PUISSANCE AND THE ART OF WORLDING:

ARTS NPO AND THE CIVIC COPRODUCTION OF YOKOHAMA CITY, JAPAN

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

ANTHROPOLOGY

DECEMBER 2016

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ABSTRACT

The social structures that organized Japan's postwar ways of life are rapidly dissolving in post-recessionary Japan as neoliberalism pushes large numbers of youth into precarious employment conditions, forcing them to put off or give up having families and shifting the demographic ratio to an aging society. The City of Yokohama, the second largest municipality in the greater Tokyo metropolis, is implementing the Creative City policy since 2004 that promotes culture and the arts as a solution to this national crisis. In this dissertation, I study several Creative City programs and events coordinated by government-affiliated arts NPO Koganechō Area Management Center and BankART 1929. I also study a number of artists who have unintentionally produced civic spaces at the periphery of Yokohama city by adopting global signs and symbols to organize cultural events in new historical assemblages. This dissertation studies the Creative City programs and events in order to show how the municipal region's solution to a national crisis is also a political strategy to constitute civic spaces as the ground from which to produce figures that support the cultural production of Yokohama city at a time when the relationship between cities and the state is undergoing change.

This dissertation analyzes Creative City programs and events including the 2014 Yokohama Triennale, the Koganechō walking tours and a lifelong education course at the BankART School. I show how these programs and events organize volunteers into communities of practice where they learn the cultural literacy to performatively enact as figures of 'the city' that author and articulate *puissance*, defined as the self-organizing power of communities in crisis. In doing so, I argue that Creative City programs and events provide a stage for the volunteers to performatively enact their lives-in-the-city, through which volunteers manage the ontological reality of 'the city'

as they also support the City of Yokohama respond to the political reality of neoliberal

capitalism by bringing the City's stories, sights and visions of 'the city' to life.

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Chapter 1   Introduction

When Japan's postwar economic bubble burst in 1991, the nation entered a recession that the media refers to as the "lost decades." Since, the postwar ways of life and the social structures that supported those lives are rapidly disintegrating. Neoliberal economic policies not only increased the number of unemployment and flexible employment but dire economic conditions are also contributing to the declining birth rate as more young people put off or give up having a family. The result is a shifting demographic ratio towards an aging society as the baby boomer generation reaches their retirement age. A strong sense of crisis pervades the air as individuals, families, and communities search for a "new Japan" within the strangeness that has become normal. While municipal governments attempt to raise public awareness towards the numerous social problems that permeate in urban areas, a number of artists have organized cultural events that helped them displace their antagonisms by producing civic spaces. This dissertation analyzes one municipal region's post-recessionary cultural policy that not only addresses pressing social and economic problems but also constitutes emerging civic spaces as the ground from which to produce figures of the city. Yokohama, Japan's second largest city and located adjacent to Tokyo, is part of a growing number of cities across the world that are implementing the Creative City policy to achieve this end.

The Creative City policy leverages the power of culture and the arts to mobilize voluntary labor in the civic coproduction of the City's cultural programs and events. In a brochure published by the City of Yokohama Culture and Tourism Bureau (2015a), the City describes the significance of the Creative City policy as a holistic approach to social and economic problems that impact areas including urban development, education, social welfare and tourism:

Culture and arts enrich people's minds, cultivate creativity and refined sensitivity, and provide people with the energy to face each and every day. While stirring our emotions, putting us at ease, soothing and comforting us, and moving us emotionally, culture and art also stimulate us through surprises and discoveries, and act as the sources of creative endeavors. Culture and art can bring people together by encouraging shared thoughts and emotions that surpass barriers including time and national borders… In addition, culture and art possess the intangible power to attract numerous visitors to a city and influence society as a whole, and thus are considered to be important elements that add new appeal to local resources. (2012: 4)

Creative City is a widely transferred cultural policy that is implemented by at least 116 cities from 54 countries registered with the UNESCO Creative Cities Network. It was first implemented by the British government in 1997 as a political mobilization of the youth in ways that contributed to job creation in de-industrialized societies where the economy is driven by the manipulation of ideas rather than things (Pratt 2009). As suggested by the City of Yokohama, creativity has also been utilized as a source of spectacle and entertainment that can draw tourists and consumers to cities. Furthermore, urban development specialists Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini (1995) suggested creativity as a panacea for a wide range of urban problems such as the division between highly paid professionals and low paid service workers; fear and alienation from crime and violence; dissatisfaction with traffic, pollution and other issues pertaining to urban environment; and a diminished sense of locality. Creativity is also endorsed as a resource for cultural production. Following Becker and Bourdieu, Pratt (1977) argues that creativity is not produced by an individual but by the interconnections and feedback between processes of production. Hence the Creative City policy generally supports the collaborative production of creative projects by installing specialized and complementary firms in physical proximity or in "creative clusters" (Pratt 2004; Scott 2006; Gu 2014) as well as the coproduction of public services where the City involves citizens or clients in the production process (Brandsen and Pestoff 2008).

This dissertation studies the Creative City programs and events that are coordinated by government-affiliated arts NPO, or nonprofit art organizations. Not only did the global reach of this policy interest me but researching this policy also allows us to understand how cities are building a sociopolitical system that integrates the lifeworld of its citizens at a time when the relationship between cities and the state is rapidly undergoing change through the forces and effects of globalization. Anthropologists have previously approached globalization from the perspective of political economy shaping the "cultural flows" of people, technology, money, images and ideas (Appadurai 1996). This model takes the imaginary as a social fact that produces market-driven regional cultures in a neoliberal political and economic order where self-regulating subjects are acting upon their own self-interests. Nevertheless, global cultural flows under neoliberalism have also introduced risks to the ontological security of selves that help to establish trust among members of communities. In Japan, this is reflected in the discourses of a "strange child" (Arai 2016) that problematize children's antisocial behavior such as *hikikomori* or social withdrawal, bullying, suicide and murder. Hence this dissertation challenges the cultural flow model of globalization by recentering the position of volunteers who creatively manage multiple realities even as they respond to the political and economic forces that inform the cultural policy of municipalities in Japan. By analyzing the civic coproduction (*shimin kyōdō*) of Creative City programs and events, this dissertation asks the following questions: How are the volunteers managing multiple realities through the civic coproduction of Creative City programs and events? How do Creative City programs and events help the volunteers become Supporter figures that world the city as they also reflexively shape the city's historicity?

In order to answer these questions, I use *puissance*, or the self-organizing power of communities at risk, as my theoretical framework. Individuals may be empowered by their acts

of *puissance* as its self-organizing power lies in communities of practice where hierarchy is dismantled and members interact as equals in a communitas (Turner 1969). Nevertheless, *puissance* ultimately reproduces the hegemonic relation of representation because it is articulated using the cultural literacy of the dominant culture that also frames its performative enactments to support the city's ideological stories, images and visions of the city. As such, *puissance* is not directed to initiate individual persons in a well-organized society but it guides the structural organization of social lives. Thus the bottom-up *puissance* that drives individuals towards self-actualization cannot be thought apart from the top-down *pouvoir* or administrative power that visually constitutes their performative enactments of *puissance* within the urban landscape. My purpose of using the concept *puissance* is to reveal the structural contradiction that drives social change even as the volunteers learn to conceal the contradiction through their communicative practices that show their lives-in-the-city. As such, *puissance* is a heuristic tool as much as an interventionist tactic to show the hegemonic operations at work in the cultural production of Yokohama city.

In this dissertation, I argue that volunteers are engaging in a reflexively shaped historicizing practice that also adds symbolic value to the artifacts and architectures of the city. I call these practices "worlding," or the communicatives practices of talking about 'the city' by referencing artifacts and architectures from the landscape. Worlding is an art that volunteers learn in communities of practice in order to become figures of 'the city' who also tell stories to coproduce 'the city' as a figured world. Becoming initiated in this art allows volunteers to present Yokohama as a worlding city where their stories about their lives-in-the-city also show the city as a world-in-formation. Some volunteers such as local merchants and small business owners are motivated for the economic benefit of worlding as a place-branding practice. For

others, worlding practices can give them a social location or *ba* that shapes a sense of belonging (Brinton 2011) that the City of Yokohama leverages to appropriate culture as an economic base for producing a symbolic economy of the city (Zukin 1995). In other words by engaging in worlding practices, volunteers help the City build self-sustaining urban communities and a culture that's unique to Yokohama, which is indispensable for the City to install a symbolic economy that generates revenue outside of its tax income that is rapidly shrinking due to Japan's declining birth rate.

There are several Japanese terminologies that I use in this dissertation that requires explanation, including *machizukuri* and *hitozukuri*. These are compound words that end with the verb *tsukuru* or 'to make' that signify the practice of making. *Machi* refers to a neighborhood or a city, so *machizukuri* can be translated as making the city that includes practices and processes of urban and community development. *Hito* refers to a person, so *hitozukuri* may be translated as making people or the practices and processes of self-cultivation and socialization. In this dissertation, I use the analytical concepts "figured world" and the "figure" in order to explain *machizukuri* and *hitozukuri*. Figured worlds, according to Holland, Caine, Skinner and Lachicotte Jr. (1998), are as-if worlds in which individuals use cultural artifacts to learn how to think and act as members of this world. I consider 'the city', written in brackets, as a figured world in which individuals use artifacts to interpret 'the city' as well as to tell stories about their lives-in-the-city. *Machizukuri* and *hitozukuri* are related insofar as government-led *machizukuri* programs such as those initiated under the Creative City policy also occasion as *hitozukuri* by organizing volunteers into communities of practice where they are taught how to use and perceive artifacts to become members of 'the city'. Moreover, individuals become figures as a result of becoming recognized as such through their art of worlding. Worlding thus refers to the

operational knowledge and the practice of using and perceiving artifacts that presents a particular mode of being-in-the-world, which can be distinguished from the discursive knowledge about those artifacts that speaks about the world.

1.1   Global city-region and East Asian regionalism

While cultural geographers in Japan have previously studied the social movements and cultural practices that make "living cities" (Sorensen and Funck eds. 2007) and anthropologists have studied the role of neighborhood associations and festivals that shape people's lives-in-the-city (e.g. Bestor 1989; Robertson 1991), globalization has ushered in a new set of questions that have been framed by John Friedmann (1986) as the "world city hypothesis." Friedmann's hypothesis was the idea that as urbanization becomes linked to a world economy, cities would spatially organize a new international division of labor. Sociologist Saskia Sassen provided empirical evidence to this hypothesis in her research of New York, London, and Tokyo. She argued that these cities became command centers of global capitalism by showing how they have "undergone massive and parallel changes in their economic base, spatial organization, and social structure" (1991: 4). However, other researchers have argued that the cultural and historical particularities of nation-states also contribute to the rise of global cities. For example in Asia, neoliberal policies that endorse free market competition in global capitalism are implemented alongside developmentalist policies that enable states to regulate the economy (Hill and Kim 2000; Park, Hill and Saito 2012). Doing so became particularly important in maintaining financial stability in the region after the 1997 Asian financial crisis and the 2008 global financial crisis. Scholars such as Allen J. Scott, John Agnew, Edward W. Soja and Michael Storper (2001) have coined the term global city-region to underscore how cities are not only becoming linked to

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global capitalism but also integrated to its regional networks and flows. Japan anthropologists have also provided ethnographic monographs that support the development of global city-regions by showing the regional flow of Japanese consumer products from the supply-side of the commodity chain (Bestor 2001) as well as the logic of consumer markets (Allison 2006).

Strengthening political and economic networks in East Asia has also led to new research on East Asian regionalism (e.g. Maswood 2001; Pempel ed. 2005; Katzenstein 2006; Samuels 2011; Ōba 2014). Not only did the economic crises bring a renewed concern over the region's political and economic stability, but the rise of the middle class in China with a rapidly expanding consumer market that is expected to exceed American and European markets is also attracting much attention (Ministry of Trade, Economy and Industry 2010). Because of this, however, economists, political scientists, and international relations specialists have dominated the research on East Asian regionalism. Many scholars in this field take a realist approach that studies East Asian regionalism from the perspective of economic development and foreign aid. Hence FTAs (Free Trade Agreements) within the region has been a major focus by examining regional systems such as ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation), ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum), TPP (Trans-Pacific Strategic and Economic Partnership), ASEAN+3 (ASEAN countries + Japan, South Korea, and China), EAS (East Asia Summit) and RCEP (Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership).

One of the strongest critiques that have been raised against this realist approach has come from those taking a constructivist approach. These scholars maintain that states and world financial institutions such as the World Bank and IMF are not the only constituents contributing to the growing East Asian regionalism but also many non-state actors such as NGOs, corporations, and the media also have a role that is equal to, if not greater than world financial

institutions and nation-states. Therefore, the constructivists argue that a "real" regional linkage is hard to discern as the consolidated interactions and networks of numerous and diverse non-state actors working at multiple sociopolitical layers are driving regional integration (Pempel ed. 2005; Katzenstein and Shiraishi eds. 2006; Ōba 2014). Pempel distinguishes the top-down approach of nation-states that undertake "regionalism," which "involves primarily the process of institution creation," and the bottom-up "regionalization" emerging through "socially driven processes" (2005: 19). Media studies scholar Iwabuchi's groundbreaking research on the circulation and consumption of Japanese popular culture in Asia from the perspective of "Japanization" (2002: 32-5) is also an example of regionalization driven by the Japanese government and media corporations. However, Katzenstein critiques Pempel's approach that takes the state as a unit of analysis by arguing that both regionalism and regionalization are combining national models to produce what he calls a "hybrid regionalism." Therefore, his edited volume studies the various facets that contribute to the construction of an East Asian region including regional production, ecology and agribusiness, and popular culture.

More recently, Ōba (2014) argued that hybrid regionalism is shaped by the conflicts arising out of discrepancies and discontinuities among different state-level actors. She argues that hybridization is the result of a political maneuver to create an insider (*uchi*) - outsider (*soto*) distinction that is continuously (re)defined based on the threats and issues faced by the actor-stakeholders of the region. Hence she emphasizes how the formation of regional institutions not only builds a framework for cooperation among its members but also a sense of "us" through dialogic and collaborative engagements to pursue a collective goal (ibid: 46). In doing so, Ōba underscores the processes of subjectivization involved in East Asian regionalism but her research as a political scientist is focused on state-level actors. As a result, subjectivization at the level of

city-regions has not been considered in her work. This dissertation tries to fill this lacuna by studying the civic coproduction of cultural programs and events through which volunteers become "insiders" as they collectively shape and present their lives-in-the-city.

1.2   *Puissance*

I use *puissance* as my central theoretical framework to explain how volunteers learn to become figures of 'the city' as arts NPO coordinate their speeches and behavior for the civic coproduction of cultural programs and events. *Puissance* is a concept that has been used and developed by a number of French poststructuralists including Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in their work *Thousand Plateaus* (1987) and Michel Maffesoli in *The Time of the Tribes* (1996). The theoretical value of *puissance* is the synthesis it creates between the causal and interpretative approaches to practice in sociological analysis. For example, Deleuze and Guattari take a causal approach to *puissance* as a capacity to dismantle a hierarchical social order by which a more egalitarian and interactive group dynamic is realized. They define *puissance* as "a "capacity for existence," "a capacity to affect or be affected," a capacity to multiply connections that may be realized by a given "body" to varying degrees in different situations" (1987: xvii). Maffesoli associates this group dynamic with vitalism by interpreting *puissance* as "the inherent energy and vital force of the people" (1996: 1). Vitalism is the energy that brings about change, but not through a mechanistic cause and effect. As Lash explains, "In vitalism, causation is largely self-causation" (2006: 324).

In this dissertation, *puissance* refers to life's capacity for self-organization that rebuilds communities in crisis. I use the concept *puissance* to study the transition from a rapidly disintegrating postwar ways of life to the simultaneous emergence of a new social order in post-

recessionary Japan. It is a useful theoretical concept to understand how, especially in places like Japan where devastating calamities from wars and earthquakes have repeatedly plagued its society over the last century, the self-organizing power of communities serves as an important source of recovery and renewal. As a force that erupts from a disruption of the social order, *puissance* may liberate and empower selves through a cathartic release from the old and an emerging vision of the new. Nevertheless, this bottom-up *puissance* cannot be thought of apart from the top-down *pouvoir* of the reigning political system that once again contains it within a new form of social order that lends its performative expression. Thus *puissance* and *pouvoir* do not cancel each other out but their complicity can be productive insofar as they bring about a negotiated behavior from both ends of the relations of power. The tension between *puissance* and *pouvoir* helps maintains the ideological form of sociopolitical organizations by creating positions that are defined in relation to one another. Simmel makes this point clear when he claims that "A group which was entirely centripetal and harmonious – that is, "unification" merely – is not only impossible empirically, but it would also display no essential life-process and no stable structure" (1904: 491).

I use the concept *puissance* as an interventionist tactic to show the points of complicity, contestation and contradiction between the City and citizens in the civic coproduction of cultural programs and events. In doing so, *puissance* also shows the multiple realities that shape the subjective experiences of these programs and events among different social groups that are otherwise concealed through the relays of discursive power set forth by the City and its cultural administrators. In a neoliberal economy where public institutions are even seeking to obtain profit through place-branding and tourism, employment and regional development, the City and its cultural administrators make it their business to publicize their cultural programs and events

by stirring the "irrational" sentiments of *puissance* that sociologists have commonly interpreted as the "false consciousness" of subordinated groups. *Puissance* may therefore be interpreted as the group's collective effervescence (Durkheim 1912), imagined community (Anderson 1983), commodity fetishism (Marx 1867) or weapons of the weak (Scott 1985). It is the energy that is generated through what sociologists have recently begun to call "structural holes" (Burt 1992; 2004) or gaps in the informational flow between social groups, whether these groups may be religious, political, consumer or ethnic groups. As Fernandez and Gould (1993) observe, government organizations can better administer their policy when they can act as cultural brokers that remain neutral to policy events so as to gain the social capital among disparate social groups. In Japan where government organizations are not only trying to influence but also encouraging the voluntary participation of these groups in policy events, stirring and steering the *puissance* of each group is used as an administrative strategy despite the superficial rhetoric of "touch" (*fureai*) and "bond" (*kizuna*) that they use to invoke its aesthetic image that reduces *puissance* to a mere phatic connection (Nozawa 2015).

That being said, my use of *puissance* slightly diverges from Deleuze and Guattari as well as Maffesoli in several respects: First, I use *puissance* neither as a negative capacity for life as Deleuze uses it nor as a positive existence of life as Maffesoli understands it. Instead, I consider *puissance* to be a transformative momentum that shapes the continuity of life as conceptualized by philosopher Henri Bergson (1911) with his notion of the *élan vital* (vital impulse). However, the *puissance* that brings continuity to life is not the internal impulse of an organism but the dynamic, social momentum in and of communities of practice (Wenger 1998). This brings me to the second distinction, which is that *puissance* cannot be thought apart from the communities of practice that teach its members the cultural literacy to performatively enact *puissance* as

"culture" in the Japanese sense of the term *bunka* (文化). Buist writes that *bunka*, a concept that

is also used in China and Korea, "denotes the process of acquiring (or causing another to

acquire) literacy and learning, and by extension, of 'cultivation' in the sense of the adoption of

manners and dispositions of thought characteristic of the dominant social class" (2005: 366). In

this dissertation, cultural literacy refers to the manner and style of speaking, behaving and

interacting that demonstrates the person's civility (Ikegami 2005). Spivak (1985) uses the term

"worlding" to critique the practice of inscribing colonial discourse onto colonized space and to

recover the postcolonial subject as an agent of social change. However, contributors to the

volume *Worlding Cities* (2011) resist this binary opposition in Spivak's Marxist framework in

order to examine the heterogeneous practices that cultlivate new relationships and reconfigure

networks at multiple scales. Using the concept *puissance* allows us to examine the acquisition of

cultural literacy inherent in the notion *bunka* where the kanji 化 or "change" refers to the

centrality of worlding practices that affect while being affected by 文 or "language." My third

and last distinction of *puissance* is that I use it as a heuristic tool and an interventionist tactic to

show the hegemonic operation of *machizukuri* that constitute the volunteers' worlding practices

within the city's cultural programs and events. *Machizukuri* is considered to be a citizen-centered

practice based on the principle of civil society that expresses "the people's desire to decide their

own lifestyle with their own character" (Watanabe 2007: 40). However, this dissertation shows

how the volunteers' involvement in *machizukuri* is not always or necessarily guided by agency

and self-determination. Using the concept *puissance* allows us to move away from the binary

opposition between individual agency and the system of power by focusing instead on the

contradiction inherent in any sociopolitical organization. *Puissance* thus allows us to show how

volunteers perceive the contradiction as an opportunity for self-development, whose practices are

strategically constituted by the City to show a city-in-formation. Although the volunteers act upon and interpret *puissance* to collectively shape and present their social lives, their communicative practices acquire its meaning within the context of the cultural program or event in which they are staged. Hence I use the concept *puissance* helps to reveal the hegemony that operates through the art of worlding to show a city-as-*bunka* or what the cultural ministries of Japan, China and South Korea call the "Culture City of East Asia."

1.3   Arts NPO and *machizukuri*

Yokohama is a city adjacent to Tokyo and it is often considered to be part of the greater Tokyo metropolis. It boasts a population of 3.6 million out of the 9 million who live in Kanagawa prefecture where Yokohama is its capital. It is the second largest city in Japan next to Tokyo where its population is 13 million (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication 2013). As a commuter city where most of its residents commute to Tokyo from its residential suburbs, it is imperative for the City of Yokohama to engage its residents in its *machizukuri*. The progressive administration of the City has made this possible by establishing one of the first cultural administration offices in its government in 1982. During the years following the war, cultural administration was met with deep suspicion from the public because it was responsible for educating the public with ideological nationalism that legitimized military aggressions of the imperial government while censoring dissenting views during the war. It was not until the 1970s that municipal governments began emphasizing the value of cultural administration through a "progressive self-governance movement" (*kakushin jichitai undou*) (Noda 2014). This movement, carried out by progressive municipal governments across Japan, reflected the social actions led by activists, intellectuals, bureaucrats, and politicians who were advocating for

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greater autonomy and self-reliance among citizens using the idea of *shimin* as a master frame

(Avenell 2010). This movement led to the First National Cultural Administration Symposium,

which was held in 1979 by municipal governments that jointly declared the significance of

cultural administration thus:

> Communities are founded upon sharing a culture, and self-government builds a unique
> regional culture. Self-government and culture are complementary. Municipal
> government (*jichitai*) is the frontline for serving the residents' diverse needs and it is
> also the foundation from which a unique regional culture is created from its loss that
> happened over 30 years since the war ended. The significance of cultural administration
> is in its ability to critique the state-led, hierarchical and divisive administration by
> taking a cultural perspective that understands human life (*ningen seikatsu*)
> comprehensively and to rebuild municipal government administration offices as a
> general administrative agency. (Noda 2014: 26)

However, self-governance policies and programs as put forth by the municipal governments

acting as the "vanguard" of regional identity and culture requires the cooperation of its

neighborhoods. Anthropological monographs of Tokyo neighborhoods during the '80s reveal the

centrality and complexity of neighborhood associations (*chōnai-kai*) in managing the political,

social and interpersonal aspects of neighborhood life (Bestor 1989). Neighborhood associations

have existed in Japan since the feudal era as an autonomous, self-governing organization by

members of the neighborhood. Its purpose is not only to manage their neighborhoods through

day-to-day activities such as cleaning the roads, patrolling the neighborhood and circulating

news and announcements. These associations also help carry out cultural policies and programs

that aim to cultivate a sense of community by organizing local festivals (*matsuri*) to celebrate

holidays and special events (Robertson 1991).

Today, municipal governments administer their cultural policies and programs by

maintaining close relations with government supported cultural agencies and civil society

organizations. In 1990, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs established the Foundation for the

Promotion of Culture and the Arts (*Geijyutsu Bunka Shinkō Kikin*) that led to the proliferation of government supported cultural agencies and expansion of cultural programs across Japan. For example, Japan's Agency for Cultural Affairs established the Japan Arts Council in 1990 to preserve and promote the traditional performing arts in Japan while popularizing modern performing arts. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication established the Japan Foundation for Regional Art-Activities in 1994 to build a stronger foundation for the arts in regional communities. In 1996 the Agency for Cultural Affairs initiated the Arts Plan 21 to elevate the standard of creative activities in Japan and promote the international exchange of artists by providing large amounts of funding to leading Japanese artists in their respective fields. The Association for Corporate Support for the Arts with a registration of over a hundred corporations was also established in 1990 to actively fund projects that support culture and the arts. These foundations helped carry out the decentralization process that shifted the management of cultural facilities and services from the central government to prefectural and municipal governments.

Moreover, the Basic Act for the Promotion of Culture and the Arts that passed in 2001 mandated municipal governments to create and implement their own cultural policies based on the needs and conditions of their administrative regions. Mari Kobayashi, a member of the Japan Association for Cultural Policy Research, explains that the law was established to provide municipal governments with the following two 'benefits': 1) local governments could continue to manage and maintain not only their own local cultural policy but also their cultural budgets; 2) local governments now had the opportunity to find new ways of constructing and implementing concrete cultural policy strategies with the active participation of their local residents so as to develop culture and the arts that had regional characteristics, one of the principles of Article 2 of

this law (2014: 141). Kobayashi further explains that the central government introduced the Designated Manager System in 2003 so that municipal governments can hire private businesses, NPOs and other legal entities to manage their cultural facilities that they were unable to do in a cost-effective manner (ibid: 145). Kobayashi emphasizes that the Designated Manager System is not equivalent to the privatization of cultural facilities. Rather, the System allows the designated manager of cultural facilities to execute public services "on behalf of the local government itself" (ibid: 146).

These structural and regulatory reforms have positioned municipal governments to act on behalf of their city-regions to manage cultural assets and administer cultural policies. The Designated Manager System has also created opportunities for civil society organizations to play a more visible role in the cultural preservation and cultural production of city-regions. In Japan, a wide variety of civil society organizations have previously existed such as neighborhood associations (*jichitai*), citizens' groups (*shimin dantai*) and voluntary groups (*nin-i dantai*). With the Special Nonprofit Organization Law that passed in 1998, nonprofit organizations (NPOs) also became a key player in *machizukuri*. The NPO Law came into effect as a result of increasing public interest in volunteering after the Hanshin-Awaji earthquake in 1995 which in turn garnered strong support from political leaders and the media (Nakano 2005; Ogawa 2009; Pekkanen 2006). This earthquake devastated Kobe city with a 7.2 magnitude on the Richter scale and took away the lives of approximately 6,000 people and left 350,000 injured. Many people who watched this disaster through television, the Internet, and other media networks sought to provide assistance in humanitarian relief. With the number of volunteers approximating 1.5 million, the media described the year 1995 as the "first year of volunteering (*borantia gannen*)" (Nakano 2005: 2).

By 2016, the number of NPOs grew exponentially to more than 50,000. NPOs in Japan are classified by the state based on activity types (see Figure 1). Therefore, 'arts NPO' is not an official category but it is a self-identified category of NPOs that engage specifically in activities pertaining to culture and the arts. According to government classification, they are part of nonprofit organizations that engage primarily in "activities promoting science, culture, art and/or sports" along with "activities promoting *machizukuri*." In 2016, there are approximately 18,000 nonprofit organizations that engage in "activities promoting science, culture, art and/or sports" and approximately 22,500 that engage in "activities promoting *machizukuri*." Many of these nonprofits overlap because each nonprofit may register as fulfilling multiple categories. A more realistic count of arts NPO is 4,867 according to the 2013 report published by Arts NPO Link, a nonprofit that helps to create a network of arts NPO in Japan, in their 2013 report.

Unlike the United States, most NPOs in Japan do not receive tax breaks. Few NPOs comply with rigorous government criteria to attain an "authorized" (*nintei*) status that allows them to claim tax deductions and membership dues. The vast majority are "authenticated" (*ninshou*) NPOs whose activities are primarily self-funded. According to government statistics, there are currently only 640 approved NPOs and a little over 49 thousand certified NPOs. Donations make up over 50% of the income among authorized NPOs but authenticated NPOs make most of their income from private businesses. Why, then, do groups apply for NPO status when they do not receive tax breaks but are responsible for filing fiscal reports on its activities and revenues? Anthropologist Akihiro Ogawa (2009) states that most NPOs are established as a result of being pressured by government officials in order to institutionalize civil society. This was certainly the case with Slow Label, an arts NPO in Yokohama that organized the 2014 Yokohama Paratriennale. One city official explained that the City provides grants that only NPOs may

apply, so he had asked Slow Label to apply for nonprofit status (Shintani 2014). Conversely, some groups apply for nonprofit status so they can put pressure on the government to provide much needed services. Setoh (2010), who represents the arts NPO Root Culture from Kamakura city that I study in Chapter 2, said he applied for NPO status because the status would help him gain better recognition and a position to negotiate with the government. Root Culture was in the process of negotiating with the Kamakura municipal government to use an abandoned Japanese estate that the government owned as a children's day care center that was in shortage at the time.

Regardless of the nature of their relationship to municipal governments, arts NPO play an important role in *machizukuri* for their role as coordinators of civic coproduction. Civic coproduction is an administrative strategy implemented under the central government's vision of the New Public Commons (*atarashī kookyou*), described as "a society of mutual support and vibrancy… [which] can create communities that are rich in social capital and that enjoy a high level of mutual confidence, low social costs and a great degree of happiness" (Cabinet Office 2010). The City of Yokohama states that the purpose of coproducing public events is to support the community in ways that may include caring for elders, preparing for natural disasters, helping mothers raise children, maintaining public hygiene and stimulating local business growth etc (Yokohama City Government Civic Affairs Bureau 2016). The City of Yokohama encourages people to volunteer in civic coproduction by positioning volunteers as an "equal partner of the city" and by claiming that both Cities and volunteers are "different agents" (*kotonaru shutai*) who work together to produce a "synergetic effect" (*soujyou kouka*) for solving social problems by changing existing processes or building new programs (City of Yokohama Civic Affairs Bureau 2016).

Civic coproduction is not limited to Japan but it is also promoted as a mode of civic engagement by cities in China and South Korea as well. The cultural ministries of Japan, South Korea and China formed a trilateral agreement in 2013 to enhance the cultural exchanges between their various cities through a program called the Culture Cities of East Asia. A "Culture City" is nominated annually from these three countries to hold intercultural activities and events. Yokohama city was nominated as the second Culture City of East Asia in 2014, after Gwangju city was nominated from South Korea in 2013 (Kyodo 2013). The Culture City of East Asia program not only aims to foster a regional culture but also an East Asian civil society by incorporating civic coproduction as a central practice for promoting its cultural events. At the symposium titled "Culture Cities of East Asia and Urban Redevelopment" held at the Yokohama Creative Center, for example, representatives from Quanzhou city in China and Gwangju city in South Korea both shared their experiences of civic coproduction in the their respective cities alongside representatives from Yokohama who discussed theirs (November 16, 2014).

In Japan as in China and South Korea, arts NPO in particular are in a qualified position to coordinate civic coproduction because it introduces art and artifacts that help volunteers learn and participate in 'the city', which I bracket in quotation because this dissertation studies 'the city' as a figured world. Figured worlds are as-if worlds in which people's identity and agency are dialectically and dialogically formed (Holland, Lachicotte Jr., Skinner and Caine 1998). Figured worlds hinge upon its members participating in communities of practice by using a symbolic device "as tools that people use to affect their own and others' thinking, feeling, and behavior" (ibid: 50). Arts NPO not only coordinate multiple stakeholders to implement *machizukuri* (urban and community development), but also *hitozukuri* (human capital development) by introducing cultural artifacts as heuristic tools that could be used to learn about

'the city' and to demonstrate their cultural literacy and perform their identity as 'citizens'. Anthropologist John W. Traphagan explains the significance of *hitozukuri* as it was implemented by the Center for Lifelong Education during his research on elders in a remote town of northeastern Japan. He quotes the former director of the Center for Lifelong Learning as stating: "the idea of lifelong education is connected to the notion that by pursuing learning over the life course, people will continue to better themselves and this will be reflected in the children of the community… it will bring in experiences and ideas to the town, improving the community as a whole" (2000: 170). However, it is rare for cities to advertise their *hitozukuri* policies because they are understandably seen as patronizing and demeaning by many citizens. Anthropologist John Knight (1996), for example, describes how local landowning families in a rural town from northeastern Japan interpreted the development plan put forth by the municipal government to build a township identity as a threat to their autonomy. Nevertheless, cities and towns in Japan continue to incorporate *hitozukuri* in their cultural administration policies and programs.

Arts NPO BankART 1929 and Koganecho Area Management Center play an important role in Yokohama's *machizukuri* because they not only coordinate the civic coproduction of public events but also manage the City's cultural facilities that showcase those events. Their offices, for example, are part of the "Creative City Core Areas" (*souzou toshi kaiwai*) that the Urban Design Office has renovated under the Creative City policy to showcase a variety of cultural activities and events. These Core Areas, commonly known as "creative clusters" include the Yokohama Creative City Center, the Tokyo University of the Arts Graduate School of Film and New Media, BankART Studio NYK, Steep Slope Studio, Hammer-head Studio Shin-Minatoku and Zou-no-Hana Terrace (see Figure 2). Scholars have maintained that installing creative clusters help economize the creative industries by enabling creative workers to share resources and overhead

costs (Pratt 2004; Scott 2006) or help municipal governments manage its material resources such as land, infrastructure and population (Gu 2014). In Yokohama, creative clusters also enhance civic participation, create wide-ranging and appealing tourist attractions and promote the collaboration of artists and local businesses by bringing the multiple stakeholders of *machizukuri* together in communities of practice where they collaboratively design and use cultural artifacts through the civic coproduction of public events (City of Yokohama Culture and Tourism Bureau 2015).

Top 20 Charity Categories of Specified Nonprofit Corporation

Category	Value
1. Health, Medical Treatment, Welfare (28,906)	28,906
2. Social Education (23,469)	23,469
3. Administration of Organization (22,399)	22,399
4. Community Development (21,600)	21,600
5. Sound Nurturing Youth (21,381)	21,381
6. Science, Culture, the Arts, Sports (17,000)	17,000
7. Environment (13,773)	13,773
8. Vocational Expertise (12,210)	12,210
9. International Cooperation (9,813)	9,813
10. Economic Activities (8,099)	8,099
11. Human Rights, Promotion of Peace (8,099)	8,099
12. Community Safety (5,719)	5,719
13. Informational Technology (5,698)	5,698
14. Equal Gender Partcipation (4,379)	4,379
15. Disaster Relief (4,034)	4,034
16. Protection of Consumers (3,056)	3,056
17. Sceience & Technology (2,977)	2,977
18. Tourism (1,847)	1,847
19. Promotion of Rural & Intermountain Region (1,561)	1,561
20. Others (136)	136

Figure 1 NPO categories by activity (source: Japan NPO Center; electronic document, http://www.jnpoc.ne.jp/en/nonprofits-in-japan/size-and-scope/)
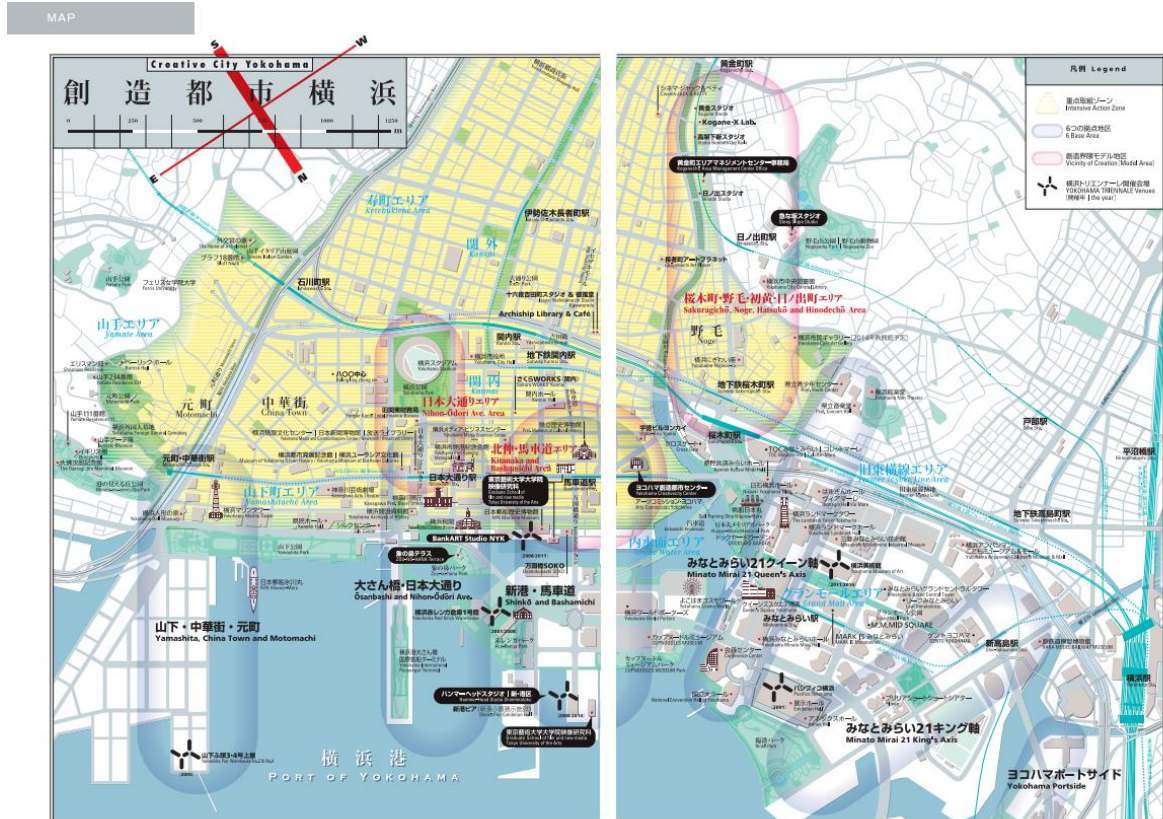
Figure 2 Creative City Core Areas (source: Creative City Yokohama; electronic document http://yokohama-sozokaiwai.jp/wop/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/ycc_outline.pdf)

1.4 Methods

In the past, the anthropologist's theoretical orientation divided their research between those who studied the empirical 'reality' of people's lives within the social structure of families and neighborhoods (see, for example, Bestor 1989) and the texts that discursively represented those lives (see, for example, Ivy 1991). Some ethnography such as Robertson's (1991) demonstrate how discursive texts are inflected in the social lives of neighborhoods through the City's cultural policy that implements festivals like the *matsuri* where social lives intersect with state-led discourse. However, Robertson's study did not deal with the forces and effects of change in people's lived reality and how that might affect as well as be affected by state policies. In order

to study the seismic shifts that globalization has brought to the intersection between lifeworld and system, George Marcus introduced the multi-sited research method for ethnographic research. Marcus writes that with globalization, "The distinction between lifeworlds of subjects and the system does not hold, and the point of ethnography within the purview of its always local, close-up perspective is to discover new paths of connection and association by which traditional ethnographic concerns with agency, symbols, and everyday practices can continue to be expressed on a differently configured spatial canvas" (1995: 98).

I conducted my initial phase of fieldwork between 2009 and 2011 in the Shōnan-Kamakura region of Kanagawa prefecture, which is on the Sagami coast directly south of Yokohama city. I chose Shōnan-Kamakura region to conduct my first fieldwork because of Shōnan's proximity to the beach and Kamakura's historic landscape that attract many young artists who seek an alternative lifestyle while still remaining within commuting distance from Tokyo. I conducted participant-observation at a music festival, a marketplace, and attended a theatrical play organized by independent artists whom I also interviewed. My rationale for studying the Creative City programs and events after these events using a multi-sited research method at the time of my fieldwork was to see where the bottom-up cultural practices of independent artists might converge with the policy-directed events hosted by the City of Yokohama. Multi-sited research "is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography" (Marcus 1995: 105). I designed my research based on a participant-observation of three cultural events that were held within the Shōnan-Kamakura region and which attracted a

similar audience of globetrotting backpackers that reflected these events' global influence and style as well as an interview with the organizers of those events.

Speaking with the artists from the Shōnan-Kamakura region, I found out that two out of three events were unintentionally produced as a result of displacing their antagonisms while the theatrical play also staged a narrative of self-transformation. My interviews with the artists helped me understand that small, local events were sometimes the means to creatively work out the organizer's everyday problems. This entailed the practice of assembling global signs and symbols with other members of their community to organize an event in a new, "global" style that also helped redefine their identities. These artists were not only producing public events in innovative, "global" styles, but my research also indicated that the artists from the Shōnan-Kamakura region did not use the discourse of *machizukuri* to speak about their event productions but in fact used a diverse array of languages, indicating the heterogeneity in Japanese culture that has historically been critiqued as being represented as homogeneous (see, for example, Ryang 2004).

I conducted my second phase of fieldwork in Yokohama city between 2014 and 2015 when the City held the international art festival Yokohama Triennale among other cultural programs and events under its Creative City policy. My second fieldwork was conducted using participant-observation at policy-directed cultural events where I participated as a volunteer. My positionality within the context of cultural programs and events that I conducted my participant-observation was that of a Japanese female student. Because many students from Japanese universities were also conducting research at the same cultural events and programs, the organizing staff members were accommodating to my request for participant-observation, interviews and an audio recording of the event proceedings. However, my voice in the

interactions that I present in this dissertation is minimal because I am a Japanese female and a student who is culturally conditioned and expected to listen and learn rather than to speak my thoughts. Although listening and learning helped me observe the interactions of the participants and how they structured the cultural program or event in question, there were times when I felt offended by the patronizing, masculine gaze that controlled the volunteers' practices. On such occasions I felt more comfortable articulating my thoughts over email rather than speaking in person. Emails created a more impersonal, text-based interaction that democratized my conversation with others. Emails not only hid my own body as a younger female student but the electronic medium also eliminated the option to use body language as a means to exercise power and control. Moreover, it was easier to enter into politically charged conversations with others over email because the public nature of emails holds senders accountable for what they write as a recorded and retrievable time-stamped text.

Nevertheless, I felt that the administrative staff members of the cultural programs and events were receptive to my responses, even when my views challenged or dismissed their strategies for *hitozukuri*. One of the reasons the City and its cultural administrators are inviting volunteers to coproduce its programs and events is to study the volunteers within their action research framework. Action research is a method primarily used by educators where "participants examine their own educational practice systematically and carefully, using the techniques of research" (Ferrance 2000: 1). As I discuss in subsequent chapters, the City organized volunteers into communities of practice (Wenger 1998) where volunteers learned about the artifacts in the city and their respective histories, while they were initiated into the art of worlding the city. Organizers often used these communities of practice to not only teach but also to study the volunteers so they may make adjustments to their programs and events as they unfolded. For

example, the BankART School was planning to publish student essays from the *Kore-Yoko* lifelong learning course that I study in Chapter 5, but the School aborted the plan based on the outcome of our class discussions. My experience from this second fieldwork revealed how cultural events offer opportunities for a wide variety of stakeholders: for the City to teach and learn, for artists to exhibit their artwork and curate exhibitions, for visitors to see and interpret the artwork, the volunteers to learn and talk about what they learned and for the State to recruit and develop Japan's human capital.

The central research questions that guided my second fieldwork are: How are the volunteers managing multiple realities through the civic coproduction of Creative City programs and events? How do Creative City programs and events help the volunteers become Supporter figures that world the city as they also reflexively shape the city's historicity? In order to address these questions, I participated in three public events coordinated by three different arts NPO: Triennale Supporters' Office that coordinated the volunteer activities of 2014 Yokohama Triennale, Koganecho Area Management Center that coordinated the Koganecho walking tours, and BankART 1929 that held and planned to publish the *Kore-Yoko* course offered at the BankART School. At the 2014 Yokohama Triennale, I conducted participant-observation as a volunteer during the three months of the event duration. I interviewed three staff members from the Triennale Supporters' Office, 20 volunteers, and an Education Program Manager from the Yokohama Museum of Art. At the Koganecho Area Management Center, I conducted participant-observation by volunteering for the walking tours that were scheduled once a month for six months. I interviewed the Director, the coordinating staff member for the walking tours, and I also recorded the narratives of three walking tours in addition to interviewing the tour guides from the art tour and the history tour. At the BankART School, I conducted participant-

observations while I recorded seven class discussions from their 2015 *Kore-Yoko* course. I also attended public talks including "East Asian Culture City and Urban Renewal" hosted by the City of Yokohama; "Culture As Capital: What Is Creative Economy?" hosted by the Association for Corporate Support of the Arts, Ministry of Cultural Affairs and the Japan Foundation; and "Culture and Social Innovation: Tokyo Conference 2014" hosted by the Tokyo Culture Creation Project Office of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government.

1.5   Dissertation outline

I began this chapter with a problem statement that explained how the recession and neoliberal economic policies have given rise to a large number of unemployed and flexibly employed who are putting off or giving up marriage. This has created an unprecedented demographic shift towards an aging society that is dissolving the social structures that organized Japan's postwar ways of life. Although anthropologists have approached globalization through the notion of "cultural flows," I argued that in places like Yokohama, Japan, the City is installing cultural programs and events to develop volunteers into a Supporter figure that manages the ontological reality of 'the city' as they also engage in self-development under the political and economic order of neoliberalism. I then discussed my central theoretical framework *puissance*, provided the historical context that explained the emergence of NPOs and arts NPO in particular, and outlined the methods that I used to conduct my dissertation research. Chapter 2 studies acts of *puissance* by focusing on the artists who organized public events in the Shōnan-Kamakura region. I analyze their self-transformation narratives in order to understand how their events were an unintended outcome of displacing their antagonisms. I also explain how their public events produced an autonomous civic space that serves as a ground from which to develop and stage

figures of the city. Chapter 3 studies the volunteers for the 2014 Yokohama Triennale and how they author *puissance* in their image of an ideal volunteer figure. I explain how the Yokohama Triennale allows the City of Yokohama to constitute civic spaces into its *machizukuri* by staging volunteers as a Supporter of the city. Chapter 4 studies volunteer tour guides that guide the Kogane-chō walking tours to show and explain how their narratives articulate *puissance*. In doing so, I explain that their communicative style, narrative form and public profile turn their narrative into an aesthetic that not only figures 'the city' as a figured world but also turns them into figures of 'the city'. I also discuss the ontology of the figured 'city'. Chapter 5 documents my participation in the *Kore-Yoko* lifelong learning course at the BankART School. I discuss how the facilitators for this course have steered the *puissance* of group discussions in a way that students not only learn how to articulate *puissance* with the artifacts in the city but also get them to propose various uses of artifacts and their users as a *tōjisha*. In particular, I examined the gendered division in the way *tōjisha* was discussed, and how their divide revealed a schism in the cultural model *ba* that was perhaps decisive for the BankART School to abort the publication of student essays that, until the previous course, revealed a "worldview" of the city and the *tōjisha* in it. Chapter 6 concludes this dissertation by summarizing my findings.

Chapter 2   Acts of *Puissance*: Narratives of Self-Transformation

This chapter studies the self-transformation narratives of two independent artists who organize a music festival and a marketplace as well as a narrative performance of self-transformation from a staged play. The artists organizing these events are all from the Shōnan-Kamakura region on the periphery of Yokohama city. Except for the staged play that was held at the Zou no Hana Park, a public facility inside Yokohama's Creative City Core Areas (see Map 1-2 from Chapter 1), the music festival and the marketplace are respectively held in Fujisawa and Kamakura city. Although two out of the three events studied in this chapter are held outside of Yokohama city, these artists deserve our attention because their acts of *puissance* not only displaced their antagonisms but in doing so they unintentionally organized cultural events that produced civic spaces. Civic spaces are "spaces of social inclusion in which state and private economy are kept at arm's distance from dominating the production and reproduction of culture" (Douglas, Ho and Ooi 2008: 3). Douglas, Ho and Ooi study civic spaces primarily as physical infrastructures and bounded places that public, private and nonprofit sectors come together through collaboration, contestation and negotiation to help produce social change. Yet for these physical infrastructures and places to truly become civic spaces, they must develop its own culture that would help maintain its autonomy from the state and private economy. In other words, civic spaces must constitute what Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre (1991) calls social space. By studying the self-transformation narratives of artists, this chapter asks the following questions: How did artists displace their antagonisms? How did displacing their antagonisms result in the production of civic space?

Social space is not an empty container for "where the action is" (Goffman 1969) or a nonrepresentational dimension of space where the "onflow" of everyday life is projected like a

blank canvas (Thrift 2008). According to Lefebvre, social space is a socially produced space that he explains thus:

> (Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products; rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity – their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder. It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object. At the same time there is nothing imagined, unreal or 'ideal' about it as compared, for example, with science, representations, ideas or dreams. Itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others. (1991: 73)

The artists that I study in this chapter each reveal a different dimension of social space by using ideal type concepts that reveal the tacit dimension of *puissance* to construct their self-transformation narratives. For example the first artist I study in this chapter, Kengo Matsumoto, is the organizer of the annual Echo Beats Shōnan music festival in Fujisawa city. Matsumoto claims that he produced a self-sustaining "harvest festival" by converting the waste oil collected from restaurants to produce biodiesel oil, which is then used to generate the electricity for his music festival. By using the ideal type concept "common sense" to describe the sustainability of his festival, Matsumoto's self-transformation narrative reveals the poetic quality of social space. The next artist I study in this chapter, Shinji Morishita, helps organize the biannual Kamando Ichiba marketplace for the Kamakura NPO Center in Kamakura city. By framing Kamando Ichiba as a site where people build social networks, exchange goods and learn about their city, Morishita's narrative reveals the performative dimension of social space where participants act as a Kamando (鎌人 or the "people of Kamakura"). The final event that I study is a staged play organized by a nonprofit organization known as Root Culture. Their play, based on the novel *Sayonara Gangsters*, stages a self-transformation narrative that expresses changes to the

speaker's "feeling." By speaking in the middle voice, the narrative relates the perceived and performative dimensions of social space to transform civic space into a lived reality.

The remainder of this chapter is divided into four sections. The first section discusses the significance of acts of *puissance* in relation to the production of civic space. The second section provides a historical overview of the recessionary generation whose antagonisms have led to the emergence of public events in new historical assemblages that also perform an old cosmological order. The third section constitutes the core of this chapter and I analyze the self-transformation narratives of two artists and a self-transformation narrative from a play. I extrapolate an ideal type concept of their tacit knowledge from their narratives to examine how artists used their tacit knowledge to displace their particular antagonisms while unintentionally producing a universal civic space. Finally, I segue into the next chapter in the fourth section by discussing Yokohama's Creative City policy and how it provides artists and arts NPO with a social location to mediate the interpretation, articulation and publication of *puissance*.

2.1   Acts of *puissance* and the production of civic space

Acts of *puissance* among artists independently producing cultural events are the ground upon which the Kamakura-Shōnan region is brought to the foreground as a performative stage to tell their narratives of self-transformation. Self-transformation narratives have been an important resource for anthropologists studying communities and societies undergoing change. By showing the narrator's old ways of life in juxtaposition to his or her new life, storytelling not only allows the narrator to integrate his or her memories of the past with his or her lived reality in the present. Among the artists that I study in this chapter, storytelling also reveals transformations to their subjectivities and subjecthood that they discuss using ideal type concepts such as "common sense" (*atarimae*), "knowing" (*shiru*) and "feeling" (*kimochi*). These ideal type concepts allow

the artists to construct a self-transformative story by reflecting upon their practice of organizing

their events. Their self-transformation stories underscore the singularity of their events that the

Marxist philosopher Jacques Rancière refers to as an aesthetic. Rancière was a colleague of

Louis Althusser who later parted with Althusser's interpretation of Marxism by arguing that his

notion of ideology conceptualizes the division of labor in terms of class relations by making the

social whole its referent while concealing the struggle within the dominant ideology by turning

science into its Other (2011[1973]). Rancière argues that contrary to the distinction that

Althusser had made, ideology and knowledge are not separate. As Foucault has shown, discourse

and knowledge are often used as an instrument to support the ideological systems of power. The

politics at stake, according to Rancière, is neither ideology nor knowledge but aesthetics

characterized by its singularity or "a specific type of connection between ways of producing

works of art or developing practices, forms of visibility that disclose them, and ways of

conceptualizing the former and the latter" (2006[2004]: 20). In addition, aesthetics understood

through its singularity breaks with its critical position and role accorded by critical theorists who

either interpret aesthetics as an expression of modernity standing at a critical distance from the

society's normative principles (Adorno 1983) or a mimetic representation of a whole way of life

that Cultural Studies critics theorize as a "subculture" (Hebdige 1979). Singularity, reflected in

the artists' self-transformation narratives that were constructed by invoking the tacit dimension

of *puissance*, helps them establish a common ground and an autonomous social space that resists

becoming governed by the state or privatized by a commercial enterprise. As a result, the public

events studied in this chapter help produce civic spaces, defined as "spaces of social inclusion in

which state and private economy are kept at arm's distance from dominating the production and

reproduction of culture" (Douglas, Ho and Ooi 2008: 3).

Civic spaces are the spatial dimension of a civil society. As physical and/or virtual locations, civic spaces may include public parks and plazas, public sidewalks and main streets, community/civic centers and public buildings, commercial establishments with traditions as civic spaces, public establishments regulated by the state to include civic spaces, civic spaces in the Internet, civic spaces belonging to ethnic and minority groups, and insurgent spaces (ibid: 7-13). Civic spaces provide the physical and virtual infrastructure for civic engagements that include, but not limited to, volunteering (*borantia*) construed as a performance of one's civic duty (Nakano 2005; Haddad 2007; Ogawa 2009) and social movements and political activism that protest the oppressive systems of power and the unfavorable socioeconomic conditions they create (Cassegård 2013; Allison 2013). However, control over civic spaces is often shared through the interaction of public, private and civil society organizations either because the state or private enterprise owns these physical and/or virtual places that the state also regulates under the rule of law. This situation has also led to a historical conjuncture in which hybrid organizations that crossover the boundaries of the public, private and third sectors are beginning to emerge. Hybridity of these organizations refer both to the partnerships and collaboration between organizations from different sectors and also to the cross-sector services they provide. Their emergence, scholars argue, are bringing about a "fundamental and distinctly different governance and operational principles in each sector" (Billis 2010: 3).

Acts of *puissance* lay the groundwork for civic spaces and their new cross-sector economy to emerge. Civic spaces may be identified by the physical and virtual 'containers' in which civic engagements take place, but they first require the social production of social space in order for these spaces to maintain its autonomy from the state and the private economy. Marxist philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1991) laments that scholars from any discipline tend

to miss the production of social space due to the latter's illusion of transparency and realism. He critiques the history of Western philosophy that developed an epistemological system that treats space as a cognitive construct, divided by specialized domains of knowledge such as geography, economy, sociology, politics and so forth. Lefebvre maintains that this epistemological system that fragments, separates and distorts space inevitably produces knowledge that is in the service of the state. His project is to study the social production of social space that collapses this disciplinary division and its mode of production. This chapter will demonstrate how artists, by interpreting their acts of *puissance*, produce the poetic, performative and lived dimensions of social space. In doing so, I argue that artists and their public events produce the ground from which 'the city' is figured by maintaining the autonomy of civic spaces from the state and private economy.

2.2   New historical assemblages in old cosmological order

The artists I study in this chapter are from the generation that has been influenced by raves or electronic dance music events. Raves have been around since the late '80s in the United States and many European countries including the United Kingdom and members of the Commonwealth of Nations including India, Australia and South Africa. Raves in the U.S. and the U.K. are often represented as an epitome of a deviant youth culture with associations to the recreational drug methylenedioxymethamphetamine (MDMA) known as "ecstasy," childish paraphernalia such as glow sticks and pacifiers of "candy ravers" and the "exotic" beaches of Ibiza, Spain, and Goa, India, where raves helped build their tourism market. The commercialization of raves follows British subcultures and the American "hippie" counterculture of the '60s that might have begun as a rebellion but developed into an industry that "constituted merely a marketing device and advertisers' fiction" (Redhead 1993: 1). Although Tokyo's

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consumer market offers music, drugs, fashion and paraphernalia that are associated with the rave scene, raves have become popular in Japan for its outdoor electronic dance music festivals. After the recession and structural collapse of the postwar system, raves offered a new, global expression to a sociality that is traditionally celebrated in every neighborhood and city in Japan through *matsuri* festivals while enabling artists to develop new styles of sociality outside of the traditional social institutions like the neighborhood association that organizes the *matsuri* (Bestor 1989; Robertson 1991).

Large-scale raves are often commercially organized but the socialities they produce have been instrumental in mobilizing social precariats (Allison 2013) to playfully protest in the streets against neoliberal policies and reforms (Hayashi and McKnight 2005; Cassegård 2013). Andrea Arai (2016) writes about "the recessionary generation" whose lives and subjectivities are shaped by neoliberal forms and discourses of self-responsibility and self-development. Their lives contrast with that of the postwar generation that fulfilled their obligations to social institutions in return for a standardized life course. They face confusion and uncertainty reflected in the term *freeter*, a neologism derived from the "English word 'free' or 'freedom', and a German word '*arbeiter*' (worker)" (Mouri 2010: 48). *Freeter* is a term that commonly refers to the social precarity of flexibly employed workers, but it was initially used to celebrate flexible employment as one's freedom from the duties and obligations of a *sararīman*. As the economic crisis deepened, *freeters* became paradigmatic of the growing income gap that eroded the large middle class of postwar Japan to create a divided society (*kakusa shakai*). As Mouri observes, art plays an important role among the recessionary generation who look to themselves for shaping their own sensibilities and lifestyles. For example, all but one members of the group Chim ↑ Pom do not have a formal education in art but they became viral through their video EriGero that showed

Eri, the female member of the group, vomiting pink milk while smiling. Their art is not necessarily a 'resistance' to the dominant culture but it is no less meaningful as a celebration of *puissance* despite their less than perfect conditions signified by Eri's vomiting. Moreover, their art that invokes the viewers' affect such as cute and disgust produces an emphatic sociality of neo-tribes that is loosely and temporarily shaped "as individuals continually move between different sites of collective expression and 'reconstruct' themselves accordingly" (Bennett 1999: 606). In this way artists from the recessionary generation including those that I study in this chapter transform their social precarity into creative expressions of the collective *puissance*.

Artists' creative expression varies depending on their biographical history and cultural influence. For example, the artists that I study in this chapter have more or less been influenced by the rave scene but in exercising their creative license to assemble signs from the rave scene and other cultural spheres, they ended up organizing events in their own artistic style that no longer bore any resemblance to raves. Interestingly, however, these artists' practice of dismantling and reconstructing signs has traditionally been the central defining feature of *matsuri*. *Matsuri* is a term that refers to festivals in Japan. *Matsuri* can be religious or civic, but it is often held at a Shinto shrine or a Buddhist temple, two of the most prominent religions that are practiced in Japan. *Matsuri* can be celebrated in various forms such as a ritual, parade and/or festivity (Ashkenazi 1993). However, what defines *matsuri* is its ritual of sacrifice and renewal (Yamaguchi 1991; Plutschow 1997). Plutschow describes *matsuri* as "a resacralization of the human world, because it was that human "world" that was supposed to be sacred, rather than some spiritual world apart" (1997: 66). It includes first, the dissolution of the world where chaos is created for "people to let go and behave in manners prohibited during normal times" (ibid: 68). In doing so, *matsuri* creates an anti-structure or "a vacuum that makes it possible to question the

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efficiency and relevance of the ordinary human order" (ibid: 73). *Matsuri* also mandates the participation of various stakeholders including deities, the priest, neighborhood residents, local businesses that sponsor and the local government that regulates the *matsuri* event. As a result, *matsuri* not only becomes a site of competition and negotiation for social and political change but also a stage to performatively enact the collective *puissance* of a community by confronting the death of the old social order (Yamaguchi 1991: 219).

The artists' self-transformation narratives reveal the acts of *puissance* that led to the production of events in new styles that also perform their own symbolic death. For example, the Echo Beats Shōnan music festival takes place at the Yugyōji temple in Fujisawa city. Yugyōji is a Buddhist temple for the *Jishū* sect "that is distinguished among other Buddhist sects for its members' competence in communicating with the world beyond, through chanting and dancing" (Yamaguchi 1991: 223). The temple interior, where the organizer of the event Matsumoto and other artists perform a variety of music at the music festival, has historically served as a theater to perform mythological stories about death and resurrection (ibid). Matsumoto's music festival thus carries this legacy by using the temple as a theater stage to perform his self-transformation. Morishita, the artist who coordinates the Kamando Ichiba marketplace, similarly tells a story of self-transformation. Unlike Matsmoto, however, Morishita's self-transformation is transpired through a collective sacrifice to voluntarily participate and manage Kamando Ichiba with other individuals and groups from the Kamakura NPO Center based on a turn-taking management system. This turn-taking system achieves transformation at both the individual and social levels by performatively enacting as a Kamando. Finally, Root Culture stages a self-transformation narrative in its play Hold The Clock. This narrative speaks as a "middle voice" (Barthes 1989: 18) where the speaker not only expresses his or her feelings but also observes how those feelings

affect him or her. The middle voice posthumously speaks upon the "death" of a stage director to stage not necessarily a story with a narrative plot but rather a middle voice that weaves a web of significance by enacting and observing *puissance*.

2.3   Self-transformation narratives

The following analyses are from my interview with the representative member of the following three groups: Kengo Matsumoto from Echo Beats Shōnan, a non-incorporated association of artists who organize a music festival at the Yugyōji Temple in Fujisawa city; Shinji Morishita from Kamando Ichiba, a non-incorporated association that began as the 10th anniversary event for the publicly funded and citizen run Kamakura NPO Center; and Kohji Setoh from Root Culture, a specified nonprofit corporation established by professional artists. All three groups are from the Shōnan-Kamakura region, which is on the periphery of Yokohama city. Unlike most residential suburbs of Yokohama, Shōnan and Kamakura are areas that have been branded and promoted for tourism throughout the postwar decades. Shōnan is an area in Fujisawa city that stretches along the Sagami Bay coast where Tokyoites go during the summer for its surf, sand and sun. The 1967 movie like the "Young Guy in the South Pacific" (*Minami Taiheiyou no Wakadaishou*) starring the young and handsome Yūzō Kayama also branded Shōnan and popularized surfing in Japan. In the '80s rock bands like Southern All Stars made many references to Shōnan through their thematic songs about summer romance. In comparison, Kamakura city boasts a more cultured image from its numerous cultural heritage sites such as the 60-foot bronze statue of the Great Buddha and numerous Buddhist temples. These date back to the Kamakura era (1185-1333) when the warrior class gained power to establish its own government that eventually led to the demise of the aristocratic court in Kyoto. Kamakura is also

popular for its natural landscape that allows tourists to go swimming in the ocean and hiking through its woods.

These popular images that branded Fujisawa and Kamakura cities have not only promoted tourism but they have also been instrumental in making national subjects. They helped the state constitute the margins through discourses of the vanishing (Ivy 1991) that made places like Shōnan symbolize youthfulness and the short-lived excitement of summertime or the Buddhist temples in Kamakura represent the impermanence of life itself. Tourism campaigns from the '80s and '90s used the discourses of the vanishing to encourage traveling as a way to momentarily enter a liminal space where one was to discover, quite paradoxically, 'myself' or memories of a distant past that these places symbolically represented. After a decade into the new millennium, the artists that I study in this chapter found 'myself' but through an antagonism that was created and concealed by the aestheticized images of a disappearing past. The events they produced by displacing their antagonisms created a new image for this region, but their stories are significant for prying open the aestheticized images of 'myself' that sutured the national imaginary with its cultural landscape to reveal the acts of *puissance* that problematize these images and consequently transform selves.

The following subsections extrapolate an ideal type concept from the tacit knowledge that artists have referred to when talking about their acts of *puissance*. By using ideal type concepts as a method, I wish to highlight certain aspects within the acts of *puissance* that artists have found to help displace their particular antagonisms while guiding their practice to unintentionally produce a universal civic space. Ideal type concepts that I study in the following sections include: 1) "common sense" that tames passion into practice; 2) "knowing" that displaces a cognitive dissonance between perceived and discursive reality; and 3) "feeling" that articulates

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common sense practice into a narrative discourse. Moreover, these ideal type concepts reveal the

perceived, performative and lived dimensions of civic space that the acts of *puissance* have

unintentionally produced. In doing so, these ideal type concepts help us understand how acts of

puissance shape while being shaped by the porous interface between the tacit (subjective) and

social (objective) realms to produce an autonomous civic space.

2.3.1   Echo Beats Shōnan

Kengo Matsumoto, a Japanese male in his mid-thirties from Fujisawa city is the lead

organizer of the Echo Beats Shōnan festival. Matsumoto is a second-generation Hiroshima

atomic bomb survivor who owns a vegetarian restaurant in Fujisawa and enjoys making music

with his rock band the Freaky Machine. Matsumoto is the spokesperson for Echo Beats Shōnan,

an organization he founded with four of his friends upon trying to overcome the antagonism he

experienced through his contempt for nuclear power and the pleasure of making electronic music

by using this power. The members collect waste oil from local restaurants and recycle them as

biodiesel fuel to generate electricity for the Echo Beats Shōnan festival that they hold annually at

the *Yugyōji* temple in Fujisawa city since 2008.

Echo Beats Shōnan festival is held annually during the fall at the *Shōjyōkōji* temple, which

is more familiarly known as *Yugyōji* in Fujisawa city. *Yugyō* literally means "discipline through

play," and the term refers to the practice of traveling monks whose style of chanting involved

dancing while ringing bells and drumming called the *odori nenbutsu* (dancing chant). As I

mentioned earlier, Matsumoto carries the legacy of this temple by hosting the Echo Beats

Shōnan music festival that helped objectify and displace his antagonism that brought about his

self-transformation. The name "Echo Beats Shōnan" that Matsumoto gave his group and the

music festival reflects the acts of *puissance* that produced the event as a performance "to have

our passion expressed without limits through the beat of our music (*oretachi no omoi ga bīto ni notte dokomade mo ikeba ii*).” By “us,” he is referring to the members of his group whose passion allowed them to engage and influence others to participate in the festival.

On the day of the event, half dozen vendors selling hot meals line up at the gravel entrance where the large gingko tree extends its beautiful yellow branches in the fall when the festival takes place. Shops that sell trinkets and clothes line up to the left and right of the short and only cobbled path leading up the main hall. In addition to the musicians, painters also came to produce colorful work *in situ* which they said were going to be gifted to Echo Beats Shōnan when they were done and photographers were also taking pictures of the event. Echo Beats Shōnan is not only about music, art and entertainment however. At their festival in 2010 Kengo Furuya, one of the members of Echo Beats Shōnan and a friend of Matsumoto’s, also installed a booth for his project “Our Future is in Our Hands” (*Mirai wa Bokura no Te no Naka*) that encourages people to vote by providing free goods and services for those who showed a piece of paper that voters receive as a proof of vote at the participating stores for this project. Echo Beats Shōnan festival is sustained by the extensive network of friends and acquaintances that its members have within their local community.

2.3.1.1 Emotional force

According to Matsumoto, what triggered him to organize the Echo Beats Shōnan festival was the rage that he felt while listening to his grandmother’s stories and reading about the atomic bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima city by an American B-29 bomber on August 6, 1945. In our interview, Matsumoto recalls a particular incident of reading the *manga* or Japanese comic book series Barefoot Gen (*Hadashi no Gen*) written by Kenji Nakazawa (1987). Although Barefoot Gen is a fictional *manga*, its story is based on Nakazawa’s personal experience that

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adds authenticity to this work. The highly graphic visual depiction of deaths and injuries that the

bombing inflicted makes Barefoot Gen not only informative and entertaining but also shocking.

Since Nakazawa completed the Barefoot Gen series in 1985, the *manga* has been read by tens of

millions of people in Japan and it has become one of the representative works that shape the

national memory of Hiroshima bombing.

> One day I read *Barefoot Gen* in elementary school. When we were circulating our reading responses, even as kids my classmates wrote how we shouldn't repeat the experience. I was the only person in class who wrote that I was going to kill all Americans when I grew up. My teacher scolded me, or rather asked me why I wrote a response like that, so as a kid I started rebelling against my teacher. That was the beginning. People say they are using nuclear power for "peaceful purposes" but the workers' stories about their conditions [in the nuclear power plant] are disastrous… and I started thinking whether there wasn't a way to stop using nuclear energy. In the process, I started wanting to make my own electricity.

Matsumoto's rage might be described as what Renato Rosaldo (1989) calls emotional force,

the force that Rosaldo explained as what drives the Ilongot to go headhunting. Emotional force is

generated when there is a rupture in an intimate relationship that brings new meaning to symbols

or the production of new symbols to express the traumatic experience of loss. Psychoanalysts

maintain that emotional force carries a psychological significance in the process of

subjectification because, according to Rosaldo, emotions confer depth upon the symbols people

use to express their stories. Without downplaying the psychological significance of emotions,

Matsumoto's story reveals how the catalyst that drove him to make his own biodiesel oil was not

only his rage but also the following question that made him reflexively perceive an antagonism:

You say that you hate nuclear energy but aren't you playing electronic music? (*omae genpatsu*

iyada tte itteru kedo, elekutoronikku mūjikku yatteru no ka?).

From then on Matsumoto began making his own biodiesel fuel, which he originally planned

to turn into a business. However, Matsumoto encountered many hardships looking for a sponsor

that ultimately led him to abort his plan. "I knocked on a lot of doors… corporations, electric appliance stores, asking them to invest in our business. But they won't take that risk because they're in it for the business and they won't just invest in some Joe Schmo who suddenly shows up on their doorstep." This did not phase Matsumoto, who continued to make his biodiesel oil but on his own terms. He says:

> We're doing it our own way underground, as an underground group (*chika soshiki*). We're partying but we never lost our pride. We do our own thing (*dokuji no mono*) our own way and we create a single, unitary cycle.

Through their acts of *puissance*, Matsumoto and his friends organized the Echo Beats Shōnan festival that allowed him to make the music that he loves using his homemade biodiesel oil. Matsumoto identifies himself and his friends as an "underground group" that united them through their work of birthing "our own thing." Matsumoto's self-reference as an "underground group" is stated not as a resistance *against* the dominant class but his struggle *with* the dominant social order that is indifferent or even hostile to the use of alternative energy. Nevertheless, Matsumoto's self-identification as an "underground group" does not imply that his group is a subcultural group. It should rather be interpreted as the invisibility of emotional force that collectivized Matsumoto and his friends who resonated or "echoed" with Matsumoto's ethos. We might therefore understand Matsumoto's emotional force as the underground wellspring of *puissance* that maintains the group's autonomy as doing "our own thing our own way" even without a discourse that can fix Matsumoto's position.

2.3.1.2 Common sense

Another reason Echo Beats Shōnan should not be construed as a subcultural group is found in Matsumoto's description of his practice as "common sense." The following statement made by

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Matsumoto demonstrates how he conceptualizes Echo Beats Shōnan not as the deviant Other of the dominant national culture but a group that exercises "common sense" (*atarimae*):

> Echo Beats produces a completely self-generating power system. What Echo Beats means is bringing all the restaurants that provide us with their waste oil as vendors there (at the Echo Beats Shōnan festival), and using their waste oil again to generate electricity using that generator over there. So it's self-sustainable, although it's not something to boast about. We do it as common sense (*atarimae ni yatteru koto desuyo*). Our friends and family already know that we do it, that we are making things move using the electricity we produced ourselves. That's what gives us pride for all of us.

Common sense throws subculture theory into relief because it indicates that their acts of *puissance* are not motivated by resistance but guided by their common sense. Michel de Certeau writes that common sense is a judgment, ""a middle term" between theory and praxis" (1988: 72). Common sense allows Matsumoto to make peace with his trying past by normalizing his emotionally charged practice, thus making his event "relative not to an exteriority, but to a mode of exercise: it puts into play the *concrete* experience of a *universal* principle of harmony between the imagination and the understanding" (ibid: 74). Moreover, common sense helps members of the Echo Beats Shōnan to weave a chain of conversions: turning waste oil into biodiesel oil, which is used to generating electricity for the festival and collecting the waste oil from the festival again to produce biodiesel oil. This produces a self-sustainable festival that is singular, by which I mean that the Echo Beats Shōnan music festival weaves its own web of significance rather than being a 'subculture' of the dominant national culture.

Common sense also normalizes acts of *puissance* as a lifestyle that brings about "(moral) freedom, (esthetic) creation, and a (practical) act" (ibid: 74). For example in the following passage, Matsumoto claims to have quit "proselytizing" the use of renewable energy. His statement reveals how acts of *puissance* have achieved a level of normalization as a ritual that transformed his activism into a lifestyle:

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I thought I should put it into practice as a low-key endeavor (*jimichi ni*), so that's what I'm doing right now. I stopped proselytizing, saying this is how we should do it, last year. I mean, at the Echo Beats festival two years ago. Everybody is gradually beginning to know. Those who are close have come to understand each other through Echo Beats so it has become common sense. So it's becoming common sense that we are establishing our own economic sphere through the practice of collecting waste oil, generating electricity for music, just in this city.

This statement suggests that Matsumoto does not see the Echo Beats Shōnan festival as a form of activism to promote alternative energy. Yet one may wonder why "everybody is gradually beginning to know" when Matsumoto had decided to quit "proselytizing" the need for alternative energy. Matsumoto's claim that "Those who are close have come to understand each other" indicates that the festival not only serves as an occasion to share one's beliefs and values with others through practice, but practice also helps Matsumoto and others embody those beliefs and values as common sense. In other words, Matsumoto's friends and family have come to learn how to make and use renewable energy in their everyday practice that "proselytizing" them about its benefits has become a moot point. Matsumoto no longer makes a big deal out of producing biodiesel oil but maintains it as a "low-key endeavor" because he is not trying to persuade or influence others to see the benefits of renewable energy. Instead, he has come to see that sharing his beliefs and values through everyday practice is a much more effective way to promote renewable energy. It also prevents him from dividing himself against an imaginary Other, which can jeopardize the singularity of his music festival that he worked hard to achieve. Mastumoto feels that "everybody is beginning to know" as participants learn about Echo Beats Shōnan through their acts of *puissance* even without persuading or influencing others about the benefits of renewable energy.

2.3.1.3 Poetic space

The acts of *puissance* that produce the Echo Beats Shōnan music festival in its singularity also produces a social space that promises new possibilities for action and change. Social space cannot be thought in terms of the linear trajectory of cause and effect or even dialectically as a synthesis of thesis and antithesis. As Lefebvre maintains, social space is not a mental space. It cannot be thought but only perceived as an intersubjectively meaningful, historical moment. For example, we saw that the Echo Beats Shōnan music festival did not begin with an intention to produce and use biodiesel fuel in an attempt to save the environment, even though Matsumoto makes biodiesel oil to boycott nuclear energy. The festival itself was an unintended consequence of the acts of *puissance* that helped Matsumoto displace his antagonism where his desire to make electronic music seemed to be inhibited by an inevitable use of nuclear energy. Nevertheless, Matsumoto's statement below shows how organizing the Echo Beats Shōnan music festival displaced his antagonism but it did not result in his emancipation. Rather, by talking about the festival Matsumoto constitutes himself in the poetic space of "life" as he states below:

> One day I saw this television show. The show said that even if there was a nuclear war and the entire world was devastated, unless the earth is destroyed it will regenerate itself with vegetation. They said the earth will be green again in 20 years. Even if all the man-made buildings are destroyed and humans perish, they said the earth will be fine. I felt relieved when I saw that. I thought, oh, that's great. It's fine because we're human. We are simple creatures. Humans are destroying the earth by rapid overpopulation only in these past few, around a hundred, years. It made me wonder if we are like a cancer to the earth. To have something destroyed here to be reincarnated… I thought this could be my first experience of reincarnation. I've always thought reincarnation, reincarnation in the Buddhist sense, isn't really necessary. I want everything to end in this life. I want everything to burn out and end in this life. I don't wish to meet someone in my next life. For the time being, my goal is to give value with the people who are close, to establish an intimate network by each taking another's hand, and to create a great harmonious unity.

Matsumoto, imagining an apocalyptic future, asserts that nature overpowers culture by invoking the idea of "reincarnation." Matsumoto suggests that human intervention to stop the "cancerous" destruction of earth is not only futile but also unnecessary because the latter restores itself through autopoiesis. Although lives are reincarnated through autopoiesis, Matsumoto also asserts that reincarnation is unnecessary because life as we know it does not exist without the intimate bonds and relationships that weave meaning out of the impersonal ebb and flow of life as "a great harmonious unity."

Terms such as "reincarnation" and "great harmonious unity" should not be taken as a sign of Matsumoto's religiosity or a symptom of his alterity. Rather, I maintain that "reincarnation" refers to what Bessire (2011) calls apocalyptic futurism, a cognitive template that organizes shifting senses of being-in-the-world by providing an image of self-objectification and self-transformation. The image of "reincarnation" allows Matsumoto to think about the members' reverberating passion that syncopates through the beats of Echo Beats Shōnan music festival. It also allows Matsumoto to perceive the Echo Beats Shōnan music festival as a poetic space in which his acts of *puissance* shapes while being shaped by the reverberating passion and practice in the poetic image of "a great harmonious unity." According to philosopher Gaston Bachelard, poetic image is the product of an unceasing inversion of subject and object that is expressed through poetry that "puts language in a state of emergence, in which life becomes manifest through its vivacity" (1994: xxvii). Matsumoto explains this moment of emergence that signifies freedom from the systems of power that govern social reality as "anarchy":

> Yes, a great harmonious unity (*daichōwa*). A great, big one where everybody is… the ideal is anarchy. That people can get along even without a government. But I don't think anarchy is possible because it's too utopian for people. People aren't evolved to achieve that yet. But isn't anarchy, or a society founded upon individuals standing independently and gradually cooperating its basic tenet? Maybe? So although that's the ideal, and I don't think we can get that far…

For Matsumoto, the concept "great harmonious unity" helps him reflect upon himself as an agent taking part in the production of social space, but it does not position Matsumoto to speak about this space as a discursive subject. As Lefebvre repeatedly argues, the production of space does not necessarily entail a discourse on space (1991: 16, 36, 132). His narrative spoken in the third person "we" indicates that he speaks from a location inside social space where he posits "anarchy" as a potential goal that "we" might be able to achieve. Indeed, the "great harmonious unity" is a lived space that Matsumoto describes both positively as a space produced by the sustainability of Echo Beats Shōnan as well as imaginatively, through its potential to create a new "anarchist" social order. The Echo Beats Shōnan music festival provides its members with a poetic space in which members not only internalize the poetic image of a "great harmonious unity" as their thoughts, memories and dreams but also externalize this image through various projects.

Echo Beats Shōnan music festival developed a social ecology of individuals who independently undertook projects that externalize the poetic image of a "great harmonious unity." From our conversation, I gathered that Matsumoto possessed an extensive social network that not only includes artists but also residents, celebrities and politicians. Matsumoto's friends have also told me that the Echo Beats Shōnan music festival was instrumental for initiating their own projects that "echoed" Matsumoto's passion. For example, earlier I mentioned how "Our Future is in Our Hands" (*Mirai wa Bokura no Te no Naka*) project led by Kengo Furuya had spun off from Furuya's association with Echo Beats Shōnan. Naoya Hori is also another person who was inspired by Matsumoto to initiate "Beach Money Project" (*Bīchi Manī Purojekuto*), a project that encourages people to pick up sea glasses so they can be used as a local currency to be exchanged with various goods and services from participating stores, shops and restaurants in

the Kamakura-Fujisawa region. These examples show how the Echo Beats Shōnan music festival also serves as an incubator for projects that not only weave a social fabric but also a regional culture by which the poetic image of a "great harmonious unity" may be perceived as a social reality.

2.3.2   Kamando Ichiba

Kamando Ichiba is a citizen-run tenth anniversary project of the Kamakura NPO Center. The Kamakura NPO Center is the first publicly funded citizen run institution of its kind in Japan. It was established in 1998 to provide the physical building located near the Kamakura train station and to facilitate various nonprofit organizations in Kamakura to exchange information with one another and educate the public. In 2016, 360 nonprofit organizations are registered members of the Kamakura NPO Center. Most organizations are active within the city, but some are national organizations whose activities reach beyond the city and a few are active internationally. The NPO Center helps registered nonprofit organizations by providing funding information as well as legal, accounting and computer-related advice, while providing a venue to organize events that promote civic activities and for its members to interact with one another.

Shinji Morishita, a Japanese male in his late thirties, acts as the Kamando Ichiba Executive Chief. Morishita is the owner of Magokoro restaurant in Kamakura that serves dishes that uses hemp seeds and organic ingredients. Morishita is not a native of Kamakura, but only recently moved there to open his restaurant on a prime oceanfront property. He is a massage therapist by training and an African drum enthusiast who also used to sell ethnic musical instruments at outdoor music festivals. He is part of the generation that grew up in the '90s when outdoor music festivals were all the rage. He told me that the idea of Kamando Ichiba came to him when he saw

outdoor markets held in town squares of almost any city that he traveled through in South America.

Kamando Ichiba, translated as the "Marketplace (*ichiba*) for the People of Kamakura (*Kamando*)," is a biannual event held at the Yuigahama Beach Park in Kamakura city. On the day of Kamando Ichiba, the 25,000 square meter Yuigahama Beach Park is divided into multiple areas including learning area (*shiru ba*), eating area (*taberu ba*), selling area (*uru ba*), interactive area (*majiwaru ba*) and baby's area (*akachan no ba*). Nonprofit organizations from the Kamakura NPO Center hand out flyers and provide information about their civic activities in the information area. For example, during my fieldwork in October 2010 I received flyers that announced a public talk that promoted the *machizukuri* basic ordinance, nonprofit group meetings about local issues such as recycling and waste, and information on childcare support. At the eating area, food vendors cater food from restaurants in the city, offering an international selection of drinks and dishes such as curry, kebab, meatball soup, lamb and Okinawan *shīkwāsā* juice. To reduce waste and promote recycling, the Kamando Ichiba Committee rents plastic cups and plates for 150 yen (about $2) per container, and gave back 100 yen when the containers were returned. Many people who were aware of this system also seemed to have brought their own plastic cups and plates. The selling area is a combination of a flea market and a farmer's market. Independent vendors from Kamakura city and its vicinity rent a space to sell second hand goods, home grown vegetables and home cooked food. There are also performances of all kinds including music, dance, play and storytelling held at the interactive area. I did not stay to watch the performance, but a group of children were handing out flyers to everyone yelling: "we're having a performance! Please come! (*geki wo yarimasu, kite kudasai*)". Kamando Ichiba is also a

family-friendly event where a "baby area" is reserved specifically for mothers to change diapers for their newborns and let toddlers play in a large plastic playhouse.

2.3.2.1 "I" and "me"

Morishita, speaking about the process leading up to his involvement with Kamando Ichiba, shared his trials and tribulations of coordinating various individuals in order to organize an event. Morishita tells his story in the first person "I" who recounts his memories about what happened to "me" in the past. According to George Herbert Mead's model of reflexivity (1967), "I" is the ego who reacts to the "me" that arises by taking the attitudes of others. However, Mead's model cannot be applied to analyze Morishita's narrative because Mead's model presupposes a common discourse that allows the "I" to reflexively take the attitude of others as "me." As the following excerpt reveals, Morishita's narrative is not organized by a discourse that allows his "I" to speak reflexively so much as it is a reflection about an antagonism that he struggled with in the past:

> Well, yes, Kamando Ichiba is actually a tenth anniversary project of the NPO Center. Do you understand? But it's not the NPO Center that's organizing it. The Kamando Ichiba Executive Committee is responsible for its execution which I established and where I work as the Committee Chair. But as a project, it's the tenth anniversary project of the NPO Center. **So the reason I am [doing it]** (*nande ore ga*)**…** and that's the interesting part I felt from organizing a lot of events is that I met interesting people through doing events but planning and executing everything by myself, personally… if I do it by myself then it's at the level of the individual.

Like Matsumoto, Morishita's narrative is constructed from an internal antagonism rather than an external conflict. We can see how the "me" that Morishita refers to is his past self, whose trials and tribulations are recounted in the first person "I" that emerged as a result of displacing his antagonism. Morishita's "I" is not a self who reacts but it is a self who explains as presented in the next statement: "So the reason I am [doing it]" (*nande ore ga*). Even if Morishita learned

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to take the position of others, without a higher order discourse Morishita would not have been able to reflexively integrate the division between his desire to organize events as an "I" and to accommodate the resistance and foot dragging from others as a "me." Morishita's current position as the Kamando Ichiba Executive Committee Chair allows him to explain this antagonism as a problem that he created by acting as an "individual" rather than a representative of an authoritative institution. However, antagonism is not a problem created by Morishita's actions or by the resistance and foot dragging of those who Morishita tried to work with. As Laclau and Mouffe (1985) explained, antagonism is an experience of being divided against oneself for not having a subject position from which one can speak.

Morishita's story thus explains how he displaced his antagonism by working for the Kamakura NPO Center that not only authorized him to speak the discourse of 'the city' but also allowed him to interact with various civil society organizations, local businesses and public institutions as a Kamando:

> If I organized something personally, some people might support me but there will probably be those who won't. So honestly speaking, I didn't want to do events anymore. I kept thinking to myself that events weren't it. **Then what is it (*nandarou*)…** so I've been nursing a plan and during this time the opportunity with the NPO Center came along. Then there's suddenly equality [among participants] if I'm not the guy doing it but it's the tenth anniversary project of the NPO Center, both in status and participation. If I say I'm not the guy in charge but it's a project for the NPO Center to establish deeper ties with the local community, then everybody including the government is at an equal level. You're also connecting with the city and it becomes a lot easier to speak to people from different organizations.

Morishita's self-transformation transpired not only from the acts of *puissance* that displaced his antagonism as Matsumoto did. His self-transformation was also facilitated by the Kamakura NPO Center that provided him with a higher order discourse of 'the city' that also created a subject position from which to talk about and coordinate the representative members of various civil society organizations, private businesses and public institutions. As a result, Morishita does

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not speak about Kamando Ichiba in terms of his common sense but as the next section shows, he

talks about the importance of knowing the inconsistency between one's common sense

experience of an event and the discourse that determines what people can say about the event.

2.3.2.2 Knowing

According to Morishita, acts of *puissance* produces knowing, or more specifically knowing

that "something is wrong." In our conversation, Morishita refers to our common experience with

the rave scene in Goa, India, to elaborate on what he means by knowing:

Morishita: One more important thing, [this is] a common feature with Goa Trance, but
               why are ravers generally against war? How about you, is there something
               you're consciously interested in doing?

Author: Interested… well, I'd like to contribute something to society.

Morishita: See, that's how we think. So the question is why ravers think that way. I've
               been thinking about this for a while, but it's because we've come to know
               (*shitchatta te koto*). That applies to everything. In any world it's whether
               you know or not.

Author: At what level?

Morishita: At any level it's whether you know about something or not. That goes with
               the community or with the world of Goa Trance. You went to Goa, you did
               drugs and danced… But everyone was nice and [the experience] wasn't so
               bad. You danced a lot, you felt good, and every person you met was nice so
               you came out of it thinking that it was a good experience. Nobody became
               particularly violent even though they did drugs. Even though there were
               many people and they may have visually looked ugly, but people for the
               most part were happy dancing. So you think it's not so bad. Right, you
               know when you experience it. If you haven't experienced it, then it's just a
               drug party and if you're only looking at photos then you might not want to
               have your children go there. So to know means that (*shitchau tte souyū koto
               nano*). And then you gradually begin to know (*sousuruto dandan
               shirihajimeru wake*). You know that people can be happy even if they don't
               live the accepted lifestyle, they don't go to college and they're just living…
               People who realize those things are motivated to do something because you
               know something is not right. It's that simple, isn't it? That goes for me too
               and I think for a lot of others… They realize because they're in a different
               world.

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Morishita recounts that his first hand observation of the rave scene made him aware of the incongruity between his pleasurable experience of raves and the discursive knowledge that vilifies it through its association with recreational drugs and its reprehensive visual representations in the media. His explanation demonstrates that in addition to the kind of knowing that discursively identifies an object through its mimetic resemblance, one can also know, based on memory, the incongruence between what the discourse says about an object and one's perception of the same object. Morishita does not explicitly address why he felt "something is not right" but he juxtaposes these two contrasting images of the rave scene. The statement "You danced a lot, you felt good, and every person you met was nice" is his perception of the scene, which is juxtaposed with the media representation of raves as a "bad" "drug party" with full of "ugly" people. Knowing occurs through the *puissance* of "being in a different world," a world shaped by a non-correspondence between one's perception of an object inside social space and the representational discourse about it. Anthropologist William Kelly (2004) vividly describes this state of "being in a different world" as an insider *and* outsider of social space through his ethnography of the Hanshin Tigers baseball fans in Japan. According to Kelly, being a fan is to know the art of being in-between. Fans are usually insiders who passionately support their team. However, they are also the first to criticize the players as an outsider. Kelly writes: "Tiger fans are ever vigilant for any slip or mistake by the objects of their adulation, quick to criticize for any expectations not met. Tiger players, managers, and club offers have all been vulnerable to sudden swings of fan support. At several moments in games during the recent seasons of dismal Tiger teams, the fan clubs have even boycotted the team by refusing to cheer" (2004: 95).

The same logic can be applied to members of civil society organizations who can also be avid supporters and critics of their city. Residents of Kamakura may have even stronger sentiments than the average citizen because many who choose to live in Kamakura have moved there to enjoy and care for the city's rich cultural heritage and protected environment. For example in a book written by Mitsuko Watanabe, a candidate who ran for Mayor of Kamakura in the 2009 election, gives an account of how she became interested in local politics. Watanabe writes that her interest grew from discovering that the City of Yokohama, to where she moved after spending some time in Kamakura, did not have a recycling program after having known that the City of Kamakura did. She continues:

> Having gotten used to living in Kamakura, I thought that [the City of Yokohama] was being wasteful… So I went to the City Hall to ask why they weren't separating recyclables. I received the answer: "Our City has a larger budget and a bigger population size so we are making it easier for citizens by centralizing the process of collecting and burning waste… I wasn't satisfied with this answer so with the help of my friends I founded the "Association for the Waste Problem in Yokohama" (*Yokohama Gomi wo Kangaeru Kai*) to address this issue with the City and make requests to the city council but nothing came of it. That was the first time I realized how big the gap was between the concerns of citizens and those of the government and the city council. (2009: 6-7)

Watanabe's motivation to become involved in local politics clearly emerged from knowing or perceiving the absence of a recycling program in Yokohama city that was informed by her memory of having one in Kamakura city. Likewise, Morishita states that Kamando Ichiba serves as a site where people can similarly arrive at knowing while finding resources to help them act upon their knowing. Although Morishita does not tell us, Kamando Ichiba is also a site of *hitozukuri* that makes participants into a Kamando, or the "People of Kamakura." As I discuss below, *hitozukuri* takes place by engaging members of the Kamando Ichiba Executive Committee and numerous participants to collaboratively produce and manage Kamando Ichiba.

In doing so, Kamando helps transform the social space of Kamando Ichiba into a socially inclusive civic space in which not only civil society organizations but also city officials and local businesses can come together through their social interaction and market exchange.

2.3.2.3 Performative space

Kamando is not an identity, but a sign-vehicle that mediates the interaction of individuals and groups. We might think of Kamando as a mask or a character, similar to mascots like Funassyi and Kumamon that unofficially represent the city of Funahashi and Kumamoto prefecture respectively. Characters not only present themselves as anthropomorphized caricatures of real animals but in doing so, they also blur the boundary between the inner, two-dimensional space of fantasy and the outer, three-dimensional world. Nozawa argues that characters have shape-shifting powers where "people are not simply consuming and producing "2D" characters. As "3D" beings, they are realizing themselves as characters, transforming themselves into fantastic but real beings through cross-dimensional travel" (Nozawa 2013). Kamando is an iconic character for the People of Kamakura but it requires, like any character, voice actors that animate it by "giving a life-force, a spirit" (ibid). According to Nozawa, these voice actors carry out "effacement-work" that is to be distinguished from Goffman's "face-work." Face-work manages one's impression upon others by creating a transparent correspondence between one's internal state and external performance. Effacement-work on the other hand plays with the ambiguity of non-correspondence between the voice actors who animates the character "from the inside" and the external image of the character itself. Morishita and other members of the Kamando Ichiba Executive Committee can be considered as voice actors whose acts of *puissance* animate Kamando but, as Morishita reveals through his distinction of "I" and "me," Kamando is not an identity. Kamando helps mediate the acts of

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puissance by associating those acts with the City of Kamakura that allows Morishita to say "I'm not the guy in charge but it's a project for the NPO Center to establish deeper ties with the local community." It facilitates Morishita and the Kamando Ichiba Executive Committee to collectivize participants who are divided between various social groups.

Although there are more than 300 civil society organizations registered with the Kamakura NPO Center, Matsumoto explains that they hardly work together let alone know about each other. One of the goals of Kamando Ichiba has therefore been to create a horizontal network between the civil society organizations that are registered with the Kamakura NPO Center. As a result, the biannual Kamando Ichiba event is planned, executed and managed by civil society organizations under a turn-taking mechanism. This allows the Kamando Ichiba to be produced collectively and collaboratively as a publicly funded citizen run event. Matsumoto stated that his involvement was greatly welcomed by the Kamakura NPO Center where it was, at the time of his involvement, managed mostly by retirees. He explains that the Director of the NPO Center recruited him because he knew the people from the Center well and he also had his personal networks outside of the Center through the events that he had been organizing. He recounts the NPO Center's dilemma as such:

> The NPO Center had its 10th anniversary so, well, people had been working hard for those ten years. They were working hard but they weren't expanding, reaching out, because its members were becoming comprised of senior citizens. So [the Director] came to me and said how they want to expand their network. They want more young people to take an interest. They wanted to network with a more diverse population.

Morishita's participation undoubtedly bridged the generational divide while his style of events that drew semiotic elements from the rave scene also helped attract a young audience. Morishita also states that Kamando Ichiba is a site where old and new residents of Kamakura city can get to know about the city and become involved in matters of the community. Residents who

have lived in Kamakura for a long time may have well-established connections that allow them to be more actively involved, but new residents may not have had the chance to establish those connections yet and may be looking for ways to do so. Morishita says Kamando Ichiba offers a place (*ba*) for people to meet and connect with one another:

> The goal that I want to achieve with Kamando Ichiba is, well, I first met people who were already involved [in civic activities]. At the same time, there are others who want to get involved but don't know how. Then there are those who are completely indifferent. Even if we exclude those who are indifferent, there are many people who have moved to Kamakura and are interested in becoming involved but who don't know anybody. They really want to connect with their neighbors but they just don't know how to find that connection. So I'm not doing anything new but the primary goal of Kamando Ichiba is to create a place (*ba-zukuri*) where those who are already involved and those who want to get involved can find connections at the community level. That's why it's called "community market where people connect and networks expand" (*tsunagaru, hirogaru comyunitī māketto*).

Morishita calls his work of coordinating the young and old generations as well as newcomers and old residents of Kamakura "*ba-zukuri*." The common definition of *ba* is a site or a place, but sociologist Mary Brinton translates it as a social location, which is an achieved status that can be differentiated from one's social position. *Ba*, such as schools and workplaces cultivate "an organization or bounded collective to which individuals belong and from which they derive a sense of identity and security" (Brinton 2010: 3). In the semiotics of Charles Pierce, we might understand Morishita's *ba-zukuri* as an interpretant that structures a correspondence between the sign-vehicle Kamando and its object Kamakura city. An interpretant provides the rule of translation, or "the expression of that process by which one level of organization is represented by another. In the language of structuralism, one set of differences, in being translated into another set of differences, establishes a *rule* of translation which creates meaning" (Liszka 1990: 52). By cultivating *ba* or social location, Morishita is working as an interpretant that organizes individuals and practices as a Kamando to weave a unique culture and lifestyle

that represents Kamakura city. Interestingly, Morishita does not refer to a political ideology or a religious belief for promoting *ba-zukuri*. In fact, he even says that he is not doing "anything new." What Morishita means by this statement is that Kamando Ichiba is not necessarily recruiting new members to the Kamakura NPO Center, taking civic action towards any particular goal or conducting *machizukuri* in an official capacity with the municipal government. Nevertheless, *ba-zukuri* produces a socially inclusive and autonomous civic space relatively free from the control of government and private enterprises by collectivizing participants as a Kamando.

2.3.3   Root Culture

Root Culture is a specified nonprofit corporation founded in 2006 by a motley group of individuals including a television director, actors and actresses, restaurant owner, art gallery owner, record label owner, magazine editor, movie producer, graphic designer, artist, dance performer and businessmen. Root Culture artists hold various genres of public events from musical concerts, art installations, performance workshops and theatrical plays. Their activities not only take place in Kamakura but also other cities in Japan and abroad. In an article published by Root Culture Director Kohji Setoh (2010), who also wears several hats as a musician, sound engineer and scholar, Root Culture critiques the idea of "art for art's sake" that established art as an autonomous domain, separate from society by arguing that the social and political system and art influence each other. He states that the purpose of Root Culture is to resolve socially embedded contradictions and issues not only through a theoretically informed analysis but also through a practical application of the arts (2010: 23).

Setoh also mentions in the same article that members of Root Culture engage in the arts as part of their lifework rather than an occupation. This distinction is important to understand that

their collaborative work involves their personality rather than their role that ultimately divides them between their professional and private lives. Avoiding this division, or becoming a full presence to themselves to equate work with life, is both their critique and practicing solution to the division between art and society that the idea of "art for art's sake" creates. Moreover, Setoh goes on to argue, art should not be confused with culture. He cites Rei Kawakubo, fashion designer and founder of Comme des Garçons, as stating thus:

> This is not my own definition, but there is a saying "art is an exception and culture is the norm." Art is what culture cannot comprehend. People often confuse art and culture by believing that art is part of the domain of culture, but this is a mistake. Art is an emergence of an exception in every domain from the worlds of film to fashion. What is considered exceptional is also always scandalous. Its reception is always resisted because it is out of the ordinary. Culture is that which reinterprets what originally emerged as exceptional for the larger community. (ibid: 6)

Setoh's reason for citing Kawakubo is to locate the work of Root Culture in the contradiction between art and culture "without establishing a hierarchy between them" (ibid: 7). He thinks that the relationship between art and culture is cyclical: "There is a culture that is shared by people and normalized as common knowledge, from which art emerges as an exception using culture as its foundation. Art that enriches society by providing a novel perspective as a type of innovation is interpreted in order to become part of culture for a wider community" (ibid: 8).

The notion of art as an exception certainly applies to the unconventional play "Hold The Clock: Gangsters in the Country of Roots," produced by Root Culture in collaboration with Yoshiko Chuma who was involved as a director and a performing artist. Hold The Clock is Root Culture's first collaborative work with Chuma, an artistic director and choreographer of The School of Hard Knocks that she founded in New York with filmmaker Jacob Burckhardt and musician Alvin Curran in 1980. The play is based on a popular fiction written by novelist Genichirō Takahashi titled *Sayonara, Gangsters* (1997[1982]). Both the novel and the play are

full of idiosyncratic speeches, seemingly random movements and haphazardly organized scenes that are patterned in a style that might be characterized as bricolage, avant-garde or postmodern. Both Takahashi's and Chuma's artistic inspirations may partially be explained by their biographical histories. Author Takahashi was a student at the Yokohama National University when he became involved in '60s student protests against the Anpo treaty. He was subsequently arrested, after which he suffered from aphasia or an impairment of speech that also affected his reading and writing. Takahashi worked in construction for about a decade before he began writing again, eventually winning several literary awards. Chuma's work is informed by her experience as a Japanese expatriate in the United States. The front page of her School of Hard Knocks website begins with the next quote: "When you meet other cultures, you focus on how different you are, but eventually you realize that you are not so different. Creation begins by looking at that gap. And that gap was what made me an artist" (Yoshiko Chuma & The School of Hard Knocks 2016). Chuma's creative approach to her work is also rooted in the multicultural environment of New York where cultural differences are part of its urban sociality.

2.3.3.1 Heterotopia

Hold The Clock was held at Zou no Hana Terrace, a public art gallery built by Yokohama City as part of its Creative City Core Areas in order to serve as a "site of encounters and interactions between various peoples and cultures to help evolve a new culture" (City of Yokohama and Wacoal Art Center 2009). Zou no Hana Terrace is a 600 square meter art gallery with a built-in café. The first thing I noticed entering the Zou no Hana Terrace in February 2011 was the warmth that sharply contrasted with the icy cold wind that was blowing outside. It was not just the indoor heating system, but also the intimate space and the wooden chairs placed closely side by side surrounding the stage added to the feeling of warmth. The number of

audience was also small, with only about fifty people attending who seemed to be mostly acquaintances of the performers from Root Culture. Twenty-four questions in white stenciled letters were printed on the glass window, an installation from the previous event "Twenty Four Questions at the Zou no Hana" by the poet Shuntarō Tanigawa. These questions were random but pertained to the place of Yokohama such as "What do you think this place looked like three hundred million years ago", "How would you change this place if you had unlimited wealth", "Do you think there should be a real elephant standing next to the statue of the elephant 'Perry'". These questions not only mediated my view of the port but also triggered my thoughts about it, which in turn kept my thoughts grounded to the place of Zou no Hana Terrace.

In contrast to the intimate space that the Zou no Hana created, the stage was set up using Brechtian techniques of an epic theater. Epic theater is a staging technique developed by Bertolt Brecht based on his philosophy that the stage should mirror the audience's real life. His intention was to promote rational self-reflection and critical interpretation among the audience that prevented emotional identification with the staged play. The stage of Hold The Clock reflected this technique by alienating the audience from a facile recognition and interpretation of the stage that was bare and minimalist. On the stage were aluminum frames that visually sectioned off space, tables, chairs, microphones, two large screens where black and white images were projected and very bright lightings that spotlighted certain areas of the stage. At the start of the play, Chuma also speaks in the distance about how the stage is set up by uttering: "Movement Scene 1, Setting, Image and Sound": "Two conference tables to seat the casts, eight chairs, two telephones, five stand microphones, a long blackboard, chalks white, blue, red, two twenty centimeter by ten centimeter rectangular mirrors, two silver bowls with a diameter of twenty centimeters, a container to knead dough, seven silver bowls, a large one meter by forty

centimeter transparent sheet, four one meter square cubes" and so on. Chuma's description that uttered what the audience sees created a dialectic movement between the closeness of the spoken voice and the alienation of the stage props.

After Chuma identifies all the props used in the play, a young female performer stands in front of the audience and speaks into the microphone the following lines. She performs Chuma, but her performance intentionally questions her authority to represent the "real" Chuma:

> I'm Chuma. My name is Chuma. Chuma Yoshiko is me. I'm standing here. Right here. Chuma Yoshiko is standing here. She has been standing here all along and she will be watching the progress of the play from here. She was here all along, but there is a part of me who thinks she should move away from this place to watch. Maybe I should watch from a different place…

By speaking from a twice-removed place of the actress' performance of Chuma, boundaries that usually mark the performance as separate from the real world are related and made porous and fluid through this statement. It creates what Michel Foucault (1984) calls a heterotopic space that inverts and contests reality and modifies the way one sees. As in Magritte's surrealist painting "Ceci n'est pas une pipe", this heterotopic space breaks away from the representational authority of the narrative. Her speech that speaks about Chuma in first, second and third persons decouples the semiotic utterance with the symbolic performance, creating a heterotopic space that mirrors the audience's experience of the play. In other words, the audience also listens in the first person, is called upon in the second person and watches the play in the third person.

2.3.3.2 Speech acts, movements and code-switching

Hold The Clock is a play that does not tell a story so much as it stages the acts of *puissance* in all its incoherencies and inconsistencies. For example, in some of the scenes that structure the play performers gather around a table placed at center of the stage to speak, but each performer individually practices speaking their script without ever engaging in a dialogue with one another.

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For example in one scene, several performers gather together and on both ends of the stage a performer stands in front of a microphone holding a script. Although these two performers are facing each other, they never speak to one other. Instead, they seem to be rehearsing their lines.

Male performer:	Tonight, I'm finally meeting a friend who I haven't been able to see, I haven't seen for a long time, I haven't seen for about three months. We have a lot to catch up, and the words come gushing out. Next.
Chuma:	Take one (in English)
Female performer:	Once upon a time people possessed a name. And people said that names were given by one's parents. It said so in a book that I read. You remember being read to by your mother when you were a child, right, cradled in her warm lap, in a happy environment…

Chuma's voice "take one" in English gives the cue to transition between the performers' practice of speaking and acting. They are speech acts that mark a rhythmic transition between scenes while framing the action as a performance. These speech acts may also be accompanied by a sound or music that patterns the audiovisual movements that the audience sees on stage. For example in many scenes, a metronome ticks in the background. The audience may not be able to understand the point of performers' speeches, but the length of each speech is timed and speech acts such as "next" and "take one" mark the transition between speeches as in the above example. Furthermore, the speed of performers' movements is intensified and these movements are dramatized through the use of sound effects and music at the end of each scene. This creates a feeling of suspense for what might happen next, even without a plot to invoke the audience's anticipation.

The play also makes extensive use of code switching between Japanese and English. As in the above example, the performers speak in Japanese but the English translation occasionally follow the Japanese speech. For example, the Japanese statement "phone rings" (*denwa naru*) is

followed by the word "telephone" in English or the Japanese for "then I turned the light off" (*sorekara watashi wa denki wo keshita*) is followed by the word "blackout" in English. These examples point to how performers speak Japanese to describe an action while its English translation declares the action as an event in an anonymous voice that uncouples the action from the subject affecting the action. Code switching thus allows the audience to identify the actions on stage through the performer's description while the anonymous English word locates the action outside of the performer as a self-evident event in reality. Code switching thus uses Japanese and English languages not necessarily as a translation but in order to bring perceived experiences into play with the reality of events.

2.3.3.3 Middle voice

The following speech, repetitively uttered throughout the performance in both Japanese and English, is spoken in the middle voice. The middle voice is an action in which "the subject of the verb is affected by the action" (Barthes 1989: 18). Barthes distinguishes the middle voice with the active voice using the verb "to sacrifice" as an example. Barthes explains that "to sacrifice" is active if an action is performed outside of the subject, which would be the case if a priest sacrifices a victim in my place. However, the same verb is middle if by acting, the subject also affects himself. The middle voice is not a witness to the priest sacrificing a victim but it is the action that I enact by taking the knife from the priest to sacrifice the victim myself. In the following passage is spoken in such a middle voice that not only expresses one's feeling but also observes it, thereby closing the gap between the politics and poetics of aesthetics:

> I had a bad feeling about things ever since I was born. I like, I like, I like… I started feeling a little bit nice. Yes indeed, I have a very nice, very nice, very nice feeling. There's really nothing left for me to write. I finally managed to catch up with the present. Laying my pen down on my desk, I stood up from my chair and yawned.

The above passage articulates a change from a speaker's expression of feeling "I like, I like, I like…" and a recognition of its effect on oneself in the statement "I started feeling a little bit nice." The speaker's action is thus shown to affect the speaker so that the expressive bursts of one's feeling are observed as a meaningful emotion, made known by the statement "I have a very nice, very nice, very nice feeling." This transformation from sporadic bursts of feeling to a meaningful emotion constitutes the speaker in "the present." The middle voice thus announces the speaker's gradual possession of emotion, which ultimately constitutes the speaker in a web of significance that "holds the clock" where "there's really nothing left for me to write." The middle voice closes the heterotopic space by creating a correspondence between narrative discourse and performative acts that did not align at the beginning of the play. In doing so, the middle voice also emancipates the audience from a divided experience of listening to utterances that do not correspond to the movements on stage. It turns the heterotopic space into a lived reality that that the audience can share with the narrative performance.

2.4   Chapter Summary

This chapter studied acts of *puissance* by analyzing the self-transformation narratives of two artists and a play. I extrapolated the tacit knowledge that artists used in their story such as "common sense," "knowing" and "feeling" as ideal type concepts that highlight the tacit dimension of *puissance* that helped artists displace their antagonisms while unintentionally and collectively producing a civic space. For example, Matsumoto's narrative emphasized the common sense aspect of his practice of collecting waste oil from restaurants in the city to produce biodiesel oil that he used to generate the electricity for his Echo Beats Shōnan music festival. His common sense thus produces a social space that he perceives as a site where

individuals are learning to become autonomous from the government as "anarchy." Morishita expressed how one can initiate change from "knowing" there is a cognitive dissonance between one's experience of an event and the discourse about it. Kamando Ichiba, he said, was a site in which participants can get to know about each other and the city by performatively taking part in the marketplace as a Kamando. Finally, "feeling" is a word that was repeatedly uttered in a passage spoken on the stage of Hold The Clock, which I analyzed as a middle voice that brings the expression of feeling together with its observation as an emotion. I maintained that this middle voice helps bring the perceived and performative dimensions of civic space into a lived reality.

The next chapter studies individuals who volunteered for the civic coproduction (*shimin kyōdō*) of the international art festival Yokohama Triennale 2014. I study how the City of Yokohama constitutes the civic space that these independent artists produce by staging volunteers as a Supporter figure. I show how the Triennale Supporters' Office and the Yokohama Museum of Art organize volunteers into communities of practice in which they collectively author *puissance* by constructing and fashioning selves in their own image of 'the volunteer'. I discuss how communities of practice produce *puissance* that some volunteers subjectify as their motivation and will, some volunteers interpret as wonder and inspiration, and yet others qualify to negotiate the image and position of 'the volunteer' as those possessing comfort (*yutori*) and voice. I also discuss how the storied exhibition of 2014 Yokohama Triennale stages volunteers, in particular the gallery tour guides, so their performance as 'art mediators' support the storied exhibition. I maintain that volunteers become a Supporter figure by learning the communicative style that allows them to share their interpretation of contemporary art with others, which in turn brings the exhibition story to life.

Chapter 3   Authoring *Puissance*: 2014 Yokohama Triennale

The last chapter studied the acts of *puissance* by analyzing the self-transformation narratives

of two artists and a narrative from a theatrical play. I identified "common sense," "knowing" and

"feeling" as ideal type concepts that the artists used to reveal the tacit dimension of *puissance*. In

doing so, I maintained that the artists were not only able to displace their antagonisms but also

produce an autonomous civic space separate from the state and private economy as an

unintended consequence. In turn, this chapter studies individuals who volunteered for the 2014

Yokohama Triennale, an international contemporary art festival organized by the City of

Yokohama. The volunteers, who are officially known as the "Triennale Supporters," are the

focus of this chapter. I study how the Yokohama Triennale organized volunteers into

communities of practice where they collectively engaged in the practice of authoring *puissance*

to construct and fashion themselves in their own image of 'the volunteer'. In doing so, this

chapter asks the following questions: How did volunteers author *puissance* in their image of 'the

volunteer'? How did fashioning themselves in this image support the City of Yokohama as a

Supporter figure?

The 2014 Yokohama Triennale was held between August 1st and November 3rd of 2014. It

was the fifth edition of its series that began in 2001. The 2014 Yokohama Triennale was

organized by the City of Yokohama, Yokohama Arts Foundation, Japan Broadcasting

Corporation (NHK), The Asahi Shimbun and the Organizing Committee for Yokohama

Triennale with the cooperation of the Agency for Cultural Affairs and The Japan Foundation.

The artistic director was Yasumasa Morimura who installed over 400 artworks by 65 groups and

79 artists under the title of "Art Fahrenheit 451: Sailing into the sea of oblivion" at the

Yokohama Museum of Art and the Shinkō Pier Exhibition Hall at the Port of Yokohama. Tie-up

programs were held in tandem at the Creative Core Areas including the BankART Life IV –
Dreams of East Asia at the BankART Studio NYK, 2014 Koganechō Bazaar – Fictive
Communities Asia at the Hatsukou-Hinode Area, and the 2014 Yokohama Paratriennale at the
Zou no Hana Terrace. The 2014 Yokohama Triennale was also designated as the Yokohama
Core Project under the Culture City of East Asia program, a trilateral cultural exchange program
between the Cultural Ministries of Japan, South Korea and China.

Volunteers have been recruited to support the Yokohama Triennale since its inception in
2001. The number of volunteers has increased over the course of the festival's five editions that
took place in 2001, 2005, 2008, 2011 and 2014. Compared to 719 volunteers in 2001, the
number had more than doubled to 1,631 in 2014. Volunteers for the 2014 Yokohama Triennale
were organized by the Triennale Supporters' Office, which is part of the government-affiliated
arts NPO Koganecho Area Management Center that I discuss in the next chapter. The Triennale
Supporters' Office and the Yokohama Museum of Art were responsible for organizing,
scheduling and instructing the volunteers. All of the volunteers who registered with the Triennale
Supporters' Office helped work the shifts at the Museum's Visitors' Center where they greeted
visitors with information about the exhibit. Some of these volunteers also helped the artists
prepare and breakdown their scheduled events. The volunteers who registered with the
Yokohama Museum of Art were there as part of the Guide Team who received training by the
Museum staff in advance to act as a gallery tour guide for visitors. In addition to the Guide
Team, the Triennale Supporters' Office also organized five more teams including the Event
Team, Kids' Art Team, Logbook Team, Free Paper Team and the Design Team. Each of these
teams also held their own meetings to prepare for their activities that were held before and during
the 2014 Yokohama Triennale.

3.1   Biennalization and the volunteers

There has been a surge of contemporary art exhibitions known as biennials held around the world, which some scholars refer to as "biennalization" (Tang 2011; Montero 2012). The first and the longest running biennial to date is the Venice Biennale that opened in 1895. Six more Biennale opened in 1950s from Brazil, Egypt, Germany, Slovenia, Italy and France, then another twenty-one between 1970s and 1980s. Since the 1990s, the number of biennials and other recurrent contemporary art exhibitions has skyrocketed to over 150 (Osaka 2014). Montero states that approximately "30 to 40 biennials take place each year (almost one every ten days, on average)" (2011: 13). Most of these biennials are in Europe, followed by Asia and the Americas. This expansion of biennials has been an impetus for The Biennale Foundation to be founded in 2015 as a platform for biennial organizations to network and exchange knowledge, information and expertise. In Japan, the now defunct Osaka Triennale was the first biennial to open in 1990. It ushered in other biennials like the Fukuoka Asian Art Triennale that began in 1999 and the Echigo Tsumari Art Triennale in 2000. The first Yokohama Triennale was held in 2001 and it is one of the fifteen biennials and triennials that are currently held across Japan.

Despite the growing number of biennials, there has been a relative dearth of scholarly research on them (Montero 2012: 15). Where research has been done, scholars frame biennials as a spectacle but from contradictory perspectives. On the one hand there are scholars like Tang (2007; 2011) who critique biennials based on Guy Debord's notion of the spectacle as a simulation of capitalist society supported by commodity fetishism. Tann argues that biennials are a spectacle that celebrates economic neoliberalism by promoting nation branding and privatization of contemporary art. Tang maintains that her target of critique "is not the individual biennale, nor its individual artists, critics and curators… but the interests we are made to serve

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without our consent, and against our well being" (2011: 74) that the politics behind biennalization serves. On the other hand, curators like Okwui Enwezor (2010) and Hou Hanru (2005) posit a more nuanced interpretation of the spectacle as critique of a frozen system of thinking in a rapidly changing world where the boundary between reality and the spectacle is blurred. Unlike Tang, Hanru argues that Debord had coined the notion of the spectacle to critique a fixed image of society, which is what biennials do by putting forth visions of alternative possibilities through experiments, contestations and negotiations with the global now.

Enwezor illustrates the difference between these two interpretations of the spectacle through the example of the May 18, 1980 Korean uprising against the military junta led by General Chun Doo Hwan and the May 1968 riots in Paris. Enwezor states that while May '68 is "often read in the tradition of Western avant-garde practices of instantaneous shock, rupture, and attack on the legitimacy of prevailing political orders, social norms, and aesthetic logics" (2010: 27), they forget about the other social movements outside the Euro-American circuit. In doing so, Enwezor claims, May '68 avant-garde movement displays "the same form of imperial hubris usually displayed by the dominant sociopolitical institutions that the protests were reacting against in the first place" (ibid: 32). Enwezor argues that contrary to May '68, the Gwangju Biennale in Korea that he helped curate in 2007 commemorates the postcolonial cultural resistance by fashioning "a space to articulate the shifting borders of artmaking and contemporary art's multiple audiences" (ibid: 38). Enwezor describes this space as the "politics of spectacle" because it opens up a variety of positions that help displace audiences from the ignorant and passive position to which they are relegated.

According to critical theorist and philosopher Jacques Rancière (2009), however, theater can displace the politics of the spectacle by turning the latter into a performance that serves as a

"self-vanishing mediation." Unlike the spectacle, Rancière states that theater challenges the opposition between viewing and acting by helping the audience emancipate from their passive spectator role. He states that emancipation comes from individuals contributing his or her own perspective that shapes while being shaped by his or her own intellectual adventure to the collective power or *puissance*:

> The collective power shared by spectators does not stem from the fact that they are members of a collective body or from some specific form of interactivety. It is the power each of them has to translate what she perceives in her own way, to link it to the unique intellectual adventure that makes her similar to all the rest in as much as this adventure is not like any other. This shared power of the equality of intelligence links individuals, makes them exchange their intellectual adventures, in so far as it keeps them separate from one another, equally capable of using the power everyone has to plot her own path. (2009: 16-7)

However, this raises the question: how do volunteers share the *puissance* of their collective group as they also, independently engage in their unique intellectual adventures? In order to answer this question, I use the figure as an analytical concept that anthropologists Barker, Harms and Lindquist (2013a; 2013b) use to both describe and analyze social change through characteristic behaviors that certain individuals display. Baker, Harms and Lindquist maintain that the figure is analytically useful because it avoids "a myopic focus on the individual" at the same time overcoming the two-dimensional abstraction of characters and "generalizable "types."" (Barker, Harms and Lindquist 2013b: 160). They introduce Walter Benjamin's flâneur as an example of a figure whose practice of writing what he saw as he roamed through the streets of Paris not only reflected the social change that was occurring at that time but also contributed to that change by blurring the boundary between work and leisure, production and consumption to eventually become his own commodity, a "person-as-billboard" (ibid: 163).

3.2   Chronotope of the threshold

The Supporter, like Benjamin's flâneur, is an agent of the change that it is a part of. However, the Supporter is a figure that emerges through the storied exhibition of 2014 Yokohama Triennale. Yasumasa Morimura, the Artistic Director of the Yokohama Triennale 2014, directed the 2014 exhibition to be organized under a story entitled "Art Fahrenheit 451: Embarking on a Voyage into a Sea of Oblivion". "Art Fahrenheit 451" refers to Ray Bradbury's science fiction novel (1963[1957]) where books are burned as a means to control and suppress political dissent. The exhibit is a story about art and its power to bring the invisible, silenced, and forgotten out into the public in a way that turns one's gaze to things that are ordinarily removed from sight. The story is organized into eleven chapters, associating the exhibited works of contemporary art as a chain of signifiers through which the audience is led on a "voyage" that begins with Chapter 1 "Listening to Silence and Whispers" and ends at Chapter 11 "Drifting in a Sea of Oblivion". The story is narrated from the third person position "we," which is supported by the volunteers' effort to mediate the audience's experience of the exhibition. Volunteers may provide their own interpretations and ask for the audiences' interpretations of the exhibition to expose those inner thoughts, questions and debates that would otherwise "drift into the sea of oblivion."

Organizers of the public events that I studied in the last chapter had unintentionally produced civic spaces by displacing their antagonisms, but the perspectives and meaning of these civic spaces varied because they were interpreted through the artists' self-transformation narratives. The story of Art Fahrenheit 451 helped organize heterogeneous narratives by structuring a chronotope that ties civic spaces to the historical time of the City. Literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin coined the term chronotope to address "the intrinsic connectedness of temporal

and spatial relationships that are artistically expressed in literature" (1981: 85). Different chronotopes design a different spatiotemporal order that organizes the novel by manipulating the ways in which objects and places are related to events, interactions and exchanges to processes, networks and flows to temporal sequences. The 2014 Yokohama Triennale structured a chronotope of the threshold whereby civic spaces were associated with what Bakhtin calls "*a single time*, that is, in the synchrony of a single moment" (ibid: 157). A contemporary art exhibition like the Yokohama Triennale performs this chronotype by assembling contemporary works of art into a temporary installation. Art critic, media theorist and philosopher Boris Groys tells us that installations create a threshold because it is "made with the intention of designing a new order of memories, of proposing the new criteria for telling a story, for differentiating between past and future" (2008: 76).

Many artistic and literary practices in Japan traditionally embed chronotope of the threshold into their artistic practice. The chronotope of the threshold cultivates and stages the figure of a performing artist against the ground of the dominant social order. For example, the *za* arts such as linked poetry, tea ceremony and flower arrangements that emerged during medieval Japan is known to have developed this practice by producing a *mu'en* public, or spaces that "offered a kind of publicness at places of boundary intersection as spheres for transformation" (Ikegami 2005: 91). Through *mu'en* publics, artists not only cultivated distinctive styles of art but also cultivated selves through the performance of this art in public. *Za* means "seat" in Japanese, and it refers to the way in which the art is collectively practiced and performed by individuals sitting together. The *za* arts brought together participants regardless of age, gender and to some extent their caste through their shared interests in art. Artists were effectively *mu'en* or having "no relations" that situated them outside of formal relationships that structured the hierarchical social

order of feudal Japan. They cultivated horizontal networks by interacting through their practice and performance of the arts. The *za* arts not only had a lasting impact on Japanese culture and the arts but they also had political implications. The horizontal networks of artists led to the emergence of decentralized social organizations after the demise of the Heian imperial court (794-1192). Regional warlords who were also educated in the arts helped them achieve power to establish their independent strongholds throughout Japan during the warring states period (1467-1603).

Similarly to the *za* arts, Triennale Supporters created a *mu'en* public by situating themselves outside of the dominant discourses of family and work (Kondo 1990). This was particularly visible in situations when volunteers interacted with one another. Volunteers generally avoided questions about each other's occupation or their title and status in the organization they belonged to outside of the Triennale. I first noticed this when a volunteer whom I interviewed avoided telling me the type of work he did before he retired, but I gradually recognized this pattern as I encountered similar incidences repeated throughout my fieldwork at the Triennale. Volunteers generally focused their conversation on topics such as art and volunteering that they could relate to as a social etiquette. Talking about one's occupation outside of the Triennale was avoided because it not only alienates the person to whom one is speaking but it can also create a hierarchy that would hamper the self-motivating principle behind volunteering.

The Triennale Supporters' Office and other paid staff members from the Museum and the Organizing Committee also helped structure a *mu'en* public by dismantling the barrier that usually exists between *omote* (front) and *uchi* (interior) that shape the cultural logic of Japanese self. Takie Lebra (2004) writes that unlike American culture where opposition logic prevails, Japanese culture generally operates on a contingency logic that looks for commonalities between

oppositions. Lebra illustrates how contingency logic affects Japanese self by using a diagram that represents the "fourfold zonal division of social self." This diagram is divided into four zones where *omote* and *uchi* occupy the normative zones of civil behavior and *ura* (back) and *soto* (exterior) occupy the anomic zones of disorderly behavior. These four zones are in a contingent relationship with one another such that "boundaries are crossed, removed, or redrawn to make the zones interchangeable, reversible, or mixed" (ibid: 41). At the 2014 Yokohama Triennale, organizing staff members intentionally removed the *omote/uchi* boundary when interacting with the volunteers. In other words, the organizing staff members crossed over the polite but distant relationship (*omote*) that's usually maintained among strangers to intentionally cultivate a closer, more intimate relationship (*uchi*) with the volunteers.

For example, my experience of volunteering to set up the stage for the photographer Hitoshi Toyoda was like going on the backstage of a performance. Toyoda was scheduled to display his photography as a slide show at a stage theater. The theater manager spoke to myself and the other volunteers very casually and they allowed us to experience things we normally couldn't as an audience like opening the bleacher benches and setting up the theater curtains. When we took a break, we were brought to the dressing room behind the stage. This got us excited as none of us had ever been in a dressing room before and it made us feel like celebrities. One of the staff members also shared with us his travails of leasing the stage from a very conservative Mitsubishi Estate for this event, a behind-the-scenes story that only "insider" members might get to hear. This is not an isolated event in which Triennale staff members crossed over interpersonal boundaries on purpose. In fact, the Yokohama Museum of Art includes a statement in their 2014 Business Plan and Income and Expenditure Budget to "educate volunteers, engage in a flat communication with citizens, realize civic coproduction through the Yokohama Museum of Art

Collection and Friends" (Yokohama Museum of Art 2014). As I will explain below, "flat communication" or the casual interaction that Triennale staff members carried out as part of their public relations shaped the experience of volunteering that helped alter the subjectivities of many.

3.3   Community of practice

Organizing volunteers into communities of practice is particularly important in Japan where different stakeholders use the rhetoric of volunteering for their own ends (Nakano 2005; Ogawa 2009). This was also the case for Triennale Supporters who are introduced in the book *Art Volunteers of the Yokohama Triennale* as a "democratic" association of individuals whose "agency" is exercised to redefine the meaning of public events from "an international festival organized for the citizens" towards "an international festival run by the citizens" (Noritake and Mogi eds. 2009: 24). In reality, however, the Triennale Supporters' Office, the Yokohama Museum of Art and the Organizing Committee for Yokohama Triennale did not have a minor role in coordinating and structuring volunteers into teams or what Etienne Wegner (1998) calls communities of practice. Wenger maintains that learning is a social activity, one that takes place not only in educational institutions like schools but ubiquitously through our lived experience of participation in various communities such as family, school, work, and hobby. Wenger states that learning shapes what we do as well as how we interpret what we do.

As the following interviews with representatives from the Triennale Supporters' Office, the Yokohama Museum of Art, and a talk given by the Chairperson of the Organizing Committee for Yokohama Triennale reveal, each institution defined the meaning and social position of volunteers differently based on its policy and objective. The Triennale Suppoters' Office positioned the volunteer as a 'partner', the Museum as a 'student' and the Organizing Committee

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as an 'art mediator'. The three separate positioning created an opening for volunteers to collectively learn what it means to volunteer and to fashion themselves in their own image of a volunteer. In other words, communities of practice were instrumental for not only the cultural institutions to teach volunteers what to do and how to interpret what they do but also for the volunteers to become a self-reflexive Supporter of the Yokohama Triennale and the city.

3.3.1 Partner in civic coproduction

The Triennale Supporters' Office is part of the Koganecho Area Management Center that coordinates civic coproduction for the Yokohama Triennale. The Koganecho Area Management Center became involved with the Yokohama Triennale in 2010, when the Organizing Committee for Yokohama Triennale changed hands from The Japan Foundation to the City of Yokohama due to budget cuts by the Democratic Party of Japan that became the majority party in 2009. Volunteers have been part of the Yokohama Triennale since its inception in 2001, but Ueno explained that establishing the Triennale Supporters' Office inside the Koganecho Area Management Center helped volunteers to become equal partners who work *with*, rather than *for* the Organizing Committee for Yokohama Triennale in "civic coproduction" (*shimin kyōdō*). However, Ueno says that also means volunteers must step up to prove themselves as equal partners, so the Triennale Supporters' Office is there to "support" the volunteers' initiative to plan, organize and execute their own activities. "For example, we don't tell the volunteers how much their budget is" says Ueno, "because we don't want to lead, we want to support the "supporters" and that won't happen if we gave them control over the budget."

The Triennale Supporters' Office organized some of the 286 volunteers at the Yokohama Triennale into five teams initially, but eliminated one later. The structure of these teams allowed the Triennale Supporters' Office to organize independently registered volunteers into a

structured entity with their own representative members to meet and discuss about the Triennale

with the Organizing Committee for Yokohama Triennale. Team activities are planned, organized

and executed months and for some nearly a year in advance of the Triennale. All five teams

including the Event Team, Kids' Art Team, Logbook Team, Free Paper Team and the Design

Team ran a pilot project before the Triennale. The Event Team, for example, organized a trip to

the Aichi Triennale to meet and build networks with the volunteers there. The Kids' Art Team

invited a lecturer to learn and discuss what kind of kids' events they might be able to organize. In

addition, all five teams coproduced a 300-, 200- and 100-day countdown event that also served

as publicity for the Yokohama Triennale.

Ueno, who was in charge of overlooking team activities as the manager of the Triennale

Supporters' Office, explained how consuming this process was both in terms of time and the

amount of coordination that it took among team members, between teams and between different

constituents of the Yokohama Triennale. Ueno says the coordination took the form of attending

many, many meetings:

> We decided to designate a team leader for each team and have a Leader Meeting so all
> the teams can be on the same page. So we had a monthly Leader Meeting in addition to
> the Steering Committee Meeting where the supporters, the Organizing Committee for
> Yokohama Triennale, and our office got together. This was Yamano's idea based on his
> understanding that civic coproduction is functioning only when all three actors are
> represented so we're not just receiving instructions from the Organizing Committee and
> asking the Supporters to meet those instructions but we wanted to have a system where
> we can all make decisions together. That was also a monthly meeting so we had about
> four monthly meetings that we continued having for a while. We had a Leader Meeting
> where we decided what to discuss at the next Steering Committee Meeting, and we also
> created the Minutes for each meeting that we shared with each other.

Ueno also explained how the Triennale Supporters' Office made sure that team activities did

not become too specialized so only specific individuals with the knowledge and skill could be

assigned. This was a problem that was especially prevalent with the Design team and also the

reason the team was dropped. The Design Team was in charge of designing the flyers and the layout of volunteer-run events, as well as T-shirts, posters, and accessories that volunteers wore or used to identify themselves at the Triennale. Unlike the other teams, the Design Team required special designing skills that only one person was able to do. Ueno said that the Triennale Supporters' Office had to make a call for new volunteers in order to 'level out' the role specialization and task complexity. Ueno explained how recruiting new members into teams was a strategy that prevented people from being assigned to specific roles or dedicated tasks that were often the cause of specialization. Specialization in the context of team activities was to be avoided because it meant other people could not perform the same role or complete the same task. Therefore the Triennale Supporters' Office had to intervene from time to time to make a call out for new members and maintain the performance level of each member by re-assigning volunteers to new roles and new tasks.

3.3.2 Student of lifelong education

The Guide Team had separate meetings and classes scheduled by the Education Project Team of the Yokohama Museum of Art. According to Satoko Hayama, the Senior Educator of the Education Project Team, the Museum made a call for volunteers five months prior to the Triennale in March. Hayama accepted all 130 individuals who applied to volunteer, and scheduled bimonthly classes where she invited various lecturers such as: the Museum curators who discussed the contemporary art to be exhibited at the Triennale, the Triennale Supporters' Office who discussed volunteer activities, and the Museum's Customer Service personnel and surveillance guards on the museum's ground rules and regulations. Guide Team volunteers were divided into six study groups in which they met outside of the bimonthly classes to study the exhibits so they can ultimately write a script for their gallery tours and orientation guidance.

Because the gallery tours were conducted in a pair, each pair was responsible for writing a script. Hayama says that she edited an average of three times per script, which was followed by an oral exam where she met with each pair to check their presentation and their physical positioning in relation to the artwork and the audience inside the museum.

Unlike the four other teams that plan and implement their own activities, members of the Guide Team were trained to provide gallery tours and orientation guidance under the Yokohama Museum of Art. This made Hayama skeptical whether the volunteers in the Guide Team can be called "civic coproduction" because they were more or less invited to participate in a program that the Museum had already planned. From the Museum's perspective, volunteers are no different than students who enrolled in its educational program. Volunteers provide public services on behalf of the Museum as a tour guide, but their service is also a performance of the knowledge they acquired through its educational program. Hayama pointed out the ambiguity in the term "civic coproduction" and explained the Museum's perspective on volunteering and why the Museum recruits volunteers.

> Hayama: Do you know the three principles of volunteering?
>
> Author: No.
>
> Hayama: Volunteering takes place without financial payment, through the volunteer's free will for the public's interest. We can add a forth principle if you add pioneering new services to the list. These are the key words that describe the principles of volunteering. The volunteers for our Museum seem self-directed at first but they have to comply with the Museum's directions. They can't do things out of their free will. They can't say "I want to volunteer to organize the artwork" because our answer will be no. So volunteering means they are participating in the framework that the Museum more or less created. The level of civic coproduction in question is also part of the concern because there are various levels of civic coproduction. For example, there's civic coproduction that's basically a government commissioned project and there's civic coproduction to resolve regional problems. There's the wider issue of defining civic coproduction, including the question of who's involved. So we talk about the museum volunteers as civic coproduction as a slogan in our business

plan but I tend to think that we're creating a match between the Musem's need to provide public services with those who wish to fulfill that need. Our need simply corresponded with their need, and there's nothing more to it. Is that civic coproduction? We call it that but I think it sounds fishy, it sounds off the mark. There's not much free will. They're people who entered to participate in an existing program. I don't see any difference between them and people who apply to study in classes, do you? Granted, there is the benefit of communicating what they learned to others but I wonder how many people are thinking about the public interest. I'm sure there are people who do, but in my opinion I think there are also people who simply enjoys talking. I'm not sure why they want to talk. Maybe it's the same reason as singing karaoke. Sometimes I wonder if they're basically saying "I want to sing karaoke! Listen to me sing!" There are volunteers who think that doing their work benefits the Triennale or who want more people to understand contemporary art through their talk but I think there are also many volunteers who don't think that way. I think it's a mixed bunch. In addition, asking the public to carry out our services without pay, as a volunteer, is not because we don't have the money but it's to invigorate the Triennale by including citizens or to increase people's understanding of the Triennale. In my mind, asking people to volunteer for educational purposes is no different from increasing people's awareness about the Yokohama Triennale.

Author: So it's for publicity?

Hayama: Publicity and also art education. The Yokohama Triennale is a tool, a material to learn about contemporary art. We want people to know about the Triennale. We also want people to learn about contemporary art. People will learn more if they participated, learned and communicated what they learned rather than simply coming to look at contemporary art. I think that volunteering serves as a tool for people to better understand contemporary art through the Yokohama Triennale. So our main objective is to increase people's knowledge and understanding than generating publicity. Volunteers will inevitably talk to their friends about their experiences, so it leads to publicity as a secondary effect. But the first is…

Author: Lifelong education?

Hayama: Yes, we think of it primarily as lifelong education. Only secondarily as publicity. So it is civic coproduction if you want to call it that, but we approach it as lifelong education rather than civic coproduction. The gallery tour and group orientation is where they present what they learned so I don't see it as civic coproduction. But our program makes the most contact with citizens so I think the Museum should have something like this. We don't have many avenues to interact with citizens so this is one way of doing that. But I can't say yes with confidence if you were to ask me whether this is civic coproduction. There should be more input from

the volunteers to work together if it's civic oproduction, but we're the ones providing all the information, editing their scripts and asking them to do as we instruct. Can you call that civic coproduction? To some extent they're carrying out our services. If they can do things in the way that they please, out of their free will, telling us what kind of talk they want to give, then we might be able to call it a civic coproduction.

My interview with Ueno and Hayama reveals how volunteers are positioned differently in relation to the cultural institution that teaches and organizes volunteering as a community of practice. Organizing volunteers into a community also allowed the Organizing Committee for Yokohama Triennale to produce a discourse about who the volunteers are and what they mean for the Yokohama Triennale. Unlike the Alinsu workers that Wenger (1998) describes, Triennale volunteers do not have monetary incentives for offering their time and service. Therefore, public talks about the 'volunteer' were just as important to create a sense of community as physically organizing individuals into one.

3.3.3   Art mediator

At the last Guide Team meeting scheduled by Hayama, Team members met with Eriko Osaka, the Director of the Yokohama Museum of Art. Osaka gave a lecture on the value of Triennale volunteers as "art mediators" who communicated what they learned about contemporary art to others. This positioning of volunteers allowed Osaka to identify volunteers as a go-between the art world and the public. Volunteers were asked to become 'art mediators' because, as 'students', they learned enough about contemporary art to interact with art experts while they are, as 'partners' to the Triennale Supporters' Office, expected to reach out to provide public service. Osaka discussed the role of art mediators as those who share their knowledge and passion for contemporary art to others on behalf of the Yokohama Triennale.

According to Osaka, volunteering can be largely divided into two models: self-realization (*jiko jitsugen gata*) and social contribution (*shakai kouken gata*). Osaka compared Triennale

volunteers with volunteers in the medical and social welfare fields or disaster relief and human rights protection. Unlike these volunteers whom she identified as belonging to the "social contribution" model, Osaka positioned Triennale volunteers in between self-realization and social contribution models. She stated that the value of Triennale volunteers came from being 'art mediators' who mediated the art world and the public by communicating their knowledge of and passion for art to others.

> Tens of thousands of people visit our impressionist exhibits but less than ten percent are interested in contemporary art that reflects our current historical period. But we don't have a future if people don't show an interest in contemporary art because we are living in the present. Even if we said that, the number of staff members at the Museum is limited so the message that volunteers transmit as a reserve of individuals interested in contemporary art is really important… I think that communicating what one learned with others, not as a unidirectional message but as a bidirectional exchange, is the ideal role of art volunteers and our supporters.

By positioning 'art mediators' between the art world and the public, Osaka institutionalizes the practice of volunteering into a rite of passage in which volunteers may achieve self-realization and contribute to society by communicating what they learned to others. Positioning volunteers as 'art mediators' also changes the function and meaning of civic spaces like the Yokohama Museum of Art and the Shinkō Pier where the exhibitions were held. Volunteers turn civic spaces into spaces for self-development by learning how to volunteer and interpreting what the practice of volunteering means. 'Art mediators' is thus a strategic positioning that the City and the Organizing Committee for the Yokohama Triennale provide for volunteers because by encouraging volunteers to talk about what they learned, volunteers become more visible and audible to the public as a Supporter figure. Volunteering thus foregrounds the contemporaneity of art mediators against the ground of civic spaces by cultivating a common understanding about their contemporary period and the social issues they face through their engagements with contemporary art.

Osaka tells us that art mediators achieve self-realization and social contribution by helping to build a sense of community by communicating their emotional experiences of art with others while others help them become reflexive through their otherness. According to Osaka, to become an art mediator means to affect changes to the self and "cultivate a richer point of view" by "interacting with other, sharing through other, and learning from other" (*ishitsu ni majiwari, ishitsu ni kyōyū shi, ishitsu ni manabu*). The "other" is not the savage, primitive Other of the classic anthropological encounters. Osaka does not use the term "other" to identify 'the volunteer' through his or her alterity in relation to an authoritative discourse but she uses it as a heuristic tool as in a looking glass that can reflect each other's uniqueness in difference. The difference among the motley group of volunteers was great, as their ages varied from those in their 20s to 70s, they also occupied different socioeconomic positions and possessed different skill sets. By perceiving and reflecting upon otherness through communication and exchange, Osaka encouraged volunteers to see themselves as contemporaneous to each other.

In this way Osaka construes communication not only as a method for volunteers to mediate art by telling others what they learned about it, but she also conceptualizes communication as a style of speech that mediates the production of regional communities. For example, the following statement demonstrates how Osaka frames communication as a sensuous practice of "sharing" and "empathy":

> As we entered the 21st century, many regional communities and even in the metropolis we are seeing communities breaking down. In the past there were neighborhood groups (*chōnaikai*) even in large cities. Aunties and uncles from the neighborhood group would scold or praise children. People took care of each other within the community even if they were not directly related. Today, even when we live in apartments, we don't know what our neighbors are doing. Many people also, and regrettably, die alone. As much as it is difficult for us to care for people who live alone, it is also a fact that more people are living alone. A community connected by sharing (*kyōyū*) and empathy (*kyōkan*) is very important and this is something we need to create separately from neighborhood

associations and regional communities. Art volunteers are people who share and empathize with others through art.

This statement demonstrates how Osaka uses the term "communication" not as a discourse about contemporary art as an object of knowledge but as a communicative style that shows one's sensibilities and sentiments through the medium of contemporary art. Osaka's talk thus serves as a pedagogical exercise in *hitozukuri* because the communicative style that Osaka asks volunteers to adopt is explained as an art that would help them become members of the regional communities that they also help to build. In this way members of the Guide Team were not only instructed in the knowledge of contemporary art and the method to provide guided tours of the exhibition but also in the art of engaging with others.

3.4   Authoring *puissance*

The primary reason volunteers gave for volunteering at the Yokohama Triennale was their interest in art. Many Supporters took lessons or were amateur artists. Besides their interest in art, they also saw volunteering as an opportunity to work on their selves. Triennale Supporters came from all walks of life, but many of them occupied marginalized positions in society as retirees, students, and housewives. They engaged in volunteering to not only support 'the city' but also to work on themselves. In short, the Triennale Supporters saw volunteering as technologies of the self (Foucault 1985) that helped discipline oneself, negotiate one's social position, and alter one's subjectivity. Supporters were keen on disciplining selves not necessarily because they were "precarious proletariat" who face socioeconomic as well as ontological insecurity (Allison 2013). Many volunteers, especially the retirees, were wealthy enough not to worry about making a living. As volunteers, they shared the fate of occupying an ambiguous position as I explained

earlier, but their ambiguity was also construed as an opportunity to author their *puissance* by defining what it means to volunteer.

In other words, volunteers authored their own story of volunteering by subjectifying and interpreting *puissance* through communities of practice. Subjectification, according to Jacques Rancière, "is the formation of a one that is not a self but is the relation of a self to an other" (1992: 60). For example, Rancière argues that the category "the proletarian" is the name for those who paradoxically do not have a name or an outcast, because it is "not the name of any social group that could be sociologically identified" (ibid: 61). Therefore, Rancière goes on to argue, "*Proletarians* was thus well-suited for the workers as the name of anyone, the name of the outcast: those who do not belong to the order of castes, indeed, those who are pleased to undo this order (the class that dissolves classes, as Marx said)" (ibid). Likewise, the volunteer is also a name for *mu'en* "outcast" who possesses the potential to undo the hierarchical and gendered order of the *ie* system because they occupy a place in-between state institutions and the public as art mediators.

Individuals did not automatically become a 'volunteer' through their voluntary practices as such, but they did so by authoring their *puissance* to construct an ideal image of 'the volunteer' that they also fashioned themselves as. This image was shaped by subjectifying *puissance* as their drive and will on the one hand while interpreting the *puissance* of their teams as sociability and ethos on the other. These two sides of *puissance* as self-directed motivation and other-directed inspiration also worked together to generate a momentum for the volunteers' communities of practice to evolve. Volunteers generally agreed that working in teams exposed them to other members' enthusiasm and work ethic, which in turn strengthened their will to learn and better themselves. In this way the 2014 Yokohama Triennale offered an opportunity for

volunteers to learn and cultivate selves while they were collectively staged as a Supporter of the Yokohama Triennale and Yokohama city. Having this stage where volunteers performed in front of the Triennale visitors was particularly important because it allowed some of them to qualify *puissance* and perform those qualifications as their distinction. It gave them a reason to discipline themselves and improve the overall image and position of volunteers in society. In doing so, they were able to become authors of their own process of subjectivization without recourse to an ideological discourse of volunteering that the state uses to promote a volunteer subjectivity (Ogawa 2009).

3.4.1 Subjectifying *puissance*: disciplining selves

Seven out of twenty volunteers I interviewed were retirees. Their primary reason for volunteering was their interest in art like the rest of the volunteers, but many retirees also saw volunteering as an opportunity to engage in physical and mental exercises that they claimed they would not be able to do at home. Many retirees said they preferred to go out and do something than spend their time at home doing nothing, but it was clear that they were not just volunteering to kill time or to have fun. Instead, retirees often approached volunteering as a rigorous practice of self-discipline. A lady in her 70s who volunteered at the Visitor Service Center almost every day said volunteering was a way to maintain a daily schedule that helped her get out of the house and exercise after her surgery.

> I fell and hurt myself two years ago. I had a compressed fracture of the spine. It was very painful and I recovered after being hospitalized… I am thankful because the surgery went well but it's still very stressful. I tell myself I shouldn't think about it but when I become fearful about hurting myself again I can't just sit at home. When I'm sitting on my bed and watching television I'll get tired and lay down. I become lazy if there's nothing to do because I've always been a lazy person! Instead I can leave my house early in the morning when it's cooler because it's hot in August, and it's about an hour to get here. It's not much work but I'll fold flyers and hand them to the Museum visitors.

Although this volunteer is no longer in pain, she talks about her memory of being hospitalized. This event clearly affects her as a trauma, as she feels "very stressful" even when she is at home and the thoughts of injuring herself again makes her fearful. Leaving the house in the morning and doing things like folding flyers allows her to feel less stressed, scared, or worried. This person engages in volunteering as a way to mentally distract herself but also to structure her daily activities so that she does not feel like she is being "lazy." Keeping oneself busy is more than just a way to deal with the trauma from her past surgery. It also subjectifies *puissance* in the present as her will to maintain an active lifestyle.

A male volunteer in his 60s also commented on his health. Like the female volunteer above, he sees volunteering as an opportunity to leave the house in the morning and interact with people. He also sees volunteering as a proactive way to keep his mind stimulated which he hopes would prevent or at least stall the onset of dimentia or loss of memory (*boke*).

> I don't think I would exercise my brain if I were at home. I think I'll become senile (*bokeru*) if I did. I'm already forgetful but I think it'll be worse if I stayed at home because there's no positive stress. My wife and I have an established division of labor, so there's already a system in place at home where my wife does all the household chores. I won't go out of my way to do or think anything, so I'm afraid I'll become senile because I'm not making any decisions. But if I leave the house in the morning and come here, I feel like I can stall the process of becoming senile.

This volunteer's concern over losing his memory is shared by many elders in Japan (Traphagan 2000). Traphagan states that loss of memory is feared in Japan not only because it impairs the person from engaging in everyday activities, but also because it would enlist other people's help. A person with *boke* would not be able to reciprocate the help one receives, so many elders consider exercising and maintaining one's health as a social responsibility. Although this volunteer is clearly fearful that he might lose his memory one day, he also sees his fear as a catalyst to exercise, make decisions, and push himself out of his comfort zone. In other words,

this volunteer subjectifies *puissance* to overcome his fear about an impending future by motivating himself to stay active in the present.

A male volunteer in his 70s said he was volunteering because of his interest in art. He received a bachelor's degree in photography after his retirement, and he said the Triennale was an opportunity to study even more about art.

> I graduated from an art university in March 31st and I found that the Yokohama Museum of Art was accepting volunteers just when I was wondering what to do next… Since we are volunteering at the Yokohama Museum of Art, I think there should be more depth to our group discussions and our study sessions in general. It's important to socialize and have fun, but I think it's more important that we gain a deeper knowledge [about art]. By deeper, I mean we should aim to achieve more for ourselves.

Although this volunteer is critical, almost draconian about his team's study group, he did not mean to discredit his classmates or the Museum's Education Program that organized the study group. Instead, his comment demonstrates how he subjectified *puissance* as his will to achieve more as he states in the end: "we should aim to achieve more for ourselves." He acknowledges that other students interpret *puissance* as a license to socialize and have fun, but he believes that subjectifying *puissance* allows him to "gain a deeper knowledge."

The volunteer who put in the most hours during the Triennale was a male retiree in his 60s. He became a figure in his own right because he was involved in many activities, including his post as a leader for the Logbook Team, member of the Guide Team, and his involvement in the Hospitality Team that worked with other teams and city officials to make "hospitality maps" (*omotenashi mappu*) of Yokohama.

> My attitude toward volunteering is the same for any festival or event. I think what's most important are to think how you're able to satisfy the customers or provide what people generally call "hospitality" (*omotenashi*) in Japanese. What makes the Triennale different from other festivals is… there are many people who are interested in art. So in addition to providing a general service for people, you need to know the artwork that is exhibited at the Triennale and study the artists too. [Author: You have such high

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standards!] I think we have to be professional even though it's volunteer work, and I want to do my best if I'm going to do it at all.

The way this volunteer frames volunteering as a service "to satisfy customers" carries traces of his memory and attitude from his time as a *salaryman*. During our informal conversations, this volunteer talked about his managerial position in France and China that he seemed to have been proud of. Volunteering helped him to subjectify *puissance* as his work ethic, which he performs based on his memories from his days in the corporate world. We can deduce from this that subjectifying *puissance* helps him maintain his sense of self even after he has retired from his managerial position. His statement "you need to know the artwork…" also suggests that he is not only demonstrating his *puissance* but also instructing me the importance of hard work and being a professional in everything one does.

3.4.2   Interpreting *puissance*: altered subjectivities

The majority of the volunteers I interviewed were housewives. All ten housewives I interviewed gave guided tours as part of the Guide Team. Most of the housewives volunteered because of their interest in art but also because they enjoyed meeting new people including other volunteer members, museum staff members and visitors. They saw volunteering as an opportunity to learn about art and interact with people whom they might not otherwise cross paths with. They were all enthusiastic that volunteering helped them explore their potential and cultivate their knowledge by doing something they liked and enjoyed. Most volunteers interpreted the *puissance* generated through their repetitive and organized interaction with new people and exposure to new ideas as a heightened sense of pleasure, curiosity and desire to know more. Their enthusiasm to participate in team activities also helped build a community ethos. Whatever interpretation they gave to *puissance*, volunteering housewives all claimed that it altered their subjectivities.

When I asked the housewives to compare their volunteering experience at the Triennale with the Parent Teacher Association (PTA) at their children's school or for their neighborhood association (*jichikai*), they said they were very different. While they volunteered at the Triennale because they want to and because they like art, volunteering for the PTA or their neighborhood association was a responsibility and an obligation that they had to fulfill as a parent or a member of her neighborhood. In contrast, housewives said volunteering for the Yokohama Triennale allowed them to pursue their own, personal interests without the responsibilities and obligations that come from their social roles. The only young male volunteer in his twenties that I was able to interview also shared this sentiment. He was excited that the Triennale presented an opportunity to take up a leadership role because being a volunteer allowed him to interact with others outside of the social hierarchy that would normally place him in a subordinate position.

Volunteers often saw the repetitive practice that organized team activities as a technology of the self. Repetition was an exercise in itself that fueled the *puissance* of team activities. Many volunteers said becoming exposed to their teams' *puissance* helped them to learn more and cultivate their selves. For example, one volunteer described repetition as a learning process that led to a greater appreciation for contemporary art. She says that the repetitive, visceral acts of seeing art, listening to lectures and talking to people helped her understand better what she cognitively learned in class.

> I think [volunteering at the Triennale] was, well, it helped me learn a great deal, gave me opportunities to participate and help out… I think it's helping to better myself (*jibun no tame ni natteru*). I've been given opportunities to do things I normally don't do or see. You don't usually come to an exhibition so often unless you're volunteering. I was given the chance to look at the artwork over and over again so I can help explain them to visitors. I was also able to listen to the lectures by curators. Artist talks are also open to the public, but I was able to motivate myself more by becoming a volunteer… Those things I was taught over and over by the Education Program, like the interactive method of our guided tours that I barely understood in the beginning came alive afterwards. Listening to stories that were told by people who organized the Triennale and the

Artistic Director Morimura, and meeting with my study group over and over helped me understand more.

Team activities also helped circulate *puissance* as an energy that creates a sense of community as a result of everyone participating as a volunteer. As I mentioned earlier, volunteers came together as equals at the Triennale by deliberately disassociating themselves from the institutional roles and titles that they might hold outside of the Triennale. There was an implicit agreement to interact with one another as a volunteer regardless of one's age, gender or knowledge about art. The Triennale Supporters' Office, the Yokohama Museum of Art and the Organizing Committee for Yokohama Triennale also participated in order to promote greater participation and social interaction. For example, one volunteer stated:

> I liked how I was able to meet many people. I liked that I was able to chat with the Museum staff members, even about their private lives, which doesn't happen often. It was fun to have discussions with them, getting to know what curators did, finding out that there's someone who specializes in film, or guessing whether that person is the boss who's giving all the instructions. Not only was that a new experience for me but the volunteers in my study group were also all very friendly. Some were more knowledgeable about art than others but they didn't discriminate people like me who are a complete novice. We all studied together, shared resources and helped each other. I had a lot of fun and I made good memories of writing our scripts together in an inclusive environment that made me feel that I could continue [volunteering].

The complicity between volunteers and staff members to suspend one's social role altered this volunteer's subjectivity, demonstrated by her repetitive expressions of what she liked and enjoyed, because that experience in itself was a novelty. Volunteering thus allowed her to experience a different world akin to watching movies or traveling to foreign places, but unlike them volunteering allowed her to become a participant rather than a mere spectator. She tells us that she appreciated the inclusive environment that her team created, which helped to pursue her curiosity and desire to know more.

Volunteers also claimed that they felt closer to other volunteers and staff members through their involvement in the production of Yokohama Triennale. While the tasks that were delegated to volunteers and the team activities that volunteers planned and organized were deliberately kept easy so anybody can join, many volunteers felt that they were able to see the problems and challenges that the administration faced. This gave them a sense of being part of the Triennale team. For example, one volunteer stated:

> I felt that volunteering helped me study about art as well as the operation that I wouldn't have understood if I were just here as an audience. I feel like I was able to see what's behind the scenes, to understand that the Triennale doesn't begin and end with the exhibition period for the staff members. They're probably going to prepare for the next Triennale as soon as this one ends, and although we're only helping out during the exhibition without having to think ahead I sometimes get a glimpse of their resolve for the next one.

While this comment referred to this particular volunteer's sense of being part of the team, it also alludes to the difference between her position as a volunteer in relation to the paid staff members. *Puissance* is generated through this gap between the administration that leads by giving direction and guidance to the volunteers, which is not only perceived as an opening to learn more but also perceived as an energy that alters how one experiences the Triennale.

However, interpretation can vary based on the volunteers' past experiences. For example, one volunteer who worked on the other side of the divide as an organizer of art festivals interpreted *puissance* more somberly as naive and child-like. Her comment below demonstrates how *puissance* can be interpreted as a structural contradiction between the City's *machizukuri* policy and its practice that entails civic participation. Her comment reflects how the same gap that other volunteers perceived as an opportunity to learn about behind-the-scenes process and people is described from the position of the City that organizes it as a "room for play":

> I don't mean to say that it's because it's not a paid position, but compared to working in a corporate environment there is definitely a lot of freedom [in volunteer activities] or

room for play where we can propose ideas without thinking about the organization and simply rejoice when those ideas are adopted… I thought that there is a big gap (*ondosa*) between the City of Yokohama that wants to do *machizukuri* and myself who's volunteering at the Museum even though we're working together for the Yokohama Triennale.

Many other volunteers joined because of the perks that they received such as a free entrance ticket to the Yokohama Triennale and, for members of the Guide Team, free art lessons by museum curators and university professors. Such benefits were also helpful in generating *puissance* to not only promote civic coproduction but also to publicize the 2020 Tokyo Olympics as the following comment reveals. The following statement demonstrates how the City and affiliated organizations actively reach out to the public by giving free lectures that informs people about the various genres of volunteering, instructs them on what volunteering entails and incites *puissance* as a pep rally for the upcoming 2020:

> I joined because I wanted to volunteer for the 2020 Tokyo Olympics. I had this stealthy idea to watch the Olympics for free by voluteering! (laughs) I heard that there's this thing called "sports volunteers" and that the Sasakawa Sports Foundation held lectures on it. I happened to see the advertisement in the newspaper so I went to their lecture in July. I became fascinated because the lecturer was such a fun person who talked about volunteering work like collecting tickets, lining up the crowds, keeping an eye out for security, things that aren't directly related to the sporting event but [s/he] made it sound so interesting. This is in some ways similar too, so I applied because it sounded like it would be fun.

The above statement shows how the City and affiliated organizations orchestrate the production and demonstration of *puissance* to prepare for the 2020 Olympics by recruiting volunteers and publicizing the event. This comment points to another interpretation of *puissance* in addition to the self-motivation to learn and grow that volunteers have commented earlier. This volunteer sees *puissance* as sociability (Simmel 1949) where individuals associate with each other through performative acts in the form of play. Sociability engages each individual's personality in a play-form such that each lives for the system and the system lends value to every personality that's

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part of the system. Hence formalizing *puissance* into a relatively structured play is important for collectivizing not only small, disparate groups of sports fans but also potential volunteers who may not be interested in sports but who might nevertheless be attracted to the sociability of the event. Formalizing *puissance* is also important for the City to stage sociability at its public events as a performance of 'the city'. This example reminds us that, like the conductor for a musical orchestra, the City can orchestrate and stage *puissance* in order to unite participants through their coproduction of 'the city'.

Other volunteers found volunteering to be attractive because it allowed them to form relationships and interact with others based on non-monetary values. My communication with two female volunteers below demonstrates how they perceive volunteering as a way to form a moral community outside of the capitalist system where sociability often means spending money on shopping, eating and entertainment. According to them, volunteering provides an emotional or spiritual enrichment that cannot be purchased with money. Volunteering is a way to meet like-minded people who elect to form relationships based on non-monetary values.

Volunteer A: It might sound overblown if I said volunteering brings depth to life (*jinsei ni haba ga dekiru*), but volunteering adds something to life that's usually spent working, doing household chores and going out. It's fun to go out and spend money, but doing something that's not related to money…

Volunteer B: Yes, that's big.

Volunteer A: It enriches my life in a different way.

Author: Why?

Volunteer B: Because our world is such that we can't get away from money in our everyday lives. We can't live without it. So even though money might be important elsewhere [in the Triennale administration], for us to be involved in activities where we don't have to be concerned about money or whether we even have money is such a relief! Like I can get away from the nuisance, from the shackles of money.

Author: Because there's less responsibility?

Volunteer B:	Not being responsible for what you do seems problematic even if you're a volunteer.
Author:	So you enjoy forming relationships that's not based on money?
Volunteer B:	Yes.
Voluntter A:	That's based on a different value.
Volunteer B:	Yes!
Volunteer A:	We're involved because we value something other than money. There are many people who would be annoyed that they're spending money on transportation in addition to providing voluntary service, but we have a different set of values. It's fun and it's not all about money.

From the perspective of the above two volunteers, *puissance* is construed as an ethos or the emotional and psychological mood of the Triennale Supporter community. Their ethos is one that may or may not oppose but nevertheless complements everyday consumer practices. Instead of increasing the quantity of the money and things one owns, volunteer ethos seeks to increase the quality or meaning of life as expressed by the term "depth of life." In this way it adds qualitative meaning to everyday consumer practices that capitalism reduces to a "rational" or a quantitative calculation of earning, spending and giving. Moreover, ethos helps build a care-based community that practices improving public health, public education and public services. Ethos allows volunteers to create a distinction apart from their taste that patterns their consumer practice. Unlike taste that classifies individuals into socioeconomic classes, ethos constitutes individuals into neo-tribes organized by "a certain ambience, a state of mind, and it is preferably to be expressed through lifestyles that favour appearance and form" (Maffesoli 1996: 98).

Although the ethos of neo-tribes tends to create in-groups that make it hard for outsiders to join, one volunteer stated that she liked to volunteer for the Triennale because the Triennale volunteers were open to non-members. She stated that Triennale volunteers are unlike the social

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welfare volunteers who "act like they're important." According to this person, social welfare

volunteers made it difficult for newcomers to join because they represented themselves as

someone who stood on a higher moral ground than the rest. Unlike the social welfare volunteers

whom she felt were too bigoted in their moral supremacy, she said the Triennale volunteers

seemed to enjoy volunteering in a more relaxed and open attitude. This example demonstrates

how *puissance* keeps the community of practice open to non-members through a delicate balance

of sense and sensibility. *Puissance* helps draw newcomers in through wonder and curiosity

because it allows the group to remain open to new people, ideas and practices. *Puissance* is

therefore what drives the community of practice to evolve as members interpret its meaning to

generate interaction and enhance their visibility in public.

3.4.3 Qualifying *puissance*: negotiating self-positioning

Some volunteers also made an effort to qualify *puissance* so they may negotiate their social

positioning as a volunteer. Earlier we saw that volunteers occupied an ambiguous terrain where

they were a "partner" in the eyes of the Triennale Supporters' Office but a "student" for the

Yokohama Museum of Art and an "art mediator" for the Organizing Committee for the

Yokohama Triennale. When speaking to some volunteers, they expressed their own

qualifications of a volunteer to determine their position in this ambiguous terrain. Although these

volunteers identified those qualifications based on their volunteering experiences, they were

expressed through a highly gendered practice where the men verbally articulated those

qualifications while the women performed them. The work of culture (Obeyesekere 1990)

behind this gendered division of labor not only helped carry out volunteer activities without ever

explicitly assigning tasks to anyone. It was also through the work of culture that an ideal image

of a volunteer emerged as a "personal symbol," which Obeyesekere defines as "cultural symbols

that are related to individual motivation and make sense only in relation to the life history of the individual" (1990: 22). Sharing this image allows volunteers to take control over their own subjectification process, without recourse to the ideological discourse of volunteers that the state uses to promote a volunteer subjectivity (Ogawa 2009).

At the Museum's Visitor Service Center, volunteers often separated by gender to perform different tasks. For example, women generally liked to stay in the back room to fold the flyers that others at the front desk handed out as they welcomed visitors. Both men and women stood out front, but men generally seemed more eager to be visible by making an impression upon others. When there were a few of us and the day was moving slow, we would chat amongst ourselves about volunteer activities. The men tended to command instructions to the group as necessary. For example, one of the senior male volunteers instructed us to check the event dates printed on the flyers so we can weed out the flyers for outdated events. The women on the other hand shared small tips and advices on how to do certain things or how to do them better, often informally in personal conversations. Some of their advices were very effective. For example, we had been handing out coupons for nearby restaurants and shops along with the Triennale flyers as visitors walked in. One day, a female volunteer commented that we can give these coupons to visitors as they are walking out of the building instead because they are more likely to look for restaurants or cafes where they can spend time with friends before they go home. Since most of the visitors were women who came with friends, they showed interest and gratitude when we let them know we had coupons for restaurants as they walked out the building.

Although this gendered division of labor often separated men and women from working together, the way they qualified *puissance* complimented each other in a way that helped construct a better image of volunteers and elevate the overall status of volunteers in Japan. The

male volunteers often talked about the "objective" qualifications for volunteering while female volunteers performed those qualifications to the extent that they were able to find their own niche or social location (*ba*) within the group. In doing so, the men transformed volunteering from an aimless, ad hoc gesture of offering help by looking around for things to do or waiting around for instructions to a more self-directed practice. This not only made volunteering a more goal-oriented process but also raised the bar for volunteering. It put in place a public image and a number of requirements by which volunteering can be evaluated.

In the next example, a male volunteer discusses the qualifications that he believes a person must have to be a volunteer. By qualifying volunteering, this male volunteer not only draws a boundary that demarcates inclusion and exclusion but also raises the status of volunteering as an activity reserved for the qualified few. His own socioeconomic status as a well-to-do retiree from a multinational corporation also lends him the authority to establish qualifications while his performance allows him to instruct and share those qualifications with others.

> My philosophy is that in order to volunteer, you need to have at least three kinds of comfort (*yutori*). The first is comfort in time. You have to have some free time in order to volunteer. The second is comfort in money. I'm not rich or have a lot of monetary comfort, but you can't make a living from volunteering. That's what part-time jobs are for. Some volunteer work are paid jobs, but usually the pay is meager and generally there's no monetary compensation. Volunteering at the Triennale is without pay and in fact you end up paying some expenses out of pocket. In that sense you have to have monetary comfort in order to volunteer. Even if you have time, you won't be able to volunteer if you're struggling to make ends meet. So you need monetary comfort. The third is emotional comfort, because I think you need to be open-minded. This might answer your earlier question but a lot of different people volunteer. Some want to be appreciated by others, and some just want to talk during their shift and leave as soon as their shift is over. Unless you have the emotional tolerance for those people you'll get upset and you won't be able to continue volunteering. Even if you don't like them and that's a fact you can't change, you still need a bigger heart to accept people as they are.

From this statement, we can see that this volunteer qualifies *puissance* as having comfort. Comfort or *yutori* is a state of being that results from qualifying *puissance* through self-care. It is

the sense of having enough to maintain independence, which can be measured in time, money and emotion. Understanding the government's *Yutori* education policy can better explain the term comfort (*yutori*) as it is used in Japanese. This policy that was first implemented in 1980 cut back on the number of school hours and learning contents. Its aim was to incorporate neoliberal free market ideals into the education system (Wada and Burnett 2011). Comfort in this context meant liberating students from conforming to the competitive exam system in order for students to cultivate their own self-identity by acquiring critical thinking skills and engaging in creative practices. Comfort as a qualification of *puissance* is similarly based on a neoliberal ideology that underscores self-care over competition as a path to self-development.

In addition to having comfort, another volunteer added having a voice as his qualification of *puissance*. This senior male volunteered as a gallery tour guide during the 2014 Yokohama Triennale, explaining some of the contemporary art exhibits to visitors who signed up for the tour. According to this volunteer, a good gallery tour guide knows how to look at contemporary art so one can decode its meaning. Because contemporary art is indecipherable for most people, he says the gallery tour guide must be someone who is more qualified than the average visitor to understand, explain, and receive questions about something that may look like "junk" and "garbage" to others.

> Volunteer: Contemporary art is not something a lay person can understand, all that junk and garbage. They only understand when we explain it to them… We have to get used to looking at the work in a certain way in order to understand it. We also have to receive the audiences' questions too, so guides have to be of a certain level in order to answer their questions.
>
> Author: You joined the Guide Team because you thought guides were needed?
>
> Volunteer: I wanted to teach people how to enjoy contemporary art. Not that I'm in a position to teach others, but I wanted to communicate that to people… how to enjoy contemporary art like a detective story.

Author:	A detective story! That's an interesting metaphor that I heard for the first time.
Volunteer:	Because you don't understand what it's trying to tell you, right? So you have to do some detective work and find out what it's trying to say. If we go around [the Museum] they're all detective stories. Aren't they? And the way an audience might approach a detective story will vary depending on how much knowledge the audience has because there are different answers… So unless we teach them the basics on how to appreciate contemporary art, it will all look like junk and garbage to them.

From this volunteer we learn the importance of having a voice or the capacity to make oneself heard, particularly when volunteering for activities that requires one to speak in front of an audience. Voice, unlike text, is context-dependent. Although individual voice reflects the influence of many other voices as in a text, "voice is always situated, socially determined, and institutionally organized" (Juffermans and Aa 2013: 112). Therefore, unlike comfort (*yutori*) where volunteers individually qualify *puissance* by assessing the flexibility of one's time, money and emotion to deal with strangers, voice requires training and practice within a community of practice. It requires a professional or a seasoned volunteer who provide advice and an audience who provide feedback to cultivate a voice that appropriately reflects and expresses the *puissance* of any group.

Unlike the male volunteers, female volunteers did not seek to define the qualifications for volunteering. However, they focused on cultivating and performing those qualifications within the community of practice. As I noted earlier, the approach taken by male and female volunteers was complementary that together they were able to share an image of the ideal volunteer without negotiating this image with each other. As Obeyesekere explained, the work of culture they displayed moves in two different directions: whereas the male volunteers "progressively" defined the qualifications of this ideal, the female volunteers demonstrated their "regressive"

stages in their practice to meet this ideal. Therefore, when I spoke to some of the female

volunteers they indicated where in the process they belonged by stating that they were happy to

be where they are, they aspired to do more, or they performed those qualifications that the male

volunteers had explicitly defined.

For example, the senior female volunteer who had a surgery in her spine stated that she was

content with providing basic services like providing information to visitors about museum

facilities. She told me "volunteers do many different things like giving guided tours or

participating in team activities… but I never ventured to do those things because doing the basics

is good enough for me." She demonstrates her awareness that volunteering could be more than

what she is currently doing, but she indicates that she only does the minimum that is required as

a choice given her physical conditions. I also talked to a younger female volunteer who indicated

her current place in her self-development process. Her statement shows how she perceives

puissance through a relationship in which she can either become "used as free labor" or she can

use the relationship to cultivate her own voice:

> A friend told me when I started volunteering that we shouldn't just be involved as labor,
> and I think that's important. We shouldn't just become a convenient tool whose services
> are used for free. Of course we still have to do things that we might not want to do. We
> can't just selectively do things that we enjoy but it's not volunteering if we're just being
> used as free labor. I remind myself about that sometimes, and I think I'm volunteering
> as a guide at the Triennale because there's something I want to communicate to people
> through it.

Like the older female volunteer, this younger volunteer also states her "regressive" position

in relation to the ideal volunteer who has a voice. However, her statement also reveals a moral

struggle that paves the path to achieve this ideal. On the one hand volunteers should not become

tools for the powers that be, but on the other hand they are still bound by the rules and

regulations of the system. This demonstrates that for this female volunteer, having a voice is not

necessarily a qualification of *puissance* so much as a subjectification that would empower and transform her. The 2014 Yokohama Triennale was also a site where younger volunteers can find role models among senior volunteers. For example, I met a female senior volunteer who demonstrated both comfort (*yutori*) and voice in her interactions with others. This volunteer was in her 70s but still physically fit and healthy. She was modest but she wasn't shy to talk about herself. During breaks, we would talk about her interest in hiking and painting over snacks that she always shared with other volunteers. She also inquired about others and complimented them often. For example, she always complimented me for my ability to speak English but I later learned that she was much more cosmopolitan than I for having traveled to many different places around the world including places like Syria. Her interest in volunteering also arose from one of her travels. She said she had met a volunteer earlier in life at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. "She was a very nice lady" she said, "really pleasant, with kindness." I thought she was talking about herself when she said those words because they also described how she was always smiling gently with a personable grace that she showed through her interaction with others. This senior female volunteer made a very strong impression on me not only because she possessed the comfort and voice that made her stand out as a role model but also because those qualities were a testimony to her "depth of life" that can only be achieved by experience.

3.5   Supporter figure

Volunteers, particularly those who acted as gallery tour guides, encoded *puissance* to script a narrative in a way that 'supported' the storied exhibition Art Fahrenheit 451. In doing so, they effectively performed their role as a Supporter figure that employed a communicative style that brought the storied exhibition to life. Volunteer tour guides developed a script of the exhibition individually or in pairs, but their narratives adopted a communicative style that encoded the

puissance of their audience. In other words, they offered their interpretation of the exhibited

works of art while encouraging visitors to share their interpretations with them. For example, in a

tour led by two volunteer guides, the tour group went around the exhibition stopping in front of

several works to discuss its meaning. One of them was the work "Hand Holding a Firing Gun"

by Vija Celmins (see Figure 3), which the guide shared his thought about how the moment of

firing a gun gripped a tension that he found arresting while asking us afterwards what we thought

about this piece. This seemed to be the dominant style that the Museum instructed the volunteer

guides to employ as many volunteer tour guides told me that they enjoyed hearing other

audiences' interpretations of contemporary art that were different from theirs. Artistic Director

Morimura also stated at a special event for volunteers that art volunteers were important because

they helped Triennale visitors to speak their thoughts and vocalize their opinions by

communicating with them and asking them questions, which in turn helps visitors recognize that

they can form their own opinion and speak about them because we tend to police our own

freedom of expression.

However, one volunteer chose to adopt a narrative form that discussed the political event

that informed the artwork. This volunteer, Narita, was not interested in offering his

interpretations so much as revealing the *puissance* of a political event that was not readily

available to the public. Narita is the senior male volunteer who qualified *puissance* as having a

voice. Narita offered to take me on an "unofficial" guided tour that had to be private because the

script that he used for his scheduled tours was a version edited by the Museum. He cried jokingly

that the Museum "police" would arrest him if they caught him giving a tour based on his

unofficial script. Narita's unofficial tour explained the political context behind the artwork rather

than sharing his interpretations about the art itself. For example, Narita took me to the work

"CHAPTER V Censored, A Living Man Declared Dead and Other Chapters I-XVIII" by Taryn Simon (see Figure 4). To a disinterested observer, this work looks as if a number of black square boxes were painted on a canvas. Narita explained that this work was originally a critique of North Korea for kidnapping South Koreans from a fishing boat. However, Simon later painted over the original content with black square boxes because the Chinese government refused to have it displayed in China. Then, indicating me to read the caption printed next to the artwork (see Figure 5), Narita proceeded to tell me that the history of this work is not printed in the caption because this knowledge is politically sensitive. This is why, he says, politically sensitive knowledge must be told orally and informally.

Gallery tour guides' communicative style that encodes the *puissance* of their tour group supported the storied exhibition "ART Fahrenheit 451: Sailing into the sea of oblivion" by bringing the story to life. Gallery tour guides are Bradbury's "people who are books." They transform the exhibited materials to immaterial speeches in order to be shared by others. Their communicative style engages the audience to talk about how they feel and think about the artwork, revealing the invisible, hidden and/or forgotten *puissance* that would otherwise "drift into oblivion." Even Narita, whose narrative form revealed the censored content behind the image, supported the story of ART Fahrenheit 451. Volunteers were thus staged as a Supporter figure for the 2014 Yokohama Triennale by developing a communicative style or a narrative form that allowed them to act as art mediators. That is, by revealing the *puissance* of the tour group or of the political event that animates the meaning of the artwork. Despite supporting the story ART Fahrenheit 451, Narita's "unofficial" tour was inappropriate for the scheduled tours because his narrative form that discussed political events did not adopt the communicative style

of "sharing" his interpretations of the artwork to draw the audiences' "empathy." This shows how *puissance* can be authored in different styles.

By acting as art mediators, volunteers help redefine art from a mimesis of nature or civilization to what Fram Kitagawa, the director of Echigo Tsumari Art Triennale and the Setouchi Triennale defines as a "technology that represents the relationship between nature or civilization and human." In this definition, their role as art mediators refers to the human component that blurs the distinction between nature and civilization by revealing the *puissance* that go into the making and perceiving of contemporary art. Volunteers-as-art mediators thus bring art outside of the sphere of oppositions such as spectators and art, politics and art, or even the art world and the public in order to use art as a technology that blurs these binary oppositions by bringing the storied exhibition to life. By mediating art, volunteers also mediate the *puissance* of not only their own communities of practice but also the public and in particular the museum visitors that shapes while being shaped by the volunteers' collective engagements in authoring *puissance*.

In Japan where capitalism and Western discourses of art have largely determined the meaning and value of art among other cultural artifacts, constituting art in *machizukuri* projects like the Yokohama Triennale as a technology to author *puissance* is also a mode of empowerment. By authoring *puissance*, volunteers help make sense of what Kitagawa (2014) explains as an "idiosyncratic experience" resulting from the meeting of two historicities since the Meiji era (1868-1912) by helping to create an autonomous culture of 'the city':

> The cultural formation of the Japanese archipelago, or the two historical currents that have been flowing since the Meiji era when a foreign culture was thrusted upon Japan. In other words our own culture has been disintegrating but we must live with it, and we might say it's predominantly an American culture or we could even say that it's British but we have to interact with art in a highly idiosyncratic world. This relates to the first

half of our discussion, but we are torn between our lived culture and the trends that are brought in from the outside.

Kitagawa maintains that the field of cultural production needs to be decentralized from the state to regions by opening the various localities in the Setouchi region to independently engage in a cultural exchange with other countries. Furthermore, Kitagawa's vision extends to the production of a "culture that is common to Asia" by inviting Asian artists, artisans and architects to participate in the Echigo Tsumari and Setouchi Triennale. Contemporary art festivals thus open up regional communities in Japan to the cultural flows from not only the United States and Britain but also other, Asian countries to cultivate regional networks that would help weave regional cultures. Contemporary art festivals across Japan provide the opportunity for volunteers to become agents of this change by developing their own styles of speech to mediate the production of regional communities. The Director General of the Arts Council Tokyo, Katsunori Miyoshi (2014) stated at a symposium that the purpose of holding contemporary art festivals in Japan is first and foremost to develop human capital or *hitozukuri*:

> International festivals are a site where people can learn about what is going on in the world through culture and the arts and, as a result, we are able to learn the different ways in which people think, different values that people have, and many other things. I think that is the central significance of international festivals. Mr. Hashimoto earlier made a comment on the transmission of culture and the arts, which I think is rooted in social interaction. We are unable to interact unless there is something transmitted, so in that sense there is first a transmission, then an interaction, and a reception of various ideas, and I think this is what it means to cultivate people. I think one of the values [of international festivals] is to provide a space that generates this communication.

Miyoshi's statement makes it clear that organizing volunteers into communities of practice was not simply a means to coproduce the 2014 Yokohama Triennale but it was one of the central objectives of the festival. It was important for the City to organize volunteers into communities of practice because these communities gave volunteers the motivation and inspiration to author

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puissance. Authoring helps volunteers to fashion themselves in their own image of what 'the volunteer' can and should be. Authoring helps create a distinction that separates volunteers from the masses while transforming the spectacle into a theater in which they perform. In turn, the Yokohama Museum of Art and the Organizing Committee for Yokohama Triennale taught the communicative style to deliver their scripts and authorized their performances so the volunteers not only supported the storied exhibition ART Fahrenheit 451 but also brought the story to life. The Supporter figure was developed through the complicit practice of volunteers who authored *puissance* as an image to be performed and the institutions that authorized their performance.

Figure 3 Clemins, Vija (1964) "Hand Holding a Firing Gun"

Figure 4 Simon, Taryn (2011) "CHAPTER V Censored, A Living Man Declared Dead and Other Chapters I-XVIII"

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Choe Janggeun (2) was reportedly abducted by North Korean agents at sea on May 10, 1977. He was the chief engineer aboard a ship named the *Tongyeong*, which, along with seven other vessels, was on a large-scale mission to regulate illegal fishing in the waters outside Gyeongsang Province. When the *Tongyeong* encountered an unregistered fishing boat, Choe was the first aboard for a routine check. According to eyewitness accounts, Choe was captured in a conflict with North Korean agents on the boat who engaged his crew with gunfire.

The South Korean government estimates that more than 500 South Korean abductees taken after the Korean War are currently in North Korea against their will. The majority of recent abductions have been South Korean fishermen. South Korea has been reluctant to confront Pyongyang on the issue despite Kim Jong-il's 2002 admission that North Korea had kidnapped thirteen Japanese citizens, five of whom have been returned to Japan. Abductions by North Korea reportedly occur primarily in China, Japan, and South Korea.

North Koreans cannot leave their country without state permission. Many have escaped through the country's northern border with China. These refugees are often arrested and returned to North Korea, where they face severe punishment. North Korea has been repeatedly criticized for its human rights violations, including public executions, arbitrary arrests, detention, and torture. During the Korean War, an estimated 80,000 civilians from the South were taken to the North, including politicians, government officials, businessmen, scholars, and doctors. Wartime abductions reportedly involved exploiting the specific skill sets and expertise of abductees, stealing their identities, training them as spies, and using them to advise North Korean intelligence operatives. North Korea has maintained that there are no South Korean abductees in North Korea and that all South Koreans now in the North are defectors who remain there of their own free will.

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Figure 5 Caption next to Taryn Simon's work

3.6   Chapter summary

This chapter studied the volunteers for the 2014 Yokohama Triennale in order to explain how authoring *puissance* empowered volunteers to fashion themselves in their own image of 'the volunteer' that the Triennale helped stage to coproduce them as a Supporter figure. I explained how the Triennale Supporters' Office, the Yokohama Museum of Art and the Organizing Committee for Yokohama Triennale structured this process by organizing volunteers into communities of practice where they learned how to volunteer as a 'partner', a 'student' and also an 'art mediator'. Many volunteers used their ambivalent status as an opportunity to author *puissance* to define and perform an ideal image of 'the volunteer'. Not only did this practice

empower the volunteers themselves but it also helped the City exercise *hitozukuri* by teaching volunteers the communicative style with which to perform this image. I maintained that the volunteers had become a Supporter figure who supports the 2014 Yokohama Triennale and the City of Yokohama through their complicit practice of authoring *puissance* that was authorized by the Triennale to be delivered as a particular style of performance.

The next chapter focuses on the walking tours that were coordinated by the arts NPO Koganechō Area Management Center. I analyze three different tours that I participated in: art tour, history tour and crime prevention tour. I focus specifically on the tour guides' narratives in order to understand how their narratives help figure 'the city' as they also become figures of 'the city'. In the art tour, the tour guide introduced several local business owners who encoded the *puissance* of their neighborhood using artifacts from the landscape. This allowed them to not only show their lives-in-the-city but also teach tourists the cultural literacy that would allow them to navigate their way around 'the city'. The history tour was set up in a way that the tourists were led to uncover a 'mystery'. The tour guide decoded the *puissance* of historical artifacts as he led the tour group, weaving his knowledge about the history of Yokohama to construct a story that gave his hypothesis to the mystery. A professor from the City University of Yokohama organized by crime prevention tour by inviting residents from the Kogane-chō area to identify areas that seemed dangerous, dirty or clean. A map was used in this tour so residents can collectively map their *puissance* on a representational surface. Based on my analyses, I argue that the walking tours not only coproduce 'the city' as a figured world but the practice of encoding, decoding and mapping *puissance* also structures the autopoietic ontology of the figured 'city'.

Chapter 4   Articulating *Puissance*: Koganechō Walking Tours

The last chapter studied the 2014 Yokohama Triennale to explain how the festival served as a site of *hitozukuri*. I showed how the Triennale Supporters' Office, the Yokohama Museum of Art and the Organizing Committee for Yokohama Triennale positioned volunteers differently, but they also organized volunteers into communities of practice where volunteers learned what to do and how to interpret what they did. I maintained that this empowered volunteers to fashion themselves in their own image of a volunteer by subjectifying, interpreting and qualifying *puissance*. This chapter studies the walking tours of the city (*machi aruki*) coordinated by the government-affiliated arts NPO Koganechō Area Management Center (henceforth abbreviated as Koganechō AMC). Unlike the previous chapter that studied how volunteers became a Supporter figure for the Yokohama Triennale, this chapter studies the narratives of volunteered tour guides to ask the following questions: How do tour guides articulate *puissance* to construct narratives about their lives-in-the-city? How do their narratives support the ontology of the figured 'city'?

The Kogane-chō Area Management Center was established as a nonprofit organization in 2009 primarily to manage and convert the buildings that were used as illegal brothels for the City of Yokohama by leasing them to artists who join its Artist In Residence program. In addition, the Kogane-chō AMC also organizes an annual contemporary art festival Koganecho Bazaar, manages the Koganecho Art School where resident artists offer art classes to the public, and coordinates walking tours of the city which is the focus of this chapter. Approximately half of its budget is subsidized by the City of Yokohama, and membership fees, donations, and rent meet the other half. According to its Director Shingo Yamano, the Kogane-chō AMC has three objectives. The first is to change Kogane-chō's image from a city of prostitution to a city of art through its Artist In Residence program that invites artists from Japan and various parts of Asia

to work and present their deliverables at Kogane-chō. The second is to promote *machizukuri* through civic coproduction. As the tenth anniversary ceremony of the Bye Bye Operation demonstrated, the Kogane-chō AMC works with residents of Hatsune-chō, Kogane-chō and Hinode-chō, various offices at the city, ward, and prefectural levels, local businesses, artists, and volunteers. The third is to foster *hitozukuri* by educating and engaging young people to maintain the city's identity and historical continuity. Their Artist in Residence program, for example, brings young artists from Japan and Asia to not only work on their art but also learn about Kogane-chō. They also employ staff members in their late twenties to early thirties to cultivate their know-how in *machizukuri*.

4.1   Koganechō Area Management Center

Before the City of Yokohama intervened in 2008, the districts of Kogane-chō, Hatsune-chō and Hinode-chō were part of a notorious red light district where sex trafficking and illegal prostitution were systematically carried out. The uniform construction of very narrow, two-story buildings with 3 feet by 3 feet spaces throughout these districts made it easy to sustain illegal businesses despite repeated police arrests of business owners and prostitutes. These buildings were built after the Great Hanshin earthquake of 1995 when Keikyu Railway began an antiseismic construction that added approximately 15 inches to its concrete columns supporting the elevated railway that were originally about 30 inches thick. Leaseholders of land underneath the railway were provided with alternative plots across the street to relocate. Some of the leaseholders took the chance to not only move, but also construct small buildings in which they opened a bar on the first floor and a brothel on the second floor. The construction of these buildings continued to spread throughout these three districts, allowing over two hundred fifty illegal businesses to operate at its zenith in the 1990s.

If multinational corporations and the white-collar service sector transformed Tokyo into a global city (Sassen 1991), Yokohama was globalized through the "survival circuits" of third world labor (Sassen 2002). Kogane-chō became one of the sex trafficking hubs in Asia facilitated by global criminal networks. Many women from South America and Southeast Asia entered Japan through brokers who made them work off their "debt" that generally amounted to about five million Japanese yen (fifty thousand U.S. dollars) by working the streets of Kogane-chō (Yagisawa 2006: 80). For residents of the Kogane-chō area, what made the internationalization of prostitution in Kogane-chō problematic was not necessarily the illegal trafficking of these women and even less about the moral and physical concern for these women's bodies. Rather, it was the fact that a relationship cannot be established with these women who are mobile, transient, and difficult to locate. This is described by Danbara (2009) who nostalgically laments how the sex industry came under the iron cage of modernity by explaining a quote from Hotta, a resident of Kogane-chō since 1948 and a member of the Kogane-chō's restaurant and bar union:

> Hotta said: "We didn't want to bring foreigners in. If she's Japanese you know where that woman is from but you don't know anything about a foreigner. They're here as a migrant. They don't want to blend in with the local community."

> A foreign substance (*ibutsu*) agitated the good old community. It indicated that the port city Yokohama was not "a true international city".

> When many brothels begin to employ Taiwanese women, the union's code of discipline starts to crumble. After ten years or so, the mama-san (female manager) of these brothels is now Taiwanese women. They bring workers from their country through personal networks while Japanese owners hand over their management to retire. Public moral increasingly becomes pragmatic and services more businesslike. The popular style now is to lease a single brothel to three different mama-san, who each runs it for eight hours. Back in the day it was "hot to spend the night at a regular place" (*najimi no tokoro e tomari ni iku no ga iki*), but that is now an impossible negotiation. Shows that set the timer to exactly 20 minutes have become the mainstream.

Long time residents of Kogane-chō were also leaving because land prices were skyrocketing and people's sense of community was becoming lost. When people moved out, land sharks came to buy up the property in order to make more brothels. These brothels were leased to prostitutes who paid 20,000 yen (US$200) a night. Each 3 feet by 3 feet room generated 7.2 million yen (US$72,000) annually, and organized crime groups at its zenith ran approximately 250 of these small rooms. Concerned about their neighborhood, members of the neighborhood associations from three districts Hatsune-chō, Kogane-chō, and Hinode-chō and the Parent Teacher Association of Azuma elementary school formed a group called the Kogane-X, short for Hatsune-chō, Kogane-chō, and Hinode-chō Environmental Cleanup Promotion Council. Their formal complaint was acknowledged by the City of Yokohama, which stepped in with the Kanagawa Prefectural Police to crack down on illegal bars that served as brothels in 2005 and intervened to transform Kogane-chō into a "city of art" under its Creative City Policy since 2006.

The tenth anniversary ceremony of the 2005 police crackdown, also known as the "Bye Bye Operation" (*Bai Bai Sakusen*) was held while I was conducting fieldwork in Kogane-chō on January 11, 2015. The term "bye bye" is a pun that refers to the Japanese term *baibaishun,* which means "sex trafficking and prostitution" and "good bye" for eradicating sex trafficking and prostitution. The ceremony took place at the gymnasium of Azuma elementary school. Kogane-chō AMC coordinated the ceremony by inviting various offices that supported the Bye Bye Operation including the Kanagawa Prefectural Police, the Isesaki Police, different offices from the City of Yokohama and the Naka Ward of Yokohama City, the City University of Yokohama, the Keikyu Corporation, Azuma Elementary School and members of the Prefectural and City Assemblies. Despite their effort at coordinating the ceremony by inviting guests, creating the schedule, distributing the flyers and so forth, the name Kogane-chō AMC was never mentioned

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or recognized at the ceremony. They were completely invisible as far as the tenth anniversary ceremony of the Bye Bye Operation was concerned.

4.2   Figuring 'the city'

Koganechō walking tours create an engaged audience for the City's less known urban landscape that have not been developed as the waterfront area, which is part of the city's image-making and city-branding on the global stage. By constructing everyday stories about these areas, where Kogane-chō and its neighboring districts are a part of, Koganechō walking tours transform these neighborhoods into figured worlds. Figured worlds are as-if worlds in which people's "identities and agency are formed dialectically and dialogically" (Holland, Lachicotte Jr., Skinner and Caine 1998: 49). Narrativizing and dramatizing are two methods that are utilized among individuals who figure the world in which they also, over time, become recognized as a figure of. I consider tour guides' narratives to be such a method that figures 'the city' by showing people's lives-in-the-city while didactically teaching how tourists can also participate in the lives of their communities.

The following examples of walking tours show how figuring is an art that is taught in a community of practice. It also demonstrates the role *puissance* plays in initiating volunteers into this art. Although the "problem" of illegal prostitution by immigrant women initially stirred the *puissance* among residents of Kogane-chō and neighboring districts that led to the establishment of Kogane-X, this "problem" was fast becoming a memory of the past thanks to the Kanagawa Prefectural Police and the Bye Bye Operation. Kogane-chō and neighboring districts were still demonstrating their *puissance* as a community but not always or necessarily against an external threat. Social hierarchy that exerts the *pouvoir* of seniority and male dominance also generated *puissance* from younger and newer members of the community. Furthermore, the artists who

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were associated with the Koganechō AMC always faced the pressure to demonstrate how their art led to the city's economic development. For example, artist Maki Takemoto who took us on the art tour that I discuss below had a store in Kogane-chō where she sold her original artwork in addition to items carried by local merchants. She was forced to close her store while I was in the field, to which she commented:

> "Part of the reason I'm closing my shop is because I didn't receive the support of local merchants… People think businesses should get better because more people are visiting (Kogane-chō) but nobody knows by experience how to get regular businesses going because only the brothels occupied this area… We were able to overturn the negative image of the city, but I think we still need to be patient and focus on art because businesses are still struggling." (Maki Takemoto, interview by author, November 22, 2014)

Takemoto's comment indicates her ambivalent status as an outsider who, like an anthropologist, attempts to engage with the community that she wishes to support. Unlike most anthropologists, however, Takemoto is not there to write about this community. Instead, she is there to practice her art of living as a member of 'the city' while didactically teaching this art to others. According to the Director of Koganechō AMC Yamano, artists play an important role in *machizukuri*. Artist is an occupation, Yamano states, which makes it his or her business to think about how to live that is synonymous to the question of how to relate to others. But good artists also have the power to influence others, says Yamano, because they practice their philosophy as a way of life. Life as Yamano conceives it does not strictly refer to the artist's biological life or an autobiographical story about it, but it is the vehicle to learn and the medium to teach the art of living to others. From this perspective life, by definition, entails a self-reflexive attitude towards one's interaction with others and a self-disciplinary, everyday practice to cultivate a communicative style, narrative form and/or a public profile that articulates the *puissance* of local communities. Life is therefore an art of being-in-the-world that takes practice.

4.2.1   Literature of walking tours

Understanding walking tours as a practice of figuring 'the city' requires explanation, as it is not the dominant analytical framework that scholars have used in the past. Most scholars have studied walking tours as a place-making and place-branding practice, where the meaning of place is constructed through the tourists' senses of place as well as their communications with the tour guide. For example, Gentry maintains that the Ghost Walks in Savannah, Georgia, provides tourists with an alternative experience of place while contributing to the "transformation of death and disaster into saleable tourism-based commodities" (2007: 223) of the dark tourism genre. Gentry maintains that the tourists prefer the walking ghost tours over the motorized ghost tours because while the latter covers a larger distance, the walking tours provide the tourists with detailed information about the place that lends them "greater control over their experiences, specifically the tour's pace and their role in the act of storytelling" (ibid: 232).

Pink argues that the place-making feature of walking tours can be extended as an ethnographic method that allows one to understand "how people constitute urban environments through embodied and imaginative practices and how researchers become attuned to and constitute ethnographic places" (2008: 176). Studying Cittàslow, a Slow City movement in a city called Mold in Flintshire, Whales, she argues that the sensory experiences from walking, eating, drinking, photographing alongside her research participants forms an intersubjectivity that contributes to a complicit, place-making practice. As a "conscious negotiation of different temporalities that make up our everyday lives" (ibid: 177), reflexivity figures heavily in Cittàslow. Pink, for example, describes how she attends to the ways in which her research participants talk about the physical environment and the sensual qualities of the food they prepared and shared. Moreover, Pink talks about how the walking tours also occasioned as an

event where participants adjusted their bodies and speeches to the rhythm of others as a learning process of being together (ibid: 187).

On the contrary, Edensor argues that walking, like other physical practices, "is often an unreflexive and habitual practice which unintentionally imparts conventions concerning the 'appropriateness' of bodily demeanour, but which is not wholly determined by cultural norms" (2000: 82). He argues that despite the popular literature and advertisements that deem walking as a way to find freedom from the urban environment that restricts the body, walking in the British countryside is actually "beset by conventions about what constitutes as "appropriate" bodily conduct, experience and expression" (Edensor 2000: 83). For example, the types of walking pattern different walking experiences. While 'strolling', 'promenading' and 'wandering' are easy and casual, 'trekking' and 'hiking' requires planning and rigorous exercise. Trails and paths also lend structure to the walking experience. While nature trails encapsulate walks into particular themes of interest such as horticulture or wildlife, long-distance walks are about self-development through physical and mental endurance. For the latter type of walking in particular, the body must be trained and conditioned to maximize comfort and safety. People also fashion themselves with clothing and equipment that are expressive of the types of walking they do. Seasoned walkers might buy 'heavy-duty' quality gear rather than 'fashionable' ones or wear a backpack that has become "a symbol of self-sufficiency" (ibid: 99).

Nevertheless, walking tours are not only about walking but they are also about storytelling that tour guides craft by using various "tricks." Wynn studies the walking tours from New York City to identify and explain the "tricks" of telling stories that weave education with entertainment, historical facts with local knowledge and culture, all the while establishing the tour guide's authority without alienating the tourists. Wynn lists eight tricks that include: 1) the

conceit, 2) the 'perfect tour guiding moment', 3) happenstance, 4) simulation, 5) the duel, 6) the joke, 7) fabrication and 8) the bridge. I summarize the first three as an example: The conceit is a way to tweak the familiar. It de-mythologizes commonly held beliefs by discussing how "the story about Dylan Thomas having 17 straight whiskies at the White Horse Tavern is possibly fiction, and that Hell's Kitchen derived its name from Davy Crockett" (2005: 405). The 'perfect tour guiding moment' refers to 'universal' stories that "are dramatic, include famous personae, have a twist, and are instructive" (ibid: 406). The feud between urban planer Robert Moses and Eleanor Roosevelt is a favorite story among tour guides because it teaches how the Sara Delano Roosevelt Park was named by Moses after Eleanor Roosevelt's mother-in-law to spite Eleanor. The happenstance is about tour guides taking advantage of serendipitous moments like being invited into old homes or how a homeless person will begin to contribute to the tour guide's story. These and other five comprise the tour guides' tricks of the trade that incorporates play while structuring their stories in a way that draws the tour groups' attention.

4.2.2 Encoding, decoding

Like many of the walking tours that are available in other cities, Koganechō walking tours also promote place-making and place-branding. Yet how they make and brand 'the city' is not only through the detailed information that tour guides impart or the sensuous experiences that the tour group shares with one another. While Koganechō walking tours use themes to pattern the walking experience, they require tour guides who can weave not just an interesting story about 'the city' but also a reflexive story about their lives-in-the-city that they share with the local community. This means that their stories are woven from a "problem" or a "question" shared by themselves as members of the community so that their stories are not only theirs alone but also express the *puissance* of the community. The stories told by the Koganechō tour guides all

shared this basic structure so members of the tour group may be drawn to support the City by participating in the civic coproduction of various events and services. To this extend the Koganechō walking tours are not only about education and entertainment but also *engagement*.

My primary task in the following sections is therefore to demonstrate how the tour guides encoded and decoded *puissance* through their storytelling. This is a method that I borrow from the cultural theorist, political activist and sociologist Stuart Hall's (1993) communication model that examines how messages are encoded and decoded through cultural forms. Encoding entails the articulation of meaning as a message to be communicated, while decoding entails its interpretation. Each of these practices is conceptualized as a separate moment in the communication process such that "no one moment can fully guarantee the next moment with which it is articulated" (1993: 91). This model is useful for understanding a message or a story as a product of articulation; meaning that a message or a story is not simply a medium of communication but it is also a literary form in which disparate signs are woven together to show 'the city' in a meaningful unity. Hall's communication model has been criticized by some academics in the United States because it fails "to study the relationship between culture and society" (O'Connor 1996: 189). In particular, American Cultural Studies critic Lawrence Grossberg commented on Raymond Williams' notion of a 'structure of feeling' as being flawed because "it assumes a holistic unity and excludes social and political conflict" (ibid). Grossberg also argues that the encoding/decoding model does not show how various social groups (society) decode the encoded television message (culture).

Grossberg's critique stems from conceptualizing language as a practical tool to deliver a meaningful message or a story that can be shared, critiqued or negotiated by the audience. What Grossberg sees as a holistic unity or even complicity between the speaker and the listener-

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audience is the outcome of articulation that entails the "practice of unity in difference; of difference *in* complex unity, without becoming a hostage to the privileging of difference as such" (Slack, citing Hall 1996: 122). Tour guides from the Koganechō walking tours treat language as a literary form in order to compose a story about their relationship with others as their lives-in-the-city. The language they use is carefully crafted so that the tour guides' practice of figuring 'the city' is mediated by their narratives that articulate a story about their lives-in-the-city using artifacts from the landscape. Tour guides therefore become what Peirce calls an interpretant that, by investing meaning in the artifacts as signs to communicate their lives-in-the-city, they also become figures of 'the city'.

Halls' communication model allows me to analyze tour guides' narratives that encode or decode *puissance* of their communities to animate artifacts as meaningful signs that show their lives-in-the-city. This model also allows me to explain how tour guides develop their narratives by crafting their own communicative style, narrative form and/or public persona that not only serves as "tricks" to draw an audience (Wynn 2055) but also transmits the cultural literacy of 'the city'. By applying this model I do not assume that members of the tour group and/or the volunteers do not participate in the social construction of reality. Neither do I assume that tour guides define the social reality of 'the city' in the last instance. Rather, I use this model to explain how the ontology of 'the city' is maintained as a living system through the cognitive operation of encoding and decoding *puissance* through artifacts. This means that we can only understand the meaning and function of these artifacts in terms of how the tour guides use and talk about them. Artifacts acquire their value as markers of the city's identity not because they objectify one's habitus (Bourdieu 1977) or because we live through artifacts that make us what we are (Kohn 2013). These artifacts are social through and through, which also means that the

knowledge they hold for the observer cannot be validated unless "the validation of all possible relative knowledge is attained through successful autopoiesis" (Maturana and Varela 1980: 119). Mapping artifacts is thus an important technique to produce autopoiesis by coupling the ontology of 'the city' with the city's material infrastructure.

4.3   Walking tours (*machi aruki*)

Because walking tours are a civic coproduction event, in principle Koganechō AMC staff Yoshioka and the Koganechō volunteers jointly planned the walking tours. This rule was bent sometimes when the Kogane-chō AMC had a special candidate to guide the tour or a special exhibition to which the tour was to be brought. Otherwise volunteers would plan the tour and nominate the guide at least two months in advance. Over the last two years, the Kogane-chō AMC organized tours under a variety of themes including public art, art galleries, architecture, history, food, cafés, crime prevention, disaster preparation and more. These walking tours take different routes, but they often go outside of Kogane-chō to its neighboring districts and return to Kogane-chō where the tour ends approximately one hour later. The volunteers also have a meeting with the guide and Yoshioka before the tour and walk the tour route to check that the time and itinerary are appropriate. On the day of, volunteers recruit people to participate in the tour by calling out to pedestrians in the streets within the Kogane-chō AMC area. We usually had luck recruiting people who attend the farmer's market, which is held on the same day, to join the tour.

Most people participating in the Kogane-chō walking tours were tourists visiting Kogane-chō for the first time. However, these tourists were almost always residents of the greater Yokohama city who learned about Kogane-chō through the Kogane-chō Bazaar, friends, website,

or other publications. Tour groups usually comprised of five to fifteen people. Members were often women in the thirties to fifties who came alone, with her partner, her children, or with friends. Men also joined but they were fewer in number. Not all Kogane-chō volunteers participated in every tour, but there was a core group of around five that lived in the vicinity of Kogane-chō that could be trusted to help out. There are roughly the same number of men and women in the twenties, thirties and forties who volunteered at the Kogane-chō ACM.

My analysis includes three walking tours: art tour, history tour, and crime prevention tour. In the art tour guided by artist Maki Takemoto, several local business owners are introduced who encode the *puissance* of their neighborhood as members of the neighborhood association. I discuss how these local business owners articulate *puissance* by analyzing their communicative style, narrative form, and public profile. Next, I discuss the history tour guided by Hitoshi Saitō who decodes the *puissance* behind artifacts as 'clues' to weave a story that attempts to explain the 'mystery' of Yokohama Road. I show how the cultural logic that Saito uses to decode artifacts did not always coincide with the actual history of those artifacts as remembered by residents of the city. I study how such differences in perspectives are ironed out in my last example where I analyze the crime prevention tour organized by Kogane-X. For this event, a professor from the City University of Yokohama invited members of the Hatsune-chō, Kogane-chō, and Hinode-chō neighborhood associations. The tour groups used a map of Kogane-chō area to identify areas where they felt were dangerous, dirty, and clean from the perspectives of a stranger, children and elders. I analyze the use of maps in this tour to examine how it couples *puissance* with public artifacts to structure the ontology of 'the city'.

4.3.1   Encoding *puissance*: art tour

Artist Maki Takemoto gave the art tour that left Kogane-chō to the next district over named

Chōja-machi where she lives and shares a studio with the Kogane-chō AMC Director Yamano

and an art critic Makoto Murata. Chōja-machi is a red light district that resembles Kogane-chō's

past. Once I had accidently wandered into Chōja-machi alone at night, finding myself in the

middle of a dizzying array of neon signs for bars, hostess clubs, brothels, seedy restaurants and

shops lined up along its main road. That experience colored my image of the district as an unsafe

place, but Takemoto's introduction to the district revealed an otherwise invisible distinction

between legitimate and illegitimate business establishments.

> This area's quite during the daytime but many solicitors line up this street at night.
> Since you arrived from Kogane-chō today, I'll tell you a story that relates to Kogane-
> chō. People who were caught [opearing illegal businesses] in Kogane-chō, the *yakuza*,
> often moved over to this district. You see some people saying that Kogane-chō was
> better in the past on the Internet or in this vicinity, but brothel owners and sex shop
> owners used to be members of the neighborhood association. They're in the sex
> industry but they'll participate in the neighborhood association and conduct their
> businesses according to the neighborhood rules and regulations. But after a while the
> owners became foreigners, and those foreigners who have had their businesses in this
> area for a long time share [the neighborhood association's] common sense (*kankaku*) to
> keep the area clean so customers will come but those who return to their countries after
> making a profit here don't really care. They'll leave their trash around and they don't
> have any attachments (*omoi ire ga nai*) towards the city so the city goes to ruins. That's
> also an issue that's discussed in our neighborhood association… It's problematized
> more by members of the neighborhood association who operate a legitimate sex
> business. They're the ones who worry about the safety of women and children. They're
> the ones who are glad that the police are here because they refuse to pay protection fees
> (*mikajime*) to the *yakuza*. Those who are legitimately in the sex business are supporting,
> are glad that the police intervened in Kogane-chō. So the problem is not the sex
> business but the *yakuza* that's behind it or the disorderliness of the city that tarnishes the
> city's image and takes customers away from those who want to do a legitimate business
> here.

Takemoto's story about Chōja-machi's sex industry problematized not the sex industry as

such, but the deteriorating sense of community that she says is the cause of worsening public

hygiene and public safety. According to Takemoto, foreigners who do not settle down in Chōja-

machi do not share the same common sense to keep public spaces clean and their temporary arrangements impede them from becoming emotionally and socially invested in Chōja-machi that might elicit their care towards the district. By emphasizing that such complaints are raised more often by those who operate a legitimate sex business as members of the neighborhood association (*chōnaikai*), Takemoto encodes the neighborhood's *puissance* into her tour by introducing local business owners who live this antagonism that animate the Chōja-machi district.

Showing the *puissance* behind Chōja-machi's red light district humanizes it as a community struggling to maintain a socially cohesive and economically viable environment for the public good. Moreover, Takemoto's story lends a more realistic frame to Chōja-machi that helps subside the fear that visitors might feel upon entering Chōja-machi while identifying public hygiene and public safety as a problem that could potentially get visitors to become involved in the civic coproduction of 'the city'. Takemoto introduces local business owners in the tour who articulates this *puissance* of 'the city'. The following narratives by local business owners and their conversations with the tour group demonstrate how their communicative style, narrative form, and/or public persona help articulate the *puissance* of the Chōja-machi district while enabling them to become figures of 'the city'. Showing *puissance* through their personal engagements with the tour group not only allows them to convert *puissance* into social capital but it also helps develop the public's cultural literacy of 'the city'.

One of the establishments Takemoto took the tour group is a bar, where the tour group was introduced to its young male owner Yamamoto. Takemoto brings the tour to this bar in order to publicize the Chōja-machi Song that she made for a *machizukuri* project and help generate sales for a familiar bar, but her intention is also to show one of the safe, legitimate bars in the area that

tourists can feel comfortable entering. Several statements suggest this, such as her comment about being able to drink casually for 500 yen and how children come with their parents to drink in this establishment.

Takemoto:	I brought them from Kogane-chō.
Yamamoto:	Thank you. Welcome to the poorest of the quarters (*basue chū no basue*).
Takemoto:	The name of this bar is Linda, and he's Yamamoto. No, he's not gay. We became friends after he called after our event about the Chōja-machi Song (*Chōja-machi Kouta*) that we made and asked whether he can purchase the CD. We filmed Jirō Miwa's promotion video for the Chōja-machi Song here. Your business hours are…?
Yamamoto:	We're open five to three. Sundays we're open twelve to six.
Takemoto:	You don't close at all?
Yamamoto:	No, I don't. But it's not like that. Every day is like a day off.
Takemoto:	You can casually drink from 500yen (5 U.S. dollars). Some of the customers here are interesting too. Yamamoto-san, how long have you had this bar for?
Yamamoto:	Oh, I just started.
Takemoto:	Were you born in Yokohama?
Yamamoto:	I was born in Ogura but raised in Yokohama.
Tourist:	I'm from Fukuoka too. I'm from Kurume.
Yamamoto:	My mother went back to Ogura to have me. She was originally in Yokohama.
Tourist:	You have an accent.
Yamamoto:	Really? I've always lived in Yokohama. It must be a

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Yokohama accent.

Tourist: What made you start working here?

Yamamoto: No reason really, but I used to work at Bashamichi until March. I was looking for somewhere else to go. Noge has style (*iki*). I rather not have style. I like the poor quarters (*basue*).

Takemoto: Children come here to drink with their parents at night often.

Yamamoto: Is everybody from Yokohama?

Tourist: Yes, I'm from Yokohama.

Takemoto: Everybody's different. I met some of these people for the first time today.

Yamamoto: Where are you going next?

Takemoto: To Suiren.

Yamamoto: To eat?

Takemoto: Everybody already ate so to listen to his story.

Yamamoto: Suiren's open?

Takemoto: Yes, it is.

Yamamoto: That's great.

Tourist: What's your specialty?

Yamamoto: We don't have a specialty. A glass of draft beer is 1000 yen (10 U.S. dollars). It's the cheapest. We have a one-liter glass. This is the best deal.

Takemoto: You can order in appetizers (*otsumami*) from other places. It's this, on the bottom. He said it was for himself but he's making them available for customers.

The question about whether Yamamoto is from Yokohama also shows how Yamamoto is "staged" by Takemoto as a figure of Yokohama city. In fact, Takemoto stated in our interview that her tours are similar to the staged plays that another Kogane-chō resident artist and stage director Ichihara produces. Yamamoto also responds by expressing his attachment towards Chōja-machi, enacting his part as a local business owner who likes the humble "poor quarters" compared to other, more commercial and stylish places like Noge. Yamamoto articulates the *puissance* of Chōja-machi through his communicative style that shows its character through the difference from the more commercial areas like Noge: it is a "poor quarter" yet safe even for children to come with parents; the bar is simple that lacks the variety and options of Noge but it creates a conducive environment to socialize and cultivate a more intimate relationship with Yamamoto and other customers; the bar doesn't offer many choices of food either, but you can enjoy cheap drinks and negotiate appetizers to be ordered in from other places. Yamamoto's communicative style also helps the tourists learn and remember what to expect at Chōja-machi. It uplifts the "dangerous" image of Chōja-machi while creating a distinction that allows consumers to compare and contrast Chōja-machi with its neighboring districts like Noge that has its own style.

The next place Takemoto took us is an old restaurant called *Suiren* that's also in Chōja-machi. Our tour group sat around the owner Ichinose on a *tatami* mat inside the old restaurant that seemed like it hadn't been renovated for a few decades. The display case full of sun-bleached plastic food outside of the restaurant, the old wooden staircase that crackled as we climbed upstairs and the spacious *tatami* matted room in which our tour group sat surrounding the owner Ichinose exuded the atmosphere of Showa nostalgia, or a longing for the stability and hope from Japan's postwar recovery period between 1950s and 1960s. The following excerpt

demonstrates Ichinose's narrative form that weaves a story of *Suiren* as an iconic restaurant that

waxed with the city's prosperous growth and waned with its plummeting recession.

> This restaurant has been in business since 1950, so I guess that makes it something like 65, 66 years. I'm the owner right now but I was helping out a bank until recently, until 5 or 6 years ago. This restaurant was on the verge of going under with this economy so I said I'll help out and ended up in this position. It's been about 5 years now. Every day I'm thinking about how to get the business back on its feet. Mizuno, the previous owner is probably one of the first people in this area to cook Western style meals. He cooked Western and Chinese food. There was a very famous, legendary chef whose name was Ueda at the New Grand Hotel. He also worked at Hotel Ōkura. Mizuno was close to him and learned a lot of different Western style dishes. And my father, this is still after the war, started a Western style restaurant not on this street but one over on a small alleyway. There was nothing around here then except the American military barracks. Isezaki Street was their runway for Cessna aircrafts. So foreigners would line up at this restaurant. They were our main customers. Mizuno would always improve upon what he learned through his own research. This was the very first Western style restaurant in this area. After the requisitioned land was returned [to Japan], Mizuno leased this land and turned the second floor of his home into a restaurant called *Suiren*. We had about fifty people working here and it was pretty famous. People would come to Yokohama by train but they wouldn't know the address because the address of Chōja-machi wasn't very clear yet. Back then, there was a trolley that ran on this road in front of us so people used to call this *Densha Dōri* (Train Road). But the people who reached Yokohama and didn't know where we were would say they're going to a Western style restaurant and ask for the location to get a ride here. The roads aren't paved yet so nobody says anything if you get off here. There weren't that many cars back then anyway. People in taxis would come to dine here. This person who used to cook here, I forgot his name, but you know there was a film studio in [inaudible]? He would bring the film crew here so this place became very spirited. Many people came here when Noge was still recovering from the war.

In this narrative, Ichinose introduces Mizuno as an embodiment of Yokohama's postwar

puissance who lived the idiosyncrasies of this era as a pioneer in Western style food as a

Japanese chef in an occupied area of the city. Mizuno is a self-made man who learned his trade

through his apprenticeship with chef Ueda from the Hotel New Grand, an old legendary hotel

built in 1926 by the Yokohama Port and where General McArthur is said to have stayed after

arriving to Japan (Hotel New Grand 2016). Mizuno's hard work and social capital pays off by

bringing him success first by the American soldiers who authenticated his Western style food by

lining up to eat at his restaurant and later by the public that arrived from various places using trains, trolleys and taxis. Ichinose's narrative form contextualizes Mizuno's entrepreneurial spirit within Yokohama's postwar *puissance*, which is invoked through images of the Occupied landscape such as the American military barracks, the aircraft runway, and American customers lining up at the restaurant.

However, Ichinose also describes the founding of *Suiren* restaurant as if to make the caveat that the restaurant did not flourish by Mizuno's hard work and entrepreneurial spirit alone. He invokes images of the train, trolley and taxis to show how they also helped bring people to the restaurant that was not even locatable on a map yet. These transportation vehicles are also powerful symbols of postwar *puissance* that Ichinose mobilizes to illustrate the dynamic movement of people who came pouring into the city from all directions. The movie industry also adds another dimension that shows how *puissance* was stirred by the glitz and glamour of celebrities that the chef was acquainted to and had invited to eat at the restaurant. Encoding *puissance* using these iconic images allows Ichinose to articulate the vitality of his restaurant through the postwar development of Yokohama city. The story adds symbolic value to *Suiren* as one of the city's oldest Western style restaurants while framing the antiquated look of the restaurant building as a testimony to the city's history.

The next and last stop in Takemoto's art tour was a small soda manufacturing factory operated by Tsuboi. Tsuboi recently resumed manufacturing the *Orizuru* soda that was originally manufactured in 1926. His story about the *Orizuru* brand decouples the soda from the calculating and abstract logic of capitalism and turns it into a cultural artifact that tells a story about the past. Like Yamamoto and Ichinose, Tsuboi's storytelling codifies the *puissance* of his struggling family business, the city's occupied history and the community to which he reaches out through

social media, soda manufacturing demonstrations for students and public events like our walking tours. Tsuboi's public profile mediates the story of *Orizuru* brand by giving the product a personal face to which consumers can relate while helping the brand accumulate cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986). Cultural capital in most cases is embodied as knowledge or skill that is accumulated through self-development. However, cultural capital can be objectified as in the case of the *Orizuru* soda where Tsuboi's knowledge of manufacturing and marketing consumer products is objectified as a story that adds value to the *Orizuru* brand.

One of the ways in which Tsuboi's public profile helps build the soda's cultural capital is by engaging consumers through his performance of aloofness. Tsuboi told a story about how his former konjac manufacturing business was slow so he resumed his family's soda manufacturing business by purchasing a second hand soda manufacturing and bottling machine. Tsuboi's narrative not only creates a sympathetic audience by problematizing the recession but he also makes himself approachable by performing a degree of aloofness that can be compared to figures like Homer Simpson from *The Simpsons* or Cosmo Kramer from *Seinfeld* whose personable character is developed from their aloofness to social norms and common sense that other characters share. These characters are loved and are lovable because, despite their aloofness that is often the cause of accidents and the source of problems, they generally mean well. Their friends and family want to support these creative geniuses whose charm outweighs their flaws. Tsuboi also demonstrates this character as a hardworking entrepreneur who is also very approachable. According to his blog that he uploads on the *Orizuru* soda website, he has a wide range of interests and knowledge of popular culture such as the Japanese *manga* series Lupin the Third, baseball and cars.

The following interaction between Tsuboi and Takemoto demonstrates how Tsuboi's aloofness triggers other people's involvement in the conversation. Tsuboi momentarily forgets the meaning behind *Orizuru* but Takemoto jumps in to help him remember. His aloofness is not only meant to break the ice, but it also allows him to talk about his *Orizuru* soda without giving off the impression that he is ostentatiously marketing it to the tour group.

Tourist: Why is it called *Orizuru* (origami paper crane)?

Tsuboi: Now what was the reason behind the name "crane"…?

Takemoto: You said something about marketing it to foreigners…

Tsuboi: Oh yes. Back in the day we used to sell our products on the rooftop of Matsuzakaya department store over there, to the GHQ. We were in business during that era, and the name *Orizuru* was probably adopted then. We haven't been in business since because there is competition with larger companies but as I said earlier people liked them when we had these manufactured elsewhere and distributed them recently at our company's hundred-year anniversary so we decided to start it again.

Tsuboi's engagement with the public through walking tours and other events allows Tsuboi to not only develop his relationship with the local community but also encode the *puissance* of his small family business into the meaning and value of his products. For example, Tsuboi explains during the tour how the machine alone cannot manufacture his soda but also requires human labor. Human labor limits the number of sodas Tsuboi can manufacture in a day, keeping the production volume low and its circulation more or less limited to the Yokohama area. Limiting his area of distribution allows Tsuboi to publicize his *Orizuru* soda through his personalized engagements with the public. In addition, it allows him to objectify his physical labor through his storytelling that adds cultural capital to the *Orizuru* brand. The conversation below shows how the conversation revolves around the labor that goes into bottling the soda

during the summer as well as sorting and packaging konjac. These conversations allow Tsuboi to

show the *puissance* of his small family business that lends meaning and value to the *Orizuru*

brand.

Tourist: Approximately how many sodas are you manufacturing daily?

Tsuboi: If we work hard, that machine can produce about 4500 bottles a day. We can't produce 5000 or 6000.

Tourist: Is there manual labor?

Tsuboi: That's the thing. We have to bottle the soda by hand so we're only able to produce a thousand at most. Doing that for three or four hours is the limit, so 4500 is the best that we can do. About the number of bottles on that pallet over there. There are about 4400 on it. Using one of those pallets is the optimum quantity, otherwise the people can't keep up although the machine can do more.

Tourist: You're probably sweating a lot in the summer time.

Tsuboi: Yes, but in the summer the temperature is cool inside. As I said earlier, we have to cool the water [to make the soda] so there's cool water circulating next to you that keep the heat down.

Tourist: Do you make konjac here too?

Tsuboi: No, we're not manufacturing konjac right now. We're only sorting and packaging the konjac we purchase elsewhere. Yes, please enjoy our konjac too. We're selling our Konjac under our name, Tsuboi.

Takemoto: When I ask people around here, they say they don't know *Orizuru* soda but they know Tsuboi *shōten* (store) and that you make konjac.

Tsuboi: Yes. We had our store in Wakaba-chō. Then we moved here. Back in the day we also manufactured [konjac] and sold it to the neighborhood vegetable shops and grocery stores. That business isn't doing well now so we're juggling both.

The above narratives of local business owners and the tour group's conversations with them

demonstrate that there is a movement to "buy local" in Japan as elsewhere. However in Japan,

the buy local movement is not necessarily promoted as a form of activism driven by distrust towards global food systems as in the United States (Nonini 2013) but by cultivating tourists' cultural literacy of 'the city'. Takemoto encoded the *puissance* of Chōja-machi neighborhood association into her walking tour by introducing local business owners who each showed their struggle to maintain a socially cohesive and economically viable environment. These local business owners articulated the *puissance* of their community through their communicative style, narrative form, and public profile that, in turn, makes them into indispensable figures of 'the city'. Walking tours were also an opportunity for them to impart their cultural literacy so tourists may learn how to read and experience 'the city'. For example, tourists from this walking tour learned where the safe establishments are in Chōja-machi's red light district and the history of *Sanmamen* noodles and *Orizuru* soda that are original to Yokohama city. Artifacts can therefore be used as heuristic tools to help tourists navigate and even become connoisseurs of 'the city'.

4.3.2 Decoding *puissance*: history tour

Hitoshi Saito was a tourist who became a tour guide after spending some time learning about Yokohama city. Saito works as a staff at the Kurashiki University of Science and the Arts in Okayama prefecture. In this tour, Saito references historical facts to explain the topography surrounding the old Yokohama Road (*Yokohama-dō*) that was built in 1859 to connect the capital Edo with Yokohama when Yokohama Port was opened to foreign trade. Saito's narrative does not try to reconstruct the history of this road but approaches its 'mystery' as if the tour group was part of a detective story. In doing so, Saito articulates the *puissance* of a country that must defend itself from Western domination in a new era of international trade and commerce.

Our walk followed a narrow path up a sharp hill behind the Kogane-chō area where Kanbei Yoshida (1611-1686), a lumber merchant from the Edo era, took the dirt from the base of this

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mountain to use as landfill so rice paddies could be cultivated below. Saito stops for a moment to explain a stone monument that we came across along the path:

> The hill becomes really steep from here. This is where *Tenjin-zaka* (Tenjin Hill) suddenly appears. In order to develop this area, Yoshida Kanbei took the soil from this hill. [Pointing to the stone monument with Yoshida Kanbei's name] Land reclamation requires soil, so this is a monument that states that the soil was taken from this area. So the reason this [hill] is so steep is because it's an area where [the soil beneath us] was taken away for land reclamation. We'll see when we walk up the hill a little more that compared to the ridge line of the hill on the other side where there's Don Quijote [supermarket], this area looks like someone carved out the land with a spoon.

Saito's narrative introduces the tour group to Kambei by explaining the monument that leaves a trace of his pioneering achievement on the landscape. His route takes us on a path of detective work that questions why this area that was once the mountain from where soil was taken to develop the land below should become such an importance to the Meiji government. After walking up the hill, we arrived at a residential area where there stands the old *Geihinkan*, a Western style mansion built by the Meiji government to entertain foreign guests. The building is now renovated and used as a country club, but this area still remains one of the high-end neighborhoods in Yokohama city. Saito brings the tour group to the gate of the old water distribution reservoir that is now part of the Nogeyama Zoo and Nogeyama Park.

> This is the Nogeyama distribution reservoir that's a defunct facility today but I hear that it was used in tandem with the new facility until about 2005. This is also where mansions of rich merchants were built during the Meiji era. There were three mansions on this hilltop. Mogi Sōbei, Hara Zenzaburō, and Hara Tomitarō held their mansions here. So the Nogeyama Park is built on their estates. These mansions are gone and their estates were turned into a zoo and a park because the Great Kanto Earthquake demolished their buildings. The distribution reservoir that was here at the time of the earthquake was also decimated. In order to rebuild the reservoir and reconstruct the city, the City of Yokohama bought this land and turned it into a park. That's how the Nogeyama Park came to be. Those mansions may have still been here if the earthquake didn't happen. Another interesting fact is that this side [of the city] is where rich merchants held their residence. The area we can see on the other side, Yamate, is where foreigners held their residence.

Saito drives home the idea that the hilltop was an important area for the Meiji government by adding a few more facts from history. There was a water distribution reservoir for the city, rich merchants held their estates, and this area was on the other side of the city from where foreigners built their homes in the foreign settlement quarters of the Yamate area. Although Saito does not directly relate these historical facts to the piece of history he introduced earlier about the mountain from which soil was brought to the area below, it raises a sense of wonder while building up suspense to the question he asks next at the top of the observation deck at Nogeyama Park.

At the observation deck, Saito shares his binoculars with the tour group to look at the cityscape that extends out towards the ocean. He stated that the landfill in 1859 extended to the highway and the railway that run in parallel to the coastline today. As I looked to see where the highway and the railway ran with my own eyes, Saito explained that the Noge mountain pathway (*Noge no Kiritōshi*) that was part of the Yokohama Road came up this mountain and down towards the Yokohama port instead of going around the mountain by the coastline and along the edges of the rice paddies where it would have been easier and quicker to build a road.

> This is where I'm baffled about the Noge mountain pathway, which is the mountain right here. Route 1 [which was previously Yokohama Road] comes down towards Yokohama Bridge, which is where it meets Route 16 today. Route 16 wraps around the coastline, but somehow the road comes up Momiji Hill (*Momiji Zaka*) from Tobe towards this place. I can't help but wonder if this wasn't intentional. If you're undertaking a rushed construction work, it's definitely quicker to build a road on the coastline. I also found out that there was the magistrate's office (*bugyō-sho*) on top of this hill. Since the magistrate's office is on a mountain pathway and the road is narrow, it may have been used as a military defense post. From here the story becomes my speculation! [The Meiji government] built a foreign settlement quarter in the Kannai area, which is outside of the ditch and extends to Yoshida Bridge. So the ditch becomes the first line of defense. From there, the Ōoka River can be used as the second line of defense. And if [the Meiji government] built [the Yokohama Road] along the coastline, the final line of defense has to be made along the coast. If they did that, [the foreigners] have ships. Not just an ordinary ship but also a naval gunship that has a long firing range. If foreign military attacked Edo by land, coming up from Kannai, [the Meiji

government] would have to stop them around Tobe, on the coastline. But if they stop them, they are next to the ocean. If the black ship fired their guns at them from the side where they are unarmed, there's nothing the garrisons could do. One shot and they're done. So that's why I think the road wraps behind the mountain from that [Tobe] area, where the guns can't directly hit them, making this the final line of defense. This road doesn't make sense otherwise because the Yokohama Road was built only three months before the port opened.

The suspense that Saito built along the tour route comes to a climax with this question that he raises to the tour group: Despite all the land that was available to build a road below, why did the Meiji government build a road through the mountain on a tight schedule of three months? Saito's tour was set up as if he was identifying clues on the way to this big question. Unlike Takemoto's tour, the tour group was brought to encounter these clues not as an audience but as a witness who can testify to Saito's hypothesis of whodunit. Yet it is not a perpetrator that Saito's after but a road that separated and protected the state from a potential perpetrator. Figuring out why the road is paved through its particular location is also the path that Saito takes to decode the disparate landmarks and figure out a hypothesis that articulates the *puissance* of the Meiji government. In doing so, the tour group is presented not only with Saito's hypothesis to a problem but also the visual experience of this problem through the landscape.

Saito also shows his cultural capital by decoding the landscape for traces of history that allows him to articulate the *puissance* of a government that built the long, mountainous road. His example also demonstrates how cultural capital is not always or necessarily inherited as *habitus* as Bourdieu argues but it can be acquired through self-directed learning. At the end of his tour when Saito guides the tour group to the Japanese sweets shop by the Ne Shrine in Kogane-chō, he makes a statement about the *mu'en* public of Japanese tea ceremonies as a site where backroom politics are negotiated. Regardless of its veracity, this statement shows how cultural

literacy not only allows Saito to decode the landscape but it also shapes a mythologizing gaze

that perceives material artifacts through the regulating principles of codes-as-clues.

> Saito: At the end of this road is *Daikoku-ya*, a steamed bun (*manjyu*) shop. *Daikoku-ya* sells tea ceremony confectionaries. They don't sell their sweets by volume over the counter but they bring them to tea ceremonies to do their business there, at a tea ceremony gathering. In the past, tea ceremony was a mandatory education for the warrior class and the upper [merchant] class. Mandatory education made it possible for the warrior and merchant classes to interact at the same gathering. Elite merchants usually had a tea ceremony room in their houses. They would make a profit by inviting people from the warrior class to their tea ceremonies. They must have exchanged stories and negotiated businesses there too. Information such as how Yoshida Kanbei obtained a lumber contract after the fire in the Edo Castle should have been exchanged at tea ceremonies. It is urbanized here but Tamashima city where I live has a history of 360 years and buildings from the Edo era are still intact. There were always elegant tea ceremonies and there are still many shops that sell tea ceremony confectionaries. Tea ceremonies are also held still. The presence of a teashop and a tea ceremony confectionary shop means that it is a place that smells politics!

> Tourist A: But *Daikoku-ya* isn't that old.

> Tourist B: No, it's not.

> Saito: Well, it's the culture. Teashops and tea confectionary shops won't remain in the area unless there's a culture of tea ceremony. It might be interesting to keep in mind that such things are part of [the culture of] old city merchants.

This conversation shows how tour group members dismissed Saito's description of the

Daikoku-ya confectionary shop as a site of backroom politics. Those who commented were elder

residents who lived in Kogane-chō most of their lives to know how long the *Daikoku-ya* has

been in business. Saito, however, was not talking specifically about *Daikoku-ya* but using

Daikoku-ya as a code when he identified the confectionary shop as a 'clue' that signals

backroom politics. On the one hand possession of this gaze that reads artifacts as codes allows

Saito to experience 'the city' through the cognitive work of interpreting, evaluating, drawing

comparisons and making connections between material artifacts. However, cultural literacy can also mythologize artifacts because it relies on a cultural logic to decode their meaning. Saito's reading of *Daikoku-ya* alienated him as an outsider by imposing an abstract logic that reads rather than articulates the confectionary shop into a story about "our" lives-in-the-city. This statement demonstrates the instability of decoding that can lead to the tour guide's failure to figure and to become a figure of 'the city'. The crime prevention tour analyzed next shows how maps are used to overcome this instability by engaging residents from the community to articulate their *puissance* on a medium that they also use to evaluate the safety and orderliness of their city.

4.3.3 Mapping *puissance*: crime prevention tour

The crime prevention tour was organized as part of the workshop held by Kogane-X. The Kogane-X hosted this workshop to commemorate the Bye Bye Operation tenth year anniversary that I discussed earlier. Unlike Takemoto's art tour and Saito's history tour, the Kogane-chō volunteers including myself did not publicize the tour at the Kogane-chō farmer's market as we usually did. Instead, a City University of Yokohama professor and the Kogane-chō AMC had pre-arranged the tour by inviting mothers from the Azuma elementary school PTA and residents of Hatsune-chō, Kogane-chō, and Hinode-chō. This tour was qualitatively different from Takemoto's art tour and Saito's history tour that introduced 'the city' mainly to tourists. The tour was organized as part of a workshop to discuss and reach a collective understanding about the changes that have taken place since the Bye Bye Operation through their perception of safety and risks. The crime prevention tour was primarily for the residents to identify areas where they felt safe, clean or dirty in their everyday use of public spaces.

The crime prevention tour was held according to a prescribed procedure by separating the

audience into three groups that toured the Kogane-chō and Hinode-chō districts. One of the

members of Kogane-X was assigned as a facilitator to lead the tour. I participated in the group

that toured Hinode-chō. Our group hardly included any residents. I participated in the tour with

two other Kogane-chō volunteers and two students from the City University of Yokohama, in

addition to a visitor who I met for the first time. He said he used to be a volunteer in a vigilante

group that patrolled Shibuya - a popular entertainment district in central Tokyo. Before we left

the building at Kogane-chō AMC, Kimura, one of the staff members from the Kogane-chō AMC

explained the procedure of the tour to us:

> During the tour, everybody please take note the following three points. The first point to
> look out for is dangerous areas for crime prevention purposes. For example, these areas
> may be a dark road or a road without streetlights. Roads without traffic or roads that are
> not maintained very well could also be included. The second point to look out for is
> areas that are an infringement to public etiquette and rules. Areas where you see
> littering, illegal dumping or bicycles that are parked illegally should be identified. Also,
> graffiti (*rakugaki*) has particularly increased recently. These writings multiply when
> you ignore one so we would like you to pay close attention to them as well. Finally, the
> third point to look out for is not the areas that are bad but good: areas that have
> improved over the past ten years, such as areas where you find nature. I think you can
> find many places like that especially the space underneath the elevated railway where
> the covers have been lifted. Other areas to be included are bright roads, clean roads,
> roads with a lot of traffic and roads that are well maintained. For example areas where
> there are potted plans or places that are kept very clean. We would like you to watch out
> for these three points while you are walking.

During the tour, each of us wore a neon green vest with the label "Kogane-X". One of the

students from the City University of Yokohama and I volunteered to take notes that identified

these three points during the tour. Our group did not walk very far. After leaving the building we

walked about 500 feet down the alley, walked out to the main road to proceed another 500 feet or

so and returned. Our facilitator led the group as we looked and discussed the three points. Some

things were distinctly noticeable, like scattered litter and illegal dumping of old furniture. The

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Shibuya vigilante identified other, less visible 'signs of danger'. For example, he pointed out an old sign that was hardly legible because the words wore off and an electrical wire that was dangling from one of the telephone poles.

After we returned, each group presented their findings to the workshop. Our group elected the former vigilante as our spokesperson. He talked less about the three points that we were instructed to identify than he did about the benefits of neighborhood patrol. He spoke from a detached, theoretical position that reflects his status as a stranger (nobody quite knows who he is).

> To summarize, I think it's about the environment: to prevent crimes by cleaning the environment (*kankyō wo jyōka suru*). Have you heard about the broken window theory? It supposedly developed in New York when the city was in a bad state. If one of the windows in a building is broken, then more windows will be broken. Trash will accumulate and graffiti will be painted. But if you prevent the first window from being broken, or if you erase the first graffiti, then you can prevent crimes and prevent the environment from worsening. It's the idea that doing those things can prevent crime and I think it's persuasive. Fighting and catching the bad guys is an outdated understanding of crime prevention and it's best to nip it in the butt. I think we have this result [at Kogane-chō] because everybody here understands the importance of improving the environment. We not only feel better when we improve the environment but that also leads to fewer crimes. I think this was demonstrated at Kogane-chō.

The broken window theory allows him to talk about broken windows, littered streets, and graffiti walls as signs of potential crime. These signs must be read as risks, he tells us, and posits the notion of "cleaning up the environment" as an everyday method of preventing crime. Cleaning up the environment constitutes surveillance and maintenance practices. It naturalizes and normalizes public spaces with the feeling of being "clean."

During his presentation, the former vigilante also introduces an imagined perspective of the criminal Other. The perspective of this Other frames 'the city' in a state of emergency that instills a sense of restlessness and anxiety that at any moment Kogane-chō and its neighboring districts can revert back to the criminal-run red light district that it once was. It also keeps people

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on their toes for exercising vigilance by making them nervous while justifying the intervention of authorities from the City of Yokohama to manage the Kogane-chō area.

> The other reason I was glad to join today was being able to patrol [the city] with this many people wearing the same uniform. From the point of view of people who are plotting something bad, seeing many people wearing similar clothes and walking around in groups is not pleasant. They don't want to be seen. It's better when nobody is around. And I thought it was great to be able to do this [patrol] as way to demonstrate our intention and our unity. In that sense I think there will be less crimes if there are more people out in public. Bringing more people to this place by organizing the Kogane-chō Bazaar I think is a great venture. If you were a bad guy, won't you see opportunities in places where nobody's watching? So I think it's indispensable to have places where there are many people, where it's lively, and group solidarity is demonstrated in order to make a better city and to clean up the environment.

By introducing a criminal Other, the former vigilante also invents "us" by reading various artifacts such as the neon green vests and people walking in groups as signs of "our intention" and "our unity". Furthermore, these signs metonymically form a body politic that shows the *puissance* of "many people" whose "liveliness" functions as surveillance. Here, *puissance* is woven into the social fabric through artifacts to signal vigilance and perform group solidarity.

The other tour groups included mothers from the Azuma elementary school PTA that also toured Hinode-chō and a group of elders who live in the Kogane-chō area who toured Kogane-chō. These two groups presented their findings from the perspective of children and elders respectively, as requested by the Naka Ward Mayor at the beginning of the workshop. Having these two groups speak from the perspective of children and elders allowed the City to naturalize public spaces with its everyday uses that transformed the speaker into subjects of 'the city'.

These two groups also made more uses of the map, particularly as a medium to visualize *puissance*. Each group was given pink, blue and green post-its to write a description of an area that corresponded to each of the three points we were instructed to find. Members of the group placed post-its to areas where they felt were dangerous, dirty, or clean on the map. In doing so,

the map helped to articulate their sensibilities while allowing residents to visualize their

sensibilities on a representational plane. In doing so, the map not only helped these groups to

identify the *puissance* of their community with the physical landscape. The next presentation is

from a woman who represented herself as a member of the Azuma elementary school PTA who

discussed points one and two that the tour groups were instructed to find:

> Overall there were many areas that corresponded to numbers 1 and 2, areas that are at
> risk for crimes and infringe on public etiquette and rules, especially under the elevated
> railway tracks. The alleyway right outside, where we removed the sign [of a former
> brothel], is hard to see because it's very narrow and dark. We agreed that we didn't
> want our children to walk down the alleyways on both sides of the elevated railway
> tracks. The darkness of these alleyways also invites illegal dumping and littering too, so
> the environment of this area is also bad. The broken window theory was mentioned
> earlier but once someone litters, more garbage gets littered and it makes it hard for
> children to walk these streets. And because nobody walks these streets, more garbage
> accumulates.

This woman problematizes the alleyways on both sides of the elevated railroad tracks as

"hard to see." These are blind spots where the public gaze does not reach to maintain constant

surveillance. She states that these blind spots generate a "chain reaction of problems" (*fu no*

rensa) where darkness that obscures vision invites "illegal dumping and littering" which "makes

it hard for children to walk these street" that leads to the accumulation of "more garbage." In

contrast, the "good" areas were identified as places that are pleasant to the eye and visible to the

public.

> For number three we all agreed that the Cherry Blossom Bridge (*Sakura Sanbashi*)
> along the river and the area around Hinode Studio were places that were good for the
> city. The landscape is very beautiful around that area and children said a city that has art
> was attractive. It's wonderful that the old cherry blossom trees are still planted and the
> children had a strong opinion about the upstairs space of the Hinode Studio where they
> can walk. The ceiling hangs low to their head level, but a cushion is attached on the
> edges so the children don't hurt themselves if they hit their heads. I thought that was
> nice, and I was surprised that children also noticed such things. There's a motorcycle-
> parking stall by the river that is also a designated emergency shelter for children that
> made me feel safe. Another thing I noticed after walking around with the children was
> how they have been to the artists' studios during the Kogane-chō Bazaar. They said "I

went inside there" or "I've been there too" to those places that were very scary establishments at the time I moved here so knowing that the children are able to go to those places alone is a very wonderful change, a cleansing of the environment that happened in the last ten years.

The statement above demonstrates how the "children's perspective" allows mothers to see 'the city' as a collection of disparate signs vaguely associated by children's whimsical and playful behavioral indices. Talking about children's' behavior brings this mother to articulate the visual signs like the padded cushions on the ceiling of Hinode Studio and the emergency shelter as this mother's feeling of safety which is, at the same time, the safety of 'the city'. Reflecting on the objective world of signs as their own subjective experience allows this mother to constitute herself as a subject of 'the city'. The map allows her to speak about her subjective experience of the city by using artifacts from the landscape. Her feelings that are "good" and "safe" are shown and shared with others by pointing to the map where the Cherry Blossom Bridge, the Hindoe Studio and the motorcycle parking are located. The map also translates her subjectivity as a *puissance* of 'the city' by allowing her to identify changes to her subjectivity with the artifacts in the city. For example, she talks about the artists' studios through her experience that changed from feeling "very scary" to feeling safe based on her observation of children's behavior of going in and out of the buildings that were once brothels. The map thus helps mothers visualize changes to her experiences of 'the city' through changes in urban design, which also expresses the city's *puissance* to "clean the environment."

The last group comprised of elders who raised concerns about 'the city' by identifying areas with potential risks for accidents and disasters. Their presentation also identified blind spots as the mothers had done, but these blind spots were areas at risk not because they prohibited children from entering but because they could not recall anybody entering or leaving such places.

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The map thus functioned as a mnemonic tool for elders to remember what they have seen and not seen over the course of their lives.

> There's a newspaper office, I believe in Hinode-chō 2-chōme, on a very narrow street about 1 meter or 1.5 meter [3 or 5 feet] wide that even those of us who live there don't really walk through. There's an empty building here that the City leases and nobody uses it. It's on a relatively narrow street so not many people walk down this road even during the day and it feels quite eerie. In addition, we identified 6 locations that we considered dangerous from a security perspective. This one is a vacant house on the same street that used to be an inn. Vacant houses are a fire hazard and people hardly ever pass by here so nobody will notice before the fire spreads. I think there should be someone occupying vacant houses… Another dangerous area is the fence by Ōoka River which has been in place for years and I'm not sure whether it's the City or the Ward that's doing the construction but it's been going on for quite some time. If there's an earthquake when someone passes by the fence, it's not fixed in place so there's a good possibility that it can fall into the river. There may be some issues with the budget but I'd like it if you can fix it right away.

This passage demonstrates how the map allows elders to identify narrow streets, vacant houses, and shaky fences not as contingent spaces in public that breeds fear but as objects of the public gaze systematically identified by comparing and contrasting what they have seen in the past and what they saw on the day of the tour. Furthermore, the last sentence above shows how possessing the public gaze helps empower elders to appeal for better public services because the gaze allows elders to evaluate potential risks for accidents and disasters. The public gaze helps them see a pattern in how contingent events like accidents and disasters occur in these blind spots such as vacant houses on a narrow street where there is not much traffic even during the day. Even when they are identifying the "good" areas of the city, elders mention the need to monitor and maintain these public spaces as their statement demonstrates below.

> Next is where we thought was well maintained. This bicycle parking space was well maintained. We still need to see how it goes because this was relocated here from the original location on the riverside of Wakaba-chō but it was a well-maintained bicycle parking lot that felt really nice (*kimochi ga ii*). The promenade alongside Ōoka River was also well maintained and looked beautiful. There are also other areas like the plants in the vicinity of the staircase plaza. I'm not sure who's maintaining those plants and there's also a lawn that is nice, but someone has to maintain it going forward or else it's

going to look like weeds had overgrown so I thought we needed to think about maintenance. There were other good areas. Another good area is where the *Kanamaru* meat shop used to stand on the back of the elevated railway tracks. The area in front of the apartment building next to the meat shop was maintained really well and it felt good to walk by it.

Their presentation demonstrates how elders perceive negative risks through changes in the landscape, unlike young mothers who identified those changes as a positive design. Elders maintain that the bicycle parking stall that moved "from the original location on the riverside of Wakaba-chō" must be carefully monitored and maintained to pass the test of time, and asserts that someone has to maintain the plants and the lawn for they might look nice today but without maintenance they can "look like weeds had overgrown." The public gaze thus transforms elders into subjects of 'the city' by enabling them to not only evaluate potential risks but also take preventative action.

4.4   Ontology of 'the city'

Kogane-chō is a world where people who were once visitors come to see themselves as members of 'the city'. For example when I attended a farewell party for a graduating class of university students, I saw that some of the students crying. At Kogane-chō, students from the City University of Yokohama plan, find funding and elicit the help of various individuals and organizations to carry out their own *machizukuri* project every year. Some of these students were crying as they said thanks to the Kogane-chō residents because their experience at Kogane-chō was meaningful and memorable. One of these students said that Kogane-chō was her "third place," a sociological term used to denote a place that is neither home nor work, characterized by social associations growing out of individuality rather than role requirements or purposive goals (Oldenburg and Brissett 1982). One of my volunteer friends who have been volunteering at

Kogane-chō for three years also said he shared this sentiment about Kogane-chō as a kind of "home away from home."

Previous research on figured worlds maintain that subjectivities change as a result of its members' participation in organized activities (Holland, Lachicotte Jr., Skinner and Caine 1998). Authors argue that transition begins when novice members learn how to improvise in figured worlds where they encounter new situations. By using artifacts over time, members come to identify with the socially constructed meaning of these worlds through their embodied dispositions acquired in practice. Authors draw on Bourdieu's theory of *habitus* to argue that "the as-if character of possibility that marks fields (and figured worlds) is not an indifferent, "mental" abstraction, an "imaginary" in its usual sense, but a social reality that lives within dispositions mediated by relations of power" (ibid: 60). However, the walking tours showed how the as-if character of 'the city' is lived but not necessarily or always as embodied dispositions mediated by power. Koganechō walking tours demonstrated that the as-if character of 'the city' is shaped by the communicative style, narrative form and public profile of tour guides who articulate *puissance* using artifacts from the landscape.

If this art must be cultivated as a skill rather than embodied as a disposition, then figured worlds do not just "*happen,* as a social process and in historical time" (ibid: 55). Novice members may initially improvise to encode and decode *puissance*, but to become versed in this art requires a community of practice in which novice members learn how to navigate and act in 'the city' by becoming culturally literate. For example, my first and last tour I conducted at the Koganechō AMC was during the 2014 Koganecho Bazaar. My job was to introduce several different artworks exhibited at different locations of the Kogane-chō area. It was a grueling experience where a senior volunteer who is also a member of the Koganechō AMC Board of

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Directors took it as an opportunity to evaluate my performance. From the very onset I was reprimanded for how I carried out my tour. When I asked my group what they thought about the title of Koganecho Bazaar "Fictive Communities Asia," the senior volunteer intervened to answer my question by stating that it was chosen because the artists are invited from various parts of Asia. Then, he scolded me in front of my group for not moving quickly enough from one exhibit to the next. This no doubt served as an initiation ritual, intended for me to reflect on my position at the Koganechō AMC as a student and a novice who was being educated by a senior member who also often teased me by saying "*Hoya hoya dakara ne*!" (You're still so new!).

Becoming initiated in the art of figuring 'the city' also entails formal learning so that members recognize the meaning of artifacts within the context of 'the city'. As discussed earlier, figured worlds reply upon artifacts for its members to learn how to think and act in this world. This is why, as we saw in the crime prevention tour, experts such as a professor from the City University of Yokohama are often called to teach and guide residents, students and volunteers to think about 'the city' through artifacts. According to contributors of the volume *Thinking Through Things* (Hanare, Holbraad and Wastell 2007), the cognitive practice of thinking through things is common across the world. By focusing on non-Western societies where people do not make the distinction between concept and things, they claim that treating artifacts as objects to be used by subjects imposes a dualism that is incongruent with the ontology of peoples who do not make this distinction. The practice of thinking through things, however, is not so exotic as the authors imagine it to be. Holland, Lachicotte Jr., Skinner and Caine (1998) have described how members of Alcoholics Anonymous use poker chips to reflect upon their time of sobriety in relation to their drinking history or how women use certain accessories to see themselves as agents in their romantic worlds. So too in the walking tours, artifacts are not only used as

heuristic tools to learn how to navigate and act in 'the city' but they also function as concepts that allow people to think and talk about 'the city'.

Contrary to the argument put forth by Holland, Lachicotte Jr., Skinner and Caine, then, the walking tours help transform 'the city' into a figured world not only by using artifacts as a heuristic tool to encode *puissance*. 'The city' becomes figured when its members also learn how to decode *puissance* by thinking through things. 'The city', as a figured world, is therefore ontologically maintained through its members' practice of encoding and decoding *puissance* that mapping structures as an autopoietic system (Maturana and Varela 1980). Maturana and Varela defined autopoiesis as a biologically determined organizing principle of living systems, but the Koganechō walking tours demonstrate how autopoiesis can also occur as a result of culturally shaped learning. Mapping plays an important role in stabilizing the meaning of artifacts as we saw, for example, in the crime prevention tour. In this tour, a map was used as a tool and a method to couple the community's *puissance* with public artifacts so that artifacts may be encoded and decoded by anybody in the community with some consistency. Mapping thus helps establish the ontology of the figured 'city' by mediating the process of turning signs into symbols.

Proponents of the ontological turn in anthropology generally support a culturally shaped ontological relativity using two different approaches to understand ontology. On the one hand, anthropologists Philip Descola (2013) and Marshall Sahlins (2014) have built a conceptual schema that classifies the variety of ontological systems around the world. Anthropologists Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1998) and Eduardo Kohn (2013) on the other hand have written ethnographies of a particular perspective that shapes the ontology of an Amazonian society. Contrary to these two approaches that studies ontology either as a conceptual schema or an

embodied perspective, I suggest that ontology can be approached as an aesthetic of storytelling that articulates *puissance* using artifacts from the landscape. Focusing on the aesthetic sidesteps the question of whether a human body can *really* transform into a jaguar or whether a corporation can *really* speak as a legal person. Instead, what is at stake is the knowledge and skill to articulate the *puissance* of jaguars or of employees in such a way that other members of these figured worlds may recognize either the person's body as a jaguar or the corporate speech as their own. Therefore, what made some students cry at the farewell party is not the reality of 'the city' as such but the reality effect (Barthes 1984) of Kogane-chō residents' aesthetic practices – their communicative styles, narrative forms and public profiles – that articulated the *puissance* in such a way that helped them learn to see themselves as members of 'the city', regardless of whether they have also mastered the art of figuring 'the city' or not.

4.5   Chapter summary

Koganechō Area Management Center was established by the City of Yokohama to transform the Kogane-chō area from a "city of prostitution" where criminal organizations operated illegal brothels and sex trafficking to a "city of art." Among the several programs that the Koganechō AMC coordinates, I studied the Koganechō walking tours as a practice of worlding 'the city'. Contrary to many walking tours that educate and entertain tourists to cultivate their senses of place by communicating and exchanging their sensuous experiences of these places, I maintained that Koganechō walking tours seek to engage tourists in a civic coproduction of 'the city' by identifying a "problem" that the community faces in the present or a "question" about a community in the past. I explained how the tour guides mediated the worlding of 'the city' by using artifacts to encode and decode *puissance* so their narratives show

the community's lives-in-the-city. However, tour guides may be outsiders who do not entirely share their lives with the local community as it was the case with Saito who led the history tour. This can lead to inconsistencies between their interpretation and the actual history of artifacts. I discussed how maps were used to iron out such inconsistencies by coupling *puissance* with the artifacts in the city so the practice of encoding and decoding can be structured as an autopoietic system. I also discussed how the practice of encoding and decoding *puissance* shapes the ontology of 'the city'. Contrary to the anthropological literature that approaches ontological realism based on a cognitive schema or an embodied perspective, I suggested that aesthetics of the tour guides' communicative styles produce the reality effects of figured worlds.

The next chapter studies the lifelong education course *Korekara Dōnaru Yokohama* (*Kore-Yoko*) or "What Will Happen to Yokohama," offered by the BankART School. The BankART School is operated by the government-affiliated arts NPO BankART 1929. Takeru Kitazawa, a former Tokyo University professor and chief urban designer at the City of Yokohama's Urban Design Office, designed the *Kore-Yoko* course as a platform for various individuals from public, private, nonprofit sectors and the public can come together to discuss the future of Yokohama city. I discuss how the *Kore-Yoko* course carries the legacy of the Metabolism movement, a postwar national reconstruction project and a nationalist movement that introduced urban design as a practice of leveraging the *puissance* generated from crisis and change to design new configurations of networks and assemblages through an invented space. The facilitators of *Kore-Yoko* not only taught students to articulate *puissance* using artifacts from the landscape but also asked the students to design the uses of artifacts in the city and the subjects or *tōjisha* who use those artifacts. I explain how the facilitators steered the *puissance* of our class by positing a future vision of the city, scaffolding our discussions with empirical examples of urban

development projects and by getting the students to think and act as a subject or *tōjisha* of the city. In particular, I analyze the *tōjisha* talk among members of my group that reflected a schism in the cultural model *ba* as the women felt the men's goal-oriented approach to devise attractive lifestyles and figures who live those lifestyles failed to address the problems they faced in their everyday lives-in-the-city. The BankART School aborted the publication of student essays from our *Kore-Yoko* course, perhaps as a result of this gendered division in our group's approaches to *tōjisha*.

Chapter 5   Steering *Puissance*: The BankART School

In the last chapter I studied tour guides' narratives from the Koganechō walking tours. I explained that their narratives showed people's lives-in-the-city while teaching tourists how to think and act in 'the city'. By cultivating a communicative style, narrative form and a public profile, the tour guides not only figured 'the city'. In doing so, they also became figures of 'the city' through the aesthetics of storytelling. I also maintained that their practice of encoding, decoding and mapping *puissance* with artifacts from the landscape structures the ontology of the figured 'city'. This chapter takes place in the classroom of a lifelong education course *Korekara dōnaru Yokohama* (*Kore-Yoko*) that discusses the future of Yokohama. This course, offered at the BankART School operated by the arts NPO BankART 1929, was developed for students to construct narratives that not only articulated *puissance* using artifacts in the city but also design the uses of artifacts and the subjects (*tōjisha*) who use them. BankART 1929 planned, but aborted, to publish these designs as a "proposal" for urban revitalization after the course was over. By studying the group discussions from this course, this chapter asks the following questions: How did facilitators steer the *puissance* of student discussions? How were the discussions steered to turn students into a *tōjisha* of 'the city'?

BankART 1929, like the Koganechō Area Management Center, is a Yokohama-based nonprofit organization that was established in 2004 under the City's Creative City policy. BankART 1929 initially operated out of Fuji Bank built in 1929, one of the historical buildings bought by the City of Yokohama, which is where it takes its name BankART 1929. BankART moved to the Nippon Yusen warehouse after the Graduate School of Film and New Media of Tokyo University of the Arts moved into the Fuji Bank building in 2005. This building is named BankART NYK and it is where BankART School holds its courses today. The Director of

BankART 1929 Osamu Ikeda states that BankART 1929 uses art not for its own sake but "as a starting point for city planning… The programs we instigated have mostly been directly connected to city-life" (BankART 2012: 10). The objectives of BankART 1929 include: 1) Creating a viable economic basis for the venture, 2) Extending our network to other cities in Japan and overseas, and 3) Enhancing awareness of the pioneering nature of the Creative City Cluster project (ibid: 11). The BankART School is one of the many programs and projects of BankART 1929. Others include the BankART Artist In Residence program, Artist Exchange Program between Taipei and Yokohama, a cultural exchange emissary project to Korea titled "A Contemporary Sequel for the Joseon - Korean diplomtaic expeditions" and numerous art exhibitions including graduation exhibitions by university students from Yokohama city and its vicinity. Unlike Koganechō Area Management Center, BankART 1929 also operates for-profit businesses such as the BankART Shop and a Pub on the first floor of the BankART NYK building, its own publishing company, and the BankART School.

The BankART School is an accredited educational institution where students are able to earn one credit for taking its two-month course comprised of eight classes (BankART 2012: 250). Course contents are related to art, architecture, urban design, performance, dance, and photography. It is a lifelong education facility that calls itself a modern day "temple school" (*terakoya*), a name given to Buddhist temples that taught reading, writing and math to members of the community during the Edo era (1603-1868) that raised Japan's literacy rate to one of the world's highest and subsequently helped the country transform itself into a modern nation-state (ibid: 52). The BankART School is open to students of any age; previously it admitted a student as young as four and as old as eighty-six. Approximately five to six courses are offered every two months. The course "What Will Happen to Yokohama Again 2" (*Korekara Dōnaru*

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Yokohama Again 2), affectionately called by its abbreviation *Kore-Yoko*, was offered between January and March of 2015. It is the third course of its series after "What Will Happen to Yokohama" held in 2011 and "What Will Happen to Yokohama Again" held in 2013. Unlike other courses offered at the BankART School, *Kore-Yoko* is free of charge. Students from the first course numbered to approximately a hundred, but the students from the third course were about twenty. Students were mostly professionals including city employees, architects, real estate agents, and urban planning consultants but they also included a few university students.

Former Tokyo University professor and chief urban designer at the City of Yokohama's Urban Design Office, Takeru Kitazawa (1953-2009) designed the *Kore-Yoko* course. Kitazawa was one of the main proponents of the Creative City policy who helped install BankART 1929 together with the former Mayor of Yokohama Hiroshi Nakata who, at age 37, was the youngest Mayor ever elected into office in 2002. Kitazawa developed his own approach to community development and urban design that was reflected in the four urban design centers that he installed during his life that included the Urban Design Center Yokohama (UDCY) (Kojima 2010: 46). Kitazawa considered urban designers as an all-around expert who are able to wear several hats that extended beyond designing urban spaces such as lobbying politicians, coordinating local residents, and interacting with different specialists such as landscape designers, architects and public designers whose concerted effort is required to design and produce space (Kojima 2010). Each of his Urban Design Centers function as a hub where public officials, private businesses, university professors and local residents can meet and discuss about their city. What enabled conversations and collaborative projects to happen between these different sectors and institutions was always a future vision of the city in which they all lived.

Kitazawa designed *Kore-Yoko* as a course where students can share their future visions of the city.

5.1   Metabolism movement

Kitazawa's approach to urban design carries the legacy of the Metabolism movement, a postwar architectural movement in Japan led by a loosely organized group of artists, intellectuals, architects, and bureaucrats who came together to propose future designs of buildings and cities. Kenzo Tange, a professor of urban engineering at the Tokyo University who also designed and built numerous high-profile architectures including the Hiroshima Peace Center and the Ise Shrine led the Metabolism movement. Throughout his life, Tange mentored many architects and also worked with many others including Kiyonori Kikutake, Fumihiko Maki, Kisho Kurokawa and Noboru Kawazoe to name a few from the Metabolism group. The group first called themselves by the name Metabolism when they organized the World Design Conference in 1960. A book was published for this conference, which begins with Kawazoe's introduction on the concept Metabolism:

> "Metabolism" is the name of the group, in which each member proposes future designs of our coming world through his concrete designs and illustrations. We regard human society as a vital process - a continuous development from atom to nebula. The reason why we use such a biological word, metabolism, is that, we believe, design and technology should be a denotation of human vitality. We are not going to accept the metabolism as a natural historical process, but we are trying to encourage active metabolic development of our society through our proposals. (Rem Koolhaas and Hans Ulrich Obrist 2011: 187)

Malcolm Miles (2013) describes the Metabolism movement as a "Japanese modernism" that challenges the center-periphery model of Western modernism where the confluence between corporate interests and aesthetics shaped while disseminating a quintessential steel-and-glass modernism in capitalist countries around the world. Unlike this model, Miles argues that Japan's

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modernism emerged as a project of national reconstruction after World War II and in particular

the two atomic bombs that completely wiped out the landscape. As Koolhaas and Obrist also

made explicit in the title of their book "Project Japan" (2011), Metabolism was indeed a national

reconstruction project and a nationalist movement. The Metabolists translated the social

imaginary shaped by the discourses of vanishing into a design that promoted sustainable change.

Discourses of vanishing, which anthropologist Marilyn Ivy (1991) reads in texts as diverse as

travel campaign posters, Japanese folktales, narratives of spirit mediums and the stages of *kabuki*

theater from the 1980s, are a historical trope that directs Japanese consumers to "seek a

recognition of continuity that is coterminous with its negation" (1991: 10). Ivy describes the

significance of the discourses of vanishing as such:

> "As culture industries seek to reassure Japanese that everything is in place and all is not
> lost, the concomitant understanding arises (sometimes obscurely) that such reassurance
> would not be necessary if loss, indeed, were not at stake. Thus the consuming and
> consumable pleasures of nostalgia as an ambivalent longing to erase the temporal
> difference between subject and object of desire, shot through with not only the
> impossibility but also the ultimate unwillingness to reinstate what was lost. For the loss
> of nostalgia – that is, the loss of the desire to long for what is lost because one has *found*
> the lost object – can be more unwelcome than the original loss itself. Despite its labors
> to recover the past and deny the losses of "tradition," modernist nostalgia must
> preserve, in many senses, the sense of absence that motivates its desires" (ibid).

The Metabolists turned this social imaginary into a practice that nostalgically reflected upon

things lost to recover those things in a new, modern design. This was reflected in the members'

explanations about their approaches to design. In the interviews conducted by Koolhaas and

Obrist for example, members emphasized the theme of loss and renewal in Japanese tradition

that informed their modern designs. Kiyonori Kikutake, an architect who conceptualized the

elevated Sky House and the floating Marine City discusses how traditional houses in Japan that

featured techniques of dismantling and rebuilding its structures were his sources of inspiration.

For example, Japanese rooms are divided by sliding doors that allowed one to open or close the

doors to create rooms of varying sizes, or rural houses had thatched roofs that could be easily

repaired by using rice stalks from one's field. Other members such as the journalist Noboru

Kawazoe and the media personality and political figure Kisho Kurokawa had also emphasized

the theme of loss and renewal to explain the metabolism concept. They both pointed out in their

interviews with Koolhaas and Obrist that the philosophy behind metabolism was embodied in the

architecture of the Ise Shrine that is rebuilt every twenty years. Kawazoe, for example, states:

> Ise Shrine is the archetype of Japanese architecture, but in the roughly 1,200 years since
> it was first built, Japanese architecture has also seen tremendous advances. When the
> French Huguenot François Caron arrived here from Holland early in the 17th century, he
> was amazed at how Japanese carpenters, just by drawing a few points and lines on a flat
> piece of wood, could make all the necessary cuts on the spot and assemble the pieces
> into a structure – whether it was a grand temple or a humble home – and how they could
> then take the pieces apart and move them wherever they wanted and reassemble them.
> The techniques of wooden construction developed in Japan essentially represented the
> world's first prefabricated architecture. (Koolhaas and Obrist 2011: 227).

Metabolists set forth a series of proposals to redesign cities in Japan and abroad, including

their own city of Tokyo. Tange's Tokyo Plan of 1960 was created at a time when the metropolis

faced an unprecedented population explosion from 13.28 million in 1955 to 18.86 million in

1965. Most of postwar Tokyo was largely reconstructed by private landowners, leading to an

uncoordinated urban design that could not meet the demands of housing, address traffic

congestion and concentration of industries that grew with Japan's postwar economic success.

However, the city's soaring population and construction frenzy also generated *puissance* that the

City along with architects and urban designers needed as a catalyst for urban designers to

improve the city's infrastructure and create new public facilities. Tange's comment on the

significance of *puissance* during periods of crisis and change at the 1959 International Congress

of Modern Architecture (CIAM) is telling of this mindset: "We must reject "aestheticism" in

town planning. Traditional and regional characters should be re-examined with critical eyes and minds. I shall repeat again that all I have said above begins with the positive denial of the attempt to make order out of existing reality. Vitalism is always destructive to existing reality, but is very constructive in the building of our future" (Lin 2010: 144).

Tange's Tokyo Plan of 1960 is representative of a metabolic city as it was a utopian vision of a future Tokyo designed upon an invented reclaimed land in the middle of Tokyo Bay. This reclaimed land, like many of the Metabolists' designs that imagined a space where prefabricated components can be assembled in a variety of combinations, reflected Metabolists' obsession with *tabula rasa* (Koolhaas and Oberist 2011: 56-7). Rather than modifying the existing landscape that they knew would be difficult given the shortage of space, Tange envisioned the reclaimed land on Tokyo Bay as a new frontier that would help create a regional network through transportation systems that linked Tokyo to its adjacent prefectures Chiba that lays to the east of the Bay and Kanagawa to its south. At this time, the architects of *puissance* were also working towards the 1964 Tokyo Olympics that was to publicize Japan's "miraculous" postwar recovery to the national public and to the world. The 1964 Tokyo Olympics was not only the first Olympics to be hosted by an Asian country but it was also an event that many people in Japan were excited to watch given that the television was only introduced to the public a decade earlier in 1953. Hence publicizing *puissance* through popular media was important because it enabled people to emotionally identify themselves with this national and nationalizing event. Tange's Tokyo Plan was introduced during the years leading up to the Olympics: first at the 1960 World Design Conference for his colleagues in the industry and a year later to the public through popular media such as NHK and magazines such as *Shinkenchiku* (*New Architecture*) and also a foreign journal *Architectural Forum* (Lin 2010: 145). Like the television shows that give its

audience a glimpse of the next episode, announcing the Tokyo Plan helped the public see the development of Tokyo as a story that did not end with the 1964 Tokyo Olympics but continued into the future.

As Koolhaas and Obrist (2011) maintain, however, Metabolism was a national and a nationalist project that grew as a result of its members developing strong ties with the movers and shakers of Japan. The Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO), as well as private corporations and industry sponsored the Tokyo World Design Conference in 1960 where members first announced the Metabolism group and its ideas. This conference was also organized two years prior to the first Urban Engineering Program at Tokyo University where Tange held his post as a professor. Since, urban design in Japan evolved as a disciplinary field that not only studies architecture, its layout and design of the city but also establishes networking platforms where multiple social groups such as government offices, companies, universities, neighborhood groups, labor unions, and residents of the city can meet, discuss and collaboratively engage in community development (Kojima 2010). This should not come as a surprise given that some members of the Metabolism movement distanced themselves from designing architecture to become involved in politics and media. One of the Metabolists Atsushi Shimokobe who studied under Tange became a civil servant at the Ministry of Construction after graduation in 1947, which at the time was called the Ministry of War Recovery. The youngest Metabolist Kisho Kurokawa established the Institute for Social Engineering after graduating from Tange Lab with the financial backing by companies such as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, and Sumitomo in 1969. The Institute functioned as a research organization for various ministries in the Japanese government, publishing research reports on a wide variety of topics from "comparing new airplane systems to train systems, simulations of Japanese

demographic growth, as well as economic projections for the Ministry of Finance" (Koolhaas and Obrist 2011: 393). Kurokawa also wrote prolifically and became a television personality with his own show on the national broadcasting corporation NHK from 1947 to 1991.

5.2   *Kore-Yoko*: Designing uses and users of artifacts

Kore-yoko was structured as a discussion-based forum facilitated by architect Tatsuro Sasaki and city employee Yasuyuki Akimoto. *Kore-Yoko* created an opportunity for the City and associates to help students see themselves as subjects of Yokohama city by inciting their imaginations about their future lives-in-the-city while asking them to think about the types of people we should invite to live in the city. To help create this dialectic among students to imagine their future lives-in-the-city while drafting images on the various types of figures that they think should live in the city, Sasaki and Akimoto introduced a qualitative vision as well as a quantitative goal for students to meet. As a qualitative vision of Yokohama city, Sasaki introduced the "City of Ocean Yokohama Plan 2059" (*Umi no Miyako Yokohama Kōsō 2059*). This plan is as utopian as Tange's 1960 Tokyo Plan and the series of avant-garde urban designs proposed by the Metabolists. In the classroom, however, it helped to excite and motivate students to participate in the civic coproduction of 'the city'. As a quantitative goal, Sasaki stated that we were to come up with ways to increase the number of residents from 110,000 to 200,000 and the number of workers from 360,000 to 500,000 (lecture from January 16, 2015). These numbers, although they are set as a goal, are hypothetical. As the name of the course *Korekara Dōnaru Yokohama* or "What Will Happen to Yokohama" suggests, the objective of the course is to propose ideas, visions, and goals no matter how unrealistic they may seem. Sasaki mentioned

that they deliberately avoided naming course *Korekara Dōsuru Yokohama*, or "What Should We Do as Yokohama" which poses a problem-oriented question rather than a future-oriented vision.

These hypothetical, utopian sketches of the city helped generate *puissance* among students in the class for they open up visions of future possibilities that could help resolve the problems and contradictions that the city faced in the present. Sasaki and Akimoto pointed out these problems and contradictions by associating them with public reconstruction projects of buildings and spaces. For example, one of these contradictions includes the relationship between the state and the city. Places like the Shinkō Pier where the 2014 Yokohama Triennale was held and the old Yokohama City Air Terminal (YCAT) are state property that must eventually be returned to the state. This contradiction was framed by Ikeda, the Director of BankART 1929, as being similar to the "problem of Okinawa" (lecture from January 16, 2015) where Onaga, the new Mayor of Okinawa, was voicing the prefecture's resistance against the state's top-down decision to transfer the U.S. military base from Futenma to Henoko. Another contradiction that was raised in *Kore-Yoko* was the relationship between long- and short-term residents. For example, the Minatomirai district in central Yokohama is where iconic buildings like the Landmark Tower and the scenic view of the Farris wheel and public parks on the oceanfront area have been developed to attract foreign capital into the city. A large convention center for international conferences and sky rises for foreign businesses have also been built in Minatomirai to accommodate foreign workers and their families. However, there is a shortage of elementary schools in this district for the children of these families. The City will be building a new elementary school but only for a decade because the City is not sure whether enough families will stay to live in the Minatomirai district. Akimoto states that the fundamental problem is the 20th century development projects is that they do not meet the diversifying needs and desires of

the market (lecture from January 16, 2015). The real estate value tends to fluctuate in the city center where condos in the city center might initially sell at a higher price but the prices fall after five years as new condos are built. In contrast, real estate value in the suburbs may be more stable but only single-family homes have been built in the past. This current design makes it difficult to accommodate non-family households or alternative uses such as short-term leases, shared or cooperative housing and home offices. The environment in the suburbs can also be inconvenient because amenities that are available in the city center like a 24-hour grocery store, restaurants and bars may not be available in the vicinity.

5.2.1   Ocean City Yokohama Plan 2059

The "Ocean City Yokohama Plan 2059" (*Umi no Miyako Yokohama Kōsō 2059*) is an urban design plan devised by researchers under the University *Machizukuri* Consortium Yokohama, a collaborative research unit organized by the Tokyo University, Yokohama National University, Kantō Gakuin University, Kanagawa University and the Yokohama City University in 2010. It is generally referred to the "Inner Harbor Plan" because it is a design of the inner harbor district shaped like a small ring that connects Yokohama city with Tokyo Bay (see Figure 6). The Inner Harbor Plan comprises the area surrounding Yokohama station, the Minato Mirai 21 area and the Kannai-Kangai area directly to its south. In addition, four major piers protruding into the bay complete the ring: Inaho Pier, Ōsanbashi Pier, Daikoku Pier, and the Yamashita Pier. The Inner Harbor Plan incorporates some of the grandiose ideas that Tange presented in his Tokyo Plan such as the idea of utilizing reclaimed land and a water transportation system to link the reclaimed land and the city center but in a more compact and feasible scale. Furthermore, unlike Tange's Tokyo Plan in which Yokohama only plays an auxiliary role to the nation's capital, the

Inner Harbor Plan posits the inner harbor district as a symbolic district that represents Yokohama as a global port city.

In addition to designing public spaces, buildings and infrastructure, the Inner Harbor Plan is also aimed to produce a unique symbolic and networked configuration of Yokohama as an "Ocean City" (*umi no miyako*) based on the following five principles: To create a human-centered city (no.1) with a sustainable environment (no.2) where a society that leverages human resources and intellectual property is built (no.3) in order to cultivate a creative city of culture and the arts (no.4) and to realize a civil society (no.5) (University Machizukuri Consortium Yokohama 2010: 31). These five principles animate the following five scenarios that embed mobility and change within the design of the Ocean City: 1) social and cultural interaction, 2) innovative commerce and industries, 3) diverse lifestyles (*seikatsu*), 4) environmentally sustainable infrastructure, and 5) networked public transportation. These scenarios serve as public mechanisms that not only allow people to experience the design of the Ocean City but in doing so, they also enable people to coproduce a story of Yokohama. In other words, these scenarios are designed to help (re)produce and circulate the *puissance* of individuals so they may become socially networked and share their lives-in-the-city to produce a culture that is unique to Yokohama.

5.2.2   *Tōjisha* of Kannai-Kangai area

Unlike the first and second *kore-yoko* where students largely discussed "population," Sasaki and Akimoto wanted us to think more about the subjecthood of citizens. Shifting the focus of *Kore-Yoko* from population to *tōjisha* is also a corrective from past discussions, in which it was pointed out that students tended to discuss Creative City as an evaluating outsider rather than a practicing insider. Sasaki asked us to envision a city and an urban lifestyle that we would like to

live ourselves as we engaged in our discussions. He stated that the railway companies and housing developers currently designed the population, but our class can also contribute to its design "by thinking about it through our own lives" (lecture from January 16, 2015). By designing the population, Sasaki meant to propose the types of people we wanted to invite to live in Yokohama: "It's not the population number. Rather than saying tens and thousands of people, we want to think who those tens and thousands of people are" (ibid). The term they used for these hypothetical people who were the agents of *machizukuri* was *tōjisha*, which is commonly used as a legal term that refers to the "party concerned" in a lawsuit but its use has recently spread to denote a more affirmative subjecthood that stresses self-advocacy among socially discriminated groups such as the LGBTQ community and self-help among mental health patients (McLelland 2009). In our class, Sasaki and Akimoto left it up to the students to define the meaning of this term but its importance for the future of Yokohama city was repeatedly stressed. For example, Sasaki states during our first class: "I wonder if the 3.7 million people of Yokohama are supporting this city… *Tōjisha* can be anybody, even workers. But I think it's ill suited to call tourists, or visitors from elsewhere as *tōjisha*. We think it's highly important to design *tōjisha* and make them visible, and I think our discussion will center on how to approach this topic" (Sasaki, lecture from January 16, 2015). Sasaki therefore mentioned how important it was for us to also engage in class discussions and place our discussion outcomes into practice as a *tōjisha* as well.

To make it easier for students to imagine themselves as a *tōjisha*, we were instructed to focus our discussion on the future of Kannai-Kangai area of the Inner Harbor District (see Illustration 7). The Kannai-Kangai area is an old quarter of the city where many small communities of ethnic minority groups arrived and locally owned businesses grew with the

maritime commerce of Yokohama port. It includes heterogeneous districts such as Kogane-chō

and Chōja-machi that I discussed in Chapter 5, Chinatown that is now one of the major tourist

attractions of Yokohama, Kotobuki-chō that is home to the third largest community of day

laborers in Japan, and Noge where many drinking establishments are found. Although the

employment rate in the Kannai-Kangai area is still the highest compared to other areas in

Yokohama, the number of financial institutions, trading firms, its subcontractors and retailers in

maritime commerce fell over the years along with restaurants and hotels as the structure of

industrial and financial institutions underwent rapid change during the postwar years (City of

Yokohama 2010). However, the Minato Mirai line operated by the Yokohama Minatomirai

Railway Company brought the Kannai-Kangai area closer to Tokyo by opening a direct

commuter line in 2004. Unlike most railway companies in Japan that are privately owned and

operated, the Minato Mirai line is partially owned and operated by the City of Yokohama. This

strategic move has allowed the City to guide and increase the flow of population to this area. It

has also increased the number of residential buildings in the Kannai-Kangai area, allowing the

City to level out the commercial-to-residential property distribution ratio.

One of the reasons Sasaki and Akimoto wanted our class to think about the *tōjisha* of

Kannai-Kangai area is because there have been more people moving to the city center thanks to

the Minatomirai Line. Akimoto explains that this movement of people not only allows the City to

zone this area for mixed commercial and residential use but also creates an opportunity to

purposefully design and invite a certain group of people who will turn this liminal space into an

innovative space:

> The problem here is that in Japan it was never part of urban planning to conceptualize a
> city that combines residential and commercial uses. In fact, businesses tend to leave
> when many condos are built in the neighborhood. Good businesses don't want people
> looking into their offices so they see it as a threat to the business environment… And to

be honest we only build family condos when we build residential properties. It is partly because family condos are the only type of property that sells, but it's also been the standardized idea in the industry to build condos that can be sold to families. When we look at Portland, for example, there are a wider variety of residential properties. Some are houses with studios, some are houses shared among students, and while this variety is partly led by policy [in Portland] the idea of residential properties in Japan is poor in comparison because they tend to be family-owned condos. So I also think we should discuss what Sasaki-san proposed earlier, discuss some of the basic questions such as: What type of residential properties do we want to build? Should we have these properties in the city center? What type of people do we want here living in Yokohama? I think there is potential for innovation when there are a variety of people living together but when we only have families it's probable that people will complain about the noise. For example there were several plans of building condos in front of Chinatown but people from Chinatown went to buy up those properties because they feared they wouldn't be able to use firecrackers. People from Chinatown feared that they wouldn't be able to hold their festivals because people living in those condos would inevitably complain about the noise that their firecrackers make… but if we were to accept the proposal made by Sasaki-san earlier, we need to think more seriously about the design of residential properties or [commercial and residential uses] cannot coexist. In addition, if we attract the right residents I think we can hope for an interesting innovation to occur in the city. So that's something I'm interested in discussing, not just to build residential properties but how we might be able to associate residential with commercial, what should be the ratio, what should be the form, what kind of people do we need in order to make the city center interesting. I think it's necessary to think about commercial and residential together. (Akimoto, lecture from January 16, 2015)

Akimoto's explanation above shows how the question of *tōjisha* is directly related to the

occupational lifestyles that can thrive within the city's infrastructure. To the degree that the

subjects of mixed-use zoning are those who can exploit this opportunity to create something

innovative, *tōjisha* is someone from what Richard Florida calls the "creative class" that he

defines as those people "in science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts,

music and entertainment whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology and

new creative content" (2012: 8). However, the types of people that Akimoto asked us to imagine

are not only driven by their ethos that values creativity, individuality, difference and merit (ibid),

but also by the urban infrastructure and public services that provide individuals with the

knowledge, social support and economic opportunities to pursue their entrepreneurial ventures. This limits the types of people that can become part of Yokohama's creative class to educated individuals with some degree of Japanese literacy on top of capital and a viable business plan that would help them exploit the mixed-use zones in the city center.

Figure 6 Inner Harbor Plan
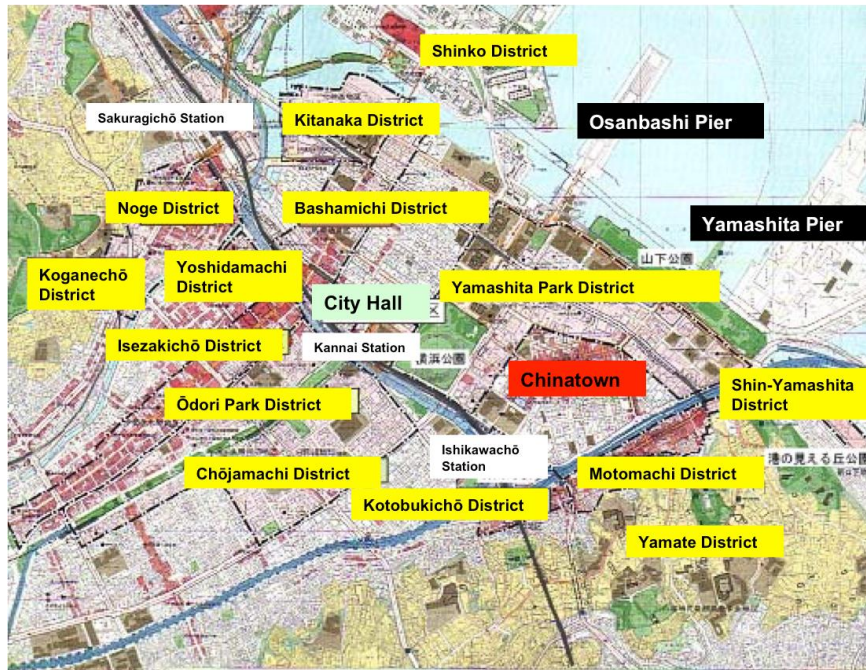
Figure 7 Kannai-Kangai area

5.3   *Kore-Yoko* discussions

Our class was divided into four groups to discuss the topics that were identified by Sasaki

and Akimoto based on the key words from previous *Kore-Yoko* courses and the ideas that were

raised by the class on the first day. These topics included: *tōjisha*, interactive systems that later

changed to small businesses (*koakinai*) and collaborative businesses (*co-akinai*), lifestyle that

later turned into real estate (*fudousan*), and public square (*gaitei*). I participated in the *tōjisha*

group that had a total of six members. Other group members included Kadono, a male architect;

Koizumi, a male student of architecture at the Yokohama National University; Akiyama, a

female artist affiliated with Kogane-chō AMC and BankART 1929; Saito, an elderly female

resident of Yokohama; and Kashiwabara, a male city employee. My participation at the *Kore-*

Yoko discussions demonstrate how *puissance* was evoked among students and steered by

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supervising members affiliated with the City to script proposals for the revitalization of Yokohama city.

Sasaki, Akimoto and other facilitators used a method known as backcasting to steer the *puissance* of students into proposals. Backcasting is a method of urban planning invented by Karl-Henrik Robèrt, the founder of a Swedish nonprofit organization Natural Step, to work backwards from a vision of the future. It is a method that contrasts from forecasting that predicts the future by analyzing social and economic trends, which Kitazawa states is useful only when structural changes are not expected (Kitazawa 2008: 9). Kitazawa liked the idea of designing an image of a desired future city first then working backwards so adjustments can be made to existing social structures and cultural values. Kitazawa argues that working backwards allows us to create and direct change at many different levels that would unfold through parallel scenarios: "complex elements as well as human life and intentions are at play in designing future societies, so even if [we] were able to identify a clear goal, [we] are still able to script the path and scenario to achieve that goal in manifold ways. Research conducted by Tokyo University on the renewal of Keihin Rinkaibu between 2006 and 2007 reveals that a parallel and multi-layered scenarios are also a possibility" (ibid: 10). Sasaki, who took over the *Kore-Yoko* course in Kitazawa's place, also adopted backcasting but in order to steer the students' *puissance* to be articulated with empirical artifacts in Yokohama or other cities. He did this by introducing urban development projects and housing alternatives from around the world that students can use as reference to turn imagined lifestyles into life projects that they can undertake to realize those lifestyles.

5.3.1   Backcasting and steering

While the *Kore-Yoko* course was in session the City published its manifesto *Urban Design Vision Yokohama* that introduced its "urban design practice." It postulates urban design as a collaborative process between the City and its citizens "to realize a human-like city (*ningenteki na toshi*) that is attractive and unique" (2015: 7). The urban design practice outlined in the *Urban Design Vision Yokohama* breaks down the backcasting method into the following five easy steps for its readers to follow (City of Yokohama 2015b: 9). Sasaki, Akimoto and other facilitators of the *Kore-Yoko* course also used these steps to structure class discussions:

1. Begin by imagining a landscape in which your life feels enriched: The city is a collection of individual lives. Therefore, if each person's life is enriched (*yutaka*) then the city will inevitably become enriched. In an enriching city, people's lives will also become enriching. In order to make your life and Yokohama enriching, one must begin by imagining a landscape in which one feels his or her life enriched (*jibun no yutaka na kurashi no fūkei*).

2. Share enriching landscapes that you consider to be unique to Yokohama, and engage [with those landscapes]: In order for individual urban design practices and its results to link up with the enrichment of Yokohama, it is important that each individual's imagined landscape (*omoi egaku fuukei*) has a shared goal. That means to share what you consider to be "enriching landscapes unique to Yokohama," and to share how the design of Yokohama can make enriching landscapes unique to Yokohama.

3. Engage [to realize those landscapes] with the entire city: As people move to and fro between the city and its suburbs, and water systems such as rivers connect the city center with mountains and oceans, the city of Yokohama is not limited to its city center. Hence, enriching landscapes unique to Yokohama are birthed only when the whole city engages collaboratively.

4. Engage [with people] across different fields [of interest, background, discipline]: Changing only the appearance such as the color or form of the cityscape will not enrich your life nor Yokohama. An enriching life will materialize only when individuals, groups and institutions from different specializations and generations work together on large projects to small experiments in relation to the economy, culture, and social welfare to holistically engage [with problems] across different fields.

5. Engage [with urban design practices] under a long-term vision: Both individual lives and Yokohama will become more enriching if your imagined lifestyle stays enriching over time, and enrichment of the landscape remains unaltered by currents and trends.

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You can give birth to a landscape that sustains its enriching qualities over a long period of time by thinking and engaging to enrich your lifestyle with a long-term perspective.

At *Kore-Yoko*, however, these steps that students took to imagine and discuss enriching or comfortable (*yutaka*) lives-in-the-city was met by the facilitators' strategy to steer their *puissance* so the imagined lives that they discussed were coupled with artifacts in the city. Steering is a public administration technique that is used to "influence the behavior of students and organizations in a purposeful manner" (Veld 1991: 3). Steering manages and intervenes in social interaction in order to link the cognitive and social dimensions of reality (Veld 1991; Voogt 1991). Although Sasaki and Akimoto steered class discussions throughout the course, their efforts were particularly salient during our group presentations held on February 6, 2015. On this day, all four groups presented a summary of their discussions to-date in the order of lifestyle (*seikatsu stairu*), [interactive] system (*shikumi*), public square (*gaitei*), and agent (*tōjisha*). Each presentation was critically assessed and given further comments by Sasaki, Akimoto, and a guest lecturer Iku Hirose, a representative officer of the nonprofit organization Yokohama Creative Center that operates the Yokohama Creative Center. Hirose, who has a career in architecture after graduating from the Yokohama National University, was equally knowledgeable about architecture and urban design projects in Japan and around the world to share inspirational ideas, information and examples for students to think about.

The following paragraphs give snapshots of the group discussions that took place at *Kore-Yoko* while demonstrating how Sasaki and Hirose steered the students' *puissance* to narrow the gap between present conditions and future possibilities. Group presentation by the lifestyle group demonstrates how alternative lifestyles were imagined through the uses of artifacts in the city. One of their proposals was installing containers in empty parking lots for people to live. Sasaki's

question that asked whether the group would want to live in a parking lot that they proposed show how he steered their *puissance* to not only imagine alternative lifestyles but also to imagine living those lives themselves. Providing ideas and information about artifacts from around the world as Hirose had done also helped students ground their imaginations.

Lifestyle group: … Our presentation today is based on asking ourselves what kind of rooms we would want to live in. We came up with ideas that were particular to the region of Kannaigai: We came up with empty buildings after Sasaki-san mentioned about sharing a 300 square meter room among several people… Another idea is to place used containers in the numerous parking lots in Kannai but renovating it so that each container can be used for different purposes. One container can be a bath, another one can be a kitchen, and people can live in these containers. When they move, they use cranes. We thought it might be fun if residents used cranes even when they just wanted to redecorate. Another water-related topic that we discussed was living on Ōoka River. We said how hip it would be if Noge, Yoshida-machi and all the way to Kogane-chō along the Ōoka River had the visual [attractiveness] of Venice or Ine Funaya in Kyoto. If people can commute using this boat to Minato Mirai and celebrities talked about how amazing it was then we might get publicity for this theme of living on Ōoka River…

Sasaki: We're talking about a lifestyle. It's a topic that sounds easy but it's actually tough. What do you think? Do you have any comments?

Hirose: Many people live on rivers in the Netherlands. Those boats get bought and sold for quite a value. You need to tow it in order to move it. Most of them need to. They're sold as residential property like any other homes. I thought that idea was doable.

Sasaki: How about the containers? They're talking about putting in a parking lot.

Akimoto: Like temporary housing units.

Ssasaki: There have been projects like that in Nakameguro where two people did something at a parking lot but they weren't living there. Would you want to live [in a parking lot]?

Student: It could be fun if it's rented. But the bathroom would be a problem.

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The above exchange demonstrates how Sasaki and Hirose steered the *puissance* that animated the group's imaginations by offering information on actually existing lifestyles that have a more realistic and coherent 'feel' to it. Introducing empirical examples with images from the Internet was one of the ways in which Sasaki and Hirose helped students visualize the lifestyles that they discussed, often based on ideas that came to them off the top of their heads. For example, Hirose extends the group's references to Venice and Kyoto by mentioning the Netherlands as an example where life on a boat can be found. Hirose later showed us the website that featured Ijburg, islands off the eastern coast of Amsterdam city, for images of houses furbished with boating docks. Sasaki and Hirose also pointed out that at Ijburg home owners rent their houses on booking sites, along with the news on a recent change in law for home owners in Yokohama that allows them to open their homes as a bed-and-breakfast type accommodation to bring more foreign tourists in Japan for the upcoming Olympics: "Japan will also go public for the Olympics soon. I think England did that for their Paralympics, because they had a shortage of beds. The definition to live could vary between living there for many years or could a month-long stay count? There are a variety of ways to live in a large metropolis like this." By providing this piece of information, Sasaki and Hirose helped ground students' far-fetched ideas while asking students to focus their discussions on real estate.

These images of and information about artifacts provided scaffolding to the students' practice of imagining future possibilities. Coupled with the facilitators' practice of steering *puissance*, the discussion was directed to visualize a "lifestyle" that was not only interesting to the students but also one that students can see themselves living. Presentation from the next group on the topic of "system" talks about a system to generate social interactions in the city. Seeing that this group was fixated on the idea of "communication," Hirose, Sasaki, and Akimoto

steered their *puissance* to entertain models of "exchanging" and "sharing" artifacts while

introducing empirical examples that can help them turn their imagined systems into a tangible

reality.

System group:	We're the system group. Everybody said we needed a system that generates communication; a system to communicate with strangers. Nowadays there are shared spaces in housing and apartment complexes but there's also value in these for allowing anybody from the neighborhood to use it. And we also have houses where people can live on an experimental basis, but with a built-in system of finding and making friends. So to sum up, these are examples of systems that generate communication that we thought were necessary. Next is a system where parents can bring their children to the workplace. This can be the workplace itself or there could also be a baby-sitting service but either way we wanted to conceptualize it as a system… Next, we have self-businesses. It's a vague idea but it's an extention of our discussion from last week on small businesses from home offices. This concept came to us by discussing examples that are just a fantasy, like a celebrity housewife might say her lifestyle attracted fans who want to pay to see her private life. We also talked about old warehouses and home-to-work proximity many times, but some people also said "integration" over "proximity".
Hirose:	… We can solve how we communicate through exchange. Exchange or sharing. I'm living in a cooperative housing unit right now, but there aren't much [inaudible] available in condos. So we bought it together. Things that were bought collectively are all there. It's exciting to see those [collectively owned] things accumulating. If we tried harder we can acquire a barbeque or a shared building. I think if we did that as a neighborhood we can build a community more positively.
Akimoto:	It seems like there would be many different patterns… We can include houses for people to live experimentally.
Sasaki:	There's a shared house in Yōkōdai [district] where 28 people live. There are 28 people in total so the living room is spacious. [Sasaki shows us the website] See, this is the kitchen. There are three of these American size refrigerators. They also have two stoves that are also giant American sized ones. But it's used between 28 so it's not enough. There's also only three bathrooms. But these bathrooms are built to save water so it's ecological. I went to go look at this property for the bathrooms but it's really interesting. This fridge too, you have to replace what you've taken out of it. But you don't have to replace it with the same thing. It can just be something that's similar… So if you ate an expensive crème brûlée, then you can replace it with an

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expensive éclair or a mont blanc. It's fine because it's equally expensive. The point is to exchange, rather than what you exchange. Condiments too. Do you see? If you use a spicy condiment…

Student: There's got to be someone who's losing out on the deal.

Sasaki: There might be a loss when we think in terms of monetary value but we've experienced situations where we're bonding emotionally even though we paid more, right? Or eating something that's cheap but delicious. So we need to think about exchanging values that may not be monetary value. We can exchange things because they have value, but exchange doesn't happen when we have a standardized value system… the worst is, and this is a bad habit of architects, to say that there's quality. Quality is, comparatively speaking, an introspective way of thinking in the architectural world. So even if your work is not exchanged, if somebody comes along and says your architecture has good quality, then suddenly you feel like you're being praised and your design doesn't have to be completed. But it's not worth anything as a real estate, you see? … So thinking about exchange can help us expand on the notion of value.

Like the previous group, the conversation above demonstrates how Hirose and Sasaki facilitate backcasting by providing students with concrete examples. Hirose brings up his experience of living in a cooperative housing that has been around for a few decades but not as a mainstream option for purchasing property. Sasaki also introduces shared housing in Yōkōdai as an example. Again, theses empirical examples provide scaffolding for students to ground their *puissance* with real artifacts in the city but for this particular group, these examples also served as resources to see how they can actively organize and participate in alternative communities. For example, Hirose says that purchasing things together as a group for his cooperative housing can help "build a community more positively." Sasaki says that exchanging consumer products of different value can create "situations where we're bonding emotionally." These examples show how *Kore-Yoko* is designed to shift people's value from making and consuming things for an anonymous market to the collaborative practice of building and bonding as members of alternative communities. As can be seen by how a student retorted: "there's got to be someone

who's losing out on the deal," the facilitators' instructions were not received without some resistance. However, the next discussion on public squares demonstrates that *Kore-Yoko* facilitators do not envision students to organize themselves in a socialist commune where its members resist private ownership. Members of collectively organized communities may privately own the building or lease a privately owned building but members remain equal contributors to the community by sharing a public land or space.

The next group presented their ideas on *gaitei*, which can be translated as a public square. The woman who proposed this idea was an architecture student who was studying *gaitei* as a research project at her university. Her idea behind *gaitei* as an "open space" reflects the influence of Metabolists that used open spaces as a *tabula rasa* from which a new symbolic order could be woven to articulate the meaning of 'the city'. The following conversation shows how different people interpreted *gaitei* from different perspectives: the *gaitei* group explained it as "reserved spaces for the future" through which a "community gets built," while Akimoto described it as "a beautiful space" representing Japanese culture and tradition, and Sasaki framed it as a public space to be "reclaimed" and "owned." This discussion informs the significance of *tōjisha* as an agent who can mediate these different perspectives by acting independently to organize a community in a way that transmits the cultural tradition and art of Japanese gardening.

Gaitei group:	… Based on Hosobuchi-san's comment last week about leaving open spaces like empty lots in the city as reserved spaces for the future without trying to fill them in [with buildings], we discussed what we should do with those open spaces and *gaitei* came up as a strong keyword. For those of you who weren't here last week, *gaitei* is a word that was originally used in Yokohama during the Meiji era (1868-1912) for public spaces that resemble a public square or a plaza overseas. A person from Yokohama, a civil servant actually, used the *kanji* "city" and "yard" to spell *gai-tei*. In Tokyo *hiroba* and *gaien* are terms that are more commonly used but we liked the idea of a city yard so our group extended this to river yard, port yard, hill yard, school yard, workplace yard, train station yard and city yard. Also, *katei*

[Japanese term for home] is written as house yard. We wondered why the term for "home" is written with yard but we couldn't come up with an answer. Then we discussed who might use this yard, and we said people in the neighborhood or it would be fun if people who live in condos that don't have a yard can produce it, or corporate employees [whose office is nearby]. What can be done with this yard? Niwa-san will talk more about later, but we can plant vegetables and make it in to a garden, or we can play games like Twister as we've written here "playing in the city". It's become trendy in Portland now but building a chess board can be an option, for people in the neighborhood to make their own chess board. We think it's interesting to color in these open spaces, *gaitei*, or to build *gaitei* in various locations and link them with a green belt to turn it into a road. Finally "open" is a little unrelated but, in short, open means showing the interior of buildings. The buildings in Kannai are relatively closed and we can't see what's going on inside despite the fact that many artists are there holding events. So it can be a glass window or a display case but we're using the word open to convey the importance of showing.

Akimoto:

Gaitei is a public space, a center of a beautiful space that's akin to the *engawa* in the old days.[1] I feel like its uses are similar. Open means showing the interior of buildings so it's more radical, but *gaitei* is a space that sounds very Japanese that we don't have anymore. So it sounds interesting to explore what type of activities could be held there.

Gaitei group:

This might be a little off from the original *gaitei* idea but I thought it would be interesting if there's a system in place where a piece of land is given to people in the community and they were told they could use it anyway they want by discussing amongst each other. So the use of *gaitei* can be left up to the neighborhood but I think it's good to have a system where a community gets built through the process of discussing how the *gaitei* is used.

Akimoto:

… it's in-between buildings and the outdoor space so we can also think of how those people outside can interact with people inside the building. It's a very flexible space so there's potential for something interesting depending on how it's used.

Hirose:

I have more examples. Parklet or Pavement to Parks is a project in San Francisco and the idea behind it is to turn roads and open spaces into everybody's yard. [Showing the website] See, this is great. This is fantastic. Opening up the entire lane where there was previously street

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[1] *Engawa* referes to the strip of wooden flooring that lays between a room inside the home and the yard outside that is also often used as a pathway between rooms. It is similar to the porch, except it is usually more narrow and built closer to the ground.

parking, or opening up spaces in between buildings. They open up everything for public use. This is what we need right now… it's a city yard but you're not relying on other people from the city to come up with something. What's very radical about this is that the project sponsor is responsible for everything. The project sponsor funds and operationalizes it and the City does not pay a cent. The City provides the system to support it and helps assess and reduce risks for the public but the project sponsor delivers the project and also takes the risk of putting it together. The project sponsor could be a store owner so there's more people coming to the store front. And what's great about this is that there's a manual. This website provides support for the project sponsor so he or she can plan and coordinate his or her project. The application process is laid out like a board game, and failure to meet the requirements can end up in "proposals rejected". It's like a workflow. Everybody should download this from their website. Yokohama also opened up its streets in the past, the Ōdōri, which was quite difficult to do.

Hosobuchi: I think it was also mentioned before how we should be more knowledgeable about the stakeholders involved, about land ownership…

Sasaki: This is where the difference between parks and gardens come into play. Parks are a modern space and they belong to everybody. But traditionally parks were all gardens. All those European gardens that everyone is ecstatic about are not parks but gardens, like the Versaille. Of course public spaces in Japan were also traditionally gardens of some vassal and it wasn't fenced in. The ownership of gardens is very clear and the owner maintains it. Then these turned into parks that can be used by anyone but no one takes care of it. Since you mention the term yard, I think as Hirose-san mentioned, we should think about reclaiming these open spaces in our present situation when a sense of ownership has been lost. Baba-san couldn't come today so I brought his book instead. It's not exactly the same but he writes something similar to this. For example, real estate taxes are higher if you live closer to Central Park… So if Yokohama Park became this open space, then property taxes for real estate in front the park might become higher but that also raises the property value so condos and hostels might get built or some people might think of leasing their properties for income. If it's up to the developers, they will only build the same buildings. Baba-san's book has many examples like this. He also writes about open spaces; actually, he writes a lot about it. There are many methods like using the taxation system or doing it by yourselves completely but it's important what Hirose-san said, that someone takes ownership. Otherwise we can pay consultants but we won't have any open spaces. The idea of turning open spaces into yards is great but the difficulty is that the ownership is unclear.

Historically in Japan, there has been a tendency to distinguish Japanese culture as being incommensurable with Western, and particularly American culture as represented by the Metabolists who explained how their modern designs were influenced by a Japanese architectural tradition that can be seen in the Ise Shrine. When read within this historical context, the *gaitei* discussion is interesting because it can be interpreted as a beautiful Japanese garden that can also be used like Parklet, an American urban development project. Moreover, as Sasaki encourages the class to "reclaim these open spaces," *gaitei* also serves as a ground from which anybody willing can become a *tōjisha* by taking temporary ownership of public properties for personal and collective uses as they do through the Parklet project.

5.3.2   *Tōjisha* talk

The *tōjisha* group, to which I belonged, was the last group to present on this day. Unlike other groups whose topics were the object of their discussion, *tōjisha* was both a topic of discussion and the subject position that the BankART School more or less prepared for students to speak and act from. *Tōjisha* talk to some extent exposed what Sasaki called a "worldview" and what I analyze as the discussants' cultural model or "presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world" (Holland and Quinn 1987). For example, the presentation by our *tōjisha* group below shows how the meaning of *tōjisha* was conceptualized as reciprocally determined to *ba*. The colloquial meaning of *ba* (場) or *basho* (場所) is that of a site or a place. However, *ba* or *basho* can be used both negatively as a ground upon which figures acquire their meaning or positively as a place of belonging. The philosophical significance of *ba* in modern Japanese thought has been expounded by Kitaro Nishida (1870-1945) who conceptualized *ba* as a topological space from which self-awareness emerges to weave a web of significance. *Ba* has also been used by

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sociologists such as Chie Nakane (1970) who translated it as a frame, which could be a location, institution or relationships that bind people into a group, and more recently by Mary Brinton (2010) who defines it as a social location in an organization to which people belong and derive their identity from.

While a philosophical and/or a sociological analysis of *ba* points to its significance in Japanese history and/or society, it does not allow us to understand its intersection: how history is socially lived and how society, in turn, is historically organized. *Tōjisha* talk shows how *ba* is invoked as a cultural model to steer *puissance* by conceptualizing a common ground upon which *tōjisha* can be contextually and relationally figured. In turn, *ba* allows people to talk reflexively about *tōjisha* by taking the group's point of view. The next passage from our group's presentation made by Kadono shows how *ba* is invoked as a ground from which *tōjisha* emerges as a figure that "brings changes to the city":

Tōjisha group: We initially summarized the question who *tōjisha* is and how we might consider *tōjisha* as someone who brings changes to the city using these four keywords. Our email exchanges started two weeks ago after discussing how someone who organizes communities might be considered as a *tōjisha*. Since then, we noticed that our discussion bifuricated into two levels: one that tried to define the meaning of *tōjisha* and the other that tried to understand the *ba* that helps individuals become a *tōjisha*. But instead of explaining this process that can get confusing, I want to discuss the keyword "experimental space" that was raised when we discussed the importance of social interaction. Experimental spaces are spaces that create interaction with the other who's different from your background or who comes from a different environment. I think we agreed that such spaces or opportunities would be called experimental spaces but am I right? People who commit or engage with those places become a *tōjisha* of the city. Another discussion starts from what Kawase-san mentioned earlier about time-based alleyways. It's based on his story about going for his daily walk at sunrise to a place where he can see the ocean. When we examine the city by time, it seems like there are chunks of time during which certain places are not used by anyone. Places that are used by many people during the day but none at night. Or there's traffic during rush hours but none afterwards. If we can find these niches in the city, we can perhaps find a potential use for them. And those people

who explore those niches could become *tōjisha*, the *tōjisha* who makes the future of Yokohama. And the next point took up most of our discussion, but there are those who are weakly involved in shaping communities like those people who you say hi to in the elevator. If we take these people as a weak *tōjisha*, then communities are relatively exclusive. The problem is that it won't be a community unless it's exclusive, but the question is how to metabolize (*shinchintaisha*) bounded communities. This is also an extension of social interaction, but when we think about metabolism there are those who actively organize communities and those who have weak ties such as those who like those communities or those who have a strong passion that brings enjoyment to their engagements with those communities. Our discussion was about how those weak *tōjisha* can create metabolism, those people who shape communities through a weak tie. The last point is different from our previous discussions that focused on how people might enjoy or test out or experiment in the city. It was about how one can receive help in times of need and also give help during their spare time. I felt that whether such a relationship can be cultivated would affect whether one can become a *tōjisha*.

Hirose: Is this about the Kannaigai area of Yokohama?

Sasaki: Yes, well the discussion topic is.

Hirose: I can't see how this relates to the field at all. That's the point that worries me. It sounds like you can say the same thing for other places. I'm not saying it's wrong but it's really out there.

Akimoto: And metabolism is about communities. You were already discussing this in class and in your email exchanges but the largest number of people in the city constitutes those people who belong to loosely organized communities. I thought we wanted to look for other communities in our present discussion, not the communities in the city with a large population.

Hirose: I thought what you said about people who can find something in alleyways by time was very interesting. But it would be more productive if you said there are these alleyways in Yokohama, and *tōjisha* are the people who can find value in them.

Kadono's presentation shows how our group's discussion oscillated between thinking about

ba in abstract, topological terms such as "experimental spaces" and "time-based alleyways" and

using *ba* as a social location that indexes the degree of engagement with one's community. In the

former discussion, *ba* had guided our group to imagine a *tōjisha* that played a role in different scenarios that experimental spaces and time-based alleyways offered. In the latter discussion, however, our group also talked about the types of *tōjisha* by degrees of engagement that allows one to achieve his or her social location in a "community" as reflected in the following statement: "there are those who actively organize communities and those who have weak ties such as those who like those communities or those who have a strong passion that brings enjoyment to their engagements with those communities." This oscillation not only shows how *ba* is used as a cultural model that constitutes versatile yet contradictory frames to interpret the meaning of *tōjisha* but it also shows how *ba* is mobilized as a concept to negotiate an image of *tōjisha* from either the person's performative role or social location. Such uses of *tōjisha* as a concept, rather than to assert one's subjecthood or to index one's place of belonging, is similar to how the Ifaluk uses emotion concepts "to evoke an image of a particular kind of event, a particular relationship between a person and the world" (Lutz 1987: 294).

However, Hirose's subsequent critique that our *tōjisha* group lacks fieldwork to ground our abstract ideas in concrete settings shows how Hirose steered our *puissance* to conceptualize *ba* within the material context of the city. In doing so, Hirose guides our group to think about *tōjisha* as a figure who embodies and enacts the conceptual image that we discussed. The following statement by Sasaki shows how he mediated the disjuncture between our group's cognitive approach that scripted the scenarios in which *tōjisha* may appear along with felicitous timing to initiate change and Hirose's empirical approach that fixes the meaning of *tōjisha* in its flesh by suggesting how we might think about strategies to mobilize people instead:

Sasaki: I'm wondering how to guide Kadono-san's team today. Personally I really want to discuss this population issue. Cities can't be built unless we design the population. I'm not sure if the book I brought with me today would help but it's called *Let's Stop Trying to Mobilize People Using Advertisement and*

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Media (*Kōkoku ya media de hito wo ugokasō to suru no wa mou yamenasai*). This book tells you how to mobilize people at the scale of a thousand to a billion. It's a light-hearted book. [The author] introduces a case study of someone who sold 4,000 crème brûlée through Twitter as an example of how to mobilize a thousand people… It's a quick read but interesting. It basically tells you how information moves, although the book doesn't substantiate how people move based on that information. I didn't buy this book for this purpose. It was because it sounded interesting to know how information gets communicated.

Sasaki's advice to shift our attention on mobilizing people relates to Akimoto's concern that was raised earlier, which was to motivate the largest group of people in Yokohama: those who are disinterested in or oblivious to civic engagements and civic coproduction activities. Akimoto created a graph (see Figure 8) that plots the following nine groups of people: artists, creators, entrepreneurs, adults involved in extracurricular activities, NPOs, local business owners, fans of Yokohama, people who live in Yokohama because they like the convenience of the city, and people who just happened to live in Yokohama and who are completely invisible. These groups are plotted along a horizontal axis of "cultural activities" on the one side and "commercial activities" on the other, and on the vertical axis of "active" at the top and "invisible" on the bottom. Akimoto pointed to the "invisible" group, namely the group that lives in Yokohama for the convenience of living in a city and those who just happened to live in Yokohama to suggest that our primary task was to make these groups motivated to engage with civic matters in the city:

Akimoto: Conceptually, the "active" refers to start-up companies and entrepreneurs. Those people are active and are engaged in commercial activities. Art and culture are relatively unprofitable but artists and creators are active in the city. The largest group includes those engaged in commercial activities but they live in Yokohama because it's convenient. They're just here for the convenience that the city offers, so they are not very active in the city but they spend money so they're good for the economy. Most people belong to this group… and the fans of Yokohama are somewhere around here [points to "cultural" but slightly "inactive"]. These people like Yokohama. They live in

Yokohama because they like art or they like the port. And by far the largest group consists of those who are simply disinterested. The people who just happened to live in Yokohama but to them it doesn't matter where they live. These people belong to this bottom area. Most of the people are here.

After listening to these statements, Kashiwabara who is a member of our *tōjisha* group and a senior city employee questioned the purpose of defining *tōjisha*. He maintained that it wasn't important to distinguish whether someone is a *tōjisha* or not. The following conversation is between Kashiwabara, myself who responded to his statement, and Akimoto who followed up on Kashiwabara's question by summarizing the reason we were discussing *tōjisha* in the first place:

Kashiwabara: There is no point in asking who is and who is not a *tōjisha*. We discussed this to some extent but instead of making that distinction we could be more light-hearted, to seek out the pleasure of Yokohama and the variations of how to enjoy Yokohama so there are people who will be drawn to live in Yokohama through that attraction. I think we can see how that might lead to increasing the population by another hundred thousand. And if there are obstacles to how people enjoy the city then they will raise their voices based on their position.

Author: But you'd be inviting consumers if you're only inviting people who enjoy the city. I think that if you're inviting people who share a concern for the problems of the city then we might expect that their engagements with the city would be different…

Akimoto: I was using the word *tōjisha* in a different way. I'm not sure how Sasaki-san feels about this but if we argue that people don't need to have a *tōjisha* mindset then the city will be created by those two groups: people who consume and those who provide things to consume. I feel that this is what caused the situation of this city today. Bottom line, I think that the city won't become interesting unless we can step out of the cycle of having large corporations make things to entertain people, distribute them, and having people who only enjoy those things live in the city.

As this conversation shows, the competing forces to either define *tōjisha* or to be content with scripting scenarios in which individuals may potentially become a *tōjisha* stirred the *puissance* of our group, as we mulled over the transformative element that made *tōjisha* not quite

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a resident in the city (*kyojyūsha*). After this day, our *tōjisha* group was back to square one as

Sasaki asked us to think about *kyojyūsha* of Yokohama city instead of *tōjisha*. Kashiwabara

helped reorient our group discussion to come up with a list of figures whose *kyojyūsha* lifestyles

might fit the image of Yokohama that these figures would also perform and publicize. With this

intervention, our group came to agree that the best way to identify *kyojyūsha* lifestyles was to

"steal" the figures that other groups have used to script their scenarios for their respective topics;

in other words, figures who own real estate, pursue small businesses and collaborative

businesses, and use the *gaitei* public square. Yet even at this juncture the female members of our

group Akiyama and Saito resisted the idea of publicity. The *puissance* among the women in our

group were oriented towards solving problems and/or removing obstacles they encounter in their

everyday lives rather than strategizing how to mobilize people by generating publicity for the

city.

Akiyama:	I think people will stay [in Yokohama] if they're committed to something or they might even stay even if a person finds an irresistible attraction [to the city] or use something that's unique [to the city] or find those things useful even if they're not actively engaged [with the city]. They might even bring their friends [to the city] or have friends stay with them for a short while. These might be small things, but if you asked whether they're positive or negative I think they have a positive effect. So the question becomes how we might increase the number of *tōjisha* who chooses to live in this city and who's here not because he or she is left out. In other words, how can we increase the population as a result. This question of how to change people into becoming a *tōjisha* or to create a *tōjisha* mindset among people who never thought of himself or herself as a *tōjisha* is to ask what's moving them or affecting them positively, and how we might be able to move them. That might be something emotional or psychological, or something that's useful and practical, or accommodation and real estate that wows people, or it could be a business opportunity and financial matters that are also related to the topics handled by other groups.
Author:	I never thought in terms of creating an effect, but I think that's great. You mean like a chain reaction, right?

Akiyama:	The final goal is to increase the number of people. It should be attractive to live here, or there's a benefit, a value, or an attractiveness that keeps a person here to bring more people in. Otherwise I think the population is going to keep decreasing so even though it looks like a detour I think that's what it comes down to. [My life in Yokohama] might look very carefree and easy, but it's really difficult to get around the city on a bicycle. I use my bicycle a lot as my mode of transportation because I can cover the vertical traffic that's not covered by public transportation and it allows me to be more mobile. Where I live is not the center [of the city] and I don't find any trouble living there even though it's a little far and somewhat inconvenient. But I have to say that it's difficult to be mobile on a bicycle. There's nowhere to park, the streets aren't paved, and it makes a big difference for bikers if the streets are paved.
Kashiwabara:	I think we had this type of discussion earlier.
Akiyama:	Really? Well, I really don't know where to park bicycles. Everywhere I go I'm never sure where to park. Although I think it's fantastic if there's something that makes it obvious where to park anywhere you go. Then the city would be habitable even for people who have weak knees and hips. They'll be able to get around smoothly even if [their place of residence] is located somewhere inconvenient. Even people who commute to Tokyo wouldn't feel burdened if they're able to ride their bicycle [to a train station]. Trains are packed as it is now, commuting to Tokyo, so I can't imagine what would happen if there are more people [living in Yokohama].
Kashiwabara:	But one of our discussion topics is home-to-workplace proximity so we'll need to discuss whether we want people who work in Tokyo to come and live here.

Akiyama's statement above expresses the *puissance* of those with less physical agility or she also

mentioned in another conversation about foreign language speakers, who might have more

difficulty getting around the city on their bicycles. Her concern is therefore focused on the lived

experience of the city whereas Kashiwabara's statement and the comments made by Sasaki and

Akimoto earlier show how men generally expressed their will to exert control over designing and

inviting the "right" *tōjisha* who would leverage the mixed-use zoning to help transform the

Kannai-Kangai area.

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The next statement made by Saito also expresses her concern for elders and parent-child

relationships. This is followed by my inquiry raised to Kashiwabara, a city employee, regarding

socially marginalized groups and how our team might best think about them. Kashiwabara's

reply demonstrates his finesse in steering my inquiry to discuss the historical fire belt

architecture in the city that houses elders rather than the elders as such.

Saito: There's a group called the Women's Forum on the thirteenth floor of the Landmark Tower. The name changed towards the end, but there was a members-only group called the Working Women's Support group where members had to pay an annual membership fee. Members voluntarily joined, organized a steering committee to decide on extracurricular activities that we really wanted to do. That continued for twelve years. It was a great group of people; we had a great relationship with each other. I'm still friends with them, although we don't have the group anymore. The old members are still in touch and that's something I'm appreciating as I get older. Some women have lost their husbands and some never married but we've always maintained communication. Founding a group like the Women's Forum is one idea I had and another was to create a Men's Forum and exchange ideas between these groups. Then men and women can intermingle and interesting ideas might be born out of it. Another idea is based off of a book written by Masuzoe-san. Since I'm getting older, the children have to look after their parents. But the nursing care system in Japan right now is not very good. What I mean by that is children grew up having their private rooms so there aren't any big families with many children. That puts a lot of stress on the children when they have to take care of their parents. I think we have to change this nursing care system so that the society looks after the elderly. We have to come up with a new system. Children who grew up more individualistically have trouble with communication or they're bad at it. That's one idea. Another is the problem of depression for those in their thirties. That's also because of the lack of communication. I would like to see a system that would help them.

Author: We probably need to think about how socially marginalized groups are engaging with their issues…

Saito: So I'd like to have a bigger space for extracurricular activities or just to meet like here, this is a really nice place to study. But it's restricted, it's not very open. But I think it will make a difference if more people knew about this place…

Author: Do you think this relates to the topic you were talking about earlier, Kashiwabara-san, regarding what type of people we should invite [to live in the Kannai-Kangai area]?

Kashiwabara: There are many people who are single that currently live in this area. Kotobuki is an exemplary case where in the next fifteen years there will be more single elders living alone. That's not including the people moving [into this area] but the proportion of single elders among the current 100,000 will significantly increase as they continue to age. At the same time, the historic fire belt buildings (*bōkatai kenchiku*) that's generally four to five stories high with [inaudible] on the first floor and residential spaces upstairs have a character that many people like and want to preserve, but these buildings don't have elevators and some areas aren't barrier-free. We don't have any solutions for these issues - whether we should invest to renovate the building and install an elevator or whether we should take the risk and have people live in it with the least amount of maintenance knowing that the building will crumble if something ever happened - we don't know which would be better. Either way I feel that we have to be smart about it. And if we are to install an elevator and add seismic reinforcement to the building, then it's probably wiser to tear down the building and build a new one in terms of efficiency and cost-effectiveness. The question of how to maintain these buildings is a topic for the real estate group, but we probably need to keep that in mind as we think of how to mobilize people.

Kashiwabara's move to steer the *puissance* that disclose and discuss social issues such as aging and elder care into a talk about housing for *kyojyūsha* allows him to legitimize state intervention from the perspective of public safety. Housing also allows Kashiwabara to talk about the older *kyojyūsha* not through universal discourses of health care and citizenship but through changes to the life cycle of architectural buildings that also reflect the *kyojyūsha*'s life course through a structural coupling between people's lifeworld and the social system that mapping creates as I discussed in Chapter 5.

However, the following conversation shows how women also resist men's attempt to steer the *puissance* of group discussions by imposing their own approach and solution to the problem of *tōjisha*. In this excerpt, Akiyama questions the use of publicity when Koizumi, a male

university student, makes the suggestion that Kashiwabara defends by explaining why he thinks

publicity is a useful tool to mobilize people:

Akiyama: But [events are] a chance to bring more people in. We can get people to live here using public events.

Koizumi: You mean besides publicity?

Akiyama: I'm not sure why you're fixated on publicity. Why is publicity so important?

Koizumi: I'm not using the term publicity in a specific sense but in a general sense of mobilizing people.

Kashiwabara: If people don't move unless there's a catalyst, then we're using the term publicity as that catalyst.

Akiyama: But is it publicity after we change the substance [of the city], or is it to just change the way reality is made to appear because things can look better even when the thing itself hasn't changed at all.

Kashiwabara: [Publicity] is also a way to change how people move too, so it's a step to posit an image of the city that we want to create and to make a call out for the type of people who we want to live in this city. So perhaps it's more about publicizing the kind of city we want to make rather than something that's real.

Akiyama: I wonder if people will actually decide to move based on a publicity that doesn't have any substance. I'm a very cautious person and even after I was accepted in the Artist In Residence program I contemplated for almost a year and although I left my place in Tokyo and moved in the end I still mulled over my decision. It wasn't necessarily research but I visited several times and made sure everything was right before I made my decision. If [publicity] is just a superficial term that doesn't accompany any substance, then is this something that we should spend hours thinking over right now?

Kashiwabara: If you say that [our discussion has to be realistic], then I would suppose other groups will also have to stop discussing their topics too.

Akiyama: I'm not sure what you mean. I think [we're] discussing [these topics] because, regardless of whether we'll actually put it into action, we're discussing based on the potential that we have the motivation to do so. We could do it if we wanted to, otherwise the meaning of our discussions will be all for naught.

This conversation shows how gender is not only a set of learned behaviors in Japan but it is also a moral relationship that produces *ba*. While women like Akiyama show the *puissance* that animates the *ba* of lifelong learning by asking questions and discussing the problems in the city, men like Kashiwabara steer *puissance* by intervening in this *ba* to guide the group discussion. Sociologists like Yuko Ogasawara (1995) analyzed gender dynamics at a Japanese workplace by studying the women who were employed as "office ladies" (OL) using the framework of power and resistance, but this example shows how the issue is not so much about power as it is about morality and the ethos of their communities of practice to produce *ba* as a common ground. Much more than the men, women of our group saw *kyojyūsha* not simply as those who used or exchanged the artifacts in the city but who did so to weave the social fabric of 'the city'. To me, women like Akiyama and Saito seemed to be saying that they were involved in these discussions not necessarily to lead and manage the city but in order to learn about the city so they can build relationships and seek opportunities to improve their everyday lives. Their more experience-near interpretation of artifacts inevitably asked for more "substance" over the appearance of publicity, questioning whether people will decide to live in a city based on a "publicity that's not founded on reality." The chasm between attracting people to Yokohama and retaining those people to live in Yokohama was therefore the source of their voice to advocate for better public safety, public services and more opportunities to cultivate meaningful lives-in-the-city.

Regardless, the *puissance* that the women in our group voiced to reveal the problems that they and other socially marginalized groups encountered in their everyday lives were largely ignored at the expense of a "worldview" that the *Kore-Yoko* discussions were steered to shape in the end. Sasaki, at the end of our fifth class, told us that our discussion was not aimed to organize our different perspectives but that he anticipated our discussions to cumulate in a "worldview."

His lecture below shows how Sasaki instructed us to think of *tōjisha* as someone who used the artifacts and facilities discussed by other groups:

Sasaki: Basically there are a variety of people at this place. As I wrote in my email, we're not assigning a coordinator to each group, someone who coordinates discussions, summarizes the key points and brings our discussions to a neat and tidy ending doesn't exist, realistically speaking. The book prints the variety as a variety. But after eight rounds of discussions, I'm hoping that something like a worldview gets shaped although it's not something that we purposefully shape. It becomes shaped. But when I listen to each group's discussion, everybody's trying very hard to organize [the discussion], the atmosphere to try and shape the basis of discussion is so strong. I feel this way. I think that way. My understanding is different. That's something everybody organizes at some point. But that is impossible with the members that we have in this class. It's impossible with this group. We're not even expecting it. Do you see? It's good to have your discussions becoming shaped in the end. If you read the *Kore-Yoko* book, you'll notice that it's organized. I thought I was going to die from stress because I wanted to produce a book that was like the one Kitazawa-san made. But Kitazawa-san assigned his staffs as central figures whose job was to coordinate multiple discussions so that's why he was able to publish a well planned-out book. I thought I wouldn't be able to do it because there are so many students. But the best thing about *Kore-Yoko* [that I took away] is realizing that a worldview gets shaped… but I thought we need to change the way we shape our worldview so what became revealed today is that there are two approaches: the *tōjisha* team can inform the other groups that there are these types of *tōjisha* in order to ask them how to use real estate or *gaitei* or they can ask what type of system or real estate there might be and to imagine a *kyojyūsha* based on their inputs. There are two ways to approach this. So all four teams are in a reciprocal relationship. (Lecture, February 13, 2015)

Earlier I showed how Sasaki's "worldview" is reflected in the culture model of *ba* that allowed the students of *Kore-Yoko* to imagine a variety of *tōjisha* by scripting the scenarios in which *tōjisha* might become figured through their uses of artifacts in the city. Sasaki's "worldview" is not only a reflection of *ba* that organizes people's talk but also the metonymic design of *Kore-Yoko* book itself that publishes student essays that express their collective "proposals" for revitalizing the city. The previous *Kore-Yoko* book that published the 2011 course introduces student essays with an explanation about the "problems" pertaining to public

artifacts and student "proposals" for ways of using or exchanging those artifacts. For example,

the first chapter is about the Tōkyū railroad between Yokohama station and Sakuragichō station

that was shut down after the Minatomirai Line opened. The leader of this team writes that the

City plans to expand the sidewalks so people and bicycles can easily pass through the streets next

to the railroad but the question remains as to whether anybody would actually use and maintain

those sidewalks (BankART 1929 2011: 38). Student essays propose alternative uses such as

establishing a "history café" that introduces the city through its history or installing an after

school program for children (ibid: 43). After the end of our course, the BankART School

announced that they decided to abort the publication of our essay. I suspect that it was because

the BankART School realized how our discussions did not reveal a *ba* where a *tōjisha* could be

imagined after some women expressed their indignation that these make-believe scenarios did

nothing to improve their lives-in-the-city. Although the course had stirred *puissance* by raising

numerous contradictions that urban spaces and architectures reflected, the *puissance* of our

tōjisha group was generated from a schism in this cultural model that exposed the gap between

women's problem-oriented desire to improve their lives-in-the-city and the men's goal-oriented

solution to publicize lifestyles that could be enjoyed in the city.
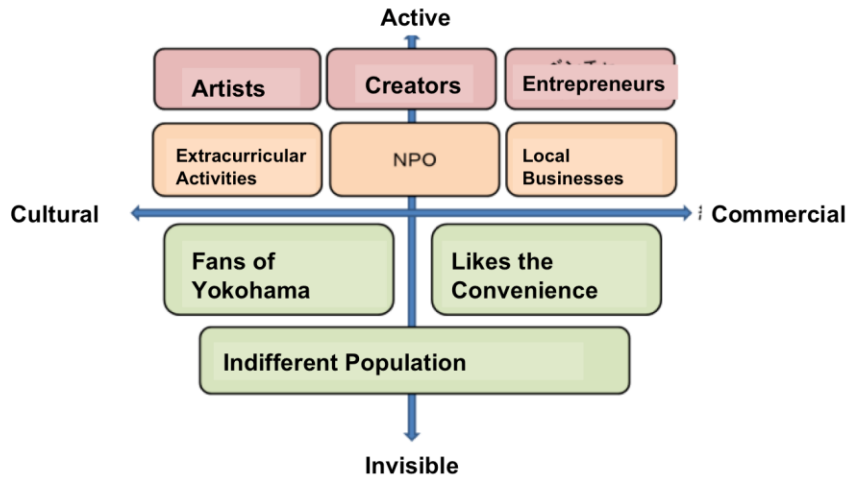
Living in Yokohama City Center

Figure 8 Akimoto's graph "Living in Yokohama City Center" (*Yokohama Toshin ni Kyojyū suru*)

5.4 Proposing *tōjisha* as a storyteller

Publication functions as what law theorist Teubner calls an "ultracyclical linkage" or linkages between autopoietic systems "that squeeze structural coupling into a direction such that systems act on each other catalytically in cyclical fashion" (1991: 134). As we saw earlier, compiling student essays into a book allows the BankART School to create a metonymic image that reflects the cultural model of its students while enabling students to identify themselves with this image as members of 'the city'. Publication also enables the BankART School to frame the student essays as a "proposal" so that the book lends itself as a directive force that motivates the student author to act on his or her proposal while legitimizing the public works projects that the City had already planned. Through publication, the BankART School creates an ultracyclical linkage between the figured world of 'the city' and developmental capitalism that publicizes and brands artifacts-in-the-city to accumulate the city's soft power, which is the power that is used to

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attract rather than coerce others (Nye 2004). However, I was disappointed to see how the *Kore-Yoko* course steered the *puissance* from our discussions so our *tōjisha* group would present idealized figures that used or exchanged the artifacts in the city. The men who facilitated our discussions saw it customary to steer *puissance* by imposing the cultural model of *ba*. In response, I wanted to write an essay that showed the contradiction I thought had stirred the *puissance* that divided women from the men in our group.

My essay that I submitted at the end of the course reflected on my experience at Kogane-chō to show and critique the contradiction that I witnessed in regards to prostitution rather than designing a *tōjisha* of 'the city'. Although Koganechō AMC and the City had eradicated illegal brothels in the area, the culture industry was publishing books and making movies about the prostitutes of Kogane-chō. I found this contradiction to be highly unsettling, for female prostitutes figure largely in the political and economic development of Japan since the opening of Yokohama Port to foreign trade. For example, when the Yokohama Port opened in 1859, one of the first public facilities that the Japanese government built was the brothel *Miyozaki Yūkaku* that also opened in 1859 to entertain and service both foreign and Japanese men. Since, the "Yokohama brothels" (*Yokohama Yūkaku*) expanded to include *Miyozaki*, *Yoshiwara*, *Takashimachō* and *Maganechō* brothels that helped lubricate international commerce. Historical records show that the American Council General Townsend Harris requested a brothel as one of the unofficial conditions of the treaty while one of the Japanese brothel owners is known to have stated that "national wealth is created by absorbing foreign wealth" (Shimokawa and Hayashi ed. 2010: 11).

Although the *yūkaku* disappeared with the Great Kanto earthquake of 1923 when the entire city went up in flames, "tea houses" (*chabuya*) and dance halls that blurred the line between

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entertainment and sexual services were a booming business in Yokohama during the interwar years. Writer Jun'ichirō Tanizaki, for example, has written the play "Honmoku Nocturne" (*Honmoku Yawa*) (1922) that introduces a famous prostitute from the Honmoku district east of the Kannnai-Kangai area who went by the name *Meriken Ohama* (1895-1969).[2] After World War II, prostitution continued to be legal until the Anti-Prostitution Law was passed in 1958. Entertainment districts like Sakuragi-chō in Yokohama city that had many bars and dance halls catering to American troops were designated by the SCAP (Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers) as "red line districts" (*akasen chitai*) that permitted prostitutes to work at bars and dance halls. A prostitute from postwar Yokohama who went by the name *Mary* also became an iconic figure when the mass media flocked to report sightings of her spectacular, phantom-like appearance. *Yokohama Mary*, as she was called by the media, was almost always sighted with her face caked in white foundation wearing white clothing that brought public attention and curiosity to her body despite or because of her old age.

When I submitted the first draft of my essay that discussed the different types of brothels that historically existed in Yokohama, Kashiwabara asked me who some of the famous prostitutes were and whether they enjoyed the status of a celebrity or whether they were publicized by the media as trend-setters (Kashiwabara, email correspondence May 20, 2015). Sasaki also mentioned that my essay relates to modern female idol groups like AKB48 and Denpagumi.inc (Sasaki, email correspondence June 26, 2015). Concerned that my essay on prostitutes might be creatively misinterpreted to be published as figures of Yokohama city, I decided to send a reply to Kashiwabara that explained my interest through my own family history. My late great aunt married an American soldier whom she met while working in Yokohama and moved to Kansas as a war bride. Subsequently, her male Japanese friend self-

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[2] *Meriken* is derived from the sound "American" and it refers to her liaisons with American clientelle.

published a book that chronicles her life through the relationship they maintained from the time before the war broke out until her death as a memoir. Although the author understandably wanted to document their lives that ebbed and flowed through the turbulent war, my grandfather, my great aunt's older brother, was never happy that her life was published. He was painfully aware of his sister's struggles and her sorrows of having to leave Japan and her son from her past marriage, so my grandfather wished that her friend had married her instead of publishing a story about her. I told Kashiwabara that nobody in my family understood why the author decided to publish a book about my great aunt, but that Kashiwabara's response had made me wonder whether he wished to publicly record and commemorate her life as the media did with the lives of *Meriken Ohama* and *Yokohama Mary* (email correspondence by author, May 20, 2015).

I wanted to conceptualize *tōjisha* by telling a story about the city through my own family history while promoting *tōjisha* as a storyteller. I also hoped to open up a public sphere in place of the "worldview" that the student essays metonymically shaped so the writer tells his or her *life*-in-Yokohama instead of writing about a life-in-*Yokohama*. Moreover, figured worlds contain its own risks that can symptomatically appear in various guises of psychological, social and political issues so writing reflexive, autobiographical stories can help identify these problems while showing how they are engaged and solved by communities of practice. For individual members, writing autobiographical stories are acts of *puissance* that can serve as a method of displacing the antagonism between Mead's (1967) ego "I" and the socialized "me" that develops as a result of learning to become members of a figured world. Institutions that structure and manage figured worlds might publish their members' autobiographical stories as part of its own history while enabling them to teach other members the art of speaking and writing as a *tōjisha*. Finally, anthropologists might also benefit from these autobiographical stories that articulate

puissance because they show their community's stock of knowledge and culturally shaped practices for framing and solving problems. By analyzing and explaining how people become a *tōjisha* rather than imposing discursive categories that turn them into their subjects and objects of research, anthropologists may also help to create an extracyclical linkage between figured worlds and the knowledge economy.

5.5   Chapter summary

The BankART School offers courses for students to learn about art and architecture as it relates to Yokohama city and its *machizukuri*. This chapter studied one of its courses *Kore-Yoko Again 2*, the third edition of the *Kore-Yoko* course that was designed by architect and urban designer Takeshi Kitazawa. I discussed the Metabolism movement as a postwar national reconstruction project and a nationalist movement that introduced urban design as a practice of leveraging the *puissance* generated from crisis and change to design new configurations of networks and assemblages through an invented space. I explained the Metabolists' influence on Kitazawa's approach to urban design, particularly his method that projects a future vision to be worked backwards using a backcasting method. This approach structured the *Kore-Yoko* course that put forth a vision for the future of Yokohama city while facilitators had stirred the *puissance* of group discussions by inviting the class to break down this vision into manageable projects that would materialize a lifestyle that they also wished to live. I showed how our class was divided into groups to discuss different *machizukuri* topics and how facilitators have steered the class' *puissance* so each group not only articulated their *puissance* with existing artifacts and architectures in the city but also designed the users as well as the uses of those artifacts and architectures.

My main focus in this chapter was the group discussion on the topic of *tōjisha* that I also participated in. Our discussion was rockier than the other groups' discussions because we had conceptualized *tōjisha* as someone who is not just a resident or *kyojyūsha* of the city but someone who brings changes to the city, based on our understanding that *tōjisha* is someone who can make use of the mixed use zoning of Kannai-Kangai area. I discussed how our group referred to the cultural model of *ba* as the ground upon which the *tōjisha* emerged as a figure, but I also showed how our discussions revealed a schism in this cultural model. On the one hand the men in our group took the *ba* as a "worldview" to be realized through their guidance. They wished to teach the students about the artifacts and facilities of the city that allowed for people to have certain lifestyles that they wished to publicize. On the other hand the *ba* was, for the women, a social fabric that they wove through their everyday practices and social interactions. They wished to voice and share what they saw were obstacles that impeded them from doing so. While this schism was the source of *puissance* that drove our weekly discussions, the facilitators kept steering the *puissance* to impose a "worldview" that seemed to ignore the voices of women. As a rebuttal, I wrote an essay that I thought was relevant to this schism based on the contradiction that I saw from my own fieldwork, which was how the City had successfully eradicated sex trafficking and prostitution in Kogane-chō but the culture industry was still using well-known prostitutes from Yokohama for the city's publicity. I wrote an autobiographical essay that talked about my great aunt who became a war bride after meeting her American husband in Yokohama as a way to promote *tōjisha* as a storyteller who tells stories about their *lives*-in-Yokohama rather than scripting lifestyles that could be had in Yokohama.

The next chapter analyzes the discourse of *monozukuri* based on my participation at an educational program on traditional Japanese craftwork called the Nippon Brand Meister offered

by the organization Made In Japan Project in central Tokyo. Although this chapter is not related to my fieldwork in Yokohama city, it is relevant to this dissertation because it studies how Japan specialists confer symbolic power (Bourdieu 1991) upon this discourse by not only teaching about Japanese *monozukuri* as a cultural practice to continuously improve and excel at their craft but also demonstrating this knowledge through their professional practice. At the same time, speaking this discourse constitutes Japan specialists as agents of state hegemony who are identified by the knowledge and culture they impart as regimes of truth. Japan specialists thus mythologize *puissance* by turning artifacts into symbols of Japanese culture, but in doing so I maintain that they also nationalize and historicize the global race for creativity as a Japanese cultural tradition. As a result, the discourse of *monozukuri* represents the artifacts that figures like the walking tour guides have used to show 'the city' as made-in-Japan so that worlding cities like Yokohama maintains its historical continuity through its artifacts while they become constituted in an East Asian regional culture that they also produce.

Chapter 6   Conclusion

The postwar social structures that organized people's lives-in-the-city are undergoing a cataclysmic dissolution in post-recessionary Japan. Not only are the numbers of unemployment and flexible employment increasing but they have also led to a declining birth rate that is shifting the demographic ratio to an aging society. The aim of this dissertation has been to examine how cultural programs and events implemented by the City of Yokohama are rebuilding people's social lives in the city by generating a bottom-up *puissance* or the self-organizing power of communities in crisis. The City of Yokohama adopted the Creative City policy since 2004, a British cultural policy that has been transferred to more than a hundred cities across the world. While Creative City policy utilizes the power of culture and the arts or "creativity" as a means to resolve social and economic issues that permeate urban areas, this dissertation demonstrates that the City of Yokohama also implements this policy as a political strategy to co-opt artists who unintentionally produced civic spaces by organizing public events through their acts of *puissance*. The Creative City policy constitutes civic spaces autonomous from the state and private economy as the ground from which to develop volunteers as public figures that support the cultural production of Yokohama city.

Contrary to those scholars who argue that creativity drives the development of global city-regions however, this dissertation maintains that arts NPO and their volunteers are driving the development of Yokohama as a global city-region. For example, Alan J. Scott et al (2001) state that global city-regions develop by each drawing on the economic strength of a functional division of labor. Scott in particular develops this argument further by stating that urban forms emerge from the locational agglomeration of interrelated capital and labor that structures a "creative field" defined as "a set of interrelationships that stimulate and channel individual

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expressions of creativity" (2006: 8). Florida also argues that creativity drives cities to become global, but he attributes creativity to the capacity of individuals who "engage in complex problem solving that involves a great deal of independent judgment" such as those working in "science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music and entertainment whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology, and new creative content" (2012: 8). Contrary to their arguments, I have shown how government-affiliated arts NPO Koganecho Area Management Center and BankART 1929 are largely responsible for coordinating multiple stakeholders in the civic coproduction of Creative City programs and events. Although their coordinating practices take a backseat to the "democratic" citizen participation that is often publicized at the Creative City programs and events, civic coproduction cannot be achieved without the arts NPO that broker multiple stakeholders holding varying interests and their pedagogical practice of initiating volunteers into the art of worlding. Therefore, this dissertation argues that Yokohama's path to becoming a global city-region cannot be attributed to either the abstract, conceptual space of the "creative field" or to the occupational dispositions of the "creative class." Rather, the driver behind Yokohama's growth is the communities of practice (Wenger 1998) in which individuals voluntarily learn to become self-reflexive public figures who creatively manage multiple realities by engaging in communicative practices that performatively enact their lives-in-the-city that also show the city as a world-in-formation.

The social and economic problems addressed by the Creative City policy reveal how globalization is dividing cities today by a competing demand shaped on the one hand by the political reality of neoliberal capitalism and on the other hand an ontological reality of everyday life. Disseminating the city's cultural literacy through communities of practice is particularly

important for the City to engage volunteers in a reflexively shaped historicizing practice that helps to manage these multiple realities. By learning and presenting their cultural literacy of 'the city', the volunteers maintain the identity and history of the city while becoming initiated as "insider" members that participate in the coproduction of 'the city' as "culture" in the Japanese sense of the term *bunka*. *Bunka* refers to the acquisition and performance of cultural literacy that produces *tōjisha* or subjects of the figured 'city' in which people's identities and agency are dialectically and dialogically formed (Holland, Skinner, Caine and Lachicotte Jr. 1998). The discourse and knowledge that the City imparts as cultural literacy are understandably partial to the city and the state. Nevertheless, those who volunteer to participate do so with an awareness of the political nature of these communities of practice. As I discussed in Chapter 3, some volunteers acknowledged the asymmetry between paid staff members and volunteers, expressed their intention to not become used as "free labor," and almost all interpreted volunteering as an opportunity for self-cultivation. Moreover, individuals were not volunteering for the sole purpose of supporting the City's *machizukuri* but also because volunteering was pleasurable. They enjoyed learning and developing their own perspectives on art and the city, and enjoyed getting to know new people with whom, some claimed, the ethos of volunteering helped develop a different orientation to their social life from consumer practices. In this way *machizukuri* was in many ways supported by the volunteers' motivation to learn, socialize, develop friendships, and share an alternative ethos to consumer culture.

By participating in communities of practice, volunteers also learned how to use cultural artifacts and interpret the meaning of those uses. Holland, Skinner, Caine and Lachicotte Jr. emphasize the significance of artifacts that function as "a "pivot," a mediating or symbolic device… not just to organize a particular response but to pivot or shift into the frame of a

different world" (1998: 50). By teaching the meaning of cultural artifacts that are particular to Yokohama such as the *Orizuru* soda and the Yokohama Road or by teaching how to use artifacts like the map of Kogane-chō area, communities of practice provide volunteers with the cultural resources and mnemonic tools to learn, remember and talk about 'the city'. Volunteers become competent members of the figured 'city' through their habitual uses of artifacts, where competency can be gleaned from the members' communicative style, narrative form and/or a public profile. Communicative style is a style of speech that reflects the style of the neighborhood that can vary from upscale and formal to rugged and informal, whereas a competent narrative form allows members to weave images from the landscape to tell a story about the neighborhood in a way that also traces its history. Developing a personable public profile was also one of the important features for not only becoming recognized as a figure but also developing a personal relationship with the tourists-cum-consumers. Public profile of figures add symbolic value to the artifacts by associating the otherwise impersonal artifacts with their personality and allowing tourists-cum-consumers to remember the story behind those artifacts. Figures' competent demonstration of cultural literacy can therefore serve as a marketing strategy to "buy local" by accumulating soft power that attracts tourists-cum-consumers to willingly visit and spend money in the city rather than coercing them to do so.

Individuals voluntarily participate in the civic coproduction of cultural programs and events because these programs and events are not only educational and entertaining but they also engage them by stirring their imaginations and discussions about what their lives-in-the-city could be like. This dissertation demonstrated how the City of Yokohama publicizes a future design of the city, the "City of Ocean Yokohama Plan 2059," through lifelong learning courses like *Kore-Yoko*. By engaging students to discuss lifestyles that are not only possible in theory but

also feasible in practice, the City encourages students to become a *tōjisha* or a subject of the city who produces and lives those lifestyles that also publicize the city. Facilitators of *Kore-Yoko* introduced students to existing urban development projects that use public artifacts to scaffold their imaginations about potential lifestyles to be had in the city while instructing students to design the potential uses as well as the users of public artifacts. *Tōjisha*, a term that was initially used in reference to the 'party concerned' in legal proceedings, has become a term used by medical and social science practitioners to refer to the subject who uses public artifacts for the purpose of self-care and self-advocacy. The *tōjisha* talk at *Kore-Yoko* revealed a gendered division in the Japanese cultural model *ba* that, until the previous *Kore-Yoko* course, shaped a uniform worldview. The women objected to the men's suggestion to publish lifestyles that advertise the city by raising existing problems and obstacles that prevented them from becoming *tōjisha* or subjects of those lifestyles that the men merely wished to objectify and publicize for the sake of attracting the "right" people to the city. In an effort to see themselves as subjects living the lifestyles that were discussed in class, women felt that the lifestyles proposed by men were not realistic because they did not deal with issues that were important to them such as proper care for elders and foreigners or the provision of jobs for the residents of Yokohama city.

The cultural events that the City of Yokohama hosts under its Creative City policy may not, in and of themselves, resolve the social and economic problems that I stated in the Introduction; namely, the increasing numbers of unemployed and precariously employed workers that are not only contributing to the dissolution of postwar social structures but also shifting the demographic ratio towards an aging society in Japan. However, *puissance* generated through changes in social behavior and interactions have been a motivating and inspiring force for individuals to learn the cultural literacy necessary to participate in the civic coproduction of Creative City programs and

events. The use of Creative City programs and events as a public stage to make volunteers a more visible Supporter figure is helping to improve the image and status of volunteering, even though the image of a Supporter figure as a "democratic" social actor representing the principles of a "civil society" conceals the hegemonic constitution of civic spaces that ultimately reproduces the power of municipalities and their relation of representation with its citizens. Nevertheless, the Creative City programs and events have not only been effective in mobilizing and subjectivizing volunteers as a Supporter figure of Creative City programs and events. As the election of Yokohama city as the 2014 Culture City of East Asia reveals, Creative City programs and events also function as a political theater to build regional networks and stage visions of Yokohama as an East Asian city. Hence the Creative City programs and events that I study in this dissertation are also a pioneering effort by the City to seize the *puissance* of a dynamically transforming region.

The findings of this dissertation research contribute to the fields of anthropology, Japan studies and the literature on Creative City policy. Anthropologists have studied globalization through the forces of political economy that shapes the "cultural flows" of people, technology, money, images and ideas (Appadurai 1996). This model takes the imaginary as a social fact that shapes market-driven regional cultures in a neoliberal political and economic order that produces self-regulating subjects who act upon their own self-interests. Nevertheless, cultural flows under neoliberalism have also introduced risks to the ontological security of selves and relationships of trust within neighborhoods and cities. In Japan, this is reflected in the discourses of a "strange child" (Arai 2016) that problematize children's antisocial behavior such as *hikikomori* or social withdrawal, bullying, suicide and murder. This dissertation has shown how globalization is not only driven by the state's neoliberal governmentality but also through the cultural policies of

municipal governments that establish an autopoietic ontology of 'the city' through the volunteers' everyday communicative practices.

In addition, this dissertation contributes to Japan Studies by showing how the postwar social structures that organized discourses of family and work (Kondo 1990) and the cultural logic of Japanese self (Lebra 2004) are giving way to the dialectic of figure and ground. One of the arguments that I made in this dissertation is that the Creative City policy is a political strategy to constitute civic spaces as the ground from which to develop figures of 'the city'. By understanding figures as "evocative nodes that reveal relationships and forms of mediation between individual lives and wider social processes" (Barker, Harms and Lindquist 2013b: 166), anthropologists Barker, Harms and Lindquist situate figures in a historical context as a method of ethnographic writing. While the figures they describe are animated *by* the stories they tell or the media tells about them, I suggested that we might instead think of figures *as* the animating force that bring the stories, sights and visions of the city to life. Although this may seem like another way of saying the same thing, it has profound political consequences as ethnographic descriptions of the figure can mythologize rather than critically examine the contradiction they conceal through their performative enactments of citizenship. Ethnographic writing can therefore become complicit with the place-making and place-branding strategies of state and municipalities. Instead of describing, this dissertation used the concept *puissance* in order to explain the politics and poetics that go into the production of historicity through the dialectic of figure and ground.

This dissertation also contributes to the Creative City literature by providing a case study of Yokohama city, Japan. Creative City literature tends to focus on the policy's impact on economic development and self-development of workers in creative industries. For example in the United

Kingdom, studies have shown that different sub-sectors of the creative industries were highly networked and worked in "clusters" (O'Connor 2010: 35). Creative clusters are considered to facilitate collaboration among complementary firms that could work flexibly through informal networks on temporary projects. These clusters structure the material and social environment that contribute to not only economic profit but also self-development among creative workers. Richard Florida, for example, argues that the "creative class" or self-enterprising individuals who facilitate the cross-fertilization of ideas thrive in clusters where they build their professional networks. Nevertheless, the Creative City policy as applied in Western cities does not smoothly transfer over to Asian cities. For example, creative clusters rarely develop organically in places like China where the government organizes and controls clusters for urban development (Gu 2014). Moreover, artists may not develop a productive working relationship with one another even when they share the material and social resources of their creative cluster, which was the case among artists from Telok Kulau Studios in Singapore (Kong 2009). Like many other Asian cities such as Hong Kong and Macau, the City of Yokohama implements the Creative City policy for its human capital development (Mok 2009). However, this dissertation has shown that the subject of human capital development extends to the volunteers who are organized into communities of practice so they may learn the cultural literacy of the city to become a Supporter figure that also coproduces 'the city' as a figured world (Holland, Lachicotte Jr., Skinner and Caine 1998).

In this dissertation, I used the concept *puissance* in order to show the central role played by the volunteers in bringing the stories, sights and visions of 'the city' promoted by the City of Yokohama to life. While Creative City programs and events are a policy-directed practice, they cannot be accomplished by the top-down *pouvoir* or administrative power alone. I argued that a

bottom-up *puissance* or the self-organizing power of communities-in-crisis is the driving force behind the development of Yokohama into becoming a global city-region. In particular, I explained how *puissance* compels and guides the volunteers' everyday practices that sustain the ontology of the figured 'city'. Nevertheless, this research triggered further questions about the artists and their role in the cultural production of Yokohama city as part of an East Asian region. My next research will therefore study select government supported artists in resident (AIR) programs and their institutional networks. In particular, I am interested in learning about the artists and their processes of producing contemporary art during their residency. My objective is to critically examine whether their works of contemporary art might be shaping an ontic structural realism of regional communities that conceal as they visually reveal the political to reproduce Japan's "dual civil society" (Pekkanen 2006). Furthermore, I intend to study intellectual property rights as the regulatory framework of contemporary art production so as to understand how it affects the artists' control over their work in contemporary art markets. A future research on AIR programs in Japan will not only allow us to better understand their role in the production of an East Asian regional culture. It will also allow us to subject this government directed regionalization process for critical examination and intervention with the aim of revealing the political in the aesthetic practices and images for the realization of a transnational public sphere.

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