequently visiting the plane of consistency is a rich source to learn from.

12 A real Tokyo apartment in Nezu with volumetric façades and individual entrances to units at different levels via staircases.

This ordinary scene in Tokyo is the source of inspiration for Sou Fujimoto.



11 Physical model of Tokyo Apartment



Figures and Illustrations

- 1 Nergis Kalli, *A Street in Nezu*, photo, 2017.
- 2 Nergis Kalli, *Details from Nezu*, photo, 2015.
- 3 Nergis Kalli, *The Couple*, illustration, 2017.
- 4 Nergis Kalli, *Encounter with Tokyo in Asakusa*, illustration, 2017.
- 5 Nergis Kalli, *Deleuze and Kant on the Faculties of Mind*, illustration, 2016.
- 6 Nergis Kalli, *The Deleuzian System of Virtual and Actual*, illustration, 2017.
- 7 Nergis Kalli, *The Ideas in the Virtuality Bucket*, 2015.
- 8 Nergis Kalli, *Becoming Other/Becoming Better*, 2015.
- 9 Designboom, *Tokyo Apartment*, photo, 2011.
- 10 Toshiharu Kitajima, *The Spiral*, photo, 1985, <https://www.archdaily.com/889045/fumihiko-maki-on-the-importance-of-conscious-design-making-in-design/5a8731f5f197cc643c0000ff-fumihiko-maki-on-the-importance-of-conscious-design-making-in-design-image>.
- 11 Designboom, *Physical Model of Tokyo Apartment*, photo, 2011.
- 12 Nergis Kalli, *A Real Tokyo Apartment*, photo, 2017.

Endnotes

- 1 Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition* (Bloomsbury, 1994), 139–41.
- 2 Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful: With an Introductory Discourse Concerning Taste*; and Several Other Additions, Cambridge Library Collection – Philosophy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107360495>.
My summary does not do justice to Burke's philosophical enquiry. He draws up various forms of pain and pleasure with the corresponding senses while structuring the idea of beautiful and sublime.
- 3 Immanuel Kant, *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime*, 2nd rev. edn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 47,48.
- 4 Arie Graafland, *Understanding the Socius through Creative Mapping Techniques*, DSD Future Cities Project (Delft: Delft School of Design (DSD), 2010), 55,56,80,81.
- 5 Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, 145,146; Gilles Deleuze, *Proust and Signs* (A&C Black, 2008), 101; Joe Hughes, *Deleuze's 'Difference and Repetition': A reader's guide* (London: Continuum, 2009), 74–77; Steven Shaviri, *The "Wrenching Duality" of Aesthetics: Kant, Deleuze, and the "Theory of the Sensible"*, 2007.
- 6 Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, xvi–xvii.
- 7 Deleuze, 260.
- 8 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*, 2004; Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*. The plane of consistency, the plane of organisation and strata are developed in the chapter "Geology of Morals" (a reference to Nietzsche's Genealogy of Morals) in ATP which was written in collaboration with Guattari. "Virtual" is a term borrowed from Henri Bergson by Deleuze, and chronologically it was introduced to the reader before the planes in Deleuze's PhD thesis, which later developed into *Difference and Repetition*.
- 9 Botond Bogner, *Beyond the Bubble: The new Japanese architecture* (London: Phaidon Press, 2008).
- 10 Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*; Eugene W. Holland, *Deleuze and Guattari's A Thousand Plateaus: A reader's guide*, Reader's Guides (London: Bloomsbury, 2013); James

Williams, *Gilles Deleuze's Difference and Repetition: A critical introduction and guide* (Edinburgh University Press, 2013).

11 Gilles Deleuze, *Logic of Sense* (Bloomsbury, 2004); Matthew S. Linck, 'Deleuze's Difference', *International Journal of Philosophical Studies* 16, no. 4 (1 October 2008): 509–32, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09672550802335879>.

The difference between “becoming” and “being” is a fundamental part of Deleuze’s philosophy that may be seen in all his works; however, *Logic of Sense* is the one with so much emphasis put on the dynamic nature of being with the hilarious examples from *Through the Looking-Glass* by Lewis Carroll.

Another point is the reference to Heidegger’s being in this comparison which is referenced by many working on Deleuze while stating the superiority of Deleuze’s concept. However, this does not bring new value to the discussion, which is why such polemic is totally ignored. A very gentle comparison showing the singularities of both can be found in a letter from Alain Badiou to Gilles Deleuze, which was published in *Libération* in 1995.

12 The Economist Intelligence Unit, ‘The Global Liveability Index 2018’ (The Economist, 2018), <http://www.eiu.com/topic/liveability>; ‘Quality of Life Survey: Top 25 Cities’, *Monocle*, 2018, <https://monocle.com/film/affairs/quality-of-life-survey-top-25-cities-2018/>; Brian Conger, ‘On Livability, Liveability and the Limited Utility of Quality-of-Life Rankings’, SSRN Scholarly Paper (Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network, 4 June 2015), <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2614678>; Marco Capitanio, ‘The Relativity of Liveability Rankings Examining the Japanese Case against the Global Discourse’, *World Journal of Social Science* 5, no. 1 (15 October 2017): 12, <https://doi.org/10.5430/wjss.v5n1p12>.

According to The Economist’s index, Tokyo takes seventh place. In *Monocle*, however, it takes second after being first in a row for three years. These are the two most influential surveys on liveability; however, there is no academic consensus over the reliability of such rankings. Even though *Monocle*, which is a lifestyle magazine, seems less serious than the Economist Intelligence Unit, when the assessed liveability factors are compared, *Monocle* outclasses the former. However, this does not change the fact that this magazine targets only a certain section of society known as cosmopolitan, urban readers. Although they cannot be considered as academic sources, factors such as safety/crime, cost of living, international connectivity, climate/sunshine, public transport, tolerance, environmental issues/access to nature, urban design, business conditions, proactive policy developments and medical care still give information on how a city is doing in comparison with others.

13 Marieluise C. Jonas and Heike Rahmann, *Tokyo Void: Possibilities in absence* (Berlin: JOVIS Verlag, 2015), 66,67; André Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan: Cities and planning from Edo to the twenty-first century*, The Nissan Institute/Routledge Japanese Studies Series (London: Routledge, 2002), 352,253.

14 Augustin Berque, *Japan: Cities and social bonds*, trans. Chris Turner (London: Pilkington Press, 1997), 111; Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan*, 4; Jonas and Rahmann, *Tokyo Void*; Barrie Shelton, in *Learning from the Japanese City: Looking East in urban design*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2012).

15 Gavin Parker and Lorayne Woodend, ‘East-Side Story – Japanese Machizukuri, Neighbourhood Planning, and Localism in England’, *Town & Country Planning*, April (2014): 191–94; Carola Hein, ‘Toshikeikaku and Machizukuri in Japanese Urban Planning: The reconstruction of inner city neighborhoods in Kōbe’, *Japanstudien* 13, no. 1 (2002): 221–252, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09386491.2002.11826881>.

16 Günter Nitschke, “Ma” the Japanese Sense of Place in Old and New Architecture and Planning’, *Architectural Design*, March (1966): 115–18, 152–55.

17 Kurokawa, *Intercultural Architecture*.

18 Botond Bogner, *Contemporary Japanese Architecture, Its Development and Challenge* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1985).

19 Meike Schalk, ‘The Architecture of Metabolism. Inventing a Culture of Resilience’,

Arts 3, no. 2 (2014): 279–297, <https://doi.org/10.3390/arts3020279>; Jorg H. Gleiter, ‘The Traumas of Modernization: Architecture in Japan after 1945’, in *Encounters and Positions*, ed. Susanne Kohte, Hubertus Adam, and Daniel Hubert (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2017), 9, 243,245; Peter Popham, *Tokyo: The City at the End of the World*, 1st edn (Tokyo: Kodansha USA, 1985), 156–57. Kenzo Tange attempted to create a monumental order with a radical alteration of city structure: “We reject the concept of the metropolitan civic centre in the favour of a new concept which we call civic axis. This is tantamount to rejecting the closed organization of the centripetal pattern in favour of an open organization which makes possible a development along a linear pattern. In effect, we are proposing that the radial structure of Tokyo be replaced by an axis which develops linearly... The new axis, with its movement, would become the symbol of Tokyo’s open organization and of the open society of Japan.” For more information please see chapter “The Hole” in part 3.

20 Cathelijne Nuijsink, ed., *How to Make a Japanese House = Nihon No Ie No Tsukurikata* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2012), 26; Pedro Gadanho, ‘Influential Lightness of Being: Thoughts on a Constellation’, in *A Japanese Constellation: Toyo Ito, SANAA, and beyond*, ed. Pedro Gadanho and Phoebe Springstubb (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2016), 11–16.

21 Nuijsink, *How to Make a Japanese House = Nihon No Ie No Tsukurikata*, 150. Sou Fujimoto’s various residential works carry the traces of chaotic Tokyo, yet Tokyo Apartment is a direct tribute to his source of inspiration. He shares the story behind the influence of Tokyo on his works during an interview with Nuijsink.

22 James Steele, *Contemporary Japanese Architecture: Tracing the next generation* (London: Routledge, 2017), 155.

The Spiral is the reflection of Tokyo with its facade. The mix of uses in the building, which is in line with the movement of the facade, is another reference to the city that is famous for self-reliant neighbourhoods that have all amenities needed for everyday life within walking distance.

23 Gideon Golany, Keisuke Hanaki, and Osamu Koide, ‘Introduction’, in *Japanese Urban Environment*, ed. Gideon Golany, Keisuke Hanaki, and Osamu Koide, 1st ed.. (New York: Elsevier, 1998), 26–27; Augustin Berque, *Japan: Cities and Social Bonds*, trans. Chris Turner (London: Pilkington Press, 1997), 19,131; Naomi Pollock, *Modern Japanese House* (New York: Phaidon Press, 2005), 7–9; Botond Bogнар, Andreas Papadakis, and Günter Nitschke, eds., ‘Urban Deity Grove’, in *Japan: At the Cutting Edge*, 1st edition (London: Andreas Papadakis Publisher, 1999), 27. Shinto tradition and Buddhist thought plays a role on this specific form of conservation that is glorifies the beauty of aging material and the acceptance of birth and death as a part of life in circular time phenomenon where the death actually represents a new birth. In addition, I believe wabi and sabi concepts also do play a significant role on the aesthetic side of this acceptance. For more information on wabi-sabi please see the following; Kevin Nute, *Place, Time, and Being in Japanese Architecture* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), 78; Kisho Kurokawa, ‘A Metabolism, Symbiosis, and Culture of Japanese Cities’, in *Japanese Urban Environment*, ed. Gideon Golany, Keisuke Hanaki, and Osamu Koide, 1st ed.. (New York: Elsevier, 1998), 115–16; Kisho Kurokawa, *Intercultural Architecture: The Philosophy of Symbiosis* (London: Academy Editions, 1991), 10–24.

24 Cathelijne Nuijsink, ‘The Japanese Single-Family Home A Typology That Moves With Its Time’, in *How to Make a Japanese House = Nihon No Ie No Tsukurikata*, ed. Cathelijne Nuijsink (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2012), 23,24; Kenjiro Hosaka, ‘Why Houses?’, in *The Japanese House: Architecture and Life after 1945*, by Pippo Ciorra and Florence Ostende (London: Barbican Centre, 2017), 57.

25 Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan*, 253–55; Evelyn Schulz, ‘Beyond Modernism’, in *Future Living: Collective housing in Japan*, ed. Claudia Hildner (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2013), 22,23, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783038210221>.

THE UGLY AND THE REBELS

Tokyo The Ugly

Flashback to the roof terrace in Asakusa: three of us looking at the immensely complex cityscape. While trying to figure out how to make sense of this view, Tokyo reminded us of its other faces with the instants of being lost in the playful labyrinth of Nezu, watching the concrete facades with great pleasure at Marunouchi, feeling excluded from a mysterious land in front of the Imperial Palace. Intrigued by the puzzlement and sensing something so humane in all these faces, the question popped up: “What can we learn from Tokyo?” At the time, I did not know that Tokyo, as an object of curiosity, would be the topic of my research, because when I started to learn from Tokyo, I did not consider what was happening to me as a form of learning. It was rather a very joyful

activity that made me question what I know about the city.

On the other hand, the transition from an interesting Tokyo to Tokyo the research topic was not very straightforward. For example, the first answer to my question I received was from Jane; while pointing the view disapprovingly, she said, “It is itself dangerous to learn from a city like this.” Strangely offended by her answer, I rushed to Tokyo’s defence but other than my own experience, which was entirely subjective, I had no argument. On the other hand, Jane could easily make her point just by showing the visual chaos in front of her. Moreover, Jane is not alone; she has allies coming from different centuries agreeing with her on Tokyo:

The hills are not heights, and there are no salient objects to detain the eye for an instant. As a city it lacks concentration. Masses of greenery, lined or patched with grey, and an absence of beginning or end, look suburban rather than metropolitan.¹

(Isabella Bird, 1878)

A monotonously gray city, closely packed for the most part, practically cellarless, and hugging the earth-length and breadth in abundance but lacking a noticeable third dimension.²

(A.M. Hitchcock, 1915)

The general impression was one of intolerable garishness. In the course of our travels we had only too often come up against civilization in decay. But this utter aimlessness, this total lack of direction even in bad taste, did more than shatter our illusions about Japan; it lacerated our finer feelings.³

(Bruno Taut, 1938)

Then we were in the haze of Tokyo encroaching like a huge brown fungus on the countryside... In a taxi we drove for longer than an hour through dingy, grimy, colourless streets... Even the ideographic lettering had little charm, formalized for simplicity in signwriting.⁴

(Quentin Crewe, 1960)

The first impression one receives is not so much of a city as of some huge, shapeless industrial suburb, extremely ugly and noisy with the presence of one of the world's most charming and attractive peoples.⁵

(James Kirkup, 1966)

Tokyo is fairly horrendous; like Los Angeles, but worse, since spasmodic overcrowding presses down on an overblown structure.⁶

(Alberto Arbasino, 1971)

Tokyo is a frightening city, the largest and ugliest in the world... urban planning is chaotic, non-existent.⁷

(Cesare Brandi, 1973)

Tokyo is a very clean, safe, and orderly city, but it is by no means pretty or charming. Some people say that it is downright ugly, even as there is little or no litter; a city of mostly soulless buildings, incompatible buildings jammed one against the other, exposed power and utility wiring overhead, pollarded trees, and sad rivers encased in concrete, among other observations.⁸

(Alex Kerr, 2001)

Tokyo, it could be said, has no deep level of meaning like a Rome or a Jerusalem. It has neither the civic resonance and moral compass of Rome nor the transcendent religiosity of Jerusalem. It has none of the gravitas of a Western city like Paris or New York.⁹

(Paul Waley, 2006)

As an architect-turned-journalist, I am often asked how I can write about beautiful design in a place as ugly as Tokyo. Indeed, the city does not always make a good first impression on visitors from abroad.¹⁰

(Naomi Pollock, 2018)



Icarus' View

As can be seen from the last comment, even the scholars working on Tokyo are questioned about their inclination towards it. It is not easy to like an ugly, horrendous, monotonous, frightening or chaotic Tokyo. However, some Japanese architects aware of these remarks come to its defence. Yoshinobu Ashihara, for example, is at pains to prove that Tokyo is not total chaos; it has a hidden order that is not visible to the eye at first glance. While Ashihara does not explain what this hidden order is, he asks how it would be possible to live in reasonable comfort in such a large city if there was no order. He also compares Tokyo to Paris and comments on the beauty of the latter but with a twist; according to him, Paris is beautiful because it was designed to be beautiful on a unified architectural principle of form. However, Tokyo does not share the same concern on aesthetics as the Japanese love the ambiguity and incompleteness more than unity. While doing so, Ashihara draws a new analogy; an amoebic city. He is referring to shapelessness of Tokyo, but also the fact that the city survived two disasters and a major regime change (the end of the Shogunate, the Great Kanto Earthquake and the World War II bombings) in the twentieth century, just like an amoeba carrying the capacity of self-healing. He adds, “whether the amoeba city is good or bad, it does persevere.”¹¹

Although Tokyo has some unique features, such as being able to regenerate when damaged, the key part of his analysis is the emphasis on the difference between the values behind Tokyo's formation and those of Paris, which he associates with beauty and order. However, this difference does not come from the incapability of creating order in the case of Tokyo but the fact that the Japanese do not need a visual order as an aesthetic requirement in the first place. This is another way of saying that Tokyo might not be beautiful, but it is not because it cannot be, but does not need to be. This first seems like a superficial attempt to save Tokyo from harsh critics, but becoming familiar with the layers of Japanese culture supports Ashihara's analysis. The Japanese who can see beauty by focusing on a single moment – for example, a view framed by clouds hiding unwanted details of the city in ukiyo-e prints, or celebrating



1 Icarus in Nezu

*The view of the
neighbourhood from a
rooftop.*

the coming of spring by smelling a cherry blossom without seeing the tree and the city behind, just like a camera zooming into a scene while blurring the rest of the view – may not mind the visual complexity of the city.¹² This is only one of the many unique sides of Japanese culture playing a role in the formation of urban thought. When many of them are combined together, it becomes only natural that Tokyo cannot provide an end result that will satisfy those quoted above.

Naomi Pollock also warns visitors not to expect the qualities of a familiar city from Tokyo, such as the architectural harmony of New York's Fifth Avenue or the elegant unity of Boston's Beacon Hill. However, she adds that if the visitors can turn their eyes to a narrow walkway, a pocket park or even a single window, Tokyo can become one of the most magical places on earth.¹³ All of her suggestions are in line with the argument focusing on a single fragment while forgetting the rest of the whole. It also carries the sense of direct experience rather than looking at the cityscape from a high point. Maybe the person who can explain such difference better than anyone is Michel De Certeau, with the case of voyeurs and walkers. For this reason, the following quote, which has a significant influence on this work, is quite shamelessly imported into the text in its entirety.

When one goes up there, he leaves behind the mass that carries off and mixes up in itself any identity of authors or spectators. An Icarus flying above these waters, he can ignore the devices of Daedalus in mobile and endless labyrinths far below. His elevation transfigures him into a voyeur. It puts him at a distance ... Is the

immense texturology spread out before one's eyes anything more than a representation, an optical artifact? ... The panorama-city is a 'theoretical' (that is, visual) simulacrum, in short a picture, whose condition of possibility is an oblivion and a misunderstanding of practices. The voyeur-god created by this fiction, who, like Schreber's God, knows only cadavers, must disentangle himself from the murky intertwining daily behaviors and make himself alien to them. The ordinary practitioners of the city live 'down below,' below the thresholds at which visibility begins. They walk – an elementary form of this experience of the city; they are walkers, Wandersmänner, whose bodies follow the thick and thins of an urban 'text' they write without being able to read it.¹⁴

Icarus' view is a representation, an optical illusion, a product of the eyes. Instead of merely looking at a looking-glass that reflects the aesthetics of one's world, stepping into the universe behind the glass and simply being there might unveil the hidden gems of Tokyo, and so we can hear praises like Augustin Berque's comments:

The unusual happiness that one experiences walking down a little street in the immense city of Tokyo has this as its source: being there, in that place... this is truly to live.¹⁵



2 The view of the “walker” in the same Nezu



3 Nikko Shrine

Western Mind

Chris Fawcett carefully observes others' interaction with the city as a researcher whose first encounter was as shocking as mine. "People coming... from the West usually have such a strong preconception of what they are in for", he says, while adding that during the customarily short period of their stay, that preconception is not modified in any way, but also becomes their ultimate perception.¹⁶

Carola Hein blames one of these visitors, Bruno Taut, for changing the course of Japanese architectural history by praising the modern elements in traditional Japanese architecture at a time when the country was struggling with an identity problem.¹⁷ While applauding Katsura Imperial Villa, Taut considered Nikko Shrine, representing the shogunate, which had been abolished by the Emperor not long previously, as kitsch. His approval as an outsider was important to the extent that the culture that created Nikko cut its ties with it within the boundaries of architectural practice.¹⁸ Although Hein's critique is only in relation to Taut's strong dislike for Tokyo, she criticises the

same selective approach that ignores the existence of other realities and various underlying conditions when they are not in line with observers' ideas.

The reason behind this may be the radical difference between Japanese thought and Western thought, with its Greek origins. The analytical mode of thinking divides the universe into manageable sections that are carefully reserved for particular disciplines. Botong Bogner thinks that such compartmentalisation of reality reduces one's opportunity to understand the real complexity of life. This is one of the reasons why Tokyo is associated with chaos by short-term visitors. Bogner implies that the city is not chaotic, but the mind trying to embrace it – if he/she ever does, because Bogner also thinks that the level of complexity in the city is either ridiculed or found too overwhelming by researchers – is not trained for it. Barrie Shelton also explains the underlying reason behind the scarcity of works on Tokyo with this argument.¹⁹



4 Katsura Imperial Palace
(Katsura Rikyu)

Jane Jacobs' analysis of the city in Dr Warren Weaver's essay on science and complexity is not so far from Bognar's critique. Dr Weaver lists three types of complexity; simplicity, disorganised complexity and organised complexity. The problems that can be solved with the relation of two variables belongs to the realm of simplicity, such as gas pressure depending upon the volume of the gas. For problems that involve not merely two, three or four variables but maybe millions, a new theory was developed: probability and statistical mechanics. Although disorganised complexities such as the tendencies of physical systems cannot be solved entirely, the behaviour of the system or an average part of it can be predicted with a high rate of accuracy.

The last form of complexity belongs to the realm of life sciences: organised complexity. The number of variables here is not as many as disorganised complexities but still more than two. The real issue, however, is not the number of variables, but the fact that they are all related. In the circumstances where every single variable

is connected to every other variable in a complex system and if one is changed, this changes the entire system, probability theory has no use.

Jacobs likens the city to organised complexity, which is strangely more complex than disorganised. More importantly, she thinks that not being able to understand this kind of complexity is better than misunderstanding it or attempting to solve it by reducing the organic relations between variables to an average or, in a sense, turning reality to a less real but manageable version of it:

We may wish for easier, all-purpose analyses, and for simpler magical, allpurpose cures, but wishing cannot change these problems into simpler matters than organized complexity, no matter how much we try to evade the realities and to handle them as something different.²⁰

Opinions and Class Struggle in Architecture

Fumihiko Maki, on the other hand, cancels out all comments, regardless of whether they are for or against Tokyo, by simply stating how simplistic the approaches towards a city are if they cannot go outside the framework of opinions, because anyone can pass a judgement on a city; however, that is not to genuinely understand it.²¹ This reminds us of Deleuze's reference to Hegel's story of the shopkeeper; when an old lady was accused of selling rotten eggs by a customer one day, she replied "Rot yourself, and your mother, and your grandmother."²² The level of discussions based on opinions may not be so far removed from such an incident. In the case of Jane and I, it can be replaced with this dialogue:

J: Tokyo is ugly!

N: We can still learn something from it.

J: You will fail for sure if you do so.

N: How do you know?

J: I don't need to know, I have eyes. Look at this view.

This does not take us anywhere. However, it is not because the level of our discussion is as low as the rotten eggs case. It is possible to create an imaginary dialogue between some of the scholars listed above who are on Jane's side and some on mine.

Bruno Taut: This utter aimlessness, this total lack of direction even in bad taste, did more than shatter our illusions about Japan; it lacerated our finer feelings.

Carola Hein: [You] never attempted to understand the traditional Japanese city on its own terms.

Augustin Berque: [If you could you would know that] the unusual happiness that one experiences walking down a little street in the immense city of Tokyo has this as its source: being there, in that place... this is truly to live.



5 The clashing forms, colours and styles in Asakusa

However, the fact is the outcome is a discussion structured on subjective opinions. Deleuze condemns the use of opinion in thought, but not because of its subjective nature; what bothers him is the hidden aim of the will to be a majority or to speak in the name of a majority.²³ I believe that the majority here can be replaced by the power of the group one is speaking for; in a sense, the truth-value of one's opinion comes from the influence of this group over others. Even though discussions based on opinions do not lead to a fruitful place, they can be influential enough to discourage one to go outside the boundaries previously drawn by the opinions of a powerful group.

Likewise, Yoshiharu Tsukamoto from Atelier Bow-Wow mentions a “class struggle” in architecture. There is a given, an accepted value system influential around the world, and this struggle is the direct result of the tension between both elite academicism and practice; Europe as the centre of influence, the Far East, in this case Japan, the periphery.²⁴ Tsukamoto needed to overcome this to see Tokyo as it is, rather than the aesthetically challenging version from the viewpoint of Modernism, and through the eyes of European city.

The Rebels

Not being as strong as Tsukamoto intellectually, even if I did not want to accept it on the rooftop, I sensed that Jane was right; not as travellers, but as architecture students, we were not supposed to like Tokyo. At the time, I neither knew about Deleuze's war against *doxa* and his line of flights pushing one to think differently, nor the existence of a group sharing the same interest with me regarding Tokyo. However, I knew about Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour and their book *Learning from Las Vegas*, which opened the way for so many unorthodox studies on the city including Rem Koolhaas' *Delirious New York*. Although, much later, I became acquainted with all the names above and many more who will reveal themselves in the course of the thesis, the creators of *Learning from Las Vegas* with their rebellious attitude remained the most inspiring characters after Deleuze.





6. Learning from Las Vegas, illustrating signs of the city

Reaction to Learning from Las Vegas

The attitude of the architects who dared to choose Las Vegas for an urban study is intriguing. Actually, their first choice was Los Angeles; however, this was already taken by Reyner Banham who was working on *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies*. Soon they turned their eyes on Las Vegas, for which they were criticised heavily.²⁵ Vegas was considered to be immoral with its gambling and entertainment industry. Another concern was the banalities treated as points of attraction by the architects. Their book, carrying the danger of spreading such ideas to the pure minds of architecture students, was a taboo subject in most schools.²⁶

The morality argument, however, has another side. The architects while working on Vegas were also attacking late Modernism, but while doing so they also seemed to be targeting the post-war welfarist consensus associated with Modernism. The reaction regarding the National Gallery extension was another scene that increased the scorn towards them, especially from England. The Prince of Wales, who does not hesitate to express his opinions on architecture while stressing his relative dislike of Modernism, combined with Margaret Thatcher's insistence on building a corporate-funded public arts institution on a significantly important site for London coincided with their eclectic proposal, which won the commission. The left wing associated Venturis with the corporate.²⁷ This added up to the reaction towards the analysis of Las Vegas, which was seen as a tribute to commercialism. They defended

themselves by defining "corporate" in the American sense; Enron is the corporation with its polished modern facade, while Vegas in the 1960s, hosting so many small-scale establishments, were not so. The fact that Scott Brown was a radical activist herself while Venturi was working with communities in the non-profit sector was not helpful in easing the reaction.²⁸

Postmodernism and the Postmodern Movement

Such misunderstandings are unfortunate; however, it seems that they enjoy creating tension by purposefully jumping on red lines. Venturi's use of eclectic signs in his designs, as in the case of Vanna Venturi House, showing his divergence from Modernism, which he finds to be boring and rigid, is another rebellion against the authority of the time.²⁹ This attitude was not special to them; the architects associating themselves with the postmodern movement all embraced similar architectural languages.³⁰ Venturi and later Scott Brown never accepted this title; they rather called themselves mannerists.³¹ Regardless of how they preferred to name their style, the postmodern movement in architecture was linked to the postmodernism flourishing in the realm of philosophy. Charles Jencks, who played a key role in this linkage, defines postmodernism as a system built on double coding; for example, Eero Saarinen's TWA Building pointing towards a common metaphor of flight.³²

Rather than this double coding, postmodernism is used as an umbrella term covering the works of thinkers standing against a central authority in thought. Jean-Francois Lyotard,

who is a key figure in defining what postmodernism really is, simply describes it as incredulity towards meta-narratives.³³ In architecture, the meta-narrative of the time was Modernist movement, known by Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe and their contemporaries. The postmodern movement was an attempt to take a walk in the forbidden zones to show that the rules set by modernists, who associated “ornament” with “crime” or declare that “less is more”, are questionable.³⁴

In fact, the modern movement was not so different from the postmodern one in terms of challenging the meta-narratives of the time such as that of Ecole des Beaux Arts; however, when the challenger gained power, it started to oppress the rest and transformed into a meta-narrative itself.³⁵ History repeated itself; the modern movement was questioned by its own babies who converted to postmodernism

to disturb the despotic parents. In a sense, the converted babies’ rebellion was successful as the rules were broken.

However, the use of eclectic signs or double coding as the means of this rebellion narrows down the real meaning of postmodernism established in the realm of philosophy to a mere stylistic issue in architecture. For this reason, the postmodern movement in architecture and the era of plurality following this failed coup do not correspond to certain values covered under the banner of postmodernism. For example, Deleuze’s rhizome or Lyotard’s postmodernism values the world’s variety, frees emotion from the domination of intellect, enhances our sensitivity to differences, cancels hierarchies and questions orthodoxies, while the postmodern movement in architecture tends to be more of a stylistic issue.



7 The critique of postmodernism

*A common criticism towards postmodernism is the acceptance of multiple points of view when it comes to the truth which is found paralyzing for the thought.*³⁶

However, the main emphasis of theorists mentioned above is on giving a voice to the ones who is generally in the position of the man who is on the floor; the minor, the disadvantaged.

Tsukamoto mentioning a class struggle, for example, is one of them.

What One is Supposed to Like

Although Venturi and Scott Brown call themselves mannerists and in the broader sense they are associated with the postmodern movement, I think their *research on the city* is postmodern, not only because they dare to choose Las Vegas as a sign of rebellion; the study itself with its methods and content ticks all the boxes starting from the variety argument to questioning orthodoxies, which I find truly supportive while transforming interesting Tokyo to Tokyo the research topic. The following passage by Robert Venturi, who joined a Supercrit workshop that is hilariously named “Learning from Learning from Las Vegas” is quite significant with regard to that matter, as it showed me that we can still like the ugly, horrendous, monotonous, frightening, chaotic Tokyo as this is the only way to learn from it.

The other thing that I want very quickly to mention, since there are so many students in the room, is the advice we give very often to students. It is to be sure to recognise what turns you on naturally, and resist liking what you're supposed to like. Acknowledge what turns you on, be sensitive to that, and this approach can help you experience a satisfying life as architect and an artist. I like that advice – and don't necessarily agree with us!⁸⁷

By the authority granted to me by these lines, I dared to ask the question of “What can we learn from Tokyo?” without changing the initial question to fit the academic requirements on clarity, as the sincerity of it comes from the setting when it first came to my mind while facing Tokyo. However, the meaning of each component in the question is analysed below. During this analysis, I tried to draw a zigzag line touching upon my ideas on one side and borrowing from *Learning from Las Vegas* on the other in the form of a dialogue.

What can we learn from Tokyo?

“We”

The possibility of learning from a real context, even without being aware of it, is what we discovered in Turin. The same phenomenon, not necessarily carrying the traces of phenomenological experience, has been repeatedly expressed by Scott Brown, who convinced Venturi to focus on urban research. To describe the origin of her fascination with learning from the city, Scott Brown goes back to her schooldays in South Africa, where her art teacher advised her to see what was around her as a condition of being creative.³⁸ They look at American landscape with this advice in mind.

Learning from, however, does not carry the responsibility of learning about and learning for. Here, the pragmatist gaze of the architect can be detected from their intentions; they do not show a significant sign of interest about changing the situation in the city with a critical analysis of problematic areas. Instead, while enjoying the eccentricities of Las Vegas, they only borrow lessons that could be utilised later. I noticed a similar contrast among the attitudes of authors to Tokyo in the already narrow set of existing literature. The path has a fork on the road, one side of which was opened by architects and creative practitioners and the other by planners and social scientists. While the latter is critical and pessimistic, the followers of the first path are quite neutral if not positive about Tokyo. To illustrate this further, I will give two scholars as an example. Botong Bogner is one of the subject leaders whose main interest is contemporary Japanese architecture. As the majority of the prominent names are influenced by the conditions in which

their projects are designed and built, he expanded his research on architecture towards the Japanese city, and particularly to Tokyo. Andre Sorensen is another influential name from a planning background. He has collaborations with various Japanese academicians who has a similar background.

The main difference between these two names is that while Sorensen is quite critical about the situation of Tokyo, Bogner carries an attitude from which his enthusiasm about this city can be revealed in his early works. Even in the cases in which they analyse similar situations, their attitude is fundamentally different. Bogner is not alone; practising architects such as Fumihiko Maki, Norihiko Dan and Yoshinobu Ashihara, or scholars with an architectural background such as Barrie Shelton, Hidenobu Jinnai or even names from other creative circles such as Donald Richie are in this group.

Their critique is analytical, and they do not ignore the aspects Sorensen mentions, but rather than judging the situation they accept Tokyo as it is and try to figure out what makes it this way. Sorensen and his colleagues, on the other hand, criticise the situation in Tokyo in a wide range of topics, starting from the recent popularity of *manshons* (high-rise, reinforced concrete residential buildings with relatively poor floor plans offering usually one-room flats) to the updates in legislation on permissible building envelopes.³⁹ The architects either criticise the situations roughly or they are indifferent to them. The main reason behind such a dichotomy is the intentions of these two groups. Sorensen is concerned



8 Denise Scott Brown posing in front of Las Vegas

about Tokyo, even though I find his critique slightly biased as he, sometimes, judges the city from a Western framework while the criteria in Tokyo are quite different; his text carries some fundamental warnings for the future of Tokyo. Worried planners work on Tokyo for the sake of Tokyo. However, architects and scholars coming from an architectural background mainly focus on the eccentricities of Tokyo, which are suspected to be hiding creative ideas. Their intention is not to make Tokyo a better city, but to answer this question: “What can we borrow from Tokyo?”

This is an entirely selfish but also a non-judgemental and open-minded attitude that I embraced myself. However, working

on Tokyo, trying to reveal its hidden order, getting used to it not only as a research topic but as a resident, even for a short period of time, made me sympathise with the concerned group, as Tokyo became a city that is dear to me, just like Istanbul. Thus, the distant and rather objective attitude of an optimistic and opportunistic architect defining the “we” was slightly corrupted by a protective and critical planner. The main aim is still to borrow ideas that can be utilised later in other contexts; however, the traces of a worried soul popping up with strategies to combat some of the problems of Tokyo are also there.

“Tokyo”

While answering the questions of what it is to learn from a city, or who are we, I also need to clarify which Tokyo I am talking about in “What can we learn from Tokyo?”, because there are so many Tokyos; Tokyo Metropolitan Region, Tokyo Prefecture and the city of Tokyo. This may not seem important at the beginning; however, the urban characteristics of all three are radically different from each other. Moreover, the absence of such clarification causes misunderstandings. For example, while searching for statistical data on residential choices, I had difficulty in using some quite valuable sources, as authors tend to use the word “Tokyo” on its own without explaining which Tokyo they are referring to. Among those, one can come across UN reports also:

*Tokyo is the world's largest city with an agglomeration of 37 million inhabitants, followed by New Delhi with 29 million, Shanghai with 26 million, and Mexico City and São Paulo, each with around 22 million inhabitants.*⁴⁰

This line is repeated quite frequently in *World Urbanization Reports*; however, it is misleading, because what is referred to by “Tokyo” in the report is actually the Kanto Region, which consists of seven prefectures: Gunma, Tochigi, Ibaraki, Saitama, Chiba, Kanagawa and Tokyo. The Greater Tokyo Area, also known as Tokyo Metropolitan Region, is the combination of Tokyo prefecture and its three neighbouring prefectures; Kanagawa, Saitama and Chiba.

Instead of cities, the Japanese administrative structure is based on prefectures of which the total number is 47; Tokyo is only one of them, with a population of 13.5 million according to Tokyo Metropolitan Government.⁴¹ On the other hand, Tokyo is the only prefecture with its metropolis title written as -to (都). Kyoto and Osaka, as the other two important urban centres, also have a definitive title of -fu (府). The remaining prefectures are written with the suffix of -ken (県) with the exception of Hokkaido. Tokyo-to (東京-都), therefore, means Tokyo Metropolis; a specific type of prefecture.

It is also divided into three distinct areas; the Tama area, Izu and Ogasawara Island groups, and 23 special wards known

9 The position of Tokyo City in administrative structure of Japan



JAPAN



Kanto Region
関東地方



Kanto Region
関東地方



Greater Tokyo
Area
首都圏



Tokyo
Prefecture
東京都



Tama Area

Tokyo City
東京市



Nezu in
Bunkyo-ku
文京区

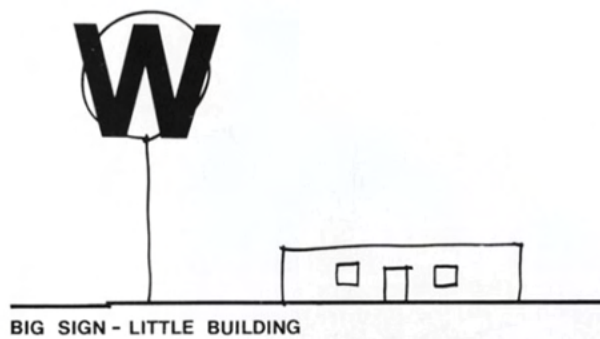


Marunouchi in
Chiyoda-ku
千代田区

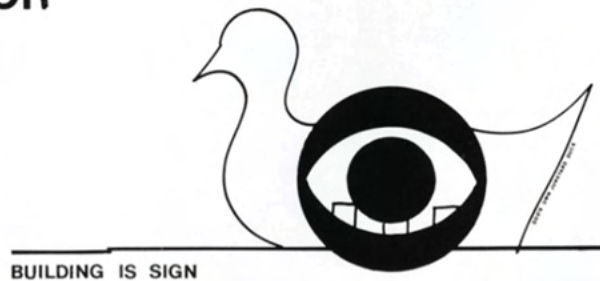
Shibuya-ku
渋谷区

as 23 ku (23区), some of which are Chuo-ku or Shinjuku-ku. The islands, while being administratively under the responsibility of Tokyo Metropolitan Government, are not a part of the city in practice due to their distant location. The Tama area, which is the home of some major university campuses and research centres, can be seen as a suburban extension of Tokyo stretching for 90 km to the west. The remaining 23 special wards with a population of only 9.2 million people⁴² represent *Tokyo City* (東京市) or, in a sense, what is referred to as Tokyo in everyday use; when one says that one is going to Tokyo, what comes to mind first is Tokyo city, not the metropolis or the region. The reason behind such complication around the names comes from a legislative change applied in 1943; the Tama area and Tokyo city were merged under the name Tokyo prefecture for administrative convenience.

However, the history of such changes goes way back to the 15th century. In 1457, Ota Dokan, one of the lords in the area, built a castle at a site facing Tokyo Bay and started a small castle town there. In 1601, the Tokugawa Shogunate created an immense city on the very same land and called it Edo. The city was renamed Tokyo in 1868 when shogunate left the governance to the Emperor. Finally, in 1943, it was renamed as the 23 special wards area.⁴³ However, such changes do not necessarily affect the urban characteristics of the city developed in time with specific qualities on this very land. As the focus of this work is not to analyse the city within its administrative boundaries but to learn from those qualities, the Tokyo in “What can we learn from Tokyo?” corresponds to the 23 special wards, which is also known as Tokyo city .



OR



10 The duck, building as sign

“Learning from”

At the risk of stating the obvious, *Learning from Las Vegas* is not there for the sake of Las Vegas; the main beneficiaries are those who would like to learn from it. When asking, “What can we learn from Tokyo?”, this refers to the same form of learning that will benefit the “we” who would prefer to utilise the lessons borrowed from Tokyo to solve their problems or to create new ideas. The way to do so, in the case of *Learning from Las Vegas*, is to excavate them from a real context with the attention of an archaeologist who has discovered an ancient site. Scott Brown’s resentment at not being recognised as much as Venturi gives a hint about the phenomenon of discovery intrinsic to their form of learning:

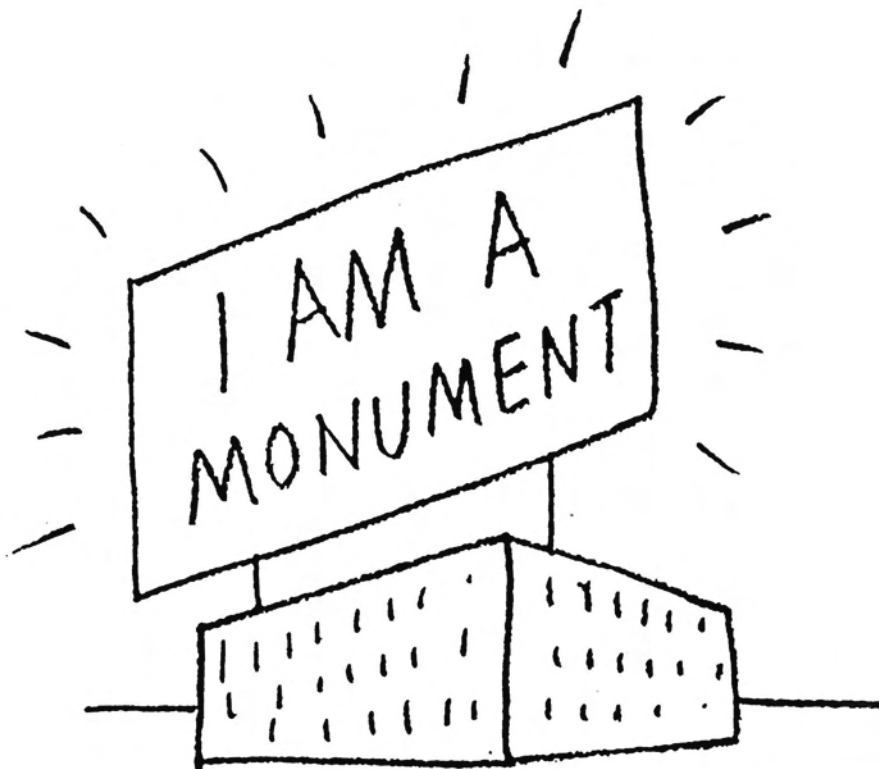
Can I please say one time only I discovered the Duck! Will ever be given the attribution? Bob Venturi and have always worked very closely together. We’ve had a long life of collaboration, but it really did happen that way.⁴⁴

Although the duck and decorated shed were introduced in *Learning from Las Vegas*, the origin of discovery was the Big Duck in Long Island. The Big Duck was standing there for anyone to interpret, but Scott Brown is the person who went beyond seeing it and passing by. This is why the duck is a discovery; excavation of an artefact from an existing context by someone who has the capacity to notice it. What makes Venturi and Scott Brown special enough to be able to discover the duck or decorated shed may be their non-judgemental attitude. It is worth noting that being non-judgemental is not the same as being neutral. In the case of Tokyo, the strong dislike by visitors who compare the city with the ideal in their mind prevents them from looking at Tokyo’s deeper layers. The key point here is not their subjective opinions on the city, but the predetermined set of values forcing one to find the similarities in the object of interest. To be non-judgemental is, in a sense, to switch off this “auto” mode.

“I am a Monument”

In addition to their insightful approaches to the city, what Scott Brown and Venturi do with their discovery is more interesting; there are various methods used in the analysis of commercial strip malls that are familiar architectural/urban analysis tools; however, the discoveries such as “I am a monument” are communicated to the reader via very simple, quick, hand-drawn illustrations. These drawings only pass the idea without an extra layer of polish blurring the main message or pretentiously implying that the sophistication of the message is gained from the quality of the visuals. Instead, it seems as if they are only drawn for the authors’ benefit, not to convince the reader, which strangely makes them more sincere. The inverse proportion between such inferior but genuine drawings and the density of meaning squeezed from them is inspirational.

Although this particular type of PhD is relatively new, especially in the field of architecture, its popularity is increasing day by day as more faculties adopt new approaches in postgraduate research. However, it is still in the process of developing, as there is no consensus on its definition or role in research, which is why studies published on creative practice usually focus on those aspects. Because of many unknowns, which have not answered by rather definitive works, this was a very distressing experience for me, rather like finding a path in a forest as opposed to walking on a well-constructed path. More than the literature on creative practice, *Learning from Las Vegas* helped me to find my way by reminding me of the true value of the architect’s gaze in discoveries and the effectiveness of the means of architecture when it comes to illustrating the idea.



A Way of Learning from Everything

While it is worth noting that the influence of *Learning from Las Vegas* does not stretch to its content, as can be detected from the title of the thesis and the discussion in this section, it has a significant influence on this work. The authors' encouragement to students to follow what stimulates their process of thought, even if it does not seem to fit with the mainstream values, provided a good start for the transformation of an interest to a research topic. Learning from an existing landscape is another quite valuable tool. Moreover, the discoveries condensed in iconic illustrations show the potential of creative practice in revealing and communicating ideas. More importantly, I tried to borrow their non-judgemental attitude. I conclude this chapter with their own words, which helped me immensely.



11 Iconic drawings from *Learning from Las Vegas* (opposite and above)

*Learning from the existing landscape is a way of being revolutionary for an architect. Not the obvious way, which is to tear down Paris and begin again, as Le Corbusier suggested in the 1920s, but another, more tolerant way; that is, to question how we look at things. The commercial strip, the Las Vegas Strip in particular – the example par excellence challenges the architect to take a positive, non-chip-on-the-shoulder view... [To] gain insight from the commonplace is nothing new: Fine art often follows folk art. Romantic architects of the eighteenth century discovered an existing and conventional rustic architecture... And withholding judgment may be used as a tool to make later judgment more sensitive. This is a way of learning from everything.*⁴⁵

Figures and Illustrations

- 1 Nergis Kalli, *Icarus' View in Nezu*, photo, 2017.
- 2 Nergis Kalli, *Walker's View in Nezu*, photo, 2017.
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- 27 Rattenbury and Hardingham, 117–136.
- 28 Rem Koolhaas and Hans Ulrich Obrist, 'Re-Learning from Las Vegas: Interview with Denise Scott Brown & Robert Venturi', in *Content*, ed. Rem Koolhaas and OMA, First Edition edition (Köln: Taschen, 2004), 150–57.
- 29 Venturi shares his thoughts against the rigidity of modernism in the first edition *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*: "I prefer "both-and" to "either-or", black and white, and sometimes gray, to black or white ... An architecture of complexity and contradiction must embody the difficult unity of inclusion rather than the easy unity of exclusion." This inclusive approach is found to be bold for its time because Venturi's "both-and" includes, for example, use of ornaments. He says "Architects can bemoan or try to ignore them (he refers to "honky-tonk elements") even try to abolish them, but they will not go away ... because architects do not have the power to replace them (nor do they know what to replace them with), and because these commonplace elements accommodate existing needs for variety and communication." While the inclusive approach still can be seen from this argument, his focus on stylistic issues rather than the form and his insistence on using symbols to pass a message to user attracted attention. While not hesitating to be the voice of such objectionable ideas for Modernism, Venturi also openly attacks Mies Van Der Rohe's "Less is more" in his work. Robert Venturi, *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, The Museum of Modern Art Papers on Architecture 1 (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966).
- 30 Japanese architects are one of the earliest to broke into the postmodern movement with architect Minoru Takeyama's Niban-kan building (completed in 1969) which was at the cover of Charles Jencks's 1977 edition of *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*. In addition to Takeyama, old metabolists Kisho Kurokawa and Arata Isozaki joined the postmodern movement taking over Japan. Kurokawa advocated for the Japanese modernism over Western modernism by bringing the spatial and aesthetic qualities of traditional Japanese architecture to front. Kurokawa still being a modernist, had not changed his position but took advantage of that age to question the unquestionability of Western modernism. Isozaki, on the other hand, entirely involved in postmodern architecture and gave some of the boldest examples of the movement in Japan. The fact that postmodernism in architecture could easily found spectators in the country is associated with the openness to new ideas that are in line with Japanese thinking. The "both-and" approach is one of

them. James Steele, *Contemporary Japanese Architecture: Tracing the next Generation* (London: Routledge, 2017), 129–35.

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35 Scott Lash, 'Postmodernism or Modernism? Social Theory Revisited.', in *Postmodernism and the Social Sciences*, ed. Joe Doherty, Elspeth Graham, and Mo Malek, 1992, 167–70.

36 Scientists Alan Sokal and Jean Bricmont's book *Fashionable Nonsense: Postmodern Intellectuals' Abuse of Science* targeted a group of Continental French thinkers and labelled them as postmodernists abusing science to make philosophical claims that sounds fashionable but in fact does not go further than being nonsense. Sokal and Bricmont attacked a wide range of thinkers starting from Jacques Lacan to Jean Baudrillard. The list also includes Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. The main aim is to show the falsification of scientific models used in the works of these thinkers, such as Deleuze's use of Godel's theorem, the theory of transfinite cardinals, Riemannian geometry, quantum mechanics. However, those instances are only metaphors placed in the text to help reader internalise the idea in the text or to represent the idea in a more concrete way through such formulas. Nevertheless, Sokal and Bricmont's work attracted attention from academics. Noam Chomsky, one of the most critical names towards postmodernism believes that postmodernism is completely disassociated from reality. He says that "no one actually know what they are saying" by referring the rather abstract jargon of postmodern thinkers. Chomsky is also against the relativity of moral grounds and understanding of truth from a standpoint that replaces the truth with multiple truths. Chomsky is not alone, there are various others attack postmodern thinkers who praise multiplicity and avoid any sort of hierarchy. Their rather abstract jargon is often exploited to ridicule their thoughts on multiplicity.

Alan D. Sokal and Jean Bricmont, *Fashionable Nonsense: Postmodern Intellectuals' Abuse of Science* (New York: Picador, 1998); Noam Chomsky, *Postmodernism I*, 13 September 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OjQA0e0UYzI>.

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PART 2

A KIND OF A PROBLEM TOKYO IS

In the previous part, I tried to show the story and the motivation behind this work and introduce the research question (What can we learn from Tokyo?). The next step is to learn from Tokyo. Continuing with the same cooking analogy, Tokyo is like an extraordinary recipe (a *molar assemblage in the actual*) of which some aspects can be borrowed to be used in other recipes. However, the majority of the ingredients are alien to us, so we need to pay a visit to the infinite fridge (*virtual*) to find these ingredients in their raw form (*molecular intensities*), so that we can have a chance to spot some other ingredients readily available there with which new recipes can be generated or so the recipe we have can be developed even further (the process of *reterritorialisation*). It is time to happily reach for the door of the infinite fridge with the excitement of the unknown. This is where the real problem starts; the door does not open.

To learn from Tokyo, it is first necessary to decipher its so-called “hidden order” which will form the basis for the ideas borrowed.¹ However, the city is not only visually complex to a level that is hard to comprehend; it is also so radically different

that existing theoretical frameworks do not work on Tokyo. I will give two examples to share how far this radical difference can go. The first one exemplifies the spatial organisation of urban units in Japan and the second one shows the Japanese perspective on a holistic order manifesting itself in the whole with architectural and urban cases that will take us back through history for a while. Then, we will discuss the issue of having no tools that can solve the puzzle of Tokyo with some of the scholars who will be with us during the rest of the journey. Some are very friendly and causal, some are more serious and then there is a group of child-players that seems totally out of academic context. Surprisingly, they are the ones who inspired me the most during the process of creating a toolkit that could tackle the complexity and difference of Tokyo. I would like to introduce them with their own stories so that the reader can see Tokyo with their eyes as well. And at the end, Deleuze, I and they will be creating a conceptual framework that can even tackle *the kind of problem that Tokyo is*.



Lost in Tokyo

In New York, if a person (we will call him Roland) is lost, he can orientate himself easily just by asking someone nearby for the name of the avenue. However, for Roland there is no meaning in doing the same in Tokyo because, except for some arterial roads, streets have no names. Roland instead should ask the number of the *chōme* (丁目, an areal unit). Later, he needs to figure out where the *banchi* (番地, a smaller areal unit) is within the *chōme*. If he has managed so far, the last step is to find the building within the *banchi* by searching for its *gō* (号, house number). Roland can only reach the house, which can be represented as a dot, not by following a line, but narrowing down the areal units, starting from the neighbourhood level to the house. One could object by stating the fact that Roland finds the house by walking on the streets (the lines). Indeed, he does, but these streets are nothing like the ones in gridiron New York or baroque Paris. Rather, they are the streets of a labyrinth that have no definitive characteristic or any hierarchical order. In this case, Roland asking the name of a street, even if they are named, would not help him to orientate himself because they do not follow an order. Roland's struggle is the direct result of the differences between two systems of spatial organisation; linear and areal. The former, which Roland and the rest of the world is used to, is based on a linear street logic with a sequential arrangement of units on the street, while the latter system is based on areal nests.

1 The map of Edo (Tokyo) in 1849 and a section from the map of New York in 1811 seen together

In the absence of scale, legend and orientation signs, the map becomes a graphical pattern. The difference between the more organic pattern and clear grid is still as apparent today.

Planes and Dots

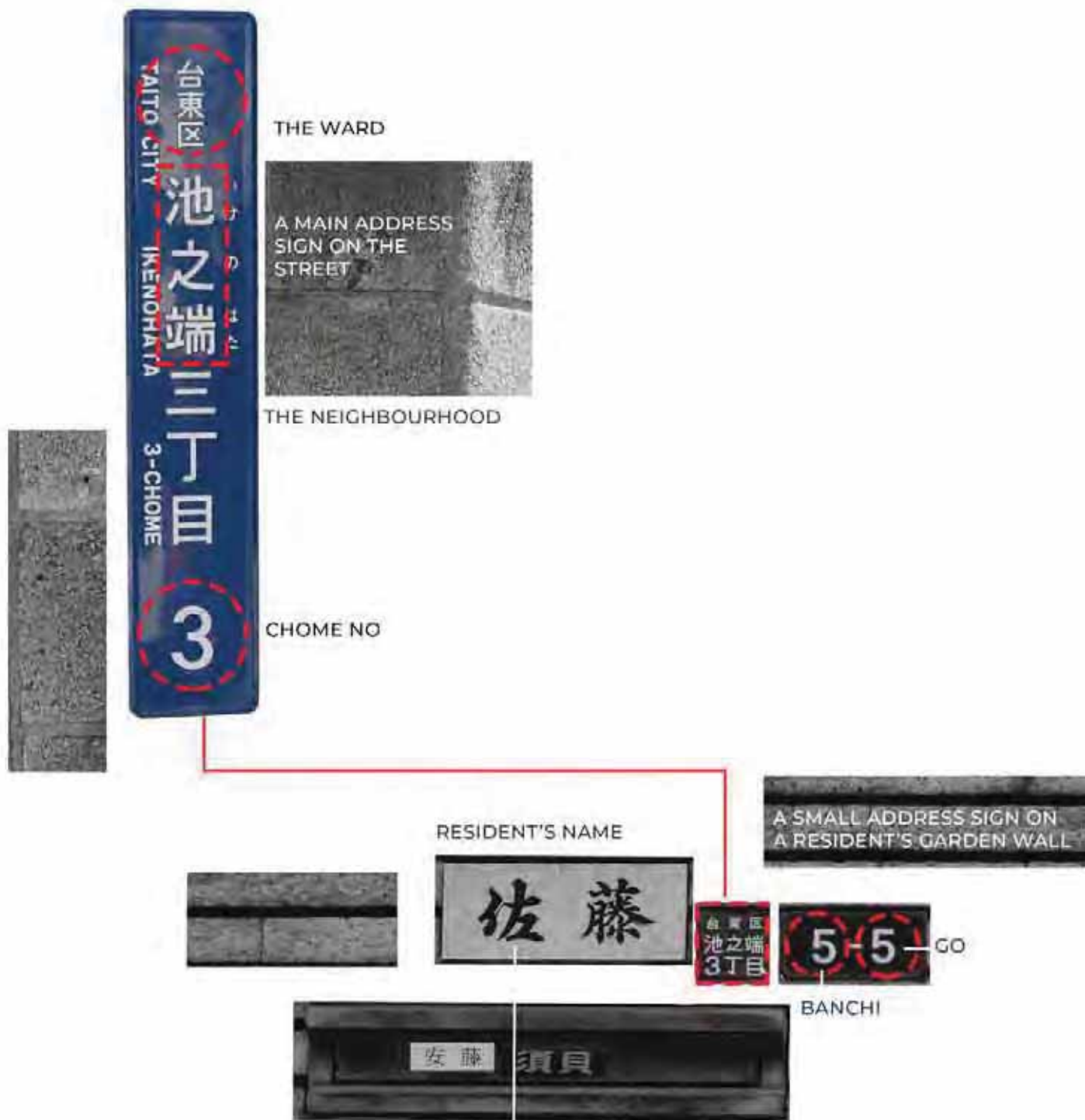
After introducing the areal logic roughly, we can now find a real place for Roland to visit, a friend's house in Ikenohata (a neighbourhood nearby Nezu), whose address is 東京都台東区池之端3丁目 5-5. The address can be broken down to its units as the city, ward/district, *machi* or *chō*, *chōme*, *banchi* and *gō*. Tokyo (東京) which has the special suffix of -to (都) representing its metropolitan status, is written as Tokyo-to (東京都). Assuming that Roland already knows he is in Tokyo, he will check the following part of the address showing that the house is in Taito (台東) ward. As mentioned previously, 23 special wards (23区) make up the city of Tokyo; Taito, being one of these wards, is written as Taito-ku (台東区). The next step is to find the *machi* (町), which can be translated as neighbourhood. It is worth to note that *machi* is not only used to define administrative boundaries, it also carries the meaning of “hurly-burly” urban life that is celebrated in Japanese culture.² The *machi* Roland searching for is Ikenohata (池之端).

Although the involvement of distinctly Japanese units complicates matters, Roland's journey so far is not very different than it might be in any other city that has districts and neighbourhoods. However, while he could switch to the linear street model in those cities, Roland still has to follow the same areal logic in Tokyo; he needs to find 3 *chōme* (丁目). *Chōme* is literally translated as irregularly sized city block. The *chōme* does not need to follow the boundaries of streets, like an urban block surrounded by streets and roads;

it may refer to a particular building on the other side of the road with the road itself, while excluding the rest of the units. Another characteristic of the *chōme* is that it is numbered instead of named. The hierarchical order of nesting starts with this numbering system.

Roland, getting really closer to his target, needs to find another entity that is also numbered; the *banchi*, the smaller areal units in the *chōme*. The *banchi* and the house number (*gō*) are always written together in the address system without the additional sign for each, as in the case of 5-5 for the house. Roland, however, must first find the 5-*banchi* and then the number 5 within it. His real struggle will start right there, because houses are not numbered along the street. As the average lifespan of a house is less than 30 years, the renewal rate in Japan is very high.³ For this reason, the house numbers are based on the date of construction, which can be at any time.

Such a renewal rate requires the house to be detached from its neighbours, which is why typologies based on shared walls like terraced houses are very rare in Japan.⁴ The popularity of detached single-family houses (even though they are relatively small) combined with the fire regulations dictating at least 50 cm distance between each building turn the house into an independent fragment, like a dot floating on a plane, rather than belonging to a line. The planes in the areal logic of Tokyo are the irregular urban blocks of *chōme*, *banchi* and finally the lot on which the building is carefully placed as a dot, with



2 Address signs in Ikenohata

The vertical signs give information on chome numbers. A small sign repeating the same information on exterior wall of houses can be seen above with the banchi and go numbers.

no connection with other dots around it. Such independent units of all sorts of sizes and shapes coming together without a sequential linear logic creates the impression that there is no order in Tokyo.⁵ However, as the face in Deleuze's example is not the only one out there, any order that does not comply with the one we are familiar with should not indicate the absence of it.

Rhizomatic Katsura Rikyu

This areal spatial logic is the first example to illustrate one of the many idiosyncrasies of Tokyo. I will now further develop the argument by giving another example of the Japanese perception of order and monumentality in the context of city planning. The first case is the Imperial Palace. Unlike the vanity of some royal and imperial palaces, the Japanese palace, which is right in the middle of Tokyo, marking its geographical centre, is not only unapproachable behind a moat, but also hidden behind the trees and greenery. Neither the form nor the display on the facade carries the flamboyance of its Western counterparts.⁶ The Imperial Palace is a landmark through its invisibility rather than its existence. Likewise, the two elaborate examples of traditional Japanese architecture in the *sukiya* and *shoin* styles, Katsura Rikyu (Katsura Imperial Villa) and Kyoto Gosho (Kyoto Imperial Palace – the former residence of imperial family), have not become well-known phenomena through ornamental facades or ostentatious interiors, but through the absence of both.

On the other hand, Katsura Rikyu and Kyoto Gosho, although seeming quite plain and simple from outside, have quite complex plan layouts exhibiting no clear form, as if the palaces had never been planned. In fact, the truth is not so far from this assumption. The traditional Japanese house has a strange characteristic; it tends to grow in time with plenty of extensions freely joined to the previously built structures from all sides, just like the Katsura, which was only a tea house in a melon field, *becoming* Katsura Imperial Villa after 40 years instead of *being* Katsura at once.

The teahouse first grew to include Prince Toshihito's old *shoin* and later Prince Noritada's music room and his new *shoins*.⁷ The standardised dimensions for partitional walls, tatami mats and the load bearing frame makes this rather random growth relatively easy. A new module can be attached to the main structure as freely and easy as modular Lego bricks. Such continuous alterations, however, reduce the centrality of main structure, which later becomes "main" not by its noticeable visual dominance over the modules but merely by having been built previously. Underlying additive logic bringing a variety of fragments together without a centre or a hierarchical order naturally creates a condition of shapelessness.

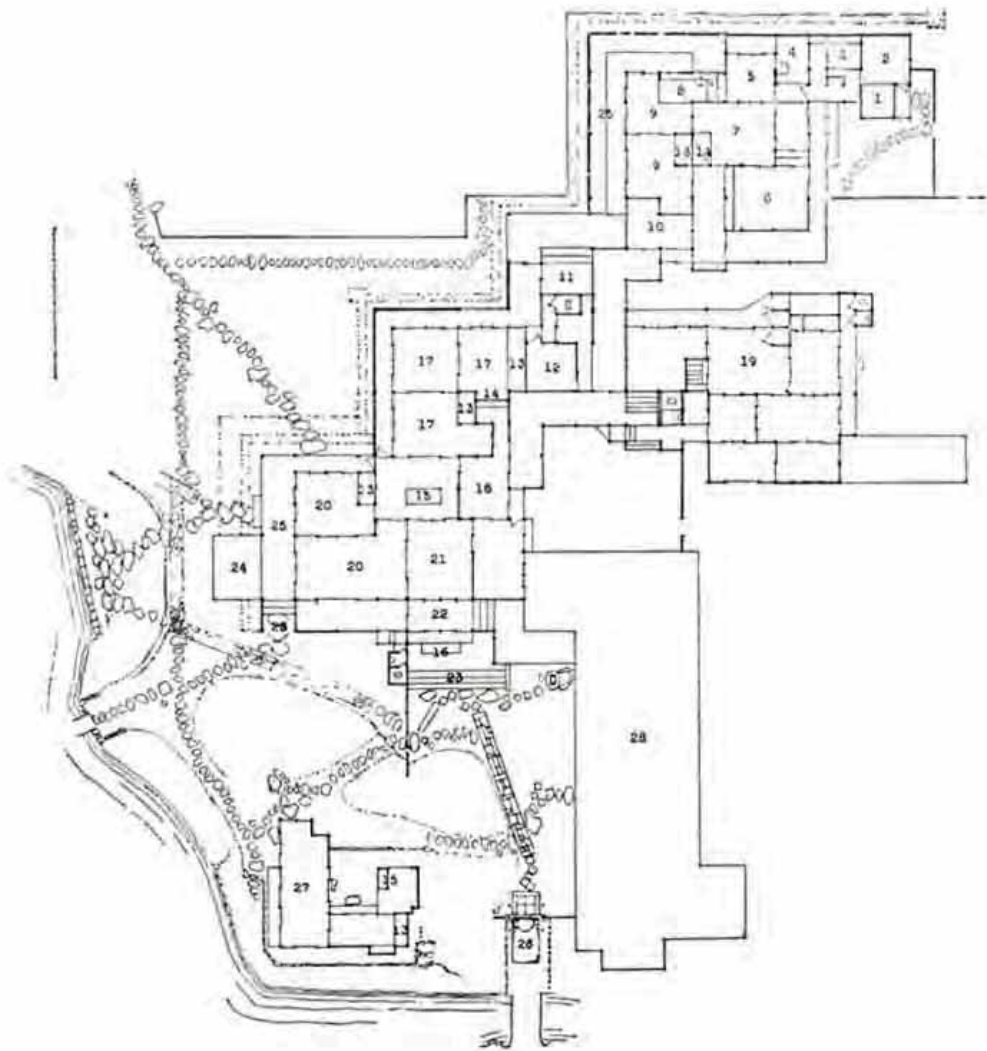


Fig. 522 (1) Small Dressing-Room (2) Bath (3) Lavatory (4) Ante-Room of the Lavatory (5) Main Dressing-Room (6) Closet and Store-Room (7) Bedroom (8) Study (9) Sitting-Room and Reception-Room (10) Kitchen (11) Depository for Musical Instruments (12) Bath for the Court Ladies (13) Picture-Niche (*Tokonoma*) (14) *Tana*, a Shelf in the Bedroom (15) Charcoal Brazier let into the Floor (16) a Stone Step (17) Audience-Halls (18) Waiting-Room for Servants (19) Offices (20) Ante-Rooms and Waiting-Rooms (21) Entrance-Room (22) Entrance (23) Preliminary Steps (24) Moon Terrace (25) Veranda (26) Entrance-Gate (27) Gepparo-Pavilion (28) New Adjoining Building

3 Floor plan of Katsura Rikyu

The Spirit of Katsura in Tokyo

The resultant visual complexity when combined with the absence of grandeur, which is aesthetically preferred by Japanese aristocracy,⁸ reminds us of the situation of amoebic/rhizomatic Tokyo, which lacks monumentality and order. Tokyo, as a combination of superimposed layers on top each other in an “as it fits” nature, is not less additive than Katsura. The city is always under construction while a house is being built and an old one is being demolished on the other side of the neighbourhood. The new metro lines

can be placed in between existing lines by leaving only 11 cm distance between the tunnels.⁹ The elevated expressways land on main roads, which belong to the state, just like an extra layer hesitating to touch the city of people who do not enjoy the idea of giving up their land for ambitious state projects.¹⁰ Illustrating a very similar additive logic, the cultural signs of Katsura may be giving clues about the underlying reasons of the inclination towards rhizomes instead of monuments in Tokyo.¹¹



4 The depiction of the “black ships” visiting Japan from the perspective of a local artist

5 Commodore Perry is illustrated below with blue uniform.



“Black Ships” in Tokyo Bay

The following counterexample shows one of the rare cases of amoebic Tokyo becoming more planned, orderly and “princely”.¹² To discover more about it, first we need to go back in time to the year 1853, when the country, which had been closed to the outside world by the Shogunate for more than two centuries was forced to open its ports to the United States after Commodore Matthew C. Perry showed up with his “black ships”.¹³ Perry was in Tokyo on behalf of President Millard Fillmore, who demanded trade concessions and did not have any difficulty with threats using American maritime forces at Edo Bay. The

following period was not easy for Japan. The Shogunate was under attack due to its internal failures, and other Western powers, already active around China, were pressing the Japanese authorities to conclude unequal treaties with them. The Japanese, realising that the level of developments in the world contrasted with the situation in their country, were displeased. Being unable to resist the pressure from the American side was also seen as an embarrassing defeat. After a period of political turmoil, the Shogun had to resign and pass his powers to Emperor Meiji, who was backed by notable *daimyo*



6 The real “black ship” visited Edo Bay; USS Powhatan, a steamed frigate (above)

7 Emperor Meiji in traditional Japanese dressing in Kyoto (right)

8 Emperor Meiji illustrated by New York Tribune in 1905 after his modernisation project changed Japan and the Japanese (far right)



lords and a large number of *samurai*. The Emperor moved from Kyoto to Edo. The city had to be renamed for him as To (東: western) Kyo (京: capital) before his arrival in 1868.¹⁴ However, this regime change could not prevent unequal treaties from coming into force.

In the meantime, the reformist emperor initiated a modernisation movement with his advisors in all areas, from the manufacturing industry to the education system, with the assistance of hired foreign experts. Later, officials and young students of the nation who were sent to the West to

study the newest developments in various disciplines, including architecture and planning, under the banner of Iwakura Mission, joined these experts.¹⁵ A feudal society was transforming to a modern one day by day. However, the story has a strange twist at the stage of implementing some of the planning ideals borrowed from West by atypical Tokyo, which was at the centre of the modernisation project – or, as criticised by the conservationists of the era, the “Westernisation project”.¹⁶

Foreign Affairs in Urban Planning

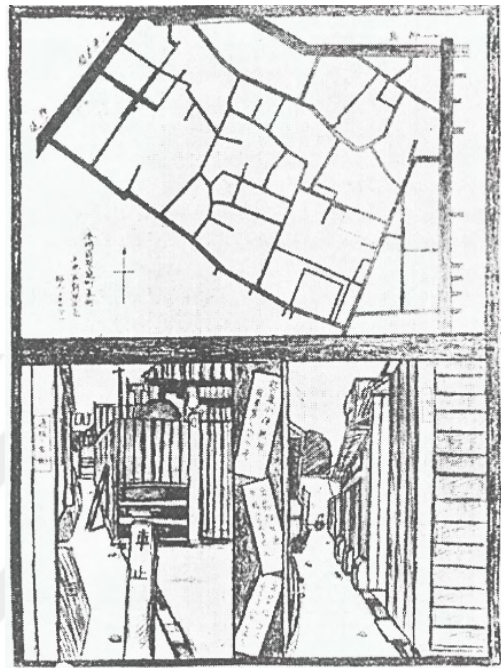
The government, closely following the developments, assigned two ministries to prepare master plans for Tokyo; the Home Office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. At the time, the specialisation of ministries was not a priority, and so the bureaucrats of the Ministry of Construction, which could only be established as a new ministry in 1947, were working under the umbrella of the Home Office. However, one may rightfully ask, why on earth the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would prepare a master plan for a city? The answer is entirely political; the government, trying to convince Western powers to abolish the unequal treaties, was at pains to prove that Japan, which was pursuing an impressive modernisation movement, was not an underdeveloped country and so should be treated as an equal.¹⁷ A new Tokyo that was nothing short of Paris or London was desired to strengthen the hand of the Japanese during negotiations.

However, the bureaucrats of the Home Office were not so keen on being a part of this grand vision. At this very moment, the conflict between the Home Office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs rose to the surface; while the former was only aiming to widen existing roads in the downtown area, the latter was convinced that what Tokyo actually needed was a baroque city look that could be gained through the implementation of the plan designed by German architects Wilhelm Böckmann and Herman Ende under the supervision of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Inoue Kaoru.¹⁸

The focus of the plan was the government district of Kasumigaseki, which would receive a facelift with broad ceremonial avenues aligned with the new parliament building, and a new central railway station. After a long period of internal dispute in the cabinet, this plan was dropped as Inoue refused to take responsibility in the case



9 Minister of Foreign Affairs' plans for Central Government district by Wilhelm Böckmann and Herman Ende



10 A poster by Home Office promoting street alignment through piecemeal land readjustment projects

of a failure during negotiations. Due to his withdrawal, Foreign Affairs lost the chance of being involved in the decision-making process for the planning of Tokyo, which is still seen as a lost chance that would have made Tokyo the Paris of Asia by some who think that the Meiji bureaucrats in the Home Office who undertook the responsibility of preparing the master plan were not as ambitious as their colleagues in Foreign Affairs; and so, urban planning in Japan, of which the foundations were laid at this time, remained merely as an activity of road widening, infrastructure planning

and the planning of land readjustment projects in a piecemeal fashion in the following period.¹⁹ However, as mentioned previously, planning in Japan, where land acquisition is out of the question if not totally impossible, and where the number of landowners is around two million, is not as simple as in Baron Haussmann's Paris. Therefore, although the Home Office and later the Ministry of Construction have not exhibited much drive in creating a monumental or orderly cityscape, it would be unfair to ignore the role of landowners in "democratic" Tokyo.



Ginza Redbrick Town

Going back to the master plans of Tokyo in the Meiji era, even if Foreign Affairs lost the battle to the Home Office, the Finance Ministry, which had nothing to do with urban planning, was keen to actualise similar ideals on Ginza, which is not far from Kasumigaseki; the district at the centre of Foreign Affairs' plans. Ginza was destroyed by a major fire that ruined 3,000 buildings and left 50,000 people homeless in February 1872. However, this site was not only chosen for humanitarian causes, as Ginza has a prime location with the commercial centre of Nihonbashi

to the north, the government district of Kasumigaseki to the west, and Tsukiji, which is famous for its fish market that is due to be closed despite protests, to the south. However, at the time Tsukiji was hosting foreigners in the famous Tsukiji hotel built in 1868 as an eclectic piece of architecture with both Western and Japanese features. Ginza, as the path between Kasumigaseki and Tsukiji while hosting Shinbashi Station itself, the entrance to Tokyo for passengers travelling from Yokohama port, was highly visible to foreign visitors who needed to



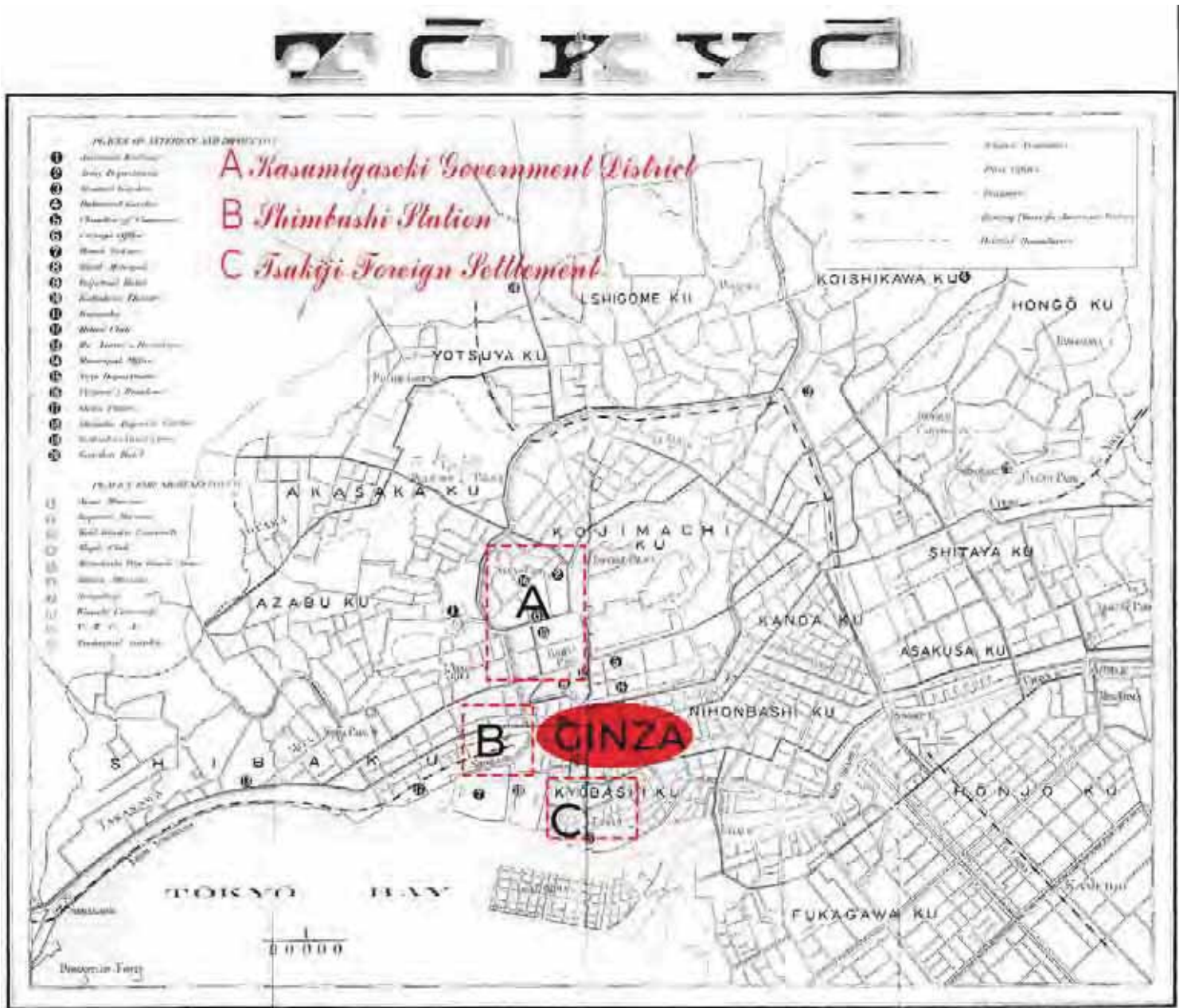
11 Woodblock print (*ukiyo-e*) of *Ginza Renga Gai*
by Utagawa Kuniteru, 1873

*Use of red in ukiyo-e is not very common, I suspect
that the artist preferred to conceal the colour of
bricks for this reason.*

visit Kasumigaseki to discuss the unequal treaties or simply go to their hotel in Tsukiji.

This strategic location increased the potential of the site in the eyes of bureaucrats who obtained approval to pursue the first urban planning project carrying a “princely aspect” on this very land. The plans were designed by Thomas Waters, an English engineer who was active in Japan from the mid-1880s. Waters made sure landowners used red brick for the construction of individual buildings

alongside Chuo Dori Street, which was widened and paved.²⁰ Vehicle and pedestrian traffic were separated, and gas-light lamps were installed for the first time in Japan. The Ginza was now Ginza Renga Gai (Ginza Redbrick Town).²¹ To this day, although there is no trace of Ginza Renga Gai left in Tokyo, the Ginza still remains as the symbol of the flamboyant and modern in Japan. However, the story does not have a happy ending, as the finance minister shared the same ideals about the image of Tokyo with the minister of Foreign Affairs; the unequal treaties were not abolished.



12 Strategic location of Ginza

The original map is prepared for US Navy officers staying in Tokyo in 1908. This map showing the important places at the time from the perspective of foreigners is altered to show the strategic location of Ginza. The additions are in red.

Pragmatist Japan

One of the only orderly areas in Tokyo was planned with the sole purpose of manipulating the negotiations with the Western powers, not to create an orderly cityscape or for the sake of monumentality itself to fulfil an aesthetic desire. The Japanese redesigned only Yokohama port, government buildings and the path foreigners would use between them, which is Ginza, with a very pragmatist reasoning. Yet, they also dropped the idea of transforming Tokyo into the Paris of Asia immediately after realising that this approach would not serve them well enough to change the result of negotiations.

In fact, the baroque city plans coming from Foreign Affairs, which were never implemented, did not inspire many Japanese, even when the urgency of the treaties were taken into consideration.²² Likewise, Ginza Renga Gai, Waters' attempt to recreate London's Regent Street in Tokyo, could not obtain the approval of Tokyoites; the authorities made payments to former residents in order to convince them to return to Ginza.²³ Ironically, the orderly Ginza regained the chaotic characteristics of Tokyo a few years later through the interventions of residents. The very fundamental reason behind this is this simple fact; Japanese culture does not see any value in frontality, symmetry and monumentality,²⁴ neither in the architecture of Katsura nor in the townscape of Edo or the cityscape of Tokyo.

13 Ginza in 1902

A photo from the archives of Ginza Town Association shows how Ginza that was designed to look Western became more Japanese in time. Please note the contrast between the ukiyo-e on page 117 and this photo.



The Methodological Problem

The only variable known in the equation of Tokyo is the absence of a definitive variable; the “hidden order” does not give any clue. Tokyo does not have the axial boulevards of Paris, grand squares of Venice or almost monotonously orderly grid layout of Manhattan. As Ashihara and Richie also claim, this is not an issue of incapability, rather simply of no desire for values such as beauty, monumentality, order or harmony associated with other cities, some of which are mentioned above.²⁵ The question is, “How can we study a city that is so radically different, chaotic and undisclosed?” Not being able to solve this methodological problem myself, I asked the opinions of various authors working on Tokyo.

The Insiders

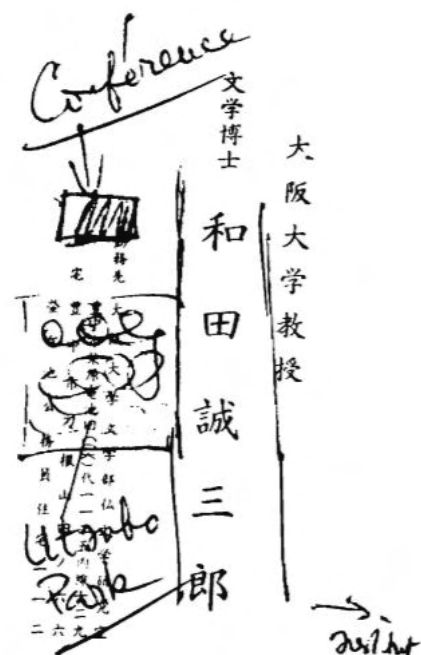
Recalling the first example illustrating the areal logic of Tokyo, a gentleman called Roland was lost in Tokyo. “Roland” was Roland Barthes, who visited Japan on an academic invitation and decided to stay there for nearly three years, and could have found the University of Tokyo rather easily if only he had used a mobile phone with a navigation app. Unfortunately, when he visited Tokyo in 1967, there was no GPS, let alone smartphones. Instead, he had to visit one of the many *kōbans* (交番, police boxes)²⁶ spread around the city to ask for directions.

From the days Barthes spent in Tokyo to today, nothing much has changed. While working on *Nezu*, I spent quite some time to record architectural details on a *chōme* that was slightly different from the others. Trying to find an angle to frame the facade

on a road that was no wider than two metres, I noticed a young man desperately trying to find an address with a pizza delivery box in his hand. He was checking his phone, then the numbers on the houses, then his phone again. He had to circumambulate the block – which could not be described with any of the geometrical shapes known so far – several times. The last time I saw him, he was heading to the *kōban* of which I was a frequent visitor.

Thanks to labyrinthine Tokyo, the frequently lost Barthes wrote some of the most prominent essays on Japanese culture. He hilariously called one of them “No Address:”

*This city can be known only by an activity of an ethnographic kind: you must orient yourself in it not by book, by address, but by walking, by sight, by habit, by experience; here every discovery is intense and fragile, it can be repeated or recovered only by memory of the trace it has left in you.*²⁷



14 Barthes' small map showing an address

Interestingly, the most intuitive texts on Tokyo was written by Barthes, who is a philosopher; a journalist, Peter Popham; and a cinema critic, Donald Ritchie. Popham manages to make sense of the chaotic appearance of Tokyo by following the rhythm of the main streets. He describes the immediate changes in built environment, such as the narrow alleys opening to main roads or the low-rise inner sections of neighbourhoods enclosed by high-rise blocks at the edge while likening this situation, strangely, to an egg;²⁸ the soft yolk being the low-rise and serene inner sections of the neighbourhoods, and the hard shell representing the high-rise blocks enclosing this inner part alongside the main roads. Popham is one of the first authors who linked these neighbourhoods with the ideals of Jane Jacobs regarding the city. He shows us the beautiful behind the “ugly” while looking into the deeper layers of Tokyo.²⁹

Richie tells the story behind the surface of Tokyo with the links that connect today’s Tokyo to its roots in Edo. The most valuable aspects of his works resemble those of his long-time friend Edward Seidensticker. Both authors underline the importance of understanding Edo (which was divided into two sections; the low city of commoners and the high city of daimyo lords and samurai) as a first step to comprehend Tokyo.

Richie also analyses the station squares. The transit-oriented development model of Tokyo creates function- and composition-wise extraordinary spaces around stations; *eki-mae* (駅前, station square). *Eki-mae* refers to a public piazza in a Japanese city, but a very different one with expressways,

pedestrian bridges, crossings, subway connection bridges, rail lines flying over ground level, underground passages, the sea of signboards on buildings surrounding the square and, finally, a leftover space assigned as the square itself. However, these are also the most vibrant areas in the city, which are highly accessible. Richie’s works on Tokyo carrying the joy of a spectator comes with very simple explanations on such complex sites of Tokyo.³⁰

Barthes spent three years in Tokyo and Richie stayed there for a lifetime; they are the insiders. They introduce the city as humane, lovable, homely and always interesting, without ignoring its ugly and chaotic side. The reader finds them somewhere in the city busy with giving glimpses of the life in Tokyo with the attitude of an *informant walker* “whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban text”.³¹ Richie even shares gossip with us when he was able to eavesdrop on the conversations in a public bath (*onsen*) popular among the men in the neighbourhood (they did not know that this informant could speak Japanese).

However, when it comes to the “hidden order” of Tokyo, the information provided by insiders – although most significant – does not work well enough to illustrate the order on its own. Their attitude towards Tokyo is quite similar to an occasion when a person talks about his best friend who happens to be eccentric. At the same time, no other author gives the details of everyday life, which is as important as the morphological side if not more so.

The academics with architectural backgrounds, who can appreciate such an intuitive approach and lively observations

within their studies, such as Botond Bognar, Barrie Shelton and Livio Sacchi, add a new dimension to the analysis of Tokyo. Their works are quite similar, but Bognar is more deeply involved with Japanese architecture, Shelton focuses on urbanism and Sacchi takes a position right in the middle.³² Their analysis is so broad that none of the idiosyncrasies known about Tokyo is left out. However, those singularities float about without being linked to each other, so it is not possible to see the entire system of Tokyo. This weakness, however, is shared by all authors praised here. Richie says honestly that as it is quite hard to categorise Tokyo, he does not follow a logical sequence in his analysis.

Space School

From the local side, there are two groups coming forward with their quite structured approach to urban study. I call them the space school, following the advice of Terunobu Fujimori, who will be revealed later.³³ The biggest names of the space school are Fumihiko Maki, Hidetoshi Ohno and Yoshinobu Ashihara, who is familiar to us from the amoebic Tokyo case. Fumihiko Maki is a Pritzker winner himself, and all three are architects who are also involved in teaching. In fact, they are the people who first noticed the lack of studies on urbanism in the University of Tokyo and gave a new direction to the department of architecture with a strong commitment to urban design.³⁴

Maki illustrates the fragmentary nature of Tokyo as a combination of parts coming together in an “as it fits” nature rather than a planned whole dictating particular rules to its parts.³⁵ At the city scale, these parts

are the neighbourhoods Popham likened to an egg. This trio, however, use the term “village” to touch upon the modest look of the neighbourhoods resembling a village. Maki also explains very complex terms that are distinctly Japanese, such as *oku* in the case of villages. After laying down the most basic layer of the structure, Maki enriches this analysis with the superimposed layers of main roads opened during the Meiji era, episodic centres emerged randomly with the intersection of metro and train lines with business and entertainment flourishing around them in the periods following, and the legacy of the Olympics in 1964 such as the inner-city expressway over the city.³⁶ However, Maki’s emphasis on such layers is not as strong as the desire of finding the clues about the logic of Tokyo in old Edo. Hidetoshi Ohno joins him in this regard with his works on the changes in the streetscape and housing typologies in the Edo period. He indicates that although the cityscape has been entirely altered, nothing much has changed in Japanese urban thought.³⁷ The same approach can be detected from the works of architectural historian Hidenobu Jinnai, who also looks for the traces of the past in Tokyo with the care of an archaeologist.³⁸

However, as Paul Waley also notes, these works coincide with an era when associating Tokyo with Edo nostalgically was quite popular among not only such key figures in academia, but also politicians whose aim was to promote Tokyo as a tourist destination.³⁹ Although the names listed here are certainly not in that category, the idea of finding answers to mysteries of Tokyo in old Edo cannot, for example, explain the futuristic

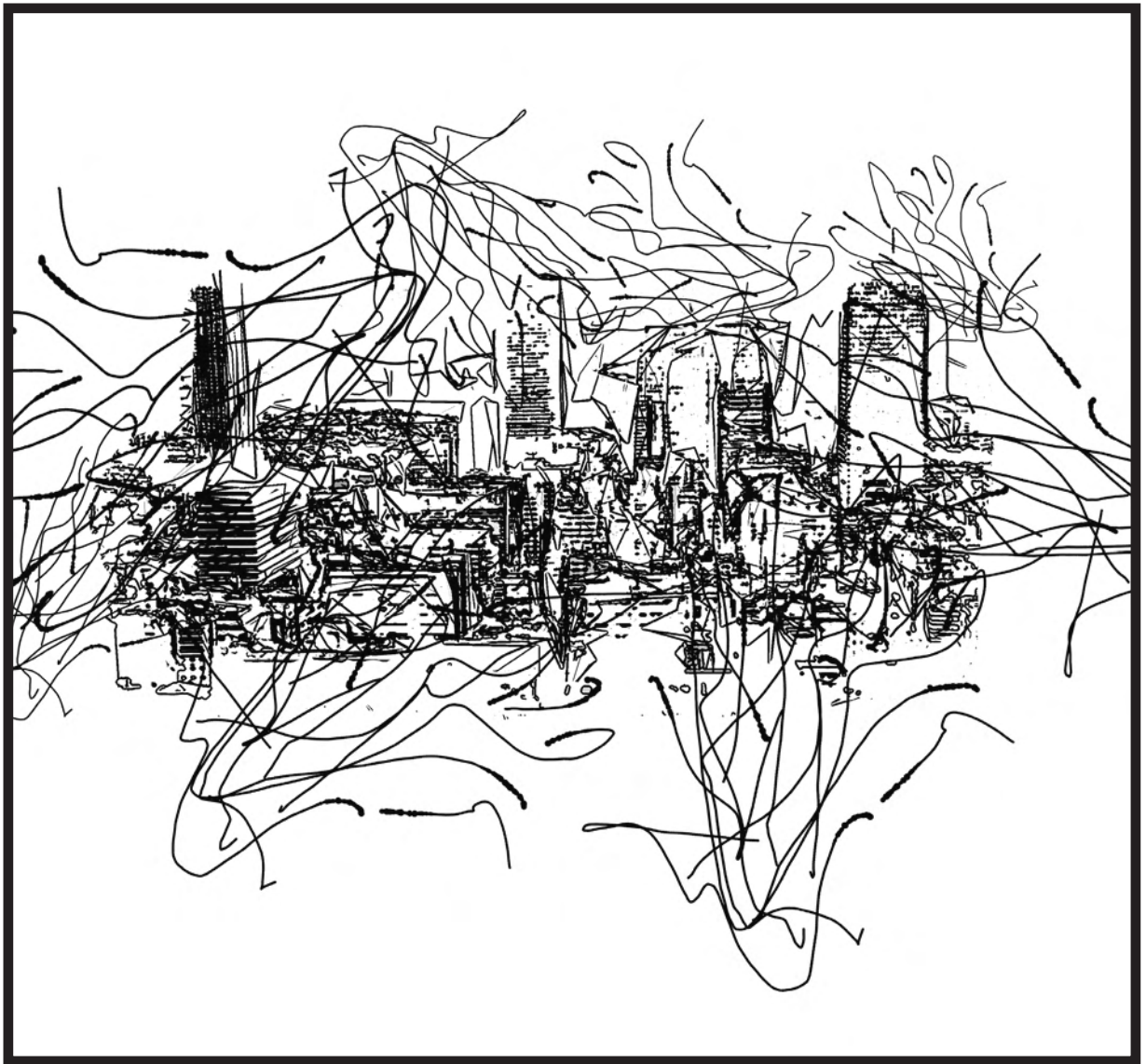
Akihabara. On the other hand, the idea of *layers* superimposed on one another as they fit explains the reasons behind the complexity of Tokyo better than any other group working on Tokyo.

Another group active in Japanese academia with architectural background is that of Arata Isozaki and Teiji Ito. Their study of *Nihon no Toshi Kukan* (日本の都市空間/彰国社編),⁴⁰ which can be translated as Japanese city space or Japanese urban space, although not available in English, is considered to be a milestone in the history of urban studies on Japanese cities. Ito and Isozaki examined some of the most prominent urban plans such as Antonio Sant'Elia's *Cita Nuova*, Le Corbusier's *Plan Voisin de Paris*, William Penn's plan for Philadelphia, L'Enfant's Washington and Daniel Hudson Burnham's plan for Chicago in *Kenchiku Bunka* (*Architectural Culture*) magazine in 1961. The second half of the issue is dedicated to their research on Japanese urban space, which was published in book format in 1968.

While trying to read *Nihon no Toshi Kukan* with my broken Japanese, I noticed similarities between the authors' language and Kevin Lynch's analytical style at the beginning; however, later on the language takes on a distinctively Japanese turn. Luckily, Ken Tadashi Oshima, providing a detailed review of the book and the conjectures of the time, also notices such a connection. He traces the source of Kevin Lynch's influence on the authors: Kenzo Tange. The most influential name in the Japanese architectural scene in the 1960s, while also being the first internationally recognised architect of Japan, Tange had control over department of architecture in the University of

Tokyo; he not only introduced Lynch's ideas to the curriculum, but also made sure that the newest developments in the West regarding both architecture and urbanism could be followed closely by the department. On the other hand, Isozaki, as a student of Tange, and Ito, teaching in the US were, naturally, already familiar with the renown of Lynch and many others listed above who were coming forward with their approaches to urban space.

Isozaki and Ito, who were aware of the existing tools available and also capable of using them, reached a striking conclusion: "This study revealed that many of the characteristics of Japanese cities cannot be adequately explained on the basis of Western urban concepts."⁴¹



15 Tokyo as a problem

“This study (Nihon no Toshi Kukan)
revealed that many
of the characteristics
of Japanese cities
cannot be adequately
explained on the
basis of Western
urban concepts.”

The question is developed in problems, and the problems are enveloped in a fundamental question. And just as solutions do not suppress problems, but on the contrary discover in them the subsisting conditions without which they would have no sense, answers do not at all suppress, nor do they saturate, the question, which persists in all of the answers. There is therefore an aspect in which problems remain without a solution, and question without an answer. (Deleuze, Logic of Sense, 67)

The Deleuzian “Problem”

After spending seven years on their research, two prominent architects state that the theories at hand do not work in Japanese cities. This represented a key moment for my journey. Although I learned all I know about Tokyo from the authors above and so many others that could not be mentioned in detail here (urban geographers Augustin Berque and Roman Cybriwsky, experts on Japanese culture Gunter Nitschke and Henry D. Smith, architectural critic Chris Fawcett and Kevin Nute, architects Kazuo Shinohara, Koh Kitayama, Toyo Ito, Ryue Nishizawa, Sou Fujimoto, Yoshiharu Tsukamoto), the initial methodological problem could not be solved, but only became more complicated with their

involvement; while I was searching for the answer to the question “How can we study a city so radically different, chaotic and undisclosed?”, I was told, “Japanese cities cannot be adequately explained on the basis of Western urban concepts”. However, the space schools do not provide a viable Japanese alternative either.

This is where Deleuze gets involved in research quite fundamentally. Rather than only using his complex version of reality to construct a context where Tokyo gains the status of a rich source to learn from and the act of learning becomes systematic with the actual, the virtual, planes and reterritorialisation, his method of solving problems is adapted to tackle



this methodological barrier. However, the Deleuzian problem, like many of his concepts, is a bit eccentric; it would be a waste of time to solve them, as they would work better if one tried to make them more and more complicated. These are the entities programmed to enlarge with each question answered as an attempt to solve them. The reason behind such oddity is Deleuze's inclination towards dialectics rather than analysis. Analysis usually looks for solutions, whereas dialectics focuses on the transformation of the problem while taking the investigation further by connecting each finding with others.⁴² Such connections generate new questions. So, while we have many answers, our problem gets more

complicated. In other words, answering the questions do not solve the problem. However, while our problem becomes more complicated with each question-answer linkage, we get to know more about our object, which, in fact, does solve the problem. Therefore, it can be said that Deleuze solves problems by making them more complicated through new questions and new ideas. To do so, I will introduce truly rebellious new characters who can make the methodological problem even more complicated than the phenomenal names mentioned in this chapter.

Figures and Illustrations

- 1 Nergis Kalli, *Edo and New York*, collage, 2018. Altered from *Edo map*, 1849, Height: 34 inch (86.3 cm); Width: 42 inch (106.6 cm) dimensions. This file was provided to Wikimedia Commons by Geographicus Rare Antique Maps, a specialist dealer in rare maps and other cartography of the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, as part of a cooperation project. Retrieved from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1849_Japanese_Map_of_Edo_or_Tokyo,_Japan_-_Geographicus_-_Edo-tokyo-1849.jpg, *204 Years Ago Today, the Manhattan Street Grid Became Official | 6sqft*, by John Randel, map, 1811. Retrieved from <https://www.6sqft.com/204-years-ago-today-the-manhattan-street-grid-became-official/>.
- 2 Nergis Kalli, *Address in Ikenohata*, diagram, 2018.
- 3 Bruno Taut, *Houses and People of Japan*, 1937.
- 4 *Black Ship at Shimoda*, painting, 1854, Ryosenji Treasure Museum Catalogue https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/black_ships_and_samurai/bss_essay03.html.
- 5 *Black Ship and Crew*, watercolour on paper, 1854, Ryosenji Treasure Museum Catalogue https://visualizingcultures.mit.edu/black_ships_and_samurai/bss_essay03.html.
- 6 U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, *The Powhatan*, photo, 1850, [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=USS_Powhatan_\(1850\)&oldid=880892960](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=USS_Powhatan_(1850)&oldid=880892960).
- 7 Uchida Kuiji, *Tenno Yondai No Shozo*, 1872, https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Emperor_Meiji&oldid=882700659.
- 8 The Library of Congress, *The Victorious Emperor of Japan--Beloved Ruler of a New World Power (LOC)*, photo, 19 March 1905, https://www.flickr.com/photos/library_of_congress/3993141513/.
- 9 Tokyo Metropolitan Government, *A Hundred Years of Tokyo City Planning*, vol. 28 (TMG Municipal Library, 1994), 9.
- 10 Hidenobu Jinnai, *Tokyo: A Spatial Anthropology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 129.
- 11 Utagawa Kunitoku II, *Tokyo Ginza Yoro Renga Ishi-Zukuri Shinzu*, woodblock print (ukiyo-e), 1873, https://www.library.metro.tokyo.jp/portals/0/edo/tokyo_library/english/modal/index.html?d=53.
- 12 Nergis Kalli, *The Location of Ginza*, collage, 2018. Altered from *Tokyo Places of Interest*, map, 1908. Retrieved from <http://www.oldtokyo.com/cartography/>.
- 13 *Ginza Becoming More Japanese*, photo, 1902, Ginza Town Association Catalogue, <http://www.ginza.jp/wp-content/themes/ginzaofficial/img/history13.jpg>.
- 14 Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs* (New York: Anchor Books, 2005), 35.
- 15 Nergis Kalli, *Tokyo as a Problem*, illustration, 2018.

Endnotes

- 1 Yoshinobu Ashihara, *The Hidden Order: Tokyo through the twentieth century*, 1st edn (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1989); Jorge Almazan, 'Hidden Micro-Cities: The Yokocho Bar Districts of Tokyo', in *Small Tokyo*, ed. Darko Radovic and Davisi Boontharm, Measuring the Non-Measurable; 1 (Tokyo: Flick Studio, 2012), 56–61; Fumihiko Maki, *City With A Hidden Past* (Kajima Institute, 2018). The “hidden” of Ashihara’s “hidden order” is heavily referenced sometimes in the title of the works on Tokyo or sometimes in the text. While referencing Ashihara, I also refer to others who take the “hidden” as a challenge, built on the assumption of its existence and actively search for it.
- 2 Henry D. Smith, ‘Tokyo and London: Comparative Conceptions of the City’, in *Japan: A comparative view*, ed. Albert M. Craig (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 81, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9781400867929>. Smith calls Japanese urban life “hurly-burly” to define the always chaotic but also always lively Japanese machi. In fact, he borrowed it from

a Dutchman doing business in Edo in the early 19th century who likens it to London in its hurly-burliness: “Although there are here no carriages to increase the noise and tumult, I can compare the hurly-burly of Edo to nothing but that of London”. Whatever the terminology, this sense of urbanity as close, noisy, and cluttered street life is one which crops up with surprising frequency among observers of both cities in the early modern period.

3 Cathelijne Nuijsink, ed., *How to Make a Japanese House = Nihon No Ie No Tsukurikata* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2012), 24.

4 Hidenobu Jinnai, *Tokyo: A Spatial Anthropology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 22. Another reason for this popularity is a cultural tendency. The aristocracy of the Edo era used to live in houses surrounded by large gardens on all sides. The wealthy merchants also tended to live in detached houses. It is believed that the residential choices of the era somehow penetrated into the culture and plays a role in the obsession with the detached single-family house.

5 Tokihiko Takatani, ‘The Underlying Structure of Streets’, in *City with a Hidden Past*, by Fumihiko Maki et al. (Tokyo: Kajimashuppankai, 2018), 47; Shelton, 121, 122.

6 Roman Cybriwsky, *Tokyo: The Shogun’s city at the twenty-first century*, World Cities Series (Chichester: J. Wiley & Sons, 1998), 149–153; Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs* (New York: Anchor Books, 2005), 30–32. When I first visited the Imperial Palace, I was very surprised to see that it was a forbidden zone. Visitors taking photographs in front of the palace grounds believe that what they see is the palace, but the real palace is hidden behind the greenery located at the centre and can only be seen from skyscrapers. It is not open to the public. This carefully planned invisibility is quite intriguing. Please see the detailed reviews of the authors above, whose experience is very close to mine.

7 Günter Nitschke, ‘Architecture and Aesthetic of an Island People’, in *In Detail: Japan - Architects, Constructions, Ambiance*, ed. Christian Schittich, 1 edition (Munich; Basel: Birkhäuser, 2002), 29.

8 Günter Nitschke, ‘Architecture and Aesthetic of an Island People’, in *In Detail: Japan - architects, constructions, ambiance*, ed. Christian Schittich, 1st edn (Munich: Birkhäuser, 2002), 27; Kisho Kurokawa, *Intercultural Architecture: The philosophy of symbiosis* (London: Academy Editions, 1991), 63–88.

9 Jun Hongo, ‘Tokyo Underground: Taking Property Development to New Depths’, *The Japan Times Online*, 12 April 2014, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/life/2014/04/12/lifestyle/tokyo-underground/>.

10 Stephen Mansfield, *Tokyo: A Biography: Disasters, Destruction and Renewal: The Story of an Indomitable City*, reprint edn (Tokyo: Tuttle Shokai, 2016), 165. The elevated expressways are usually built on old rivers and main roads that belong to the state.

11 Kurokawa, *Intercultural Architecture*, 69–88. Kurokawa provides a detailed review of how traditional Japanese architecture can illustrate the fundamental spatial characteristics of today’s Japanese urban and architectural thought.

12 Smith, ‘Tokyo and London: Comparative conceptions of the city’, 49–63. The princely aspect here also means stately and monumental. I borrowed the term from Henri D. Smith, who explains it with three characteristics: “monumental architecture, geometric ordering of the city plan and permanence of building techniques.”

13 André Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan: Cities and planning from Edo to the twenty-first century*, The Nissan Institute/Routledge Japanese Studies Series (London: Routledge, 2002), 47; Donald Richie, *Introducing Tokyo*, rev. edn (Tokyo: Kodansha USA, 1987), 68. Commodore Perry visited Japan with an iron-hulled fleet. The Japanese, who were isolated for more than two centuries, called them “black ships”, which refers to the foreign intervention on one hand and being introduced to new technology on the other.

14 Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan*, 25–59.

15 Carola Hein, ‘Shaping Tokyo: Land Development and Planning Practice in the Early Modern Japanese Metropolis’, *Journal of Urban History* 36, no. 4 (2010): 447–484, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022216X10000447>.

org/10.1177/0096144209347737.

16 Susanne Kohte, Hubertus Adam, and Daniel Hubert, eds., 'Architecture in Japan: Perceptions, Developments and Interconnections', in *Encounters and Positions* (Switzerland: Birkhäuser, 2017), 227–29.

17 Shōichi Inoue, 'Comprehending Politics from Urbanism and Architecture: Where Is Tokyo Headed?', in *Architecture and Urbanism of Tokyo*, ed. Norihiko Dan, First Edition edition (Taipei: Garden City Publishers, 2008), 218–34.

18 Augustin Berque, *Japan: Cities and Social Bonds*, trans. Chris Turner (London: Pilkington Press, 1997), 62; Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan*, 67.

19 Inoue, 'Comprehending Politics from Urbanism and Architecture: Where Is Tokyo headed?'

20 This was a very strange material choice for the Japanese, as this material could not perform well in the humid climate of Tokyo. Moreover, construction with red brick requires a significant width section to be as resistant as wooden beam structures, which were preferred and are still highly popular in earthquake-prone Japan.

21 Tokyo Metropolitan Government, *A Hundred Years of Tokyo City Planning*, vol. 28 (TMG Municipal Library, 1994), 2–12; Cybriwsky, *Tokyo*, 70–72.

22 Henry D. Smith, 'Sky and Water: The deep structures of Tokyo', in *Tokyo Form and Spirit* (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center Abrams, 1986), 55.

23 Paul Waley, *Tokyo Now and Then*, 1st edn (New York: Weatherhill, 1984).

24 Ashihara, *The Hidden Order*, 132.

25 Ashihara, *The Hidden Order*; Richie, *Introducing Tokyo*, 7. My intention is not to imply that Tokyo does not have any of these values. I believe Tokyo has them all, but in its own way. The beauty, harmony and monumentality here, however, are used to represent the understanding of these terms in the European context.

26 Japanese uniformed police work with the community from quite small stations called *kōban*. Japan, with its very low crime rates, does not really needs police officers in the community. Officers, however, while patrolling the area to make sure of the safety of the residents, spend more time giving people directions to the metro station or telling them where the nearest pharmacy is in an emergency. Rather than being a security force, they can be seen as local representatives.

27 Barthes, *Empire of Signs*, 33–36.

28 Popham is actually sympathising with his readers by using the analogy of an egg. He replaces the term *manju*, which is often used to describe the situation of neighbourhoods that hide a low-rise residential section behind high-rise blocks, with one more familiar to non-Japanese readers. *Manju*, on the other hand, is a dessert made by filling rolled dough with sweet red bean paste.

29 Popham, *Tokyo*.

30 Edward G. Seidensticker, *Low City, High City: Tokyo from Edo to the earthquake, 1867–1923*, New edn (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1985); Richie, *Introducing Tokyo*; Donald Richie, *Tokyo: A View of the City* (Reaktion Books, 1999); Donald Richie, *Tokyo Megacity*, 2nd edn (Tokyo: Tuttle, 2014).

31 Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 92,93.

32 Livio Sacchi, *Tokyo: City and Architecture* (New York: Universe, 2005); Botond Bognar, *Beyond the Bubble: The new Japanese architecture* (London: Phaidon Press, 2008); Botond Bognar, *Contemporary Japanese Architecture, Its Development and Challenge* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1985); Shelton.

33 Terunobu Fujimori, 'Under the Banner of Street Observation', *Forty-Five/Journal of Outside Study*, 2 June 2016, <http://forty-five.com/papers/154>. Fujimori only refers to Hidenobu Jinnai to illustrate the idea of "space school". Maki, Ohno and Ashihara are not mentioned by him. However, the fundamental characteristic of Jinnai's research and the works of such

important authors on the “hidden past” and “hidden order” of Tokyo are quite similar. I use the term “space school” as an umbrella term for these authors.

34 Hidetoshi Ohno, ‘The Schools: University of Tokyo’, in *Japan: At the cutting edge*, ed. Botond Bogнар, Andreas Papadakis and Günter Nitschke, 1st edn (London: Andreas Papadakis, 1999), 125–127.

35 Serge Salat, *Fumihiko Maki: An aesthetic of fragmentation*, 1st US edn (New York: Rizzoli International, 1988), 27.

36 Fumihiko Maki, ‘The Japanese City and Inner Space’, in *City with a Hidden Past*, Fumihiko Maki et al. (Tokyo: Kajimashuppankai, 2018), 154–70; Salat, Fumihiko Maki: An Aesthetic of Fragmentation.

37 Hidetoshi Ohno, ‘The External Layers of Streets’, in *City with a Hidden Past*, Fumihiko Maki et al. (Tokyo: Kajimashuppankai, 2018), 104–48.

38 Jinnai, *Tokyo*.

39 Paul Waley, ‘Re-Scripting the City: Tokyo from ugly duckling to cool cat’, *Japan Forum* 18, no. 3 (1 November 2006): 361–80, <https://doi.org/10.1080/09555800600947231>.

40 都市デザイン研究体 (Urban design research body) et al., *Nihon no toshi kūkan*. (東京: 彰国社, 1968).

41 Ken Tadashi Oshima, ‘Rediscovering Japanese Urban Space in a World Context’, *Journal of Urban History* 42, no. 3 (2016): 623–633, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144216635165>.

42 Gilles Deleuze, *Logic of Sense* (Bloomsbury, 2004), 54–56.



CHILD PLAYER

I am writing these lines from my favourite café in Newcastle. It is nothing like the regular coffee chains with comfortable seating and other decorations. This is a very small café with just six tables inside and two outside. Two Italian owners, who also bake the cakes, make the coffee and serve the customers are shouting to each other in Italian behind the tiny counter. I wanted to introduce quite ordinary details of everyday life that occur in this moment and in this place to show the method of working in practice of a group of architects: Wajiro Kon, Terunobu Fujimori, Yoshiharu Tsukamoto and Momoyo Kaijima. They seem to be lost in trivial details in their works on the city; however, what they really do is to reset

the basics in architecture by placing the seemingly not so grand everyday life and its events at the centre.

The Café

There is a family with two kids sitting next to the counter at the corner. They are talking about strawberries. The kids, facing the parents on the other side of two square tables joined to each other to accommodate four people, are surprised to see that their beloved strawberry cake is the target of their parents, who are also determined to make their point; they want the kids to eat fruit, not only on the top a cake but on its own. Every member of the family, including the kids, are



very seriously discussing the issue that it reminds me the arguments in the House of Commons. While wondering whether the discussion would be as interesting if one of the parents was sitting on the other side of the table, I feel the urge to take a chair, sit behind the kids and shout “hear, hear” to support them.

Right in front of me, I can see a lady chatting with the young man who just took the table next to her. There are people in the line waiting to order. After a while, the family left and another young man who then turned out to be this lady’s boyfriend

just arrived. He joined the conversation between the two. A father and his son are smoking outside while having their coffee. It is cold in Newcastle in this season, but as a consolation, it is always cold, so there is no meaning in waiting for the summer to come to sit outside. Another couple sharing this mindset took the second table outside. Sitting next to each other, both face the street; and an elderly couple borrowed two chairs from their table a few minutes later.

Even though the outside seating is not the best of its kind, just some chairs and tables placed randomly, it seems like everyone



- 1 *The cafe outdoor (opposite)*
- 2 *The cafe interior (above)*
- 3 *The view of Grey's Street from the cafe (right)*

enjoys it. They watch the people walking down Grey Street, which connects the Quayside to Grey's Monument. Although there is no town square in Newcastle, it can be said that the area around the Grey's monument acts like one. On top of the monument, Charles Grey's statue faces the River Tyne; the base of the column hosts different political groups; there are people listening to street musicians on the steps of the wide base, and friends waiting for each other at the Metro exit there.

While I was busy describing the scene outside, something strange happened. Our

young couple while having their cake and coffee, were also chatting with the young man at the other table for a while. But later, the boyfriend changed the position of his chair, in a way that meant the couple could only see each other. Our lonely guy is listening to music and reading a book now; but he is on a table that is for four people. This is a crime in this café; I just hope that he can feel the gaze of the owners on him. Regulars are aware of the Italian owners' unwritten regulations; if there are not many seats available, which is always the case, one needs to choose

one's seat accordingly. Luckily, he did the right thing an hour later and moved to the table by the window, which is just for two. Another group, squeezing into the place that was left by our family talking about strawberries, immediately moved to his table. This place has some very mobile costumers.

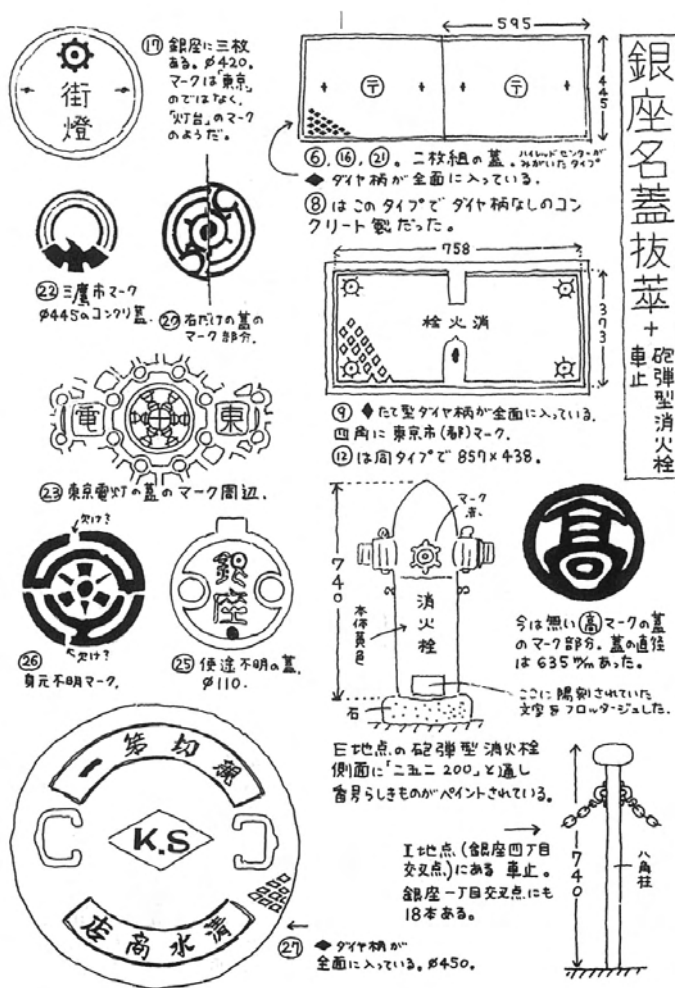
As a regular, I am sitting by the window; there is no other seat next to mine on the right-hand side and the bench by the wall is more comfortable than the chairs. I can see Grey Street and can watch the always angry owners and other quite colourful customers. This is the best seat in the café, not just because of its view, but also due to the placement of the table. It is surrounded by windows on three sides; although I have more privacy, I can see everything. In fact, there were two men sitting in my place when I arrived. The first thing that came to mind was, "how dare they". Of course, I kept all that to myself and sat just next to them, and as soon as they left half an hour later, which was what I was waiting for, I moved into their place. It was a relief to take my spot back. This seat, which is not so different than my desk at home or the one in the university, is a part of my *home as city*. I even feel the ownership of it somehow, due to my frequent visits. This is my small office, a *micro station* in the *fluid space* of the city.

Home as city is one of the main themes of this thesis, but the reason why the reader is exposed to an almost gossip description of this small Italian café is a group of Japanese architects and artists who are looking beyond the space as a three-dimensional unit. While mentioning the strange events in the café, I tried to show how everyday this place is, with the quite

trivial discussion about strawberries, how people can change the space and territorialise it more by only moving a chair, how a very basic arrangement of furniture, the borrowed view¹ of a lively public space and the tempting smell of coffee can create a space in its own right even in this freezing weather, how we fight with each other to pick the best seats in a café that has only six tables and how simple details make those tables better than the rest, how such non-architects sense those details "in a fragment of a second".² There is no architecture here based on the standards set by Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, but there is something so humane and so fundamentally spatial and architectural deeply hidden in this ordinariness.

I was not as sensitive to my surroundings, which may probably be considered as being nosy to some extent. Deleuze, who puts great importance on the tiniest details by emphasising that "micro" might be as important as "macro", is the source of inspiration. However, as much as Deleuze, I was influenced by Wajiro Kon, Yoshiharu Tsukamoto, Momoyo Kaijima, Terunobu Fujimori and the members of the Street Observation Society; a research group of artists. Their work diverges from Fumihiko Maki, Hidetoshi Ohno and Hidenobu Jinnai, whose reading of Tokyo was elaborated via detailed spatial analysis and an accompanying urban development history. More significantly, they remind us of the postmodern rebels with their attitude.

Venturi and Scott Brown are postmodern rebels, not in the sense of the postmodern movement, but postmodernism challenging the meta-narratives. From this perspective, it is not wrong to say that



4 The type of manholes covers by ROJO

5 Genpei Akasegawa, a ROJO member, taking the photo of a manhole cover



they have some similarities with Deleuze. The common characteristic between them is that they look at the reality out there as an opportunity to encounter the sublime, which could be a decorated shed in Las Vegas for Venturi³ and a line from a radio play for Deleuze.⁴ Their rebellious attitude increases the possibility of such encounter by being sensitive to the smallest detail, being non-judgemental and valuing the senses as much as the rational.

The Japanese rebels, some of whom also claim Venturi and Scott Brown as an inspiration for their work,⁵ can be even more rebellious than them. They talk

about the shape of cracks on teacups, the liveliness of quite small buildings resembling a pet due to their size and typologies of manholes on Tokyo streets. This may seem like nonsense, but the main reason behind such extremity is their quite humanistic approach promoting the experience of the everyday over more structured urban studies focusing on the form. In this section, they will be introduced with their stories, which involve the unique encounter of Tokyo. The aim is to show how the rebels' approach can complete some of the gaps left by the Space School and its insiders.

Child-player

The Japanese rebels resemble Deleuze's child-player who has no pre-established values.⁶ Deleuze actually refers to Nietzsche's metamorphoses of spirit; the camel, the lion and the child.⁷ The camel carries the burden of the world all alone in a desert: "What is heavy? Thus asks the weight-bearing spirit; thus it kneels down like the camel and wants to be well laden." He is tired of being chained to instructions and loads, wants to be free and does so by winning the war inside the spirit. Then, the camel becomes a lion, who is the authority of the desert. However, the lion had one more enemy to face; the dragon of "thou shalt" that represents "all values have already been created". The lion who has to ratify the spirit's actions concerning these values gets tired at one stage and just says "no". At that moment, the lion turns into a child who can beat the dragon. A child who is forgetful and innocent does not have any presuppositions in mind, so in this last stage the spirit creates itself. To be non-judgemental and being sensitive to the "micro" is like being a child-player who does not judge the world with the values of the dragon. This non-judgemental attitude can be combined with the curiosity of a child, which was highly praised by Deleuze by likening Spinoza, who he calls "the prince of philosophers", to a child: "Spinozism is the becoming-child of the philosopher."⁸ Here, the Japanese architects representing all these unconventional values are the child-players of the Tokyo game.

Wajiro Kon

Wajiro Kon (1888–1973) is well known for his documentation of social changes during the rapid modernisation of Japan in the early 20th century. He worked with Yanagita Kunio, the father of Japanese ethnography, on *minka* (民家, a traditional Japanese farmhouse). Kunio taught Kon to notice the world around him, which he later put into practice on urban Tokyo after it was devastated by the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923.⁹ Kon was observing earthquake survivors' struggle to build a shelter with the materials remaining after the fire following the quake. He wrote:

*The houses made from burned, corrugated iron scrap are a deep, chalky red. A man who managed to procure a can of coal tar went about applying it to the walls of the houses and to their strange, monstrous roofs until he had used up every last drop. A can's worth of markings was the houses' only decoration. These black, red, and blue houses with their roofs – sometimes light, sometimes heavy, often peculiar – are quite remarkable. Architects should take note of people's ingenuity.*¹⁰(emphasis mine)

Barracks Decoration Company

Deeply moved by his observations, he set up the Barracks Decoration Company with his friend Kenkichi Yoshida and students from Waseda University. They photographed the sites, took notes and sketched everyday life in the “barracks” (the temporary houses built to provide shelter). In the meantime, they undertook the decoration of shelters with the aim of improving the daily life of people even with some decoration on the surface. However, Kon was criticised by young Modernist architects for using ornaments,

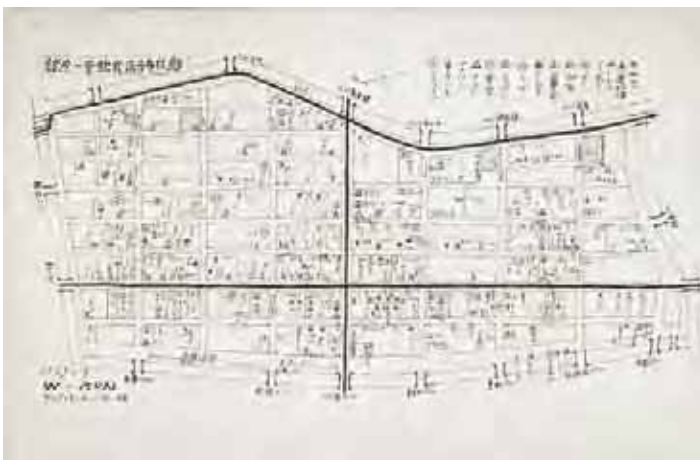
which was considered to be a crime at the time. In the long run of discussion, Kon explained the purpose of the Decoration Company as a contribution to survivors without any intention to engage in an intellectual discussion on stylistic issues. However, his humanistic standpoint was not received well and Kon decided to cut his ties with architecture.¹¹



6 “Barrack” Housing by Wajiro Kon

Modernology

Instead, he focused on the changes in the modernising society in the aftermath of the disaster. The new site for the observation was Ginza, as the centre of modernity in early 20th century Japan. Kon named this study that recorded Tokyoites' everyday life within the framework of the material culture of the era “Modernology”.¹² He did not use any structure based on scale or function; the only thing holding the study together is his observations following the ritual of life in the city. He and his friends from the Decoration Society noted the ratio of people preferring Western clothing over the traditional Japanese kimono, listed the new hairstyles and beard shapes, indexed the belongings of a married couple, analysed the sleeping positions of labourers on streets and how



7 Illustration on changing fashion during Meiji Era (above)

8 Map of Ginza in Modernology (left)

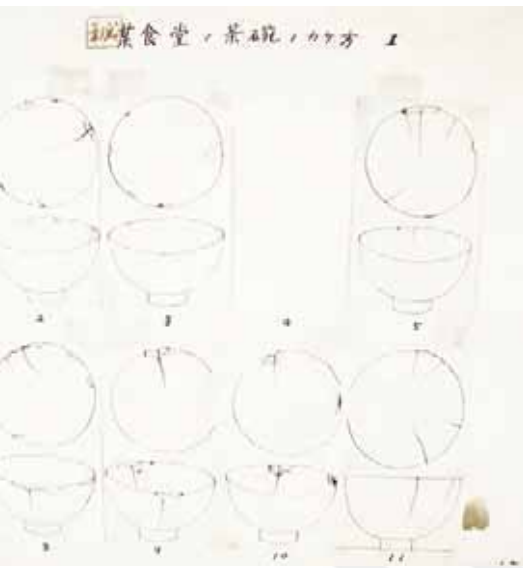
people formed groups in a park during the cherry blossom viewing ceremony.¹³ The trivial details of life, such as the analysis of the cracks on the surface of teacups, were there to keep the humorous side while criticising the limitation of existing approaches to urban studies.

This was a time that Japan was modernising not only in terms of replacing Japanese customs with Western ones; the approach to urban planning and architecture was taking a more authoritarian direction. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Japan was under the threat of colonisation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; the aim was to abolish the unequal treaties signed with Western powers by showcasing the modern capital resembling a Western

city with some make-up. Kon was against this adopted approach, which started to become more infused in the city space via top-down reforms, lacking the humanistic dimension he valued the most. He believed that city planning should be studied and implemented by understanding everyday life.¹⁴

Fluid Space

Recording furniture, souvenirs, personal belongings with the stories of objects made Kon realise that space is the container of life's events, and so it is naturally dynamic on a par with the movement of daily life. This is, in fact, a key notion; one of the discoveries that will be revealed later in this work is the concept of *fluid space* that



9 Patterns of cracks on broken balls (above)

10 Walking patterns in Marunouchi Building (below)



shapes with one's experience. The Japanese focus on the events more than the form or the three-dimensional qualities of space. Stretching this argument to an extreme shows that space can emerge in the dimension of time between two periods and then disappear, as in the case of a traditional Japanese house that becomes a living space in the daytime and a bedroom in the night-time, or Japanese streets becoming a public square in linear form during local religious celebrations. This, of course, is not a material disappearance, the three-dimensional space is still there, but its meaning for people changes; a bedroom becomes a living room or a major arterial road becomes a festival zone. Kon's emphasis on the activities of space with great attention to such human details only makes this singularity more visible.

Witty Lines

Kon's focus is on the intersection of the human and his/her relationship with the material world; thus, his aim is to illustrate the details of this relationship that he witnessed through observation studies. While he can draw well enough to create a faithful representation of the original scene, Kon's style usually remains personal and abstract. Moreover, he does not hesitate to use speech bubbles and arrows that resemble a manga storyboard. I believe his drawing style corresponds well with the humorous side of Modernology stories, such as the pattern of cracks on teacups.

On the other hand, he was not taken seriously immediately in academic circles for his attention to insignificant details and playful drawings. However, from the 1970s onwards, both his abstract style and method, which is known in Japan as “design survey” or “urban design survey”, became popular among Japanese architects and planners who were interested in everyday space. Members of ROJO, especially Terunobu Fujimori as a renowned architectural historian, practising architect and academic, express the influence of Kon's gaze on their work, which does not lack wit, sensitivity to detail or highly communicative visual language. Atelier Bow-Wow's *Behaviorology* is also a tribute to Kon's Modernology.¹⁵

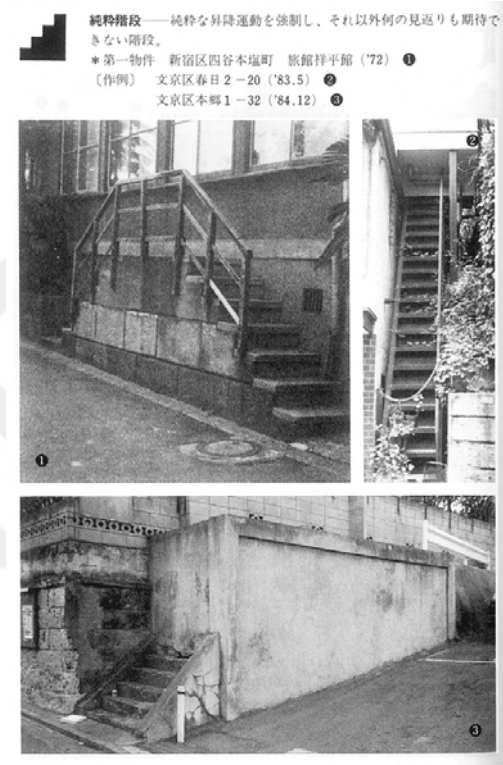
ROJO (Street Observation Society)

Terunobu Fujimori continued Kon's direction on the design survey with a new agency called Architectural Detective Group in 1970s. With cameras and sketchbooks in hand, these “detectives” walked around Tokyo streets to find historical buildings under the threat of demolition. The aim was to document every detail of these structures and create an archive of the heritage that might be lost.¹⁶ In 1986, Fujimori met with writer and avant-garde artist Genpei Akasegawa. In the same year, illustrator Shinbo Minami, modern manga artist and a researcher on Edo era customs Hinako Sugiura, editor Tetsuo Matsuda and writer Joji Hayashi joined them to establish the Street Observation Society, which is also known as ROJO (Rojo Kansatsu Gakkai).¹⁷

This team of interesting characters gathered at a location and walked around to find objects on the street that had no economic and cultural value. Genpai Akasegawa was the one who was behind this idea. In 1968, he learned about Kon, was influenced by him greatly and developed a similar methodology of going out and looking for certain things he would like to document. He came up with the term *Hyper-art*, which later transformed to “Thomasson” with an amusing twist. Hyper-art is used to define those defunct and useless but aesthetically pleasing objects that are left on the street or attached to residents’ property. These could be stairs going nowhere, fire hydrants, manholes, or an old TV set in someone's garden.¹⁸

Hyper-Art

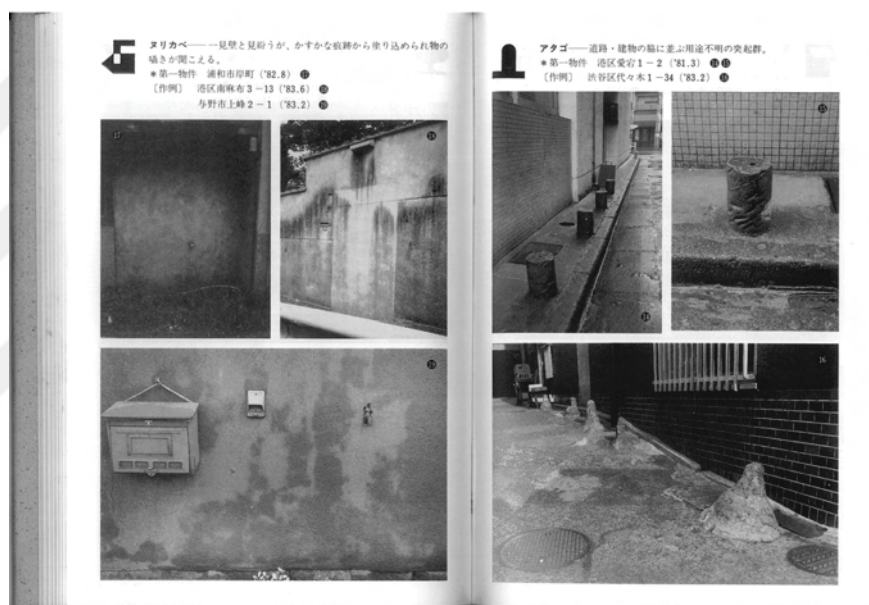
Thinking that “Hyper-art” did not do justice to the real definition of the term, Akasegawa came up with alternatives like “Hermetifices”, “Forgetifices”, “Impolises”, referring to “impotent organs of polis” and finally he decided on “Thomasson”. Gary Thomasson was a baseball player who played for Yomiuri Giants in the Japanese Nippon Pro Baseball League before his retirement. His transfer fee from the US was one of the highest ever paid in Japan. However, Thomasson's performance in Japan was





11 The hyper-arts found by the members of ROJO

Above Hinako Sugiura, a member of ROJO, is seen with her camera standing next to a hyper-art.



disappointing despite the fanfare for him. Akasegawa defined him as “a beautiful thing sitting on the bench with a fully-formed body and yet served no purpose to the world”.¹⁹ Thomasson was a living Hyper-art. Thus, Hyper-art was replaced by Thomasson, which was referenced heavily in the Japanese art and architecture scene thereafter.

The most important difference between Hyper-art and art, however, is the process

of creation. In the latter, the artist is the actor of production, but Hyper-art is not created by the artist, it is discovered. Such emphasis on discovery is quite important to note because all the postmodern rebels focus on understanding the environment by noticing something rather than creating a new thing solely with their imagination. In a sense, the eye of the beholder works more than his/her rational mind. By choosing the latter half of the *imagination and creation* versus *observation and discovery*

dichotomy, ROJO diverges from the school of art. ROJO not only reject the school of art, but its members also draw a barrier between their work and the discipline of architecture.²⁰

Object School versus Space School

The urban studies carried out in Tokyo at the time resembled Aldo Rossi's ideas on the city in relation to historical typologies. Hidenobu Jinnai's *Tokyo: A spatial anthropology* and *City with a Hidden Past* by Fumihiko Maki, Yukitoshi Wakatsuki, Hidetoshi Ohno and Tokihiko Takatan or *Text and the City* by Ai Maeda are some fundamental examples of this particular way of reading the city. Fujimori, as an architectural historian, strangely, disliked the idea of searching for the superimposed layers of Tokyo coming from Edo. Calling themselves the Object School and some architects mentioned above the Space School, he drew a very clear line between them:

We don't want any antagonism... The Space School conceals in its heart the desire to return to a harmonious integrity... [it] pays attention to the spaces at the water's edge, the stone walls and stone stairways of the storehouses and breakwaters that line the canals, following the flow of water.... The devastating techniques of the Space School, such as "reading a city" or "reading a code," are methodologically similar to semiotics. And what becomes visible as a result of these readings is the order of the good old days. The Edo waterfront was vibrant, the back alleys of the old downtown neighbourhoods were wonderful—that kind of thing.... However, alas, our eyeballs are not like that. When walking by a canal, rather than the floating spaces, our

eyes are first caught by the broken dolls, scraps of wood, and bottles floating on the surface of the water. Shamefully, we are more sensitive towards objects than spaces.... Because we are preoccupied by objects, each individual object leaves an interesting impression as it passes across our eyes, but no trace of an overall order remains on our retinas. Rather than the spaces, we have a direct reaction to the expression of the individual entity as a thing, so let us call this type of sensitivity "object sensitivity."²¹ (emphasis mine)

The rebellious side that reveals itself in the rejection of space as an entity has to be shaped in certain values such as harmony and order. In the case of Tokyo, these values were associated with the pre-modern era, which is why the architects mentioned above want to excavate the current layers to reveal it. Fujimori does not like Tokyo less than them, but his desire to be free of others' judgements finds shelter in objects which are free from the gaze of art and architecture:

[W]e wander about the town, and when we discover a good object, we begin to gain a sense of freedom, as if our eyeballs are being revived. We feel as if that part of the city has somehow come to belong to us.²²

From Object to Events

Even so, while it is possible to "get" Akasegawa's interest in Hyper-art, I could not understand the standpoint of Fujimori's obsession about objects such as an old TV set turned into chicken coops at the side of a street as a practising architect and one of the most important names in architectural history in Japan. However, I

soon noticed that the objects are a partly accidental encounter for him, as he looks for the incidents surrounding the object rather than indexing some eccentricities found on the street. In a sense, the object is there to signal the events that happened in the past and will happen in the future. The fact that there is no binding category other than the object itself, such as the historical or formal approaches to urban study, the voice of the site or the existing landscape, in the jargon of *Learning from Las Vegas*, can be heard clearly without a pre-judgement that can drown it out.

Such focus on the object also differs them, for example, Situationists. Rather than their experience of the city, what is communicated is what they found in the city. The subject takes himself/herself in a secondary position while indirectly making the object talk.

Abstract Lines

Fujimori praises ukiyo-e artists of the Edo period (1603–1868) who observed street scenes for their woodblock prints.²³ Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849) is one of the most well-known ones in the West, with his *Great Wave*. With the shortage of studies carried out on Tokyo, these prints documenting the appearance of a district and the life on the street can be immensely useful, which is why I consulted them quite frequently, especially when I was working on Ginza. While doing so, I noticed similarities between, for example, Hokusai or Keisei Eisen's prints of Tokyo and Kon's graphics and illustrations by the members of ROJO. This is not only about the similarities of lines, as Hokusai as an artist is beyond the level of our observers, but the sincerity, abstraction, humour and focus on everyday events, which could be the fishermen's struggle to earn a living from the ocean or an ordinary day in busy Nihonbashi. Child-players have this quality in common.

12 *Clearing the Weather in Nihonbashi* by Keisei Eisen, 19th century Edo



Atelier Bow-Wow

Atelier Bow-Wow is more known in the West than the other names mentioned above. Their small houses, which became homes for many on tiny plots, the details showing how much effort is spent to reduce the material section width or create aesthetically pleasing spaces without necessarily huge budgets and such playful twists in design proving how the idea of house, which is centuries old, can still be enriched by new meanings, are some of the reasons why their popularity extends beyond the Japanese archipelago.²⁴

However, Yoshiharu Tsukamoto and Momoyo Kaijima as the leading partners of the practice, who were born in the late 1960s, were not so lucky when they graduated. In the late 1980s, real estate prices were quite inflated, and the asset price bubble was on its way to collapse in 1991. Many architects who could not survive individually in such economic conditions established group practices; Atelier Bow-Wow and Mikan are the two of these who turned their interest to the city in the absence of job opportunities. In addition to them, Manabu Chiba and SANAA's Ryue Nishizawa developed an interest in cities. This generation was very positive towards chaotic Tokyo, unlike previous ones, because they witnessed the failure of big ideas such as Metabolism, which started as a big idea that turned into a disappointment in Osaka at World Expo '70. Witnessing the results of such failure, they believed in the potential of the small and the ordinary rather than grand gestures in architecture and urbanism.²⁵

Dame

Dame (駄目) is the most extreme form of their tendency towards the ordinary. This Japanese word means no good, not serving its purpose, useless or broken. The resemblance to Hyper-art is obvious here. *Dame* is not used as an adjective, but as a concept getting rid of hierarchical categories, so that it is possible to look at incredibly small noodle shops, expressways as concrete giants over the city or vending machines popping up at every corner as architectural elements worthy of studying. By doing so,

they were also searching for creative ideas in the everyday



寺院風○教会立面
立面○ペンシルビ
チンコですって借金
生態系をシンメトリ

サラ金
shark bank



パチ
pachin

07

パチンコカテドラル
pachinko cathedral

function: pachinko parlour + shark bank
site: Kabuki-cho, Shinjuku
- they are 3 separate buildings, but if viewed
appearance of Paris' Notre Dame cathedral
- instead of ornament showing the story of the
information banners advertising the internal
- the tenancies of the side tower buildings are
shark banks loaning money at extremely high
- one ecological system of the metropolis is formed
an endless cycle of losing money at pachinko

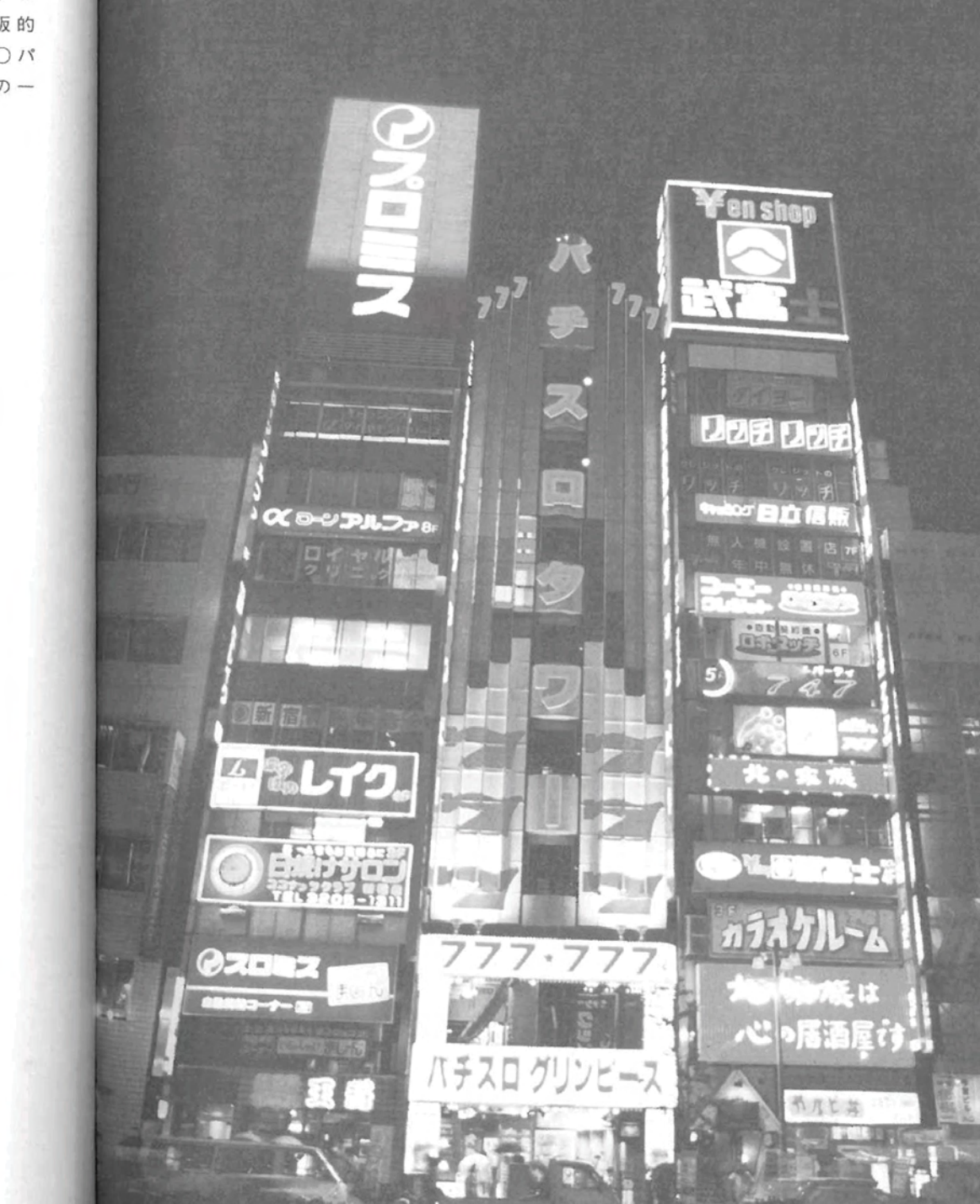
*13 Pachinko cathedral
as an example of dame in
"Made in Tokyo" by Atelier
Bow-Wow*

の聖書の物語に変わり、建物案内板的
ルの店子は半分以上がサラ金関係○パ
金してまたパチンコして…という都市の一
カルにパッケージ



as a unit, they take on the

the Bible, this complex pulses with
activities
are almost completely made up of
interest rates
formulated as a symmetrical package;
lo, loaning money, losing money...



life of the city. However, this was not the only intention; they also wanted to understand Tokyo by analysing the complex fragments of the city. In a sense, they were questioning the order of Tokyo.²⁶ As the city is not made up of the phenomenal works of well-known architects only, it is only natural to look in the other direction; at the ordinary. What can be found there might reveal the logic of Tokyo.

Foreigner's Gaze

The resemblance of *dame* to the attitude of the postmodern rebels is a key notion in this work; however, what influenced me more is their encounter with Tokyo, to which I can relate. They first notice that there is something strange about Tokyo on their way back from Europe:

When returning to Tokyo, especially from Europe, I'm often surprised. Roads and train lines run over buildings, expressways wind themselves over rivers, cars can drive

up ramps to the roof top of a six-storey building, the huge volume of a golf practice-net billows over a tiny residential district. Major European cities are still using the buildings of previous centuries, and have not been modernised in terms of building stock renewal. By comparison, almost all of Tokyo's buildings have been constructed within the last 30 or 40 years, using modern technology. It is this technology that has formed a background to the appearance of shameless spatial compositions and functional combinations, unthinkable in the traditional European city. So what is this city of Tokyo, which can allow such unthinkable productions? How have we managed to arrive at such a different place from that of European modernity despite the availability of the same building technology?²⁷

The moment they ask these questions is as interesting as the questions themselves; they realise the strangeness of Tokyo on their way back home from a contrasting context. Yoshiharu Tsukamoto, who studied at Ecole d'Architecture de Paris, and Momoyo Kaijima, who studied at ETH Zurich, were used to another normality in the Continental European context, which is why it was possible for them to notice the contrasting situation.²⁸ They had the gaze of a foreigner that could spot the abnormalities by being liberated from the norm of Tokyo; however, they only used the foreigner's gaze, not the foreigner's ideas, on the city to explain it. Jinnai, who was listed in the Space School team by Fujimori, for example, studied and taught in Italy, and used the theories created to explain the realities of the Western city on Tokyo.²⁹ I think he was quite successful in doing so and helped me immensely during

my journey; however, this was only a view of Tokyo seen behind selectively chosen lenses. The singularity of Tsukamoto's studies on Tokyo with Kajima or in collaboration with others such as Ryue Nishizawa and Koh Kitayama comes from this single point of creating methods specific to Tokyo while looking at it from a distance.

From Observation to Idea

The *dame* cases of Tokyo were collected in *Made in Tokyo*, which was designed in the form of a guidebook as a reaction to the popular guidebooks of the time showcasing the contemporary architecture of Tokyo. A pachinko parlour resembling Notre Dame Cathedral replaced architectural gems such as *International Forum* by Rafael Viñoly in *Made in Tokyo*.

The second volume of the genealogy more specifically uses only one typology; pet architecture.³⁰ These buildings are small to a degree that they resemble a pet. Tsukamoto plays with the words here by referencing the term "rabbit hutches", which is associated with an old European Commission report that tellingly dismissed relatively small Japanese houses by drawing such an analogy.³¹ Rather than ignoring this issue, they embraced it with joy and came up with more than 70 cases of pet architecture in Tokyo. Each building shows a new way of appropriating the scarce space available in the city, maybe not as a planned development but a by-product of the system, with some amusing stories. What is in common in both guidebooks is the method; observation. While members of the research group spread themselves around Tokyo searching for something specific, they needed



14 A pet architecture case in *Pet Architecture Guidebook*



15 Mini House by *Atelier Bow-Wow*

to be more aware of the surroundings to spot; for example, impossibly small buildings or unimaginable combinations. So far, this is not very different to Kon and ROJO's approach. Atelier Bow-Wow takes it one step further by using their findings in their design work. As practising architects, it is only natural for them to take advantage of the research on the city that has already been pursued in their own works. However, they do not only use their observation for design work, but also the process of design as a feedback for the observations. The ideas borrowed from the city that are actualised in a house can show those ideas in concrete form. I can see the reflections of, for example, pet

architecture in Mini House. On the other hand, I might be seeing it only because I am inclined to; although they state that the act of design is used to strengthen their works based on urban study,³² there is no publication clearly showing that, either in the guidebooks mentioned or in *Behaviorology*, *Void Metabolism* or *Echo of Space*. Nevertheless, the idea of using design as a process of experimentation to develop the data gained through observation to a concrete idea defines creative practice as good as Venturi and Scott Brown's *Learning from Las Vegas*, if not more.

Mechanic Lines

Although similarities with other rebels are obvious, there are differences as well. The most apparent one is the visual language; instead of hand-drawn sketches telling the story in its purest form with the sincerity of the human dimension hidden behind the imperfect lines, Bow-wow prefers the mechanical and straight lines. Strangely, both guidebooks were accepted by academia without a problem, unlike Kon and ROJO.³³ However, they only focus on the objects of discovery – their form, location and function – without paying much attention to the life going around them; the space cannot be linked to its events without that extra step that they do not take. Thus, the choice of mechanical lines may be right on point to emphasise the formal qualities of the object rather than the experience of the subject in relation to those observations.

Tokyo-like as a Category

Child-players introducing new aspects to urban study do not explain the order of Tokyo, as they do not even have an interest in it, with the exception of Tsukamoto and Kaijima. The questions that could not be answered in the previous section can not only not be answered but are altogether ridiculed by the playful approach shared by child-players. However, this crowded group has succeeded in making the problem complex enough so that an answer emerges on its own.

Before getting there, there is one more point to demonstrate regarding the characters in the thesis with the help of Deleuze. The *plane of immanence* (in the terminology of “Immanence: A life”)³⁴

which Deleuze associates with life is the plane of everything. It is not only the hidden part of this or that object or subject. The content of this plane is made up of singularities and intensities. In the plane of immanence, there are some zones that are a bit denser than the rest of the plane, which refer to the locations where the object is forming.

The object is reaching towards the actual while having one side in the plane of immanence constantly developing from the life itself. This also means that we are all connected as we all become ourselves with the molecular intensities of this plane. However, by “we”, what is meant is not the reader and writer, not even human beings; but every single entity that can be defined in the entire universe. Deleuze calls this the univocity of being:

Why is the idea of degrees of power fundamentally linked to that of the univocity of being? Because beings which are distinguished solely by the degree of their power are beings which realize a single univocal being, except for the difference in the degree of power or its withdrawal. So between a table, a little boy, a little girl, a locomotive, a cow, a god, the difference is solely one of degree of power in the realization of one and the same being. (Anti-Oedipus Seminar, 14 Jan. 1974)³⁵

The degree of power, which is also known as capacity to affect and to be affected, is the term mainly focusing on the relationships between different things and their events rather than their definable qualities. For example, Deleuze prefers to say “the tree greens” instead of “the tree is green” because the former shows the direction of becoming in the case of the tree; the tree

that has the capacity of turning green is defined with this capacity rather than the shape of leaves or the size of the trunk.³⁶ Another popular example is the apple and the knife; the apple has the capacity of being cut while the knife has the capacity to cut. However, this relationship cannot be established for a piece of hard metal plane and the same knife, because the metal plane does not have the capacity of being affected by this knife. This indicates two things; firstly, the capacity to be affected, although it seems like a passive activity, is as important as the capacity to affect; secondly and more importantly, the apple and the knife, which belong to different categories, can be freed from those categories and join in the same assemblage when verbs replace adjectives or events replace the pre-established definitions. This is not so different from the story of Fujimoto's conceptual house project; the meaning of house rethought by simply forgetting the preconceived categories for a while.

Categories, therefore, are like intellectual baggage; this is a city, this is a human being, this is a tree and so forth, as if there are drawers for every kind of information assigned for a tidy reality. However, if they are a bit relaxed, as in this example given by Deleuze, there may be more interesting combinations:

Between a racehorse and a draft horse, which belong to the same species, the difference can perhaps be thought as greater than the difference between a draft horse and an ox. Which comes down to saying that the draft horse and the ox are taken in the same assemblage [agencement] and that their degrees of power are closer to

*one another's than is the draft horse's degree of power to the racehorse's.*³⁷ (*Anti-Oedipus Seminar, 14 Jan. 1974*)

Tokyo, Deleuze, postmodern rebels and child-players are not so different from each other when they are freed from those categories. The way the thesis constructed with their help is not, however, intentional. Only much later did I notice that every single character in the thesis, and even the ones who has a strong influence from outside, have this particular quality. So, in a sense, Tokyo is studied with the help of Tokyo-like thoughts of the Tokyo-like. In the process of increasing my ability to become one of them during this journey, I made a small contribution to solving the methodological problem of Tokyo, which can be seen in the next chapter.

Figures and Illustrations

- 1 Nergis Kalli, *The Cafe Outdoor*, illustration, 2018.
- 2 Nergis Kalli, *The Cafe Interior*, illustration, 2018.
- 3 Nergis Kalli, *Grey Street from the Cafe*, illustration, 2018.
- 4 Terunobu Fujimori, 'Under the Banner of Street Observation', *Forty-Five / Journal of Outside Study*, 2 June 2016, <http://forty-five.com/papers/154>.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Wajiro Kon, *Barrack Housing*, ink on paper, 1923, Kogakuin University Library, <http://adht.parsons.edu/blog/upcoming-event-in-macau-kon-wajiro-on-tour/>.
- 7 Wajiro Kon, *Wajiro Kon - Retrospective* (Kyōto-shi: Seigensha Art Publishing, 2011).
- 8 Wajiro Kon, *Modernology Map of Shops in Ginza Area*, ink on paper, 1930, Kogakuin University Library, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144216635151>.
- 9 Wajiro Kon, *Patterns of Crack on Broken Balls*, ink on paper, 1930, Kogakuin University Library, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144216635151>.
- 10 Wajiro Kon, *Figures and Passages in Marunouchi Building*, ink on paper, 1923, Kogakuin University Library, <http://adht.parsons.edu/blog/upcoming-event-in-macau-kon-wajiro-on-tour/>.
- 11 Fujimori, 'Under the Banner of Street Observation'.
- 12 Keisai Eisen, *Clearing Weather at Nihonbashi (Nihonbashi No Seiran)*, from the Series *Eight Views of Edo (Edo Hakkei)* -, woodblock print (ukiyo-e), 1847 1843, <https://ukiyo-e.org/image/mfa/sc222835>.
- 13 Momoyo Kaijima, Junzo Kuroda, and Yoshiharu Tsukamoto, *Made in Tokyo = Meido in Tokyo* (Tokyo: Kajima Institute Publishing, 2001).
- 14 Momoyo Kaijima, *Pet Architecture Guide Book* (Tōkyō: World Photo Press, 2002).
- 15 Atelier Bow-Wow, *Mini House*, photo, 1999, <http://architectuul.com/architecture/mini-house>.

Endnotes

- 1 The borrowed view is a reference to *shakkei* (借景, borrowed scenery). *Shakkei* is the Japanese method of borrowing distant views and incorporating them in an existing garden design by framing the view clearly. This way, the view becomes a part of the garden. The borrowed view in the example is the view of Grey's monument. The café, which has no distinctive interior or any architectural gesture that would make it singular becomes a point of attraction thanks to the borrowed view of the city.
- 2 Gili Merin, 'Peter Zumthor: Seven personal observations on presence in architecture', *ArchDaily*, 3 December 2013, <http://www.archdaily.com/452513/peter-zumthor-seven-personal-observations-on-presence-in-architecture/>. Peter Zumthor, who inspired the method of learning from space just being there, also says, "In a fragment of a second you can understand: things you know, things you don't know, things you don't know that you don't know, conscious, unconscious, things which in a fragment of a second you can react to: we can all imagine why this capacity was given to us as human beings – I guess to survive". "In a fragment of a second" is a reference to this ability that is given to us.
- 3 Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1972).
- 4 Antonin Artaud, *To Have Done with the Judgment of God*, 1947. The term "Body without organs" is borrowed from Antonin Artaud's radio play. Deleuze later developed it as a concept in its own right.
- 5 David Orkand et al., 'Strangely Orthodox', in *House Genealogy Atelier Bow-Wow*, vol. 85 (Japan Architect, 2012), 5–9.
- 6 Joe Hughes, *Deleuze's 'Difference and Repetition': A reader's guide* (London: Continuum,

2009), 138; Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition* (Bloomsbury, 1994).

7 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, trans. Anthony Common, new edn (Ware, UK: Wordsworth Editions, 1997).

8 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia* (2004), 313.

9 Terunobu Fujimori, 'Under the Banner of Street Observation', *Forty-Five/Journal of Outside Study*, 2 June 2016, <http://forty-five.com/papers/154>; Jilly Traganou and Kuroishi Izumi, 'Design and Disaster: Wajiro Kon's Modernologio', *Exhibition: Disaster and design*, March 2014.

10 Terunobu Fujimori, 'The Origins of Atelier Bow-Wow's Gaze', in *The Architectures of Atelier Bow-Wow: Behaviorology*, by Atelier Bow-Wow, trans. Nathan Elchert, 1st edn (New York: Rizzoli International, 2010), 123.

11 Traganou and Izumi, 'Design and Disaster'.

12 Wajiro Kon, *Wajiro Kon – Retrospective* (Kyoto: Seigensha Art Publishing, 2011).

13 Fujimori, 'Under the Banner of Street Observation'.

14 Traganou and Izumi, 'Design and Disaster'; Izumi Kuroishi, 'Urban Survey and Planning in Twentieth-Century Japan: Wajiro Kon's "Modernology" and its descendants', *Journal of Urban History* 42, no. 3 (2016): 557–581, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144216635151>.

15 Laurent Stalder, 'Behaviorology', in *Graphic Anatomy*, by Atorie Wan (Tokyo: Toto Shuppan, 2007), 99.

16 Fujimori, 'Under the Banner of Street Observation'; Fujimori, 'The Origins of Atelier Bow-Wow's Gaze', 125.

17 *Rojo* (路上) means on the road; on the way; in the street. Another term, *roji* (路地), however, means alleyway or lane. The members use the first meaning while using the word "ROJO" as their title, yet Rojo Kansatsu Gakkai is translated in English as Street Observation Society. The small nuance between "on the road" and "road," that shows members' obsession of being in the field, is lost in the translation.

18 Kuroishi, 'Urban Survey and Planning in Twentieth-Century Japan'.

19 Kuroishi; Jordan Sand, *Tokyo Vernacular: Common spaces, local histories, found objects*, 1st edn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 21; Megumi Komura, 'Dame', in *Graphic Anatomy*, by Atorie Wan (Tokyo: Toto Shuppan, 2007), 15.

20 Fujimori, 'Under the Banner of Street Observation'.

21 Fujimori.

22 Fujimori.

23 Fujimori.

24 Nobuyuki Yoshida and Atorie Wan, *House Genealogy*, Atelier Bow-Wow: All 42 houses, Japan Architect (1991), no. 85 (Tokyo: Shinkenchiku-sha Co, 2012). Japan Architect dedicated an entire issue to these houses as a thank you to Tsukamoto and Kajima.

25 Cathelijne Nuijsink, 'The Japanese Single-Family Home A typology that moves with its time', in *How to Make a Japanese House = Nihon No Ie No Tsukurikata*, ed. Cathelijne Nuijsink (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2012), 27; Taro Igarashi, 'From Ripples and Waves', in *How to Make a Japanese House = Nihon No Ie No Tsukurikata*, ed. Cathelijne Nuijsink (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2012), 140.

26 Komura, 'Dame'; Yoshiharu Tsukamoto, 'What Is Made in Tokyo?', in *Urban Flashes Asia: New architecture and urbanism in Asia*, ed. Nicholas Boyarsky and Peter Lang, 1st edn, vol. 73/5 (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Academy Press, 2003), 41; Momoyo Kajima, Junzo Kuroda and Yoshiharu Tsukamoto, *Made in Tokyo = Meido in Tokyo* (Tokyo: Kajima Institute Publishing, 2001).

27 Kajima, Kuroda, and Tsukamoto, *Made in Tokyo = Meido in Tokyo*, 40.

28 Yoshikazu Nango, 'Atelier Bow-Wow's Approach to Urban and Architectural Research', in *The Architectures of Atelier Bow-Wow: Behaviorology*, by Atelier Bow-Wow, trans. Nathan Elchert, 1st edn (New York: Rizzoli International, 2010), 321–240.

- 29 Hidenobu Jinnai, *Tokyo: A spatial anthropology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
- 30 Momoyo Kaijima, *Pet Architecture Guide Book* (Tokyo: World Photo Press, 2002).
- 31 Nango, 'Atelier Bow-Wow's Approach to Urban and Architectural Research', 326.
- 32 Tsukamoto, 'What Is Made in Tokyo?', 47.
- 33 In the case of Wajiro, his use of speech bubbles, which reminds us of manga story boards and his insistence on the importance of everyday on design was disapproved of by academia. In the case of ROJO, Fujimori openly states that they did not care whether their work is considered to be academic or not.
- 34 Gilles Deleuze, 'Immanence: A life...', *Theory, Culture and Society* 14, no. 2 (1997): 3–8, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276497014002002>. The *plane of immanence* can be replaced with the previously introduced terms of *virtual* and *plane of consistency*. Although there are differences between these terms, those small nuances cannot prevent the use of one in place of the other. However, the reason why I preferred to introduce one more concept to an already crowded list of Deleuzian terms by insisting on using the term *plane of immanence* is one of those small nuances that is significant in this case. The plane of immanence is more about life, it is more general and less technical. There is no extra layer of complexity that Deleuze usually demonstrates in his other concepts while constructing his version of reality. For this reason, the plane of immanence explains the categories mentioned in the text slightly better, especially after the stories of child-players, who are all seeking the events of life rather than the forms, were introduced.
- 35 Hughes, Deleuze's '*Difference and Repetition*', 57–58.
- 36 Gilles Deleuze, *Logic of Sense* (Bloomsbury, 2004), 6–8.
- 37 Hughes, Deleuze's '*Difference and Repetition*', 74.

CHARACTERS AND MOMENTS

Borrowings from Introduced Characters

Tokyo is an *other* with its areas instead of lines and its “shameless”¹ attitude of having no desire to be “beautiful”.² Shameless Tokyo was found to be intriguing by a group of insiders who experienced the city just like a Tokyoite. Their vivid descriptions and genuine reviews of the eccentricities of the city take the reader to the same places as a companion. Their sincerity and more casual approach, which might not seem quite academic at first glance, interestingly has the capacity of telling more with less, because instead of blurring the analysis with opinions they reference the events of space to make their point. I tried to borrow from this first group their ways of storytelling and spontaneity.

The second group is the Space School with two of the most respected names of Japanese architecture; Fumihiko Maki and Arata Isozaki. Influential academics with architectural backgrounds such as

Hidetoshi Ohno and Hidenobu Jinnai are also in this group. The common characteristic is that they are all influential people who graduated from the University of Tokyo, of which the department of architecture was restructured by Kenzo Tange in the 1960s.³ All the authors are either still active or had experience of teaching in the same university, which defines the direction of architecture in the country. The analytical approach to urban analysis and emphasis on the documentation of history of place are two characteristics of this group. The fundamental idea borrowed from them is the fact that Tokyo is made of *layers* superimposed on each other; Edo, at the bottom, can be seen with a careful excavation of the piled-up layers.⁴

The last group is the child-players, of which the pedigree starts with Kon Wajiro and develops through ROJO and

Atelier Bow-Wow. The child-players, who embraced the alternative design survey method, record and collect certain things they notice in the city. Some examples are Wajiro recording the sleeping positions of labourers on the street, ROJO hunting the Thomassons, and Tsukamoto, Kajima and Kurodo searching for pet architecture. What is borrowed from child-players is their method; the design survey.

Concept versus Chaos

After summarising first two chapters in this part with the aspects borrowed from each group, we can proceed with the solution found to the methodological problem articulated through the question, “How can we study a city that is so radically different, chaotic and undisclosed?” To do so, firstly I will introduce the remaining tools left in the Deleuzian toolkit in this section. The first is a familiar one from the discipline of architecture, the concept, but the Deleuzian version is, unsurprisingly, a bit different. Deleuze uses this term to define philosophers’ area of expertise; “the art of forming, inventing, and fabricating concepts”. He and Guattari have a very detailed explanation of the concept in *What is Philosophy?*⁵ However, as they utilise the term in their work as philosophers, looking at what they do might be a better idea than passing on what they say.

The authors quite often come up with a term about which everyone has a general idea, but then they fill the word with so much meaning that in the end this familiar word becomes something else. If one ever has the desire to fully understanding what this something else means, one needs to read, not the chapter, not the book it is introduced in, but the entire anthology. If

this is the case, then, this word is a concept. All the tools borrowed from Deleuze are in this category; they are his concepts.

Other than being painful, Deleuzian concepts have four characteristics; firstly, none of the concepts work on their own, but make sense within a structure; secondly, they always target a problem and are never created for the sake of the act of creation; thirdly, they cannot be found readily available “out there”, but must be created by the one who has the problem. Lastly and most importantly, the concepts are fabricated to be able to think with them. They represent the less complex version of reality that provides “a little order” so we can work with it.⁶ In the case of absolute chaos, although it is not something to be feared, there is no possibility of operating. This “a little order” is absolutely crucial to open up some space in which one can think. The definition of “concept” as such provides an interpretative approach to the notion of the conceptual framework that will be used in the thesis.

The chaotic appearance of the city preventing one seeing its “hidden order” can be solved with this “a little order” introduced by the conceptual framework. Of course, this also means that instead of the real Tokyo out there, its representation will be introduced here as this “a little order” tones down some aspects of the city to make others more visible. However, while working on the other part of the problem, which is related to the difference of Tokyo, I believe I accidentally found a solution for this issue as well.

“We require just a little order to protect us from chaos. Nothing is more distressing than a thought that escapes itself, than ideas that fly off, that disappear hardly formed, already eroded by forgetfulness or precipitated into others that we no longer master.”

Singularity versus Difference

The second problem is the difference; Tokyo cannot be associated with any other city model. Likewise, this problem also can be solved very effortlessly by manipulating another tool created by Deleuze; singularity, the tool of tools.

Deleuze defines singularity as “the point for a series which extends over all the ordinary points of the system”, “the source of a series extending in a determined direction right up to the vicinity of another singularity”, “shining points in the structure of a given Idea,” “turning points and points of inflection; bottlenecks, knots, foyers, and centers”, “singular points characterizing a mathematical curve, a physical state of affairs, a psychological and moral person”.⁷

The main qualities of singularity are being definitive and differentiating. My singularities, defining who I am, also differentiate me from every other being in the entire universe. While I am transforming through the experience of this world, I am becoming more and more myself, unique in my own way (as is everyone else). The singular points that make me unique exist together with all other ordinary points forming my structure. However, the ordinary points are not as essential as the singular ones in the analysis of myself. This might seem to clash with the praise of the ordinary in the previous section. However, what is referred to as the ordinary here is not related to the triviality of the everyday hiding the humanistic events occurring in space, which are perfectly singular. The ordinary points are those that can be ignored, as the singular one among them can denote them all. I will borrow an analogy drawn by Deleuze in a seminar on Leibniz to emphasise this nuance:

*Question: how many singular points do you give to a cube? I see your vexed amazement! There are eight singular points in a cube. That is what we call singular points in the most elementary geometry: points that mark the extremity of a straight line. You sense that this is only a start. I would therefore oppose singular points and ordinary points.*⁸

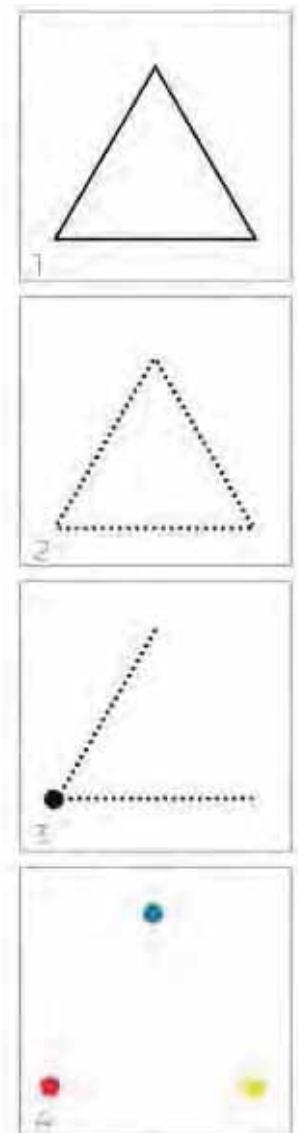
1 The Singularity

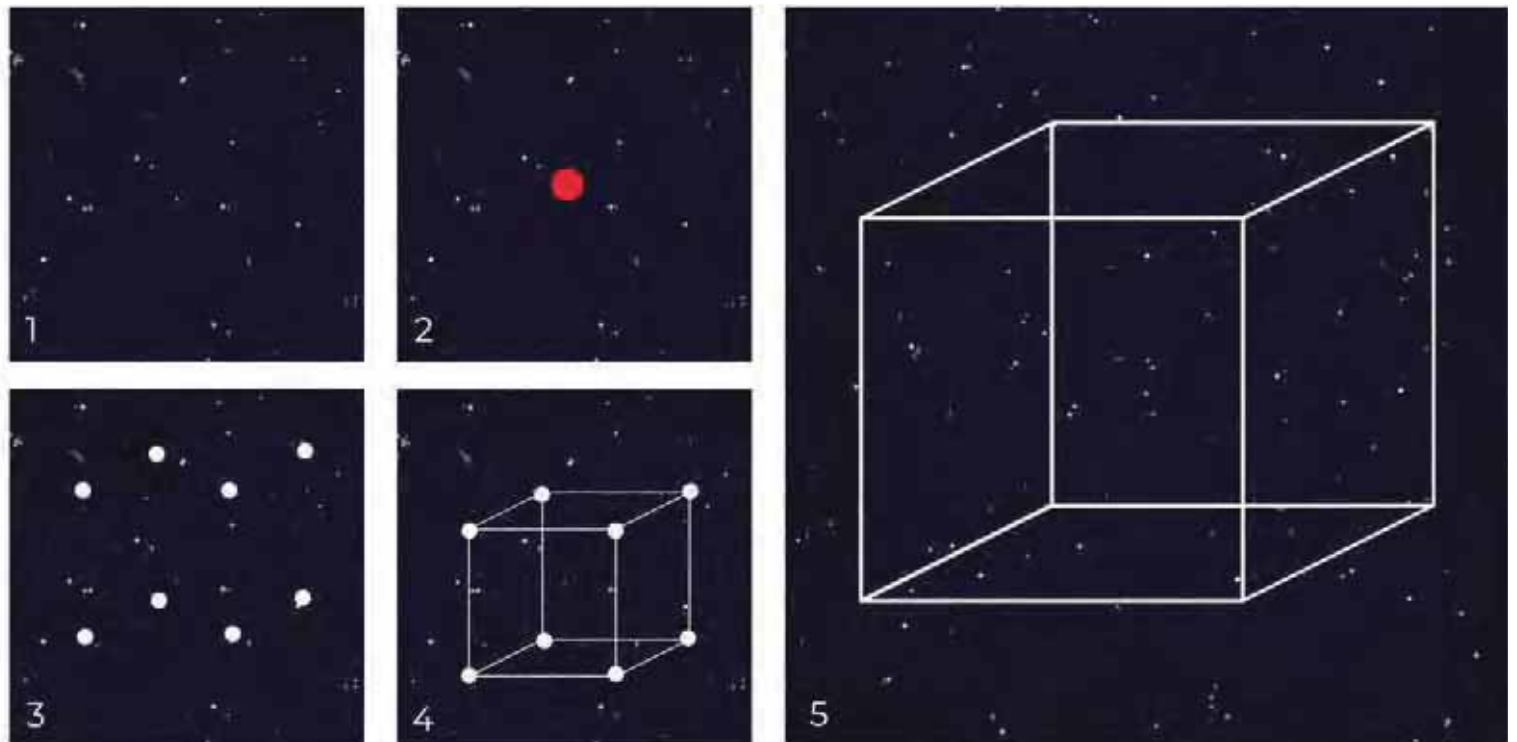
1. The actual object

2. Its ordinary points

3. A Singular point

4. Singular points making object as it is





2 Singularity in urban/architectural research

1. The complex city
2. Encountered singularity (sublime)
3. Other singularities
4. Singularities connected with conceptual framework ("a little order" imposed on reality)
5. The revealed order of city

We will do the same. A square has four singularities, a cube has eight and a triangle has three, one at each corner. A corner dot is no different from any other dot on the same line, but it is the one changing the direction of all of them. In a sense, its singularity "extend[s] over all the ordinary points of the system". When the direction of the line is changed with a singular dot, a new line starts in the "vicinity of another singularity". What is more significant is that when one sees these three singular dots, even in the absence of ordinary ones revealing the shape, one can still *sense* the triangle behind it, because they are the ones that makes a triangle a triangle.

Unsurprisingly, the corners of the triangle represent the singularities of Tokyo that differentiate it from every other city while defining what makes Tokyo as it is. In this case, the problematic side of Tokyo's difference is replaced with the definitive characteristic of its singularities. All that is needed is to find those singular points and link them through a conceptual framework that will represent the city of Tokyo with a little order. In this model, what is blurred or toned down is only the ordinary points, which can be ignored as "a little order" that we imposed on the city, which is already based on Tokyo.

However, it is worth noting that the concept, the singularity and the encounter, which will be joined to the toolkit below, are not linked to each other by Deleuze or any other expert working on him. This synthesis is entirely my interpretation of Deleuze, based on his works and my analysis of his way of thinking, which is open to error. However, if theory is a toolkit and if the tools are formed to solve problems,⁹ then it may be better to evaluate this interpretation on the basis of how well it works rather than how loyal it is to the original.

Encounter, Predetermined Categories and Singularity

The new question is “How can we find the singularities of a city?” The answer is in the encounter. The subject clashes with a thing beyond his imagination that he cannot associate with anything else that he experienced previously. Memory hands over the object of the encounter to the faculty of thought; the violated subject is left with the problem of the unknown. To make sense of this encounter, he starts to think about it.¹⁰ This is a very simple way of learning from the other.

I replaced the object, which is the source of sublime experience, with singularities in this formula. The serene Nezu streets and thrilling view of Marunouchi are in this category. Those singularities might be even more visible to me as a foreigner who cannot take them for granted, just like Tsukamoto and Kaijima noticing the strangeness of Tokyo on their way back from the Continental European context.¹¹ Such contrast turns singularities to flashing lights or “shining points”. The insiders, having the advantage of being

initially foreign to the context and also the ability of reading cultural codes better than an absolute foreigner through their long-term experience of the city, are the group who can spot singularities of Tokyo better than both the Space School and the child-players. Barthes’ “no address” or “empty centre” are two phenomenal cases of what a singularity is in the case of Tokyo.¹² However, insiders do not draw the triangle; their singularities float freely, without having “a little order” of the conceptual framework.

The child-players’ method of design survey is also very similar to the encounter. While every member was collecting and recording something specific, such as Kon Wajiro seeking decorations on shelters, ROJO looking for Thomassons, Atelier Bow-Wow searching for functionally strange combinations of *dame* buildings all around Tokyo, they experience a form of encounter but with a twist; they know what they are looking for in advance. I will exemplify the situation with the case of *Made in Tokyo* by Tsukamoto, Kurodo and Kaijima. These authors, who would like to learn more about the nature of Tokyo, suspect that *dame* could be the answer:

*We decided to call these ‘dame architecture’ (no-good architecture), with all our love and disdain.... These buildings are not explained by the city of Tokyo, but they do explain what Tokyo is. So, by collecting and aligning them we believed that the nature of Tokyo’s urban space could become apparent.*¹³

The object of the encounter is predetermined under the assigned category of *dame* architecture. Therefore, the answer to the question “What is the nature of Tokyo’s urban space?” is given

already as *dame* buildings. What is done by *Made in Tokyo* demonstrates variations of the same answer. The fundamental difference between a predetermined category such as *dame* and a singularity is that the latter cannot be classified under a particular system of categorisation. A singularity can be about the triviality of the everyday or a morphological pattern discovered in the cityscape or a planning regulation. It is very inherently interdisciplinary.

For example, when I asked Jane and Ding, “What can we learn from Tokyo?” they were rather reactive to the question itself; however, Jane, who is not fond of Tokyo, had already started to learn from the city by, for example, recording every inch of Kenzo Tange’s Yoyogi National Gymnasium. Ding, despising the complexity of metro lines whenever we use the subway, started to draw some lines on her sketchbook, as the intersection of metro and train lines with the ground-level traffic inspired her to work on a problem on Beijing’s transport network. Each of us was learning something from Tokyo, or to be more precise, the fragments of Tokyo fitting into our own interests. However, what I mean by Tokyo is Tokyo in its entirety; the city, from its tiniest details like vending machines to the gigantic expressways, or from the ladies of Nezu having a chat in a *genkan* (the entrance hall where people take off their shoes) to a businessman hiding from the crowd for a moment while watching Shibuya Scramble Crossing from the elevated metro connection. Only when they can be seen next to each other can the logic of Tokyo be revealed, because the city does not have the imaginary

boundaries belonging to disciplines; for example, I cannot say this singularity is in the planners’ area of expertise or that is a topic that interests social scientists, as actual things do not shape themselves in line with the categories created by disciplinary boundaries.

Another fundamental difference between a predetermined category and a singularity is that the latter cannot be known before the actual encounter itself; it cannot be predetermined. Rather than us finding singularities consciously, they come to us in the form of sublime encounters that we cannot make sense of at first.¹⁴ For example, while trying to make sense of Nezu, I noticed how close this serene residential area was to a commercial zone enveloping the neighbourhood. I could not totally comprehend the system during this encounter, for the very same reason that it turned into a problem in my mind, forcing me to think about it continuously. Popham and Shelton, who mention their similar experiences, helped me to better understand my own encounter with Nezu.¹⁵ In a sense, I walked on Nezu’s streets once again with them. This process shows how a singularity is first sensed through the signs of the space, then problematised and partially answered. When the majority of the singularities floating in the sea of ordinary points can be detected, collected and linked to each other, the overall form of Tokyo, with a little extra order attached to it, can be drawn.

The relationship between forces is in each case determined to the extent that each force is affected by other, inferior or superior, forces. It follows that will to power is manifested as a capacity for being affected.

(Deleuze, Nietzsche and Philosophy, 62.)

Subjective Subject

The fact that singularities are detected through my experience of the city, which is entirely subjective, may seem like a sensitive point for Popper's hammer.¹⁶ However, Tokyo has the capacity to affect me just because, somehow, I have the capacity to be affected.¹⁷ In other words, it has an effect on me because I am open to be affected. When an object has an effect on us, it creates a problem that we pose with the help of the signs we sense. Although this process is subjective, it is subjective only in its form; the content is the object. The subject (me) is a mean to "sense" the information coming from the object (the city).

Characters and Moments

The characters who were with me in Tokyo during the first fieldwork period – Jane and Ding – or those that I met in the second fieldwork period, such as Yuya and Chihiro, the insiders, affiliates of the Space School and the child-players

all play significant roles in this journey, because I have noticed singularities that I previously missed thanks to them or made sense of what I discovered at the end of an imaginary dialogue in the literature with them. On the other hand, my experience of space, which is no different from fishing on the pond of wonders, still lies at the centre of this discovery. Each time I sensed a new singularity, it left the traces of a sublime experience in my mind. Tokyo is analysed through those moments.

For this reason, the thesis fluctuates between very personal statements on space, which give the details of a moment of discovery, and imaginary discussions with a crowded group of Tokyo-like people. There are many voices popping up from every corner; the story of the lost Barthes, the made-up conversations between Berque, Hein and Taut, Deleuze's own voice as a parallel body of text next to my interpretation of him, and my conversations with Jane in Tokyo are some

examples. I have not decreased the number of those voices in the upcoming chapters, which may become too much of a “hurly-burly” occasionally, because the method of learning is established in this rich synthesis of moments and characters.

This fragmented and rather crowded text ensures that the process of learning is communicated as sincere and open as possible. One of the encouragements in this regards is Jonathan Hill’s ‘Design Research: The First 500 Years’ which analyses the role of Picturesque, literature and history on architecture. Hills mentions the importance of the means of storytelling while referencing Denys Lasdun:

Lasdun remarks that each architect must devise his or her own ‘creative myth,’ a set of values, forms and ideas that stimulate the process of design, which should be ‘sufficiently objective’ and also have ‘an element of

subjectivity; the myth must be partly an expression of the architect’s personality, partly of his time, and partly of the ephemerae of the particular moment. Lasdun concludes: ‘My own myth engages with history.’¹⁸

My own myth engages with the city. The synthesis of “particular moments” and the characters mentioned above, although comes forward as an unacademic sounding voice from time to time, in fact, reveal my ‘creative myth’ and bring sincerity to the storytelling side of the text. In the next part, we will see this synthesis in action while developing a conceptual framework created by the singularities of Tokyo.

Figures and Illustrations

- 1 Nergis Kalli, *The Singularity*, illustration, 2019.
- 2 Nergis Kalli, *Singularity in Urban/Architectural Research*, illustration, 2019.

Endnotes

- 1 Momoyo Kaijima, Junzo Kuroda, and Yoshiharu Tsukamoto, *Made in Tokyo = Meido in Tokyo* (Tokyo: Kajima Institute Publishing, 2001). The authors call Tokyo shameless to emphasise the absence of desire to change and become more orderly.
- 2 Yoshinobu Ashihara, *The Hidden Order: Tokyo through the twentieth century*, 1st edn (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1989). Ashihara associates beauty with the cityscape of Paris. He underlines the fact that the underlying aesthetic criteria is different in Tokyo.
- 3 Hidetoshi Ohno, 'The Schools: University of Tokyo', in *Japan: At the cutting edge*, ed. Botond Bogner, Andreas Papadakis, and Günter Nitschke, 1st edn (London: Andreas Papadakis Publisher, 1999), 125–27; Kisho Kurokawa, *Rediscovering Japanese Space* (New York: Weatherhill, 1988).
- 4 Hidenobu Jinnai, *Tokyo: A Spatial Anthropology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Arata Isozaki, *Japan-Ness in Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 2011), 62; Fumihiko Maki, *Nurturing Dreams: Collected Essays on Architecture and the City* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2008), 162–162.
- 5 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *What Is Philosophy?* (Columbia University Press, 2014), 2–152.
- 6 Deleuze and Guattari, 201.
- 7 Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition* (Bloomsbury, 1994), 278; Deleuze and Guattari, *What Is Philosophy?*, 52.
- 8 Gilles Deleuze, 'Lectures by Gilles Deleuze on Leibniz' (Lecture, 15 April 1980), <https://www.scribd.com/document/319122684/Lectures-on-Leibniz-Gilles-Deleuze-odt>.
- 9 Donald F. Bouchard, ed., 'Intellectuals and Power: A conversation between Michel Foucault and Gilles Deleuze', in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected essays and interviews* (Cornell University Press, 1980).
- 10 Gilles Deleuze, *Proust and Signs* (A&C Black, 2008), 15,16; Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, 139–145; James Williams, *Gilles Deleuze's Difference and Repetition: A Critical Introduction and Guide* (Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 121; Steven Shavero, *The "Wrenching Duality" of Aesthetics: Kant, Deleuze, and the "Theory of the Sensible"*, 2007, 8; Joe Hughes, *Deleuze's "Difference and Repetition": A reader's guide* (London: Continuum, 2009), 74. Please also see "The Other" in Part 1.
- 11 Kaijima, Kuroda, and Tsukamoto, *Made in Tokyo = Meido in Tokyo*.
- 12 Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs* (New York: Anchor Books, 2005).
- 13 Yoshiharu Tsukamoto, 'What Is Made in Tokyo?', in *Urban Flashes Asia: New Architecture and Urbanism in Asia*, ed. Nicholas Boyarsky and Peter Lang, 1st edn, vol. 73/5 (Chichester, UK: Academy Press, 2003), 40.
- 14 Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful: With an introductory discourse concerning taste; and several other additions*, Cambridge Library Collection – Philosophy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107360495>.
- 15 Peter Popham, *Tokyo: The City at the End of the World*, 1st edn (Tokyo: Kodansha USA, 1985); Barrie Shelton, *Learning from the Japanese City: Looking East in Urban Design*, 2nd edn, Planning, History, and the Environment Series (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2012).

16 Please see “The Story” in Part 1.

17 Gilles Deleuze, *Nietzsche and Philosophy*, new edn (London: Continuum, 2006), 62; Gilles Deleuze, *The Fold* (A&C Black, 2006), 71.

18 Jonathan Hill, ‘Design Research: The First 500 Years’, in *Design Research in Architecture: An Overview*, ed. Murray Fraser, 1 edition (Burlington: Routledge, 2013), 32.





PART 3



THE HOLE

The hole, which is the most central element of the conceptual framework, is a reference to the “emptiness” of the Imperial Palace grounds. Roland Barthes mentions this particularity in his famous essay “Empty Centre”.¹ Despite the fact that I have been quite inspired by his essay, the concept of the hole diverges from his description of the centre. This difference is discussed through my experience of the city as a passenger on the Tokyo Metro or as a researcher desperately trying to view the Imperial Palace.

Crowded Carriage

Recalling a moment from the first fieldwork period with Jane and Ding, we got ready in the early morning, prepared the cameras, all sorts of lenses – wide angle, extra wide angle, telephoto – a tripod, extra batteries, a small laptop to check some of the photos later in the day, sketchbooks, maps and a small brochure on Imperial Palace grounds. Just like Kyoto Goshō, our micro-research group vowed to record every inch of the Imperial Palace.

With this equipment and the attitude of some kind of agents on a mission, we took the metro to reach our target. Ding was responsible for finding the way in the maze of the Tokyo Metro; following in her footsteps, we changed trains to transfer to the Marunouchi line, going to Tokyo Station, which is very close to the Imperial Palace. The carriage was busy when we got on, but it started to get crowded to a point that I can easily say that it was carrying more than the double of its capacity. At one end of the carriage, I saw Jane's face, which was pressed against a window. Then, Ding, a few metres away from me, was not the Ding I knew. Her body took on an impossible form; she was more like a liquid taking on the shape of a cup in the gaps left between other passengers. While squeezed in this unified body of people, I noticed the beautiful patterns on a lady's coat; absurdly enough, I then realised how stylish the suit was on the gentleman right next to her. When I turned my head in the other direction, I realised that, other than the three of us, who looked like little turtles in padded coats and backpacks from which either a camera lens or a tripod overflowed, everyone in the carriage looked quite elegant and formal. This was not only from their appearance but also their behaviour; in the meantime, I was scared that there would be more people joining our already unified body from the platform we were approaching. The crowd was moving an inch to open some space for the newcomers with all the dignity and calmness that humankind could muster in that situation.



1 Rush hour photographed by Michael Wolf, from Tokyo Compression Exhibition

Wolf as an award winning photographer visits one of the publishers in Tokyo with his portfolio and these images in 2010. However, the publisher does not make sense of what it is so interesting. Wolf says:

“He just flicked through them in about 30 seconds, and he said ‘so what?’, I said ‘what do you mean “so what?” – it’s a nightmare, don’t you see that?’ He said: ‘what do you mean it’s a nightmare, I’ve been doing this for 40 years of my life every day – it’s normal.’”





2 Tokyo Station and Station Square after square was renovated in 2017.

When we finally arrived at Tokyo Station, filled our lungs with fresh air and started our long run of complaints, the businessmen and women from our carriage joined hundreds similar to them in the arrival hall of the station and marched towards Marunouchi, the Central Business District (CBD) of Tokyo. They were so crowded and moving so fast that we were intimidated into joining the sea of people for a while. I saw another “turtle” trying to move in the opposite direction from the crowd who was just pushed back to the sides with his suitcase. A few minutes later, following the footsteps of this army led to a station square that is different from all others in Tokyo. There stands the facade of Tokyo Station, resembling Amsterdam Central Station in all its grandeur. The piazza is surrounded by glass giants on all sides. Other than a construction work corrupting the scene at the side, there are no neon signs; there are no expressways, but a grand square and an axial road leading to the Imperial Palace, as if Marunouchi, with its monumental and stately face, does not belong to Tokyo.



3 The location of Marunouchi

The 1905 Tokyo map is altered to show the location of Marunouchi that was sold to Iwasaki family in 1890s.

Stately Marunouchi

Marunouchi became the face of modern Japan during the Meiji era just like Ginza. These two redeveloped districts share a similar story with a small contrast. Ginza was redeveloped in the aftermath of an earthquake by the Finance Ministry, which convinced individual landowners either to be a part of the plans prepared by Thomas Waters or to sell their land to the ministry, but Marunouchi had already been vacant for nearly two decades as an old parade ground to the immediate south of the Imperial Palace. The government sold this land for

1.25 million yen to the Iwasaki family, the founders of the Mitsubishi Company, in exchange for the development of an office district in the 1890s. This was the biggest private development project undertaken in Tokyo in the Meiji era. Josiah Conder, another British architect influential in the city at the time, was entrusted with the task of architectural design with his students from the University of Tokyo. The initial proposal, resembling London's Kensington neighbourhood, was actualised under the name of Mitsubishi Londontown.² Following



4 Tokyo Station in 1914 (above)
5 Londontown in 1920s (left)

the success of Londontown, the downtown area was connected to Marunouchi by Tokyo Station, which was built in 1908. The architect Tatsuna Kingo was a student of Conder and the founder of the Architectural Institute of Japan. His design strengthened the axis leading to the Imperial Palace with the positioning of the station in the plan. Such rarely seen gestures in Tokyo signal the importance put on this planned area.³ In fact, while Ginza was transformed more randomly over this period, Marunouchi has preserved such stately aspects until today. A

report on the development of the area shows the determination of the metropolitan government:

In the vicinity of the Tokyo Station Marunouchi exit, the project will create a stately look of Tokyo by promoting redevelopment of Marunouchi Station's front square considering an integrated landscape creation in accordance with the "Total Design Guidelines" formulated in October 2004.⁴

However, preserving the station building and the square is not an easy goal to achieve. The metropolitan government, trying to protect the station building from ambitious developers in the area, had to take action by transferring land rights of the station to surrounding buildings so that the developers would stop coming up with new proposals in which a new skyscraper was to rise over the station. This may sound strange at first, but transferring these rights only meant that the floor area ratio (FAR) for certain buildings around the station was increased beyond the permitted ratio in the CBD. This strategy invalidates the argument about wasting such valuable land to be utilised for a low-rise station building.⁵

Even in vastly pragmatist Japanese planning system with its low preservation ethic, Tokyo Station is acknowledged as a monument that needs to be kept for upcoming generations. However, Marunouchi, in general, was not as lucky as the station; most of the original buildings of Londontown were replaced with the towers of global corporations. On the other hand, the metropolitan government is determined to preserve the overall order and stately aspect by introducing extraordinary regulations depending on the circumstances, as in the case of creating a special FAR zone around the station.⁶

Strangeness in the Metro Map

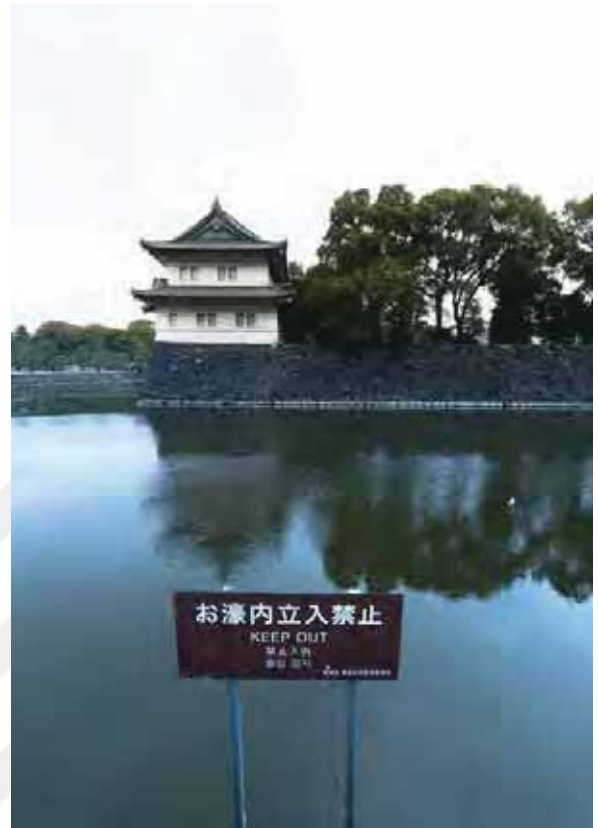
Marunouchi streets, which differ from the rest of Tokyo which has a well-defined rectilinear grid, are always busy with numerous cafes, restaurants, brasseries and shops that are invaded by the population working in the CBD during weekdays. I was trying to find a place in one of the busy cafes in the area

that was full with employees having a quick breakfast before going to the office. Ding showed me the metro map there, which we never needed previously thanks to her. She referred to the parallel lines going in the same direction, both belonging to the Tokyo Metro; unnecessary intersections creating a matrix rather than a network, and the form of the line itself which was hardly linear. Ding was comparing the Tokyo Metro with the London Tube, saying how the latter makes sense with clear lines and transfer nodes at the centre, but this did not. Only months later, while reading Barthes, I had a moment of realisation and recalled this conversation. However, although we both looked at the map several times and analysed it in detail by listing the lines and intersections, and compared it with other networks as busy as Tokyo's, we could not understand where this strangeness came from at the time.

6 A section of Tokyo rail map



*7 The Kikyo-Mon Gate Tower
behind the moats and keep out sign*



Invisible Palace

After having our coffee, we continued to the Imperial Palace, saw the crowd in front of it and got even more excited. However, we could not find the entrance because there was none on that side open to the public. The Palace was separated from the city with a moat, and was further separated from people by its designation as a forbidden zone, except for a few special days. Even with all the equipment we had, all I could photograph was the keep out sign. The agents on a mission were first crushed in the crowded carriage and then excluded from the Palace grounds. During the second fieldwork period, I chanced my luck several times but could not succeed.

I noticed something strange during these trials. For example, the highest point of Tokyo that oversees the entire city is the observation deck in the Roppongi Hills; however, the only spot that would provide an angle in the direction of the Palace is closed to visitors. On the roof terrace, the same area was also kept behind the gigantic air conditioning units. The situation was not so different on other viewing terraces as well, as if the Palace, which may hardly be seen behind the greenery at the front of the Palace grounds, was truly invisible.



*8 Tokyo Station, Marunouchi
and Imperial Palace Grounds in
1970s (left)*

*9 Tokyo Station, Marunouchi
and Imperial Palace Grounds in
2017 (below)*

*The only aspects that remain
the same in both photographs
are Tokyo Station and Imperial
Palace grounds.*



The Legend

The reason behind the impossibility of recording the Palace is the spiritual status of the imperial family. According to Kojiki (古事記, Records of Ancient Matters) the story of Japan starts with the divinities of Izanagi (伊弉諾尊, the male deity who fathers Japan) and Izanami (伊弉冉尊, the female deity who gives birth to Japan). While giving birth to one of their children, the fire god, the mother, Izanami, is fatally destroyed and finds herself in the underworld. Izanagi follows his wife there with the hope of bringing her back to the life in the upper world. However, she already consumed a forbidden food that locked her inside forever. Moreover, Izanagi changes his mind after seeing the disfigured body of Izanami; he runs back to the entrance and locks Izanami and her followers inside the underworld. The two lovers become worst enemies.

Izanagi, aiming to protect his domain in the upper world from the attacks of Izanami, gives birth to Amaterasu (天照大神, the sun goddess), Tsukuyomi (月讀, the moon god) and Susanoo (須佐之男, the god of storms). The story continues with the battles between Amaterasu and Susanoo, who takes his sister's necklace, eats it and gives birth to five sons. Amaterasu claims that the sons are hers because they are linked to her necklace. Such battles get worse with the attacks of Susanoo. Amaterasu, hiding from her brother, takes shelter in the Ama no Iwato (天岩戸, the rock of heaven).

The heavenly deities overseeing the situation decide to take action; they send Susanoo into exile. However, Amaterasu still has no desire to leave the Ama no Iwato. The heavenly deities plant a sakaki tree that is taken from Mount Kagu, hang a string of jewels and a mirror on its branches, and place some food offerings under the tree to convince her.⁷ Amaterasu, enticed by such efforts, finally leaves the heavenly rock. Right after she left the rock, the deities immediately place a rope at the entrance so that she will not hide there again. Such ropes, called shimenawa (しめ縄, enclosing rope) can be seen at the entrance of all shrines in Japan.⁸



10 “Origin of Music and Dance at the Rock Door” by Utagawa Toshimasa, 1887

The scene is an illustration of the moment Amaterasu was convinced to leave the cave.

Please note the similarity between the sun figure behind the goddess and the red sun representing Amaterasu in Japanese flag.



Situational Ethic behind the Spatial Logic of Tokyo

The reason why I am giving such details in this section is to show the absence of a defined “good” and “evil” in Japanese religious texts. Japanese deities can run away from their once beloved wife, lock others inside a world, declare a war, steal their sister’s necklace and so forth. Every character in the story takes action within the situation rather than following moral codes. This point is in fact quite fundamental in understanding the Japanese way of thinking. Ruth Benedict, who has been a cult figure in Japanese studies, explains:

Occidentals cannot easily credit the ability of the Japanese to swing from one behaviour to another without psychic cost. Such extreme possibilities are not included in our experience. Yet in Japanese life the contradictions, as they seem to us, are as deeply based in their view of life as our uniformities are in ours. It is especially important for Occidentals to recognize that the “circles” into which the Japanese divide life do not include any “circle of evil.” This is not to say that the Japanese do not recognize bad behaviour, but they do not see human life as a stage on which forces of good contend with forces of evil... Japanese, they say, have no need of over-all ethical commandments.⁹ (emphasis mine)



Such ambiguity about good and evil as a part of the Japanese mindset can also be detected from the heavily pragmatist approach to urban planning, as in the case of Ginza, which gained a new face with the sole purpose of affecting the results of the unequal treaties or the proposal to utilise the area of Tokyo Station for a new high-rise building. Likewise, when traffic congestion starts to become a problem, worsening the living conditions in the city, the solution simply appears as a new layer of elevated tracks.¹⁰ If the route of an expressway is blocked by a businessman who purchased the land previously for a high-rise office building, then the solution that will satisfy both parties is a gap in the middle of the building for the expressway. The Japanese planning system is programmed to solve problems in their own setting; what is “good” and what is “bad” is defined only with the dynamics of those circumstances.¹¹ This creates some truly extraordinary situations.

The Divine Emperor

After this quick note, the story continues. The rest of the legend is revealed in *Nihon Shoki* (日本書紀, The Chronicles of Japan). Susanoo saves the daughter of an elderly man while he is in exile. Thanks to this heroic act, the council of deities forgives him. During the period he spends in exile, he also finds a heavenly sword. As a peace offering, he gives it to his sister Amaterasu. She later passes this heavenly sword, with her necklace and the mirror hung on the sasaki tree, to her grandson Ninigi. The most interesting part of this story starts here: Ninigi brings them to earth and present them to Jimmu Tenno, the first recorded emperor of Japan. The Emperors of Japan, continuing his lineage, are naturally considered as deities.¹² Ise Jingu, which is the most sacred shrine of the Shinto tradition, followed by 89.5 million people (70.4% of the total population)¹³ in the country, is believed to house the spirit of Amaterasu with the

11 *Nihonbashi Bridge under the shade of Metropolitan Expressway (opposite)*

12 *Empress Michiko in Ise Shrine precinct. The shinto priests (in white traditional dress) can be seen behind. (left)*



sacred mirror. Ise is under the guardianship of the Imperial family, who own the mirror according to tradition.¹⁴ Another nuance is the Japanese word *tenno* (天皇) that is only used as a title of the Japanese monarch. *Tenno* is translated into English as “emperor”; however, the real meaning in Japanese is “heavenly sovereign”. Such emphasis on the connection with heaven (天) shows the form of such a spiritual position that has penetrated into daily life via language.

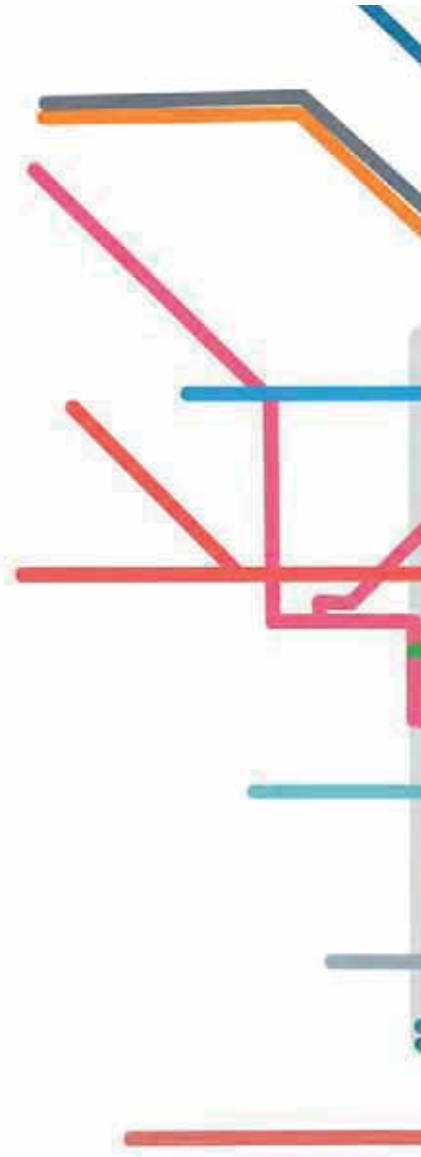
The divine status of the Japanese emperors also explains why such a massive piece of land, the Imperial Palace grounds, which was worth more than the total real estate holdings in the state of California in the 1980s,¹⁵ can be preserved at the centre of Tokyo, while the architectural significance of a building like Tokyo Station can be questioned due to the desire to reuse its valuable land for other projects. The moral code for good is not open to discussion in the case of the “hole” as in other cases. Likewise, the businessman and woman working in Marunouchi and Otemachi with the chance to view the Palace from above do not look in that direction out of respect. Visitors to whom this custom is alien are warned by the staff. In this situation, I could not accomplish the mission of our micro-research group, either as a voyeur or as a walker.

The Hole in the Patchwork

Despite such failure, I believe we spotted something quite vital with Ding when we realised that there was something strange in the metro map: a singular point. In the following passage, Roland Barthes, who was exposed to the same phenomena nearly half a century ago, shares his quite similar thoughts on the “empty centre”. I quote the entire essay, because we will come back to his thoughts at the end of this section once again.

Quadrangular, reticulated cities (Los Angeles, for instance) are said to produce a profound uneasiness: they offend our synesthetic sentiment of the City, which requires that any urban space has a centre to go to, to return from, a complete site to dream of and in relation to which to advance or retreat; in a word, to invent oneself. For many reasons (historical, economic, religious, military), the West has understood this law only too well: all its cities are concentric; but also, in accord with the very movement of Western metaphysics, for which every centre is the site of truth, the centre of our cities is always full: a marked site, it is here that the values of civilization are gathered and condensed: spirituality (churches), power (offices), money (banks), merchandise (department stores), language (agoras, cafe and promenades): to go downtown or to the centre-city is to encounter the social truth,” to participate in the proud plenitude of “reality.”

The city I am talking about (Tokyo) offers this precious paradox: it does possess a centre, but this centre is empty. The entire city turns around a site both forbidden and indifferent, a residence concealed beneath foliage, protected by moats, inhabited by an emperor who is never seen, which is to say, literally, by no one knows who. Daily, in their rapid, energetic, bullet-like trajectories, the taxis avoid this circle, whose low crest, the visible form of invisibility, hides the sacred “nothing.” One of the two most powerful cities of modernity is thereby built around an opaque ring of walls, streams, roofs, and trees whose own centre is no more than an evaporated notion, subsisting here, not in order to irradiate power, but to give to the entire urban movement the support of its central emptiness, forcing the traffic to make a perpetual detour. In this manner, we are told, the system of the imaginary is spread circularly, by detours and returns the length of an empty subject.”¹⁶ (emphasis mine)



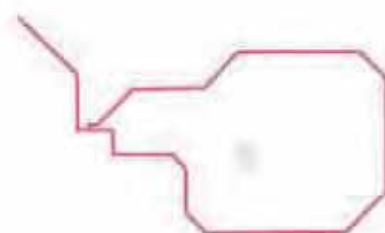
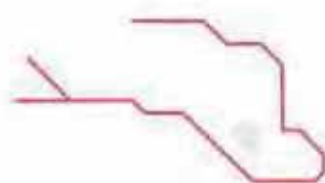
13 Tokyo Metro map, simplified and reillustrated.



More than his thought on what a city should be like, what is truly interesting is his observation on the circle “forcing the traffic to make a perpetual detour” that was avoided by taxi drivers. Looking carefully at the metro map of Tokyo will show that all these sharp turns and shapeless lines, flowing as if they were not planned but accidentally drawn, become more and more complicated around the pentagonal green shape at the centre of the map; the Imperial Palace grounds. Not just the taxi drivers,

but metro lines, sometimes more than 40 metres underground, must avoid this circle. There is no single direct line connecting the east of Tokyo with the west, as the Palace, right at the centre, acts like a barrier. Every new metro line joined to the network in time follows this pattern and takes a detour around this green “sacred nothing”.

I believe that rather than the “empty centre”, the concept of the “hole” in the patchwork of Tokyo exemplifies the situation better.



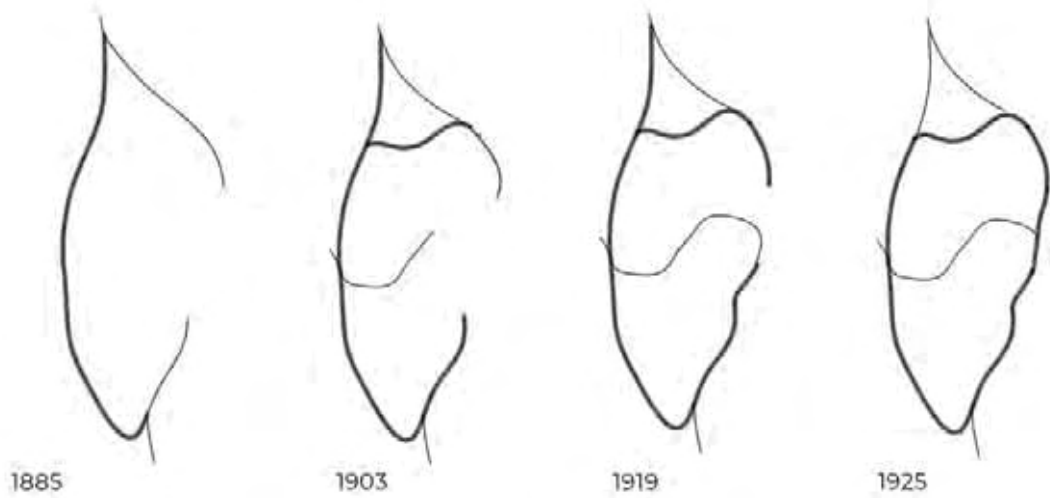


*14 The form of metro lines
and JR Yamanote Line (in
grey)*

*The lines take a turn around
the centre; the hole.*

The patchwork is made of patches, knots, stitches and a hole. The neighbourhoods of Tokyo, with an outer shell made of high-rise buildings and a serene and low-rise fabric inside are conceptualised as the patches of Tokyo. The intersections of train and metro lines, together with the main arterial routes (the stitches) are signified as knots. They also accommodate the main public spaces: the station squares and their surroundings. This framework, providing “a little order” to this complex city, has developed over time with the singularities encountered during the fieldwork. The strangeness in the metro map is one of them.

On the other hand, the reason why I tend to introduce the patchwork with the hole rather than the seemingly more fundamental patches is because the hole is the most powerful element in the framework; it has the capacity to affect the entire system with its value only of “nothingness”. It forces the surroundings to take a circular form because it does not allow an intersection within its boundaries.



Yamanote Line and Metropolitan Expressway

The trajectory of major arteries such as the main roads surrounding the Palace following the circular pattern of the moats clearly shows the effect of the hole on the city's structure. The metropolitan expressway and Yamanote Line also repeat this circular pattern. Intriguingly, the Yamanote Line was not planned as a loop line from the beginning in 1885. Several sections emerged simultaneously, and the loop idea was mooted only later. When the final section between Ueno and Tokyo station was built in 1925, the curved Yamanote Line became a perfect loop line.¹⁷ This also shows another characteristic of Tokyo; the city is somehow planned and somehow not planned. Based on needs, everything can change, which reminds one of the pragmatist positioning of deities and situational ethic of the Japanese.

Years later, when the 1964 Olympics were approaching, and Tokyo was already suffering from congested roads, the idea of building an expressway that could

take the weight of ground traffic became popular. This was a super-heavy structure, superimposed on the remaining waterways and the existing main roads, of which the foundations were laid out during Meiji era. There are three expressways in Tokyo: the Metropolitan Expressway Central Circular Route, the Tokyo Outer Ring Road, and the Metropolitan Inter-City Expressway. True to their name, all are circular and, just like the Yamanote Line, all three routes gained a circular form over time. For example, the various sections of the Metropolitan Expressway Central Circular Route, the innermost ring, formed a full circle for the first time in March 2015 when the Ohashi and Ooji junctions were connected.¹⁸

Tange's Attempt to Abolish the Order of the "Hole"

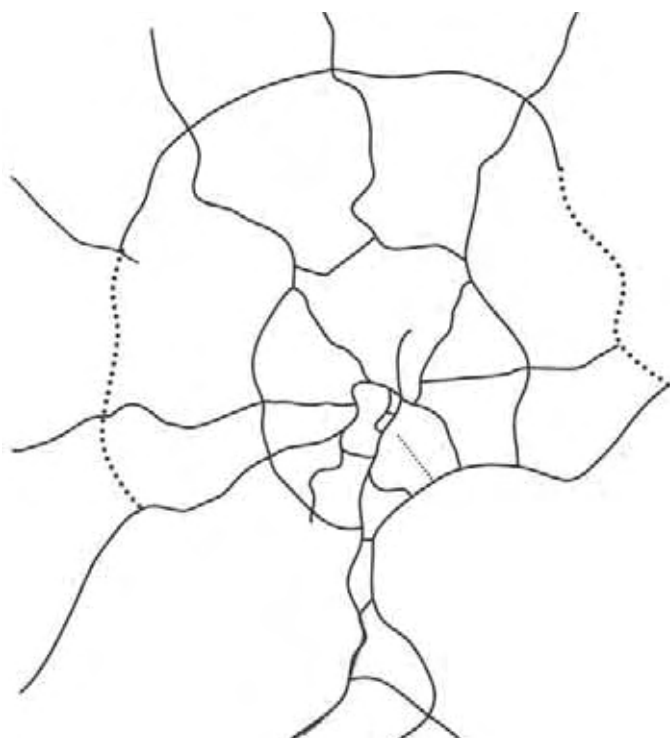
The whole city eventually revolves around this hole, either willingly or by force. As Barthes noted, taxi drivers are not happy about it. They are not the only ones: Kenzo Tange and some of his Metabolist colleagues, Arata Isozaki and Kisho Kurokawa, were also critical about such a circular development trajectory. Tange's ground-breaking plan for Tokyo Bay questions whether it is possible to replace this fundamental aspect of the structure of the city with an axial model. Over the same period, the voices complaining about the congestion of the CBD also became louder. Being crushed in the trains going to the CBD was not a new phenomenon. The metropolitan government, aware of the urgency of the situation, was already trying to find a solution. Tange's proposal of an axial line that could distribute some of the functions condensed in the CBD to this new axis was a serious proposal. This is a short summary of Tange's aim in his own words:

The city [has] a form that is centripetal and radial. This has been the typical urban pattern since the middle ages, and it is the natural pattern that a city will follow if left to grow freely... In Tokyo, where movement is increasing by the day, it is urgent that a new system of transportation be constructed. And a new system which will bring the city, buildings and transportation into a single, organic entity is needed... We reject the concept of the metropolitan civic centre in the favour of a new concept which we call civic axis. This is tantamount to rejecting the closed organization of the centripetal pattern in favour

15 The development of
Yamanote Loop Line (opposite)

16 Metropolitan Expressway
network (below)

*The circular development
pattern continues with new
additions to the outer ring
marked with dotted lines.*





17 Tange in front of Tokyo Bay Masterplan (left)

18 Geomancy principles explained with the case of Heian-kyo, by Naito Akira in Edo to Edo-Jo (Edo and Edo Castle) - (opposite)

of an open organization which makes possible a development along a linear pattern. In effect, we are proposing that the radial structure of Tokyo be replaced by an axis which develops linearly... The new axis, with its movement, would become the symbol of Tokyo's open organization and of the open society of Japan.¹⁹ (emphasis mine)

In terms of the growth process of organic bodies, at an early stage, an egg has a central core. Ultimately, however, this core develops into a spine, which breaks the shell making possible a shift to a new growth phase. In vertebrates, a spine is essential for the transmission of information through the nervous system from the brain to the spine. When applying this line of thought to Tokyo, it becomes obvious that clinging to the concept of a civic centre makes further development hopeless. As a model we were exploring what happened when we extended a spine from the civic centre across Tokyo Bay. I called this a civic axis. In addition, rising land prices in Tokyo made new developments over the sea feasible.²⁰ (emphasis mine)

Although Tange mentions land prices, the main problem was the impossibility of convincing many individual landowners

to sacrifice their lot for Metabolists' grand scheme. Tokyo Bay, which is free from millions of individual landowners who are attached to their land, was the only viable site to actualise such massive projects. However, the most interesting part of Tange's plan is not in the Bay area.²¹ Due to the orientation of the plan, the nuances of what is proposed for the built-up area of Tokyo usually escapes attention; Tange's axial line delves into the city and brings the Palace grounds inside the axes. This can be seen as an architectural coup.

Although Tange was known as a "state architect" with great influence on the decision-making process in urban and architectural landscape of Tokyo, his proposal was not accepted.²² Instead, the congested CBD has been partially relieved with a new business district built on the former site of a water plant in Shinjuku, which is a major station on the Yamanote loop line. By doing this, the problem was solved naturally within the circular system.

The Content of the “Hole”

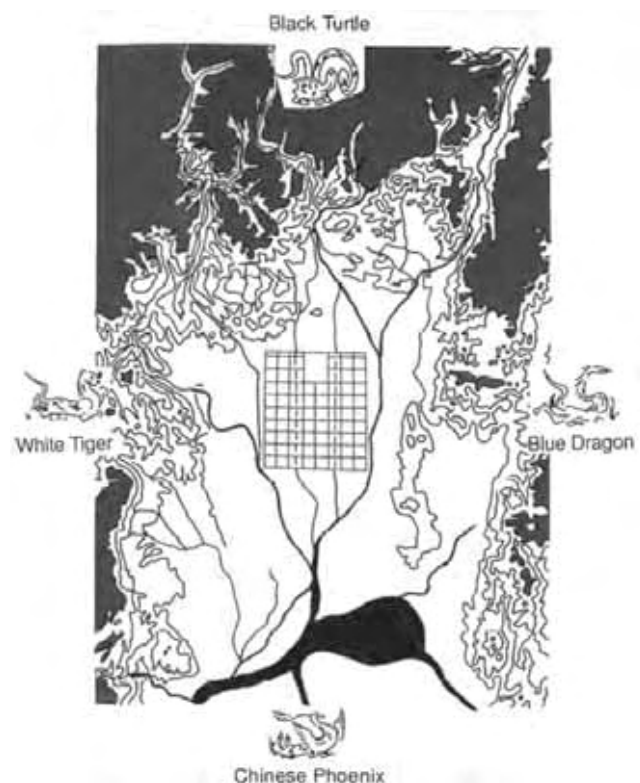
Tange lost his war against the circular development of the city.²³ The reason may be the content of the hole rather than its form. The CBD, whose origins go back to the previously mentioned Mitsubishi Londontown in the vicinity of Marunouchi, is right next to the Palace grounds. When the country was developing at an unprecedented pace during the post-war period, the CBD expanded into the northern and southern neighbours of Marunouchi, respectively Otemachi and Yurakucho. The combination of all three districts, which is called the Daimaruyu area, encircle the Palace on the east side.²⁴ In fact, Daimaruyu (大丸有) means “big circle”. Marunouchi (丸の内) means “within the circle of moats”, which also implies a secure position within the inner circle of the Palace.

On the south side of this circle of power, Kasumigaseki arises as the political centre of the country with the Diet building, the Supreme Court and ministries. The rest of the circle houses significant cultural and educational centres, such as the National Theatre of Japan and various university campuses. The majority of embassies are also located in this section. To know more about such concentration of quite important functions around the hole, we will take the advice of the Space School and look into Tokyo’s past.

Edo emerged as a castle town in the 1590s. While the emperor was in Kyoto, various feudal lords ruled different castle towns. Tokugawa Ieyasu was the first shogun who united the lords under his rule in 1600. The role of the emperor was no more than

a religious leader at the time. This two-tier system continued until Commandant Perry visited Tokyo to force Japan to open trade with the United States. In 1868, Emperor Meiji, taking advantage of the shogunate’s failure to handle the situation, gained power and became a political leader. Consequently, Edo Castle became the Imperial Palace, just as Edo became Tokyo.²⁵

This odd combination of the shogunate and imperial traditions in Tokyo creates a unique city that possesses the characteristics of a castle town and an imperial capital at the same time. Although both models diverge significantly, in this section our attention is on a fundamental principle that is common in both models; Chinese geomancy. This system is used to orient the city with four deities pointing at four principal directions; a mountain to the north, a river to the east, a water environment such as a pond or sea to the south, and a road to the west.





19 Corrected orientation of Edo Map

The 1849 Edo map is originally oriented within the principles of geomancy. (above)

The correct orientation based on the cardinal directions of North, South, East and West can be seen on the right.



The role of the mountain, protecting the city from the evil spirits that can attack the city from the north, is enriched with the spiritual meaning attached to mountains in Japan; according to Shinto tradition, mountains are sacred zones housing deities, while being deities themselves.²⁶ Mount Kagu, mentioned in the legend, is an example.

In the case of Tokyo, Mount Fuji, in all its grandeur, was a perfect candidate for this purpose. However, Fuji was not to the north of Edo. The highly pragmatist Japanese mind

solved the problem by simply changing the orientation with a turn of over 90 degrees anti-clockwise, so that Mount Fuji, located to the west-south-west, corresponded to the god of the north, Tokaido became the road to the west and Edo Bay and the Kanda river corresponded to the elements of water to the south and east respectively. This orientation was preserved in all old maps. Edo Castle was planned to be at the centre of all four deities. This is the reason why the Palace is right at the geographical centre of Tokyo.²⁷



20 *Shitamachi and Yamanote in 1630's Edo, by Naito Akira in Edo to Edo-jo (Edo and Edo Castle), 1966.*

The residential zone of samurai (including high-ranking daimyo lords) was in hilly Yamanote.

Commoners' neighbourhoods were in the low lying Shitamachi by Edo Bay.



21 *The difference between the urban fabric of Shitamachi and Yamanote in late 17th century Edo, adapted from Naito Akira, Edo to Edo-Jo, 1966.*

The large compounds of daimyo lords were utilised during the modernisation of the country in Meiji era for the construction of governmental buildings, embassies and universities. The foundation of modern day Tokyo lies in the old Yamanote.



22 Bowing to the hole; headquarters of Japanese corporations lining up at the immediate south of Imperial Palace Grounds

This centrality is as important as its emptiness. However, what is more interesting is the position of the daimyo lords. The shogun who ended the centuries-long rivalry among the daimyo lords made sure that they were fully under his control with a system called sankin kotai (参勤交代). The basic principle of this system was to move the daimyo lords and other attendants from their castle town to Edo, and then force them to visit their town once every three years. So far, this does not seem so out of the ordinary; however, whenever they visited their castle town, the household of

the lord had to remain in Tokyo as hostages to prevent him revolting against the central authority in Edo.²⁸

The daimyo lords, realising that there was no way out, moved to Tokyo from all around Japan with their samurai and attendants and embraced the city as their main compound. The aristocracy of the era, preferring airy Yamanote (山の手, high lands) over the flood-prone Shitamachi (下町, low city), started their new life in the assigned areas around the castle. Their compounds, enclosed by walls and lost in the greenery of Yamanote,

was quite different from nagayas²⁹ opening to narrow alleys accommodating shops, small workshops and businesses in crowded Shitamachi.

More than two centuries later, when Emperor Meiji took hold of power, the first thing he did was to send the daimyo lords back to their castle towns. Their compounds, which were the only large lots available in Edo, which was entirely filled with small commoners' houses, were used to actualise the ideals of emperor to modernise the country. The transition from feudal Edo to modern Tokyo was relatively easy thanks to this available land in a city where the scarcest thing has always been space.³⁰ Thus, the story of the hole repeated itself; the immediate circle around the "hole" of Edo Castle, housing the most powerful people in the country, was replaced by the most important institutions and corporations revolving around the "hole" of the emperor's Palace.

In this context, it may not be so wrong to say that Barthes is missing the point while examining the "empty centre". He underlines three different factors: firstly, he shares his views on the role of the city centre in society quite briefly. Then, he stresses that such a centre is absent in practice, even though it is there in theory. And finally, he says that this practically non-existent centre shapes the city as Tokyo revolves around its central emptiness. His final point is entirely correct and quite fundamental in understanding the order of Tokyo as mentioned above. However, the first two assumptions, which are cited by various authors, are questionable. Firstly, the centre Barthes mentions, which has an important impact on the life of citizens, does exist in Tokyo. The issue is that Tokyo does not have a centre, but it does have centres. The multiplicity of them is not as simple as having a few central areas in a city. Almost every station that has more than one intersection with the Tokyo Metro and Yamanote Line acts as a city centre within the city (knots of patchwork). The official subcentres (the original term used by the metropolitan government) of Tokyo are Shinjuku, Shibuya, Ikebukuro, Ueno-Asakusa and Osaki on the Yamanote Line; and Kinshicho-Kameido and Tokyo Waterfront on other lines connected to Yamanote and the Tokyo Metro.³¹

However, there is still one centre that is more central than these subcentres; the circle around the Imperial Palace. It is the home of business, politics, art and education. Marunouchi is the most significant part of this configuration with its content and form. The stately aspect, which the government aims to protect, is the first sign of its importance in Tokyo. What is more important than this visual sign is the army of white-collar workers filling the trains as early as 6:00 am. Tokyo, which was considered to be one of the three global centres of the world, takes its power from the people rushing to their offices, some of whom I shared the same carriage with. They can be spotted on the platforms of Tokyo Station at any hour waiting for their bullet train called shinkansen (新幹線) that will take them to Kyoto or Osaka for a meeting at the other end of the country in only three hours. The “hole”, while being at the centre of business and finance is not only the centre of Tokyo but the entire country. As a geographical centre that is almost invisible to the eye, it may be really empty; however, content-wise, it is one of the densest areas in the world while being the centre of power in Japan for more than four centuries.

The powerful hole forcing the city to revolve around it is the first pattern I could see through the singularities. The hole led to knot, patch and finally the patchwork at the end. For this reason, it is quite fundamental in this analysis.

In the next chapter, the exact opposite of this powerful emptiness; the entangled knots of Tokyo will be analysed. They are the most accessible and crowded parts of Tokyo where the intersection of people, events and infrastructure is the norm. Two fundamental concepts of thesis; microspace and home as city, will be introduced in detail within the context of knots through the analysis of Shibuya.

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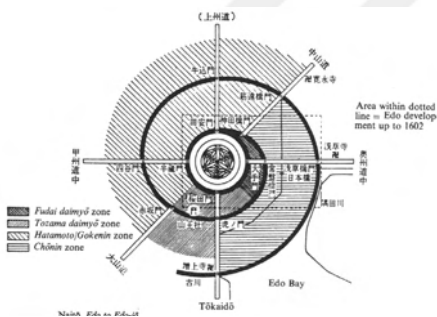
23 There have been other attempts by Tange's contemporaries to utilise the Bay and challenge the centripetal order of the city. However, Tange's failure is more significant than others due to his position of being a "state architect" ahead of others. For example, the Municipal Office of Metropolitan Government was designed by Tange in Yurakucho. Then it was demolished to open up space for the Tokyo International Forum that was built in 1957. Tange, whose design was destroyed, was on the jury to select the winning proposal for the forum building. Then, the architect was asked to design the new office of the metropolitan government in Shinjuku. His new Metropolitan Government Building rises as a landmark in Shinjuku today.

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27 In addition to geomancy, the planning of Edo also involved an image of a spiral pattern shaped by moats and canals surrounding the castle at the centre. The origin of this information is Naito Akira's elaborate mapping of the castle in the context of Edo in *Edo to Edo-jo* (Edo and Edo Castle). Akira thinks that the canals are shaped purposefully in this form to create a symbolic spiral. Although this theory is quite popular amongst researchers, from my analysis the pragmatist Shogunate would not undertake such an engineering project for a symbolic form. Takatani and Smith also claim that the formal resemblance of the canal network was only coincidental. For this reason, the theory of spiral development is not involved in the



main analysis.

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THE KNOT

The knots are the subcentres of Tokyo. They are made of intersections and juxtapositions of various fragments of urban Tokyo: main roads, train and metro lines combinations of all kinds of retailers from tiny grocery stores to chain department stores, pedestrianised shopping streets, red-light districts, banks, commercial offices, hotels, universities, government buildings, all sorts of restaurants and cafes, and more importantly more than a million people passing through them every day. The knots built up of these overlapping layers of forms and functions are the most complex elements of the patchwork. While

desperately trying to comprehend them, I managed to catch some of the interesting incidents generating such complexity. More importantly, this attempt opened up a discussion on space, home and city. In this section, these will be discussed with the case of Shibuya. Nezu, as an inner-city residential neighbourhood (a patch), is also brought into the discussion to a degree to prevent an isolated analysis that would miss the experience of Tokyoites flowing through knots from patches.



1 *Garbage piles on waste collection days*



2 *A potted garden in Nezu*

Living on a Line

The journey in this section is from Nezu, where I lived during the second fieldwork period, to Shibuya. I will go back in time to a moment to see an everyday scene from Nezu: the beautiful narrow streets I pass every day while walking down to the station are full of transparent garbage bags, which means it is Wednesday today.

In Tokyo, one cannot simply throw the garbage into the bin; firstly, because there are no bins. Tokyoites need to carry their waste, according to its contents, to an assigned collection point on the assigned day. There is a long procedure beforehand as well. For example, a glass bottle first needs to be cleaned, the metal cap goes into the blue bag, then the label on the glass goes into a transparent bag; the bottle itself, which should be cleaner than the day we get it, goes into another

transparent bag. While throwing my blue bag to the top of the small mountain next to the utility pole, the collection point for the area in which I live, I see two elderly ladies; one of them is cleaning the street in front of her house and the other one is watering the plants in her little jungle of potted plants. She smiles to me, shows me her plants and says, “photo, photo”.

Unlike today, when she approached me a few days ago in front of a convenience store, she was quite furious. It turned out that some of the residents had been anxious for some time because of a developer who recently became quite active in the neighbourhood. His aim was to convince some locals to sell their land to replace low-rise houses with a 20-storey building. As I had been taking notes in front of some houses and taking photographs,



3 *The cafe where locals enjoy spending time*

this somehow made them think that I might be a part of this scheme. After this misunderstanding was cleared up, all of a sudden the locals started to ask me how the work was going, if I needed any help with the history of Nezu, even whether I was eating well. Enjoying this sudden turn, I could communicate with the locals more and understand life in Tokyo from the perspective of Tokyoites. Moreover, the hotel I was staying was right at the centre of the neighbourhood. The cafe downstairs, which was more like my study room, was quite popular among the locals so that I had a chance to become acquainted with them stopping by for lunch or a coffee.

The characters who will be introduced in the next chapter are among these. Miya is one of them, a professional working on a joint research project with the University

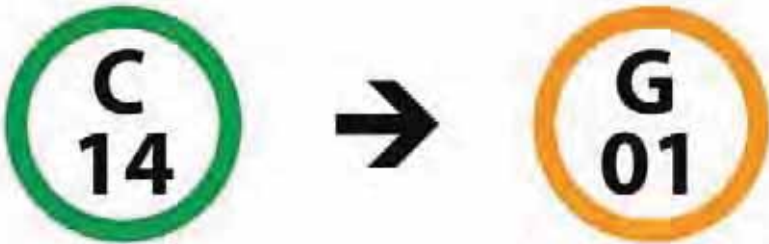
of Tokyo, which is only 10 minutes' walk from Nezu station. Nezu station is coded as C14, the 14th station on the Chiyoda Line, which has some key stops like Otemachi (C12) and Omotesando (C4). Rather than in neighbourhoods, Tokyoites live on a line; "I live 15 minutes from Otemachi on the Chiyoda Line," says Miya, who usually comes to this cafe to spend some time before going back to her house in Machiya (C17). The distances are measured by time and neighbourhoods are replaced with metro or train lines.¹ The main reason behind such a tendency is the transport-oriented development of this multi-nodal metropolis, where 91 percent of all journeys to knots (the subcentres of Tokyo) are by train and metro.²

I can relate to the Japanese who use public transport heavily, because even from Nezu to Shibuya there are a variety of options; I can walk to Ueno station, which is close to the neighbourhood, and take the Yamanote Line, or I can walk to Nezu Metro station and take the Chiyoda Line, travel to Omotesando (C4, G2, Z2) and transfer to the Ginza Line (G) or the Hanzomon Line (Z) as the terminus of both is Shibuya (G1, Z1), which is only one stop further. Instead, I could travel to Otemachi (C12, Z08) and transfer to the Hanzomon Line (Z) there. The transfers are not complicated and there are a variety of combinations, reducing overcrowding on many lines, except a few exceedingly busy ones that head to Marunouchi during rush hours.

Public transport is so efficient that the Japanese do not buy cars anymore; the car ownership rate, which is already lower than New York, London or Paris, is on a declining trend. Major Japanese manufacturers, aware of the tendencies in their home country, rely on foreign markets like the US where mass-transit is not a priority in urban development strategies.³ The situation in Japan is the exact opposite. The emphasis on the transport infrastructure is so heavy that anyone passing a subcentre on the Yamanote Line will realise the extraordinary arrangement of main roads and rail tracks.

4 From Nezu to Shibuya

Two of the alternative routes are illustrated. However, one can make various combinations with the lines intersecting with Ginza, Hanzomon and Fukutoshin Lines.



“The Recipe of Tokyo”

I will briefly illustrate this scene, common in all knots around the Yamanote Line, with the case of Shibuya. A major arterial road, Tamagawa Dori, lies to the immediate south of the station. Two pedestrian bridges of undefinable form connect either side of the road. Climbing the stairs and spending time on these bridges was one of the most thrilling activities of mine during fieldwork. Being on a highway passing through a bustling centre is interesting, but this is not all. While watching the movements of people and vehicles, a huge expressway above the bridge also complements our tiny presence. The view gets more exciting with the Yamanote Line

sandwiched between Tamagawa Dori and the Metropolitan Expressway delving into the city fabric. The Ginza Line, although a metro line, runs over buildings and sits on the Yamanote Line on the other side. This is only a tiny bit of the view around the station. In the meantime, what happens in the station building or at the main exit to the north is way more complicated than this scene. More than a thousand people gathering around the scramble crossing create a scene like a pulsating heart every two minutes between traffic lights. The knots are true to their name; they are the most complex parts of the Tokyo puzzle.



5 The footbridge under Shuto Expressway (right)

6 Shibuya Station and its surroundings (below)

Shuto expressway, one of the footbridges and Tamagawa Dori can be seen below on the left.





7 Downtown Tokyo (left) and Shibuya (above) in 1867

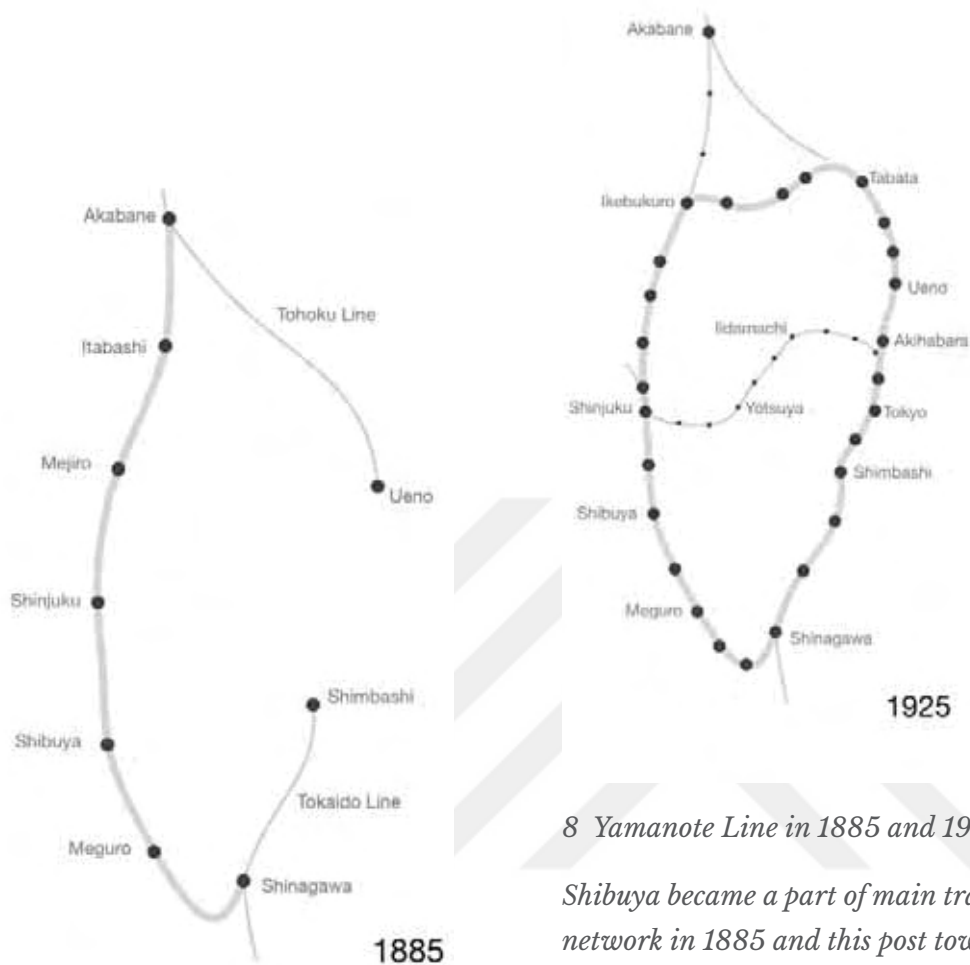
Shibuya was much less urbanised in comparison to Ginza, Tsukiji and Nihonbashi that are seen on left.

However, Shibuya which was a post town at the intersection of two roads, which can be seen above, is still at the intersection of many roads today.

I attempted to understand the dynamics behind such complexity. To do so, as in the case of the hole, we will start with the advice of the Space School and go back in time to see whether there is a clue hidden in Shibuya's past. However, unlike Marunouchi and Ginza, Shibuya had not played an important role in the transformation of old Edo. It was only a post town on the Oyama road, one of the principal routes connecting Edo to other castle towns.⁴ The daimyo lords who had to visit their castle town once every three years stopped over with their attendants

in post towns. Shibuya, being one of them, was not a part of the downtown area of old Edo. However, when the first section of the Yamanote Line connecting the south of Tokyo to the north was built between Shinagawa and Akabane in 1885, Shibuya became a part of the main transport network.

The real change happened after the nationalisation of private rail lines in 1906. After nationalisation, private companies were only allowed to work outside the central area enclosed by the Yamanote



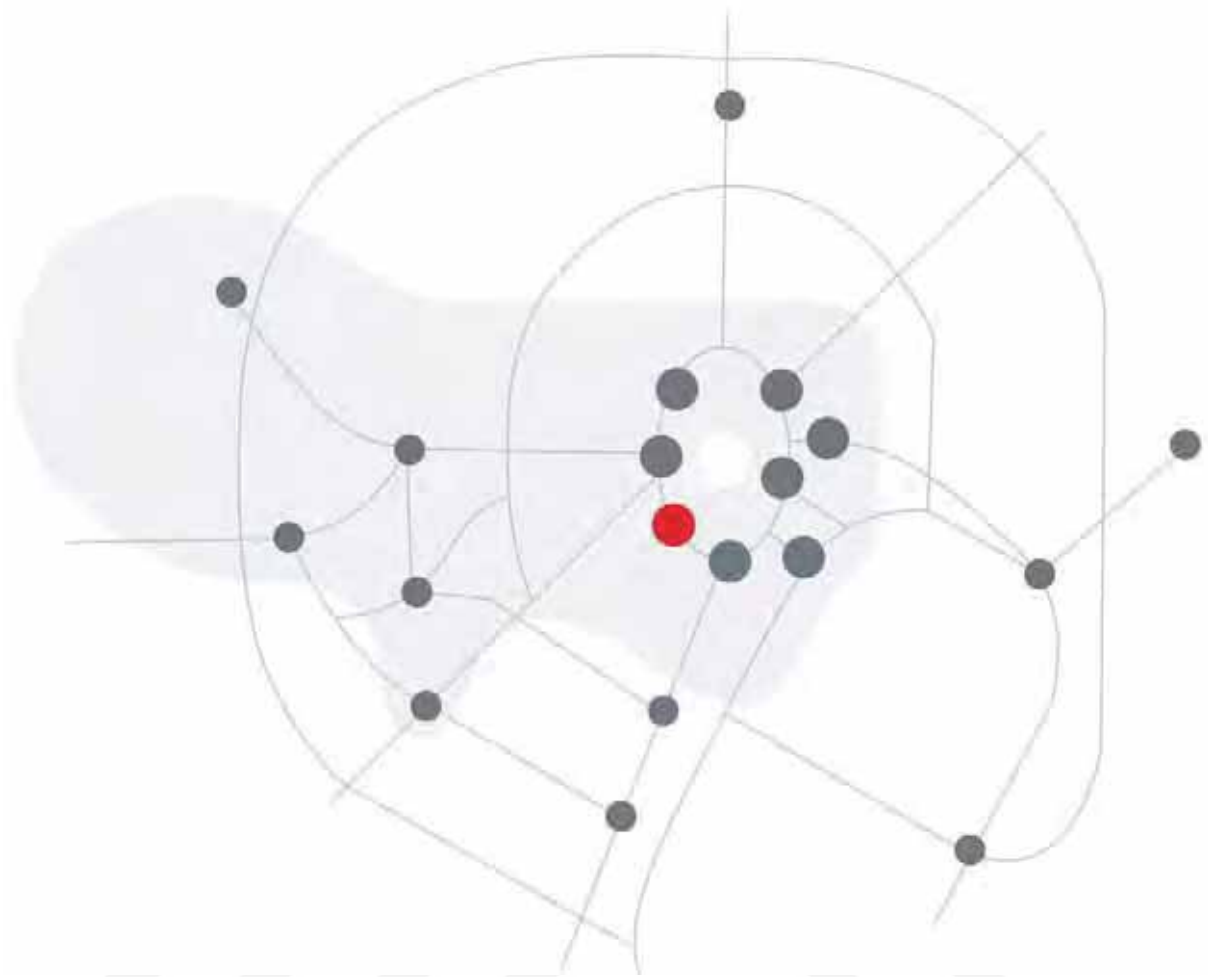
8 Yamanote Line in 1885 and 1925

Shibuya became a part of main transport network in 1885 and this post town developed to be one of the main centres of Tokyo.

Loop Line. The suburbanisation of Tokyo was triggered by this political decision. Private companies started to build new lines departing from stations on the Yamanote Line and stretching towards the Tama area. The expansion started in this period, and accelerated in the aftermath of the Great Kanto earthquake (1923), with the population fleeing from the totally destroyed Tokyo. A similar wave of mass movement to the suburbs occurred once again in the 1960s; however, the main cause this time was environmental degradation triggered by rapid industrialisation in the

post-war era. Finally, during the "bubble" era of the 1980s, increased land and asset prices forced the younger generation to look at the suburbs for more affordable residential options.⁵

The termini of these private lines on the Yamanote Line, which are the suburban residents' entryways to the city, first evolved to be transportation hubs and then subcentres of Tokyo. This development, which was rather accidental at first, laid the foundations of a multi-nodal metropolis. Increasing the number of lines converging



9 Subcentres of Tokyo.

The grey area represents Tokyo Prefecture.

Shibuya is marked with red.

in a certain area became a municipal strategy to create new centres that could reduce congestion in others. Takayuki Kishii shows how this strategy is, in fact, the "recipe of Tokyo":

The development of the second subcentre at the former water works site in Nishi-Shinjuku was planned for growth via links to the first business centre in the Daimaruyu area by JR rail and the Marunouchi subway. The third subcentre in Roppongi was initially without a rail service but received a significant boost from the construction of the Namboku and Oedo subway lines. Many of the most diverse and stimulating spots in

*Tokyo exist because they are easily accessible by rail. Conversely, provision of a network of convenient and reliable loop lines and subways catalyses the change by creating conditions for Tokyo to attract new residents from a variety of neighbourhoods. Tokyo's network was provided according to plans adopted by the government.*⁶

Likewise, one of the centres mentioned in Kishii's recipe, Shibuya, which was no more than a post town, developed into a major centre with every new line joined to the network intersecting with the Yamanote Line.

Non-anti-urban Tokyoites

The role of the suburban private railways cannot be denied in this process. However, before analysing their position in detail, it is worth discussing two key points on the suburbanisation trajectory of Tokyo in the context of the urban–suburban dichotomy. Firstly, popular anti-urban thoughts in the late 19th and early 20th century, contrasting the pastoral countryside to the evil city, did not play a role in the suburbanisation of Tokyo at the time. The Shinto tradition, which has no rigid definitions of good and evil, is also well known for its non-binary approach to life; urban and rural or urban and suburban are not seen as polar opposites in Japanese thought. Moreover, the notion corresponding to the heavenly countryside in Japanese religious beliefs are the mountain forests, which are believed to house deities. Japanese folk stories about these sacred zones also have an element of horror that can be associated with the sublime rather than the serenity and innocent beauty of the pastoral countryside.⁷ Thus, the religious motifs one can find in Western models could not gain recognition in Japan.

Secondly, moving to the suburbs was more a necessity than a matter of choice in the aftermath of a disaster. As can be seen from the trajectory summarised above, it is either a disaster, increased pollution levels or economic reasons that alleviated the expansion of the city. However, when the conditions forcing people to move away from the centre changed, for example, when progressive mayors like Ryokichi Minobe took action to solve the problem of pollution by changing the priorities of the metropolitan government from economic development to liveability, or

when land prices came down a few years after the bubble burst, Tokyoites who had not been able to afford to live in the centre moved back to the city.⁸

The Sakariba

The origin of this non-anti-urban or even pro-urban approach has its origins in the celebrated idea of *machi* in the Shitamachi area of Edo. To discuss this notion, first, it is necessary to introduce the social structure of the time. The Confucianist shogunate divided society into four classes with rigid boundaries: daimyo lords and samurai were considered as the aristocrats of Japanese society who transformed from warriors to the intellectuals of the era, working on the refinement of high culture such as *ikebana* (the art of flower arrangement) and the tea ceremony during the politically stable Edo era. They are followed by other classes: peasants, commoners and merchants. Such rigid class divisions were reflected in the zoning of the city.

As mentioned previously, daimyo lords and their dependents had the hilly lands of Yamanote for themselves and left Shitamachi, which was built along the canals on reclaimed land to commoners and merchants. The difference between the more organically laid out green and airy hills of Yamanote (山の手, high lands) and the rather orderly but cramped Shitamachi (下町, low city) streets is quite fundamental.⁹ The population density of commoners' residential quarters was four times higher than in Yamanote.¹⁰ Lack of space in Shitamachi forced people to share some amenities; commoners' *nagaya* houses opened to narrow alleys used as open-air living rooms, gathering spaces

and a shared kitchen. Such semi-public streets combined with the mix of uses with artisans' small workshops and merchants' shops spread around the residential fabric created an urban alternative to the high culture rising in the compounds of daimyo lords lost in the greenery.¹¹ The most condensed form of this urbanity can be found in sakariba (盛り場), the flourishing space.

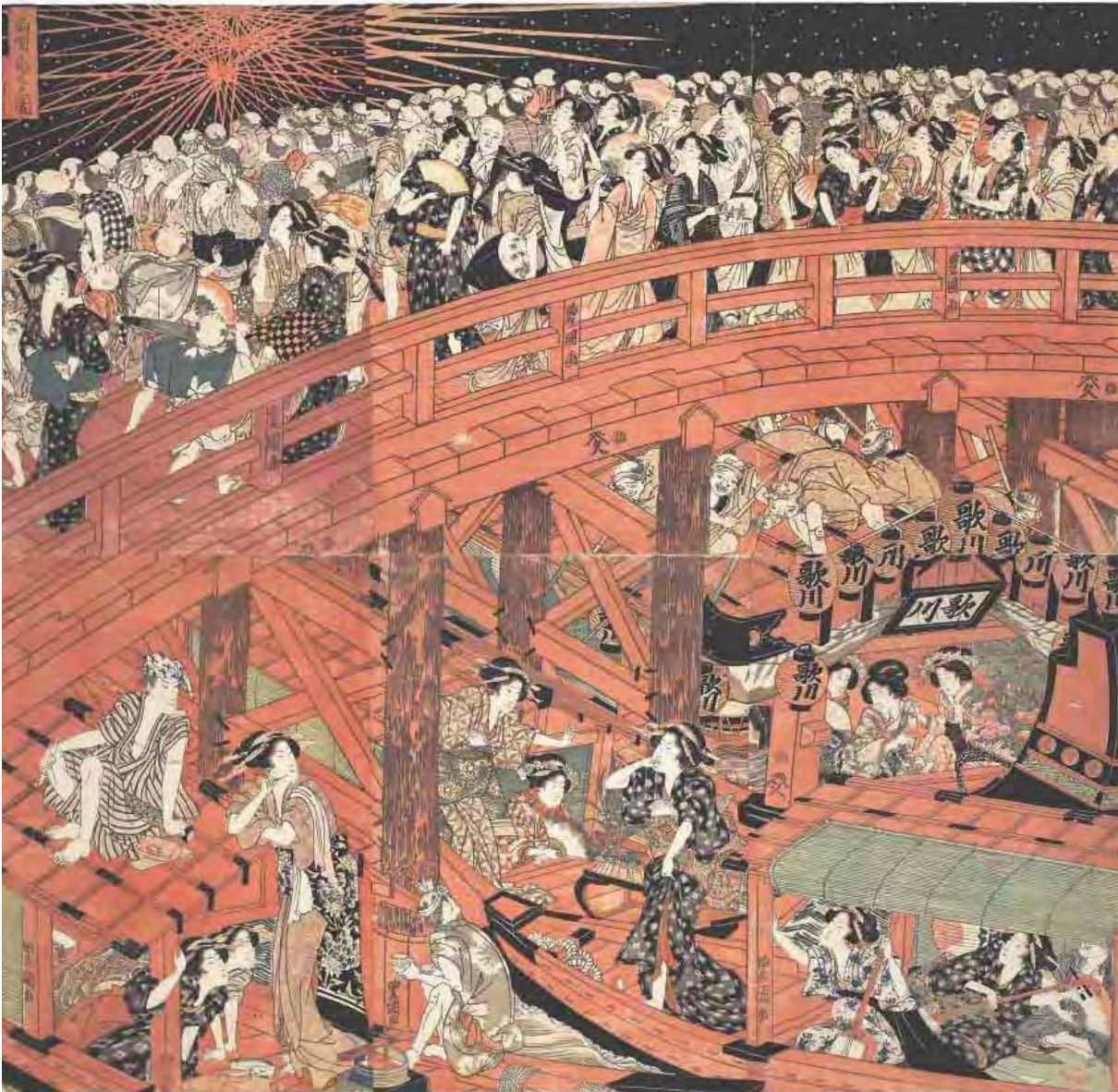
Sakari (盛り) means flourishing and ba (場) is often translated as place, space or spot. However, none of these words renders the meaning of ba, which has a singular characteristic showing the glimpses of Japanese understanding of space; ba emerges around crowds. What flourishes ba is the energy of people flowing to a certain space; if the crowd move elsewhere to the other side of the city, ba moves with them and flourishes there.

The places that were always bustling with people in Edo period were the open spaces around both sides of bridges built to serve as fire breaks after the 1657 Edo fire. With the crowd passing along the bridge while enjoying the view of the city, others doing business on main streets and people travelling on the canals, these crowded spots, which were the earliest examples of public spaces in Japan, met the requirements of ba to emerge and flourish.¹²

They became Edokkos' (江戸っ子, "child of Edo", the former version of Tokyoite) shelter where they can escape from the daily struggles of life and the oppression of the shogunate, a place one could be free by getting lost in the world of theatres, geisha houses, tea houses, street stalls and venues hosting comedians, storytellers and dancers. These places were so popular that despite the efforts of the shogunate, the samurai class who were supposed to work on the refinement of the high culture also became regular visitors there while in disguise. Henri Smith exemplifies this vibrancy bringing classes together with the case of Ryogokubashi:

*Ryogokubashi on the one hand brought together all classes of Edo society, submerging the manifold distinctions of rank and office. At the same time, it offered a passage, however ephemeral, from the everyday world to the world of celebration and festivity. In this sense, it partook of the two contradictory meanings of ukiyo, the celebrated "floating world," on the one hand, the world of everyday life, and on the other the secret anti-world of carnal and theatrical pleasure. Water was the intersection between these realms in Edo.*¹³

10 "Fireworks
at Ryogoku" by
Utagawa Toyokuni,
1817



Ukiyo (浮世), the floating world, is a reference to the doctrine of impermanence in Buddhist thought that considers the material world to be an illusion in which every presence is only temporary. To reflect the darkness and melancholy in the Buddhist approach, ukiyo is sometimes translated as "sorrowful world" in English. However, in the commoners' perspective, rather than a concept representing the temporariness of the world, ukiyo was a strategy that could deal with it; if everything is impermanent, then the

Edokko can have fun and leave himself in the joy of this floating world that is already temporary.¹⁴ The festive sakariba is the place where one can do so and forget one's sorrows in the "hurly-burliness" of city.

These sakaribas emerging at the intersection of waterways and bridges continued to shape social life in Edo until the Meiji era when canals were filled in and transformed into main roads to replace water traffic by land traffic as a part of the modernisation project.¹⁵



11 Shibuya as a modern day sakariba

Metro and train lines bring Tokyoites to Shibuya. They are not as appealing as the old waterways of Edo which used to carry the passengers to sakaribas of the time. However, Shibuya Station Square on a week night is not less crowded than, for example, Ryogoku Bridge shown on previous page.



Consequently, the sakaribas of Edo followed the crowd and moved to their new places, the intersections of roads and train and metro lines; knots, but especially knots like Shibuya, which was the terminus of private rail lines.

Although inner-city neighbourhoods are also connected to knots via metro lines, the planar form of the metro network increases the number of intersections and so the variety of transfer options, which consequently reduces density on the inner lines. However, suburbs are connected to the Yamanote loop with linear lines; residents have no option to choose any other line than the only one passing through their neighbourhood. This increases the pedestrian traffic in their arrival terminals. With the flow of people to major transportation hubs such as Shibuya, which houses the modern-day equivalents of the old sakariba venues, the urban culture of Edo continues to be a part of Tokyoites' everyday life.

Urban suburbs

The second point that will support this analysis, showing the non-anti-urban nature of Japanese spatial thought, is the suburbs themselves. Japanese suburbanisation via rail differs from the US model, which is based on increasing automobile ownership and highway construction; the former creates many more urban zones, even in distant locations from the centre, in comparison with the latter. For example, a suburban resident's walk to the station in his neighbourhood is not very different than mine in Nezu. We both walk in a pedestrian-oriented

residential area and both see an increased density of a variety of shops, cafes and restaurants around the station.

While hosting the commuters travelling to the city in the morning, this place becomes a shopping zone for the locals in the afternoon, a meeting zone for students returning from school and a place for dining outside in the evening. Sometimes, these functions are rather freely dispersed, but in most cases, a variety of shops and eateries can be found in a well-planned shotengai opening to the station building in suburbs.¹⁶ This area, as the focal point of the neighbourhood, acts like a small centre; in a sense, a micro knot. Berque, noticing this singularity, compares Japanese kogai (郊外, suburb) to French banlieues:

[I]n these kogai, sometimes right out on the outskirts of cities, one can find, around the stations, an atmosphere quite similar to that of the lively city-centre neighbourhoods. There is, admittedly, a difference of scale, but the same urbanity is being expressed there. Thus, just as Japanese urban life is tinged with rurality, so the Japanese kogai offer, in places, an urban life which is missing from our suburbs. This is an indisputable, positive feature and should certainly be taken into account in explaining why the huge suburbs of Tokyo or Osaka do not have the social problems of the Paris or Lyon banlieues.¹⁷

The Developmental City: Tokyo

This urbanity that he mentions is a product of transport-oriented development initiated by private rail companies. However, this private sector, while seemingly following the rules of *laissez faire*, is under the control of the developmental state, which has some creative methods to manipulate the industrial giants for the public good. For example, the efficiency of the advanced transportation network in Tokyo is not the only reason why Tokyoites prefer public transportation to the comfort of their own cars: employees travelling to work do not pay for the commuting costs themselves; instead, most companies provide pre-paid tickets or transport allowances. The companies taking this burden from their employees' shoulders are rewarded with tax cuts. The state indirectly increases the demand for public transportation by forcing the private sector to comply, either with carrots, like tax cuts, or sticks, such as being excluded from the strong relationship between bureaucrats, businessmen and politicians forming the Japanese "iron triangle."¹⁸

This system is open to the problems of extra communication (such as bribery and corruption in bids for public works) between bodies that are supposed to be regulated thoroughly; but it also works well enough to manipulate the private sector for public ends.¹⁹ Moreover, the notion of the state limiting the investments of profit-driven private rail companies in the centre has a direct effect on the provision of decent public transportation facilities.

Although Tokyo was listed as one of the global cities in Saskia Sassen's iconic work "The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo",²⁰ the way Tokyo actually works differs radically from the market-oriented global city model, due to a strong developmental state that is an effective player rather than an passive regulator.

This particular economic model, which is often ignored by the Space School, insiders and child players is a key factor contributing to the complexity of knot. In Japan, which has been governed by the conservative Liberal Democratic Party ever since 1955, with the exception of a total of four years, the provision of heavy infrastructure is associated with economic development. The view from the pedestrian bridge on Tamagawa Dori is the outcome of this economic model. Although the country has passed its period of rapid growth, plans for new transportation infrastructures were pursued to boost the construction sector. In the deeper depressions during periods of economic stagnation, the same strategy was followed to prevent the collapse of this major sector in Japan.²¹ Therefore, no matter what happens in the country, there is always a new train line or new bridge under construction.

Two-Tier Planning

In fact, in the Japanese planning system, the state, either in the form of the central government, which is highly influential in the planning of Tokyo, or the metropolitan government, strangely, seems to be only responsible for infrastructure provision. The residential quarters, on the other hand, have been shaped by the residents themselves with rather loose building regulations. This is not only because the metropolitan government is reluctant to work on inner-city neighbourhoods; the neighbourhood associations are also reactive to outside interventions changing the urban landscape drastically.²²

The manshon (マンション, condominium) boom, which started in the 1970s and is still affecting the city, can be given as an example to illustrate this two-tier planning system. The spread of high-rise residential buildings, called manshon, in the low-rise fabric of inner-city neighbourhoods is supported by the metropolitan government, which aims to replace low-rise free-standing houses and labyrinthine streets with condominiums and wide roads. However, such a desire is not shared by the residents, who can quickly become organised, attract media attention and take legal action. In a few early cases, even though there was no legal dispute according to the law, developers of manshons were taken to court for blocking the sunlight to other houses. The construction was cancelled. However, Tokyoites did not give up until the regulations permitting such buildings were abolished by the supreme court. This movement created a new term in the literature: sunlight rights.²³ A few organised residents in Tokyo managed to

change the building regulations affecting the whole of Japan.

This is all thanks to the long-standing neighbourhood associations known as chonakai (町内会). During the Edo period, in the absence of resources to provide municipal services, the shogunate made the commoners, the chonin (町人), responsible for the security and maintenance of their own neighbourhoods. This burden, as a result, generated a form of autonomy and common ownership of the neighbourhood. Today, chonakai are only responsible for organising local festivals, annual clean-up campaigns of the streets and neighbourhood surveillance activities but they still maintain the same organisational capacities and notional ownership of the neighbourhood²⁴.

Nezu streets, for example, are more communal than public; a huge section of a narrow road can be transformed into a garden by one of the residents whom I mentioned at the beginning of this section. In fact, she is only making an effort to create a green space for the neighbourhood, instead of waiting for municipality to act. Likewise, the cleaning of alleyways is the responsibility of the residents, as in the case of an elderly lady sweeping up the area in front of her house. The garbage disposal, although exemplary with such emphasis on recycling, is quite painful for the residents who have to wait for a certain day to throw away their trash and carry it to a collection point. The self-reliance of the neighbourhood is still a part of everyday life.

However, in exchange, the chonaikai, which were also behind the massive citizen movements of the 1970s demanding better urban environments from the government, for whom the main priority was economic development at any cost,²⁵ remain as a balancing power that can challenge private investors or decision-makers on issues related to the neighbourhoods. This is the reason why the residents of Nezu are on the alert for potential developers aiming to erect a high-rise in the neighbourhood.

The state, which is indirectly excluded from the mansion cases as a policymaker and has conveniently escaped from service provision, is left with one area of investment: infrastructure. While the signature of the state via heavy transportation infrastructure can be observed around knots, one can see quite tranquil, organically shaped residential environments in the neighbourhoods, which can be right next to these knots. Thus, it is not wrong to say that Japan has a two-tier planning system: on the one hand, the planning of train and metro lines, elevated expressways, the shinkansen network; on the other hand, rather soft interventions on spontaneously growing inner-city neighbourhoods. The journey from Nezu streets (the patch), which were taken care of by elderly ladies, to Shibuya (the knot), with its gigantic elevated rail tracks and expressways actualised by the iron triangle of Japan, shows how both systems, generating quite diverse fragments in the chaotic landscape of Tokyo, can operate together.



The Knot

I have tried to explain the motivation behind the formation of knots and their role in the context of the patchwork, with some references to the patches as well. In this section, I will take the reader to Shibuya Station. Shibuya is the terminus of nine lines; three Tokyo Metro lines, three Japan Rail lines and three private rail lines, two of which belong to the Tokyu Corporation, which shares ownership of the station building with Tokyo Metro and

Japan Rail. The Yamanote Line, operated by Japan Rail (JR East), and two other JR lines, the Saikyo and Shonan Shinjuku lines, are situated in a north–south direction on the first floor. The Ginza Line, operated by Tokyo Metro, is above them on the second floor in an east–west direction. The floors above the Ginza Line belong to Tokyu department store. Tokyu also partially covers the ground level. In fact, the department store and the



12 Shibuya Station and its surroundings

station passageways and platforms are so intermingled that the boundaries are no longer there. On the first floor, an elevated passageway connects the Ginza Line to the Inokashira Line (a private line operated by the Keio Corporation), which is located on the second floor of Mark City, a multi-purpose building housing a wide variety of stores, restaurants, coffee shops, a food hall, a luxury hotel and, surprisingly, a bus terminal on level 5. On the other side,

a temporary passageway connects the Ginza Line platforms to Hikarie, another multi-purpose building with a shopping mall, offices, an art centre, a theatre and an observation terrace open to the public called Sky Lobby.

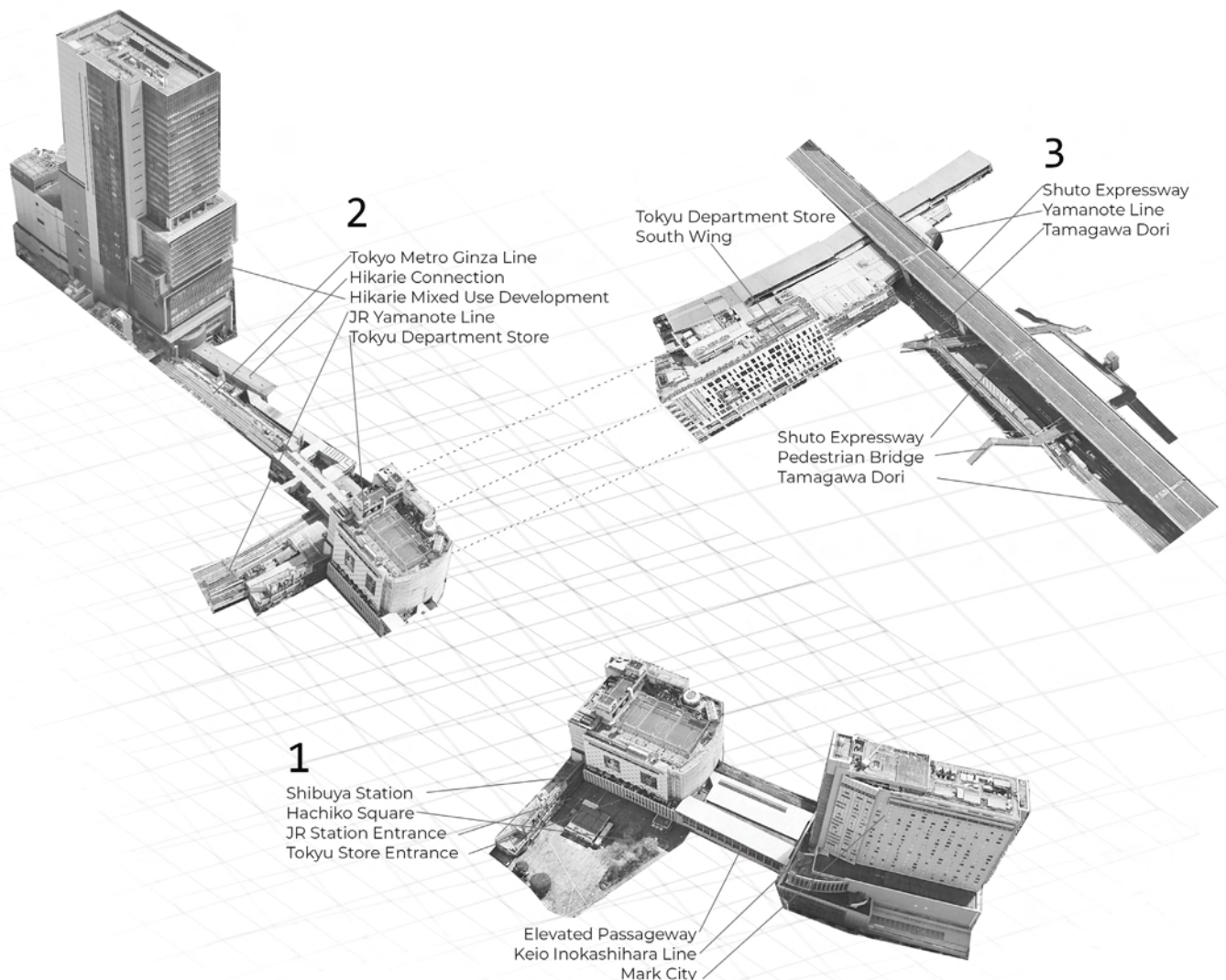
This is what happens above the ground, but there is another world under it; the Den-en-toshi line operated by the Tokyu Corporation and the Hanzomon Line

operated by Tokyo Metro are located on level 3 underground. The Fukutoshin line and the Toyoko Line (a private rail line operated by the Tokyu Corporation) join them at level 5 underground. In addition, Shibuya Chikamichi, a massive underground passageway, which includes shops, passenger lobbies, connections to an underground food market, Hikarie and Mark City and one of the first department stores in the neighbourhood, Shibuya 109 (which also belongs to the Tokyu Corporation), expands over an area of 200 m radius with 21 exits opening to important pedestrian zones along the main roads. This route is preferred by

the passengers arriving at the station via underground lines and those who would like to bypass the heavy pedestrian traffic above ground.

The platforms located in different buildings at different levels, a great number of corridors on, above and under the ground connecting these levels vertically and horizontally, and the blurred boundaries between the circulation, transportation, shopping, eating and rest areas make the experience quite complex. Station staff being surrounded by native people asking for directions is an everyday scene.

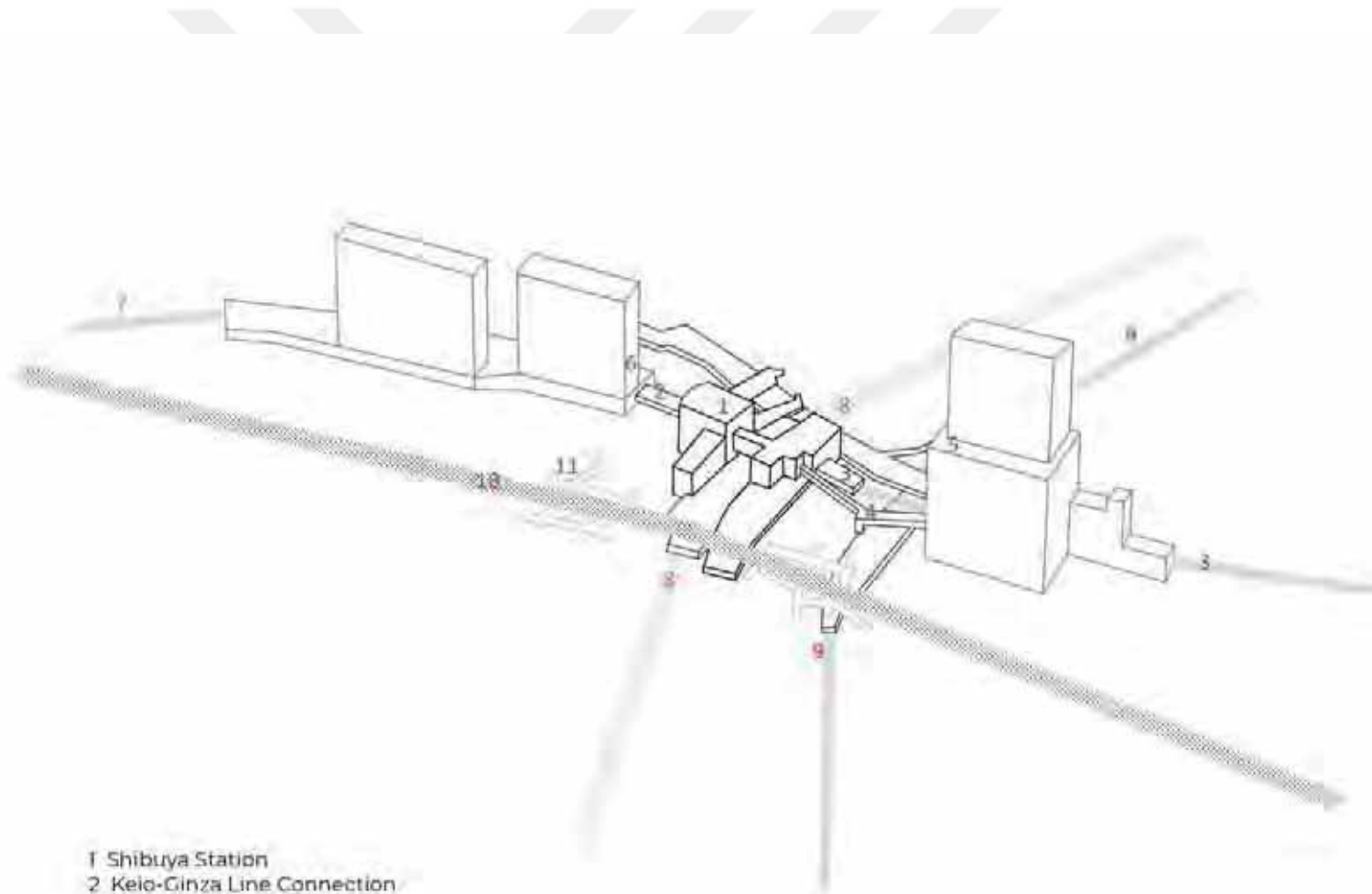
2
2
3



13 Station and its surroundings in relation to the main station building (opposite)

14 Station building and its connections

Adapted from Keisuke Tamura and reillustrated to reflect the latest state of the area



- 1 Shibuya Station
- 2 Keio-Ginza Line Connection
- 3 Ginza Line
- 4 Hikarie Connection
- 5 Hikarie
- 6 Mark City
- 7 Keio Inokashihara Line
- 8 Yamanote Line
- 9 Fukutoshin Line (under the ground)
- 10 Shuto Expressway
- 11 Pedestrian Bridges



15 The connections and entrances at different levels blur the perception of street level, inside and outside.

Shibuya Station JR Yamanote Line gates (above)

Elevated passageway connecting Ginza Line to Keio Inokashihara Line (right above)

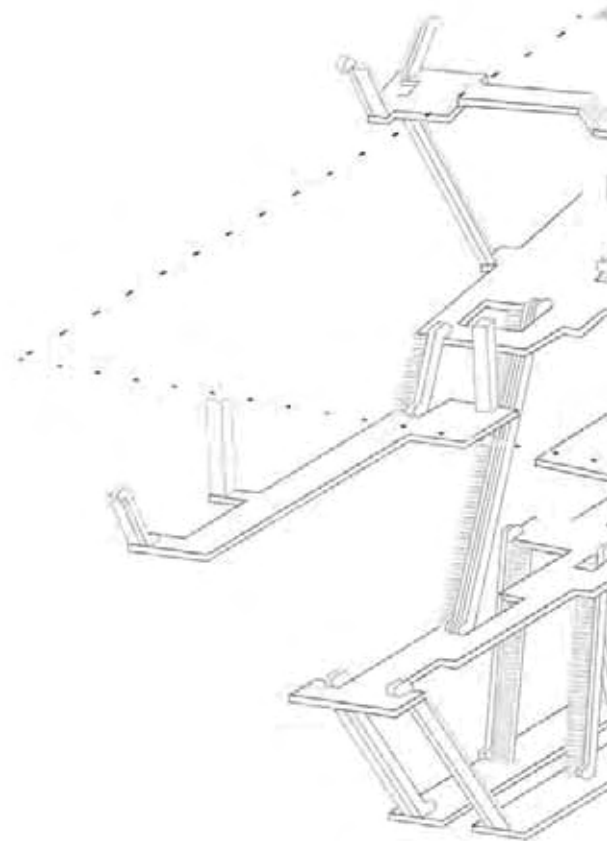
Entrance of Keio Inokashihara Line in Mark City (right below)



Unmappable Station

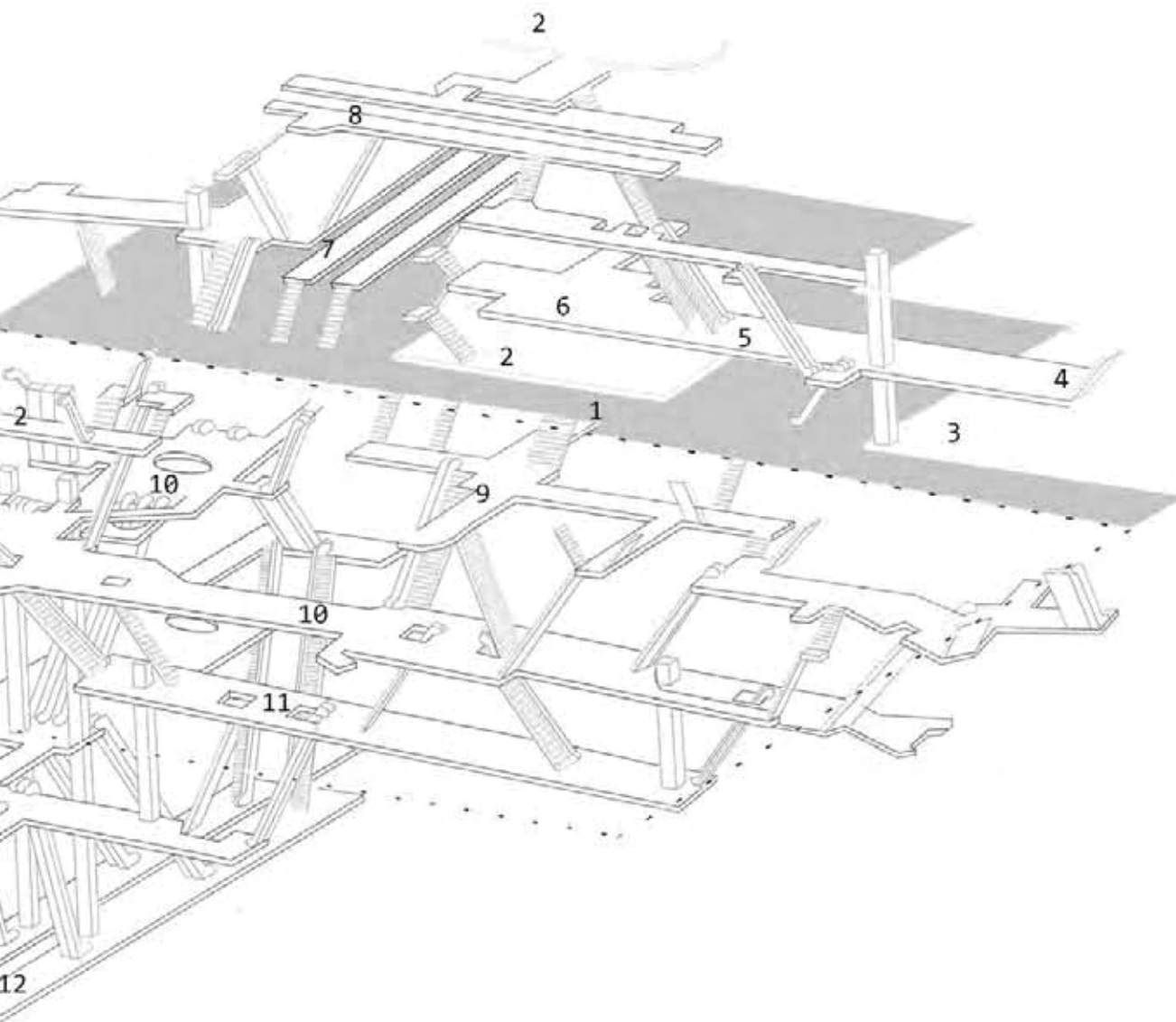
Although it is obviously complex, I realised to what extent this was so for the first time when I tried to map the station building. I spent days in the station, recorded all passageways open to the public, drew small sketches, created imaginary landmarks to orientate myself but, no matter how hard I tried, I could not map the station in its entirety. However, thanks to the partial maps provided by Tokyo Metro, JR and Tokyu department store, I managed to draw an organisational scheme. However, this scheme was no different from my quite primitive sketches that I drew while walking around the station. For example, I could draw all routes taking one from the Ginza Line to Hachiko Square. However, I could not locate the tiny noodle shop popular among the passengers somewhere in this maze. Connections can be drawn but, for example, plans of the first floor cannot be drawn. I considered it to be a singularity and discovered three causal relationships behind this phenomenon: the additive nature and blurred boundaries; impermanence and change; and anarchic point logic and dynamic order.

- 1 Hachiko Square
- 2 Tokyu Store
- 3 Mark City
- 4 Keio Inokashihara Line
- 5 Connection Passageway
- 6 Observation Point
- 7 Yamanote Line
- 8 Ginza Line
- 9 Underground Passageway
- 10 Shibuya Chikamichi
- 11 Hanzomon Line + Den-en-toshi Line
- 12 Fukutoshin Line + Tokyoko Line



16 The maze of Shibuya Station

*Adapted from Tokyo Metro and Japan
Rail station maps, floor plans of Tokyu
Department Store and Mark City*



Additive Nature

There are no definitive boundaries of space; there is no one station building, but fragments. The second floor of Mark City, housing the Inokashira Line, is a fragment. The Ginza Line on the second floor of the Tokyu department store is another fragment. In fact, the store is itself a fragment. The entity called Shibuya Station is not a building itself, but a combination of these fragments, most of which are located in different buildings. Moreover, there is no apparent order to the fragments. Every new line juxtaposed on the existing composition is placed as it fits. This additive nature continues in the station, with countless passageways, circulation halls and gates blurring the boundaries in and between buildings. And finally, with the involvement of a variety of functions, it is hard to tell where the station starts and where it ends, as Andrea Maffei also states:

*In Tokyo's large rail road stations there are no longer boundaries between buildings with different functions, but just a great and neutral system that brings together trains, commercial outlets, cinemas, golf courses and restaurants without a break. Fluidity, multi-stratification and the ephemeral.*²⁶

Secondly, this system made of such fragments coming together has not developed all at once (being), but has been emerging in time (becoming); first a train line and a station, then another line and an extension come together in an additive nature in this system that changes quite often. The most radical alteration in the history of the station is in progress now. The mayor of Shibuya, who desires to renew the face of the neighbourhood to

compete with other subcentres, approved the proposals for a new station under a skyscraper on the same site by 2027.²⁷

At the Edge of Annihilation

Tokyo is changing so fast, it is only difficult to comprehend it but also catch up with it. This reminds us of the definition of chaos by Deleuze:

*The plane of immanence is like a section of chaos and acts like a sieve. In fact, chaos is characterized less by the absence of determinations than by the infinite speed with which they take shape and vanish. This is not a movement from one determination to the other but, on the contrary, the impossibility of a connection between them, since one does not appear without the other having already disappeared, and one appears as disappearance when the other disappears as outline. Chaos is not an inert or stationary state, nor is it a chance mixture. Chaos makes chaotic and undoes every consistency in the infinite*²⁸

Chaos is not only a matter of visual complexity or the absence of apparent order, but the change in an “infinite speed”. The fact that impermanence is a part of life in Japan normalises this situation. A Tokyoite is reminded of the temporariness of life few times a month. My story of meeting with Miya was through one of these moments; while studying in the I in Nezu, ironically on Shibuya Station, we were shaken by an earthquake that was quite strong in comparison with many others that one can feel every day. The first thing to do after the shock is to check one's mobile phones to see if there is an alert indicating that a big one might occur. I witnessed the worry on people's faces who were gathering downstairs and telling me to stay close until they confirmed that

this was not a foreshock. Life changes for a moment and then goes back to normal. Aside from going through these kinds of experiences several times a month, there is a collective history of periodic devastation.

In addition to 33 earthquakes with a magnitude above 7.0 just in the last century – the last one of which killed 22,000 people, destroyed the reactors of a nuclear power plant and still affects life – Tokyo has been entirely destroyed twice in the last century by Great Kanto earthquake of September 1, 1923 (magnitude 7.9) and US incendiary bombings in 1945, which were three times more destructive than the earthquake. Stephan Mansfield provides a collage from the memories of the country's intellectuals regarding the effects of war in Tokyo:

The film director Kurosawa Akira described being led through the carnage by his elder brother, and seeing piles of corpses forming little mountains. On top of one of these mountains sat a blackened body in the lotus position of Zen meditation. Kawabata Yasunari depicted the distraught survivors of the entertainment district of Asakusa rather more poetically, likening them to a disordered field of flowers. He was accompanied on a perambulation through the ruins and around the vicinity of a pond by the writer Akutagawa Ryunosuke, whose interest in the ghoulish was well known. Akutagawa wrote rather more realistically of the scene, asking his readers "o imagine tens and hundreds of men and as if boiled in a cauldron of mud. Muddy red cloth was strewn all up and down the banks, for most of the corpses were courtesans." Ponds; canals, and rivers had afforded little relief from the intense heat of the conflagration, which, sucking oxygen from the air, caused

*these water spaces to boil. Those passing Asakusa's irreparably damaged Ryounkaku caught sight of a caged monkey sitting on the site where, just a few days earlier, a circus had performed. The stunned, vacant expression on its face mirrored that of many survivors.*²⁹

The Hiroshima and Nagasaki disasters included in this picture of complete destruction changed the Japanese psyche. The signs can be seen even in popular culture references such as the Godzilla series; a monster which is thought to be mutated by radioactive matter comes to destroy Tokyo. Although being greatly demolished, the city is always saved at the end of the movie. Albert Sadler says what happens in real life:

*Surely, the psychic scars of the cruelty of that last phase of the war can be seen in the faces of many who managed to survive the man-made inferno. But the true Tokyoite has a gift for shaking off the dust of the past and looking forward.*³⁰

True Tokyoites rapidly rebuilt the city and hosted the 1964 Olympics less than two decades after the end of the war. This cycle of destruction and rebirth makes the notion of impermanence an intrinsic part of Japanese life and opens minds to accept change rather easily.

The Japan Times

& Mail

AFTERNOON EDITION

Typewritten bulletins at Imperial Hotel every morning.

Issued with co-operation of Kokusai Service

TOKYO, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1923

TOKYO WILL LIVE!

BULLETIN

Metropolitan Police announce an approaching heavy storm, possibly typhoon with rain. The storm is expected some time between this afternoon and tomorrow forenoon.

Tokyo is a city that will not die.

There is proof for the doubter in every burned-over space today. Small shacks are springing up on all sides—shacks which are but the forerunners of permanent buildings. San Francisco's story is to be told again in Tokyo.

The Japan Times can authoritatively announce that rumors of a change in the capital are without foundation. Such a change was discussed, but this will remain the capital of Japan.

Thousands of aged and stately cryptomeria trees are to be cut down by Imperial Order in order to facilitate the rebuilding of the city. In this is a symbol.

Yokohama likewise will be rebuilt, at least in part. As a port for Tokyo it has a function which must be performed if Tokyo endures. Practically all Yokohama businesses are setting up temporary headquarters in Kobe. Foreign firms of Tokyo appear to favor Karuizawa.

In Hongō-ku they are burning bodies today. There are heaps of dead, many of whom suffocated in railway stations where they crowded in fear of fire. The river Sumida is full of discolored bodies floating face down. Authorities are collecting bodies as rapidly as possible and cremating them.

Three urgent Imperial Ordinances are aimed at control of profiteering, maintenance of peace and order, and declaration of moratorium. Cornering of necessities of life or supplying them at undue price will be punishable with imprisonment for not more than three years or a fine of not over ¥3,000. The second ordinance is an attempt to stop false rumors. The third permits postponement of payment of private debts, contracted before September 1, for 30 days, in the earthquake area. Salaries and other exemptions are provided.

Refugees are to be carried free of charge on two N.Y.K. ships. The Nagasaki Maru, 5,500 tons, sails from Yokohama at 5 p.m. tomorrow and arrives at Kobe Sunday at 1 p.m. The Bingo Maru, 6,000 tons, goes on the Shi-aura-Shinagawa-Kobe line, making its first trip today.

Tram service will be restored in main streets within half a month. Service was to be resumed today between Aoyama 6-chōme and Shimai-cho, Shiba, and between Otsuka and Kasuga-cho, as well as the Dotaka line.

All rice warehouse in Tokyo and Yokohama were to be thrown open today. Warships are to transport sufferers to Osaka from Shinagawa without charge. The O. S. K. has offered to transport sufferers. Seventeen rescue stations

The Japan Times will hereafter give space to information concerning individuals. If you have news or wish word of missing persons please leave an envelope addressed "Japan Times" at Room 108, Imperial hotel, or communicate with Gould, news editor.

Any information as to the whereabouts of these persons should be turned in to the American Embassy Relief Headquarters, Room 108, Imperial Hotel.

Miss Mary C. Alexander, Miss Bernice Austin, Mr. & Mrs. and child Berinson, Miss Bridges, Miss Carpenter, Mr. and Mrs. Chambers, Mrs. T. W. and child Chisholm, Mr. and Mrs. DeWette, Mrs. DeNewman, Mr. Chase and mother Dreher, Mr. and Mrs. Elliot, Miss Olga Eila, Mr. John Eila, (Honnoku, Yokohama) Mr. Frederickson, Mr. Gehr, Mr. and Mrs. Hafela, Mrs. J. S. Happer, Mr. and child Harowitz, Mrs. E. Hilton, Mr. Henry Holbrook, Mr. Holly, Tomonobe Kamamoto, Mrs. Masa and Miss Helen Kasai, Mr. Kaufner, W. R. Kaylor, Mrs. Helen B. Kibby, Mrs. L. T. King, Mr. Stuart Lamond, T. L. Laffin, Mr. and Mrs. J. Lajoff, Mr. A. C. Ladis, Mr. McNamara, Mr. and Mrs. John Martin, Miss Mary Martin, Mrs. M. Mondeson, Miss Marion Mead, Mr. & Mrs. J. D. Miller, R. Moyol, Miss Nunez, Mrs. Ovinchinkoff, Mr. & Mrs. G. B. Pearce, Mr. A. F. Pinfaloff, Mr. L. Perrot, Mr. Paul Puncot, Mrs. Rich, Mr. John Rust, Miss Ryder, Miss Ruth Seelen, Mr. Serguiff & family, Mr. Shelly, C. C. Shilton, Mr. Irving Skootsky, Mr. Svidorsky, Miss Carol Swift, Miss Margaret Tracy, E. H. Waugh, Mr. G. Wood. Yokohama dead include: Mr. Paul E. Jenks, Paul R. Cannon, Mrs. Albert Mandell and son, Mr. & Mrs. Amrine & child.

The following foreigners, other than American, listed as missing.

D'Aquino, Julius C. Cabeldo, Mr. and Mrs. Warming, Mr. and Mrs. Neegaard, and family Mr. and Mrs. T'Orange, Mr. Berthelsen, Mr. Y. Molliez, Mr. G. Samuel Wardell, Mrs. L. H. Jenks, Mr. and Mrs. Elliott, H. C. Holby, J. Kaufman, Mr. and Mrs. John Martin, Mr. Ensign, McHenry Holbrook, H. W. Morse, P. C. Scheuer, Mr. A. Sterch.

The whereabouts of the following persons are wanted by the Danish legation at 1 Enokizaka-machi: Mr. Warming and family; Mr. and Mrs. Neegaard; Mr. T'Orange; Mr. Berthelsen.

today started distribution of provisions to foreigners and Japanese.

The British Embassy has received a despatch stating that the Government of Singapore has contributed the sum of ¥50,000 and that the Government of Australia has contributed ¥100,000 for the immediate relief of sufferers from the earthquake in Japan.

No one is permitted on the streets after 9 p.m., by special order. Police and military have the situation thoroughly in hand.

Yokohama's death list probably will reach 50,000. In Odawara and neighborhood the death toll was 4700, it is reported.

The President Wilson, which was to have left yesterday afternoon for Kobe, will depart Sept. 11, taking a large number of American refugees. The President Madison, of the Admiral line, due to arrive Sunday at Yokohama, will take aboard a large list of American for Seattle, leaving here as soon as possible, according to announcement by the American Embassy this noon.

British residents of Tokyo and district who may be in urgent need of food should make application at the British Embassy office at the Imperial hotel.

The American Red Cross has contributed 200,000 yen to the Japan Red Cross for relief.

A chain of American destroyers extends between Manila and Yokohama and supplies are being rushed.

Railway service between Shinagawa and Yokohama was resumed today. All foreign residents of Kamakura were taken off on warships yesterday evening. The injured are on board the Empress of Australia in Yokohama harbor.

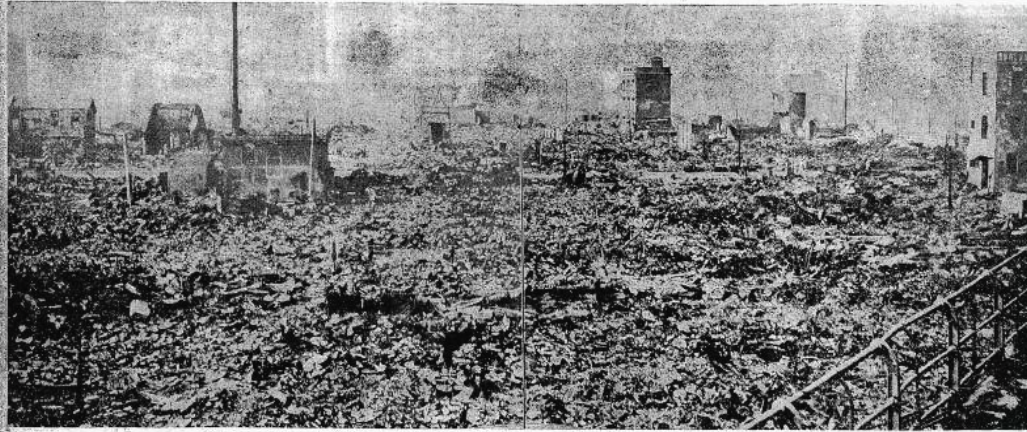
No. 4 "Earthquake Extra" Series — — — Smallest Net Paid Circulation on Earth!

17 "Tokyo will live!"

Tokyo based Japan Times Newspaper headlines at the aftermath of Great Kanto Earthquake (above) and the scenes from destroyed Tokyo (opposite)

THE JAPAN TIMES & MAIL, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 1923

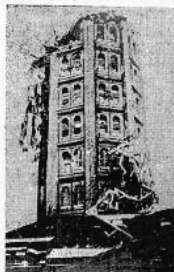
PICTURE VIEWS OF ONE OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST CATASTROPHES



Tokyo in ruins—Gyoma and neighborhood as seen immediately after the quake and flames had spread devastating throughout the city.



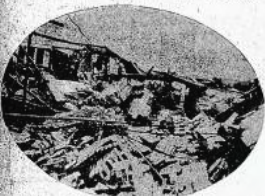
Devastated Marunouchi, Tokyo



Twelve-story tower in Asakusa with the upper half wrecked off.



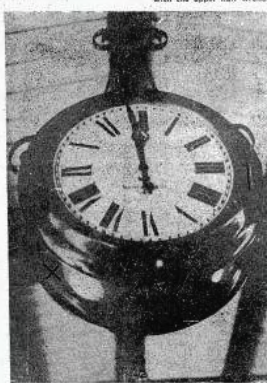
Burning Tokyo as seen from an aeroplane



Koyama Spinning Mill, Shiokusa, where hundreds were killed



Placing with his aged mother on his back



Painting the hour when the shock stopped the clock



Map of Tokyo—burnt area in black.



Homeless thousands in Hibiya, Paris



Tokyo before the catastrophe

Anarchic Point Logic

Tokyo, while changing, changes via its fragments. The order of the city is equally shaped by each of these units, be it a new line under construction in Shibuya Station or a new house replacing an old one in Nezu. Augustin Berque defines the order of a system as such with the concept of an-anarchy³¹ in which the only arche is the codetermination of fragments:

[M]y written offerings with regard to the Japanese urban milieu have about them something of that milieu, to the extent that it has influenced me. This is doubtless why I have not sought to build this work upon a perspective based on a principle dominating and hierarchizing all its parts. Those familiar with Japanese urbanology will easily recognize here a metaphor for that an-anarchy (absence of arche: that which is set at the beginning and governs what follows) which is glorified today in discussions of Tokyo... In this anarchism, the absence of a directive principle does not betoken disorder, but signifies order creating itself, order emerging indefinitely from the co-determination of the parts. It is this codetermination which is ignored by our idea of anarchy, which is therefore, when it comes to time and space, mere dislocation and not, if I may be permitted the term, collocation.³²

If we think of each independent fragment as a point in a pointillistic painting, it may be seen that every single point coming together without an apparent hierarchy actually contributes to order by coexisting with every other point. However, I believe there are two things missing in Berque's analysis: firstly, although anarchy seems to be softened by the order of codetermination, when the number of fragments/points are far too

numerous, this order loses its definitive capacity. Secondly, while the order can be codeterminate³³ in the dimension of space, it is equally indeterminate in the dimension of time, with impermanent fragments forming space in an additive nature. Therefore, this anarchic point logic is also dynamic.

This is the reason why architects can joke on whether Tokyo, where 1.8 million landowners with houses built on lots that are as small as 16 m² and with a lifespan less than 30 years, has a masterplan or not. It is difficult for plans to catch up with the anarchic point logic repositioning itself continuously. For this reason, Japanese planning is pragmatist and project oriented; problems are solved within the boundaries of an area without any attempt to create a general scheme for the whole city. This approach increases the number of independent fragments and serves the anarchic point logic.

On the other hand, although the number of fragments are high, change is fast (in comparison to the West) and the end result is complex, as in the case of the unmappable rhizomatic Shibuya. On the bright side, we still know what the seed of this rhizome is: the anarchic and dynamic logic of freely floating points.

“In this anarchism, the absence of a directive principle does not betoken disorder, but signifies order creating itself, order emerging indefinitely from the co-determination of the parts.”

Augustin Berque



New Singularities

As this chapter is longer than usual, I would like to summarise the first two sections briefly. First, I noticed that Shibuya Station, which is occupied by different companies, has only partial plans, I tried to draw a plan illustrating the station layout but could not succeed. I then checked other studies and found out that it is only partial connections that are studied, not the station in its entirety. This made me question where the boundaries are, how the station vanishes and arises at the same time, and how these fragments come together. I bumped into

all these singularities during quite intense moments, such as feeling desperate in a cafe facing the station and realising that it could be gone before I made sense of this building. Likewise, the ladies in Nezu, whom I introduced at the beginning and used to structure the narrative in the first part of this chapter, are also on the list of the people placing a question mark in my mind. I wondered why they clean the streets, why there are so many plant pots on the street, why I have to spend days to throw out the garbage, and so many others



18 Station Square (Hachiko Square) on a Sunday morning

questions that I cannot share due to the limited space of the thesis.

The role of these singularities is to make us suspicious about something, to take us to the virtual (the literature on Tokyo and Japan for this section), and help us to borrow molecular intensities (non-structured ideas) from there, take them back to the actual and restructure the thought (reterritorialisation). My contribution so far is only to realise the singularities, and jump rather freely between disciplinary boundaries to

find repeating patterns in the ideas of planners, social scientists, economists, architects, historians, philosophers, my own experience and Tokyoites' own opinions about their city, so that the motivation behind the formation of the city and its hidden order may be revealed. But then I encountered new singularities in the events of space during some quite ordinary but also very human moments. In this final section they will be introduced.

The Pulsating Heart of Shibuya

Leaving the station via the Hachiko gate (exit 8, also known as the main exit) leads one to the station square (ekimae). This gate is named after the loyal dog who came to the station every day to accompany his owner Professor Hidesaburō Ueno on the way back to their home. Hachiko continued to visit the station every single day for nine years after Ueno had passed away. His memory is cherished with a small statue located at the spot where he waited for his owner. We will again go back to a moment in time to see what happens outside the station. Quite a few tourists surrounding the statue are taking selfies. On the other side, youngsters sitting around the trees check their mobile phones. Two women are waiting for someone right next to the green bus used as a tourist information centre. A couple who have just climbed the stairs from the Chikamichi underground passageway are approaching them. A group of ladies who have obviously have done some shopping on the upper levels of Tokyu join the crowd from the main exit.

There are people sitting, people standing, people chatting, people watching each other; and then, I am watching them from the elevated passageway connecting Tokyu Store to Mark City. I am not alone; this place is always busy with passengers who are stopping by to enjoy the view for a moment. It is not only us; on the other side of Meiji Avenue, the coffee shop in Tsutaya bookstore is also full of eyes. We are watching the scramble crossing connecting the square to the far side of Inokashira and Meiji avenues.

The main exit of the JR station, opening to the northern section of the square, fills the space with people periodically; like a vein carrying oxygenated blood to the heart, the train lines bring new people to Shibuya from all round Tokyo. The number of people waiting around the scramble crossing increases with this fresh crowd joining them. On the other side of the road, people usually wait in front of the underground exits (exits 6, 7 and 9), which work as a separator between them and others waiting for someone. Tsutaya, right behind exit 6.1, is a famous meeting point for Tokyoites.

19 Crossing the road

The pattern at right shows the crowd waiting to cross the road at the edge of Hachiko Square. The scene repeats in every two minutes.



At one point it gets so crowded at all corners around the scramble crossing that there is almost no space left for the newcomers joining the crew waiting there. At that moment, the signal turns green for pedestrians; a massive movement starts all at once, at one point the centre of the

crossing gets so dense that it looks almost choreographed. In a few seconds, the crowd dissolves and the drivers that have been waiting for 90 seconds get their road back, but only for two minutes. Then a new cycle starts. Just like a pulsating heart, this scramble crossing has its own rhythm.



20 Watching the square and scramble crossing

*Passers gazing through the scramble crossing
from the observation area and elevated
passageway (above)*

Zooming to the station to spot a watcher (right)

The Playful Labyrinth

Now we will tail this crowd and see what happens in Shibuya by expanding the analysis a bit further than the immediate surroundings of the station to an area that houses university buildings, offices, countless cafes and restaurants, small shopping lanes, department stores, theatres, cinemas, pachinko parlours, nightclubs and love hotels.

This large area has its own rhythm as well. In the morning Shibuya starts the day with the white-collar workers, university and high-school students, and the employees working in the service sector spilling over from the trains. Around noon, the second wave of the suburban crowd hits the district for shopping, a movie or just to meet friends. In the meantime, the sarariman and office ladies³⁴ get back to the streets for lunch. In the evening, a new movement towards the neighbourhood continues the events of daytime; buying an album, having dinner with colleagues from work (known as *nomination*, the combination of *nomi* (飲み), which means drink and communication), having a drink on your own in a bottle-keep bar before heading back home, seeing a movie with friends, checking the boutiques, playing games in a pachinko parlour, watching the city from an observation point, food shopping, searching for some privacy in a love hotel, singing in a karaoke bar, having ramen in a noodle shop in the station before the last train leaves or alternatively finding a place to stay overnight at a capsule hotel nearby.

A Tokyoite floating on the neon-lit streets of Tokyo is not so different from an Edokko escaping to Ryogokubashi. The

oppression of shogunate may no longer exist; however, the work culture forcing people to work until they literally die (過労死, *karoshi*) is no less stressful.³⁵ Either to escape from the sorrows of life or simply to enjoy the life in this temporary world of *ukiyo*, modern-day *sakariba* is a playground for Tokyoites. The complexity intrinsic in the city only makes this game more fun to play. Bognar mentioned the back alleys of the knots in the same way:

*[T]hese places also retain the clandestine knots of small alleys which make the indigenous form of play space. These enclosed spaces, shut off from auto traffic, thronging with people, provide the magic of the excursion. The delicious mix of such a variety of elements, the ever-changing spaces of the maze, excite our senses. making a venture into this city an entertainment in itself.*³⁶

The entertainment overflows to the upper levels of buildings, where one can find tiny little cafes, bars and stores. Although one can find examples of this phenomenon all round Tokyo and definitely in Shibuya, I first noticed this in Ginza. While walking on Chuo Dori at a weekend, when the avenue is pedestrianised and transformed into a festive place, I noticed a human figure on the facade of a building, and realised that it was a person climbing the stairs going to the cafe on the third floor. Being curious myself, I tailed the people going to the cafe and saw how the street continued as a vertical street. I noticed similar scenes when encountering long lines on the staircases of other buildings where people waited to enter a restaurant.

The Rooms of The City

What is more interesting is the more personal spaces created for Tokyoites in this playground. For example, a sarariman goes to his favourite bar by following the tiny alleyways and then the stairs to, let's say, level 5 of a building in one of the subcentres of Tokyo. One would expect that the rest of the experience would be the same as if he was going to a bar in New York or London. However, this sarariman takes his seat and he is served with his glass and his bottle of wine kept for him. Frequent visitors may have such exclusive rights, which involve a connection to the space and the owner. Not only the bars but also cafes and izakaya restaurants follow a similar pattern, which is called "bottle-keep".³⁷ Another interesting phenomenon are the love hotels. One can have a bedroom in the city for a few hours. They are not only used by couples, but students who would like to do an assignment somewhere less busy than a cafe, or white-collar workers who want to take a nap at midday.

While the love hotels are affordable for a few hours, for the people who have missed the last train, the most popular and affordable option to spend the night are the capsule hotels. The small cabins for one person are stacked on top of each other, so more people can be accommodated in a limited space. There is an Internet connection and a small TV that can be listened to only via headphones in the cabin; showers and lockers are available outside. The successor of these hotels is the Nakagin Capsule Tower designed by Kisho Kurokawa to accommodate Homo movens, meaning "man on the move", after the models of Homo sapiens, man as

thinker, and Homo faber, man as maker.³⁸ Kurokawa created a secondary living space for the sarariman living in the suburbs and working in the city; someone who is constantly on the go.

However, the city becomes a home not only to those who need to travel long distances to reach their home, but the people living in the centre as well. The kissatens (喫茶店, cafe) of Tokyo, housing people all day long, are heavily used by Tokyoites meeting with friends, having breakfast, lunch or dinner, reading a book, doing an assignment or having some time alone in a corner. Merry White explains the importance of cafes in Japan:

*The man who needs a place to sit to deal with his shame at being unemployed, the woman whose freelance work has no office, the student who cannot study in her crowded and noisy home are drawn to the coffeehouse. The cafe allows for social and personal uses, for meetings as well as for solitude. The multiplicity of functions served by the cafe demonstrates the plurality of situations and experiences and offers a definition of modern Japan itself, a place where the demands on people's energies and commitments are strong but where expression of the self continues also to demand outlets.*³⁹

The cafe Graphy Nezu, which is frequently visited by the locals, is an example. A middle-aged housewife who is quite active in the neighbourhood sometimes comes to the cafe with her two kids, seven-year-old Mohiro (a main character who will be introduced in the next chapter just like Miya) and his sister, and sometimes with a few other ladies who also live in Nezu. A young man who lives just one block away drinking beer outside while

his little daughter is playing around the seats, an engineer working on his projects there, and a couple walking their dog just stopping by to read their magazines can be given as some other examples of people using the cafe almost every day. Although I had a desk in my room and a huge study room available in the hotel, I preferred to study there as well. The use of the city as an extension of home is not only specific to knots; in inner-city neighbourhoods and even in the suburbs, the same pattern can be observed rather easily.

Small House – Big City

One might rightfully object that these kinds of examples could be given in any other country. Tokyo is not the only city where people take their work to cafes or meet with friends there. However, there are two points that differentiate the situation in Japan: the smallness of Japanese houses and the homely spaces created in public spaces rather effortlessly. The relatively small residential space in Japan, which is even called a rabbit hutch by a UN report, is compensated for by the amenities of the city. Similarly to the commoners who had to utilise the narrow alleys for cooking or gatherings, the modern-day Tokyoites tend to eat in one of the 160,000 restaurants of the city, as their small kitchens at home do not let them cook complicated dishes, pick a cafe to gather when cosy living spaces cannot accommodate a large group of people, take a bath in a sento (銭湯, public bath) if there is no bath at home. Roman Cybriwsky, who lived in Tokyo and experienced the city just like a Tokyoite, explains:

Many activities that characterize centres like Shibuya reflect other features of modern Japan.

There is a significant relationship between the immense popularity of certain activities and the well-known problems of overcrowding in Japanese dwelling units. The profusion of kissaten, for example, is partially an adaptation to living arrangements that do not always allow adequate space or privacy. The love hotels substitute for a private bedroom in the home... The flourishing of small restaurants and coffee shops in both quiet residential areas and commercial centres is partially a response to housing conditions that are frequently inferior.⁴⁰

Kisho Kurokawa has very similar but more positive comments about Tokyo:

If the problems of land costs and the threat of fire were solved, I believe that Tokyo could be the most fascinating and futuristic city on earth. One reason is that Tokyo is already a time-sharing city. There can be no denying that houses in Tokyo are small; but the city itself provides every sort of second home conceivable, for even the most arcane tastes. Tokyoites may not be able to invite their friends or colleagues to their home for a party or dinner after work, but the city is filled with fine restaurants, bars and clubs where they can entertain their friends. A Tokyoite may not have a games room in his home, but he does not lack for mah-jong, pachinko and billiard parlours, computer game centres and sing-along clubs. He may not have his own tennis court or pool, but there is no shortage of sports clubs, golf courses, driving ranges and tennis courts in the city. These facilities take the place of your own private living room, games room, your own pool and tennis court – they are your second homes.⁴¹



*21 Mini House by
Atelier Bow-Wow*

A Room of One Million Cubic Metres

In addition to his rather positive approach, it is worth to note that smallness is not seen as a negative in Japan. There is a long tradition of symbolising a large element by a very small version of it; a rock in the temple garden representing a mountain, a bonsai symbolising a grand tree. In terms of residential space, tea houses, which are the origin of sukiya style, are intentionally made as small as possible to create an atmosphere where it is easy to focus on the event.⁴² Likewise, working on small sites and making poetic living spaces from them is seen by architects as an opportunity to be creative. Two of them are Yoshiharu Tsukamoto and Momoya Kaijima, who are well known for strategic solutions to enlarge the interior space by, for example, creating the illusion of bringing the street

inside the house via large openings, or simply by reducing the material section with well thought out details. What I found especially interesting, however, is one of their early projects: Mini House. Mini House is built in a suburban section of Tokyo, sitting on only 41 m² of land. This small house, which has a floor area of no more than 90 m² in total, was designed by placing some of the events within the neighbourhood. The architects analysed the surroundings and realised that there was a cafe at the corner and a hotel near to the house so that meetings could be held in the cafe and visitors hosted in the hotel.⁴³

Sou Fujimoto's house/no house project, which was introduced in part 1, is another interesting work. The architect, inspired by his walk in the city, deconstructed a house and spread each room across the urban fabric of Shinjuku. Thus, while one



walks from the bedroom to the kitchen, one can also experience the city. His thought process shows how the small house–big city formula works; Fujimoto had already been using the cafe on his walk as a kitchen, which was, in fact, the origin of the inspiration. Secondly, and more importantly, the trigger for his walk in the city was his small residential space:

I started to live in a small, one room mansion. Of course, that room itself is very small and not so comfortable, but to go out from that room and walking around the small street, passing alleys surrounded by wooden houses was so exciting experience for me. And it was very very comfortable... I go out of the room and then walk around, come to the cafe, and come to the shop or something like that. It was my life and it was very nice to just to walk to have inspirations about architecture. And then I thought while I was walking around, if I have one more room

around, for example, here (he shows a point on map), or around here, even though it is small space, it could be nice.⁴⁴

The architect elegantly illustrated a phenomenon already practised in the city of Tokyo in this conceptual work. His notion of the city as a room of one million cubic metres tells us more:

If a small house is looked at as a city, it might be fun to implement an infinite complexity there. And if a city is seen as a big house, the huge scale may give rise to a new sensibility for feeling architectural space. For instance, an urban space might be imagined as a room of one million cubic meters.⁴⁵

Home as City

As can be seen from the examples, either to combat the smallness of the house, which might be at the boundary of being claustrophobic rather than cosy, or to simply take advantage of the city which has "so much of everything"⁴⁶ and move some of the events outside the home for convenience, Tokyo becomes a home; a home as city. This included the spread of feeling at home to the areas outside the house. The bottle-keep establishments are an example. A person might feel at home when he interprets and appropriates the space as his own by participating in the environment, experiencing the space and getting familiar with it. As Nicholas Habraken points out, "possession is inextricably connected with action and to possess something we make it part of ourselves, and it is therefore necessary to reach out for it."⁴⁷ In other words, what makes a house a home is not only the tenancy agreement or the title deed. For example, if I compare two visitors coming to visit me at home, the landlord and my best friend, the latter will feel more at home than the former because she is a frequent visitor who even declared one of the seats as her spot. Likewise, the people who take my seat in the Italian cafe in Newcastle bother me strangely, but I do not own the cafe, not even the chair or a single mug there. All I have is the right to stay there for some time in exchange for the price I pay for the coffee.

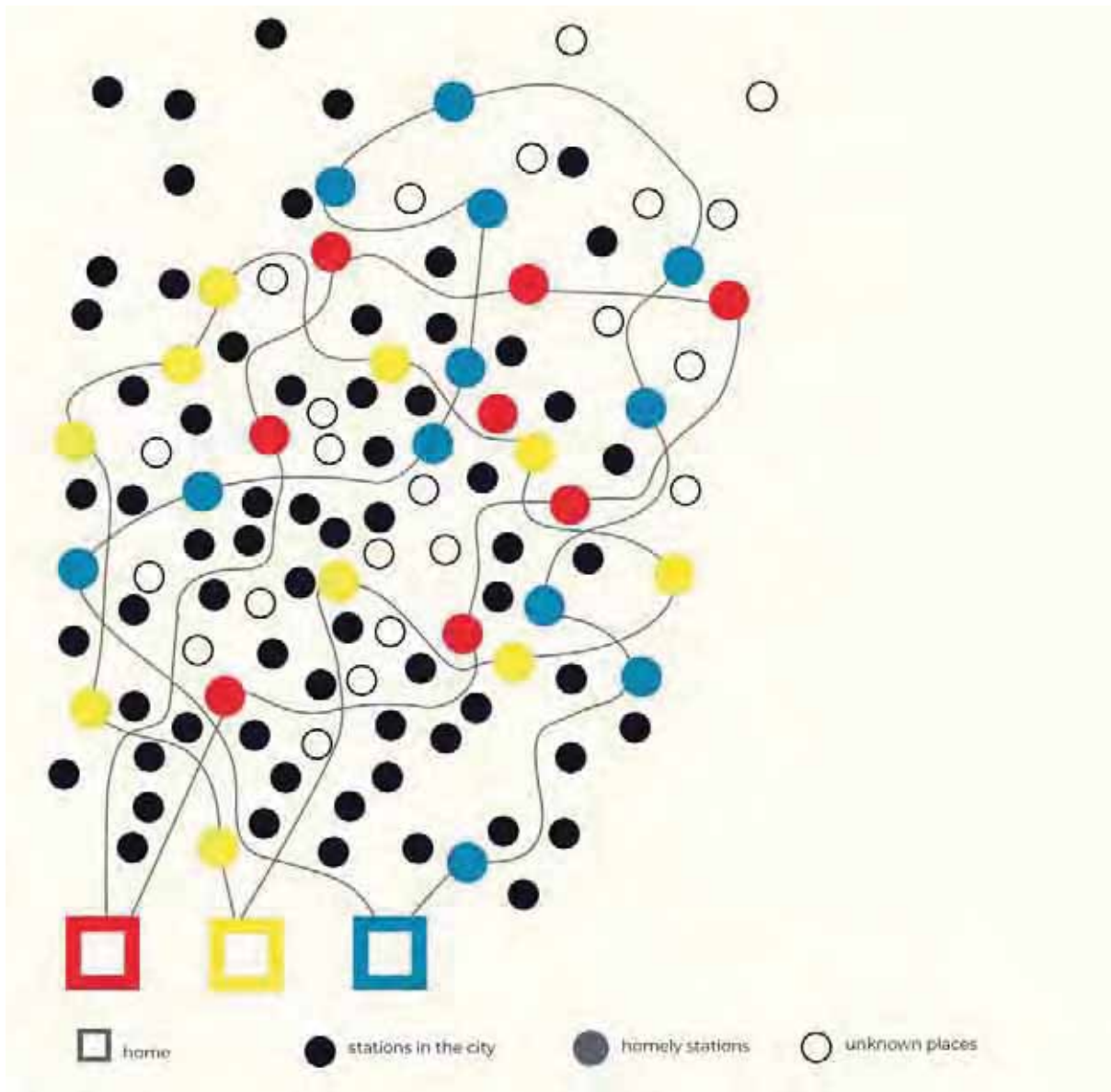
My point here is that everyday space, although it may be a part of the public space belonging to all, when frequently used, is transformed into a homely space in which one belongs to the space and the space belongs to one. The connection

between London and a Londoner may be helpful to illustrate my point. When somebody says that they are from London, they are not only referring to a location at 51°30'N latitude and 0°08'W longitude, but a set of abstractions nourished by London. In this context, one of the conditions for London to exist is the Londoner, and to be a Londoner, one needs London. Not just by being born there, but by spending a part of one's lifetime there, the person gains an intangible ownership of the city. Space at various scales can gain a status in one's life by the level of interaction between the person and the space.

The Stations in Space-Time

What makes the house a home, or a city a hometown, is the intensity of this interaction. Tuan theorises this interaction with his thoughts on space and place:

"Space" and "place" are familiar words denoting common "experiences"... There is no place like home. What is home? It is the old homestead, the old neighbourhood, hometown, or motherland... In experience, the meaning of space often merges with that of place. "Space" is more abstract than "place." What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value. ... From the security and stability of place we are aware of the openness, freedom, and threat of space, and vice versa. Furthermore, if we think of space as that which allows movement, then place is pause; each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place.⁴⁸



22 The stations of home in the city

The homely stations are the extensions of home in the city; their informal ownership is gained through the experience of space. The ordinary stations in the city are also a part of one's everyday but lacks such deep connection. Unknown places are not experienced but are known to be there. Home as city is the combination of home and homely stations in the city.

Tuan does not develop the terms any further than this in general. However, while thinking about them in relation to home as city I made some additions such as stations and micro-space. Tuan thinks of place as a static being; a pause. One makes a pause to slow down and experience the space. Rather than moving on a line, one stands on a dot for some time. This dot, which is

like any other, then becomes familiar, a place. If we include it in our everyday life, it becomes a homely dot, a homely place. I prefer to call these dots the stations in the city, the combination of all of them makes the city one's own and, more importantly, the combination of all the homely dots makes the home as city; an intense version of a city of one's own.

There are two key points in my additions. Firstly, one's home as city is unique to each individual and shaped by the continuous relationship between the self and the city; some stations will be replaced by others including one's house, new stations will join and others will leave, but this relationship continues to exist. Secondly, I have added a temporal layer to this relationship; when the duration of the time spent on the dot, or the frequency of visits to the dot are increased, the intensity of the experience escalates and develops a regular dot into a homely one.

From this perspective, the subject standing on a dot experiences it mainly in the dimension of time, not space. Japanese public gardens can be given as an example to illustrate this temporal dimension. Just like one's walk in the city (the line), one's walk on a route is defined by stepping stones in public gardens. The stones are placed in a way that can manipulate the walker; he can be slowed down at sharp corners (dots) and enjoy the scenery or framed view of a composition. The spatial experience of the walker is structured over time. In fact, the Japanese have a spatial concept called *ji-kan* (時間), which literally means space-time, indicating that "time" is "space in flow."⁴⁹ While one is strolling in the garden space, one is also moving in the dimension of time. My point is quite similar. However, I also think that when one stops at a certain location to enjoy the view of, for example, the composition of rocks framed by the branches of trees, one might not be moving in space, or space might not be flowing, but one continues to move in the dimension of time. This is why I think time is the fundamental dimension of experience rather than space.



23 Home as City

The small stations in the city which are frequently visited are depicted as a part of one's own home. The city, then becomes an extension of home. It grows with one's experience of space, his/her direct relationship with the city.

*24 Spiral exterior view (right)
and the spiral ramp in the
building (opposite)*



Micro-Space

At this point another singularity I first encountered while reading Fumihiko Maki, and then in person on site, helped me to develop these ideas further. One day, Maki visits a building he designed: Spiral, a multi-purpose building housing a gallery, offices, shops, cafe and bars:

Recently a young woman told me: "I like to go to art museums because I feel I truly have a place of my own when I am quietly surrounded by paintings." For her, public places are private places in the most fundamental sense. ... What is important is that people are discovering in cities such places with dual meanings, and cities are increasingly being required to provide such

spaces. The spiral building, which I designed some years ago, has become a fashionable place for holding events and meetings or simply relaxing, especially among younger people. The first floor⁵⁰ café is an extension of the public space of the sidewalk. What interests me is the scene, not in the café, but on the stairway... A few armchairs are arranged by the window, facing the street. Youth invariably occupy these chairs – some idly gazing at the hustle and bustle on the street, others quietly reading a book. They never seem to exchange words.⁵¹



Each citizen must construct his own special relationship to various small parts of the seemingly chaotic, contactless city of today. The contemporary city is a unique reality for each individual. The landscape does not exist as such; it must be conceptualized and constructed by a subject.⁵² (emphasis mine)

The Spiral is located on Aoyama Dori in Shibuya, which is not so far from the station. I visited the building to see whether I could see the same scene Maki witnessed. While approaching the building from street level, I noticed some people facing the window on the first floor. Entering the building, the ground level is very lively,

with the busy cafe and the gallery space taking people upstairs with a spiral ramp giving its name to the building. However, when I got upstairs, I realised what surprised Maki. There is absolutely no sound other than people breathing, I took my camera and put my phone into silent mode so as not to bother them and slowly moved behind them. Although we were in a building open to the public, I felt that I was entering the private space of these visitors peacefully looking outside from the window.

Wondering what they were looking at I tried to do the same and joined them;



however, all I could see was Colonel Sanders' smile on the KFC shopfront. This was one of the strangest moments that I experienced in my entire life: we were facing a city view but there was nothing outstanding there. At the same time, the atmosphere was no different from that of a sacred place where one feels the urge to be respectful so as not to bother the followers. When I secretly gazed at some faces on the other side of the room, I noticed an expression that reminded me of the sad

face that Deleuze mentions. I can see the face, but I do not know what is behind the expression. However, I can easily say that this place was not an observation point facing an important section of the city. It was only a hallway with some chairs, and if there was any definition needed, it would be a thinking space in the middle of the city.

The people created a second space around them in the actual space of the Spiral, a space for an event. A person, a chair,



a window and a view make an event. This is not a station in the city, but a micro-space emerging around an event. Therefore, rather than Fujimoto's rooms in his deconstructed house, Kurokawa's pachinko parlours replacing games rooms, or the cafe near the Mini House compensating for the small living room, we have a flexible form of space that has no dimensions. It emerges around people to accommodate an event; it has no walls, ceilings or similar boundaries.

*25 The visitors recorded from
the other side of the avenue*





26 People watching the city with the view they were facing in Spiral (opposite)

27 A section of the same view framed with Maki's geometrical openings on the facade (above)

Fluid Space

Yet we experience the world continuously; events change, but there is no break between them. Writing these lines is an event, sleeping afterwards is an event, taking a shower in the morning, going outside, having morning coffee are all events happening around us. However, the space in which such everyday events occur is fluid. For example, while leaving home, I do not suddenly jump into a parallel universe. The walls and the door are only a separator and my space of experience is fluid. This definition of infinite and fluid space blurs architectural boundaries and also replaces objective architectural space with subjective experiential space, focusing on the events more than the spatial qualities.

From this perspective, I looked back at the stimulator of these ideas: Shibuya, where the passengers on the elevated walkway between the Ginza and Inokashira lines move like targeted missiles. Everyone is so busy that to exist in the space one needs to catch the pace of the crowd. However, I also noticed people gazing through the scramble crossing from the window on their way. One of them was a businessman; while walking he turned his face towards the windows several times. He tried to slow down but could not manage that. He then got upstairs to the mezzanine level of the same passageway opening to the shops of Mark City, which is less busy. There, he hid from the crowd behind a structural column close to the windows. He leaned on the column and watched the crowd for some time. This might seem trivial at first; but, in fact, it is. But this was such a human scene. A person creates a micro-space of his own only by a structural column protecting him from the pace of the crowd and giving him a bit of privacy. There is no grand architectural gesture or complicated spatial composition; only a column, a person and their very ingenious interactions that have an element of urbanity with the involvement of the view.



28 *The microspace*

The “thinking space” of the lady watching the city in Spiral (above)

The businessman hiding behind a column in Shibuya Station (right)

The microspace emerges around people for their events, which are temporal in nature.





“The Others”

This approach focusing on the events can help us to explore the well-established notions of public and private space from the perspective of a single person looking down at the same view from another point in the designated area on the first floor of the Tokyu department store close to the Ginza Line entrance. I saw a homeless man enjoying the view just like the businessman on the upper level.

There are other observation points in Shibuya as well. Sky Lobby in Hikarie is one of them. It is a privately owned public space(POP). To go to Sky Lobby, one needs to enter the building and take the lift to the 11th floor where the entrances of offices, a theatre and the observation point share the same floor. From the gigantic windows of Sky Lobby, people watch the city or simply have a chat, read a book or have a quick lunch. Even though there is nothing

stopping the homeless person preferring Sky Lobby for the same activities in theory, this is quite unlikely in practice.⁵³ However, in Tokyu, I witnessed that it was possible every day, because large sections of the department store on the first three levels are intermingled with the Tokyo Metro. Although public transportation is a paid service, it is open to us all. This is also what makes the square downstairs a vibrant public space.

Maarten Hajer and Arnold Reijndorp, in their book *In Search of New Public Domain*, question the traditional meaning of “public space”, which is favoured with being freely accessible to all sections of society. Their focus is, however, not on the free access. Regardless of space being private or public, its ability to allow exchange between different social groups matters more than being open to all. From



29 *Watching Shinjuku from Shibuya in Sky Lobby; a privately owned public space*

30 *Two men resting in a public space around Shibuya Station*

their perspective, the simple fact that something is not completely public is no reason to dismiss the location as a public domain, which is the term they purposely use as a replacement for public space. They find the assumption evaluating the public space as “a neutral space that belongs equally to every section of society” or “public space as a place of meeting” rather romantic. They challenge the term further with Edward De Sola Morales’ concept of “collective space”:

Manuel De Sola-Morales has correctly pointed out that... these non-public but still collective spaces sometimes actually function. Morales broached the argument that the fixation on the true public spaces of the city leads to the disregard for everything else that is developing in terms of collectively used spaces, both in the city and the periphery. Here he is also referring to railway, metro and bus stations, airports,

*shopping malls, discos, amusement parks – spaces that are not public in strict sense but are experienced by most people as important public spaces.*⁵⁴

To call amusement parks and shopping malls public space with a positive meaning in it may be extreme. However, the main argument here is the gap between the changing nature of the world and the static definition of public space with the image of a public square. Hajer and Reijndorp are concerned that the design of public spaces according to the typology of the early-modern city – the boulevards of Paris, London crescents, Italian piazzas – does not suffice for the safeguarding and expansion of public domain. And the application of these typological references to the new places in the urban field does not automatically result in public domain. They warn the designers to be aware of

the new opportunities and to focus more on the exchange between the different social groups rather than the form of access. The occurrence of exchange between different social groups depends on the existence of an “other”. “The paradox is that what many people experience as pleasant public space is actually often dominated by a relatively homogenous group”, say Hajer and Reijndorp, and add, “However, these are not the spaces dominated by one’s own group. Anyone reflecting on personal ‘public-domain experiences’ will notice on close inspection the key experiences with shared use of space often involve entering the parochial domains of ‘others’”.⁵⁵

In other words, what makes a space public is not the harmony between the participants but the differences, tensions, conflicts, yet still being able to share the space without any hesitation. The fact that this place belongs to the homeless community and white-collar workers at the same time is a value that can be associated with public space. The station, as a transportation hub bringing all “others” together, creates a psychological openness that does not exist in Sky Lobby. Unfortunately, with the new station building, this scene may no longer be the case.

The attitude towards the homeless community is becoming more hostile day by day. In 2010, they were banned from entering Miyashita Park; the park extends along the roof of a car park just north of Shibuya Station. The naming rights to this public space were sold to Nike and it was redesigned by Atelier Bow-Wow. Later, an entrance fee was introduced, and not only the homeless community but the general public was excluded in a sense. The “Nikefication” of the park was heavily protested; however, the protesters could not prevent a public space turning into an oxymoron: privately owned public space.⁵⁶ When the park is compared with the station, which melts into a department store inside, it may be seen that the latter is much more public than this so-called public space. With the construction of the new station, the homeless people taking shelter under the Yamanote Line tracks while spending time in and around the station during the day will be displaced once again and one of the “others” will leave the scene, which will make the space less public.



31 A homeless gentleman watching the scramble crossing in the observation area of Tokyu Department Store.

This area is also between Keio Inokashihara and Ginza Line platforms. For this reason, although in theory, observation area belongs to the department store, in practice it is perceived and used as a public space open to all.

Public Square

The fact that a privately owned private space, Tokyu department store, is more public than a privately owned public space, Sky Lobby, influenced me deeply. I tried to implement the idea of fluid space, in which the events of the space are deployed to define that space rather than the form of the architectural boundaries, using Hajer and Reijnd's definition of

public space by replacing the formal boundaries of the station square, roads and buildings around and only focusing on the desired event: the congregation of "others" in space.

Then, I realised that Hachiko Square, the scramble crossing and the elevated walkway are in fact a tremendous public square when taken together.



waiting for someone
at one of the exits



watching the
pedestrians



shopping quickly while
bikes left unattended



resting



heading to the metro



watching the square
from elevated passageway

32 "I am a public square."

Events of Hachiko square, elevated passageway,
scramble crossing and the surrounding area.

I am a
public square!



meeting at
the square



reading



taking a selfie in front of
Hachiko Statue



waiting at Tokyu Store
and Station Entrance



Crossing under
the passageway

The scramble becomes an extension of Hachiko Square every two minutes for 90 seconds; the other side of the road, connected to the square at ground level by the crossing, under the ground by metro connections and above the ground by the elevated walkway is practically another extension housing the same events as the square such as watching others, waiting for a friend, sitting around the trees and enjoying being there – and, more importantly, with the teenagers smoking under a no-smoking sign, a middle-aged sarariman reading newspaper, homeless people having a sandwich together, tourists taking selfies next to Hachiko, shoppers leaving Tokyu to join the crowd; this place is used by all the kinds of “others” one can imagine.

If we forget about the pre-established categories of architecture, such as specialised rooms in a house, or the romantic definition of public space as an Italian piazza, and replace them with the categories of events, such odd but strangely stimulating thoughts emerge. These may be helpful to remind us that at the centre of architecture lie the trivial events of life with which I filled this chapter and, more importantly, the people and their seemingly unimportant but genuine relationship with space, which should not be forgotten behind grand architectural gestures. In the next chapter, after the analysis of Nezu, we will make an experiment using this quite simple idea.

Figures and Illustrations

- 1 Nergis Kalli, *Garbage Piles*, photo, 2017.
- 2 Nergis Kalli, *A Potted Garden in Nezu*, photo, 2015.
- 3 Nergis Kalli, *The Cafe Where Locals Enjoy Spending Time*, photo, 2017.
- 4 Nergis Kalli, *From Nezu to Shibuya*, illustration, 2017.
- 5 Nergis Kalli, *The Footbridge under Shuto Expressway*, photo, 2017.
- 6 Nergis Kalli, *Shibuya Station and Its Surroundings*, photo, 2017.
- 7 Ministry of Construction Map Centre, *Downtown Tokyo and Shibuya*, map, 1867.
- 8 Nergis Kalli, *Yamanote Line in 1885 and 1925*, illustration, 2019.
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- 12 Nergis Kalli, *Shibuya Station and Its Surroundings*, illustration, 2018.
- 13 Nergis Kalli, *Station and Its Surroundings in Relation to the Main Station Building*, illustration, 2018.
- 14 Nergis Kalli, *Shibuya Station and Its Connections*, illustration, 2018. Adapted from Keisuke Tamura, 単行本 〈ソフトカバ (Wanderland Shibuya)〉 (Tokyo: Koubunsha, 2013).
- 15 Nergis Kalli, *The Connections and Entrances at Different Levels*, photo, 2017.
- 16 Nergis Kalli, *The Maze of Shibuya Station*, illustration, 2018. Adapted from ‘B1 | Floor Map | Shibuya | Main Store | Tokyu Department Store Formula Homepage’, n.d., <https://www.tokyu-dept.co.jp/e.fa.hc.transer.com/honten/floor/b1.html>; ‘Shibuya Mark City Floor Guide Access & Services | 渋谷マークシティ’, n.d., <http://www.s-markcity.co.jp/foreign/>; ‘JR-EAST: Guide Maps for Major Stations (Shibuya Station)’, n.d., <https://www.jreast.co.jp/e/stations/e808.html>; ‘Tokyo Map - Maps Tokyo (Kantō - Japan)’, accessed 25 February 2019, <http://maps-tokyo.com/>.
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- 19 Nergis Kalli, *Crossing the Road*, photo, 2017.
- 20 Nergis Kalli, *Watching the Square and Scramble Crossing*, photo, 2017.
- 21 Atelier Bow-Wow, *Mini House*, photo, 1999, <http://architectuul.com/architecture/mini-house>.
- 22 Nergis Kalli, *The Stations of Home in the City*, illustration, 2019.
- 23 Nergis Kalli, *Home as City*, illustration, 2018.
- 24 Nergis Kalli, *Spiral Exterior View and the Spiral Ramp in the Building*, photo, 2017.
- 25 Nergis Kalli, *The Visitors Recorder from the Other Side of the Avenue*, photo, 2017.
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- 31 Nergis Kalli, *A Homeless Gentleman Watching the Scramble Crossing*, photo, 2017.
- 32 Nergis Kalli, *“I Am a Public Square.”*, illustration, 2018.

Endnotes

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Shitamachi: 下 is pronounced as shita and means down, under or below; 町 is read as machi and means city or town.
Please note that Yamanote (山の手) is defined only with its topographical and locational qualities, while Shitamachi (下町) is named as a city with the use of the word machi. In English literature, Shitamachi is translated as "low city", which renders the meaning correctly; however, Yamanote is also translated as city; "high city". This translation misses the etymological difference between Shitamachi and Yamanote, which signals the urbanity of the former in comparison to the latter.
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- 27 Shinken-chiku, ed., *Tokyo 150 Projects Urban Diversity Management* (Tokyo: Japan Architect Co, 2015), 98–105.
- 28 Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *What Is Philosophy?* (Columbia University Press, 2014), 42.
- 29 Mansfield, *Tokyo*, 109.
- 30 Albert W. Sadler, ‘The Shrine: Notes toward a Study of Neighborhood Festivals in Modern Tokyo’, *Asian Folklore Studies* 34, no. 2 (1975): 1–38, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1177624>.
- 31 The term *anarchy* is first used by architect Kazuo Shinohara, who was inspired by Shibuya. While the chaotic look of Shibuya had been criticised by the majority of the architects in the 1960s, when the Metabolist movement was quite influential in the country, Shinohara, who is known for his contrarian views of architecture, said “coming from a very

strong self-confirmation on why the visual disorder of Shibuya area where I passed every day was not unpleasant”.

Shinohara later introduced the concepts of beauty of chaos and progressive anarchy in 1970s: “I recognised that the vitality of the city was borne out of the conviction that each and every building was the most sleek and beautiful. I observed that while the most up-to-date electronics technology filled the streets there were also rows of small wooden houses just behind, the strictly ordered interiors of which suggest the persistence of such formalised aesthetics, with roots in the Middle Ages, as that of flower arrangement and the tea ceremony, though in fragments. It is a strange city where an apparent disorder and invisible order exist side by side. I concluded that the gaps among the absurd mixture of different spaces were what fuelled the vitality of anarchy.” I believe this vitality is both programmatic and spatial, but what makes it truly stimulating is the people floating towards knots.

Kazuo Shinohara, ‘Anarchy and Beyond: An Interview with Kazuo Shinohara’, in *Kazuo Shinohara: casas = houses*, by Enric Massip-Bosch et al., 2G (Barcelona, Spain); n. 58/59 (Barcelona: GG, 2011), 32.

32 Berque, *Japan*, 222.

33 Koh Kitayama, ‘An Interview with Ryue Nishizawa’, in *Tokyo Metabolizing*, by Yoshiharu Tsukamoto, Ryue Nishizawa, and Koh Kitayama (Tokyo: World Photo Press, 2010), 103.

34 Male white-collar workers are called *sarariman*. The term comes from “salary man”. The female version of the same term is “office lady”. Both are quite well-known and used frequently in the literature instead of “white-collar worker”.

35 *Karoshi*, death by overworking, is caused by an excessive workload, which could be more than 100 hours per month, and a rigid work culture affecting employees’ mental health. The main causes of death are heart failure, illnesses of the brain and suicide. For further information about the effect of excessive workloads on employees and current cases on trial please see Kyodo News, ‘Dentsu Will Face Open Trial over High-Profile “karoshi” Case, Summary Court Orders’, *The Japan Times Online*, 13 July 2017, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/07/13/national/crime-legal/dentsu-face-open-trial-high-profile-karoshi-case-summary-court/>; Daisuke Kikuchi, ‘Overwork Deaths Put Spotlight on Japan’s “Black Companies”’, *The Japan Times Online*, 23 December 2016, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/12/23/national/social-issues/overwork-deaths-put-spotlight-japans-black-companies/>; Cesar Chelala, ‘What’s the Point in Working Yourself to Death?’, *The Japan Times*, 7 January 2013, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2013/01/07/commentary/world-commentary/whats-the-point-in-working-yourself-to-death/>.

36 Botond Bognar, *Tokyo*, ed. Botond Bognar (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 1997), 13.

37 Roman Cybriwsky, ‘Shibuya Center, Tokyo’, *Geographical Review* 78, no. 1 (1988): 48–61, <https://doi.org/10.2307/214305>.

38 Kisho Kurokawa, *Intercultural Architecture: The Philosophy of Symbiosis* (London: Academy Editions, 1991), 178.

39 White, *Coffee Life in Japan*, 18.

40 Cybriwsky, ‘Shibuya Center, Tokyo’.

41 Kurokawa, *Intercultural Architecture*, 37.

42 James Steele, *Contemporary Japanese Architecture: Tracing the next Generation* (London: Routledge, 2017), 35.

43 Megumi Komura, ‘Smallness’, in *Graphic Anatomy*, by Atorie Wan (Tokyo: TOTO Shuppan, 2007), 43.

44 Sou Fujimoto, ‘*Learning From Tokyo*’ (Symposium, March 2012).

45 Sou Fujimoto, Toyo Ito, and Julian Worrall, 2G N.50 Sou Fujimoto (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 2009).

46 This expression belongs to Donald Richie: “There is the general store or supermarket, the beauty parlor, the butcher, the coffee shop, the vegetable store, the pachinko parlor,

the bookshop... And all of these serve the residents, which is why Tokyo has so much of everything.” Donald Richie, *Introducing Tokyo*, rev. edn (Tokyo: Kodansha USA, 1987), 7.

47 Botond Bogнар, *Contemporary Japanese Architecture, Its Development and Challenge* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1985), 152.

48 Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space And Place*, 25th edn (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 6; Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 117.

Michel de Certeau’s thoughts on space and place are quite similar, except that he uses the terms the other way around: “Space is like the word when it is spoken, that is, when it is caught in the ambiguity of an actualization, transformed into a term dependent upon many different conventions, situated as the act of a present (or of a time), and modified by the transformations caused by successive contexts. In contradistinction to the place, it has thus none of the univocity or stability of a ‘proper.’ In short, space is a practiced place. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers. In the same way, an act of reading is the space produced by the practice of a particular place: a written text, i.e., a place constituted by a system of signs.”

Tuan says that place is experienced space, and Certeau says that space is practiced place. If we focus on only the meaning, what both Tuan and Certeau do is to place the experience of space at the centre and differentiate experienced space from the three-dimensional space concept.

49 Günter Nitschke, ‘MA: Place, Space, Void’, *Kyoto Journal*, 2011, <https://kyotojournal.org/the-journal/culture-arts/ma-place-space-void/>.

50 The café is actually right next to the entrance on the ground floor. Maki refers to this as the first floor because in the naming of floors, the US system is used in Japan, which refers to the floor at street level as level 1 or the first floor.

51 Fumihiko Maki, *Nurturing Dreams: Collected Essays on Architecture and the City* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2008), 124,125.

52 Maki, 91.

53 During fieldwork, I used Sky Lobby quite often at different times of the day, because it is the only place one can see the Ginza Line, the Yamanote Line, the Shuto Expressway and Tamagawa Dori at the same time in one frame. During this time, although this area was used frequently by visitors and has the title “public space”, I never saw marginalised groups of people there.

Furthermore, Nemeth and Schmidt’s study shows that while both publicly and privately owned spaces tend to encourage public use and access equally, managers of privately owned spaces tend to employ additional features that control behaviour within those spaces. More specifically, this spatial control is achieved through the use of surveillance and policing. Also, privately-owned public spaces are perceived as more private than public both by owners and users.

Jeremy Németh and Stephen Schmidt, ‘The Privatization of Public Space: Modeling and Measuring Publicness’, *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 38, no. 1 (1 February 2011): 5–23, <https://doi.org/10.1068/b36057>.

54 Maarten A. Hajer and Arnold Reijndorp, *In Search of New Public Domain: Analysis and Strategy* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2001), 45.

55 Hajer and Reijndorp, 85–88.

56 The Associated Press, ‘200 Slam Nike Park Plan in Shibuya’, *The Japan Times Online*, 28 September 2010, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2010/09/28/national/200-slam-nike-park-plan-in-shibuya/>; Carl Cassegård, ‘Public Space in Recent Japanese Political Thought and Activism: From the Rivers and Lakes to Miyashita Park’, *Japanese Studies* 31, no. 3 (2011): 405–422, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10371397.2011.619172>.



THE PATCH

The patches are the inner-city neighbourhoods of Tokyo coming together just like the pieces of fabric in different sizes and forms in a patchwork. They are discussed through the singularities encountered in the city. However, this chapter begins with the singularities noticed by others, such as Peter Popham, Barrie Shelton and Andre Sorensen. The narrative is structured as a zigzag line between my experience and their thoughts without imposing a disciplinary barrier between architecture and planning. In the second part, we will be getting closer to one of these patches: Nezu. The key spatial concepts such as *oku* and *ma*

are introduced alongside some warning problems of Tokyo that can be solved by utilising these traditional concepts. They will be illustrated in the final section with an experiment on creating a “Small Tokyo” in Tokyo. The aim of this project is to test some of the ideas developed throughout the journey.

Azuma's Walk in Aoyama

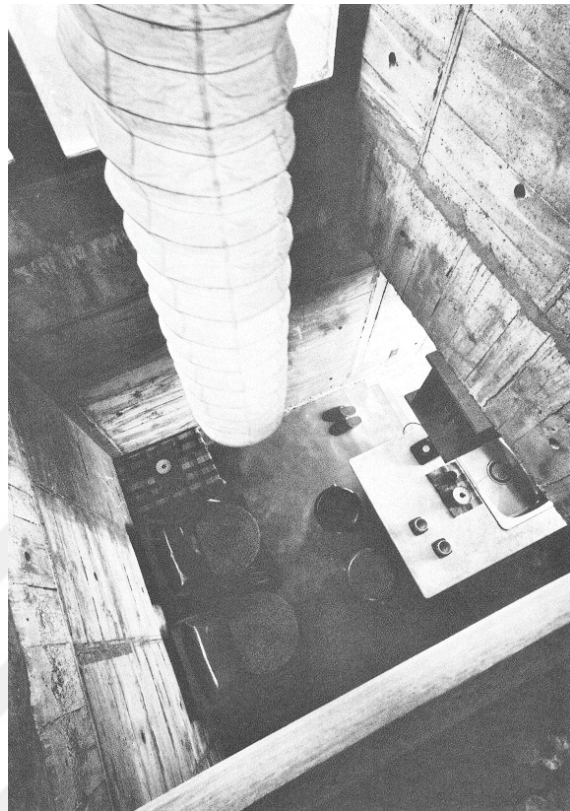
Not to be repetitive, instead of my journey in Nezu which was introduced twice in part 1 and in the previous section, I would like to consider Peter Popham's walk in Tokyo.

Popham is not alone during this walk; he is with architect Takamatsu Azuma. Azuma, who says, “City planners criticize Tokyo a lot and worry about it, some say it is so dangerous we need to tear it down and redevelop it all over again. I don’t share that view at all. I much prefer it the way it is”, demonstrated his love towards Tokyo with the Azuma Tower, a project designed for his family on a triangular plot that is no larger than 20 m² on Kira Dori, one of the main avenues opened for the 1964 Olympics.¹ With this project, he inspired upcoming generations of architects working on small sites and the Azuma Tower gained a cult status in the history of Japanese architecture. Popham’s walk will take us to Tokyo to see what it is that Azuma prefers to live in despite so many views against it:

Azuma bought the biggest plot of inner-city land he could afford -big enough, you would judge, to put a decent-sized tool shed on- and built a family house on it. Yet here at the heart of it is a really happy man. And happy not only for himself; Tokyo, he believes, is happy with him.... Following Azuma, I left the shop and got on to his tail. Down the road the architectural jumble continued, but as we approached a major interception there was a sudden jump in scale. This was Aoyama Dori, a major east-west artery of the city with ten lanes of fast-moving traffic... the capital’s most chic and expensive shopping areas. He turned down a snicket so narrow you might have taken it for a private drive. It was about nine feet wide. On either side, a white line painted on the road eighteen inches in from the edge showed where to walk. Ten lanes had shrunk in one movement to less than ten feet. In the space of a couple yards we had passed from a place that felt like a big city to a place that had the scale of a village and the pace and activity of a small town... Azuma turned right, and the scene changed again. Now he had brought me to the innermost core. This lane was even narrower: barely eight feet. Here there were no shops, and no vehicles but bikes.

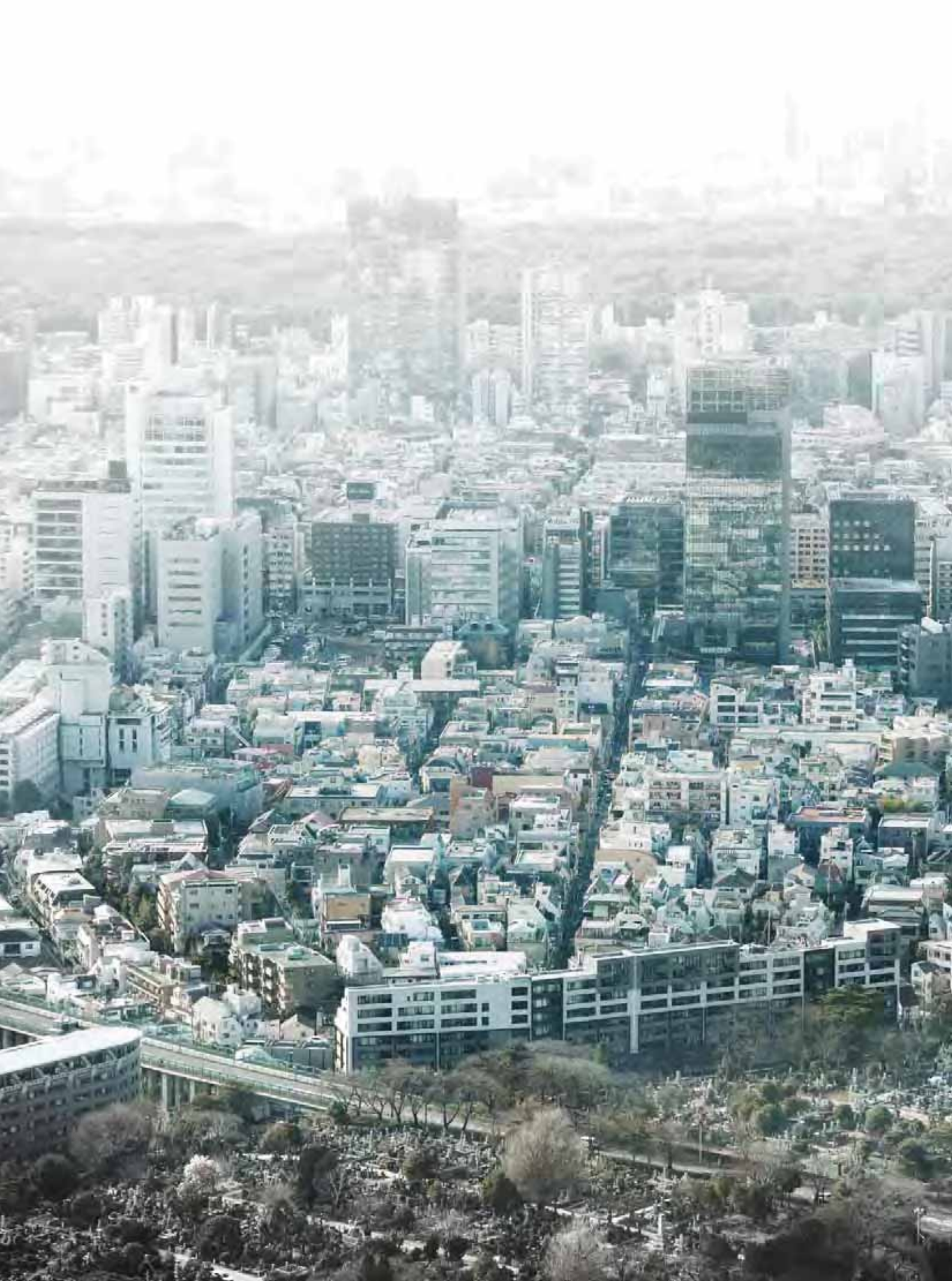
1 Tower House (also known as Azuma Tower)
by Takamitsu Azuma

In the Death and Life of Great American Cities, Jane Jacobs identifies a quality of the section of Greenwich Village where she was living at the time which made it, she realized, a safe and wholesome part of the city: it was full of watchers. ...The liveliness



of the street of shops on the way to Azuma's studio has a similar quality. The vibration given off by a living community like this is quite tangible. It binds shopkeeper to customer, neighbour to neighbour, the oldest to the youngest, it binds all the different trades that keep the place alive and functioning. ...I have already mentioned the suddenness with which the metropolitan scale of Aoyama Dori shrank to the scale of a small town. In that sudden switch there was nothing pleasing or neatly contrived. It was more like a conjuring trick, a vanishing trick. It was as if the two elements, small-town Aoyama and great-metropolis Aoyama, had reached an agreement that each should carry on as if the other did not exist.²

Since Popham walked on Aoyama streets in the 1980s, Tokyo has drastically changed. However, this pattern of low-rise residential zones creating a small-town atmosphere with narrow alleyways and major avenues housing high-rise buildings right next to them remains the same. Nezu, introduced in part 1 via my experience, is another example of this phenomenon. Walkers can spot this singularity easily from the sudden scale change. However, in order to read the pattern in the cityscape emerging from the fluctuations between high-rise and low-rise, it is more helpful to take the position of an voyeur.





While watching Tokyo as a voyeur from an observation decks in Roppongi as a voyeur, I noticed a singularity giving glimpses of this pattern. I first took photographs of the chaotic cityscape –which indeed gets more complex in Roppongi due to the recent transformation of the district in the last 20 years with mushrooming skyscrapers – with a wide-angle lens. Then, to record the expressway, on the view I switched to a telephoto lens. So far, there was nothing unusual. However, while framing the same view from different angles, I noticed that the scene becomes more orderly at certain angles catching high-rise buildings all on the same line around main avenues. More importantly, these high-rise buildings form a boundary around the low-rise zone, much like a rampart. And this pattern repeats continuously. The patches of the patchwork become more visible to me at this time.

The Egg and Manju

My small discovery led me to a well-known notion of Japanese urbanism which is studied by Popham and Shelton previously. For example, Popham states:

On the outside is the high concrete of Aoyama Dori – the hard shell. Within is the street of shops, but in a sense this is no more than the space inside the walnut shell or white of the egg. It's within this, cradled by it, that is to be found the heart of the matter, the egg's yolk, the kernel. ...The community's kernel, the little lane Azuma turned down last of all.³

2 Pattern of the patchwork recorded from Roppongi Observation Deck

The neighbourhood in the frame is South Aoyama.

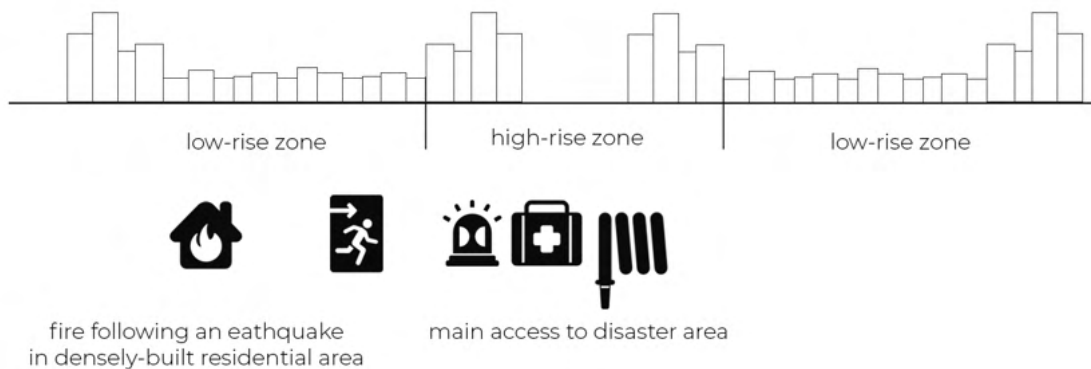


3 Manju

Steamed or baked pastry with sweet red bean paste filling

He likens the centre of the neighbourhood to a yolk that is protected by its hard shell. I believe that Popham, who had connections to architects like Azuma and Maki, while likening these neighbourhoods to an egg, in fact, translated the Japanese term *manju* (饅頭) – a traditional Japanese desert that is filled with sweet red bean paste – to a more internationally accustomed model that can be grasped by a non-Japanese audience. However, internally, inner-city neighbourhoods are associated with *manju*, which is crispy outside and sweet inside. Yoshiharu Tsukamoto explains the term in detail:

Over ten-story fireproof buildings stand along major avenues that have been broadened as a part of city planning, and they encircle the low-rise houses behind in the block. Such an urban configuration is becoming recognizable in the center of Tokyo. Areas within 30 m from the center of avenues on either side are designated as commercial areas, and the city has advised the owners of the buildings in this zone to renovate their buildings as high volume, fire-resistant buildings. Such newly renovated buildings have become the integral parts of Tokyo's Central Firewalls – where a row of fireproof buildings are meant to serve as the firewalls of the block, preventing fires from spreading into the



4 Firebreaks

Residential areas with narrow streets are prone to spread of fire. Fireproof high-rise buildings on wide main roads create buffer zones which prevents spread of fire from one neighbourhood to another.

neighbouring block. This is how the distinctive urban configuration is being formed. However, one seldom hears about a technical term for this formation. Instead, many people compare it to a manju (a kind of traditional Japanese bun filled with sweet bean paste). Thus, a row of high-rise buildings is called “skin” and a chaotic cluster of low-rise houses in narrow winding alleys, many of which are still wooden, “filling” inside. This nickname, “Skin and Filling,” describes Tokyo very well.⁴

To secure evacuation in time and prevent the spread of fire between neighbourhoods in the aftermath of an earthquake, the metropolitan government initiated the Fire-resistance Promotion Project in 1980. High-rise, fire-resistant buildings along the major avenues have been promoted for this reason.⁵ However, there is also another

aspect in the Japanese building regulations that needs to be noted regarding this sudden scale change between the shell and the yolk. The permissible building height is not given directly in local plans; instead, a complex formula that links the building height to the width of the road facing the site is in force. The wider the road, the higher the building can be. There are also zoning regulations that need to be considered; for example, in exclusively residential zones there is a 10 metre height limit.⁶ However, sites alongside the major avenues are usually designated as commercial zones with higher building limits. For this reason, and the fact that main roads are wider than local streets, the building height along them tends to be a lot higher than free-standing houses facing a narrow alley.



I believe Popham's brilliant egg analogy quite efficiently translates this contrast between the outer rampart-like wall made of high-rise buildings and the low-rise residential zone inside, and Tsukamoto's link to fire prevention does explain the reasons behind it well; however, neither render the full meaning of *manju*, which is in fact a lot more positive than neutral and technical. This may seem not as important or simply odd, but imagining the urban blocks of Paris to be locally nicknamed *profiteroles* may be helpful in seeing that the Japanese associate their neighbourhoods with a beloved local dessert. This positive attitude is not limited to locals; when I got lost in the maze of Nezu, in the labyrinthine streets where neighbours were chatting in front of small stores, the streets were left to pedestrians and cyclists, with plant pots popping up on every corner making the scene somehow more homely and green, I sensed a suburban tranquillity.

Although such characteristics are quite dominant in Nezu, similar scenes can be found in any neighbourhood of Tokyo. More importantly, this quality, which I tried to illustrate with Popham's experience, is found to be one of the most celebrated aspects of Japanese urbanism, even by quite critical names like Andre Sorensen:

Even in the largest Japanese metropolitan areas such as Tokyo and Osaka, a few steps away from the busy main streets are found quiet residential neighbourhoods with a variety of small shops flanking narrow streets. The human scale of these districts, their efficient use of space, the ubiquitous potted plants on the curb in front of the houses, and the effective restraints on car traffic on the extremely narrow roads all contribute to some of the most positive aspects of Japanese urbanisation: the very widespread existence of healthy and charming urban neighbourhoods, even in the largest cities.⁷



5 Shell of Nezu (opposite) and yolk of Nezu (above)

Walking down on this unnamed narrow street for five minutes leads to Shinobazu Dori seen on the previous page.

The Superblock

Likewise, Barrie Shelton, who comes forward with his comprehensive review on Japanese cities, also thinks that the “manju approach” carries theoretical implications for urbanism that can be borrowed by the West as a viable model.⁸ While reviewing the spatial characteristics of these inner-city neighbourhoods, Shelton creates his own terminology for an in-depth analysis that improves the path for other researchers. His term for the inner-city neighbourhoods is a lot more academic than *manju*: the superblock.

*[T]wo powerful patterns – of high and low buildings, and of wide roads and narrow streets – invite more considered investigation. They are two faces of the same phenomenon and explained partly by Japanese planning legislation, in which road/street width is a major factor in determining building height. It follows that lower buildings will tend to rise between the narrow streets while higher ones will line up along the big roads... **The resulting structure and pattern has been central to modern Japanese city planning: a grid of big roads that configure the city into a series of superblocks. ... Japanese cities consist therefore of combinations of at least two distinct but related systems – of big roads and narrow streets: often the former have been imposed on the pre-existing areas of small streets...** [A] superblock bounded by wide roads will probably spread over an area between one-quarter of a square kilometre (e.g. 500m x 500m) and 1.5 square kilometres (e.g. 1km x 1.5km).⁹ (emphasis mine)*

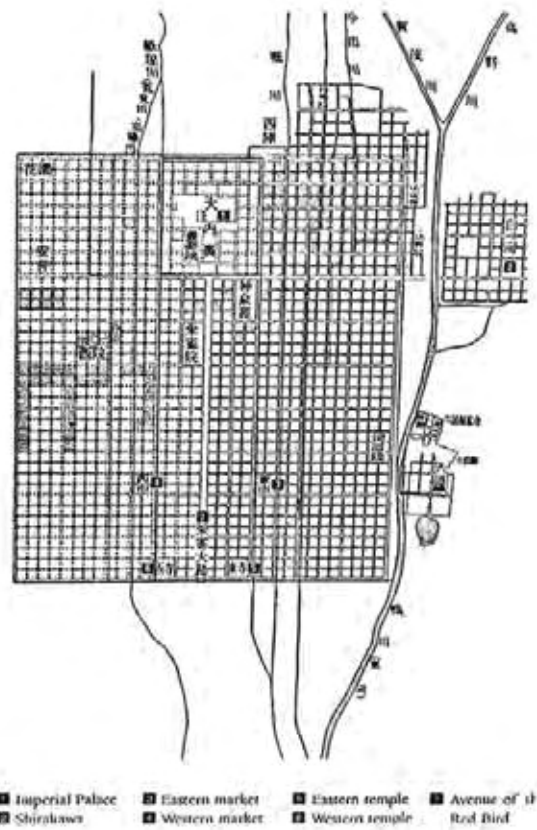
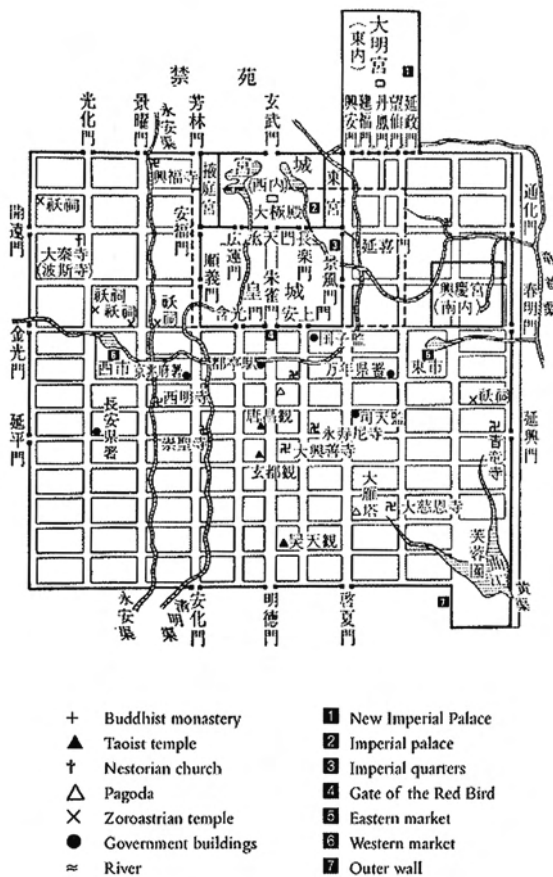
Shelton draws attention to the main roads laid out during the modernisation period starting from Meiji era. The main roads enclosing the neighbourhood define the boundaries of the superblock. Traffic



mainly flows on these roads, however, streets inside the block are also open to vehicles. The only issue, which is in fact an advantage, is that the narrowness of the streets restricts drivers from using them. From this perspective, the size of the blocks, which are larger than traditional urban blocks, and the absence of heavy traffic in these neighbourhoods, correlates with Shelton’s use of “superblock” for inner-city neighbourhoods. However, he also implies that the definitive structure here are the main roads, which divide the city into various segments Shelton likes to call superblocks. In a sense, the Japanese city was a continuous labyrinth until the new layer of arterial roads was superimposed upon it and transformed this maze into perceptible units.

Patches of Edo

At this point, it is necessary to look into the history of the Japanese city of which the origin is the old Chinese capitals. The capital city of Kyoto or as it used to be known as Heian-kyo was laid out with aspects borrowed from Chinese models



6 Patches of Edo (opposite)

The neighbourhoods with distinct street pattern are marked on 1860 map of Edo

7, 8 The city plan of Chang'an (above left) and Kyoto (above right) by Nishikiwa Koji. Please note that although main aspects of both plans are the same, Kyoto has no city wall.

such as Chang'an – a quite plain grid street network, an Imperial Palace at the centre and city walls surrounding this rectangular grid. However, the Japanese ignored the last and most critical aspect and tended to build their capital cities without city walls.¹⁰ This is understandable for two reasons; firstly, Japan, as an island nation, was not as open to external threats as much as China. Secondly, Japanese emperors, who are thought to come from the lineage of Amaterasu (the sun goddess) were untouchable as spiritual leaders; therefore, the capital city, as the seat of the emperor, was not under serious threat internally. On the other hand, the *daimyo* lords of Japan ruling their own castle towns were competing with each other to gain political power until the Edo period, which started a new era of stability

under the rule of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1600. Interestingly, these castle towns are not protected by city walls either. While development in the Chinese model started from the periphery near the wall and reached towards the centre, Japanese cities grew around the centre with new neighbourhoods attaching to existing ones rather freely.

The defence strategies are more interesting; the castle town model is based on the protection only of the castle, which housed the household of the lord and high-ranking *samurais*. In the case of Edo, which was the centre of the shogunate and laid out within the principles of castle-town typology, the focus of protection was Edo Castle (the Imperial Palace grounds). This area, separated from the rest of the

city by a moat, was further defended by ramparts. The shogunate had other *daimyo* lords residing in Tokyo and ended the centuries-long wars with the *sankin kotai* system. The lords who showed their support for the Tokugawa clan during the war years were placed near the protected zone, while other lords under the control of the shogunate but approached with suspicion had their compounds, which were protected by their *samurai*, in the Yamanote area.¹¹ However, the commoners living in Shitamachi could not enjoy the same protection.

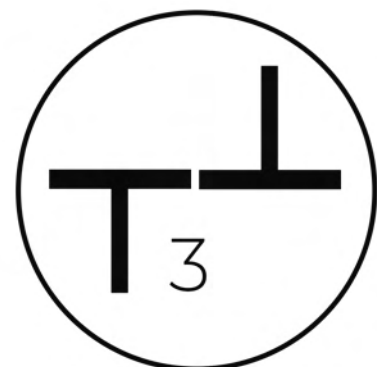
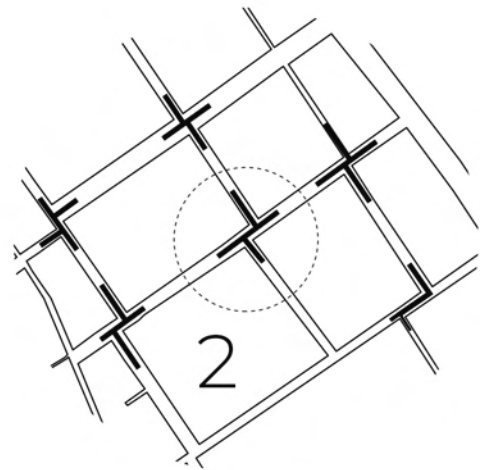
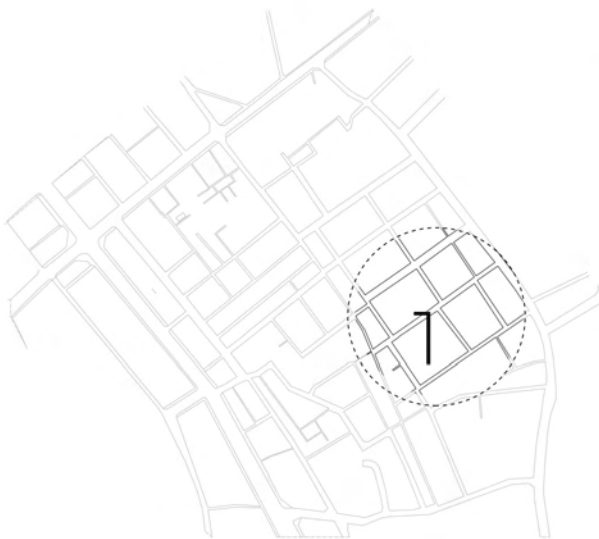
In fact, commoners' neighbourhoods were used as a buffer zone against the movement of a foreign enemy or local rebel groups that might emerge within the commoners. The notion behind this specific method of defence without city walls was to slow down the movement of potential enemies with a labyrinthine street network.

The interesting point is that although the Shitamachi districts were largely gridded, the shogunate still managed to create a maze out of this grid by simply avoiding perpendicular junctions. Instead, non-perpendicular

9 Street intersection patterns in Nezu and Ikenohata

10 The view of overhead power lines from the junction marked in figure 9. (opposite)

The lines are aligned with the street edge, they follow the same intersection pattern.

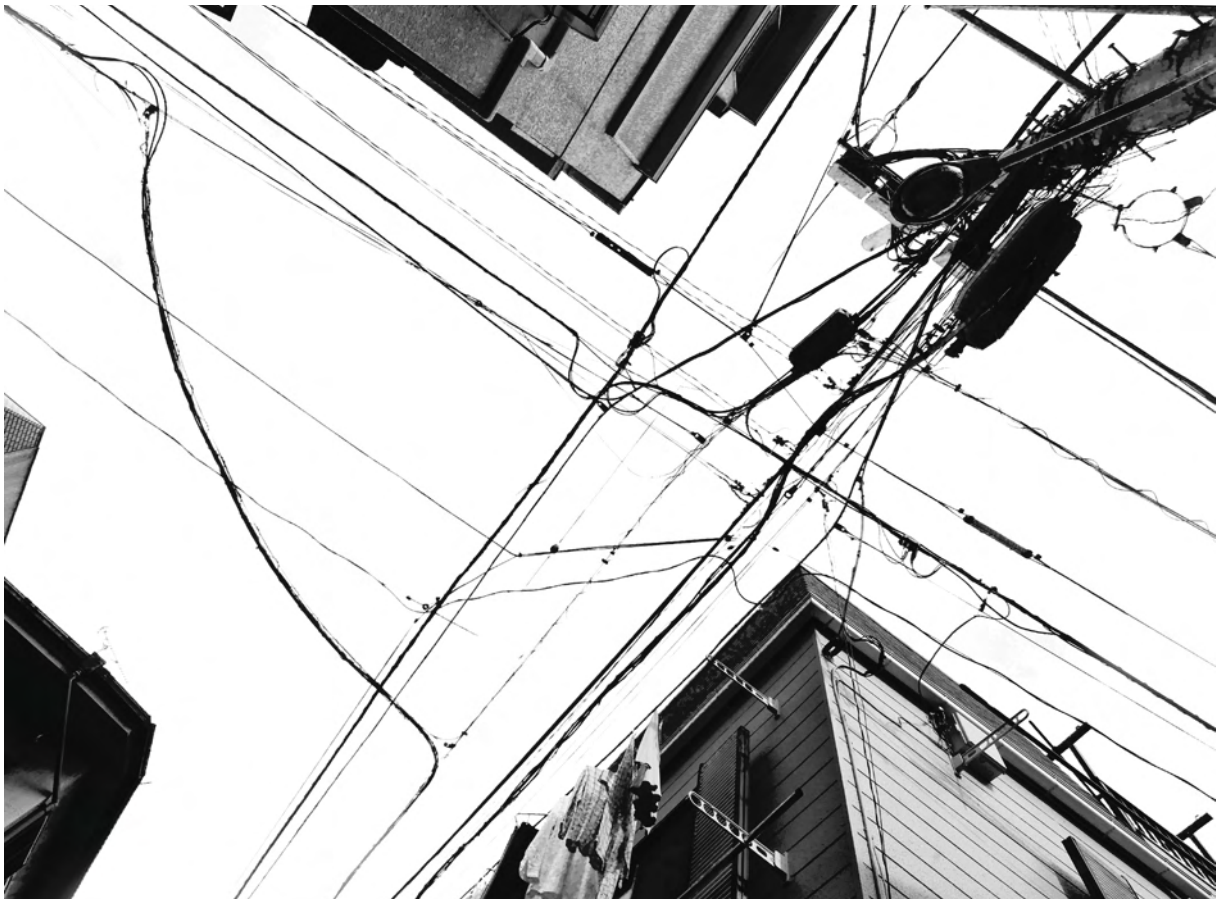


- 1 Nezu and Ikenohata neighbourhoods
- 2 A close up to chome 3,4,5,8,9, in Ikenohata
- 3 Street intersections in T junction form

intersections – T and L junctions – were implemented and the street width was kept to the minimum inside the blocks without entirely blocking the traffic in already quite dense districts.¹² Today's labyrinthine streets of Tokyo carry the traces of this old street network. In the case of Nezu, when old maps from the late 19th century are compared to those of today, it may be seen that this typical maze-like street network is largely unchanged. Even in the more ordered zone that developed during the Meiji era and afterwards, non-perpendicular junctions can still be observed.

Shelton believes that the superblock structure emerged with the superimposition of main roads laid out as a part of the modernisation movement that started during the Meiji era on top of

this continuous maze, and so the city was divided into parts by this new element layered on top of the existing fabric.¹³ However, taking the advice of the Space School and digging into the historical layers of Tokyo a bit more shows that the main roads of Tokyo only replaced the waterways of old Edo. Even in the absence of such broad avenues, neighbourhoods were enclosed by waterways. This shows that the superblock structure did not emerge over time but has always been a part of Japanese urban thought. Moreover, the maps of Edo show the absence of a continuous grid, but instead, a set of small grids of different sizes and orientations. The main roads following the boundaries of these grids are less likely to be a definitive pattern but a new layer finding its way via appropriated routes; the patches of Tokyo have always been patchy rather than



being a part of a whole that has been divided into pieces over time. This nuance is important to notice, because it indicates that the anarchic point logic of Tokyo that shows itself in the fragments of Shibuya Station or as free-standing houses landing in Nezu as a point independent of any line is greater than the hidden order of Tokyo. Tokyo, which is pointillistic, fragmentary and anarchic, has these properties in its genetic code, and keeps being so by holding on these molecular intensities in the virtual.

Self-sufficient Patch

This specific form of identity solidifies when residents are on a mission to hunt the developer agents on Tokyo streets or to organise annual festivals, but also thanks to the neighbourhood itself working as a self-sufficient living unit. The main roads in Nezu have various shops, grocery stores, boutiques, family marts, laundries, bike repair shops, office supply stores, real estate agencies, offices, workshops and all sort of restaurants from the ones listed by the Michelin Guide to fast food chains; a resident can live without ever leaving his neighbourhood. The variety of functions, especially around the main roads, is so high that it may not be wrong to call them centres in linear form floating around the patches. In the conceptual framework of the patchwork, this particular layer is called the stitches. Unlike a city centre where both geometrical and programmatic centrality reduces by moving away from it, the programmatic centrality of the knots of Tokyo continue to be a part of even the most distant locations, with the stitches stretching outwards from the knots and enclosing the patches from all sides. I believe what makes the neighbourhoods of Tokyo true modules is not the high contrast between the inner low-rise zone and outer high-rise concrete buildings, which inspired the *manju* and egg analogies, but this self-sufficiency of units where the house is enclosed by the city. In a sense, the patch as a living unit, is the home as city of a resident within walking distance.

11 The variety of functions alongside the main roads in Nezu. (p 284-285)

The low-rise residential zone is surrounded by a variety of business, shops and restaurants.

The house is
enclosed by the city.
The patch as a living
unit, is the home
as city of a resident
within walking
distance.





Planned to be Not Planned

The patches of Tokyo are seen as success stories by academics from the planning tradition such as Andre Sorensen and Carole Hein, who are quite influential in my analysis of Tokyo. However, both authors think of planning as an obstacle to this success. Sorensen explains:

*High population densities and the intensive mixture of differing land uses in central city neighbourhoods, combined with stable, tight-knit urban communities to form vital, lively city areas that exemplify Jane Jacobs' (1961) conception of healthy city life" ... [the] formal urban planning system has played only a minor role in the creation and maintenance of these inner city urban areas. They have instead been shaped by the legacy of the pre-modern street layouts, and by unplanned urbanisation in the modern period, and are a product of enduring social structures and housing preferences. It is thus not sufficient in the Japanese case to equate planned areas with good urban areas, and unplanned areas with urban problems. In fact, some of the best urban environments are those which have seen a minimum of planning intervention, and some of the worst are those which have been comprehensively planned.*¹⁴

As mentioned previously, the inner-city neighbourhoods do have a tradition of self-reliance, which brings a certain degree of autonomy. Challenging large-scale outside interventions, either by local or municipal government or by a developer, is the norm in Tokyo where, for example, the site of the Roppongi hills could be purchased from various landowners in 15 years,¹⁵ or the outer ring expressway could not be finished for nearly half a century due to the resistance of Tokyoites. Me being cornered on the street and questioned

by elderly ladies, thinking that they had spotted an agent working for a developer, is another example. However, this resistance to large-scale developments should not be mistaken for the absence of planning. Likewise, the first look at the chaotic cityscape should not lead us to premature conclusions. Both the complexity and liveability of patches are the direct results of quite strong planning traditions. The mode of planning in Tokyo, however, is based on manipulating and regulating the actors rather than preparing rigid plans for them. The way to do so is through zoning and building regulations.

Japanese urban thought is against sharply divided urban zones. Since 1919, when the modern city planning system was established, the understanding of zoning is rather inclusive than exclusive. The reason behind this is not a lack of knowledge on the topic, because Japanese experts sent to the West came back to the country aware of all the recent discussions on zoning in the US, the UK and Germany. However, the idea of rigid separation of land uses was never recognised among Japanese planners.¹⁶

The number of zones at the time was only three: industrial, commercial and residential. However, they were all intermingled: small manufacturing workshops could be open in residential zones or labour houses could be built in industrial zones.¹⁷ The number of zones first increased to eight in 1968 and then 12 in 1992.¹⁸ However, a close look will show that the inclusive logic has not changed at all; the most restrictive zones are Category 1 low-rise exclusive residential districts and exclusive industrial districts.

Category I exclusively low-rise residential zone



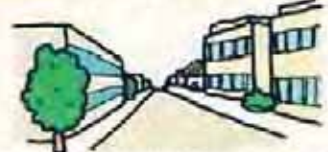
This zone is designated for low rise residential buildings. The permitted buildings include residential buildings which are also used as small shops or offices and elementary/junior high school buildings.

Category II exclusively low-rise residential zone



This zone is mainly designated for low rise residential buildings. In addition to elementary/junior high school buildings, certain types of shop buildings with a floor area of up to 150m² are permitted.

Category I mid/high-rise oriented residential zone



This zone is designated for medium to high residential buildings. In addition to hospital and university buildings, certain types of shop buildings with a floor area of up to 500m² are permitted.

Category II mid/high-rise oriented residential zone



This zone is mainly designated for medium to high rise residential buildings. In addition to hospital and university buildings, the permitted buildings include certain shops and office buildings with a floor area of up to 1,500m² to provide conveniences for the local community.

Category I residential zone



This zone is designated to protect the residential environment. The permitted buildings include shops, offices and hotel buildings with a floor area of up to 3,000m².

Category II residential zone



This zone is designated to mainly protect the residential environment. The permitted buildings include shops, offices and hotel buildings as well as buildings with karaoke box.

Quasi-residential zone



This zone is designated to allow the introduction of vehicle-related facilities along roads while protecting the residential environment in harmony with such facilities.

Neighborhood commercial zone



This zone is designated to provide daily shopping facilities for the neighbourhood residents. In addition to residential and shop buildings, small factory buildings are permitted.

Commercial zone



Banks, cinemas, restaurants and department stores are constructed in this zone. Residential buildings and small factory buildings are also permitted.

Quasi-industrial zone



This zone is mainly occupied by light industrial facilities and service facilities. Almost all types of factories are permitted excepting those which are considered to considerably worsen the environment.

Industrial zone



Any type of factory can be built in this zone. While residential and shop buildings can be constructed, school, hospital and hotel buildings are not permitted.

Exclusively industrial zone



This zone is designated for factories. While all types of factory buildings are permitted, residential, shop, school, hospital and hotel buildings cannot be constructed.

Examples of buildings	Category I exclusively low-rise residential zone	Category II exclusively low-rise residential zone	Category I mid/high-rise oriented residential zone	Category II mid/high-rise oriented residential zone	Category I residential zone	Category II residential zone	Quasi-residential zone	Neighborhood commercial zone	Commercial zone	Quasi-industrial zone	Industrial zone	Exclusively industrial zone	Notes
Residence, Houses with other small scale functions (store, office, etc.)													
Kindergartens, Schools (Elementary, Junior High, Senior High)													
Shrines, Temples, Churches, Clinics													
Hospitals, Universities													
Stores (mainly selling daily necessities) (Restaurants with floor space of 150m ² max. on the first or second floor (excluding ①))													
Stores/Restaurants with floor space of 500m ² max. on the first or second floor (excluding ①)													(B)
Stores/Restaurants not specified above (excluding ①)													(U)
Offices, etc. not specified above													
Hotels (non)													
Karaoke boxes (excluding ①)													
Theaters, Movie theaters (excluding ①)													
① Theaters, Movie theaters, Stores, Restaurants, Amusement facilities and so on, with more than 10,000m ² of floor area													
Matchboxes with juvenile rooms													
Independent garage with floor space of 100m ² max. on the first or second floor													
Business (e.g. restaurant, independent shop of other type that specification)													
Auto repair shop													
Factory with some possibility of danger or environmental degradation													
Factory with strong possibility of danger or environmental degradation													

Note A: Must not be built on the third floor or higher. Must not exceed a floor area of 1,000m².

B: Stores and restaurants must not be built
C: Floor area must not exceed 500m²

12 Category of zones by Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport

Please note that even exclusively residential zones are programmed to house various uses.

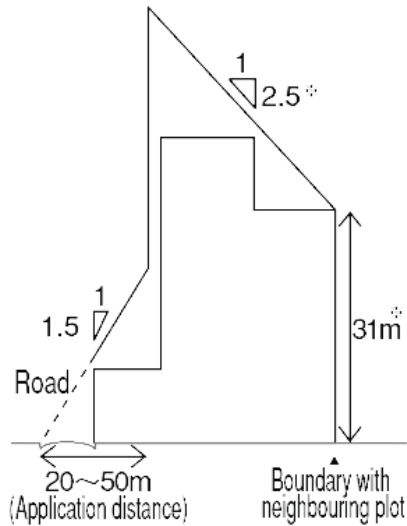


The other zones between these two are so highly open to a mix of uses that one can see that the zoning system of Japan is not programmed to isolate particular uses in a particular area but to mix them without harming the current peaceful co-existence. Moreover, zones are intermingled with each other on local plans, as in the case of a block that is residential at the centre, and commercial at the edge. Although this tendency can sometimes cause odd combinations, such as a kindergarten next



to a love hotel, it is still the main reason behind the spontaneous, healthy and liveable Tokyo, which is often shown as an actualised version of Jane Jacobs' thoughts on the city.

The studies show that such a flexible zoning system is quite effective in preventing residential segregation in Japanese cities.¹⁹ In addition to zoning, the role of building regulations setting the building height according to the road width, which are also called the slant plane restrictions, should



13 Prada Aoyama by Herzog and De Meuron (opposite)

The form is an outcome of architects' interpretation of slant plane restrictions.

14 Slant plane restrictions by Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport (above)

15 "Super Legal Buildings" by Yasutaka Yoshimura (right)

The architect documented the reflection of building regulations on the cityscape of Tokyo. The flexibility of regulations does not always bring desirable results.



be noticed in this case. This system is quite liberating for the architects, as there are no detailed requirements on facade or building mass. The first-hand experience of Jacques Herzog and Pierre de Meuron of zoning and building regulations on the Prada store in Aoyama explains this:

When we started analysing the zoning laws, we discovered as rather complex virtual machinery, which literally shaped the permitted building volume. We began moving this volume around on the site. The more it was moved towards

the free corner, the more open space that had been envisioned from the very beginning was defined. The building itself became a kind of hybrid of odd shapes, it became freer, and also more exposed, more visible, while the plaza became more intimate.²⁰

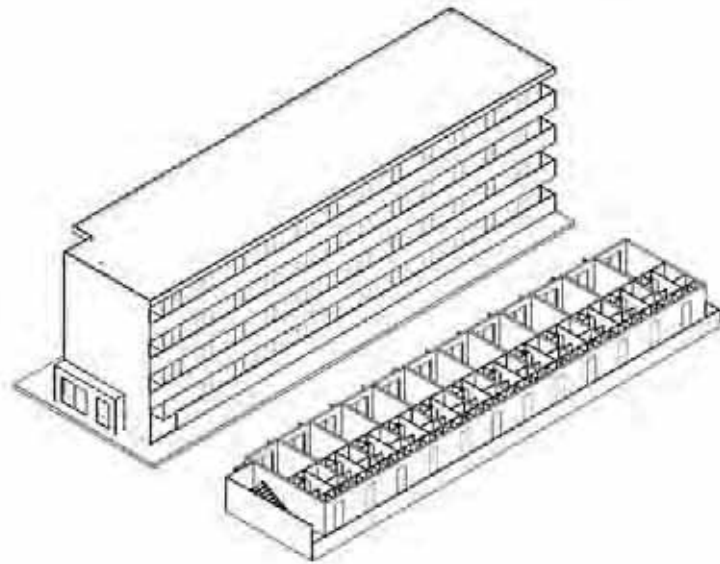
Designers can move the building away from the street, increase the distance between them and the edge of the road on the other side and go higher, or cover the entire site with a low-rise building.

Although this freedom does not bring an aesthetic order, it increases the number of possibilities on building form. This variety, combined with the rather inclusive zoning regulations, eventually increases the number of housing typologies such as free-standing single-family houses, high-rise blocks, mid-rise apartments and tenements.

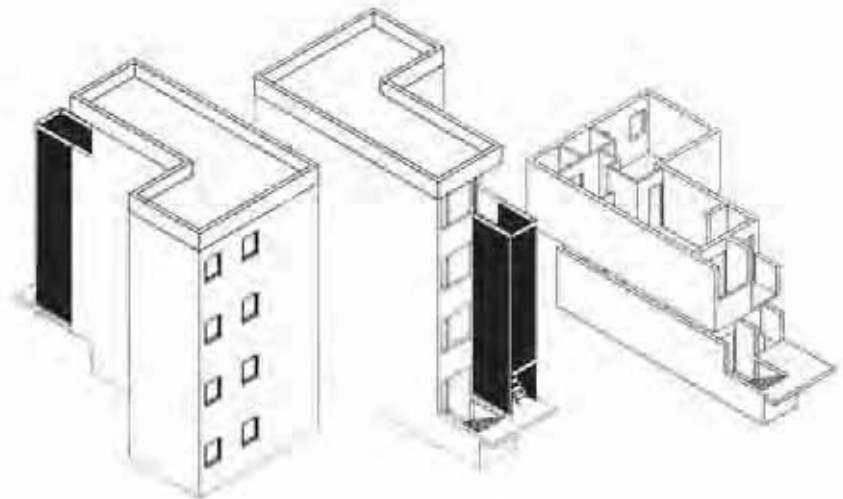
This multiplicity also attracts a variety of people from different income groups into the same area. In such urban areas, low residential segregation is not unexpected. The inclusive zoning system and rather relaxed building laws are behind such a phenomenon as a part of Japanese planning strategy. This specific type of planning does not work through plans dictating what may be done or what is permitted, but only stating what may not be done. For example, a Category 2 residential zone is not open to factories and theatres, but open to every other function. Likewise, slant plane restrictions do not restrict the architect on the form; one can design the building in many ways, but cannot block the sunlight of a neighbour. Such freedom, while increasing the variations of form and function, increases the complexity.



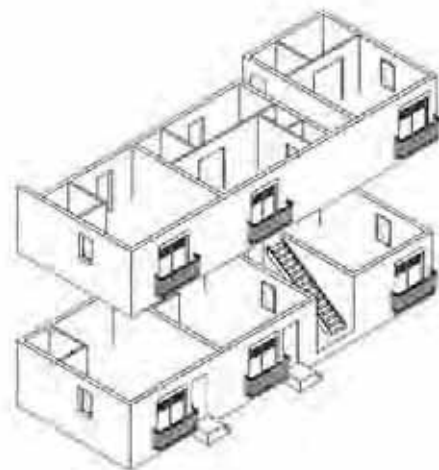
MANSHON
Identical studio units
Entrance is on the hallway



MIXED-USE APARTMENT
Different units in each floor
Lower ground level is not residential, used as a restaurant.
Units are reached by semi-open staircase.



LOW-RISE APARTMENT
Identical one bedroom units
Each unit has an individual entrance
There is no entrance door, the stair is exposed on both sides.





17 Boro, traditional Japanese quilt art, that inspired the concept of patchwork

Tokyo with its vastly irregular patches, accentuated stitches, complicated knots and a hole at the centre is a form of patchwork that is planned to be not planned.

However, this chaotic city is also considered to be an example to the rest of the world with its inner-city neighbourhoods that are both serene and eventful at the same time.²¹ The residents of Nezu chatting in front of convenience stores, white-collar workers running late to work buying some fresh baked goods from the patisserie close to the station, a *sarariman* having dinner all alone in one of the many *izakayas* before heading home, the elderly people meeting in front of the supermarket at the corner to catch up or housewives gathering in Graphy Nezu are some of these events. Just like a neat, tidy but vacant house coming to life with people moving inside it, bringing their belongings and settling in but also becoming rather messy, the patches of Tokyo where the functions of home spill around the neighbourhood are untidy but lively. Such use of the neighbourhood as an extension of home, although triggered by the small houses, is only possible with the Japanese approach to urbanism and planning promoting such a degree of mixture of land uses. This particular approach represents some of the molecular intensities making Tokyo as it is.

If we ignore this aspect and simply think of patches as zones free from planning, then it becomes impossible to spot such intensities in the virtual of patchwork and to borrow them to solve the problems in other contexts for which they can be useful. In this regard, I believe the patches of Tokyo can inspire other cities to give more freedom to the actual actors of the city in a framework that ensures that its main values are not harmed, and ease the anxiety over the harmonious urban form in cases when such relaxation brings variety and vitality, as in the case of Aoyama where Azuma built a house but gained an entire neighbourhood in which to live.

Nezu versus Neo-liberalism

Nezu is one of the best neighbourhoods, together with Yanaka and Sendagi, to observe *manju* type of urbanism, which is under threat due to the number of high-rise buildings increasing ever since the former prime minister Junichiro Koizumi's Special Urban Renaissance Law was enacted. This has enabled developers or organisations representing landowners to propose changes to the district plan to gain "special zone" rights with a much higher Floor Area Ratio since 2002. Only the consent of two-thirds of landowners are required for such critical changes.²² Since this law was passed, Tokyo, which is known as a dense but low-rise city, has witnessed increased vertical development, which risks some of its virtues such as human-scale environments and socially inclusive neighbourhoods.

This is not the first time Tokyo has changed in the direction of politicians' ambitions; during 1982–1987, known as the Nakasone era, prime minister Yasuhiro Nakasone deregulated the system to increase the demand for housing and boost the construction sector. The Nakasone administration first tried to rezone Category 1 exclusive residential zones as Category 2. However, local governments were quite reluctant to do so and also such wholesale change carried the dangers of triggering another massive citizens' movement against the government resembling that of the 1970s. A quite delicate solution was found; instead of local plans, slant plane restrictions were modified. By doing so, the administration could bypass local governments and make the desired changes behind the scenes without attracting much public attention.

However, not only Tokyo, but the whole of Japan had to pay the price of this move to deregulation; the manipulation of building height increased land values, which triggered a housing bubble and the collapse of the Japanese economy that followed.²³

Nezu, in a valley between the hills of Ueno and Hongo, survived the conflagration in the aftermath of the Great Kanto Earthquake and World War II bombings thanks to its location. The neighbourhood soon became an object of preservation activism and, naturally, a challenging site for developers hunting vacant lots in Tokyo.²⁴ As a survivor of a devastating earthquake, a world war and the plans of neo-liberal politicians, Nezu managed to maintain its characteristics to a great extent.

Ma

However, it is still possible to see the seeds of change around main roads. As a part of the fire-prevention policy, two-to-four-storey buildings have been replaced by seven-to-ten-storey buildings. This is not outstanding, as the pattern of the shell-yolk or *manju* works in this way. The interesting thing is what happens inside the "yolk" or "red bean paste" where already small houses are becoming smaller and smaller. The reason behind this strange phenomenon is the inheritance tax, which is deliberately kept high to ensure social equity. The heir that does not have enough resources to pay such exorbitant figures for an inherited house are left with one choice: to sell the land to generate income. Usually, only half the land is sold and the other half is kept within the family. Then, two independent houses rise on the lot of



18 Following the footsteps of the postman

The pocket alleys lead to the entrances of houses that are located at the depth of blocks. The lots that can only be reached by these kind of alleys are called flagpole lots by Japanese architects.

the old house.²⁵ The compulsory 50 cm distance from the neighbouring site rule creates new gaps, alleyways or cul-de-sacs. The maze becomes more complex with every subdivision.

I first noticed this singularity while taking photographs of details like plant pots or clothes left to air drying on Nezu streets. In the very early morning, it was only me and the postman who were outside. After greeting each other, I got back to work, and this gentleman walked towards a house and disappeared up an alley. Then, a few minutes later, he appeared again. I smiled at this now familiar face. But then, he kept appearing and disappearing continuously; he and I were both tired of greeting each other. On a narrow street opening to few houses, I wondered how he managed to disappear and tailed him. Soon I realised that, apart from the narrow



streets and alleyways, there was another layer of paths between houses taking one to the innermost part of the block, which the postman had to follow to reach the entrance of some houses. These paths are the spaces between houses that are not designed to be used as a path; however, one can fit, walk on and use them as a short cut, just like the postman. So, function-wise, they are still the part of street network.

The definitive elements of patches are the buildings, which can be represented as dots floating on space; the street, on the other hand, is the leftover space between these points. The most common terms referring to this space are *gap* and *void*. Void is used to translate the meaning of an original Japanese term, *ma*. *Ma* is hard to define and interpreted differently by various authors. I prefer to use the generic meaning explained by Arata Isozaki:

[Ma] originally means the space in between things that exist next to each other; then comes to mean an interstice between things—chasm; later, a room as a space physically defined by columns and/or byōbu screens; in a temporal context, the time of rest or pause in phenomena occurring one after another.²⁶

Fumihiko Maki, also working on this term, has his own definition:

Ma or sukima in English is called a residue. But in a Western sense, a residue does not have a meaningful role in the organization of form and space, as it does for us. We appreciate meaningful void, meaningful left-over. Ma, to some extent, represents that character...In Western architecture you have developed quite a number of rules and principles, governed by the laws of geometry, and also perspectives. If you look at Renaissance buildings, you have a very strict rational order through which you could construct their relationship. But we make an arrangement as we see fit, without using rational orders as such.²⁷ (emphasis mine)

A street in Newcastle is also a void, the gap between buildings aligned on both sides of the road. However, these buildings are a part of a line rather than being independent dots. There is an apparent order; a person can grasp it at a second. However, the definitions of *ma*, coming from names like Maki and Isozaki, show that the term also carries the meaning of asymmetry, unpredictability and complexity. The complexity in the case of the street network of Nezu is no different than the situation in Shibuya Station. One is transformed with new lines and platforms joined to the existing composition, the other via new buildings and the space branching out between them. Moreover, while the platforms and

passageways of Shibuya Station are coded, streets in Nezu are not even named. It is as if they were not intended to exist but somehow happened to be there. There is no point in mapping this space because it occurs as a coincidental gap.

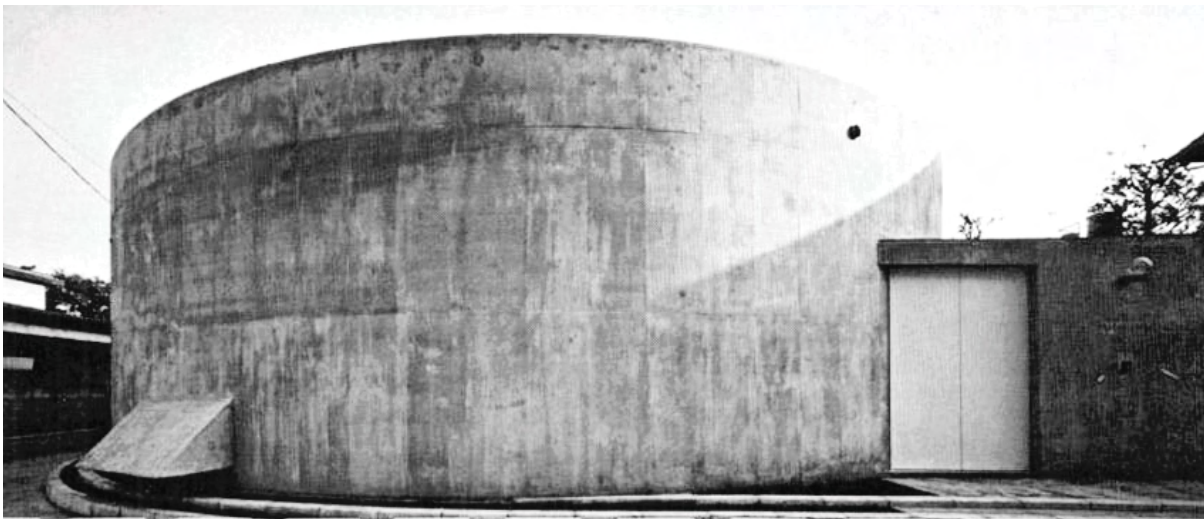
The Genkan

However, this gap, as mentioned earlier, is quite eventful, and those events do not happen randomly but in certain locations. For example, the *conbini* (コンビニ, convenience store) is a very central element of everyday life in Japan; before going to work in the morning or heading back in the evening to stop by in one of the many *conbinis* to simply shop for food or to get some ready meals is the norm. Interestingly, one can also withdraw cash or make some photocopies from the *conbinis* located on main roads, which usually belong to chains like 7-Eleven, Family Mart and Marentsu Petit. There are other *conbinis* inside the superblock, some of which are branches of chains and others of which belong to individuals. In both cases, the employees or the owners are either locals or known by the locals. Unlike the ones on the main roads, the neighbours use these *conbinis* to socialise; they spend a great deal of time while chatting to the owner/employee and exchange news about the neighbourhood. If another neighbour joins them, this conversation can be moved to the benches or seats in front of the *conbini*.

As a foreigner, even I was caught up by this tradition and ended up in conversations about, for example, the rivalry of two sushi restaurants, young people who avoid their duties to clean the neighbourhood, a new neighbour who had moved in on the other



*19 White U House
by Toyo Ito*



side of street. The fact that I was a student also spread throughout the neighbourhood thanks to one of these *conbinis* and the cafe, which is another location where loyal customers exchange gossip.

Cafe and conbini aside, the most socially active zone of the neighborhood is the *genkans* (玄関); the entrances of houses where people take off their shoes before stepping into the house. The *genkan*, although it is a part of the house, not the street, is neither inside nor outside but is a transition between the two.²⁸ The postman or the neighbour can enter there rather freely. This intermediary space is the only part of the Japanese house spared for social transactions, where quite long talks

can take place.

In the meantime, there is an ongoing alarming trend seen in Japanese residential architecture; single-family homes with completely blank facades. They are the legacy of Toyo Ito's *U House* and Tadao Ando's *Row House*, which were built in an era when architects were reactive to the chaos of the Japanese city and turned back inside to create a new secret universe there. Today, the reason for them is privacy issues in the quite dense fabric of inner-city neighbourhoods. While the desire for more privacy is only natural, the houses completely shut off from the neighbourhood are concerning. On the other hand, the same tendency can be

observed in older houses that are concealed by garden walls, fences and frosted glass windows. Yoshihara Tsukamoto calls them “introverted houses” in an interview with Cathelijne Nuijsink:

Cathelijne Nuijsink: Ideally the individual house forms a link between the city and its residents. Why have most houses in Tokyo lost this connection?

Yoshihara Tsukamoto : One reason is that the properties in Tokyo became smaller and smaller over the past decades due to the subdivision of land. By now, detached houses have lost their gardens and semi-covered thresholds. The windows have become much smaller as well, and are usually shut off by curtains. The result is very introverted houses. In addition, the relationship between neighbours is not respected as much these days. In the early days, people used to share a lot of things in their own neighbourhood. But nowadays we hardly share with the community anymore. People are living in an abstract social system where there is no autonomy of community space.²⁹

It is worth noting that the Japanese house is not considered to be a space for gatherings, not only because of the inadequate residential space, but also cultural inclinations. The terms that might explain this phenomenon are *uchi*(内) and *soto*(外). The house is seen as a shelter; a domestic space defined with the quality of *uchi*. The same term is also used to refer an individual's inner social circle. Every person who is not in this group is a stranger: *soto*. Likewise, the space outside the house is a representation of the world of *soto*.³⁰ This thought has two outcomes; firstly, the privacy and intimacy of house

as an *uchi* zone is valued greatly, which I believe plays a role in the extreme desire for privacy that can be seen in the cases where the only opening to the outside world is a rooflight. Japanese architects condemning this approach challenge this popular style with large openings, taking the street inside the house while also creating the illusion of a larger interior space. Very successful examples of this approach are undertaken by Ryue Nishizawa, Yoshiharu Tsukamoto and Koh Kitayama.

Genkan as an element of both the traditional and the contemporary Japanese house still works efficiently as a transitional zone between *uchi* and *soto*, providing an opportunity that can be utilised as a concept for creating more inclusive, or “extrovert” neighbourhoods. These can tackle the quite problematic issues among young Japanese suffering from *hikikomori* (ひ引きこもり)³¹ and the rising social isolation of the ageing population of Japan. Below, Tsukamoto mentions how disturbing this problem can be:

*One of the most shocking things in Japan today is that single elderly people die alone in their houses and are not discovered for months. Many people say it is because of the lack of solidarity among people. But I believe it is also a spatial problem. Since the houses are so introverted, we don't know what's really happening inside the house from the outside. People value a house based on the level of privacy.*³²



20 An introvert house in Nezu

Uchi and Soto

The second outcome of this Japanese *uchi-soto* dichotomy is the use of public space as a communal space. We will replace *uchi* and *soto* with the notions of private and public, which were introduced to Japanese urban thought in the 20th century, but could not be internalised as much as the native terms, through the case of gardens of pot plants on the street. They are usually placed alongside the exterior wall facing the street. However, quite often they may be stacked in front of the neighbour's wall or simply on the street, which is public space. However, this invasion, which I found truly exciting, is understandably questioned by architects such as Makoto Sei Watanabe who says that "most Japanese are not concerned about how their private actions might affect the overall aesthetic outlook of their street or city".³³ Now, if we replace the term *uchi* with private, the reason behind that may be perceived easily. Everything that is not *uchi* is *soto*; everything outside the borders of the house is public. When others' *uchi* is taken into account, what remains as public is the space which does not belong to anyone. If something does not belong to anyone, then it belongs to everyone, which means that it can be exploited for the public good within the neighbourhood.³⁴ Creating green space even with potted plants is an attempt to do so.

This shows that inner streets are considered to be communal rather than public. This is not the case for the wide pavements at the sides of main roads, which are entirely perceived as public space. The perception changes in relation to the street width, which gets narrower and narrower towards the inner areas of the neighbourhood.

While the main roads and wide pavements are accepted as public, the narrow inner streets are perceived as communal, changing to the private around alleyways leading to a group of houses at the centre of urban blocks.

Although all are equally public spaces open to anyone, the perception of *uchi* and *soto*, which is entirely subjective, creates a distinct system of public and private that defines private according to the level of privacy rather than the ownership pattern, and communal as shared ownership within the group experiencing the space every day – the locals or, in other words, the *uchi* of the neighbourhood – and finally, the public with the absence of flexibility to intervene in the built environment, as the opponent is not the neighbour next door but the state.³⁵ This variety illustrates the soft transition between the shell and the yolk.

Oku

This transition can be analysed further by introducing a new spatial concept; *oku*. As can be seen from *ba* and *jikan* introduced in the previous chapter, and *ma*, *uchi-soto* and now *oku* in this chapter, there is no shortage of spatial concepts in Japanese urban and architectural thought. However, there is also no consensus over the real meaning of these traditional concepts among Japanese architects or experts such as Günter Nitschke. This is not necessarily an obstacle, because with each interpretation the meaning is enriched. In the context of *oku*, the most influential name among those interpreters is Fumihiko Maki:

Having travelled to many cities abroad, I am inclined to believe that multilayered spaces are

*among the few phenomena observable only in Japan. The Japanese have always postulated the existence of what is called oku (innermost area) at the core of this high-density space organized into multiple layers like an onion, and the concept of oku has enabled them to elaborate and give depth to even a delimited area.*³⁶

Oku is the core of complex space; however, it is not possible to pinpoint its location, because *oku* is not at the centre of a simple three-dimensional entity but a composition of stacked layers. Shibuya Station and Katsura Rikyu are both excellent examples of this case even though they seem entirely different from outside. The station is a cloud-like density, shaped by the fragments coming together rather freely; its core is there but cannot be shown. Katsura unfolds towards the centre with rooms opening to other rooms constantly, just like a Russian doll. The *oku* of Katsura is this depth created by the layers of *shoji*. The inner-city neighbourhoods are not very different; the outer shell surrounds the inner layers, narrow streets connected to alleyways that lead to paths at the centre of the block. In fact, in his early works, Maki illustrates the concept of *oku* with an increasingly subdivided neighbourhood, of which the *oku* is not drawn but can still be sensed at the very centre; the red bean paste of *manju*. On the other hand, Maki continued to develop the concept:

*Inner space is a mental touchstone for those who observe or produce it. In that sense inner space can be called an invisible center, or more precisely, a convenient alternative to the center, devised by a culture that denies absolutes such as centers. People are free to decide for themselves what constitutes such a “center”; there is no need to make it explicit.*³⁷

We can see that Maki adds a new layer of subjectivity to *oku*; it is where we want it to be. For the businessman, the core of Shibuya Station might be behind the column where he hid while watching the scramble crossing. Likewise, the *oku* of Shibuya for me was the seat in the cafe facing the station where I could be away from the crowd but could still watch them. Maki's *oku* and my micro-space are quite similar in this regard. However, micro-space is one of the many stations of fluid space. I consider *oku* to be a specific type of micro-space; the most intimate and private one in a given location.

Before heading to the final section, it will be beneficial to summarise the main themes, as this chapter is longer than others. I tried to define the qualities of inner-city neighbourhoods with Popham's and Azuma's stories. In this first part, these neighbourhoods were analysed historically as patches of Tokyo. The planning side of analysis is emphasised more than usual to figure out the outlying conditions creating results that are admired so that they may be borrowed. In the next section, the problems of the Japanese city, such as subdivision and introverted houses, were discussed and key spatial concepts as potential solutions to these problems were raised in this discussion. In this final section, I will introduce a moment that inspired me a great deal so that I found myself working on a simple design proposal even though this was not planned at the beginning of the thesis. This unexpected proposal helped me to internalise the logic of Tokyo in practice, while also giving me an opportunity to test the ideas inspired by Tokyo.

21 *The bus stop in Nezu (below)*

22 *“Temporary Urbanism” (right and opposite)*

The stills are taken from a short film recorded during the fieldwork on transformation of Ginza.



Furniture as Architecture

Walking around the shell of Nezu in the northern section of the neighbourhood on my way back from a *conbini*, I was startled by the sight of two ladies sitting on stools at the side of the road; a concrete wall, a utility pole, a few stools and the ladies facing the petrol station on the other side of the road. It is hard to explain the absurdity of the scene, but I may say that they were not there to enjoy the freezing weather or the dreadful view. I lingered for a while at the corner of the street and soon realised that they were actually waiting for a bus, and stools are left by the locals for

anyone who would like to sit while waiting. Although bus stops in Tokyo are well designed and clearly demarcated, there was absolutely no sign of a bus stop there apart from a small note on the utility pole. But the stools were there all the time, as if they were indicating the bus stop.

Next, while working in Ginza, the birthplace of modern Tokyo, I encountered with another singularity that at first seemed as ordinary as the case of the stools. Chuo Dori, which closes to traffic at the weekends between 11:00-12:00 and 17:00, is transformed into a public square in linear form. The pedestrianised streets



are nothing extraordinary; however, I found this simple and yet effective temporary change quite inspirational. Only a few minutes prior to the closure, police place a few signboards on both sides of the intersection of Chuo Dori and Harumi Dori (this zone is also known as *yon-chome*). While the police are dealing with that, municipal services distribute some outdoor chairs and parasols on the street. This literally takes no more than five minutes, but then, all of a sudden, photographers appear to record this event at the crossing. Hundreds of people fill the street, the chairs are occupied in seconds by complete strangers, who tend to face

in different directions yet sit together on the same table. On occasions, protesters rallying on the avenue without disturbing the main pedestrian traffic can also be seen. An avenue is transformed into a lively public space only by temporary closure to vehicle traffic and the cost of a few aluminium chairs and tables.

I had a moment of realisation and connected the case of the stools with this massive transformation. In both cases, there is no wall, no ceiling, not even a material change at ground level to demarcate space. It rather emerges around the furniture. The stool becomes



the bus stop on its own, the table and chairs become a public cafe. Removing the furniture will transform the space back to its original state as happens in Chuo Dori after 17:00. Such temporariness gained via moveable furniture is an essential part of traditional Japanese architecture, which becomes a dining room or a bedroom by simply moving small pieces of furniture in the house. The inspiration for *NA House* by Fujimoto was the same: the client told how they liked to take a floor cushion and coffee table and move around the house. Fujimoto, inspired by this detail, designed them a house that itself becomes a set of furniture through its interior fittings; a step where one can eat and another step to lie down on, and larger layers to choose from to move into with a cushion.

The Kanagawa Workshop of Junya Ishigami, although it is entirely different from *NA House* in its architectural composition, shows similarities in the creation of small spaces around the furniture.

These small spaces emerging around the furniture are actually compositions designed for a potential event, such as waiting for the bus or enjoying the festive spirit of Ginza. This made me realise that the micro-spaces in one's fluid space can be manipulated, with simple interventions staging an event. For example, a person who has just moved into a new flat with a balcony overlooking a green square may feel the urge to put a chair there rather than leaving it empty. After doing



23 NA House by Sou Fujimoto (opposite)

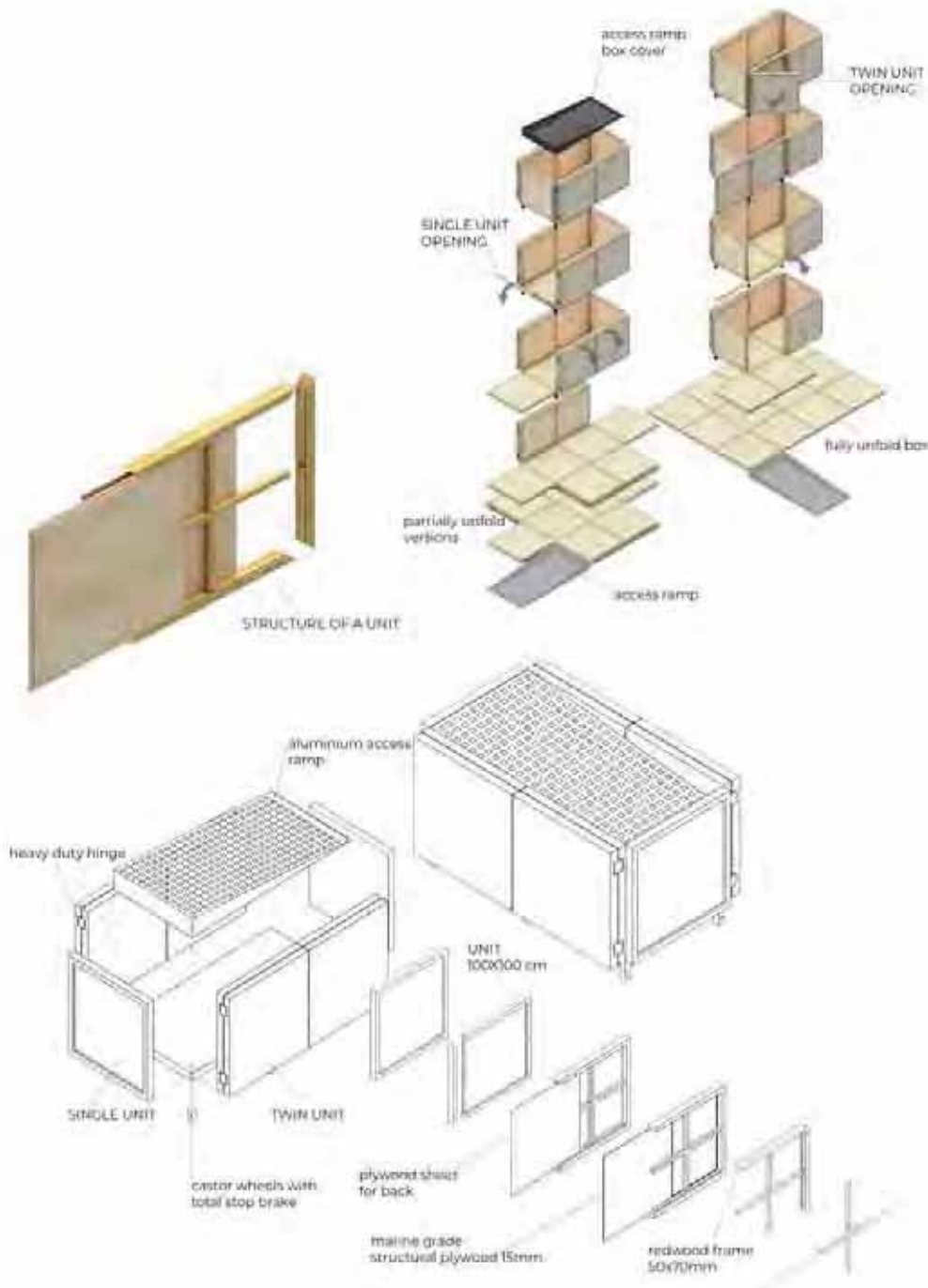
*24 Kanagawa Institute of Technology
Workshop by Junya Ishigami (above and right)*



so, they may find themselves spending some time there. Space affects people in a way that forces them to participate (the temptation to furnish the balcony), and people can affect the space by their very own intervention (changing the balcony through furniture). This cycle will continue, yet the main motivation is the potential of the space in terms of the events it promotes (drinking morning coffee on the balcony). In the case of Ginza, what moved people was a simple aluminium chair, yet it represented an event.

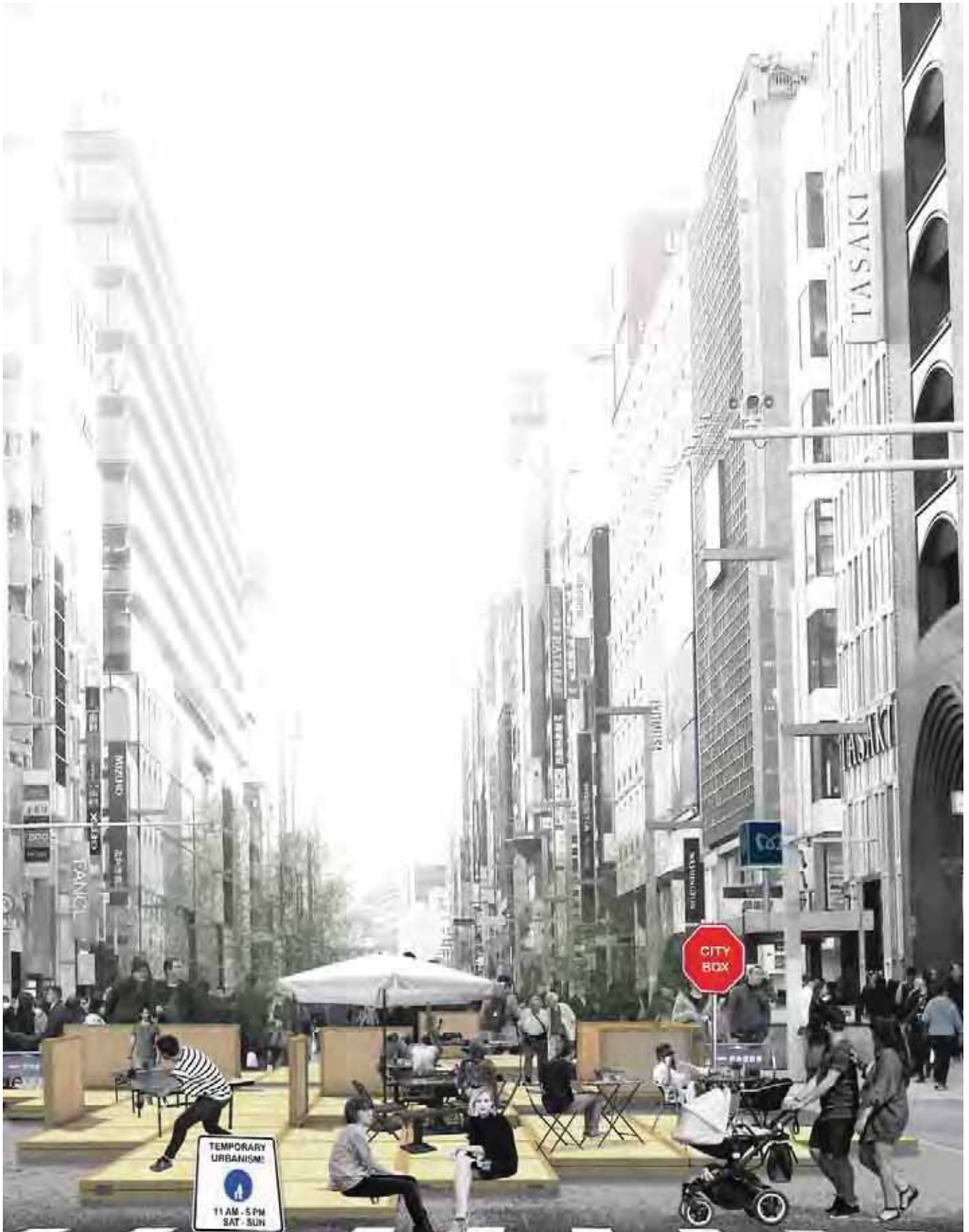
How effortlessly the space was transformed while I was watching the movement on Chuo Dori from a cafe influenced me so much that I found myself working on a small design proposal; city box. The boxes

store furniture inside them. This is why they are in the form of boxes. Depending on the season and the location, such equipment can be modified. For example, in summer, a box may hold deck chairs and swing seats, while in winter, it may simply hold tables, chairs and portable outdoor heating. The furniture is not fixed to the surface, not just to store them effectively by folding, but to let the user intervene in the process. To move a chair to a favoured spot on the defined surface is an act of intervention. This increases one's engagement with the space; as mentioned earlier, "possession is inextricably connected with action".



The project is modular and can take the shape of the available space. The box is transformed into a flat surface. The form of the surface can change depending on the space available; it could be only 4 m² or 16 m². This number can increase when boxes are combined together. Each box, as a unit, can be assembled in various shapes and can naturally take the shape of the available space when arranged together. The boxes are easy to move and assemble.

The frame is planned to be redwood, while the rest is designed with marine grade plywood. Both materials can be used structurally even though they are quite light in comparison to other timber types. The wheels make the movement easier. The assemblage process is no more complicated than opening a box. Just like opening it, all one needs to do is close the box in order to transform the occupied space back to its original state.



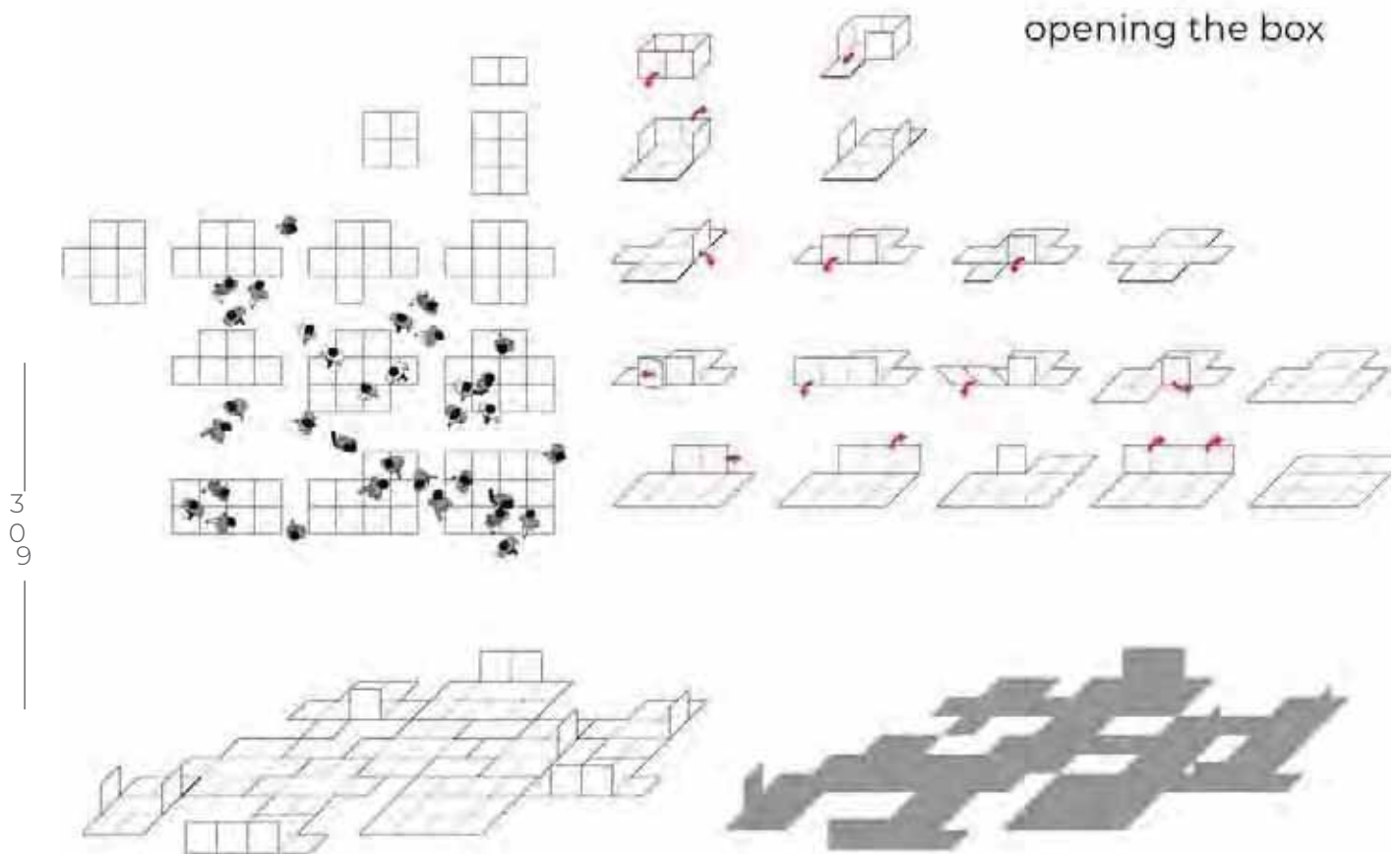
25 City box layout (opposite)

26 Temporary urbanism (above)

27 Opening the box (below)

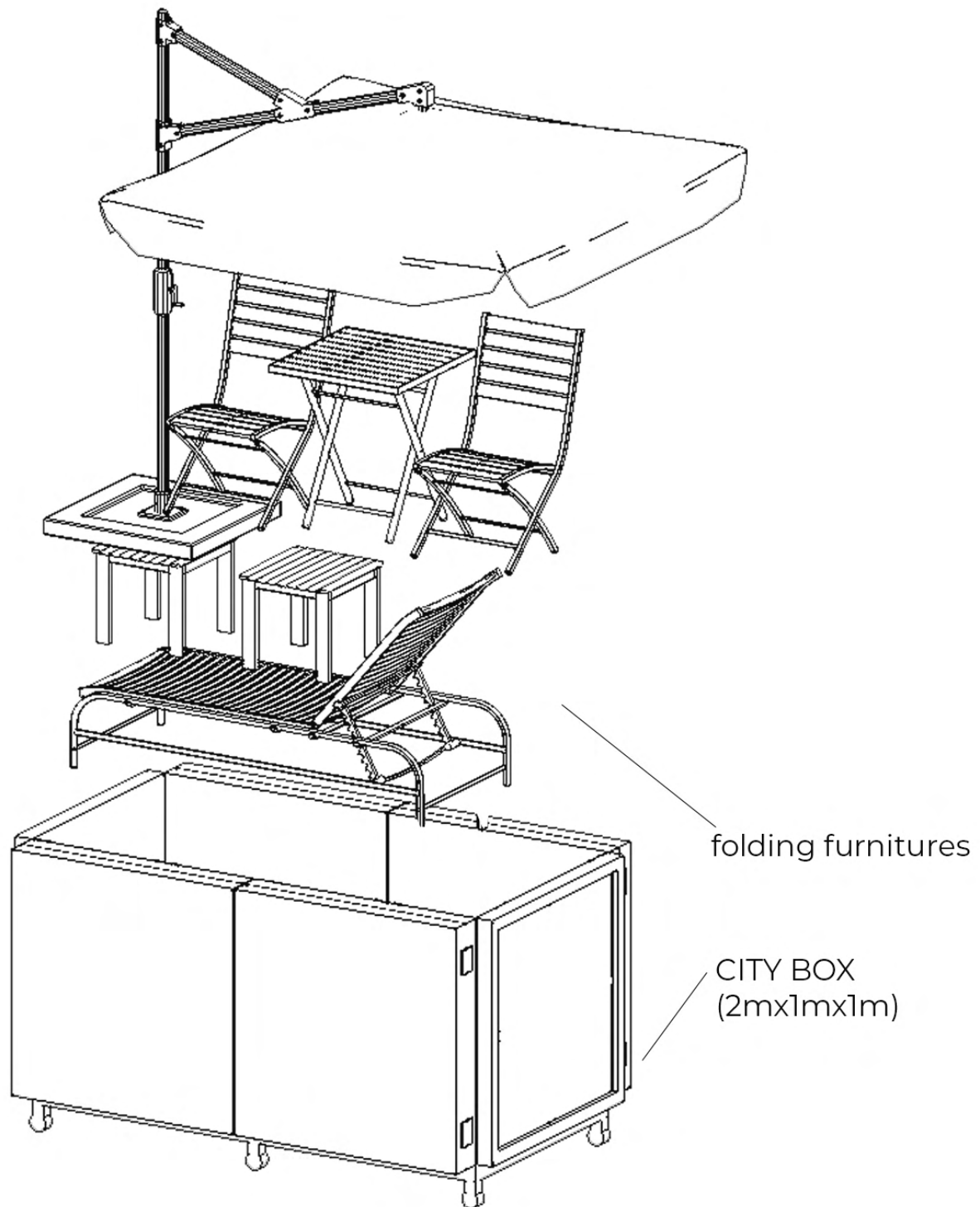
28 Furniture as architecture (opposite)

The space for the potential events of one's everyday can be designed through very simple interventions.



This project aims to borrow the scenery from the city. To imitate the city form is impossible, because the number of people and the additional factors involved in this process is far too complex. Even the most participatory projects can be successful only to an extent, as there is still the dimension of time involved in the process of the city's emergence that cannot be reproduced. Therefore, the city cannot be designed and for that very same

reason, it is unique. This unique form composed of various shapes, colours, scales and architectural styles of today and past eras is out there already. The contrast between the simplicity of design and the complexity of the city is there to further illustrate the value that is borrowed. This is why it is called city box: a potential pause in the everyday space of people composed with the borrowed city view and little furniture.³⁸



A Small Tokyo in Tokyo

This small experiment continued with others on Nezu, because while designing I was simply learning from Ginza and noting down what I learned with drawings rather than text and then learning more while playing with them. At the same time, I was aware that chaotic Tokyo was an inspiration for various projects such as Sou Fujimoto's *Tokyo Apartment*, Fumihiko Maki's *Spiral* and Kazuo Shinohara's Institute of Technology Centennial Hall. The complexity of the city revealing itself in the work of architects made me wonder whether the anarchic point logic of Tokyo and its additive nature could be tested to create a Little Tokyo within Tokyo. This step was not planned in advance and developed rather freely out of curiosity. However, with the involvement of concepts developing at the same time, such as micro-space, fluid space and furniture as architecture, it became an opportunity to illustrate these concepts, experiment with them and finally learn from the experience.



29 *A Small Tokyo in Tokyo*

*A trial of creating microspaces around
potential events of real characters*



30 *The residents kindly helped me to understand the inner dynamics of Tokyo.*

Yuya (left)

Chihiro (middle)

The owners of the conbini (right)

31 *The Site (opposite)*

The building on the site is under the radar of developers. It is aimed to be replaced with a high-rise building. My aim is to investigate what will happen when Tokyo becomes more fragmented and human scale in an alternative scenario.



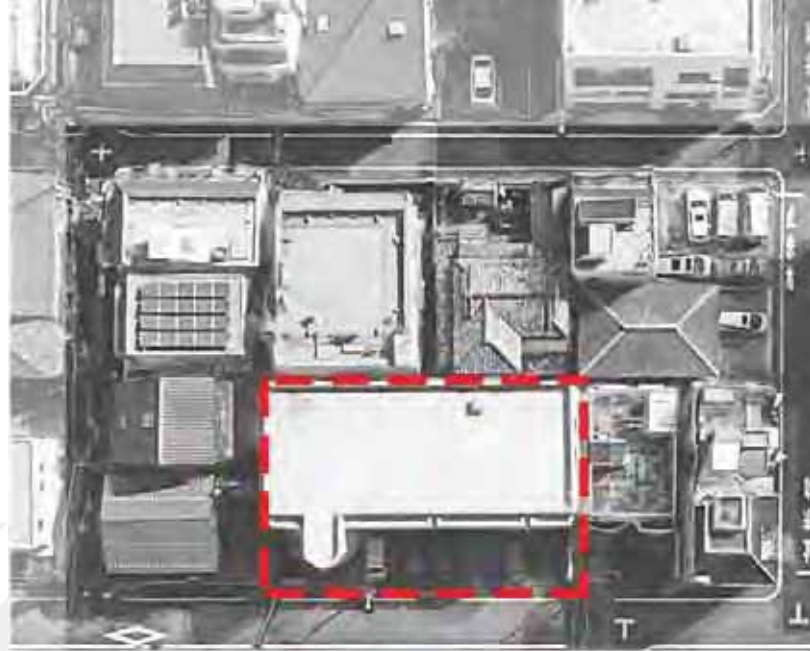
Learning from Tokyoites

The most important thing that I learned from Tokyo is that people and city have a very intimate connection in which the entire city is seen as a potential home. The second thing is an extension of the first: what defines space is not its form but the events of everyday life. At the centre of each event, there is a subject: a person. Thus, space is bound to the experience of this person. And, naturally, creating/designing space that is the core of architecture is in fact staging potential events for people or micro-spaces in one's fluid space. For example, a house is not a combination of compartmentalised rooms, but a combination of micro-spaces; the chair facing the green square is a micro-space or the table in the kitchen where one enjoys working is a micro-space that can replace a study room.

While working on the project in Nezu, I learned another lesson, but not from Tokyo: Tokyoites. Getting used to Nezu and

being a part of the neighbourhood helped me to observe the residents and their living patterns within the neighbourhood. Yet, also in time, I realised that I became a resident myself, as a passenger on my way back from Shibuya in the evening on the metro, as tired as the *sarariman* right next to me, as an occupant complaining about municipal services, as a neighbour dragged into the gossip sessions in the *conbini*. Understanding what it is to live in Tokyo made me become closer to the locals. When I got closer to them, they got closer to me and openly discussed their thoughts on the city, home and life in Tokyo. Although I have learned a great deal from the locals who were kind enough to answer my questions, most of the time it was in the Graphy Nezu cafe where these long discussions took place, as in the case of Miya and Mohiro who were introduced in previous chapter.

I met with Mohiro's mother several times in the cafe and *conbini*. Mohiro and his



sister joined their mother in her visits to the cafe. While we were talking about the smallness of residential space with his mother, Mohiro, who is always quiet, seemed to be bored at the edge of the conversation. At one point, I asked him what was it that he wanted from a home, which was the same question I asked his mother to entertain him. When she translated the question into Japanese, Mohiro started to talk and did not stop for ten minutes straight. I was not expecting a real answer and did not think that Mohiro would take the question so seriously. Yet, Mohiro proved me wrong. He said that what he wanted the most from a home is a garden, but a garden with a tree he could climb. However, this is not possible because there is no space for trees, and even if the trunks could fit anywhere, the wide crowns cannot. The fact that 7-year-old Mohiro thought about that touched me, but this also made me realise that a tree is a luxury for the neighbourhood, where people desperately try to compensate for

its absence with potted plants.

In another conversation, this time with Yuya, who is a 30-year-old software engineer working on some of his projects in the cafe where he is a regular, I had a similar moment. When I asked Yuya a similar question, he first said that young people did not really need a big home because they just slept there. Yet, later when we were creating an imaginary situation in which we would be designing a new house for Yuya and what he might want the most from a home, he said, “I want to live in my house, only me. But I do not want to feel alone. I want to know there are people around me and I am not isolated.” I expected him to talk about interior space and room size and other similar things. Yet, Yuya described a very human need with great sincerity.

Another name who inspired the project was Chihiro. She was a 33-year-old fashion designer who was taking a short break and was working part-time in the cafe

during my stay in Tokyo. Chihiro lived with her boyfriend in a spacious flat by Tokyo standards. I asked her the same question that I asked Mohiro and Yuya and I got a totally different answer. Chihiro said she wanted her little private corner in the house, a small space where she could hide and be on her own. Even if this was an attic, she would still be happy, because all she wanted was not a big space but a space that belonged to her.³⁹

These conversations and a few others that cannot not be shared here due to the length of this chapter made me think that staging events cannot be narrowed down to a simple composition of architectural elements and furniture, because people do not want a kitchen or a bedroom, but a house where they can be alone without being isolated, a tree to live with and corners to hide in. From this perspective, a house becomes more than a chain of micro-spaces; it becomes an intimate space that can accommodate desires, worries and happiness.

Mimicking Tokyo

I tried to put each individual who shared their desires with me at the centre of attention and designed a house for them; a house with a tree for Mohiro, an extroverted house for Yuya, a house with various corners for Chihiro and a tower for Miya. In addition, I tried to reinterpret the traditional *nagaya* typology with an apartment proposal called *Modan Nagaya* (モダン長屋, Modern Nagaya)

The aim was also to test the anarchic point logic. To mimic this order, I started the design with Yuya's house as a point at the centre of the site without working on a masterplan.

32 Anarchic Point Logic

A master plan was avoided on purpose to mimic the order of Tokyo. Instead, the fragments were designed step by step in a rhizomatic fashion.

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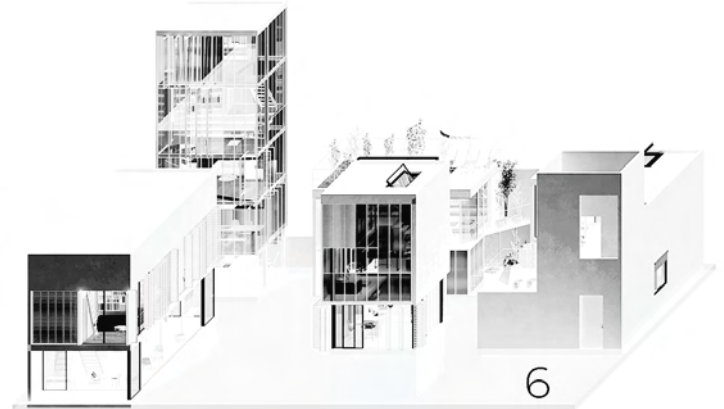
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7

1. The Site
2. Yuya's house
3. Mohiro's house
4. Chihiro's house
5. Mia's house
6. The Nagaya
7. The Cafe



33 *A Small Tokyo*

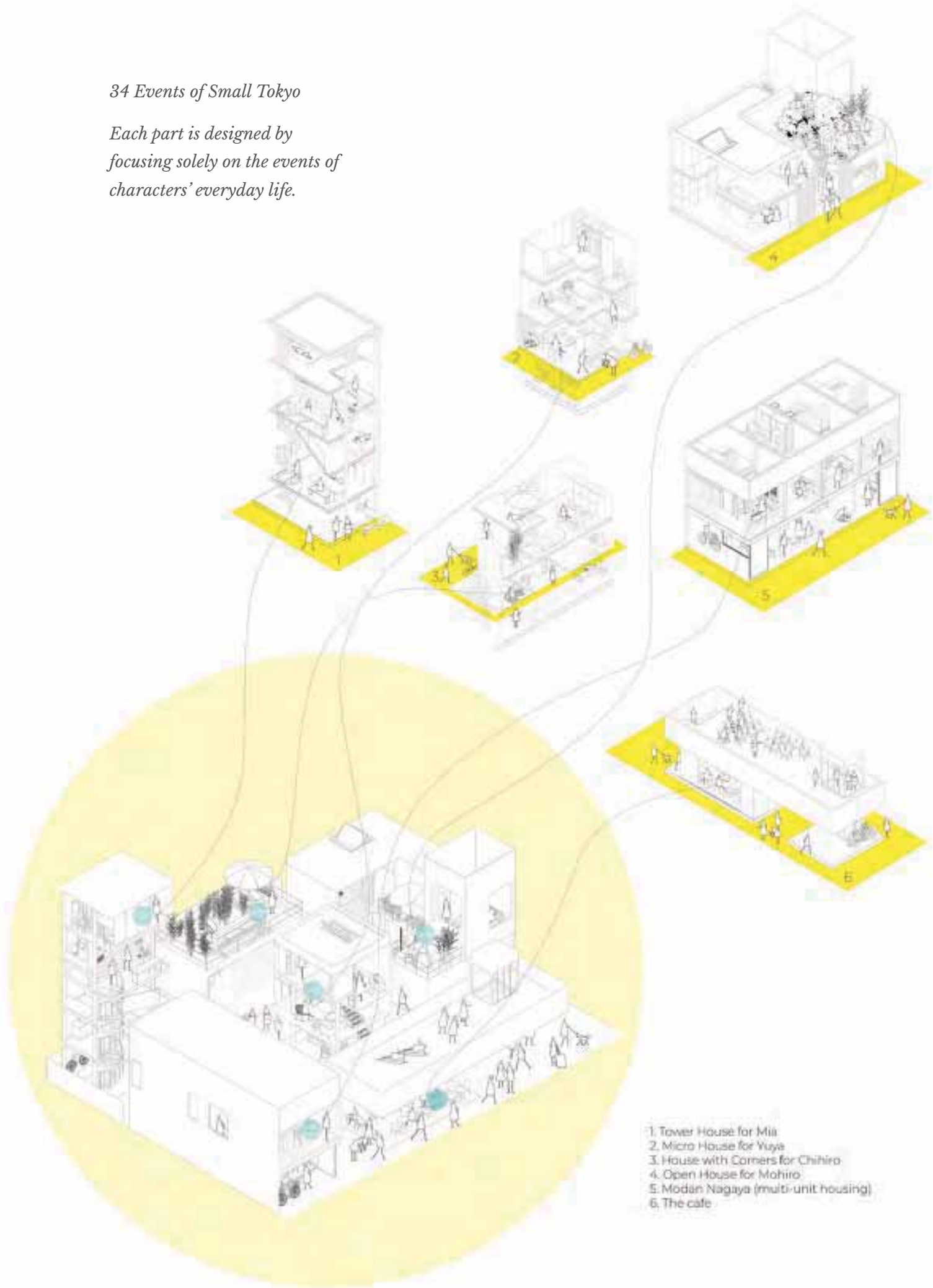
Small fragments comes together one by one as in the case of an ordinary neighbourhood in Tokyo.

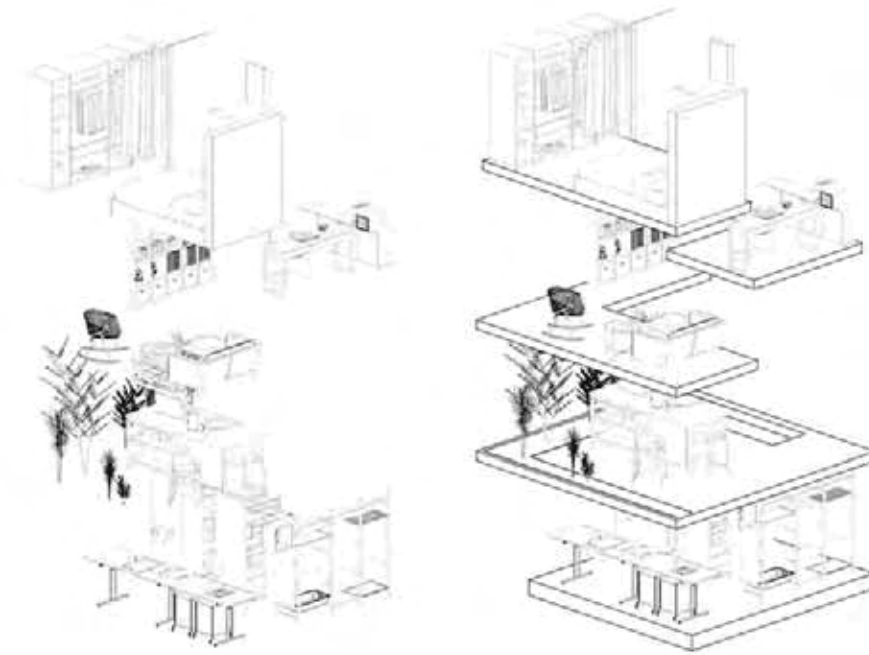




34 Events of Small Tokyo

Each part is designed by focusing solely on the events of characters' everyday life.





35 A close up to Yuya's microspace planned for his potential events

Potential events of Yuya's life were designed on a 4 m² x 4 m² site. The footprint was deliberately kept small to examine the effect of restricted lot sizes on the design process. Yuya's kitchen, on the ground level, is open to all sides. The platforms on other levels are only big enough for their events, yet they are all connected, and the house has a fluid spatial organisation.

The concept of *oku* is implemented with a

twist; the layers creating depth around the core were originally vertical layers such as *shoji* screens. Instead, platforms are used to create depth and increase the level of privacy by manipulating these layers.

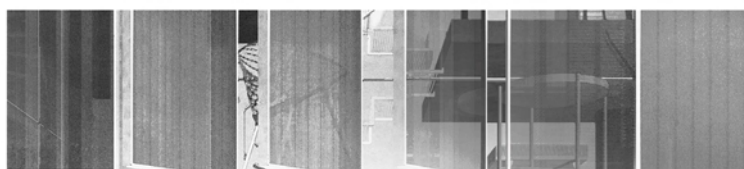
I worked on the facade after designing the fluid inner space, yet this was not something I used to do before. Focusing only on the events while designing space pushed other concerns into the



36 The fluid space connecting Yuya's microspaces

background. To tackle the privacy issues, the facade was designed with three levels of openings; the transparent, fully open ground level which will expose Yuya's kitchen to the outside is an example of level 1. I considered the kitchen (for cooking, working on his projects, receiving friends) the least private area in the house, where Yuya might not mind being seen by others and see them. His house is at the centre for the same reason.

He can adjust the level of exposure using the shutters. Translucent polycarbonate panels, which let in light while blocking the view slightly, are the second level, and level 3 is fully closed. The fully open parts of the facade face the blank walls of neighbouring buildings. This aims to create the illusion of a bigger space, taking the street view inside without sacrificing privacy. The other houses are designed with the same concerns in mind; scale, privacy, social inclusion.



37 The details from Yuya's house

The living space enclosed by transparent, semi-transparent and opaque panels (top)

The view of ground level seen behind layers/levels of Yuya's house (middle)

The kitchen where he can see and can be seen by others (bottom)

Mohiro's house emerges around a tree. He can view it from his room, play around in the garden, climb to and reach the play terrace. The main difference of working on Mohiro's house was that to involve the tree in the design, I worked on various spatial compositions and studied different type of trees, their crown size and height. The constraints of space forced me to look more closely at the details that I had never noticed before.

For Chihiro, I tried to design two zones, one in the basement, opening to a small garden, and the other as the main living

space on the first floor. The ground level serves as a buffer zone between them. In the case where she wants to hide and stay alone, she would have her little corners, one of which was literally designed for her to climb and enjoy the view. While working on Chihiro's house, I checked what she could see from her house and what others can see in her house several times, made changes to other houses and adjusted the openings accordingly. Miya's house was designed after Chihiro's and follows the same principles applied to Yuya's. However, it is higher and more private at the back of the site.



38 Miya's entirely transparent house goes higher.

The privacy of the characters in the dense setting is ensured by the arrangement of openings facing each other rather than enclosing a building from all sides with blank walls.



39 Chihiro is seen in her balcony from Mohiro's terrace.

This narrow street between Yuya and Chihiro's house is at the depth of the block (oku). It is more private than the front of the block.

The most interesting point about this house is that it is entirely transparent, because it faces the blank walls of Chihiro's house at the corner. Privacy is not an issue at that point. In addition, Chihiro's roof garden is borrowed⁴⁰ and became a part of the living space on level 2 thanks to this transparency.

Modan Nagaya follows Miya's house. *Nagaya* is a reinterpretation of historical and modern-day tenements. The shared alleyway at the back of the *nagaya* houses in Edo are seen as the liveliest parts of the residential quarters. The same principle of communal space is applied to *Modan Nagaya* by replacing the back alley with the ground level. The shared kitchen and a social space are located there and the units upstairs are directly connected to this communal space with stairs. By providing individual entrances, it is aimed to break the rather monotonous look of outdoor halls opening to staircases in the tenements of Tokyo.

The final point added to the anarchic system is the cafe. The aim is to reflect the mix of uses and typologies in the project. The cafe and *nagaya* both face the street and can naturally be more socially active, while the innermost part of the block, the *oku*, is calmer. To increase the level of social interaction among the residents, the entire ground level is designed as a *genkan*, which blurs the boundaries between inside and outside. The outdoor furniture is staged to promote to use of this space as an extension of home, just like the narrow streets invaded by potted gardens.



The cafe



The Nagaya ground level



The Nagaya from Yuya's house

40 The details



Yuya's house seen from a unit in Nagaya



Chihiro's house upper level



The street in between Yuya and Chihiro's houses seen from Mohiro's terrace.



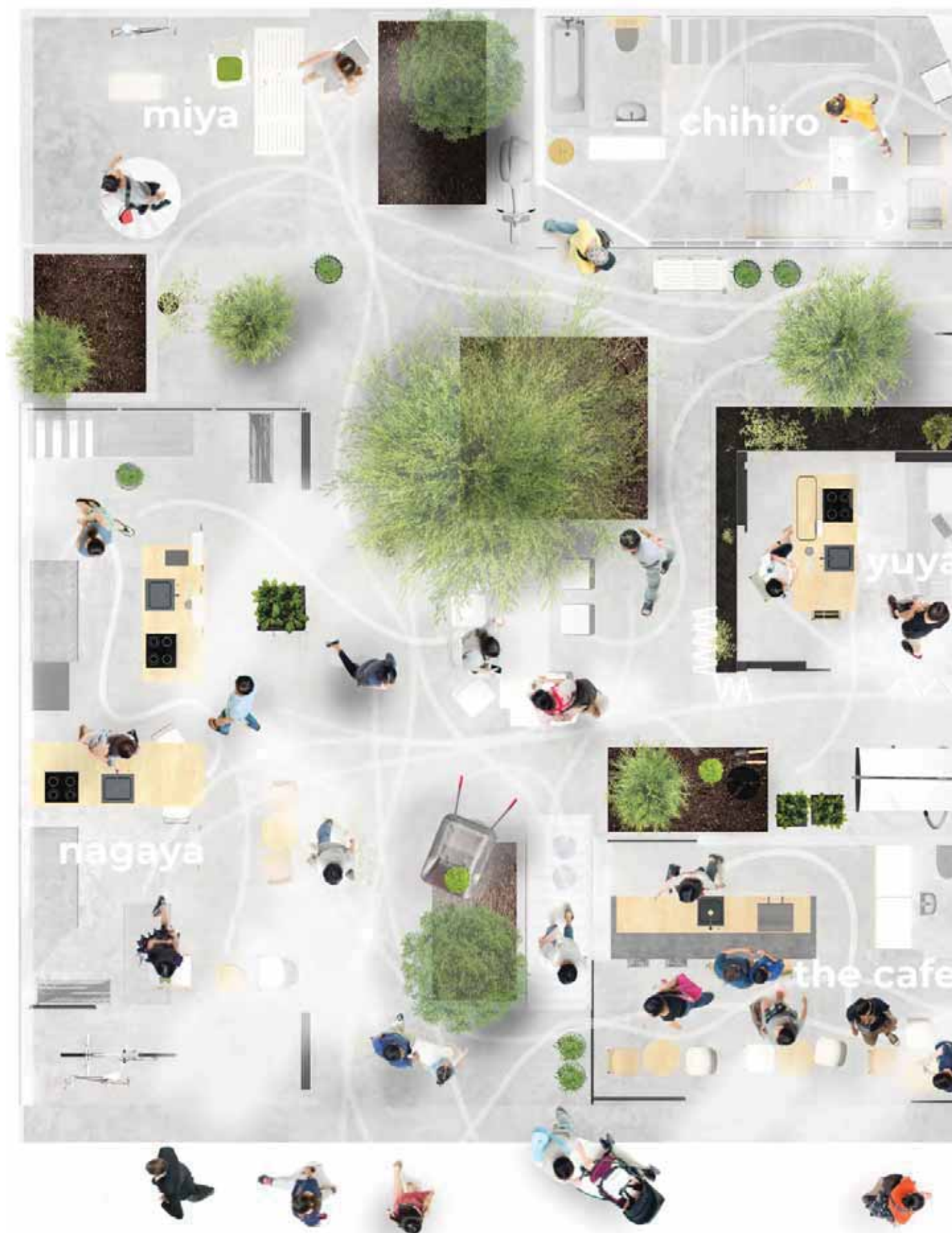
Chihiro's house lower ground level



Mohiro's tree and play terrace seen from kitchen



Chihiro and Yuya's house from Mia's garden





41 Fluid space and Genkan

Genkan, the entrance hall in Japanese house is the place where most of the social interaction amongst the neighbours happen. The entire ground level is designed as a genkan of one house. The movement at this level between homes, between inside and outside, between home and café, or between neighbourhood and the café or the garden is desired to be more fluid without compromising privacy which increases through the edge of the block and decreases around Yuya's house, café and Modan Nagaya.



Lower ground level in Chihiro's house opens to a small garden. At this level there is a small corner where she can climb and enjoy the view. The living space which opens to a mini balcony and a roof terrace is in the first floor.

The space is intentionally separated and fragmented to increase the level of choice for Chihiro who seeks a space for solitude, to hide and to think while living with her partner.

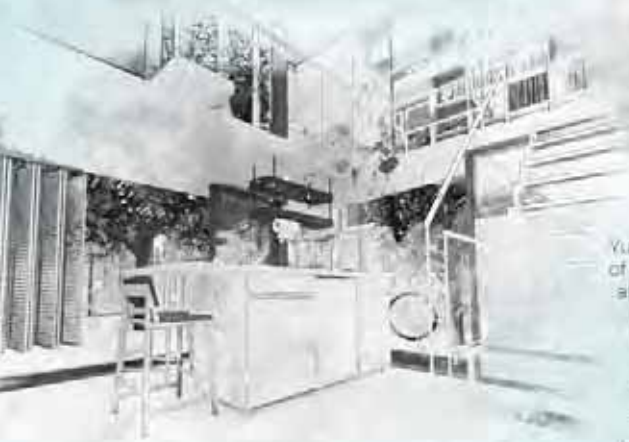


The common space of Modan Nagaya overviews the inner street space and Yuya's kitchen behind the garden furniture. It is aimed to create an opportunity of social interaction for the residents living alone in nagaya or mansion-like rather isolating housing typologies by this highly transparent common space. In the moon time, each individual has their own staircases leading to their flats. The privacy is not compromised at upper levels.



The main living space in Miyao's house facing the garden at the corner while borrowing the view of Chihiro's roof garden.

Mohiro's(?) biggest dream is to live with a tree. The inner city neighbourhoods are so dense that there is no space for trees. Potted gardens are there to compensate their absence. Studying the volume of trees, a small courtyard of which has a plum tree placed at the corner leaning through the alley between Yuya and Mohiro's house to save space. Mohiro and his sister's room opens to this courtyard which has stairs leading to a play terrace, which is left empty for the volume of the trunks.



Yuya's biggest concern is the fear of being isolated. He enjoys living alone, but not feeling lonely. He desired people to be around him, being able to feel their existence without communicating with them.

The most open space in his house is the kitchen at ground level where he can see and can be seen by others. His house is designed at the centre of the plot to create a space that is open to the streets at all sides at this level. The house gradually closes itself while moving towards the upper levels.



42 *The ordinary life*

Such tiny but also inspirational nuances, even some trivial details, are valued and utilised to make design decisions.

Looking Back

Designing a project without an overall plan and just following a pointillistic logic in an additive manner was extremely distressing because of many unknowns. For example, the design decisions taken for one house affect the next one, however one cannot know how at that moment; there is no pre-determined masterplan setting out certain rules that is valid for all houses at the beginning. However, this sequential development process of anarchic point logic, which leaves some space for irrationality, coincidences and arbitrariness, effortlessly generates lively environments with a variety of forms and scales.

On the other hand, I found it quite hard to deliberately leave space for coincidence and chance, which made the project more nerve-racking and precarious for me. For this reason, I made countless corrections time after time to balance the effect of new additions on existing ones. While I had the chance to do so inside the block, this was not possible for the other houses surrounding it. The impermanence of the context forced one to turn inside, because the building faced with a large opening today that might not be there the next day. This indeterminacy plays a role in the spread of “introverted houses”. This phenomenon is not really articulated in any of the literature pointing out an increased

desire for privacy as the sole issue. I could notice it only by actively being involved in the design of the homes. This emphasises the importance of creative practice that considers the experience of the architect as a viable method of learning.

One of those experiences taught me another lesson. Each of the houses were designed for different individuals in mind. However, while working on the units of *Modan Nagaya*, I did not follow the same pattern and just focused on the idea of a communal space bringing people together. Although other houses differ from each other, these units are monotonously the same. Instead of designing each unit for specific people, I designed a space for living without any attention to the events or micro-space. If I had focused on real characters and their everyday lives, the units would clearly be different and more specific. This is the case because, while working on a kitchen, I would not have thought of placing it at the centre of the site so it could be seen from all sides so that Yuya would not feel isolated, creating small stations at different levels for Chihiro so that she can be alone by herself or studying the volume of trees for Mohiro.

At the end of this journey, Tokyo taught me that architecture, although it cannot solve the issues of poverty, is the only discipline that can float between the seemingly unimportant trivialities of life and a more human environment.

Figures and Illustrations

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- 41 Nergis Kalli, *Fluid Space and Genkan*, illustration, 2018.
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Endnotes

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- 12 Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan*, 23–24; Smith, 'Tokyo and London: Comparative conceptions of the city'.
- 13 Shelton, *Learning from the Japanese City*, 139–41.
- 14 Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan*, 4.
- 15 Evelyn Schulz, 'Beyond Modernism', in *Future Living: Collective Housing in Japan*, ed. Claudia Hildner (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2013), 23, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783038210221>.
- 16 The modernisation history of Japan is considered as a form of Westernisation internally by the conservative elites of the country. Since the country was opened to the outside world in the late 19th century, a massive movement of borrowing from the West in all disciplines started. However, my analysis shows that the Japanese are quite selective in this regard; the borrowed aspects are not wholesale and were transformed to a great deal to adopt Japanese culture. The fact that the country was not colonised and the change occurred internally plays a role in the selective attitude in every field. The disciplines of architecture and planning are not an exception.
- 17 Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan*, 114–21.
- 18 Bureau of Urban Development and Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 'Urban Development in Tokyo', 38.
- 19 Kuniko Fujita, *Residential Segregation in Comparative Perspective: Making sense of contextual diversity* (Routledge, 2016); Anthony J Fielding, 'Class and Space: Social segregation in Japanese

cities', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 29, no. 1 (2004): 64–84; Norihiko Dan and Ohno Hidetoshi, 'The History of Urban Planning in Tokyo', in *Architecture and Urbanism of Tokyo*, ed. Norihiko Dan (Taipei: Garden City Publishing Co, 2008), 74–130.

20 Jacques Herzog and Pierre de Meuron, 'A House and a Plaza', in *Architecture and Urbanism of Tokyo*, ed. Norihiko Dan, 1st edn (Taipei: Garden City Publishers, 2008), 8–21.

21 Popham, *Tokyo*, 44; Hein, 'Machi'; Marieluise C. Jonas, 'Private Use of Public Open Space in Tokyo: A study of the hybrid landscape of Tokyo's informal gardens', *Journal of Landscape Architecture* 2, no. 2 (2007): 18–29, <https://doi.org/10.1080/18626033.2007.9723385>; Darko Radovic, Kengo Kuma, and Hidenobu Jinnai, 'Seven Fragments from One Conversation', in *Small Tokyo*, ed. Darko Radovic and Davisi Boontharm, Measuring the Non-Measurable; 1 (Tokyo: Flick Studio, 2012), 19–24; Cathelijne Nuijsink, ed., *How to Make a Japanese House = Nihon No Ie No Tsukurikata* (Rotterdam: NAI Publishers, 2012), 316; Donald Richie, *Tokyo Megacity*, 2nd edn (Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing, 2014), 10.

22 Bureau of Urban Development and Tokyo Metropolitan Government, 'Urban Development in Tokyo'; André Sorensen, Junichiro Okata, and Sayaka Fujii, 'Urban Renaissance as Intensification: Building regulation and the rescaling of place governance in Tokyo's high-rise mansion boom', *Urban Studies* 47, no. 3 (2010): 556–583, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098009349775>.

23 Kenji Hirashima, 'Regime Shift in Japan? Two decades of neoliberal reforms', *Swiss Political Science Review* 10, no. 3 (2004): 31–54, <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1662-6370.2004.tb00031.x>; Sorensen, *The Making of Urban Japan*, 256–80.

24 Jordan Sand, *Tokyo Vernacular: Common spaces, local histories, found objects*, 1st edn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 54–58.

25 Tsukamoto, 'Escaping the Spiral of Intolerance: Fourth-generation houses and void metabolism', 29; Cybriwsky, *Tokyo*, 104; Marieluise C. Jonas and Heike Rahmann, *Tokyo Void: Possibilities in absence* (Berlin: JOVIS Verlag, 2015), 149–51.

One can rightfully question why the heir does not sell the house to pay for the taxes in the first place. There will be no point in doing so, because culturally the Japanese do not enjoy the idea of purchasing houses that have been used before. The story of the obsession with the new can be observed from the tradition of rebuilding the Ise shrine periodically every 20 years with new materials. The decaying wooden structure is replaced with a new one built with the same materials by following rituals that pass the construction methods used in the assemblage of this holy shrine to the next generation; the act of rebuilding is a method of conservation. Also, by replacing, for example, the central wooden column also known as the "heart column", which touches the ground directly to better serve as conduits to transport the *kami* from heaven to earth, it is aimed to maintain and strengthen the connection to *kami* that could have been weakened due to the decay of wood in direct contact with the humid soil. The decay of material is accepted as a part of its life cycle and replacing it for a better functioning system is considered to be only natural. The same logic goes for houses, of which the average lifespan in Tokyo is less than 30 years. When the house ages, it can be replaced with a new one without hesitation. The important factor is that the Japanese, who do not preserve the house as it is, are very determined to maintain their lifestyle in the homely low-rise neighbourhoods as far as they can. The wholesale resistance to high-rise buildings outside the shell can be shown as an example. What is aimed to be preserved in Tokyo is immaterial, just like the case of Ise, where the technical knowledge and the ritual of the building is preserved instead of the building itself.

26 Arata, Isozaki, *Japan-Ness in Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 2011), 94.

27 Fumihiko Maki, 'City, Image, Materiality', in *Fumihiko Maki: An Aesthetic of Fragmentation*, by Serge Salat, Francoise Labbe, and Fumihiko Maki (New York: Rizzoli, 1988), 127.

28 Philippe Bonnin, 'References to Traditions in Contemporary Architecture in Japan', in *Encounters and Positions*, ed. Susanne Kohte, Hubertus Adam, and Daniel Hubert (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2017), 254; Inge Daniels, Daniel Miller, and Paul Gilroy, *The Japanese House: Material Culture in the Modern Home* (Oxford: Berg, 2010), 10, 61.

- 29 Nuijsink, *How to Make a Japanese House = Nihon No Ie No Tsukurikata*, 98.
- 30 Bonnin, 'References to Traditions in Contemporary Architecture in Japan', 259; Berque, *Japan*, 80–82.
- 31 *Hikikomori* (引きこもり) means social withdrawal from society. The term also defines the people who suffer from this condition.
Kyodo News, 'Municipalities Try New Ways to Help Japan's Recluses Find Their Place in Society', *The Japan Times Online*, 17 August 2018, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2018/08/17/national/social-issues/municipalities-try-new-ways-help-japans-recluses-find-place-society/>;
Kyodo News, 'Japan's Middle-Aged Recluses in Dire Need of Help, Survey Finds', *The Japan Times Online*, 25 January 2017, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2017/01/25/national/social-issues/japans-middle-aged-recluses-dire-need-help-survey-finds/>.
- 32 Nuijsink, *How to Make a Japanese House = Nihon No Ie No Tsukurikata*, 98.
- 33 Daniels, Miller, and Gilroy, *The Japanese House*, 77.
- 34 Kisho Kurokawa, *Intercultural Architecture: The philosophy of symbiosis* (London: Academy Editions, 1991), 99–104. I reached this conclusion through Kurokawa's analysis of communal space in Japan and my observation of Japanese people who also kindly answered some of my questions on their use of the street. However, Kurokawa himself does not mention *uchi* and *soto*.
- 35 It is worth noting that the autonomy of the residents decreases with their responsibility over the maintenance of the space and vice versa. For example, street cleaning, which is considered to be the duty of residents in the yolk, is undertaken by the municipal services on the shell. The origin of this phenomenon goes back to the Edo period as described in the previous chapter in the context of the neighbourhood associations of Shitamachi. In addition, even prior to the Edo period, during the Momoyama era in the 16th century, the shogun Toyotomi Hideyoshi exempted the inner narrow alleys from taxation and made them communal spaces assigned for the use of commoners. Although such regulations were changed during the Meiji era in the late 19th century, the collective history embedded in the culture may have a role on the internalisation of street as a communal space.
- 36 Fumihiko Maki, 'The Japanese City and Inner Space', in *City with a Hidden Past*, by Fumihiko Maki et al. (Tokyo: Kajimashuppankai, 2018), 156.
- 37 Maki, 165.
- 38 It is worth to note that although the initial context is Ginza, the aim behind the design of city box is not to change Ginza, but to grasp the idea, get familiar with it through design practice, actualise the thought with a design work and make the inherent idea more transferable to other contexts. Ginza plays the role of an eligible canvas, not the target of transformation as it already performs very well as a public space and the inspiration behind the design work. In other words, city box represents the idea of a potential pause in the city rather than being an ambitious alternative or an intervention spoiling the existing order of Ginza's transformation.
- 39 The emphasis on feelings rather than the number of rooms and the view of the vastness of space in the answers are intriguing. Shinto tradition, with its phenomenological insight into nature and humanity, is laced through Japanese culture. The Japanese, although quite pragmatic, are also defined as a phenomenological people. James Steele, *Contemporary Japanese Architecture: Tracing the next generation* (London: Routledge, 2017), 4, 98; Botond Bogнар, Andreas Papadakis, and Günter Nitschke (eds), 'Urban Deity Grove', in *Japan: At the cutting edge*, 1st edn (London: Andreas Papadakis Publisher, 1999), 24–28.
- 40 This is a reference to borrowed scenery: *shakkei*. The elements that do not belong to the actual composition may be involved in the design by manipulation of the openings towards the desired scene.

WHAT CAN WE LEARN FROM TOKYO?

Critique

“We” represent a group of individuals who would like to learn from the city and utilise the ideas extracted from Tokyo for their own purposes. This group is not particularly crowded, because Tokyo is hardly taken seriously due to its unimpressive visual characteristics. The city is defined as “downright ugly” by some visitors, some of which are prominent architects. Richard Rogers, for example, says that “90 percent of the buildings in Japan are hideous. Apart from some buildings by [Tadao] Ando or [Kisho] Kurokawa, beautiful buildings in Japan are like putting lipstick on a gorilla”.¹

This perspective erects an obstacle that I first noted in the early stages of the work, shared during internal school seminars, where the audience enjoys hearing about the eccentricities of this city but struggle to acknowledge the idea of learning from Tokyo. My struggle in the early

stages, however, is a point shared even by subject leaders such as Barrie Shelton. The author is at pains to convince the reader that the Japanese city has some notions for us to learn from during his in-depth analysis. And he ends his work with a warning:

As a final note, I should remind readers that the West has a record of ignoring or worse denigrating the design characteristics and qualities of Japanese built forms until such times as these may be used in support of some 'new' theory...Earlier this century, modern architects turned their attention to traditional Japanese building when they realised that it embodied design principles they were endeavouring to 'pioneer.' Now it is the city's turn.²

From the number of studies undertaken, it does not seem to be the city's turn yet. However, in a sense it does not have to be. The real value of Tokyo comes from its otherness, which can remind us that there are different ways of doing things. Those ways may work better than what we have in hand, or maybe what we have now will perform better when synthesised with them. The only condition to be able to notice these ideas we can borrow is to withhold aesthetic judgement. Although everyone needs to share these judgements to express their opinion, temporarily muting those will lead us to another world (virtual) that is beyond what we see (actual).

There, Tokyo becomes a “democratic city” shaped by Tokyoites, although they hold impossibly small lots; “a home as city” where the city becomes an indispensable element of everyday life; a combination of patches that could obtain the approval of Jane Jacobs; a convenient city housing one of the world's most advanced transport networks; and, more importantly, an anarchic city that has been inspiring some of the most prominent architects in every generation such as Fumihiko Maki, Kazuo Shinohara and Sou Fujimoto.

However, when it comes to what “we” can learn from Tokyo, this question has no single straightforward answer, but many potential ones. The aim of the thesis, while showing what have I learned, conceptualised and tested in my ability, is also to provide a rich base for others with a wide array of singularities explained through their causal relationships. Sometimes, these relations take us to

planning regulations, which can be considered as familiar territory; in some others, to an economic development model, cultural tendencies, religious thought or a taxation system. They are all laid out in detail, and more importantly, in relation to the singularities, so that the “we” who would like to reinterpret some of these aspects may evaluate how possible it is to borrow an idea, whether it can be freely adapted to elsewhere or not, and what kind of steps need to be taken to create similar causal relationships. These details are there to help others to explicate and alter them in their desired direction.

While also working on this base, I constructed my own interpretation through the concepts related to the order of Tokyo; anarchic point logic and additive nature, the relationship between home and city, home as city and, finally, spatial concepts such as micro-space.

Anarchic Point Logic

The anarchic point logic and additive nature are used together in the project A Small Tokyo in Tokyo; by working on individual houses, each can be considered as a free point designed in a sequential order. The most important quality of this system is its ability to create complex built environments and more permeable urban blocks. Point logic firstly allows variations; the points of the system do not have to be harmonious. Secondly, the space left around the pointillist composition (ma) takes the street inside the depth of the block. Although every building is connected to the street surrounding the block, this approach makes it possible to play with the level of such connection; moving far from the street towards the centre of the block (oku), the “hurly-burliness” will be left out to a degree. The inner streets in those zones are also perceived as more communal rather than public. Thus, as opposed to the traditional urban block with two clear zones such as inside–outside or public–private, anarchic point logic adds a transitional zone in between. Similarly, the buildings that need to be directly connected to the street can be placed at the edge; even a mix of uses can be achieved. Both in terms of form and land use, the uniform block can be manipulated with anarchic point logic.

However, I believe this system is not very easy to borrow, because the anarchy creating such lively urban environments, as in the case of inner-city neighbourhoods, works well with low-rise houses. The human-scale environment, when combined with a variety of forms and typologies, creates intimate, homely neighbourhoods. However, the same anarchy does not create a similar effect around the edge of the neighbourhoods (shell) where high-rise buildings enclose the inner low-rise zone (yolk). Moreover, there are various other factors unique to Japan that play a role there; for example, the small lot size, which makes it possible for people from a variety of income groups to purchase land (there is no minimum lot size defined by the regulations), and flexible building regulations, leaving space for architects' creativity, and finally the relatively short lifespan of buildings in Japan that ease anxieties over form, as nothing is permanent.

Although these conditions cannot be repeated elsewhere, I believe that anarchic point logic, which creates such lively environments mostly associated with Jane Jacobs' Greenwich Village, might help to slightly ease the anxiety over harmonious urban form and rigid zoning, while giving more freedom to the actors of the city within a framework ensuring that the foremost values are not harmed. However, it should not be forgotten that in Japan, where 60 per cent of all buildings are free-standing houses, it is the general public who really benefit from the anarchic point logic of the city; the people, for example, can only afford 16m² lots, such as Yuya or Takamitsu Azuma, not big-scale developers, a few aristocrats or international funds. While anarchic point logic can be used as a design tool at urban/architectural level, implementing it at a bigger scale may benefit the big players more than the rest of society, which is, in fact, what has been already happening at a slow pace through the effects of neo-liberalism on global cities.

Home as City

The relationship between Tokyo and Tokyoites is a special one. This relationship is particularly strong within the neighbourhoods where residents gather in a local coffeeshop, izakayas become the dining room in the evening, laundry can be taken to conbinis. Although the role of small houses in this cannot be denied, the pro-urban cultural inclinations, of which the origin goes back to Shitamachi districts of the Edo period, show that the use of the city as an extension of home is not only done out of necessity. Firstly, Tokyo as a labyrinth, which is a morphological outcome of its anarchic pointillistic logic, is more of a playground, where people enjoy discovering new rooms for their home in the city every day. The knots, as subcentres of the city, where millions of people gather, are the best zones where this phenomenon can be observed. Yet, Tokyoites can even take the metro to a mostly residential neighbourhood to spend few hours in an izakaya they have discovered in the second basement of a building at the end of a narrow alley after a long day at work. They are welcomed in this place as regulars by other regulars and the owner. The bottle of sake they left the last time and their cups are already waiting for them. Such relationships cannot only be explained by replacing the kitchen and dining room in a small house with a facility providing the same function in the city.

This intimacy, which I first noted while listening to Fujimoto's story on the house/no house project, is the notion that I tried to protect rather naively but very sincerely by targeting the tower blocks spoiling the urban fabric of Istanbul. This is also the reason why I greatly enjoyed reading Sennett's overly harsh critiques on suburbs, where he favours the city because it gives more chance to face a variety of issues so that one can be more mature, or Jane Jacobs' thoughts on surveillance and Vishaan Chakrabarti's critique on the increased carbon footprint because of the suburbanisation and the like. However, this made me think: What happens if those problems are solved somehow without the city ever being part of the formula, what happens if a new method of rapid transportation with a zero carbon footprint is introduced, or what happens if the crime rates are lowered

with increased quality of education, which will also solve the maturity issue to an extent? We could be defending the idea of the city even when there is no pragmatic reasoning to back up the claims. It was through Tokyo that I realised that this intimate relationship between the people and the city is a good enough reason to hold on to the idea of the city.

I tried to use the concept in Small Tokyo by designing the outdoor space as a large genkan where the residents can use the street in between houses and the cafe as an extension of home for meetings or to spend some time alone outside the home in a neither entirely public nor totally private zone. However, the real house of Yuya, Miya or Chihiro is the city of Tokyo itself. Mine is only a small fragment attached to it. On the other hand, home as city is not special to Tokyo. Each of us creates his/her own home as city every day wherever we live .

It is worth saying, however, that Tokyo's conditions are such that this issue is intensified and brought into focus. Once we have seen it acted out in Tokyo, and can identify it as a pattern (as a "thing") then we can notice it everywhere; but without Tokyo we might not have noticed.

Micro-Space

Micro-space and fluid space are inspired from home as city. The micro-space is bound to a person and his/her events.³ The most important characteristic of micro-space is that it does not need to be defined by architectonic elements. For example, the set of chairs and table left on Chuo Dori in Ginza is a micro-space for someone using this opportunity to sit and watch people while having a manju grabbed from a nearby bakery and tea brought from home. The only definitive elements here are the parasols and the arrangement of furniture tempting one to spend time there due to their existence only. Imagining one's home without walls will also reveal various micro-spaces. However, what is referred to here is not the rooms with specific programmes. A person studying in the kitchen is in a micro-space emerging around him, the kitchen being compartmentalised for cooking is not important from this perspective. These small stations in one's everyday life can

be at home or outside the home; what connects them is one's experience.

I used micro-space both as a tool of analysis in Shibuya Square and a design strategy in Small Tokyo and City Box. Putting people at the centre of the focus while blurring the space itself at the background strangely increased my sensitivity to the relationship between people and space. I started to notice seemingly quite trivial but very human details, as in the case of businessman and column in the station. In the case of Small Tokyo, while designing the homes with the events of users in mind, I also noticed that spatial organisation becomes more open and fluid than it used to, because, rather than the space itself, the concept makes one focus on compositions for events that are united by the user moving between them. I also noticed the traces of Deleuzian thinking there, as the absence of categories and classifications and valuing the small details (micro) as much as large notions (macro) are central themes in Deleuzian thinking.

Contribution

Deciphering the hidden order of Tokyo is the biggest contribution of the thesis to the literature. This may be achieved via the conceptual framework of the patchwork and methods taken from Deleuze. The methods, based on catching singularities through the experience of space, represent an architect's take on Deleuze. The influence of Japanese architects Kon Wajiro, Terunobu Fujimori, Yoshiharu Tsukamoto and Momoya Kaijima as child players and the thoughts of Michel De Certeau and Francesco Careri on walking also play a role in this interpretation.⁴ However, the main ideas are all taken directly from Deleuze and synthesised in a way that could be used in urban/architectural studies focusing on the complex built environment. I believe that this method, shared in detail, could be used by others working on similar cases as well. Thus, in addition to the borrowed lessons mentioned above, the patchwork revealing the hidden order of Tokyo and the methodological approach that made this discovery possible are the major contributions of Learning from Tokyo. My role in this process is being able to synthesise together various seemingly unrelated or

unimportant notions and thoughts to solve the problems or answer the questions, which I believe is again connected to the influence of Deleuze on me.

Reflection on Creative Practice

Throughout the thesis, creative practice is interpreted as an encouragement for trials (and potential error), as a language that can illustrate tacit notions difficult to verbalise, and more importantly, as an intuitive exercise of learning. While trying to understand how Chuo Dori was transformed into a festive zone, I started drawing sketches almost subconsciously to understand what had been happening on the street. The following thought process and the idea of borrowing the temporary urbanism of Ginza with a city box emerged almost immediately without a clear form but a few lines symbolising the thought. This is an architectural way of taking notes (analytical sketches) and thinking about those notes with trials (design); in other words, this is a specific way of research exploiting the intuitive learning process of architects.

Yeoryia Manolopoulou defines what I am struggling to convey through Bergson:

When I use the word 'intuition' I do not mean a vague feeling of subjectivity. I refer to Bergsonian understanding of the term, directly linked with experience... According to Bergson intuition is knowledge in action: the direct and willed perception of reality, and a method of doing and thinking in tune with the flow of events. This intuition resists abstract intellectual concepts which tend to simplify reality and fix reductive meanings about it. For Bergson, creativity is impossible without this element of willed and vital intuition.⁵

An architect gains and internalises this intuition or knowledge in action through practice (not to mention long and painful years of architectural education). The person becomes a body who can sense the space and can synthesise points from various disciplines (art, literature, philosophy, ethnography, urban design, economics, urban planning, structural engineering). The intuition revealing itself with the sense extends over this unconventionally wide range of topics in mind. Then it comes back as a drop of ink on the paper through the struggle of an architect

recording, questioning what his/her eyes just saw. The intuition at the stage of comprehending the “reality out there” that is made of countless interdependent points enters to another stage of designing with these points. This process itself makes us more familiar to those interdependent points. Thus, design becomes a part of research. The moment I realised what I had been doing subconsciously in tune with the flow of Ginza’s events, this specific role of creative practice which values the intuition of an architect become more apparent for me. As this specific form of research is relatively new in architecture, this small discovery might be useful for others walking on similar paths.

Further Study

The understanding of space in Japan is quite different than in the West. There are various definitions and forms of space. Interestingly, there is no consensus on the meaning of any of these terms except kukan. The Japanese, although they have a variety of spatial terms, had no word to describe space as a three-dimensional entity, which is itself a concept borrowed from the West. Kukan was coined for this purpose. However, Japanese architects are not very keen on using the term.⁶ For example, Ryoji Suzuki says that he even prefers not to use the word kukan, which he finds controversial and outdated.⁷ Gunter Nitschke’s early studies and Japanese architects’ written work explain some of the traditional concepts. However, there is a need for further studies on the difference between the Japanese and Western understandings of space at the urban and architectural levels; the Japanese traditional, infinite and subjective form of space as opposed to Western, static and objective space. I believe this specific understanding of space may be one of the reasons behind the singularity of Japanese architects in the field.







1 Home as City

*The real house of Yuya,
Miya or Chihiro is the
city of Tokyo itself. The
design work is a small
fragment attached
to their home as city;
Tokyo.*



Farewell

Haiku (俳句) is a form of poem that is no longer than three lines. These lines below belong to Matsuo Bashō, who lived in 17th century Japan.

grass hut

cloud of blooms (花の雲)

that temple bell is it ueno? (鐘は上野か)

asakusa? (浅草か)⁸

Bashō has a small hut with a view of blooming cherry blossoms and two distant temples behind; Kan'ei-ji Temple in Ueno and Sensō-ji Temple in Asakusa.⁹ He hears the sound of a temple bell. Bashō wonders which one it is, Ueno or Asakusa. Our connection to the city is as deep and as simple as he makes it with this poem. Whether we have a grass hut in 17th century Edo or an attic in Tokyo, as Chihiro would put it, as long as we wonder which bell it is, we will have a home as city and a city as home. As long as the space which could be as insignificant as a grass hut or as small as an attic are designed with the responsibility of designing a small universe for Bashō and Chihiro, who have their own events of everyday life, and their associated worries, hopes and happinesses, then there is architecture, which Tokyo taught me.

Figures and Illustrations

- 1 Nergis Kalli, *Home as City*, illustration, 2018.

Endnotes

- 1 Katsuki Ito and Mami Ito, 'Reaching for the Skyline', *The Japan Times*, 1 September 2002, <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2002/09/01/arts/reaching-for-the-skyline/>.
- 2 Barrie Shelton, in *Learning from the Japanese City: Looking East in Urban Design*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2012), 137.
- 3 It is worth noting that the frequently used word "event" here has no reference to Bernard Tschumi's famous concept of the same name. The event here is not structured within a system of thought; nor does it have any philosophical depth. The word is simply used to refer a set of activities. For example, typing, taking notes in a notebook, finding a certain page in a book are all activities. The set of these activities is considered as an event in the thesis; the event of studying.
- 4 Wajiro Kon, *Wajiro Kon - Retrospective* (Kyōto-shi: Seigensha Art Publishing, 2011); Terunobu Fujimori, 'Under the Banner of Street Observation', *Forty-Five/Journal of Outside Study*, 2 June 2016, <http://forty-five.com/papers/154>; Momoyo Kaijima, Junzo Kuroda, and Yoshiharu Tsukamoto, *Made in Tokyo = Meido in Tokyo* (Tokyo: Kajima Institute Publishing, 2001); Michel De Certeau, 'Walking in the City', in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 91–110; Francesco Careri, *Walkscapes: El andar como práctica estética*, 1st edn (Barcelona: Editorial Gustavo Gili, 2013).
- 5 Yeoryia Manolopoulou, *Architectures of Chance*, 1st edn (Burlington: Routledge, 2013), 116.
- 6 Günter Nitschke, 'MA: Place, Space, Void', *Kyoto Journal*, 2011, <https://kyotojournal.org/the-journal/culture-arts/ma-place-space-void/>.
- 7 Ryoji Suzuki, 'Ryoji Suzuki: True architecture is when nobody is living in it', in *Encounters and Positions*, ed. Susanne Kohte, Hubertus Adam, and Daniel Hubert (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2017), 64–75.
- 8 *Haiku* is written without commas and capital letters to create the illusion of reading one continuous sentence. What is shared in three lines is only a moment from this infinite sentence which represents the life. Robin D. Gill, *Cherry Blossom Epiphany: The Poetry and Philosophy of a Flowering Tree* (Paraverse Press, 2006), 248.
- 9 Ueno and Asakusa are two districts of Edo period Shitamachi.

GLOSSARY

Japanese terms and Deleuzian concepts introduced throughout the thesis are briefly explained with accompanying definitions and examples of their usage in this section. Kanji and kana writing accompanies Japanese terms within the brackets. Deleuzian terms are marked with letter “d” in brackets. Please see the examples below.

***Japanese**(日本語): belonging to or relating to Japan, its people, or its language*

***Deleuzian (d):** of or pertaining to philosopher Gilles Deleuze*

Deleuzian Concepts

Concepts borrowed from Deleuze penetrates in the entirety of the thesis, yet they also tend to be condensed in the chapters *The Mentor* and *Tokyo as Other* in part 1, *Child Player* and *Characters and Moments* in part 2. For further information on Deleuzian terms please refer to these chapters.

actual (d): a Deleuzian concept representing the concrete side of reality where the rather abstract and immaterial intensities are transformed to recognisable sensations and material beings; plane of organisation. (Please see pages 55-61 for more information.)

becoming (d): continuous transformation of a being in the direction of itself; a journey from plane of consistency to plane of organisation; the transformation of molecular intensities to molar assemblages. (Please see pages 59-62 for more information.)

encounter (d): the act of facing something that is unrepresentable or sublime; a limit-experience that invokes the faculty of thought. (Please see pages 46-53 for

more information.)

molar assemblages (d): content of Deleuze's plane of organisation; perceptible sensations or material beings that are made of molecular intensities. (Please see pages 55-57 and page 104 for more information.)¹

molecular intensities (d): content of Deleuze's plane of consistency; immaterial, non-structured, abstract and heterogenous particles of life that has the capacity of being actualised in the form of beings, building blocks of molar assemblages.

Molecular intensities are exemplified as raw ingredients in the thesis. When they are cooked and combined in various ways, they form molar assemblages; the meal. (Please see pages 55, 104, 149 for more information.)

plane of consistency (d): a part of Deleuzian structure of reality that houses the heterogenous intensities without a unifying system of organisation; the place where molecular intensities can be found in Deleuze's system of planes; virtual.

Plane of consistency is likened to an infinite fridge that stores every eatable being in the universe in the thesis. (Please see pages 55-59 for more information.)

plane of immanence (d): the plane Deleuze associates with life which carries events and singularities that are actualized in subjects and objects.

Plane of immanence is not very different than plane of consistency. Yet, it is more plainly written with great emphasis on the life itself rather than the structural details as in the case of plane of consistency and organisation or actual and virtual. (Please see pages 149, 153, 229 for more information.)

plane of organisation (d): a part of Deleuzian structure of reality that houses the assemblages of concrete beings or molar assemblages; actual. (Please see page 40 and pages from 55 to 50 for more information.)

reciprocal determination (d): the type of relationship between Deleuze's concrete and abstract planes of reality which change with one another in the endless cycle of life's

becoming. (Please see page 57 for more information.)

rhizome (d): a Deleuzian concept that values multiplicity and heterogeneity while allowing immediate connections between various points without being chained to preestablished categories or hierarchical mode of thoughts

Tokyo is likened to Deleuze's rhizome by various authors. For more information on rhizome itself and this relationship please see pages 35-39, 61, 66, 86, 110 and 233.

singularity (d): extraordinary points; the quality both defines and differentiates a being from all others in the universe.

Singularity is one of the foundational concepts used for constructing new methods that will be strategic in solving the puzzle of chaotic Tokyo. For more information please see the chapter Characters and Moments in part 2.

strata (d): a Deleuzian concept representing the concrete side of reality where the intensities are assembled to be actual beings. (Please see pages 55, 59 and 61 for more information.)

virtual (d): a Deleuzian concept representing the abstract side of reality where the immaterial intensities are stored; plane of consistency. (Please see pages 54-67 for more information.)

¹ The molecule is the individual particle as it is studied in particle physics. The mole is a huge number of molecules (Avogadro's number— $6.022140857 \times 10^{23}$) and it's used in chemistry. In the case of the mole, we are not looking at the structure of individual molecules but how solutions of compounds interact. Deleuze and Guattari move between the molecular and the molar. It's a move between the small scale and the large scale; from an ingredient to a meal, which is the analogy referred to illustrate the relationship between individual molecular intensities of virtual and structured molar assemblages of actual. The same relationship and the move between small scale and large scale or unstructured and structured can be seen between an individual person and the city. While a *micro space* could be a molecular intensity, home as city is a *molar assemblage*.

Japanese Terms

Unlike Deezian terms, Japanese terms do not condense in certain chapters, but do pop up quite often in the entirety of the thesis. In the main text, they are written in romanji (romanization of the Japanese written language) script with accompanying original Japanese text in brackets. This glossary follows the same pattern. Their meaning is explained in detail in various chapters with the help of endnotes that can be found at the end of each chapter. Below there is a collection of all Japanese terms introduced in the thesis with brief explanations.

Amaterasu(天照): The sun goddess; the deity occupying the highest position in Japanese Shinto tradition

ba(場): space that is mainly defined by the convergence of people in and around it; place; spot. Please see chapter “Knot” in Part 3 for more information.

banchi (番地): smallest areal units in Japanese address system

chō(町): town; neighbourhood

chōme (丁目): numbered divisions of a chō; irregularly divided urban blocks coded with numbers in Japanese address system

chōnaikai (町内会): neighbourhood associations organised by local residents

chōnin (町人): townspeople; the lowest social class comprised of merchants, craftsmen and commoners excluding farmers in Edo period (1603-1868) Japan

conbini (コンビニ): convenience store

daimyō (大名): Japanese feudal lords ruled Japan under the rule of Tokugawa clan during Edo period; the leading aristocrats of Japanese feudal era

dame(駄目): no good; not serving its purpose; useless; broken

Edo (江戸): The former name of Tokyo that was officially in use from 1603 to 1868

Edokko (江戸っ子): The child of Edo; true Tokyoite; commoners known with their disobedient, overly straightforward and cheerful nature

eki-mae (駅前): station square; the plaza allocated to carry heavy passenger traffic in front of train and metro stations.

genkan(玄関): entry hall where shoes are taken off before entering the house

gō (号): house number

haiku(俳句): a branch of traditional Japanese poetry; three-line poems expressing the moments of life through simplicity and intensity

hikikomori(引きこもり): a form of severe social withdrawal; person who has withdrawn from society with will and seeking extreme degrees of isolation at home

izakaya (居酒屋): casual restaurants that serves variety of dishes and snacks

Izanagi(伊弉諾尊): male deity who fathered Japan and the sun, moon, and storm gods according to Kojiki and Nihon Shoki

Izanami(伊弉冉尊): female deity who gave birth to Japan according to Kojiki and Nihon Shoki

jikan (時間): time; space in flow

jutaku (住宅): dwellings usually characterised by their small size

kami (神): deity; spirit; Japanese emperor

karōshi (過労死): death from overwork

kissaten (喫茶店): coffee shop; tearoom; cafe

kōban (交番): police boxes; small police stations in the neighbourhoods

kōgai (郊外): suburb; commuter belt

Kojiki (古事記): Records of Ancient Matters (Japan's oldest historical record on Shinto religion)

kukan (空間): space; three-dimensional space; fixed space; room

ma(間): void; gap; pause; space in-between.

Ma is one of the key Japanese spatial concepts. Please see chapter “Patch” in part 3 for more information.

machi (町): town; neighbourhood; downtown; main street

manju (饅頭): steamed yeast bun; a dessert made by filling rolled dough with sweet red bean paste

manshon (マンション): mid-rise or high-rise concrete condominium. *Manshon* is adapted from *maison* which means house in French.

matsuri (祭): local religious festivals

mikoshi (御輿): portable shrine carried in festivals by locals

minka (民家): traditional Japanese farmhouse

nagaya (長屋): tenement; row house; a housing typology mostly used by commoners in Edo period

Nihon Shoki (日本書紀): The Chronicles of Japan; the oldest book of classical Japanese religious history after Kojiki

nominication (飲みニケーション): the act of drinking and socialising at the same time. *Nominication* is the combination of *nomu* (飲む) which means to drink in Japanese and *communication* in English.

oku (奥): inner part; inside; interior; depths (e.g. of a neighbourhood); back (e.g. of a house, an urban block); bottom (e.g. of one's heart); recesses; heart.

Oku is one of the key Japanese spatial concepts. Please see chapter “Patch” in Part 3 for more information.

sakariba (盛り場): place that's always bustling with people; amusement quarters

samurai (侍): warrior; military retainers of daimyos; one of the aristocratic classes in Edo period Japan

sankin kōtai (参勤交代): alternate attendance; alternating Edo residence of daimyo lords

sarariman (サラリーマン): office worker; white-collar employee.

Sarariman is the combination of *salary* and *man* in English.

The word is often used in a negative context; office workers are often despised in popular culture for lacking creativity and wit.

sentō (銭湯): public bath

shakkei (借景): borrowed scenery; making use of the surrounding landscape as a part of design

shinkansen (新幹線): bullet train

Shitamachi (下町): the traditional commercial and working-class neighborhoods of Edo by low-lying parts of Edo near the Bay Area, low-lying part of a city

shogun (上様): military leader; de facto rulers of premodern Japan

shoin (書院): room in traditional Japanese house; drawing room; study; a traditional style of Japanese residential architecture

shoji (障子): translucent sliding doors made of paper (usually rice paper in traditional Japanese architecture)

shōtengai (商店街): traditional shopping streets housing group of small-scale retailers and restaurants

soto (外): outside; exterior; foreign

sukiya (数奇屋): tearoom where tea ceremonies are performed in Japanese gardens; a traditional Japanese architectural style developed from the simplicity of spatial organisation and rustic use of materials in tearooms

Susanoo (須佐之男): the god of storms according to Kojiki and Nihon Shoki

tenno (天皇): heavenly sovereign, emperor of Japan

uchi (内): inside; within

uchi (家): house; home; one's household or inner circle.

Please note that *uchi* can be written with two different kanji; 内 and 家. The meaning of the word changes within the context, however, in the literature it is believed that the similarities between *inside and one's own home or household* is meaningful. For more information please see chapter “Patch” in part 3.

ukiyo (浮世): floating world; the world of the living; the present world; world of grief and worry; sorrowful world; life in amusement quarters

ukiyo-e (浮世絵): pictures of the floating world; Edo period woodblock prints

virtual (d): a Deleuzian concept representing the abstract side of reality where the immaterial intensities are stored; plane of consistency

Yamanote (山の手): hilly residential section of Edo and Tokyo; place near mountains



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CREATIVE PRACTICE EXHIBITION

Design exhibition was held on 10/05/2019 in Newcastle University. A section of Yuya's kitchen was constructed at the centre of gallery. Heavy use of potted plants around the kitchen is a reference to actual state of Tokyo streets. The aim is to create a sensation of walking down in an alley in Nezu.

Details of design work *Small Tokyo* (drawings, diagrams, realistic renders and collages) and short movies on Shibuya, Nezu and Ginza are the main materials of exhibition. To see some scenes from the exhibition, please see the pages 389-394. Majority of the drawings exhibited can be found in the chapter *Patch* in part 3. For the short films screened during exhibition, please refer to the following links.

[Nezu](#)

[Nezu - Details](#)

[Underground - From Nezu to Shibuya](#)

[Shibuya Station](#)

[The Expressway](#)

[Hachiko Square](#)

[Shibuya Crossing](#)

[Ginza](#)















LEARNING FROM TOKYO A SMALL TOKYO

Learning from Tokyo is a key to understanding the city's unique character and its role as a global leader in innovation and design. This section explores the city's rich history and its impact on the world.

The city of Tokyo is a unique blend of tradition and modernity. Its rich history and culture are reflected in its architecture, art, and lifestyle.

The city's unique character is a result of its long history and its role as a global leader in innovation and design. This section explores the city's rich history and its impact on the world.

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