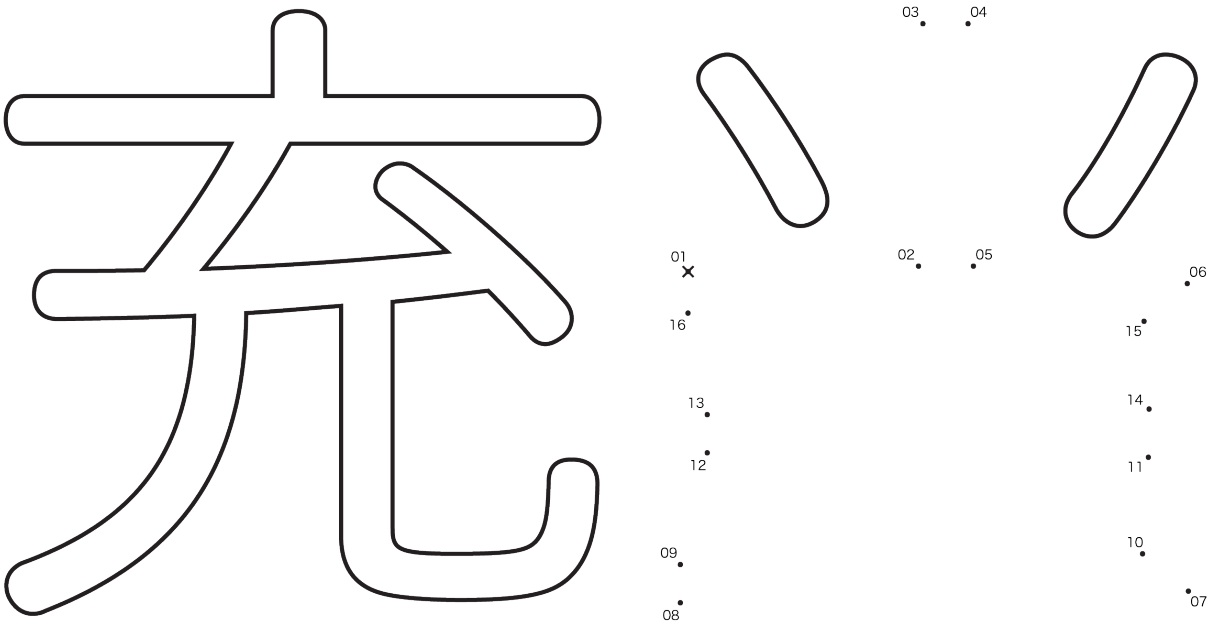
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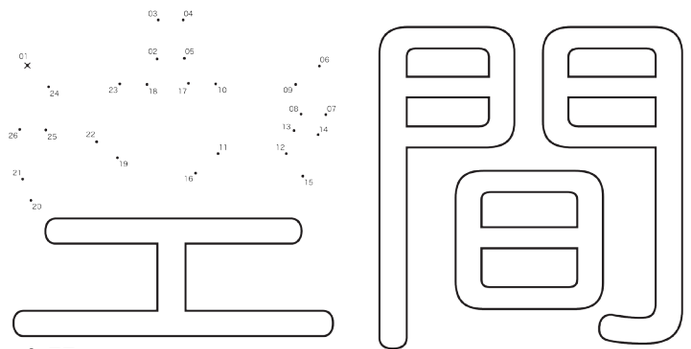

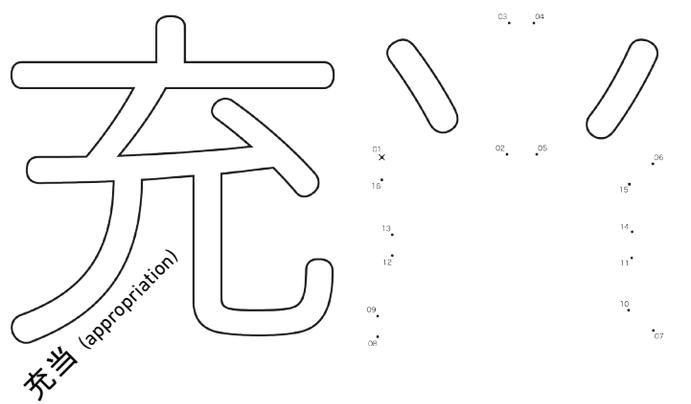

The reader connects the dots
and traces an outline to bond

his understanding
his perspective
his cultural background
his experience
his knowledge
his body
& his mind.

Appropriation of Public Spaces in Contemporary Japan:

an Architectural & Sociological account of Democracy, through *Behaviourology*.

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Introduction-

Abstract

As stated by Henri Lefebvre, social theories are essential to comprehend the dynamics of public spaces. This research investigates behaviours and markers of appropriation in order to define space in the Japanese's social and political context. According to Lefebvre, the essential, the foundation and the meaning of space come from its occupation, investment, and appropriation; in other words, it comes from inhabitation. But of course, the relationship between the city and its citizens begins with the perception that they have of their environment, therefore, an interesting approach is to reconsider the role of the architect when it is assumed that space is built by the perceptions, culture, and imagination of the people. As indicated by the Umwelt concept of Jakob von Uexküll, "the environment of a human is created by the sum of his experiences."[1] It is supposed that the architect is obsolete because the occupants experience space through their own interpretation of what space is, no matter how it looks or what functions it fulfils.

However, the true mission of the architect, according to Lefebvre, is to create or produce "global space as a social support for a transformed daily life, open to multiple possibilities,"[2] and by doing so, the East will reveal itself to the Western eye. As the research is grounded in contemporary Japan, the idea of Mitsuo Inoue defining exterior or public space (*Freiraum*) as one of the most important components of Japanese architecture and as a tool acting as links in a chain to connect the city will be explored. Space, in his conception, is a void holding the whole or the society together.[3] Another thinker, Yi-Fu Tuan, also states that space becomes a place when it acquires a meaning and is defined in consciousness.[4] In fact, place is defined as security and space as theoretical *euclidian* freedom. Therefore, "place" physically moves through space and through the collective imagination. Space is defined all at one, temporally by individual consciousness and conceptions (imagination), by social constructions of the mind (perceptions) and according to the actions and interactions (experience) of the users. The architect, hence, acts as an interventionist and offers a platform of demands and belonging.

1 Kull, Kalevi & Cobley, Paul. *Umwelt. The Routledge Companion to Semiotics*. London: Routledge. 2010. p.348–349.

2 Lefebvre, Henri. *La production de l'espace*. Paris: Economica. 1974. p.485.

3 Inoue, Mitsuo. *Space in Japanese Architecture*. New York & Tokyo: John Weatherhill Inc. 1985. p.3.

4 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. p.3.

Social anthropologist Shirley Ardener further postulates that space defines people who perform in it and people define space itself.[5] In other words, public space exists to enable its appropriation and is constituted and grounded through the actions of the society in which it evolves. As Christian Dimmer puts it, "a unified and integrated public space is considered a universal panacea (or a remedy in order to have a healthy society)."[6]

While it is insulting to ideas to be reduced to what one says or writes, it teaches that there are avenues other than speech - such as embodiment to express oneself.[7] **The phenomenological research, therefore, seeks to demonstrate how behaviours, as a medium of expression, are a democratic vote to be considered in architecture and for the development of cities.** This research is contextualized in Japan because the conception of public and private spaces is blurred and the legislation in place (e.g. "The Fueiho Act") is very strict about the appropriation authorized.

The research focuses on specific types of appropriation encountered during the field study and are classified according to their length. These are (temporary) landmarks, transitional; (between temporary and permanent) functional, event, performance; (permanent) cyclic, primary; and finally (permanent expression) aesthetic, functional, residual. The observations anchor a global understanding of current issues in Japan and aim to establish the role of the architect as mandatory in a democratic society since he provides an adequate framework, sensor, and support on which citizens can express their needs, values and desires. The research also aims to understand how architecture makes us experience ourselves as complete embodied beings.[8] Evidently, the ultimate meaning and purpose of our built environment are to enable us to communicate and ground ourselves but also to direct our own consciousness back to the world and towards our own sense of self and being.

Behaviourology, a term brought forward by Atelier Bow-Wow to define the study of behaviours, will be a central theme in the thesis. Philosophical investigations on human embodiment and recent democratic research in architecture will be provided to support the theorectical framework of first sections.

5 Brumann, Christoph & Schulz, Evelyn. *Urban Spaces in Japan: Cultural and Social Perspectives*. London: Routledge. 2015. p.168.

6 Dimmer, Christian & Solomon, Golani, Erez & Klinkers, Koen V. *Shinonome - New Concepts of Public Space* in Summaries of Technical Papers of Annual Meeting. Tokyo: Architectural Institute of Japan. 2005. p.925-926.

7 Richie, Donald. *Viewed Sideways: Writings on Culture and Style in Contemporary Japan*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press. 2011. p.14.

8 Pallasmaa, Juhani. *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*. West Sussex: Wiley. 2012. p.13.

Purpose & Justification

Furthermore, the research questions the pairing of architectural practice and theory that is particularly oriented towards the processes involving citizens in the decisions regarding the evolution of their city. If architecture sometimes fails to incorporate citizens' needs, values and beliefs in design it surely is because the importance of appropriation is not regarded as a tool and indicator in contemporary practice. The *embodied democracy* analyzed in the present research acts as a solution for a more conscious and sensible development of future urban spaces. If architecture acts on users, it is also the users that define and magnify architecture. Both parties act on each other to create an enhanced experience. As said by Borges, "the taste of the apple lies in the contact of the fruit with the palate, not in the fruit itself; in a similar way poetry lies in the meeting of the poem and the reader, not in the lines of symbols printed on the pages of a book. What is essential is the aesthetic act, the thrill, the almost physical emotion that comes with each reading."[9] Again in a similar way, architecture awaits its appropriation; the users act as the palate and the magic of taste happens when they meet with the built environment.

Architectural conception gets confronted to the homogenization of space but has a role in the maintenance of differentiation, and qualitative experiences in space. The architect should observe, analyze and incorporate citizens' needs but should also mediate the world and the people. It is he, who provides a horizon of understanding of our existential condition and who constructs the settings to a dignified life.[10] "The timeless task of architecture is to create embodied existential metaphors that concretize and structure man's being in the world. Images of architecture reflect and externalize ideas and images of life; architecture materializes our images of ideal life. Buildings and towns enable us to structure, understand, and remember who we are. Architecture enables us to place ourselves in the continuum of culture."[11] As one of the goals of the research is to ground society's behaviours in a global understanding, the analysis of certain types of appropriation will be introduced through the social context in which they emerge. The perception of public space in contemporary Japan will, therefore, be dissected through four main themes; democracy, embodiment, phenomenology and finally, architectural practice and aesthetics.

9 Holl, Steven & Pérez-Gómez, Alberto & Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Questions of perception: phenomenology of architecture*. San Francisco: William K. Stout. 2006. p.28.

10 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*, New York: Routledge. 2013. p.228.

11 Holl, Steven & Pérez-Gómez, Alberto & Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Questions of perception: phenomenology of architecture*. San Francisco: William K. Stout. 2006. p.37.

Although, since the emphasis of intellectual and conceptual dimensions in architecture contributes to the disappearance of the physical, sensual and embodied essence of architecture,[12] an analysis of urban behaviours will follow. This specific section proposes a sensuous abstraction coming from the analysis of body movement in Japanese cities. **The expressions of appropriation in public spaces will be considered, with their social context, as architectural and sociological indicators of the dynamism of a society.** Hence, "the status of architecture is not permanent but rather relative to the functions it performs as a symbol at a given time. Therefore, it makes no sense to search for an essence that would distinguish simple buildings from architecture, for one and the same building can function as both. Thus, it is inappropriate to ask 'What is architecture?' One should ask, instead, 'When is architecture?' The answer is a functional one: Just as an object may be a symbol, at certain times and under certain circumstances and not at others, so an object may be a work of art at some times and not at others. Indeed, just by virtue of functioning as a symbol in a certain way does an object become, while so

12 Holl, Steven & Pérez-Gómez, Alberto & Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Questions of perception: phenomenology of architecture*. San Francisco: William K. Stout. 2006. p.29.

functioning, a work of art."[13]

Temporality and ephemerality are crucial factors in the definition of architecture and its appropriation, thus the behaviours and typologies of appropriation will be categorized according to their length. It seems obvious that behavioural emerging contexts include the tempos of a culture and a city. Accordingly, "if one attentively observes a crowd during peak times and especially if one listens to its rumour, one discerns flows in the apparent disorder and order which is signalled by the rhythms: chance or predetermined encounters, hurried carryings or nonchalant meanderings of people going home to withdraw from the outside, or leaving their homes to make contact with the outside, business people and vacant people – so many elements which make up a polyrhythmy (...) Every rhythm implies the relation of a time with a space, a localized time, or if one wishes, a temporalized place. Rhythm is always linked to such and such a place, to its place, whether it be to the heart, the fluttering of the eyelids, the movements of the street, or the tempo of a waltz. This does not prevent it from being a time, that is an aspect of a movement and a becoming."[14] While analyzing the mutability of space according to its occupants, it was realized that time or length was a determinant influence factor. Cultures all have their own rhythms, and in Japan, even if the rhythms of the West have been rigorously applied, the pulse of old Asia is still felt. As architecture helps the occupants in grasping the pulse of the city, their behaviours are an expression of the tempos regulated by the environment, Even if behaviours act as an instrument of measure to bound not only space but time also, it cannot be used in Japan as a weapon and cannot be used to indicate virtue (hardworking, efficient) or vice (lax, late for appointments).[15] The interdependence of space and time in behaviourology involves "the dialectics of external and internal space, physical and spiritual, material and mental, unconscious and conscious priorities concerning the senses as well as their relative roles and interactions, have an essential impact on the nature of the arts and architecture."[16]

13 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*, New York: Routledge. 2013. p.87-88.

14 Lefebvre, Henri. *Wrtings on Cities*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. 1996. p.230.

15 Richie, Donald. *Viewed Sideways: Writings on Culture and Style in Contemporary Japan*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press. 2011. p.33.

16 Pallasmaa, Juhani. *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*. West Sussex: Wiley. 2012. p.19.

Why Japan?

As written by Edward Said: "The more one is able to leave one's cultural home, the more easily is one able to judge it, and the whole world as well, with the spiritual detachment and generosity necessary for true vision. The more easily, too, does one assess oneself and alien cultures with the same combination of intimacy and distance."[17] There is freedom in no longer being controlled by our own mores; it sheds light on Japan's own behaviours and particularities. Anchoring the research in Japan enables a thorough understanding of specific issues that both society and architecture are facing. Although, as Roland Barthes states, "Orient and Occident cannot be taken here as 'realities' to be compared and contrasted historically, philosophically, culturally, politically. (I, just as he) are not lovingly gazing toward an Oriental essence - the Orient is a matter of indifference, merely providing a reserve of gestures whose manipulation - whose invented interplay - allows to 'entertain' the idea of an unheard-of symbolic system, one altogether detached from our own. What can be addressed, in the consideration of the Orient, is not other symbols, another metaphysics, another wisdom (...) it is the possibility of difference, of a mutation, of a revolution in the propriety of symbolic systems."[18] **His conception of an oriental reality applied to architecture translates the analysis of cultural symbols to subject or people. The citizens are the objects of signification.** The research empowers the users of architecture. As Barthes stresses the importance of the envelope in the wrapping of a gift, I would stress that it is the gift that defines what the envelope will look like. This metaphorical comparison between a present and its wrapping applies greatly when talking about architecture. "It appears insignificant, laughable, vile: the pleasure, field of the signifier, has been taken: the package is not empty, but emptied: to find the object (the user in this case) which is in the package (space) or the signified which is in the sign is to discard it: what the Japanese carry, with great energy, are actually empty signs. For there is in Japan a profusion of what we might call: the instruments of transport; they are of all kinds, of all shapes, of all substances: packages, pouches, sacks, valises, linen wrappings, (urban spaces) every citizen in the street has some sort of bundle, an empty sign, energetically protected, vigorously transported, as if the finish, the framing, the hallucinatory outline which establishes the Japanese object destined it to a generalized transport. The richness of the thing and the profundity of meaning are discharged only at the price of a triple quality imposed on all fabricated objects: that they be precise, mobile, and empty."[19] The importance of the present or of the user of space, therefore, lays in its emptiness, its void, and more precisely its potentiality. The user could be anyone and its wrapping should act as the medium delivering the message lying therein. Architecture delivers the potentiality of actions that could be performed by its users as the envelope of a gift unravels the possibilities of the gift it hides. Although in Japan, there has been a manifestation of authority throughout the ages in architecture,[20] meaning that buildings or more broadly, the built environment, communicates, convinces and even coerces, not the object within, not the users of space, but the state's ideas and messages. The political and social contexts are thus essential for the understanding of the Japanese interferences in the public space.

17 Richie, Donald. *Viewed Sideways: Writings on Culture and Style in Contemporary Japan*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press. 2011. p.12.

18 Barthes, Roland. *Empire of signs*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd. 1982. p.3-4.

19 Ibid. p.46-47.

20 Brumann, Christoph & Schulz, Evelyn. *Urban Spaces in Japan: Cultural and Social Perspectives*. London: Routledge. 2015. p. 38.

Furthermore, Japanese's conception of space speaks a lot about the context of behavioural studies. As expressed by Yi-Fu Tuan, citizens from different cultures differ in how they divide up their world, assign values to its parts, and measure them. Space is an abstract term for a complex set of ideas; thus, "ways of dividing (space) up vary enormously in intricacy and sophistication, as do techniques of judging size and distance for example. Nonetheless, certain cross-cultural similarities exist, and they rest ultimately on the fact that man is the measure of all things. This is to say, if we look for fundamental principles of spatial organization we find them in two kinds of facts: the posture and structure of the human body, and the relations between human beings."[21] Instead of asking the question: Why Japan?, I wonder: Why not Japan?; What is so peculiar in Japanese *behaviourology* that mandates a greater justification than occidental countries? I have decided to focus on a point of analysis common to every culture and every country in the analysis of space. This common trait and basic unit in phenomenology is the universality of the human body as a tool of observation and of analysis.

Space is divided and rationalized by the human body, especially in the Japanese culture where tatamis act as a 1:1 scale with the human body and are used as a unit of measurement for the ratio and division of rooms or spaces in architecture.[22] It is indicated, as said, that certain spatial divisions and values owe their existence and meaning to the human body, and also that distance - a spatial term - is closely tied to terms expressive of interpersonal relationships.[23] Furthermore, isn't it the relation towards embodiment more than towards culture that influences our perception of the environment? For instance, the experience of constricted or spacious space is related to our sense of freedom. Tuan asks, "If space is a symbol of openness and freedom, how will the presence of other people affect it? What concrete experiences enable us to assign distinctive meanings to space and spaciousness, to populations density and crowding?"[24] It is in this state of mind that there is an emphasis on phenomenology, embodiment, and perceptions instead of specific cultural traits and influences in our comprehension of space.

21 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. p.34.

22 Richie, Donald. *Viewed Sideways: Writings on Culture and Style in Contemporary Japan*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press. 2011. p.17.

23 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. p.50.

24 Ibid. p.50.

This study is all about the social subjects, not the host country. A common tool in travel guides is usually a brief lexicon which strangely enough concerns only certain boring and useless things such as hotels, barbers, bars, hospitals, prices. Yet what is important? Meetings. The only lexicon that counts is the one which refers to the rendezvous; the meeting of occupants in a specific environment.[25] "(Japan) can be known only by an activity of an ethnographic kind: you must orient yourself in it not by book or by address, but by walking, by sight, by habit, by experience; here every discovery is intense and fragile, it can be repeated or recovered only by memory of the trace it has left in you."[26] Contemplation of the universal language of the body through many travels is a key specifically since the Japanese language can act as a limitation and barrier. Hence, it is indicated to focus on the comprehension of bodily instead of spoken languages. There are common grounds in the unknown language; there is communication even when there is no speech. "Now it happens that in this country (Japan), the empire of signifiers is so immense, so in excess of speech, that the exchange of signs remains of a fascinating richness, mobility, and subtlety, despite the opacity of the language, sometimes even as a consequence of that opacity. The reason for this is that in Japan the body exists, acts, shows itself, gives itself, without hysteria, without narcissism, but according to a pure - though subtly discontinuous - erotic project. It is not the voice (with which we identify the 'rights' of the person), which communicates (...), but the whole body (eyes, smile, hair, gestures, clothing), which sustains with you a sort of babble that the perfect domination of the codes strips of all regressive, infantile character. (...) **It is the other's entire body which has been known, savoured, received, and which has displayed its own narrative, its own text.**[27]

25 Barthes, Roland. *Empire of signs*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd. 1982. p.13.

26 Sand, Jordan. *Tokyo Vernacular: common spaces, local histories, found objects*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2013. p.27.

27 Barthes, Roland. *Empire of signs*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd. 1982. p.9-10.


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Who's the observer?

Similarly, to the language of the body, the language of architecture has common grounds through cultures. On the subject, Atelier Bow-Wow explains the importance of behaviours in architectural conception and realization. "(Architects across the globe) have strived to create liveable, viable, and enjoyable spaces, all the while addressing several overlapping concerns - architectural expression, architectural dimension, and their complex relationships to capital and generational change. At this point in time, the word 'behaviour' comes to mind as a recurrent interest. **Behaviour could be central to a hypothesis for understanding the correlations between human life, nature, and the built environment.** To contrast: the idea of 'function' in architecture has developed through the biological understanding of animals' anatomical systems as discovered in a laboratory setting. But in the observation of living things, such methods tend to align more closely with that of the ecological than the functional. It is akin to investigating an animal in its natural habitat, as well as its relationship to other animals within a larger network. The method of study has been taken up not only by biology but also by sociology and anthropology, as they share a common threads in their evaluation of modernity's central axioms. (...) Following this line of thought, the concept of behaviour need not apply solely to human beings, and we can discern at least three main classifications relating explicitly to architecture and urban space. Of course, the first is, still, the behaviour of human beings. Next, is the behaviour of the natural elements, such as light, heat, water and wind. Third is the behaviour of buildings as observed in their larger context or environment."[28] For the research, the first classification: behaviourology in urban public space, is the only one taken into account.

Architects analyse human behaviours a certain way through specific functional and aesthetic points of view. The built environment is internalized as the architect's own body; "movement, balance, distance and scale are felt unconsciously through the body as tension in the muscular system and in the positions of the skeleton and inner organs. As the work interacts with the body of the observer the experience mirrors these bodily sensations of the maker. Consequently, architecture is communication from the body of the architect directly to the body of the inhabitant. (...) When experiencing a structure, we unconsciously mimic its configuration with bones and muscles (...). The sense of gravity is the essence of all architectonic structures and great architecture makes us conscious of gravity and earth. Architecture strengthens verticality of our experience of the world. At the same time, architecture makes us aware of the depth of earth (...)."[29] Thus, the observer, in this case an architect, places his body as an influence of the partial views prioritized, but also localized on a specific ground-based point of view. The observer embodies the built environment to internalize the potential experience of fellow occupants. Although, the experience of the city and the field observations are always fragmented, oriented, perspectival and partial. Within the experiential range of enmeshed space, "we understand distinct objects, distinct fields, as a 'whole,' but the experience (of the observer) - unlike a static image - consists of partial views through urban settings, which offer a different kind of involvement or investigation than the bird's eye view, which is typically used by architects and planners."[30] There is a growing concern in architecture regarding the dominance of vision and the suppression of other senses in the way design is taught, conceived and critiqued.[31] The consequent disappearance of sensory and sensual qualities in architecture translates in this research through an interest in the significance of all the senses, both philosophically and in terms of experience. In fact, the visual perceptions and memories are fused with the body. The sense of touch integrates the experience of both the world and the self. The body is the medium of communication; it is the navel of our own world. Therefore, the body positions itself as not only the viewing point of a central perspective but also as the locus of reference, memory, imagination and integration of the observer.[32] All the senses become extensions of the tactile sense. "Our contact with the world takes place at the boundary line of the self through specialised parts of the enveloping membrane. **It is evident that 'life-enhancing' architecture has to address all the senses simultaneously, and help to fuse our image of self with the experience of the world.** The essential mental task of a building is accommodation and integration. They project our human measures and sense of order into the measureless and meaningless natural space. Architecture does not make us inhabit worlds of mere fabrication and fantasy; it articulates the experience of our being-in-the-world and strengthens our sense of reality and self."[33]

28 Atelier Bow-Wow. *The Architectures of Atelier Bow-Wow: Behaviorology*. New York: Rizzoli. 2010. p.8.

29 Holl, Steven & Pérez-Gómez, Alberto & Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Questions of perception: phenomenology of architecture*. San Francisco: William K. Stout. 2006. p.37.

30 Ibid. p.48.

31 Pallasmaa, Juhani. *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*. West Sussex: Wiley. 2012. p.11.

32 Ibid. p.12.

33 Idem.

The perceptions of observers developed according to their patterns, movements and intentions into space overlap the urban built perspectives. It is thus only through phenomenology that the architect can incorporate his incomplete, perspectival, experience of space, into his vision and fabrication of architecture.[34] The phenomenological approach enables the understanding of daily spatial practices to be properly situated in a much broader context. The study of behaviours, which is usually inscribed in the realm of social relationships, expands to include nature and the whole of the cosmos, resulting in an integration of the human imagination. Indeed, the built environment, the perceptions of users and the interactions of the two are taken into account. **Architectural behaviourology "calls attention especially to the interdependence of behaviours at different scales (and time) - with architecture as its site and support."**[35] Japanese public spaces are even defined as animated areas where different behaviours synchronize and overlap. "Japanese's public spaces have their own flavour, but they stick to the universal definition of public spaces. The common grounds, the interweaving of codes, references, discrete assertions, anthological gestures multiplies the interactions (...) out into the entire space: what is begun by one is continued by the next, without interval." [36] The manifestations within those spaces help the differentiations of the Japanese urban spaces that are said to compete with the vibrancy of the western-style plaza. Behaviours overlap to create synergy, which can be clearly recognized even if there are no buildings. "When those embodied rhythms emit a certain suitable frequency - and correspond to a suitable material or location - they can begin to form the shape of buildings and of urban space."[37]

34 Holl, Steven & Pérez-Gómez, Alberto & Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Questions of perception: phenomenology of architecture*. San Francisco: William K. Stout. 2006. p.55.

35 Atelier Bow-Wow. *The Architectures of Atelier Bow-Wow: Behaviorology*. New York: Rizzoli. 2010. p.11.

36 Barthes, Roland. *Empire of signs*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd. 1982. p.55.

37 Atelier Bow-Wow. *The Architectures of Atelier Bow-Wow: Behaviorology*. New York: Rizzoli. 2010. p.12.

Of course, the locals, the natives, and the visitors use the urban space differently and accordingly to their perceptions, needs and so forth. They each focus on different aspects of their surroundings. Perhaps their views of the environment are of no great significance, but from this standing point, they matter because they imply not only a perception but also a vision; a point of view of what the public realm should be like and which needs it should fulfill. We may even say that only the visitor and particularly the tourist have valid viewpoints because their perceptions are only a matter of using their eyes to compose pictures. "The native, by contrast, has a complex attitude derived from his immersion in the totality of his environment. The visitor's viewpoint, being simple, is easily stated. Confrontation with novelty may also prompt him to express himself. The complex attitude of the native, on the other hand, can be expressed by him only with difficulty and indirectly through behaviour, local tradition, lore, and myth."[38] As previously explained, the social space as a marketing and political tool cannot exclude or neglect the fleeting impressions of people passing through. It appears obvious that past experiences and backgrounds (cultural and what not) are of great influence on the regards users lay on the environment, whether they are natives or tourists.

"Any landscape is not composed only of what lies before our eyes but what purpose lies within our head."[39] Following this train of thought, it is understood that a user's knowledge and belongings are an extension of his personality and behaviour. Previous experiences influence someone's views and use of the urban space; "the awareness of the past is an important element in the love of place. Patriotic rhetoric has always stressed the roots of a people."[40] Even more so, architects and designers help the stimulation of history through the use of monuments and symbols. "Nonliterate peoples can be strongly attached to their home grounds. They may lack the chronological sense of irreversible events characteristic of the modern Western man, but when they try to explain their loyalty to a place they either point at the bonds of nurture, or they reach into history. (...) Love of home, longing for home, these are dominating motives which constantly re-appear. The love of the home ground is accounted for historically."[41]

38 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1974. p.63.

39 Meinig, Donald W. *The Beholding Eye*: in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979. p.34.

40 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1974. p.99.

41 Idem.

Indeed, the sentiment towards place is coupled with the term "topophilia." Yi-Fu Tuan examined the nature of the sentiment and enhanced the role of place or environment providing images that provoked more than a diffuse, unattached feeling. These images or memories, taken from the environment, Tuan continues, do not mean that the environment has "determined" them; nor need we believe that certain environment have the irresistible power to excite topophilic feelings. "Environment may not be the direct cause of topophilia but environment provides the sensory stimuli, which as perceived images lend shape to our joys and ideals. Sensory stimuli are potentially infinite: that which we choose to attend (value or love) is an accident of individual temperament, purpose, and of the cultural forces at work at a particular time."[42]

As for an outsider architect observing the behaviours of locals, the same conclusion is set forth. The term and concept "topophilia" is useful in the way that it can be defined broadly to include all of the human being's affective ties with the material environment. The outsider's perspective and evaluation are in most cases essentially aesthetic. The visitor or cultural outsider can only judge by the appearance by some formal canon of beauty. It is thus important that he also understands the differences standing between the aesthetics of his host country and his own. It is problematic that any country can be defined truly by another since it remains true that "any difference is assumed as a difference or particularity from whoever is doing the defining."[43] An overview of Japanese aesthetics will thus be laid out to exclude or minimize misinterpretation on the observer's part. As stated by Yi-Fu Tuan, "a special effort is required (from the outsider) to empathize with the lives and values of the inhabitants. (...) The outsider's enthusiasm, no less than his critical stance, may be superficial. (...) Obviously, the visitor's judgement is often valid. His main contribution is the fresh perspective. The human being is exceptionally adaptable. Beauty or ugliness - each tends to sink into his subconscious mind as he learns to live in his world. The visitor is often able to perceive merits and defects in an environment that are no longer visible to the resident."[44]

42 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1974. p.113.

43 Richie, Donald. *Viewed Sideways: Writings on Culture and Style in Contemporary Japan*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press. 2011. p.62-63.

44 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1974. p.64-65.

Indeed, the comprehensive paradigm selected using the phenomenological attitude tries to explain everything that makes sense in the beholder or the subjective observer seeking to understand the experiences of the users as well as their consciousness, imagination, linguistics and aesthetics beliefs. "The response may be tactile, a delight in the feel of air, water, earth. More permanent and less easy to express are the feelings that one has regarding a place because it is home, the locus of memories, and the means of gaining a livelihood. Topophilia is not the strongest of human emotions. When it is compelling we can be sure that the place or environment has become the carrier of emotionally charged events or perceived as a symbol."[45] Obviously, advocating such a method for the research involves the wish of objectifying as far as possible the analysis of the observations. It is understood that interpretation is, in essence, closing other possibilities of understanding, which is not to be valorised in this context.

45 Ibid. p.93.

The phenomenological attitude is first an attitude of receptivity, openness to the world. The field of possibilities in which the "phenomenological gaze" has its importance leaves room for discovery and interpretation.

The study of encountered behaviours will thus be made analytically, while a priority is given to the experience of the subject, in this case, the architect-observer soaking up the information from the foreign environment. Specific relationship between time and the experience of place will be examined briefly. "The main points are these: (1) If time is conceived as flow or movement then a place is a pause. In this view our human time is marked by stages as human movement in space is marked by pauses. Just as time may be represented by an arrow, a circular orbit, or the path of a swinging pendulum, so do many movements in space or place. (2) While it takes time to form an attachment to place, the quality, and intensity of experience matters more than simple duration. (3) Being rooted in a place is a different kind of experience from having and cultivating a 'sense of place.' A truly rooted community may have shrines and monuments, but it is unlikely to have museums and societies for the preservation of the past. The effort to evoke a sense of place and of the past is often deliberate and conscious. To the extent that the effort is conscious it is the mind at work, and the mind - if allowed its imperial sway - will annul the past by making it all present knowledge."[46]

46 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. p.198.

This analysis of the appropriation of space could be depicted as a haiku; it is an exact depiction of reality, but it is also a combination of signifier and signified, a suppression of politeness and social constructs which usually "exceed or perforate the semantic relation"; the adequacy has something musical about it and translates into a music of meanings but not necessarily sounds or actions.[47] Therefore, the meaning attributed to certain behaviours plays a melody in the eyes of the beholder. Although the melody is distinct from one observer to the next and we, Westerners can barely understand certain Japanese behaviours since "for us, to attack meaning is to hide or to invert it, but never to 'absent' it."[48] "The West moistens everything with meaning, like an authoritarian religion which imposes baptism on entire peoples."[49]

47 Barthes, Roland. *Empire of signs*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd. 1982. p.70.

48 Ibid. p.62.

49 Ibid. p.70.

On the other hand, Japan exposes its emptiness. In theater, food, architecture and even relationships, **what is put in its place is the action necessary to the production of the result, not the result itself**. "Work is substituted for inwardness."[50] "The Western eye is subject to a whole mythology of the soul, central and secret, whose fire, sheltered in the orbital cavity, radiates toward a fleshy, sensuous, passionate exterior; but the Japanese face is without moral hierarchy; it is entirely alive, even vivid, because its morphology cannot be read 'in depth' "[51] but only in surface.

50 Ibid. p.62.

51 Ibid. p.102.

Theoretical & Practical Approach

The moment the Occidental eye is laid on the *Oriental* society, a cultural cleavage was opened. The role of culture traces the outline of people's perception towards their environment. This conditioning is done through different experience, socioeconomic background, and aim evaluating it, and also through how, as society and culture evolve, attitude toward an environment can change and even reverse itself over time. "The effect of the physical setting acts on perceptions, attitudes, and worldview, proceeding from the simple to the complex: from the impact of environment on the interpretation of visual cues to the structuring of the world based on the major physical characteristic of the habitat."[52] Since the influences have to be taken into account to study behaviourology, the theoretical approach involves a survey of social concepts influencing the perceptions of the users of space. In *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre identifies three methodological precepts helping to set basis on the theoretical framework. Those precepts are listed as: "spatial practice" (physical space, perceived space); "representations of space" (conceptual space, conceived space); and "representational spaces" (lived space). Each of those will be taken into account for the research; the two first precepts will assert the second chapter; the Social Context, and the third precept will be analysed through the third chapter; Typology of Appropriation. It is noted that "Lefebvre's spatial theory was always discussed using schemas of binary oppositions: 'representations of space' vs. 'representational space,' architect vs. user, 'creating' vs. 'using,' and so forth. However, those, as myself, who feel that architects are fraught with 'otherness,' offer a different interpretation of Lefebvre's theory. They feel that lively architecture results from synergy that develops between 'creating' and 'using.' Most importantly, we view both 'representations of space' and 'representational space' as mediators of 'spatial practice' (i.e. physical space)."[53]

52 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1974. p.75.

53 Atelier Bow-Wow. *The Architectures of Atelier Bow-Wow: Behaviorology*. New York: Rizzoli. 2010. p.328.

Working with both practical and theoretical issues, the human experience becomes difficult to articulate. Moreover, as previously stated, while it is insulting to ideas to be reduced to what one says (in this case nothing at all since I do not understand Japanese), it, more importantly, teaches that there are avenues other than speech - such as embodiment.[54] We are still far from finding devices that measure satisfactorily the quality of a feeling or aesthetic response. "What we cannot say in an acceptable scientific language we tend to deny or forget. A geographer speaks as though his knowledge of space and place were derived exclusively from books, maps, aerial photographs, and structured field surveys. He writes as though people were endowed with mind and vision but no other sense with which to apprehend the world and find meaning in it. He and the architect-planner tend to assume familiarity - the fact that we are oriented in space and at home in place - rather than describe and try to understand what 'being-in-the-world' is truly like."[55] The impossibility of describing the relationship the observer has towards his environment or his subject, in this case, the users of space is part of the empirical limits.

"What is analytically and instrumentally thought of as two - people and world - is existentially understood as one - human-being-in-world -, or as Merleau-Ponty's phrasings, body-subject, and flesh."[56] The human-being-in-the-world as an entity cannot be dissected as if the two parties could be analysed independently. "For a phenomenology of environmental embodiment, space syntax is significant theoretically and empirically because it provides a conceptual and analytical language to identify and understand ways in which spatial configuration contributes to particular lived modes of bodily-being-in-the-world, In turn, phenomenological studies grounded in a space-syntax perspective might offer helpful account of the experiential structures and situations of these lived modes, particularly as they facilitate place and place-making. This work has important normative and diagnostics value. One of the great questions of our time is whether the unselfconscious place making of the past can today be regenerated self-consciously, through knowledgeable planning equitable policy, and creative design. Space syntax and environmental embodiment offer much promise for finding theoretical and practical answers to this question."[57]

54 Richie, Donald. *Viewed Sideways: Writings on Culture and Style in Contemporary Japan*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press. 2011. p.14.

55 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. p.200-201.

56 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*, New York: Routledge. 2013. p.210.

57 Idem.

Taking a look at space, we realize that the perceptions are of great importance in our conception and architectural practice. **Space in itself is the most important subject of architectural history, therefore, it is a unity thoroughly studied in Occidental architecture. For Japanese architecture, however, systematic examinations of space are extremely rare.** The aim of the research is thus to investigate the use and the perceptions of space in Japanese society and architecture. Usually, in Japan, the study of space refers to the inside of a building, in which case it is called interior space (*Innenraum*), because it is one of the oldest and most fundamental of architectural components. But in the Occidental conception of public space, the study takes place in what Japanese call *Freiraum* or the exterior space. In contrast to interior space, exterior space in this sense surrounds buildings and is infinitely extended. *Freiraum* has also been "one of the most important components of architecture since the creation of freestanding structures since a building's relationship to the natural environment, to gardens and other buildings, and the larger issues of the city and regional planning all have to do with exterior space."[58]

58 Inoue, Mitsuo. *Space in Japanese Architecture*, New York & Tokyo: John Weatherhill Inc., 1985. p.3.

Those terms actually did not even exist in Japanese's traditional language but were added to their katakana vocabulary after the English language.

Indeed, at the beginning of the medieval period, the Japanese became increasingly absorbed in what was insubstantial. Yet, "space did not develop in the direction of absolute 'nothingness' (*kyomu*) or 'emptiness' (*koku*); rather, the intention was to create a space full of movement and change, not a boundless abyss. Moreover, in its manner of spatial movement, Japanese architecture (...) has its spiritual parallel in the idea of mutability (*mujokan*). The Buddhist concepts such as the transmigration of the soul (*rinne tensho*) or the law of cause and effect (*inga oho*) imply, by their nature, a flow based on temporal extension. *Sangai ruten* refers to the flowing movement of all living things through the three worlds of the past, present, and future. Thus in Buddhism, there is a tendency to regard human life as basically a fluid phenomenon. However, when the idea of this flowing movement is expressed by the words *shog yo mujo* ('all things are impermanent'), it takes on a special nuance. (...) From this comes the idea that human life and human dwellings are temporary shelters. (...) The Japanese idea of mutability and movement of space in Japanese architecture thus have a common origin."[59] Applying to movement space, this mutability applies to

59 Ibid. p.170-171.

fragmentary spaces that are thus connected like links in a chain or beads on a string. Each episode has its own focus of interest and is only tenuously connected to those that precede and follow it. This point of view applies not only to space but to behaviours also. The emptiness in Japan holds things. The *Freiraum* is "empty" but supports structures just as the mind is "empty" but supports many ideas and thoughts. "Many things constantly enter our minds at will because the mind does not exist. If it did exist, not as many things would come to us." [60] Emptiness is in our mind, but when it emerges, it depends on the one who experiences it. "Space in Japanese architecture (*kukan*) is an empty place. This word originally stood for a 'hole in the ground', and in present meaning of a 'hole in the universe', or 'sky'. The ancient Japanese divided space vertically into two parts, *sora (*sky) and *ame* or *ama* (heaven). In the concept of emptiness both can be said as a part of space." [61] The ideas of emptiness and nothingness in Buddhist doctrine came to exert great influence over the Japanese. The Japanese appear to have accepted these ideas literally. "Emptiness gave a special form to enter in every place of human lives and inanimate object.

The concept of emptiness in Japanese architecture is part of space - as an empty place. Despite this, the feeling for abstract composition is somewhat stronger than the illusion of a deep void. It comes that close to reflecting the tendency in Zen Buddhism to stress rapid flashes of intuitive insight into spiritual phenomena. Space embraces universal grounds in the whole sense, but philosophically, it can be different; space as a physical meaning or space as a form, which contains space itself."[62] It depends on how we see a space; as a part of philosophy or as component of architecture. World-view and perspectives are always constructed with significant elements of a people's social and physical setting, and usually, reflect the rhythms and constraints of their environment.[63]

People's social and physical contexts build the architectural experience. "We behold, touch, listen and measure the world with our entire bodily existence, and the experiential world becomes organised and articulated around the centre of the body."[64]

60 Ibid. p.136.

61 Sudikno, Antariksa. *Space In Japanese Zen Buddhist Architecture.* Jawa Timur: Brawijaya University. 2001. p.81.

62 Ibid. p.82.

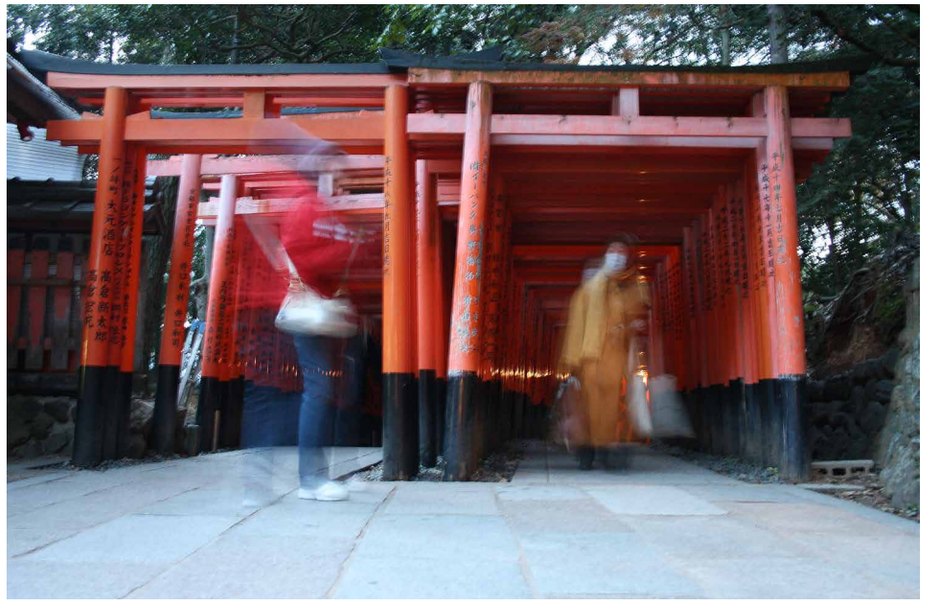
63 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1974. p.79.

64 Pallasmaa, Juhani. *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*. West Sussex: Wiley. 2012. p.69.

The navel and the primary home are the body, the memories, and the identity. The image of the self merges with the environment since we are in constant dialogue with our surroundings. It is impossible to delimit the identity of the self without the identity of the world. When the self confronts a work of art he projects emotions and feelings onto the work. A dialogue takes place; the self lends to the artwork emotions, while the work lends to the self its authority and aura. Eventually, we meet ourselves, and our own projections, in the work. Similarly, "during the design process, the architect gradually internalises the landscape, the entire context, and the functional requirements as well as his/her conceived building: movement, balance, and scale are felt unconsciously through the body as tensions in the muscular system and in the positions of the skeleton and inner organs. As the work interacts with the body of the observer, the experience mirrors the bodily sensations of the maker. Consequently, architecture is communication from the body of the architect directly to the body of the person who encounters the work, perhaps centuries later."[65]

The research is supported by philosophers who have worked on the notion of space in Japan, of perceptions and on the being-in-the-world. Concepts and definitions from Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Yi-Fu Tuan, Henri Lefebvre and Inoue Mitsuo are used as tools to account the observations made during the field study. The relationship between the observer and his subject, in this case, the users of space, can be dissected in four issues emerging from the social context. Effectively, the perception of democracy, embodiment, phenomenology and architecture and aesthetics can be decorticated to sketch the outline of the theoretical background necessary to acknowledge the practical part of the study.

65 Pallasmaa, Juhani. *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*. West Sussex: Wiley. 2012. p.71.



Social Context-

Looking at architecture trough the appropriation of its users places forward the influence of sociology in design. The signifier and the signified both take place in, and ground the social space itself. The "social space," a concept developed by sociologist and philosopher Henri Lefebvre is, I believe just as Atelier Bow-Wow does, self-generating, and could also be referred to as "spatial practice." In fact, when we rethink space through a sociological point of view, we realized that space is produced neither by architects nor by city planners, nor by the users who live in space: space is not consumer-generated but space-generated. As beings use space to place themselves in the world, space does the same. As Bow-Wow states it: "the relationship between people and social spaces is inverted: in their formulation, it is not people who create social spaces, but social spaces that use people to bring themselves into being. When it occurs, designers and users alike are used by these spaces, and in the process, the distinction between designers and users is eliminated. (...) Social space creates itself by itself."[66]

As social space comes into being through its appropriation, users also come into being when they ground themselves in their environment and communities. In the post-war period, Japan experienced radical social and economic transformations that altered significantly the cultural beliefs on public space. Accordingly, the political and environmental changes following the great period of instability helped to attribute more importance to the citizens in their daily life. Indeed, post-1945 Japan focused not only on rebuilding and revitalizing the Japanese economy but also on social development during a period of rapid modernization.[67] The social context of architectural democracy, therefore, seemed much more important after this period. Even the government realized that growth and quality of life were directly linked to the use of urban spaces that act as support for communities, and also important tools in the marketing of the city. The city of Tokyo even used and still uses the "social space" to compete other major cities in terms of quality of life. "While the quality of public space was important in early modernist planning during the 1920s and 30s, it fell into neglect in the post-war period. Scholars and local urban designers rediscovered the quality of public spaces as means for local identity, promotion and participation in Machizukuri projects and beautification strategies during the 1960s and 70s. This was more and more taken up by the real estate sector for the creation of New Public Spaces at large and mix-use redevelopment schemes, where it served as a distinguishing element in an increasing area competition, but also responded to change the socio-cultural values. In the struggle against the perceived loss of competitiveness of the world city Tokyo, vis-à-vis its burgeoning East Asian rivals, the government identifies it also as means for city branding and image policies."[68]

The use of urban space as a marketing tool indicates an increased interest among politicians and citizens regarding the vitality of their built environment. In contemporary Japan, the issue of public space has won great prominence. Since 2002, for example, "accredited street artists and vendors reappeared in parks and streets of Tokyo as part of campaigns to promote Japan and its capital as an attractive and bustling tourist destination."[69] "Open Cafés" are proliferating in private and public spaces such as malls, parks and sidewalks, in order to stimulate the new public life in "social space" where modernist paradigms of efficiency and functionality relocated themselves. "Symbolic, beautified public spaces - parks, squares, promenades, and waterfronts - are created to endow identity to local communities, or to brand office complexes and whole business districts. The growing professional interest in the quality of public space stands in a dialectical relationship with the increasing body of literature on the subject and related burgeoning discourses on civil society, citizen participation, public sphere, and the very concept of Public."[70] In fact, the revival of outdoor lifestyles correlates to the sum of the economic, social and mundane activities. Those dictate vibrant neighbourhoods and incite the emergence of businesses, but also generate patterns and require architectural forms and material settings, which, upon completion influence the patterning of activities. **"Economic and social forces contribute overwhelmingly to the making of lifestyles, but unlike idealistic impulses they lack self-awareness.** Lifestyles are rarely verbalized and consciously acted out. In most cases, we can acquire some understanding of a people's lifestyle, including their attitude to the world, only through the cumulative evidence of daily acts and through the character of the physical circumstances in which their occur. (...) A large city offers many types of physical environment."[71] Let's focus on the street scene and on public spaces.

66 Atelier Bow-Wow. *The Architectures of Atelier Bow-Wow: Behaviorology*. New York: Rizzoli. 2010. p.250-251.

67 Hirayama, Yosuke & Ronald, Richard. *Housing and social transition in Japan*. Abingdon: Routledge. 2007. p.1.

68 Dimmer, Christian. *Renegotiating Public Space: A Historical Critique of Modern Urban Public Space in Metropolitan Japan and its Contemporary Revaluation*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo. 2008. p.9.

69 Ibid. p.7.

70 Idem.

71 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1974. p.173-174.

The public space would seem to be a fairly specific type of physical environment but in fact, its character and use can vary immensely. At one extreme, it is a narrow crooked place, unpaved or paved with cobble, packed with jostling people and cars, a place assaulting the senses with noise, odour, and color. At the other extreme, it is a wide straight area, bordered by trees or walls, an imposing space that is almost devoid of life. How people respond to the scene depends on many factors.[72] In *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*[73], Yi-Fu Tuan contends that space requires a movement from a place to another place. This definition involves a third party, the user moving through space. Similarly, as stated by Bow-Wow, a place requires a space to be a place. The place, for Tuan also requires a space to come into being. Hence, the two terms - space and place - are co-dependent. Tuan relates to space as having temporal insinuations, and place as having physical insinuations, which further clarifies the difference and codependency of the two concepts. The addition made by Tuan on Bow-Wow's definition is the importance of the third party in the co-dependency of space and place. The third party, the user, has a huge cultural intake on the perceptions of space and place.

72 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1974. p.173-174.

73 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001.

Namely, Yi-Fu Tuan addresses, in his book, cultural distinctions of the third party in his comprehension of many concepts such as space and place but moreover such as private and public. The thrid party is the entity embodying cultural cleavages. Tuan's conscientious approach thus combines historical, cultural and geographical concepts for a better understanding of etymology. Indeed, "the contents of nature are enormously varied. Each culturally-differentiated human group has its own nomenclature to cope with this variety."[74] In North America, "private" and "privacy" are good words. " 'Public,' by contrast, is somewhat suspect, suggestive as it does of faceless bureaucrats. In ancient Greece, it was quite the reverse. Recall that the word 'idiot' is derived from the Greek word for 'private.' To be a private person, living in the sheltered home, was to be an idiot. If one wished to be a fully developed human being, a citizen, one must be engaged with one's equals in the city's forum. In that period of European history known as the Enlightenment, the public sphere was again esteemed above the private. But what thinkers deemed 'public' and 'private' was not what we now deem 'public' and 'private.' To us, places where all sorts of people gather, as, for example, the church, the theater, the marketplace, and, outstandingly, where political oratory is encouraged namely in public places. (...) The traditional prestige of the public over the private appears to be based on biology: more specifically, on the human body. Our genitals are our 'private parts,' exposed to another person only in the dimness of the bedchamber. Our brain, by contrast, openly displays its powers and wares. The private parts propagate the species, the brain propagates human excellence; the first we all have in roughly equal measure, the second differs significantly in quality from individual to individual."[75] The notion of sociability is different in private and public definitions according to the language and the culture, and it is interesting to draw a historical parallel to detect the influence ownership has on behaviours.

74 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1974. p.18.

75 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *The public and the private, the body and the mind.* Dear Colleague. 2010. p.1.

In order to get a broad account of the perceptions of citizens regarding their public architectural sphere, it is important to dive into the theoretical framework of their perceptions through democracy, embodiment, phenomenology and aesthetics as well as through their architectural practice. The views of many philosophers and thinkers looking at the spectrum of perceptions to analyse ideals in social urban environments will be of great help for this chapter. As Yi-Fu Tuan states, "human beings have persistently searched for the ideal environment and how it looks varies from one culture to another but in essence it seems to draw on two images: the garden of innocence (security) and the cosmos (grandeur)."[76]

76 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1974. p.248.

Through observations and appreciations, there is understanding. Not only in Japan evidently, but everywhere. It is although said that in Japan, the invitation to observe is strongest because the apparent is plain.[77] The world is one seamless whole for those who can see it; for those who can learn to observe, to regard, and to understand.[78] This chapter will focus on the study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values, which are enormously complex. The broad framework provided through many thinkers might help the reader place his own interests and note how they are related to other topophilic themes.

The reader, as the observer is a biological organism, a social being, and a unique individual. His perception, attitude, and values are reflected through how he registers a vast array of environmental stimuli. Usually, depending on culture and environmental precepts, certain senses, and perceptions are favoured. In fact, "the perception and environmental judgements of natives and visitors show little overlap because their experience and purpose have little in common. (...) Our reality is not exhaustively known by any number of human perspectives, although that aspect of reality called resource is subject to depletion if enough people perceive it as a resource and exploit it. Attitude to environment changes as mastery over nature increases and the concept of beauty alters. (...) **The physical environment itself has an effect on perception biases as cause to effect: culture mediates.** However, we can make less precise, indirect statements of relationship. We can say that development of visual acuity is related to the ecological quality of the environment. (...) The world views of nonliterate and traditional societies differ significantly from those of modern men who have come under the influence, however indirectly, of science and technology. (...) All cities contain public symbols of some kind that concentrate and enforce the ideals of power and glory. In a modern metropolis, the symbol may be a grand avenue or square, an imposing city hall or a monument that captures the city's history and identity."[79]

77 Richie, Donald. *Viewed Sideways: Writings on Culture and Style in Contemporary Japan*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press. 2011. p.17.

78 Ibid. p.22.

79 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1974. p.245-247.

The socio-political development of Japan post-1960 influenced the cultural conception of the terms public and private. Indeed, few conditions such as the ideals of a democratic national public against the residential privacy; the country's economic growth and the growth of the international tourism; and, the global dematerialization of wealth, altered the physical experience of Japan and the politics of property in cities.[80] Together, those conditions signaled the end of a modern property regime that had established the rights in land, rights to build, to regulate, to occupy and what features of the landscape were given cultural and mnemonic value. A more volatile and speculative regime removed the modern system and its vestiges of a secure foundation, which had offered a fertile environment for making use of the past. "The closure of the national public sphere and the private sphere as spaces of utopian hope thus permitted new spaces to open in between. **The mass politics of the public and the intimate phenomenology of the private were brought together in mobilizations for the small common spaces of the local community. Organized claims to the streets in the name of direct enfranchisement gave way to exploration of new ways of claiming streets on aesthetic as much as social and political grounds.** And the pursuit of a standardized, modern material life (*seikatsu*) embodied in new consumer durables - together with the suspicion of materialism that had always shadowed this pursuit- found sublimation in the revival of vestiges from the everyday past."[81]

The historical survey and the previously explained cultural influence on the concepts of public and private space now leads this research to the definition of place itself and its importance in Japan's society. In the modern Japanese translation of piazza or public square or place the equivalent is *hiroba* which means "broad open space" and represents a universal ideal.[82] This ideal is also sometimes called *jiyu naru kotsu*, which means intercourse among citizens. "Postwar intellectuals feared, however, that Japan lacked not only a tradition of democratic citizen politics but also a tradition of urban spaces suited to such politics. (...)

80 Sand, Jordan. *Tokyo Vernacular: common spaces, local histories, found objects*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2013. p.5.

81 Ibid. p.10.

82 Ibid. p.25.

Japan - and indeed all of the Orient with the exception of countries that had been European colonies - lacked them."[83] It was theorized that plazas were built in the West in part because when a large number of people gathered, a sense of citizenship formed. It was even understood that plazas were an instrument of citizen-making thus, without those instruments, Japan was naturally hindered. As the absence was felt particularly by architects, they decided to design "citizens' plazas" (*shimin hiroba*), most often adjacent to new municipal and prefectural office buildings. Architects and designers observed that these *hiroba* were used by ordinary citizens and the term's popularity grew in journalism and policy circles, along with the term "citizen" (*shimin*). "Guiding the social movements, the modernists intellectuals aimed, as a foundation of postwar democracy, to internalize the self-disciplined subjectivity - the same subjectivity they advocated during the war - into the contentious *shimin*."[84] Their efforts were directed towards the construction of a more democratic Japanese society through unifying Japanese people as a nation in a modern state. It was remarked that Japanese advocates of the urban plazas in the past century were as likely to emphasize its importance as a site of solidarity (they spoke of "free intercourses") and of the expression of a unified national voice. "The plaza became the instrument of citizen solidarity and a site of public formed through unified mass actions. This tension between different ways of figuring the public politically had its architectural counterpart in the problem of monumentality. In addition to providing space for citizens to gather, trade, and exchange opinions, public squares and plazas have historically been built to enhance vistas of buildings and sculptures, making them monuments bearing symbolic or commemorative meaning. (...) As a space of politics writ large, the *hiroba* becomes a monumental site, where the collective will exceeds the will of the individual."[85] The public space in Japan embodied the political idea of popular sovereignty and emergent space to exchange and unify the voice of the citizens.

But, perceiving manifestations in public spaces as static and engraved would be wrong. Space is as much bound by its spatiality than it is by temporality. The spatial simplicity extends temporally as well. A typical Japanese example is that the shrines have been destroyed and identically rebuilt every twenty years since antiquity. The heritage and knowledge is beholden in beings instead than in objects. It is also said that: "this cycle is an alternative to the Pyramids - or the heritage conception of

83 Sand, Jordan. *Tokyo Vernacular: common spaces, local histories, found objects*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2013. p.26.

84 Ogawa, Akihiro. *The failure of civil society?: the third sector and the state in contemporary Japan*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 2009. p.146.

85 Sand, Jordan. *Tokyo Vernacular: common spaces, local histories, found objects*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2013. p.27.

the West - it is a simpler answer to the claims of immortality. (...) We see what is there, and behind it, we glimpse a principle. Universal principles make up nature, but nature does not reveal those principles in Japan until one has observed nature by shaping oneself."[86]

Japanese believe that the garden, the flowers, the shrine or the public space are not natural until everything in it has been shifted, changed or appropriated.

The work of time is crucial in the becoming and the affirmation of things; hence, they get redefined indefinitely. The relationship between tradition and change in Japan has always been complicated by the fact that change is itself a tradition. Change is put to use in the most pragmatic manner; it is a permanent source of power like a perpetual motion.[87] The transformations underwent by the public space through time are also paired with the transformation of the craftsman himself. The human beings, too, are moulded. Society forms and guides its citizens, citizens fulfill duties and obligations; such are their functions. "If we are to live contentedly, if society (our own construct) is to serve, then we must subject ourselves to its guiding pressures. As the single finger bends the branch, so the social hand inclines the individual."[88] Against the West, the Japanese welcome such control and such intentionality. Japanese customs help balance the self in society. Within social limitations, the result is individual conformity: "each house and each person are different from all the others yet they are also essentially the same. The hand may shape the flower, but it is still a flower."[89]

86 Richie, Donald. *Viewed Sideways: Writings on Culture and Style in Contemporary Japan*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press. 2011. p.18.

87 Ibid. p.43.

88 Ibid. p.20.

89 Ibid. p.21.

Democracy

The philosopher Henri Lefebvre argues that the urban landscape is not simply composed of symbolic and functional spaces created by professionals. It is actually a key location where economics, ideology, and culture capital are continually negotiated. It is where society literally reproduces itself as a spatial practice.[90] In the *Production of Space* he states that: "countries, through rapid development, blithely destroy historic spaces - houses, palaces, military or civil structures. If advantage or profit is to be found in it, then the old is swept away. Later, however, perhaps towards the end of the period of accelerated growth, these same countries are liable to discover how such space may be pressed into the service of cultural consumption, of 'culture itself,' and of the tourism and the leisure industries with their almost limitless prospects. When this happens, everything that they so merrily demolished during the *belle époque* is reconstituted at great expense, what had been annihilated in the earlier frenzy of growth now becomes an object of adoration. And former objects of utility now pass for rare and precious works of art."[91]

The city is continually oscillating between fits of destruction and moments of cultural veneration that raise the remnants of the former city to the level of art. In the same way as the European cities, Lefebvre states that we can consider Japan as a witness of unbridled transformation in its urban landscape. Like Western countries, pre-Second World War works with massive infrastructure projects and daring high-rise constructions compromised Japan's heritage of fine textures in its urban fabric.[92] On the other hand, the provision of monumental open spaces essential to the city's modernization also helped the implementation of plans for the new city. And this time, those included public spaces as well as regularized street patterns and basic infrastructure for commercial development. "Hibiya Park, the country's first planned public park, was one of the capitals' first open spaces to acquire political significance as a site of mass gathering. Created in 1903 on grounds just south of the Imperial Palace, the park became a frequent site of mass demonstrations."[93] Although according to the Public Order and Police Law instated in 1900, all gatherings, mass demonstrations included, in plazas, parks or any public venue really, required a permit from the police. Permits were usually attributed and tolerated when protests or gatherings were not considered as violent by the police. "Citizens protested in places they understood as public property; either because they treated it as their own by right, as the citizens of a democratic policy. This meant that generally, they gathered in structured and directed assemblies that expressed unitary political objectives rather than engaging in debate, discussion, and the 'free traffic' of ideas."[94] Civic participation in the streets, in mass protests or a "free intercourses" were all considered and idealized as the foundation of the democratic public sphere.[95] In fleshing out the idea of the *kaiwai* - the set of individual activities of people, or the accumulation of devices that trigger a set of activities - **in the pursuit of a uniquely Japanese kind of space, architects arrived at the conclusion that the outcome was more social than spatial.** Spaces were not defined by formal design features but by the spontaneous use of occupants.[96] "The unique character of Japanese urbanism lays in the ways in which ordinary people appropriated space spontaneously and in the kind of places that accommodated and lent themselves to this spontaneous appropriation. *Kaiwai* supplemented citizen politics with an aesthetics of the every day."[97] Indeed, the public space is the space where individuals see and are seen by others as they engage in public affairs. Hannah Arendt links this space with "public freedom" which is, as she states, "the free will or free thought." As understood at the time, such freedom could exist only in public, just like in Greece; "it was a tangible, worldly reality, something created by men to be enjoyed by men rather than a gift or a capacity. In so convincing it, they returned to the ancient view that saw freedom as 'manifested only in certain activities,' namely those 'that could appear and be real only when others saw them, judged them, remembered them.'"[98] For ancients, the life of free men was realized in the presence of others. Freedom, therefore, needed a place - the agora, the *polis*, the political space proper - where people could come and meet. The research is focusing on the phenomenological account of this particular freedom and on the conditions of its appearance.

90 Herrington, Susan. *Meiji-mura, Japan: Negotiating Time, Politics, and Location*. London: Routledge. 2008. p.407-408.

91 Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell. 1992. p.143.

92 Herrington, Susan. *Meiji-mura, Japan: Negotiating Time, Politics, and Location*. London: Routledge. 2008. p.407-408.

93 Sand, Jordan. *Tokyo Vernacular: common spaces, local histories, found objects*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2013. p.28.

94 Ibid. p.29.

95 Ibid. p.31.

96 Ibid. p.32.

97 Ibid. p.33.

98 Mensch, James R. *Embodiments: From the Body to the Body Politic*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 2009. p.129.

Particularly examining the public space of political action, enables a shift from the general phenomenological analysis to politics. As we will see, space permits different interpretations of those who act in it. "Like the individuals determining it, public space manifests this presence and openness to the future."[99] It is a contemporary notion that the occupant is open to the new when, as an exceeding of the intentions, he forms and embodies his beliefs on the basis of his experience. As put forward by Henri Lefebvre, "(Social) space is a (social) product (...) the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action (...) in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power."[100] Accordingly, space is not only a tool for political capital or a space of communication but also the theater of mass demonstrations and the backdrop of political decisions. Therefore, the Japanese city represents the setting for examining its multifarious urban manifestations. I emphasize the importance of the "democratic space" as a stage grounded in the public sphere that stays distinct from the state, for public debate, deliberation and (maybe) consensus. Tracing the manifestations of the users in those omnipresent areas help the revelation of the issues in society. Indeed, Japan's cultural cleavages are exposed through the new forms of behaviours in post-war public spaces, which can be seen as "the contested and negotiated terrain of socio-political renewal and cultural identity."[101]

While democracy in Japan over the last six decades accords closely with all these basic elements - representation, participation, transparency, access, accountability, and equality - in tracing the shifts in post-war Japanese public space,[102] architects claim their motivation to design or draw extends beyond the political.[103] **The re-reading of democracy as a culturally filtered phenomenon helps to understand the bodily experience as a spatial vote casted by the citizens for their environment.** Reclaiming the body as a political medium in itself changes the importance of architecture as neither a mute authority, nor as a plain neutral ballot. Embodiment evolves through space and time and has to be considered accordingly.

Interventions in urban planning, landscape architecture, and architecture itself should thus be viewed as political interventions. Indeed, "space is not a scientific object removed from ideology or politics; it has always been political and strategic. If space has an air of neutrality and indifference with regard to its contents and thus seems to be 'purely' formal, the essence of rational abstraction, it is precise because this space has already been occupied and planned, already the focus of past strategies, of which we cannot always find traces. Space has been fashioned and moulded from historical and natural elements but in a political way. Space is political and ideological. It is a product literally populated with ideologies. There is an ideology of space. Why? Because space, which seems homogeneous, which appears given as a whole in its objectivity, in its pure form, such as we determine it, is a social product."[104] As previously stressed, the "social space" makes one with the "political space." It is assumed that spatial manifestations become as valid politically, or even more so, as elections. For example, during the post-war period in Japan, embodied "patriotism and peace represented the failure to understand the difficult ways in which a wronged populace attempts to communicate its trauma and loss."[105] On the counterpart, "the idea of the plaza was poignant in the Western architectural consciousness of the early 1950s. As an aftermath of the war, the rhetoric on urban cores shifted toward political events with the plaza as the renewed setting for rallies and demonstrations."[106] As the inauguration of spatial manifestation of Japanese democracy became vibrant in its unstable political context, the plaza became a symbol of Western democracy and a crucial sub-theme of cultural collision. Since then, Japan is probably the country where manifestations of the sort "have become most powerful and have voiced the most ambitious objectives. (...) These movements are resurrecting the concept of 'use' without reducing it merely to the consumption of space. They emphasize the relations between people and space with different levels: the neighbourhood and the immediate, the urban and its mediations, the region and the nation, and, finally, the worldwide. These movements are experimenting with modes of action at diverse scales, always in the light of the participants' experience and knowledge."[107]

99 Mensch, James R. *Embodiments: From the Body to the Body Politic*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 2009. p.15.

100 Lefebvre, Henri. *La production de l'espace*. Paris: Economica. 1974.

101 Bharne, Vinayak. *Manifesting Democracy Public Space and the Search for Identity in Post-War Japan*. Abingdon: Taylor & Francis. 2010. p.38.

102 Ibid. p.39.

103 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*, New York: Routledge. 2013. p.155.

104 Brenner, Neil & Elden, Stuart. *State, space, world: selected essays / Henri Lefebvre*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2009.p.170-171.

105 Bharne, Vinayak. *Manifesting Democracy Public Space and the Search for Identity in Post-War Japan*. Abingdon: Taylor & Francis. 2010. p.40.

106 Idem.

107 Brenner, Neil & Elden, Stuart. *State, space, world: selected essays / Henri Lefebvre*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2009. p.227-228.

Space became a political tool of great importance. Citizens realized the power of a stage for their demands and politicians also realized the importance of an instrument of the sort. The state, therefore, started to use space in such a way "that it ensured its control of places, its strict hierarchy, the homogeneity of the whole, and the segregation of the parts. It is thus an administratively controlled and even a policed space."[108] The authority and the mass population continue appropriating space to communicate beliefs and values for the benefit of society. Changing society or enhancing its quality of life mean nothing if there is no production of an appropriated space. As previously stated, space is political and social: it involves assigning more or less appropriated places to the social interactions. "Each society is born within the framework of a given mode of production, with the inherent peculiarities to this framework moulding its space. Spatial practice defines its space, it poses it and presupposes it in a dialectical interaction."[109]

108 Brenner, Neil & Elden, Stuart. *State, space, world: selected essays / Henri Lefebvre*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2009. p.188.

109 Ibid. p.186-187.

Embodiment

In addition to housing our bodies, architecture conditions our awareness towards our senses and settles our minds, memories, and dreams. The built environment helps the organization and structuration of our experiences, beliefs, and values. Besides articulating the *Innenraum* and the *Freiraum*, architecture provides horizons of understanding and meaning, and concretizes or materializes the passage of time, represents cultural hierarchies, and gives a visible presence to human institutions. As previously stated, architecture should focus more on lived experiences and mental representations since the true task of architecture is to support embodied existential metaphors that concretize and structure man's being-in-the-world.[110] Consequently, the essence of architecture derives from embodiment theories or, even more so, from our existential desire. Jorge Luis Borges describes memorably the essence of the poetic experience: "The taste of the apple... lies in the contact of the fruit with the palate, not in the fruit itself; in a similar way... poetry lies in the meeting of the poem and the reader, not in the lines of symbols printed on the pages of a book. What is essential is the aesthetic act, the thrill, the almost physical emotion that comes with each reading."[111] Similarly to the taste of the apple, the meaning of architecture emerges from encounters of the environment and the users in the very merging of the world and the dweller's sense of self.[112]

This awareness arises as the environment stimulates the user's senses. Humans are sensory as well as conceptual creatures, and "designing and creating objects and environments that respect the users and inhabitants would necessarily have to respond to their bodily experiences."[113] To be embodied is to be in the world. Our human condition involves acting and being conditioned by the results of our actions. The result, as Hannah Arendt remarks, is that **"men constantly create their own conditions."**[114] These conditions not only affect us but also how we view the world. Our embodiment, our being-in-the-world is part of our being. It is our necessary condition to comprehend and plunge us into our environment.[115] Japanese culture, inspired by Zen theories, teaches to "think with the whole body" and to embody all our senses. This attitude requires great sensibility and consideration from the subject towards his environment and is also intrinsically linked to his cultural background.

110 Holl, Steven & Pérez-Gómez, Alberto & Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Questions of perception: phenomenology of architecture*. San Francisco: William K. Stout. 2006. p.37.

111 Ibid. p.28.

112 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*, New York: Routledge. 2013. p.215-217.

113 Ibid. p.174.

114 Arendt, Hannah. *The Human Condition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1958. p.9.

115 Mensch, James R. *Embodiments: From the Body to the Body Politic*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 2009. p.6.

Of course, no one perceives and evaluates things, environment or people the same way. No one sees the same reality as well as no social groups make the same evaluation of their environment. "The bewildering wealth of viewpoints on both individual and group levels becomes increasingly evident; and we risk losing sight of the fact that however diverse our perceptions of the environment, as members of the same species we are constrained to see things a certain way. All human beings share common perceptions, a common world, by virtue of possessing similar organs. The uniqueness of the human perspective should be evident when we pause to ask how the human reality must differ from that of other animals."[116] Indeed, human beings perceive the world through all the senses at the same time. However, on a daily basis, even with the potentially available information, only a small part of the information is called into the experience. All human beings have similar sense organs, but their capacity and use are developed and divergent according to age, culture, height, gender and much more. "As a result, not only do attitudes to environment differ but the actualized capacity of the senses differs so that people in one culture may acquire sharp noses for scent while those in another acquire deep stereoscopic vision. Both worlds are predominantly visual: one will be enriched by fragrances, the other by the acute three-dimensionality of objects and spaces."[117] Even if some sense organ might have a special meaning or priority in a culture, modern human beings rely more and more on sight according to Yi-Fu Tuan. Indeed, Tuan stresses that space is bounded, static and acts as a frame for the objects it contains. Although, without those objects or boundaries, space appears to be or is empty because there is nothing to see in it even though it might be filled with the wind.[118] The importance of emptiness is very present in Japanese architecture because it evokes potentiality. Although, is seeing a void as a potential and a relief of the mind really a cultural trait? Is culture influencing perceptions or even experiences (perceptions without their interpretation)? Tuan and myself would answer yes to both those questions. Indeed, to understand a person's perceptions and experiences, it is necessary to examine their biological heritage, upbringing, education, job and physical surroundings.

116 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1974. p.5.

117 Ibid. p.12.

118 Ibid. p.11.

Even more so, to understand a being's attitudes and preferences, it is necessary to know his cultural history and experience in the context of its physical setting. But, "in neither case, it is possible to distinguish sharply the role of cultural factors and of the physical environment. The concepts 'culture' and 'environment' overlap, as do the concepts 'man' and 'nature.' It is useful, however, to treat them as distinct."[119] As stated all experiences are actions of mind as well as the body. According to some thinkers,[120] cultural heterogeneity or homogeneity asserts itself through the "stubborn insistence of the body, of childhood memories and cultural histories." Yoshida[121] and Iokibe[122] describe that the deeply internalized notions of public in Japan have long been monopolized by the exclusive idea that public equals government or officialdom.

Only since short, a more pluralistic and inclusive concept of a public of the *people* is evolving.[123] Consequently, "public space is charged with different meanings and with controversy, as it stands hitherto as an official space, only temporarily granted to the people, rather than claimed by them."[124]

The act of recollecting, remembering and comparing are entangled in embodied memories which themselves are crucial to remember a space or a place. Some places are even integrated "with our self-identity; they become part of our own body and being. In memorable experiences of architecture, space matters and time fuses into one single dimension, into the basic substance of being that penetrates the consciousness. We identify ourselves with this space, this place, this moment and these dimensions, as they become ingredients of our very existence. Architecture is the art of mediation and reconciliation."[125] Indeed, architecture is not grounded from "purely material, climatic, and economic conditions, or pure rationality; it has always reflected cultural aspirations, beliefs, and ideals."[126] Built environment that fails to root us in our lived reality and to mediate between the world and our consciousness is detrimental to life. Such buildings or places do not help us to understand ourselves. Only "life-enhancing" environment and architecture can be sustainable.[127]

Changes in architectural styles always reflect the innovation or mentality shifts in technology, economy and in citizens' attitude toward what is desirable for the built environment.[128] Those changes appear when we take embodiment seriously and accept that it affects our understanding of the world, and by doing so, our understanding of embodiment. The two seem so hopelessly entangled.[129] Goheen suggests that public space is what "the public collectively values; space to which it attributes symbolic significance and to which it asserts claims (...). Citizens create meaningful public space by expressing their attitudes, asserting their claims and using it for their own purposes."[130] Therefore, "we ask ourselves where the future of Japan's new public spaces lies? How will the people claim these neo-publics spaces and how will the spaces unfold their full potential? Certainly, the repertoire of urban and architectural design, applied to encourage a sense of togetherness represents the state of the art. Yet, we get the impression of a fissure between visionary plans and contradicting patterns of spatial practice."[131]

119 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia : a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1974. p.59.

120 Highmore, Ben. *Everyday life and cultural theory: an introduction*. London: Routledge. 2002.

121 Yoshida, Shin'ichi. *Rethinking the Public Interest in Japan*. Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange. 1999. p. 13-49.

122 Iokibe, Makoto. *Japan's Civil Society: An Historical Overview*. Tokyo: Japan Center for International Exchange. 1999.

123 Idem.

124 Dimmer, Christian & Solomon, Golani, Erez & Klinkers, Koen V. *Shinonome - New Concepts of Public Space* in Summaries of Technical Papers of Annual Meeting. Tokyo: Architectural Institute of Japan. 2005. p. 925-926.

125 Holl, Steven & Pérez-Gómez, Alberto & Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Questions of perception: phenomenology of architecture*. San Francisco: William K. Stout. 2006. p.37.

126 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*. New York: Routledge. 2013. p.215-217.

127 Idem.

128 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1974. p.70.

129 Mensch, James R. *Embodiments: From the Body to the Body Politic*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 2009. p.4.

130 Goheen, Peter G. *Public space and the geography of the modern city*. Kingston: Queen's University. 1998. p. 479-96.

131 Dimmer, Christian & Solomon, Golani, Erez & Klinkers, Koen V. *Shinonome - New Concepts of Public Space* in Summaries of Technical Papers of Annual Meeting. Tokyo: Architectural Institute of Japan. 2005. p.925-926.

Our embodiment is not a sum of visual, tactile, and audible givens: it engages the whole being, not a mere perception, point of view or perspective. The observer grasps a unique structure, a unique way of being, which speaks to all his senses at once. "The true wonder of our perception of the world is its very completeness, continuity, and constancy, regardless of the fragmentary nature of our perceptions. Meaningful architecture facilitates and supports this extraordinary and unexpected experience of fullness and completeness. The experience of being is fundamentally an embodied and haptic manner of occupying space, place, and time."[132] As Maurice Merleau-Ponty argues strongly for an embodied experience with the interference of all the senses - "we live in the flesh of the world"[133] - we also live in mental worlds, in which the material and the spiritual, as well as the experienced, remembered, and imagined fuse completely into each other. Our flesh determines our grasp of the world; it is the proper condition of body and mind awareness. "Such self-awareness rests on our ability to grasp ourselves as both subject and object, as both touching ourselves and being touched by ourselves. This ability does not just allow us to distinguish ourselves from the world. It also discloses the profound differences between human and artificial intelligence."[134]

Life-enhancing architecture tries to make visible how the world touches us but also tries to tame the place and time of the flesh-of-the-world for the purpose of liveable space. Therefore architecture is a shelter for the body, but it is also a shelter for the externalization of the mind and the outline of the consciousness. Since human consciousness is an embodied consciousness; architecture is structured around a sensory and corporeal center.[135]

132 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*. New York: Routledge. 2013. p.218.

133 Ibid. p.224-225.

134 Mensch, James R. *Embodiments: From the Body to the Body Politic*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 2009. p.23.

135 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*. New York: Routledge. 2013. p.224-225.

Embodiment, of the body and mind, is the reason why architecture exists. As affirmed by Heidegger, the craft of the hand is richer than we imagine. "The hand reaches and extends, receives and welcomes - and not just things: the hand extends itself, and receives its own welcome in the hands of others. (...) But the hand's gestures run everywhere through language, in their most perfect purity precisely when a man speaks by being silent. (...) **Every motion of the hand in every one of its works carries itself through the element of thinking; every bearing of the hand bears itself in that element.** All the work of the hand is rooted in thinking."[136]

136 Holl, Steven & Pérez-Gómez, Alberto & Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Questions of perception: phenomenology of architecture*. 2006. p.28.

My aim in this section is to link environmental embodiment, perceptions, and their political weight to a phenomenology of *people-in-place*[137] through Merleau-Ponty's theories. Who better than the phenomenologist who emphasized the term body-subject to explain the intelligent awareness of the people in their environment? The synchronization of the people-in-their-space enables them to act and to think, thus, Merleau-Ponty stated: "My body appears to me as an attitude directed towards a certain existing or possible task. And indeed its spatiality is not, like that of external objects, a spatiality of position, but a spatiality of the situation. (...) The word 'here' applied to my body does not refer to a determinate position in relation to other positions or to external coordinates, but to the anchoring of the active body in an object, the situation of the body in face of its tasks. Bodily space can be distinguished from external space and envelops its parts instead of spreading them out."[138]

137 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*. New York: Routledge. 2013. p.210.

138 Idem.

The key, it is realised, is the phenomenon emerging when comprehending the magic happening when body touches architecture. It is the body-in-place that takes supremacy. **The sum of the user's powers rests in his behaviour, which is itself influenced, amongst many other things by his perception, attitude and worldview.** Even if those are key terms to understand the phenomenon of experience and embodiment, their meaning overlap so the sense of each term shall be defined. "*Perception* is both the response of the senses to external stimuli and purposeful activity in which certain phenomena are clearly registered while others recede in the shade or are blocked out. Much of what we perceive has value for us, for biological survival, and for providing certain satisfactions that are rooted in culture. *Attitude* is primarily a cultural stance; a position one takes vis-à-vis the world. It has greater stability than perception and is formed of a long succession of perceptions, that is, of experience. Infants perceive but have no well-formed attitude other than that given by biology. Attitudes imply experiences and a certain firmness of interest and value. Infants live in an environment; they have barely a world and no worldview. *Worldview* is conceptualized experience. It is partly personal, largely social. It is an attitude or belief system; the word *system* implies that the attitudes and beliefs are structured, however, arbitrary the links may seem, from an impersonal (objective) standpoint."[139]

On the other hand, Merleau-Ponty wrote about the body-subject and his actions in a broad, large spectrum and those can be extended to relate them to Yi-Fu Tuan's book *Space and Place*. Indeed, Tuan examines the bond between people and their environment, through perception, attitude and worldview, in *Topophilia* but he specifically builds the conceptual framework in *Space and Place* to concretize personal experiences in the recurrent theme of theories on space. The temporal and architectural versatility expressed through his theories ground the body-subject in space and in time. "Through a repertoire of gestures and movements seamlessly interconnected, the body-subject automatically offers up the actions and activities affording and afforded by the person's typical lifeworld. A major architectural and design question is how specific physical and spatial qualities of buildings and places contribute to how this bodily repertoire of movements and actions happen in one way rather than another."[140]

"As Merleau-Ponty has pointed out in regard to Cézanne, the world no longer stands before him through perspectival representation; rather it is the painter to whom the things of the world give birth by means of a concentration of the visible. These works proclaim a fallen distance, a temporalization of depth. The architectural and artistic words of resistance in the last two hundred years are, first of all, 'autofigurative.' They are a spectacle of something only by being a spectacle of nothing."[141] **The world, therefore, no longer stands before the user through only his perspective and representations. The user brings to life and gives meaning to the things of the world.** It is he, who settles the world through space and time according to his existence. It is he, who shows "how the things become things, how the world becomes a world."[142] As stated by Jacob Von Uexküll, the perceptive characteristics are always linked to space and in a certain way, since they follow each other in a certain order they are also linked to time.[143] Hence, the occupant decides if his movements and his actions will happen in a way rather than another, with or without regards to spatiality and temporality. He unfolds the world he wants to see before him.

139 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. 1974. p.4.

140 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*. New York: Routledge. 2013. p.205.

141 Holl, Steven & Pérez-Gómez, Alberto & Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Questions of perception: phenomenology of architecture*. San Francisco: William K. Stout. 2006. p.22.

142 Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. *The Primacy of Perception*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 1964. p.181.

143 Uexküll, Jakob von. *Mondes animaux et monde humain: suivi de Théorie de la signification*. Paris: Denoël. 1965. p.27.

Previously examined in the section on embodiment, architecture is stated to be a multi-sensorial experience combined with perceptions, imagination and so forth. As the body becomes the subject, the units involved in the activity of experience become the organs. "Architecture involves seven realms of sensory experience namely the eye, ear, nose, skin, tongue, skeleton and muscle, which interact and infuse each other. In the words of Merleau-Ponty, 'We see depth, speed, softness, and hardness of objects - Cézanne says we see even their odour. If a painter wishes to express the world, his system of colour must generate this indivisible complex of impressions, otherwise, his painting only hints at possibilities without producing the unity, presence and unsurpassable diversity that govern the experience and which is the definition of reality for us. (...) The senses do not only mediate information for the judgment of the intellect; they are also means of articulating sensory thought."[144] If as stated, the senses help articulate thoughts, then architecture can become a mere machine settled to trigger emotions and further trigger thoughts. Of course, it was also previously stated that architecture can be viewed as a democratic space for demands and communication. Both definitions enhance one another and ground architecture in the realm of the in-between reality of Merleau-Ponty. Beyond the physicality of architectural objects and practicalities of programmatic plans, "enmeshed experience is not a place of events, things, and activities, but something more intangible, which emerges from the continuous unfolding of overlapping spaces, materialism, and detail. Merleau-Ponty's 'in-between reality' is then perhaps, analogous to the moment in which individual elements begin to lose their clarity, the moment in which objects merge with the field."[145] Naturally, this in-between reality reflects our day-to-day reality, we live our lives in the built environment; we a born out of a world of things and people. We live in the in-between and merger of subject and object - of occupant and built environment. Experiencing fully the phenomena of their interrelation and to derive joy from our perceptions is the outcome of quotidian reality.

144 Holl, Steven & Pérez-Gómez, Alberto & Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Questions of perception: phenomenology of architecture*. San Francisco: William K. Stout. 2006. p.30.

145 Ibid. p.45.

It is through profound experiences and sensitized consciousness that the body-subject becomes aware of his foundation. "Architecture, more fully than other art forms, engages the immediacy of our sensory perceptions. The passage of time; light, shadow, and transparency; colour phenomena, texture, material and detail all participate in the complete experience of architecture."[146]

"The limits of two-dimensional representation (in photography, painting or the graphic arts), or the limits of aural space in music only partially engage the myriad sensations evoked by architecture. While the emotional power of cinema is indisputable, only architecture can simultaneously awaken all the senses - all the complexities of perception. Architecture, by the unifying foreground, middle ground, and distant views, ties perspective to detail and material to space. While a cinematic experience of a stone cathedral might draw the observer through and above it, even moving photographically back in time, only the actual building allows the eye to roam freely among inventive details; only the architecture itself offers the tactile sensations of textured stone surfaces and polished wooden pews, the experience of light changing with movement, the smell and resonant sounds of space, the bodily relations of scale and proportion. All these sensations combine within one complex experience, which becomes articulate and specific, though wordless. The building speaks through the silence of perceptual phenomena."[147] Therefore, the true architectural quality lies in a complete resonance and interactions taking place with the experiencing person.

146 Ibid. p.40-41.

147 Ibid. p.41.

As we discuss the dimensional representation of space, we notice that time is not a dimension that can be represented easily through perceptions and experiences. In the chapter *Time and Place*, Tuan states: "Modern man is so mobile that he has not the time to establish roots; his experience and appreciation of place is superficial. (...) The 'feel' of a place takes longer to acquire. It is made up of experiences, mostly fleeting and undramatic, repeated day after day and over the span of years. It is a unique blend of sights, sounds, and smells, a unique harmony of natural and artificial rhythms such as times of sunrise and sunset, of work and play. The sense of time affects the sense of place and is registered in one's body.[148] In fact, time is enmeshed in our embodiment. It is part of our sensorial memories as much as it is part of our knowledge. Our past memories are not composing a backdrop in the back of our mind, they are not a home to which we can go when we feel the need, they are part of our present and they articulate and influence all our thoughts and behaviours.

Beautifully stated by Simone de Beauvoir, "the past is not a peaceful landscape lying there behind me, a country in which I can stroll wherever I please, (...). As I was moving forward, so it was crumbling. Most of the wreckage that can still be seen is colorless, distorted, frozen. Here and there, I see occasional pieces whose melancholy beauty enchants me."[149]

148 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. p.183-184.

149 de Beauvoir, Simone. *The Coming of Age*. New York: Putnam, 1972. p.365.

To comprehend even better the influences of the social context in which the behaviours are emerging, it is important to understand adequately the architectural practice and the aesthetics values in the Japanese culture. The interpretation of the Japanese context is placed on the opposite end of the Western context by many thinkers. For example, aesthetics in the West are mainly concerned with the theories of art; on the other hand, Japanese aesthetics have been concerned with theories of taste. Richie summarizes this distinction with great insight: "What is beautiful (in Japan) depends, not upon imagination (as Addison thought), nor qualities proper in the object (as Hume said), nor in its paradoxes (as Kant maintained) but rather in a social consensus."[150] The theories of taste are therefore based on social consensus and rule the aesthetic preferences. But a democratic consent on the theories of taste and their place in the Japanese society is quite recent. There was no word corresponding to "aesthetic" before 1883. Japan introduced its equivalent (*bigaku*) because the term became necessary to refer to what "foreigners meant when they spoke of *aesthetik*; the German philosopher Hegel's term for the 'science of the fine arts'. "[151] The meaning of *bigaku* was developed, integrated and appropriated through the following years. Japan indeed developed its proper sense of beauty and of taste. For example, beauty is both the expression and the result of an awareness that comes from a highly self-conscious regard of nature, as well as from an accompanying discipline; that is one of the reasons why the arts are rarely casual in Japan.[152]

Also, any Japanese architects, writers, painters or any kind of artist welcome and even prize indecision in the structure of their work. Logical and symmetrical ideas are usually ignored or avoided to exclude any suppositions. **The assumptions of the artist's controlling mind are not followed; it is his hand, his body and his emotions, not his will that acts in his art.**[153] Although this might be seen as an opposition of body and mind, Japan makes more or less of the body/mind, self/group formation, with often marked consequences. Indeed, Japanese aesthetics (in contrast to Western aesthetics) are more concerned with process than with the product, with the actual construction of a self than with self-expression.[154]

150 Richie, Donald. *A Tractate on Japanese Aesthetics*. Albany: Stone Bridge Press. 2007. p.27-28.
151 Ibid. p.20.
152 Ibid. p.31-33.
153 Ibid. p.12.
154 Ibid. p.15.

It has been expressed that culture influences behaviours, but etymology and language influence, on their hand, not only culture but behaviours and beliefs, too. We might notice the attempt of the West; through Plato, Addison, Hegel, Hume, Kant and many others to categorize aesthetic concepts. In Japan, however, there is no problem in the categorization and use of different terms to describe aesthetic concepts.[155] "Japanese aesthetic terms not only lie like strata, one on top of another but combine with each other. For example, *wabi* and *sabi* mingle promiscuously and also have relations with *yugen* at one extreme and with *furyu* at the other. This intimacy of aesthetic attributes amounted to an ambition."[156] To comprehend better the context of *bigaku* in Japan, it is important to define its most important terms. The term *furyu* has a more serious aesthetic history and usually means something like "stylish." Its origin comes from China where the term *fengliu* meant "good manners," although when it reached Japan toward the beginning of the Heian period (794-1185) it retained this definition of social rectitude. To this was later added its aesthetic hue - redefined manners as reflected in things regarded as tasteful or elegant.[157] *Sabi* is also an aesthetic term but concerned with chronology or temporality as it expresses time and its effects, with its product. "*Sabi*, perhaps the earlier of the terms, derives from a number of sources (and) other meanings include *sabiteru*, 'to become rusty', by extension 'to become old', and the adjective *sabishi* which means, 'lonely'. "[158] *Wabi,* on the other hand, is a more philosophical concept; it is not only concerned with the object or its evolution as *sabi* is. It is concerned "with manner, with a process, with direction."[159] Both *wabi* and *sabi* recommend the appreciation of an austere beauty and a serene and accepting attitude toward the cold vicissitudes of life. It was derived from the verb *wabu* (to fade, dwindle), and the adjective *wabishi* (forsaken, deserted) originally meant something unpleasant. By the Kamakura period (1185-1333), however, the meaning had turned more positive. A difference is that whereas *sabishi* (lonely) refers primarily to the emotional state, *wabishi* is used more often to describe the actual conditions under which one lives.[160]

155 Ibid. p.57.
156 Ibid. p.34.
157 Ibid. p.33.
158 Ibid. p.43-44.
159 Idem.
160 Ibid. p.46-47.

Finally, the aesthetic term *aware* is applied to the aspects of nature, life, and art but that is adjunct to individual awareness of ephemeral beauty. It is said to be the closest term to *sabi* because both are concerned by the temporality and the fact that the beauty of the world is in constant change. The reaction linked to *aware* is a resigned melancholy, an awe, or even a measured and accepting pleasure. The translation of the term to the English language was never successful. For one, Michael F. Marra, has described *mono no aware* as "a person's ability to realize the moving power of external reality and, as a result, to understand and, thus, communicate with others."[161] However, the more modern variant of *mono no aware* ascribed to the scholar Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), who revived or invented the term "as a way to prove native Japanese thought (as opposed to imported Chinese influence) superior and, in fact, 'unique'. (...) *Mono no aware* was in its modern sense extended to define the essential in Japanese culture. Its aim became political."[162] Japan defines the awe, the aware in all of its senses as the basis from which sprouts other aesthetic categories such as *wabi, sabi,* and *yugen* among others. *Yugen* as a concept signifies mystery and depth. "Yu means 'dimness, shadow-filled,' and gen means 'darkness.' It comes from a Chinese term, *you xuan*, which meant something too deep, either to comprehend or even to see. In Japan, the concept became (...) 'the ideal of an artistic effect both mysterious and ineffable, of a subtle, complex tone achieved by emphasizing the unspoken connotations of words and the implications of a poetic situation.' "[163]

161 Richie, Donald. *A Tractate on Japanese Aesthetics*. Albany: Stone Bridge Press. 2007. p.55.

162 Ibid. p.52-53.

163 Ibid. p.54.

Japanese aesthetics not only dictate the frame in which the theories of taste are born or expressed, they also contribute to moral life. Through the definition of the previous terms, it has been detected that Japan has a concern for the cultivation of a respectful, caring, and considerate attitude toward others, in this case, other humans. There is also a concern for time, its action and space in general as evolution, shadows and depth can be expressed through specific terms. "Of course, cultivating such an attitude toward other humans is not limited to the Japanese tradition. In the Japanese tradition, however, it is often cultivated through aesthetic means. (...) Himself an architect, Juhani Pallasmaa criticizes the contemporary architectural profession as encouraging the super-stardom of individual 'geniuses' whose creations exist for the sake of self-aggrandizement, alienating the users and inhabitants."[164] Could it be possible that the etymology of Japanese terms help architecture keep a mission toward public good and benefit? Is the architectural practice influenced by society's aesthetic definition? The interplay between the intention of architects or artists and the experiential phenomenon lies in the analysis of our perceptions and responses. The following chapter will attempt to show distinct phenomena, not as totalities, but as fragments, organized thematically according to their temporality.

164 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*. New York: Routledge. 2013. p.164,173.

"As in direct perceptual experience, architecture is initially understood as a series of partial experiences, rather than a totality."[165] The study of behaviours is a direct entrance to understanding people's perspectives and taste.

To further stress the importance of time and place, the idea of timescale is introduced in the observation of behaviours. Rhythms deriving from behaviours, too, are or should be taken into consideration by architects or planners. The peculiar study of rhythms is embedded in the study of architectural appropriation and surrounds us in our daily life. "The coordination of different rhythms can result in various encounters: the past with the future, and the social with the natural, building up a spatial and temporal framework for positioning ourselves in the here and now. Such an overlay resembles the temporal arts, such as theater and music, and relativizes compositional concepts from the twentieth century, influenced largely by the visual arts of painting and sculpture. Behaviours gradually increase in precision and sophistication through repetitive responses to certain conditions, (...) and cannot be acquired (or acknowledged) by any single individual but rather links people living together in an area with the buildings they make, encompasses

165 Holl, Steven & Pérez-Gómez, Alberto & Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Questions of perception : phenomenology of architecture*. San Francisco: William K. Stout. 2006. p.42.

in the larger social and cultural sphere. In this way, architecture stores the intellectual capacity of human beings throughout history. Through the frame of behaviourology, the existence of architecture might be rediscovered for its generosity, as it stands alongside human beings and is mindful of our individual differences."[166] Indeed, architecture takes a position with ethical consequences for which a theoretical discourse is mandatory. The biggest difficulty of architecture at the beginning of the century is that "the architect exists silently in the public realm, and is, therefore, an affirmation. Moreover, the architect embraces the contradictions between perception and logic, the slippage between architectural intention and realization, and the unpredictability of the future's judgement upon the acting present, and 'resolve' or confuse these aporias through his/her personal imagination."[167] By doing so, the architects tint their work with their own perceptions and taste. "Could it be the reason why there is so often a misalignment of the positions of user and creator in works of architecture? Could it be a reason why architects desert users and their surroundings? Why does the architect's wishes overwhelm the user's wishes? What will become of urban space when architects are fascinated first and foremost with new forms of architectural expression? Has harmonious urban space disappeared? What is the state of public space today, and what might it become in the future?"[168] Architectural practice must acknowledge that the built environment is available for a plurality of users. If the built environment was to lose its plasticity and its connection with the language and wisdom of the body (embodiment), it would become isolated, obsolete and a mere piece of art. "The detachment of construction from the realities of matter and craft turns architecture into a stage sets for the eye, devoid of the authenticity of material and tectonic logic. (...) Beyond architecture, our culture at large seems to drift towards a distancing, a kind of chilling, de-sensualization, and de-eroticization of the human relation to reality. (...)"[169]

166 Atelier Bow-Wow. *The Architectures of Atelier Bow-Wow: Behaviorology*. New York: Rizzoli. 2010. p.15.

167 Holl, Steven & Pérez-Gómez, Alberto & Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Questions of perception : phenomenology of architecture*. San Francisco: William K. Stout. 2006. p.4.

168 Atelier Bow-Wow. *The Architectures of Atelier Bow-Wow: Behaviorology*. New York: Rizzoli. 2010. p.8.

169 Holl, Steven & Pérez-Gómez, Alberto & Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Questions of perception: phenomenology of architecture*. San Francisco: William K. Stout. 2006. p.29.

Japanese practice seems to have the same concerns as the West, yet the bond present in traditional Japanese architecture has been broken in the post-war period with the arrival of Western architectural designs and concepts of privatized spaces. Even the change of materials and technologies contributed to this split. Tatami (*washitsu*), paper walls (*shoji*), hallways (*genkan*), etc. have been abandoned to profit concrete. These new ideas have temporarily stopped the implementation of open notions of space, the fluidity between parts and quick and easy modulation that once existed in the design of *apāto* (apartments), *ikkodate* (houses) and *minka* (traditional dwelling) gave way to the more static conception of *manshon*. But there is now and since a few years ago, a return to the Japanese tradition; a return to the concepts of open interior space to the outside space and vice versa. This return greatly influences behaviours in both spaces since as mentioned the user's space has to be shared. The limit between the two is no longer straightforward. The segregation of ownership (private-public) and the notions of belonging no longer apply in the same way in the West than in East. Ryue Nishizawa from SANAA pretty much sums up this ideology to its origins. The physical and social relation between the inside and outside of a house has been strongly emphasized in anthropological accounts of Japan. "The concepts of *uchi* and *soto* signify spatial meanings of inside and outside respectively, with *uchi* used literally to denote the home itself. (...) The house thus embodies the principles of social relations and the relationship of the individuals to others (self and community). The state is also connected to this nexus as the fence that surrounds the house and household is broadened conceptually to become the boundaries of the state. (...) The house represents the realisation through the family, of a distinctive Japanese relationship - the fusion of calm passion with material selflessness. The concept of the house in Japan takes on a unique and important significance as, if you like, the community of communities."[170]

The return to fluid spaces and permeability eases the approach with neighbours and the immediate community. Of course additionally to the erasure of a frontier between private and public spaces, the in-between, the shared space areas also helps in building stronger communities. "The regeneration of houses would revolve not around a core, but a void - the gap space between buildings - and would be propelled by the initiatives of individual families, rather than the accumulation of central capital. Further distinguished from the 'Core Metabolism' of fifty years ago, it is within the framework of 'Void Metabolism' that the practice of designing (Japan's urbanity) is clearly perceivable (...)."[171] Shared spaces should be prioritized to huge spaces because they help the users in their relation with themselves, others, and their environment. "We don't need to make huge megalomaniac spaces of some idealized vision of the world, we need to make small places for the individual,"[172] and that is exactly what contemporary Japan tries to achieve. Architecture is grounded through the idealized vision and is all about helping citizens find a better connection to their environment. In Japan, we feel that there is a force to open the city to the intimate spaces. As said by Atelier Bow-Wow and Tsukamoto, a Japanese film director, Japan now has an architecture embodying what they call the "ubiquitous strong force of capital," derived from "the quiet accumulation of everyday life features" that embodied the "weak force" of "a thoroughgoing democracy."[173] Concretely, the architect gives a new interpretation of the way of living: his residential constructions are open to the city and seem to have almost no walls. Contemporary architecture strives toward a fluid and symbiotic connection between home and hometown. The interior of the house and the city are no longer considered as two separate entities. **The visual exchange between the life of the occupant and urban activity is continuous. Like on a film set or theater stage, the occupant is in front of an audience.** His life inside the house offers a spectacle in the street and the city, it supplies visually and emotionally. "And within the public space itself - the veritable stage of gathering - many distinct characteristics can also be recognized. Many occupants of the same space can share a specific behaviour, thus melting social distinctions and psychological barriers. If you want to experience the warmth of a group or empathize with strangers, it is first necessary to share a time, a location, and a certain sophistication of behaviour suitable for the occasion. (...) Daily life is reframed by architecture, as if by a film or theater director, into something light-hearted, sweet, or humorously self-evident."[174] The built object invariably emerges as a product of such a negotiated order.[175] Successful architectural performance is linked closely to convincing representations of architecture.

170 Hirayama, Yosuke & Ronald, Richard. *Housing and social transition in Japan*. Abingdon: Routledge. 2007. p.172.

171 Atelier Bow-Wow. *The Architectures of Atelier Bow-Wow: Behaviorology*. New York: Rizzoli. 2010. p.13.

172 Buck, David N. *Responding to Chaos*. London: Taylor & Francis. 2000. p.189.

173 Sand, Jordan. *Tokyo Vernacular: common spaces, local histories, found objects*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2013. p.161.

174 Atelier Bow-Wow. *The Architectures of Atelier Bow-Wow: Behaviorology*. New York: Rizzoli. 2010. p.14.

175 Brown, Andrew. *'Invisible walls' and 'silent hierarchies': A case study of power relations in an architecture firm*. London: The Tavistock Institute. 2010. p.542.

Books, competitions and other representations function as media to express creative design beyond the (narrow) boundaries of what clients would commercially fund and aesthetically acknowledge.[176] "Japan's architectural vanguard, whose contribution to world architecture had been mega-structure-based master plans for the city of the future, now proposes the opposite: the urban anti-monument, which is small, commonplace, serendipitous, and even absurd. (...) Even narrow alleys, formerly the city planner's prime evidence of backwardness, came to be seen as cultural heritage."[177]

One thing peculiar to architecture in Japan is the importance of *wabi* and *sabi* in its deployment. Architecture differs with every circumstance, site and users. As stated, architecture is not only about creating a stage and its envelope for citizens' daily actions. It is as much about creating an area to deploy their mind than their body. Architecture has to suppose that the occupants will feel *sabishi* (lonely), which refers to the possible emotional state of the citizens, and also, *wabishi,* which describes the actual conditions under which they might live. The space has to appear infinitely open and free. "An attitude reaching toward the full extension of those earliest freedoms of modern architectural thought could take architecture beyond neo-modernities and post-modernities into a realm where ideas have no boundaries - and the final measure of architecture lies in its perceptual essences, changing the experience of our lives."[178] Architects are no longer service providers whose function is purely to satisfy the needs of clients or artists or whose function is to stimulate senses and trigger contemplation or thoughts,[179] but it is probably both. The built environment is an addition or a multiplication of experience, imagination, and media-generated images through the embodied experience of the beholder.

Having defined the contours of the architectural and aesthetic context and the production of the built environment, we will now take a look at the micro-practices of everyday life and analyse their importance or scope in Japan.

176 Brown, Andrew. *'Invisible walls' and 'silent hierarchies': A case study of power relations in an architecture firm.* London: The Tavistock Institute. 2010. p.544.

177 Sand, Jordan. *Tokyo Vernacular: common spaces, local histories, found objects*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2013. p.162.

178 Holl, Steven & Pérez-Gómez, Alberto & Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Questions of perception: phenomenology of architecture*. San Francisco: William K. Stout. 2006. p.119.

179 Idem.

Typology of Appropriation-

As said by Roland Barthes: "if I were to invent a fictive nation, I could give it an invented name, treat it declaratively as a novelistic object, I could also, though in no way claiming to represent or to analyze reality itself - isolate somewhere, some things, in the world, a certain number of features, and out of these features deliberately form a system. It is this system which I shall and would call: Japan."[180] The aim of this chapter is to create a system within Roland Barthes' system. More specifically, the system within will classify the encountered behaviours according to their length. It is in no way claiming to represent or analyze global reality but much more the subjective reality of the observer. The features forming the behavioural system are vast, sometimes vague and substantial so a selection has been made among them and are defined concisely at the beginning of each part. All of them deal undoubtedly with the notion of public and private with which we've dealt since the first chapter. On the subject, **the sociologist Ritsuko Ozaki shows how the different interpretations that make the Western and the Japanese cultures of the concept of privacy have influenced architecture and even the shape of the built environment.**[181] As he explains, there was no word in Japanese that truly translated to the English term "privacy." It is only recently that the term *purabaishi*, with its individualistic connotations, appeared in the current Japanese language. To evoke the feeling of intimacy, the Japanese had other words, but they were not relating to subjectivity (as a group or as a person). According to Ozaki, the merger between the private and public spaces in Japanese culture was precisely due to the absence of the term "privacy" and its linguistic referent. This important differentiation factor helps identify the different relationships that develop in one and the other culture, between the individual, his family and friends and his neighbourhood. For example, physical proximity between family members, is not a problem in Japan, since it tends to spread various forms of cohabitation in connection with different lifestyles (it is common for parents, grandparents, children, couples, etc. to find themselves under the same roof), while the Westerners seems to favour increasing privatization of spaces reserved for each member of the family inside the house. This model can also be extended to workspace, restaurants, bathrooms, hotels, and finally, public space in which we have much more interests in the present research.

Going against the widespread idea of a progressive homogenization of conditions and lifestyles in global megacities, the next chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the phenomena or behaviours encountered in Japan. Through contrasting interpretations culturally bounded, the proximity and relationships between occupants will also be scoped. Of course, through the perceptions and observations underlies a question of intention. The intention as expressed previously is an attempt to prove the importance of behaviourology in architecture as a method of analysis for a sustainable built environment.

"As anyone who ever felt disturbed by traffic congestion, construction noise or littered sidewalks can confirm, urban spaces are contested. One person's use of such spaces affects that of other persons, and while the effect may sometimes be welcome - such as when a vibrant street life is seen as attractive - it is not always so, with people's judgments of what constitutes a positive addition to their perceptual environment varying widely on top. Nuisances may have the ephemerality of a cigarette butt on the pavement but can also be more permanent, such as when formerly public spaces are fenced in or when new buildings change accustomed views."[182]

Types of appropriation are like a palimpsest. They consist of numerous layers of semantic complexity and much depends on one's point of view. The subjectivity of public space leads to the empirical approach of the research. Appropriated spaces include both user and place, in Edward Soja's words, "both space-forming and space-contingent, a producer and product of spatiality."[183]

As said, questions of architectural perception underlie questions of intention. "This 'intentionality' sets architecture apart from a pure phenomenology that manifests for the natural sciences. Whatever the perception of a built work - whether it is troubling, intriguing, or banal - the mental energy that produced it is ultimately deficient unless the intent is articulated (by the body or the language). The relationship between the experiential qualities of architecture and the generative concepts are analogous to the tension between the empirical and the rational. Here, the logic of pre-existing concepts meets the contingency and particularity of experience."[184]

180 Daniell Thomas. *After the Crash: Architecture in Post-Bubble Japan*. New York. Princeton Architectural Press. 2008, p.10.

181 Ozaki, Ritsuko. *Housing as A Reflection of Culture: Privatised Living and Privacy in England and Japan*. London: Routledge. 2002. p.209-227.

182 Brumann, Christoph & Schulz, Evelyn. *Urban Spaces in Japan: Cultural and Social Perspectives*. London: Routledge. 2015. p.53.

183 Soja, Edward. *Postmodern Geographies: The reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. New York: Verso London. 1989. p.129.

184 Holl, Steven & Pérez-Gómez, Alberto & Pallasmaa, Juhani. *Questions of perception : phenomenology of architecture*. San Francisco: William K. Stout. 2006. p.41.

A function of this research (among other forms of empirical expression) is to give visibility to intimate experiences, including those of places, experienced by the observer.

This section focuses on the importance of the body as both the subject of theory and as a site for theorizing environments, spatial, and social aspects of human life. The goal is to facilitate "knowledge that theorizes from bodies and privileges the material ways in which bodies are constituted, experienced and represented."[185] The chapter is separated according to the temporality of the types of appropriation because, as previously mentioned, the more common a place becomes to the occupant, the more liberties he will take into that space. A special emphasis is put on performances and on homelessness since, through their own rhythm, those are particular, culturally influenced, types of appropriation that have a great impact on perceptions, politics, embodiment and architectural practice.

185 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*. New York: Routledge. 2013. p.210.

An architectural work combines physical and mental structures. It involves the body and the mind; it is not experienced as a collection of isolated pictures. "Good architecture offers shapes and surfaces moulded for the pleasurable touch of the eye."[186] It incorporates stimulation for all the senses, of memories and of dreams from the past, the present, and the future. "Edward S. Casey even argues that our capacity of memory would be impossible without a body memory. The world is reflected in the body, and the body is projected onto the world. We remember through our bodies as much as through our nervous system and brain."[187] From embodiment to politics, architecture and space are defined by a lot of things combined. *Place* can also be defined in a variety of ways. Among them, is the definition of Yi-Fu Tuan: "place is whatever stable object catches our attention."[188] In fact, as we look at panoramas, our eyes pause at points of interest, which are considered as landmarks from our standing point. "Each pause is time enough to create an image of place that looms large momentarily in our view. The pause may be of short duration and the interest so fleeting that we may not be fully aware of having focused on any particular object; we believe we have simply been looking at the general scene. Nonetheless, these pauses have occurred. It is not possible to look at a scene in general; our eyes keep searching for points of rest. We may be deliberately searching for a landmark, or a feature on the horizon may be so prominent that it compels attention. As we gaze and admire a famous mountain peak on the horizon, it looms so largely in our consciousness that the picture we take of it with a camera is likely to disappoint us, revealing a midget where we would expect to find a giant. The peak on the horizon is highly visible. It is a monument, a public place that can be pointed to and recorded."[189] Those landmarks enable us to pause ourselves and to ground our gaze. In megacities, landmarks are usually the buildings, sculptures, squares, or other features that stand out. They could stand out or be known by a majority of people due to their height, massiveness or because they are located strategically, for example, on major public transportation lines. Of course, the important road intersections in Japan become crowded public spaces rapidly due to the high density of its cities. The street itself, as a landmark, tends to become a stage that connects different levels of spatiality, and sociologically it increases vital communication between occupants.

186 Pallasmaa, Juhani. *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*. West Sussex: Wiley. 2012. p.48.

187 Ibid. p.49.

188 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. p.161.

189 Idem.

As they also become focal points in the city, intersections are renowned meeting places and landmarks between friends, families and colleagues.[190] Although they can be completely the contrary, a small place, a corner of streets or an unknown shop or restaurant but that are well known by the people meeting at that point. In that case, the landmark is familiar and has a history of previous experiences on one or both parts. Undeniably, "many places, profoundly significant to particular individuals and groups, have little visual prominence. They are known viscerally and not through the discerning eye or mind."[191] Even if a landmark in itself can be pretty much anything from the familiar coffee shop to the train station in the city-center, there are known places to meet or to orient oneself. Spatially, the Japanese citizens are said to be very efficient regarding meetings and *rendez-vous*.[192] Although, the exact contrary stands for their efficacy regarding temporality in *rendez-vous*. "In Tokyo, one meets in front of Ginza's Wako Department Store, in front of the Almond Cofee Shop in Roppongi, in front of the statue of the dog Hachiko in Shibuya, a famous beast who loyally waited for its dead master. Most waiting Japanese are in the position of Hachiko. It is rare to observe anyone being on time. Those who are on time and are doing the waiting are those in an inferior position, or those who want something from the late arrival. Time is money, indeed, but for all this show of making appointments, Japanese standards are not those of the West. (...) Many Japanese would wait an hour, standing by the store, the coffee shop, or bronze dog."[193] Let's remember that the Japanese conception of time is quite different from the West. As stated in the first chapter, architecture, not temporality helps the occupants in grasping the pulse of the city. Time cannot be used as a weapon and cannot be used to indicate virtue or vice.[194] Time and localisation is part of our embodied conception of the city.

190 Sacchi, Livio. *Tokyo: Architecture et urbanisme*. Milan: Flammarion. 2005. p.90.

191 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. p.162.

192 Richie, Donald. *Viewed Sideways: Writings on Culture and Style in Contemporary Japan*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press. 2011. p.32-33.

193 Idem.

194 Ibid. p.33.


5
13
出口 Exit
JR線・近鉄線・地下鉄のりかえ
Transfer to JR Lines, Kintetsu Line, Subway
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As the type of landmark can be practically anything, the typology of appropriation in all of those spaces are quite generic. In fact, it is impossible to know if someone considers a certain place to be a landmark at a given time. The distinction depends on the activity they conduct; on whether or not they locate themselves in the city in relation to a well-known landmark or again if the landmark itself acts as a place for meeting people. Both scenarios give insights on what a landmark could be, but actually the landmark becomes a landmark only when the occupant acts a certain way towards it. Usually, those behaviours include observation; there is a visual contact between the occupant and his borrowed landmark and there is a movement for orienting and placing himself in relation to his *point de repère*. The presence of landmarks is that much more important in Japan because the streets of a great number of cities are not named. In the urban territory, there are only districts on rather empty maps. Written addresses exist but only for postal services. The addresses actually refer to a plan, by district, and then by blocks, but are numbered according to the order of construction of the buildings. Moreover, the information is practically only available to the postman, certainly not to the tourist or visitor. Tokyo, for example, is practically unclassified, as the spaces, which compose it in detail, remain unnamed. "Tokyo reminds us that the rational is merely one system among others. For there to be a mastery of the real (in this case, the reality of addresses), it suffices that there be a system, even if this system is apparently illogical, uselessly complicated, curiously disparate (...)."[195] Neighbourhoods and districts are limited, dense and contained by their centers. As expressed by Atelier Bow-Wow, Japan's urbanity's framework is articulated around the "Void Metabolism,"[196] or as SANAA puts it the "Core Metabolism."[197] Indeed the city center is usually a station, therefore a spiritual void. The station acts as a vast organism, which houses the big trains, the urban trains, the subway, the department stores, and underground commerces. "The station gives the district his landmark which, according to certain planners, permits the city to signify and to be read. The Japanese station is crossed by a thousand functional trajectories, from the journey to the purchase, from the garment to food: a train can open onto a shoe stall. Dedicated to commerce, to transition, to departure, and yet kept in a unique structure, the station is stripped of that character which ordinarily qualifies the major landmarks of our cities: cathedrals, town halls, and historical monuments. Here the landmark is entirely prosaic; no doubt the market is also a central site of the Western city; but in Japan, merchandise is in a sense undone by the station's instability: an incessant departure thwarts its concentration; one might say that it is only the preparatory substance of the package and that the package itself is only the pass, the permits departure. Thus, each district is collected in the void of its station, an empty point-of-affluence of all its occupations and its pleasures."[198] As the city center is usually articulated around transportation, the range of actions observed is of short duration and usually transitory. In almost every site of the country, travelling occurs as a special organization of space.

A quite famous example in this line of thought is the city of Tokyo, which offers the precious paradox of having at the same time an empty and a filled center as most famous landmark. "The entire city turns around a site both forbidden and indifferent, a residence concealed beneath foliage, protected by moats, inhabited by an emperor who is never seen."[199] The whole transportation system, from the rapid, energetic, bullet-like trajectories to the pedestrians, bikers and taxis, avoids this circled landmark hiding the most sacred "nothing" or void of the country.[200] Tokyo is thereby built around an opaque circle of walls, streams, roofs and trees "whose center is no more than an evaporated notion, subsisting here, not in order to irradiate power but to give to the entire urban movement the support of its central emptiness, forcing the traffic to make a perpetual detour. In this manner, the system of the imaginary is spread circularly, by detours and returns the length of an empty subject."[201] In short, all the inhabitants of Tokyo are forced to gravitate around its void. As people travel and position themselves in space, the assimilating center of the infinite city is brought to the evidence of an empty limit too.

The occupants are limitless without the notion of grandeur or without a metaphysical reference that is the landmark. From the slope of the mountains to the neighbourhood intersection, everything can be habitat and every place can be appropriated and elevated to the term landmark or *point de repère*.

195 Barthes, Roland. *Empire of signs*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd. 1982. p.33.

196 Atelier Bow-Wow. *The Architectures of Atelier Bow-Wow: Behaviorology*. New York: Rizzoli. 2010. p.13.

197 Borasi, Giovanna & Nishizawa, Ryue & Taylor, Stephen. *Perspectives de vie à Londres et à Tokyo*. Zurich: Lars Müller Publishers. 2007. p.69.

198 Barthes, Roland. *Empire of signs*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd. 1982. p.38-39.

199 Ibid. p.32.

200 Idem.

201 Idem.

"The place has no other limit than its carpet of living sensations, of brilliant signs; it is no longer the great continuous wall which defines space, but the very abstraction of the fragments of view which frame me or with which I frame myself. The wall is destroyed beneath the inscription; (...) the public place is a series of instantaneous events which accede to the notable in a flash so vivid, so tenuous that the sign goes away with itself before any particular signified has had the time to 'take' it. "[202]

These patterns of daily life are complex and the landmarks chosen by their creators are nearly impossible to acknowledge. Landmarks have no choice but to be either near transportation lines, be remarkably visible or again be familiar. Probably for the second reason, or the lack thereof, there is a movement of unique, symbolic and imposing architecture emerging in Japan. "If a piece of sculpture is an image of feeling, then a successful building is an entire function realm made visible and tangible. As Susanne Langer, an aesthetics philosopher puts it, 'the architect creates a culture's image: a physically present human environment that expresses the characteristic rhythmic functional patterns, which constitute a culture.' "[203] The rhythms tracing sometimes fluids, sometimes complex patterns are the movements of social life. The designs emerging from an acknowledgement of those patterns are hardly specified in details since they cannot take into account the ephemeral and constant mutability of appropriation. Although architects have an intuitive grasp, a tacit understanding, of the rhythms of a culture, and seek to give them symbolic global form.[204] In short, the architect, even if he cannot grasp details, acknowledges the landmarks as having symbolic, aesthetic and functional value in everyday life.

202 Barthes, Roland. *Empire of signs*. Toronto: Mc-Graw-Hill Ryerson Ltd. 1982. p.107-108.

203 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. p.164.

204 Idem.

Landmarks act as places when they are identified as such by the occupant of the public space. It is thus an appropriated place in regards to the behaviour one has towards it. Although for this section, we analyze mainly the behaviour itself, not the potentiality a place has of being overlaid with a function through behaviour.

The observations of urban critic Jane Jacobs on the interaction of individual bodily routines, rooted in a particular environment, become important to study transitory behaviours.[205] Those bodily routines or as she calls them, place ballet are space bounded in an important place of interpersonal and communal exchange, meaning and attachment. Those types of places might include a bustling city street, a lively urban plaza, or a thriving city neighbourhood. "Most relevant to place-making and urban design is the possibility that, in a supportive physical environment, regular bodily routines in time and space (e.g. walking to work) can contribute to a larger-scale environment dynamic."[206] But as stressed in the previous section, who acts on what? Is the occupant dictating to space how to unravel itself to suit his needs or is it the space that commands the type of actions possible? How do physical qualities of the world, including the designable features, sustain and strengthen time-space ensembles of body-subject (including the place ballets)? Bill Hillier's space syntax theory, for one, provides "conceptual and empirical evidence that the physical and spatial environment plays an integral part in sustaining active streets and an urban sense of place."[207] Hillier questions the "deep structure of the city itself," the supposed framework contributing to urban life and answers that the structure exists to bring people together in urban space or to keep them apart.

There is indeed a designed and built relationship between the spatial frame and layout of pathways and the natural co-presence of individuals. The answer is therefore both; parties act on each other and influence behaviours. "Though Hillier's work is not phenomenological but structural and instrumentalist, it is significantly phenomenological because it demonstrates how a world's underlying spatial structure, or configuration, as Hillier called it, contributes to particular modes of human movement, corporeal co-presence, and interpersonal encounter. One important concept is axial space, which relates to one-dimensional qualities of space and has a bearing on human movement through a settlement as a whole."[208] To help urban planners and architects simulate the social effects of their designs, Hillier developed the global pattern of a place.

He discovered and articulated the movements involved in the pathway fabric of a place that puts people in relation with one another. This *natural movement* comprises the presence and awareness of the occupant towards informal interpersonal encounters, events, mass movements and street activity. "Hillier recognized that other urban elements like density, building types, and number, size, and range of functions and land uses also contribute to urban vitality, but he argued that, ultimately, pathway configuration is most primary and most crucial."[209] Transitory spaces in pathway fabric win the palm of the most social places in urban contexts. They are important in producing natural movement for the making of place ballets.

Most urban pathways, sidewalks and streets systems are integrated in the fabric to accommodate a variety of transportation. Although, it is noted that older cities - built before the democratization of cars - don't have the infrastructure necessary to accommodate vehicles bigger than scooters or motorcycles. While some pathways are regulating the accommodation they can support, some other pathways have been deformed to adapt to the increasing demand of citizens. In those cases, there is a variously scaled deformed grid and pathway system in which the most active, integrated streets form a rough or uneven shape.

205 Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage. 1992.

206 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*. New York: Routledge. 2013. p.206.

207 Idem.

208 Idem.

209 Ibid. p.207.

"In turn, the integrated pathway structures of some districts are joined together to shape a much larger deformed grid that founds the movement dynamic of the city as a whole. Hillier also points out that twentieth-century urban design and planning regularly replaced integrated pathway configurations with treelike systems of segregated pathways that stymied or destroyed the intimate relationship between local and global integration and thereby eliminated much face-to-face encounter. The 'cul-de-sac and loop' pattern of low-density, automobile-dependent suburbs or the hierarchical circulation layouts of many modernist housing estates, stands as a good example."[210] The critique made by Hillier, Jacobs, and many others is that the modern designs and planning of pathway configurations draw occupants apart rather than bring them together. Therefore, the possibility of individual habitual bodies gathering in co-presence is compromised because of the modern, car-based, planning approach. What humanistic geographer Yi-Fu Tuan termed fields of care, or what Jane Jacobs termed place ballets, or in other words, places that come to be known through prolonged, recurring, interpersonal exchanges and experience have to be preserved and favoured.[211] If it is believed that pathway configuration and transit spaces are vital for a healthy social atmosphere in the city, it is also believed that transit spaces have their share of downers. The connection of the city being the first function of those systems, it appears inconvenient that they leave the city totally disconnected after dark for a period of about four hours during which all city transit services are interrupted. The hyper connection we are used to in Tokyo and megacities turns into what architects and professors at Tokyo University have named "The 4 Hours Time Space Void."[212] Of course, the void and time-space emptiness created by the interruption can be viewed, as Japanese usually see nothingness, as a source of potentiality. But this gap in time and connectivity obviously influences the occupants' practice of space. The use of transports is dictated by the constraints posed by the system governing the connectivity of the city. Indeed, one can hail a cab or take a bike or a car to get around, but still, the mission of creating a space of sociability and encounters, a space ballet, fails every night during the exact same hours. Additionally to what was stressed about the void of Tokyo's city center, the interruption in the transportation system creates not only a space void, but also a temporal and movement disconnection and gap. Japan is praised as the country of *shinkasen*, of rapid and efficient transportation, but its connectivity and temporality stops for four hours in Tokyo, and much more in other cities, and creates an obstacle in the potential interactions of its people. Hence, there is a fourth dimension in the city's void: the lack of possibility of encounters. The cause of this social void is actually derived from the adoption of the Western world business success recipe that combines early to bed and early to rise ingredients. The effects of that recipe changed Japan's transportation's rhythms. "Buses stop running at ten thirty, the subways stop at midnight, and the trains shut down half an hour later. Unlike that of New York and Paris, shameless night-owl abodes, Japanese public transportation do not run all night long."[213] Yet, the entertainment districts are filled with people long after midnight. Often, after putting long hours of work, employees are not fortunate enough to catch the last train home or take a taxi. Consequently, they are obliged to stay overnight with an office friend; an event wives or husbands back home will accept as a part of the normal temporal rhythm of working late. Being a time-conscious culture (frames in offices often include the motto "Time is money"), the amount of temporal waste is surprisingly low.[214] The impact of the transportation's time-space-void affects social encounters but also working, eating, entertaining and sleeping routines and rhythms.

As said, citizens have the power of behaving the way they want in their built environment but sometimes they are guided or forbidden or simply cannot go to certain places and areas at specific time of the day or the year. Since it is culturally impregnated to follow the rules and customs in Japan to maintain the established order, the respect for authority is, consequently, highly perceivable in daily actions. Occupants of transitory spaces are aware of the rules and follow them perfectly. It is almost impossible to see a pedestrian cross a street when he does not have the go-to light, even if there is no one in his sight. In the same train of thought, if a path is designed to accommodate pedestrians, they will use it even if it means walking a longer distance. In the West, you would commonly see a new informal path created by users to spare time. People also stand on the left side of every transitory space to let rushed people travel on the right lane. These phenomena emerge out of Japanese's cultural rigour, awareness and respect for other occupants. Moreover, if someone falls asleep on public transportation and leans on your shoulder it is common practice to not wake them up and let them rest. Remember that the extended working hours brought an increased efficacy in time-management.

210 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*. New York: Routledge. 2013. p.207.

211 Ibid. p.208.

212 Dimmer, Christian & Solomon, Erez Golani & Morris, Brian. *4 Hours: Orchestration Of Timespace*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo. 2009. p.10.

213 Richie, Donald. *Viewed Sideways: Writings on Culture and Style in Contemporary Japan*. Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press. 2011. p.31.

214 Ibid. p.32.

Since most of the workers sleep or rests while on public transportation, no one speaks on their phone or to a companion to avoid the discomfort of noises or disturbance for other passengers. Also, there is no passenger eating or drinking while on transit for the same reason. Actually no Japanese ever eats or drinks while traveling or walking even with the remarkable presence of small restaurants and vending machines. Japanese buy their goods to eat them when they arrive at destination.

The theoretical framework laid in the previous chapter helps to relate Jacob's place ballet theory and Bill Hillier' space-syntax theory to Merleau-Ponty's theories of phenomenology and perception to understand embodiment from a perspectival point of view in transitory space. Merleau-Ponty provides many examples of how the body-subject adjusts his actions spatially depending on the context so there are no disruptions or accidents. His most significant example relates to our own bodily mastery of the place we call home or to very familiar spaces we know. Those types of space are easy to travel into because the hand, the legs, and the whole body know them and not only by a set of associated images but by embodiment. The distances, textures, lights, and sounds belonging to the awareness of the body can extend over to environmental broad scales, and wider-ranging time-space routines and place ballets.[215]

The moving body is opening itself to the world. According to David Morris, Merleau-Ponty should be more contextual; he states: "neither the experiencing body nor the world experienced are separated and self-contained but 'inherently interdependent.' 'The body is in the depths of the world, yet in those depths through a flowing threshold that overlaps body and world.' 'Our sense of space,' Morris writes, 'is enfolded in an outside, in a world that crosses our body.'"[216] The mysteries of embodiment lie in the interactions or exchanges the being has with its surroundings and its fellow beings. Similarly to Merleau-Ponty, David Morris conceives embodiment as the "intertwining of sense, and being sensed, touch and being touched, encounter and being encountered - a sort of 'formative medium' between person and world, a kind of already-and-always-present entwining between experience and world experienced."[217] The reciprocity of intimacy between occupants, suggested by the theories of Hillier, Jacobs and Morris, valorises encounters to be part of the flesh of every occupant proper. It is part of the human body to be connected with things and other living beings.

215 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*. New York: Routledge. 2013. p.208.

216 Ibid. p.208-209.

217 Ibid. p.209.

"The self is a site of relation between dual aspects or sides, and this self flourishes through intercorporeal encounters."[218]

The configuration qualities of the body (Merleau-Ponty's concept of flesh) and the world (Hillier's concept of space-syntax) both contribute to demonstrating how intercorporeal encounters are emerging. To copy and transfer Merleau-Ponty's concept to transitional spaces, it is primordial that the environment's flesh of the city permits or encourages encounters and the development of a familiarity towards the pathway fabric. It is thus the environmental flesh, also named spatial configurations, that "beckons us and others to move in particular ways so we meet or are held apart in co-presence and co-awareness."[219] Moreover, the occupants "sense of space develops in a social relation that will have ethical implications; our sense of others and thence of the ethical presupposes our sense of space, for this gives us our initial sense of responsibility to something beyond us (namely a city's quality of life)."[220] As said, the loss of connectivity in urban contexts posits a problem because it keeps a physical separation between bodies rather than enhancing communal togetherness, place ballets, and fields of care. Jacobs reminds us of the civic life importance in neighbourhoods.[221] She states that residents establish bonds of recognition "that ground communities together and provide 'eyes on the street'[222] that keep watch over children and strangers and make a neighbourhood sociable and safe. One recognizes a kind of 'neighbourhood flesh' in which insiders, outsiders, time, and space merge physically and existentially in a tissue of place."[223] Transit spaces are therefore much more than only valuable in the city for connecting its diverse areas. It is the core, the void of the city as well as its structure. It bonds people together and can be appropriated in many different ways. "The nexus of personal and collective experience of social, built, and natural environments, including the possibilities of bodily activities"[224] is grounded in transit spaces.

218 Idem.

219 Idem.

220 Idem.

221 Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Vintage. 1992.

222 Edge, Deckle. *Eyes on the Street: The Life of Jane Jacobs*. New York: Knopf. 2016.

223 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*. New York: Routledge. 2013. p.209-210.

224 Ibid. p.210.

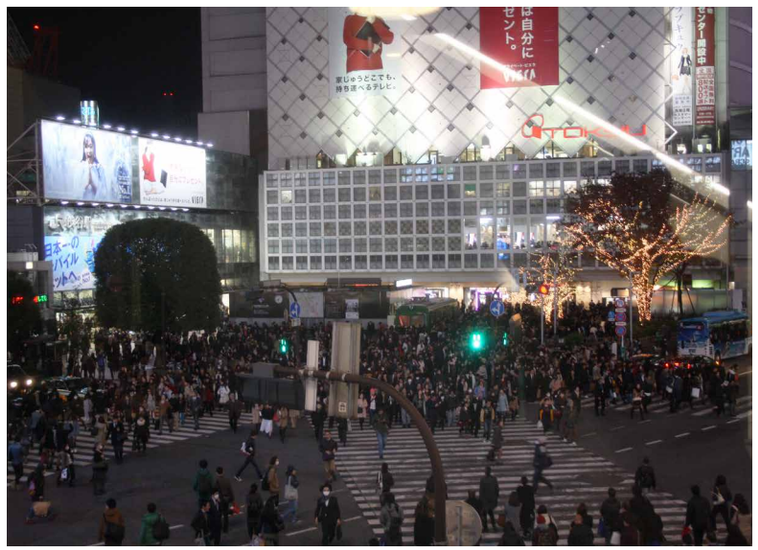
"Today the nodes are usually train stations, or rather complexes of interlinked stations, such as the great subcenters of Shibuya, Shinjuku and Ikebukuro. There is nothing mysterious about the siting of Tokyo *sakariba*; urban geographers have studied them closely, and can easily explain them in terms of modern location theory. The critical point is that they are determined not by conscious and coordinated planning, but in spontaneous response to the logic of transportation system and the marketplace. (...) Nowhere is the sense of change more pronounced than in the vast underground spaces that serve to unify the largest of the stations into self-enclosed megastructures."[225]

In fact, train stations or underground complexes enable their appropriation by staying open at extended hours and combining hygiene facilities, furniture to rest and even businesses to shop and pass the time; although, it is the occupant who decides how to use the station. It can indeed be only for transports but it is not the only option. In other words, space does not exist for people to perform their actions, but it gets constituted as a perceptible and describable space through the actions of people: "a train station has to be designed as a space where trains stop on their route from one destination to another and where people may board these trains. Just as importantly, people cannot act independently of space and their actions cannot be interpreted independently of the space where they occur. This is evident when looking at the example of train stations. A person running through the building without looking right or left will be considered not a fugitive of the law, for instance, or as training for the next city marathon, but as intent on reaching his train. The space 'train station' defines him as a passenger and his actions will be interpreted accordingly. However, a train station might on occasion be used as a temporary refuge by homeless people or as an exceptional site of a cultural event, in which case people have defined the space as different from its normal use.[226]

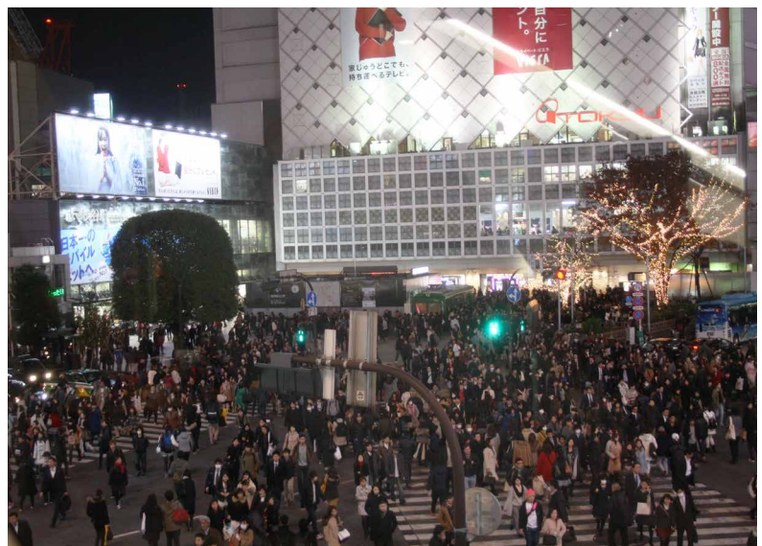
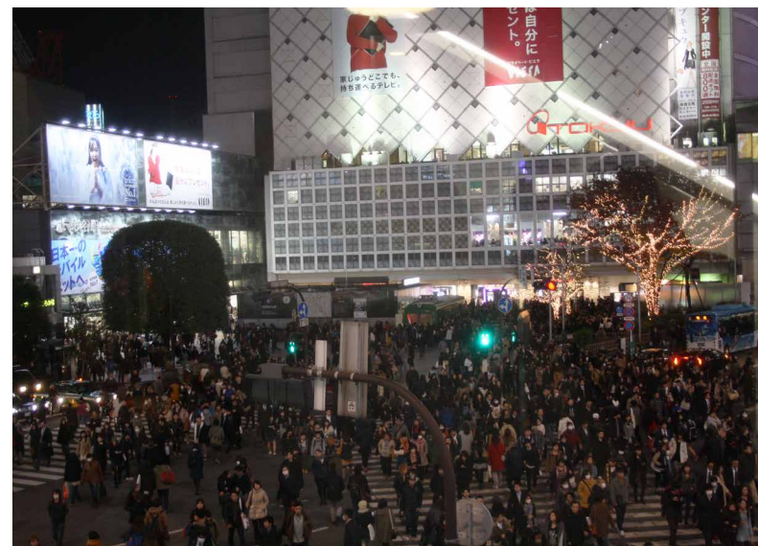
225 Friedman, Mildred. *Tokyo: Form and Spirit*. New York: Abrams. 1986. p.34.

226 Brumann, Christoph & Schulz, Evelyn. *Urban Spaces in Japan: Cultural and Social Perspectives*. London: Routledge. 2015. p.168.





Time is expressed as a boundary or frontiers just as space is, in the public realm. Most public spaces are designed according to their spatiality and their programmatic plan. The most recurrent functions of those plans enable an in between temporary and permanent appropriation. The time portrayed in architectural conception and work is the time of the everyday world - concrete, actual and unconcerned with ultimate. Programmatic plans usually include zones for eating, playing, learning, hosting events of all kind, and are fulfilling their "purpose" when they are resilient enough to enable all of those and give the freedom of using the space how the occupants wants. Japan, particularly, presented during its integrated periods, the still surprising spectacle of people whom in the most natural way made appropriation a way of life.[227] The focus of this section will be put on the action of dance in the category of performances. It seemed so culturally integrated in the everyday Japanese life to use public venues as performances space that it was natural to attribute a bigger tribune to the phenomenon.

227 Richie, Donald. *A Tractate on Japanese Aesthetics*. Albany: Stone Bridge Press. 2007. p.69.

Functionality is a big part of what distinguishes architecture from art. The purpose of the built environment often directs its form. The most popular and frequent appropriation of public space encountered is to fulfill basic primary needs such as eating, taking a bath of sun, taking a nap, listening to music, looking at your cell phone or computer, talking with people, smoking, reading, and so forth. Architects and designers must foresee the most relaxed postures suiting all kinds of body types and all kinds of functions. All commodities necessary to record comfort and potential needs must be thought of for the user to invest himself in his activities. For example, a user investing himself in writing must have the conditions to help "the products of memory, of reading, of teaching, of communication; a good domination of his instruments such as a pen, but no hallucination of the stroke, of the tool, thrust back into pure applications since writing is never understood as the interplay of a pulsion."[228] The same way, a practical and complete public space needs to have a rest area, shadowed and sunny spaces cohabitating, sometimes water fountains and toilets and furniture such as bench, chairs and tables. Of course, what makes a good design in public space depends on the purposes attributed to that space.

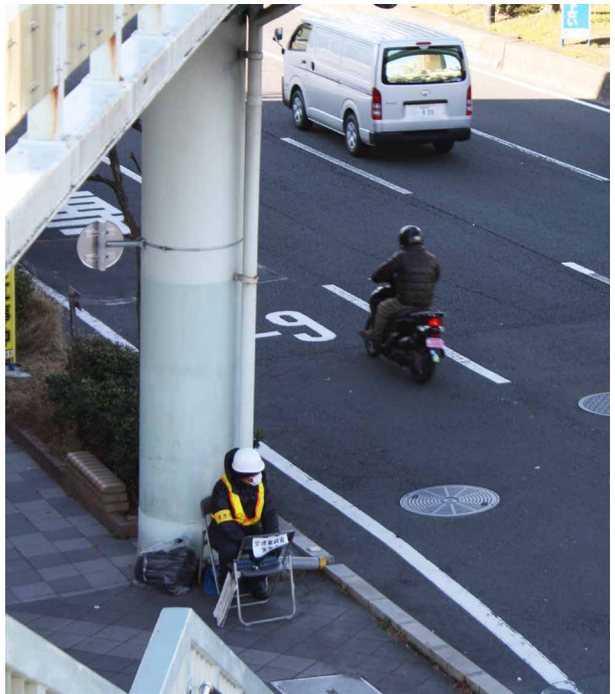
No single space can perform all the functions that users might want. Moreover, the functions attributed to certain zones depend on time and may vary often. "What makes a good space for mass public visibility is a terrible space for a quiet sandwich, not much better for letting the dog off the leash, and certainly no good for building a bed for the night. A single space might be able to perform several functions: for example, demonstrations in Hong Kong's Victoria Park tend to use the expanse of tennis and basketball courts because it is the largest open expanse in the Park, and the firm surfaces are more resilient than the central grassed area, especially if it is wet, as it very often is in June. There might also be room for the creative appropriation of space in order to surprise and attract attention: the Aboriginal Tent Embassy in Canberra is one example. But while certain spatial arrangements can perform one or two public functions, space cannot fulfil them all at once. Therefore, in any given public space conflicts are going to arise, conflicts that cannot be closed by appealing to the concept of 'public'. "[229]

228 Barthes, Roland. *Empire of signs*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd. 1982. p.85.

229 Parkinson, John R. *Democracy and Public Space. The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2012. p.183.

Moreover, since there is no singular answer to what kind of function space should perform, it becomes crucial to build resilient space that can be turned around if needed. A growing movement in Japan is the use of common areas to trade objects or to provide a commercial service. This can be seen through the installation of tables and chairs on the sidewalk, near restaurants and businesses or even through more organised activities such as an outdoor cinema in a public park or a public market on a sidewalk. Since the public realm is on democratic ground, there is also no single claims of property meaning there is no ownership dictating how spaces should be used. As Barthes stresses: "Ownership: neither seat nor bed nor table out of which the body might constitute itself as the subject (or master) of a space: the center is rejected. Decentered, space is also reversible: you can turn the (space) upside down and nothing would happen (....) the content is irretrievably dismissed: whether we pass by, cross it, or sit down on the floor (or the ceiling, if you reverse the image), there is nothing to *grasp*."[230]

The beauty of the social space lies exactly in its irrepressible potential of appropriation. Space's capacity to be turned around should be encouraged and praised.



230 Barthes, Roland. *Empire of signs*. Toronto: Mc-Graw-Hill Ryerson Ltd. 1982. p.108.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Just as the previous section, the appropriation of public spaces through events can be either very structured and organised, or more informal. In the case of planned events, organizers must obtain a permit days in advance and make special arrangements for security - the process for obtaining a permit will be more detailed in the next section. Some other times, events are brief and tolerated by authorities and citizens sharing ownership of the space. The most common events are undoubtedly from the entertainment realm and translate into shows and concerts. These require, in addition to the license, special equipment such as a stage, video and audio equipment and usually employ staff in charge of the organization and the security. This type of appropriation indicates that the event is organized in public spaces to join more people, to reduce costs, to accommodate a larger mass of people, to boost the city's image or simply because it suits the event best. The visibility of a modern city sometimes suffers from the lack of public occasions to which the people are drawn and for which the halls and streets function as a supportive stage.[231] Of course, "the city was and is an elaborate conglomeration of innumerable stages for the performance of private and semi-public dramas, (...) but these are at most local pageantries often held at some distance from the city's core. Ceremonials such as laying the cornerstone of a civic building, planting a tree in the public square, and consecrating a church seem to have become increasingly empty gestures of another age, to which the skeptical citizens of today attach little meaning."[232] It is true that functions, in public spaces, mutate easily from venerated to excluded. The shifts operate according to customs and operative fashions. The behaviours of occupants of the public realm are once again an indicator of whether or not they are engaging in a specific type of appropriation. Just as landmarks happens to be almost anything for the occupant of space, an event can be very discrete and be defined as an event through the actions of the users. Usually, the actions indicating whether the occupant is part of the event or not is the attention they attribute to the on-going action. Passers-by can agglomerate in masses and consider the space and time event by paying attention to what surrounds them. The same is true even if the event is small, ephemeral and brief, such as one musician playing his guitar on the sidewalk. The interpretation of the observer is once again defining the markers of appropriation.

231 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. p.174.

232 Idem.

The performances in public space deal as many other behaviours with embodiment, sociology, and politics and their stage: urbanity and architecture. There are also social and environmental aspects linked to the functionalism of space as previously expressed. It is also mentioned that there are political implications when there is an appropriation of a space because daily movement, choices, and activities are considered as being part of the occupant's interests, needs, values, aspirations and beliefs. Furthermore, when the occupant experiences his embodiment in the city, the city itself comes to existence through his embodied experience. It goes the same with the culture of performances, which are very strong in Japan. It is not an uncommon fact to hear but paired with particular actions of embodiment, it brings it to another level of understanding. The being and his environment are supplements that define one another. As said by Juhani Pallasmaa, if "I dwell in the city, the city dwells in me." Merleau-Ponty's philosophy makes the human body the center of the performance world. In fact, "in Merleau-Ponty's own words, 'our own body is in the world as the heart is in the organism: it keeps the visible spectacle constantly alive, it breathes life into it and sustains it inwardly, and with it, forms a system' (...). Sensory experiences become integrated through the body, or rather, in the very constitution of the body and the human mode of being. Psychoanalytic theory has introduced the notion of body image or body schema as the centre of integration. Our bodies and movements are in constant interaction with the environment; **the world and the self inform and redefine each other constantly.** The percept of the body and the image of the world turn into one single continuous existential experience; there is no body separated from its domicile in space, and there is no space unrelated to the unconscious image of the perceiving self."[233] The interdependence of body, city and society translates perfectly in the example of performance actions in public spaces.

233 Pallasmaa, Juhani. *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*. West Sussex: Wiley. 2012. p.43-44.

It is well known that Japan is a highly regulated country and that its culture seems to circumscribe citizens to perform within a strict framework. Performative demonstrations are various, can take many forms, but the most common in public areas are undoubtedly relating to sports or entertainment. Often it seems that public space is used as a practice field for school groups, sports teams or any training really, but the most common phenomenon encountered in public spaces at night is for sure dance. It is said that performances and "the artistic impulse in Japan was internalized to a degree uncommon in any other culture. This being so, aesthetic concerns were so taken for granted that they could be employed with an unmatched ease and naturalness."[234] This description of Donald Richie fits perfectly the simplicity liberated by dancers when they gather on public grounds. Groups of any age and any style fluidly dance together informally or in an organisation, with or without choreographers in charge of dictating movements. The will and passion of citizens for recreation and performances is brought to an in between permanent and ephemeral investment of space. Choices of stage depend on the number of people and the dance style, of course, but usually open resilient spaces are preconized.

234 Richie, Donald. *A Tractate on Japanese Aesthetics*. Albany: Stone Bridge Press. 2007. p.67.

This type of investment of space can either be quite informal so not as much bounded by the legislation or it can be planned and event-like. The legal history of Japan in terms of behaviours brought attention to the vibrant dance culture repressed by laws prohibiting dance at certain hours and in certain spaces. The political context regulating certain behaviours applies to dance through the recently banned "Fueiho Law" extracted from The Fueiho Act that was establish shortly after WWII. The Fueiho Law, also known as the Businesses Affecting Public Morals Regulation Law regulates entertainment places or establishments in Japan.[235] From Tokyo to Kyoto, this law has, up until recently, strictly forbid dancing in clubs, bars or any public space at certain hours. Only a few venues were lucky enough to obtain a dancing license that allowed their institution to carry on their activities, but even then, doors had to close by midnight or 1:00am. "The dancers who dared to flout the rules with an errant shake of the hips have been subjected to the surreal experience of getting a finger-wagging scold by a staff member, or worse, being dragged out of the establishment by police during a raid and being arrested."[236]

235 Martin, Ian. *Late-night dancing should not be a crime in Japan*. Tokyo: The Japan Times. 2011.

236 Lhooq, Michelle. *After a Long Legal Battle, Japan Finally Lifts Its Notorious «No Dancing» Law*. New York: Thump. 2014.

This no-dancing law was also a restraint on the country's thriving electronic and house music industry. Not only fans and dancers but also businesses suffered as club owners were pressured into removing dance floors and, if they didn't cooperate, they would get charge with the crime of making people dance.[237] "Urban theorists are right to worry about the degree to which space is structured to ensure that groups are separated from one another, atomized into subgroups who see only their internal interests, not their common interests with others. They are right to worry about gated communities, about commuters who lead lives separated from city dwellers, and about the loss of space for genuine cross-community encounter. Specifically if these things feed a politics in which sectional interests fight to maintain their privileges rather than taking the claims of the disadvantaged seriously."[238] It is exactly what was happening in Japan through the Fueiho Act. The political definition diverged from the urban definition and from the citizen's needs and then, the idea that some negotiation over the use of space emerged because space was portrayed as a mere resource that needed to be divided and shared. "The public space offers itself as a democratic place, but it contains a variety of configurations forming unspecified areas. However, although the potential of appropriation is large, it is rare that extreme appropriation actions (as sheltering in public areas or in this case dancing when it is illegal) are tolerated."[239] Knowing that justice has long exploited the public space, it is not surprising to see an obsolete law being maintained through decades for deceitful reasons. Indeed, Japan is not an exception, as seen in the section on democracy, and its old laws regulate its considerably recent public spaces strictly. Japan's ban on dancing was actually a remnant of anti-prostitution *fuzoku* law dating back to 1948 (but instituted in 1957).[240] This law allowed to keep some control over street solicitation, gambling establishments and prostitution, but also discos and bars.[241] In 1946, as Japan depends on foreign aid to feed its population, it is occupied by a large number of US military, and then registers an increase in rape and aggressions. To overcome the problem, the Japanese government implemented prostitution institutions through the creation of the Recreation and Amusement Association. These institutions, however, were rapidly closed following the spread of venereal diseases in the military population. Hence, it's in this context that the 1948 Act was established. Several types and sizes of businesses were then covered by the Act, including both institutions with a dance floor area and public manifestation of dance. Although the Fueiho Law was ignored by law enforcement for decades, it was experiencing resurgence in popularity, up until 2015. Indeed, since 2011, the police in several major cities like Osaka, Fukuoka and Tokyo and many secondary cities such as Kyoto, Kumamoto, and Kagoshima started to enforce the law.[242] The police actually started this reinforcement after a share of scandals; including the death of a student outside an Osaka club in 2010. It is also expressed that "anxiety over the 'corrupted morals' of Japan's youth, fuelled by fear-mongering reports in the media, contributed to a larger nightlife crackdown."[243] Nightclubs and bar owners were doing their share trying to dissuade customers from dancing by posting signs, prohibiting clients of going on the dance floors by filling it with furniture and by adding to their security guards, employees responsible for preventing the dancers from their dance floors after specific hours.[244]

Many believe that maintaining this type of legislation deemed out-dated and ambiguous in their definition for so long was designed to ensure control over the activities related to drug trafficking and prostitution. There were several consequences to a law like this one. The first one is asserting that it gave more power to the police so it prevented clubs from going totally underground. The police and the sex industry loopholes in the laws co-exist, and indeed a stricter enforcement paves the way to sleazier and more serious issues such as human trafficking. Since the same hazy laws applied to dance clubs, if the police suspected a club of regularly having drugs on the premises, or serving alcohol to minors, or if neighbours complained about the noise or suspected illegal activities, they could go in after 11:00pm, look for dancing and shut the place down.[245] Another negative consequence has been the impact on businesses, on the music industry and culture but also on social relations among young people. In short, the Fueiho Law legislated the freedom to move and dance in public or private spaces and was thus highly criticized.

237 Salvaggio, Eryk. *On Getting Arrested for Dancing in Japan*. Tokyo: This Japanese Life. 2012.

238 Parkinson, John R. *Democracy and Public Space. The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2012. p.26.

239 Soja, Edward W. *Seeking spatial justice*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press. 2010.

240 Richie, Donald. The image factory : fads and fashions in Japan. 2003. p.67

241 Lhooq, Michelle. *After a Long Legal Battle, Japan Finally Lifts Its Notorious «No Dancing» Law*. New York: Thump. 2014.

242 Idem.

243 Idem.

244 Martin, Ian. *Late-night dancing should not be a crime in Japan*. Tokyo: The Japan Times. 2011.

245 Lhooq, Michelle. *After a Long Legal Battle, Japan Finally Lifts Its Notorious «No Dancing» Law*. New York: Thump. 2014.

"Rather than implying the free play of individual creating performances or, by extension, the possibilities of an endless multiplicity of identities, choreographies, and traditions, the constraints and rules (such as the Fueiho Law) have had repercussions on the regulatory system as well as on the possibilities of creativity and subversions."[246] Dance creates a space of freedom and creativity by opening up a world of new possibilities and expression.[247] Many see it as a fundamental right that cannot be removed to anyone because "an individual's existence can be diagrammatically described as a trajectory, a 'daily-' or 'life- path' of movement - or weaving dance through time-space."[248] In Japan, however, it seems that for the right to dance after 11:00pm in some schools and places, it was required to obtain a permit. As said, on the other hand, it was practically impossible for bars to obtain a permit to dance because their facilities were simply judged as being too small.[249]

246 Nash, Catherine. *Performativity in Practice: some recent work in cultural geography*. London: University of London. 2000. p.658.

247 Verdaasdonk, Maria Adriana. *Living Lens: exploreing interdependencies between performing, bodies visual and sonic media in immersive installation*. Brisbane: Queensland University of Technology. 2007. p.27.

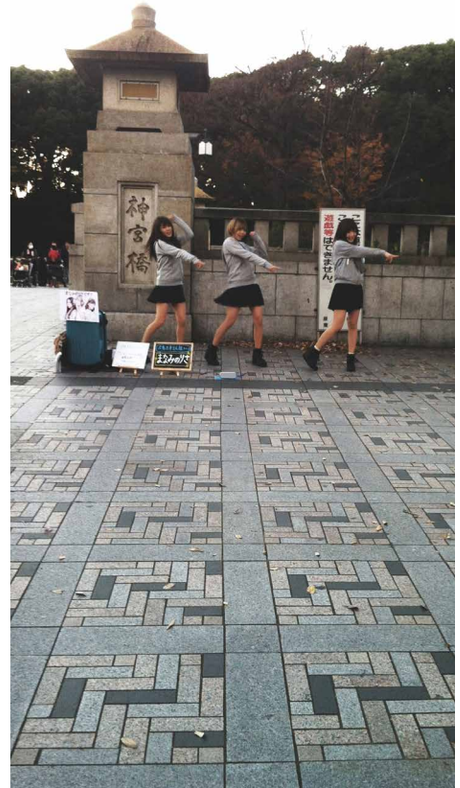
248 Pred, Allan. *The Choreography of Existence: Comments on Hägerstrand's Time-Geography and its Usefulness*. Berkeley: University of California. 1977. p.208.

249 Lhooq, Michelle. *After a Long Legal Battle, Japan Finally Lifts Its Notorious «No Dancing» Law*. New York: Thump. 2014.

The most common or familiar forces to produce the locational and spatial discrimination are social class, race, and gender,[250] but interests and entertainment should be added to suit this particular issue and specially since its effects cannot be reduced only to segregation, but creativity, identity, culture and much more. In fact, the conceptualization of spatial justice defined by Edward Soja (and David Harvey) can be borrowed to illustrate the paradigm of the Fueiho repercussions: "Discrimination related to location, interests, behaviour or needs, resulting in unequal treatment that some segments of the population is fundamental in the production of spatial injustice and the creation of sustainable space structures based on privileges and advantages."[251]

250 Soja, Edward W. *The city and spatial justice*. Los Angeles: University of California. 2009.

251 Idem.

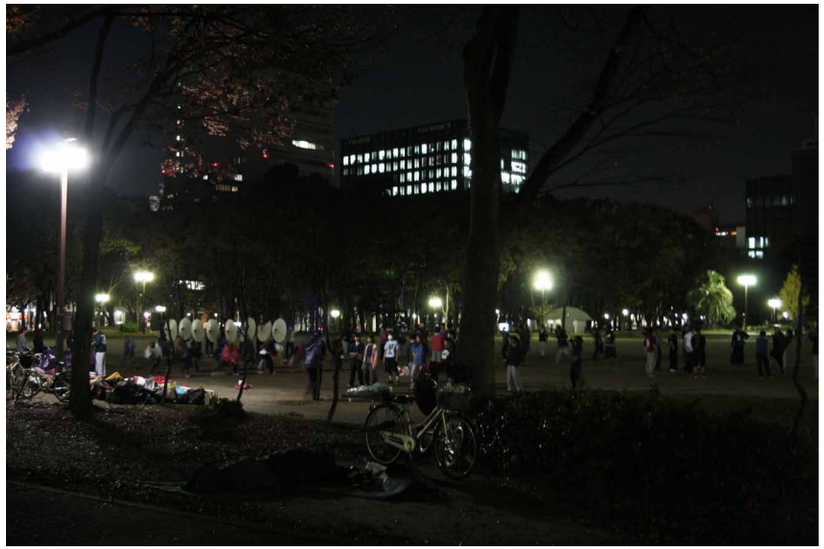


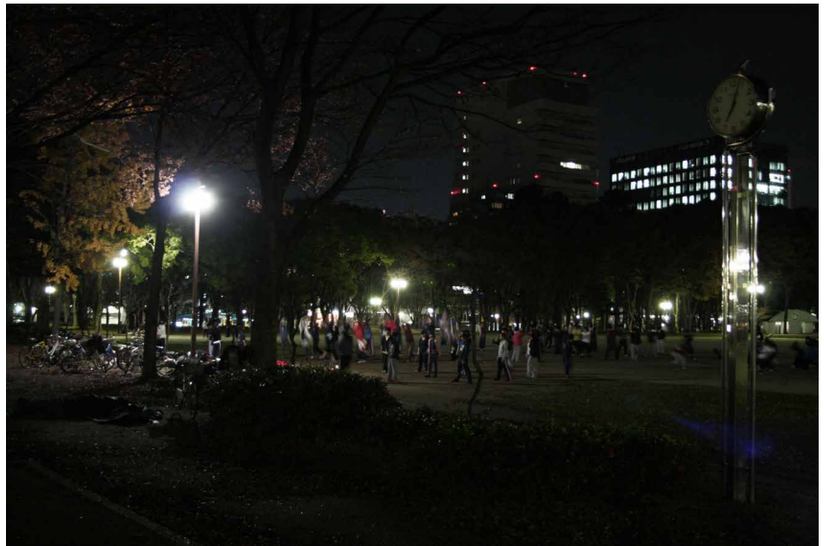
To maintain their right to have the interest they want and to fight these obsolete regulations, several pressure groups including one named Let's Dance led by lawyers, investigated to invalidate the law. But it soon appeared that the task was daunting, because they attacked the status quo wishing that outdated laws be maintained in the Constitution. As the problem affects more secondary cities than the city of Tokyo, the groups also have had difficulty in rallying influential owners of bars and nightclubs. Hence, "the law has been revised more than 30 times since its enactment to keep up with changing mores."[252] The latest proposition to relax the law was rejected in January 2015, but finally, adopted, at last, in June 2015, and said to be effective as of June 2016.[253] The new effective law revision now allows dance clubs to operate until 5:00am on the condition that they do not serve alcohol. Also, establishments such as dance schools, centers and parks, that were included in the adult entertainment business of the Fueiho Law because their clients engaged in dancing are no longer covered by the law.[254]

252 The Japan Times. *Japan eases late-night restrictions on dance clubs*. Tokyo: The Japan Times. 2015.

253 Bolton, Doug. *Japan finally lifts its 67-year-old ban on dancing.* London: Independent. 2015.

254 Kikuchi, Daisuke. *Japan shedding 1940s morality by relaxing rules on nightclubs.* Tokyo: The Japan Times. 2016.





Before the latest revision of the Fueiho Act was approved, an interesting consequence of the reinforcement of the law was observed throughout Japan's big cities. Indeed, the low tolerance of authorities regarding dance in clubs and bars, triggered an increased interest among dancers to perform outside the realm of dance clubs and bars. Consequently, there was an increased appropriation of public spaces through performances. The public space offered itself as a democratic place, and occupants involved themselves in sporadic ephemeral events such as choreographic dance. Since the dancing was banned but tolerated in open space, the double face of a conservative Japan legislating modern citizens by old obsolete laws was exposed, especially when put in relation to the recent initiatives of citizens to contest them. Consultations and even talk shows were organised to express the citizens' will to be part of the amendment on the legislation regulating behaviours in private and public spaces. Japanese citizens' perspectives on behaviourology changed significantly in the recent years. "Space is no longer considered as a receptacle, or as a stage on which human activity unfold, or even as a mere physical dimension, but as an active force that shapes our experience of life. It is now considered as a further example of urban spatial causality since it measures the impact of cities on our daily behaviours, but also on its set of processes. Those influenced processes include technological innovation, artistic creativity, economic development, social change, but also environmental degradation, social polarization, increasing income inequality, international politics and, more specifically, the production of justice and injustice."[255] It is not necessary to understand all the legal authorities and the exact regulations of Japanese behaviourology, but it is necessary to understand their impact and power over citizen's freedom. The excerpt of legislation from the Fueiho Law was analyzed, as an example, in order to draw a general picture of the legislative framework and its correlation with the people's needs and desires.

255 Soja, Edward W. *The city and spatial justice*. Los Angeles: University of California. 2009.

At the same time, global changes where happening in Japan; for example, since the 1960s, a long-term strategy was also envisioned to regain decisional power of public spaces that were under use of private initiatives. Through publications, initial deliberations in the public and private sphere and integrated urban design contests and projects, a strong impact on public space and policies in local instances initialized a change of attitude from the national government towards a more liveable and healthy city. This change of perception acts as a proof of the influence of the public in state decisions. Although, public consultations in order to incorporate citizen's needs to urbanity are not enough; a greater effort should be made towards the study of embodiment and behaviours, as both are important parts of a society's aspiration towards a more democratic environment and spatial justice. "**Only by considering dance outside any social realm, by imagining dance as a free-floating realm of the experiential above the social and cultural world and by ignoring the relational nature of dancing can dance be thought of as a pre-linguistic and pre-social bodily experience.** Not only is dance always mediated by words as it is taught, scripted, performed and watched but dance is also often highly formalized and stylized; even untrained dance is culturally learnt and culturally located. Dance then can be resistant by being more located, by being more thought through rather than transcendent and thoughtless."[256] Considering dance, performances or embodiment in its broader sense, as a valuable and even necessary study in architecture would be a great leap forward. The fluid, easy and natural essence of embodiment excludes pre-reflective thoughts and biases that influence one's judgement and language in traditional and out-dated public consultations. The focus on dance is a process, in other words, it is an embodied movement practice, which brings about "transformations in movement space", and engage "the whole of the senses in bending time and space into new kinaesthetic shapes."[257] Actually, in the 1960s, dancer's embodied movements, shapes and enliven spaces, while "avant-garde performers increasingly worked outside conventional training and performance spaces such as the studio and theatre, taking dance into the streets, breaking down conventional divides between performer and audience, and challenging 'the boundaries between dance and day-to-day movement and claiming any and all human movement as potential dance'.

256 Nash, Catherine. *Performativity in Practice: some recent work in cultural geography*. London: University of London. 2000. p.658-659.

257 Merriman, Peter. *Architecture/dance: choreographing and inhabiting spaces with Anna and Lawrence Halprin*. Aberystwyth: Aberystwyth University. 2010. p.430.

Avant-garde choreographers and dancers started to rethink and explore the relationship between embodied performance practices and performance spaces, inhabiting architectural spaces and environments in inventive and creative ways. We could label these dancers and choreographers as lay geographers, writing and performing spaces through their embodied movements and animations of the landscape."[258] During the exact same period, avant-garde architects were rethinking buildings and designing environments in new inventive ways. Geographers on their part were asserting the importance of examining the more-than-representational, practical, affective and event-full dimensions of being-in-buildings.[259]

Many discipline dealing with embodiment were therefore starting to rethink the role of the body in its conception and in its environment. Embodiment was the key or the spark that enabled many fields to reposition themselves; dance composition assignment as well as architectural investigation were considered as experiments to demonstrate how the environment affected man and how man, in turn, affected the environment.[260]

258 Merriman, Peter. *Architecture/dance: choreographing and inhabiting spaces with Anna and Lawrence Halprin*. Aberystwyth: Aberystwyth University. 2010. p.430.

259 Idem.

260 Anderson, Jack. *Dancers and Architects Build Kinetic Environments*. New York: Dance Magazine. 1966. p.52.

If Japan now represents the legacy of a Western democratic implant, then the Japanese city represents the setting for examining its multifarious urban manifestations. The focus put on the examination of public space, particularly in tracing the intellectual and formal search for expressions of democratic actions in space helps the underlying analysis and the assumption that there is such a thing as democratic actions in space thus enabling a democratic space.[261] In other words, there is a public sphere distinct from the state, for public debate, deliberation, and consensus. Tracing its evolutions and mutations can both help reveal Japan's cultural cleavages, and affirm the reappraisal or negation of its democratic aspirations. The new forms of post-war public space in Japan can, therefore, be seen as the contested and negotiated land of socio-political renewal and cultural identity. The idea of democracy carries many connotations. It requires the rights of citizens to participate in determining their form of government and its constituent parts. It requires a government that is sensitive to citizen preferences, considering all of them equally. It requires political institutions and more precisely architects, landscape architects and urban designers to provide opportunities for citizen articulation and ensure that policies are in some measure congruent with these preferred expressions.

261 Parkinson, John R. *Democracy and Public Space. The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2012. p.23.

Performance is not simply a mode of political expression, but also an indication of democratic success. It gives new meanings to political processes while circumventing the limitations of its institutions. Cultures of performances develop their own identities and influences independent of the state, providing important sites for their re-definition. "Social anthropologist Shirley Ardener postulates that 'space defines the people in it and people define space.'[262] In other words, as stated in the transit section, space does not only exist for people to perform their actions in but is only constituted as a perceptible space through the actions of the people.

262 Ardener, Shirley. *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*. London: Bloomsbury Academic. 1993. p.2-3.

The relation between environment and people start by the perception they have of their surroundings. As for these perceptions, they are influenced by culture, gender, height, weight, age, and much more. As space is constructed by the perception and the imagination of the citizens, it is also constructed trough the sum of experience someone has encountered in it, and through the common knowledge of what that space should be, look like or represent. As stated by Henri Lefebvre, social theories are essential to define public space. It is the subject that defines the object. Lefebvre postulates that we can define space and establish architecture through its appropriation among other things.[263] The term appropriation to which Lefebvre refers in the use of space for alternate social practices is thus, also for alternate interests. In Lefebvre's conception, and theory of space, there is a relation between planned space, (actually lived space related to practice) and subjective conception of space.[264] Perhaps the approach can be somewhat presented as one in which space is critical in shaping (social) relations of production. But space can become a resource for different groups using it for their own practices and who may also reshape it physically to better suit their interests and needs. In fact, "our lives are deployed in a temporality that accompanies our pre-reflective bodily motions and intended actions, and which is also a lived spatiality. This interweaving of lived time and space, together with its bearing on significant experience and the construction of meanings, tends to be ignored by conceptual and objectifying design practices."[265] Space is a social creation, which results from the all-embracing asymmetrical complementarity enshrined in each culture. My aim is to acknowledge the importance of embodiment in architectural practice. "Space is to design what movement is to dance or sound is to music. Like movement, space is something that we use every day in all our activities; walking down the street, opening a door, laying down, sitting up, etc. Our task as citizens and occupants of space is to first become consciously aware of space so that we may experiment with ways of controlling it. Play around with space as a concept; cutting it like a hunk of cheese, pushing it aside, walking through planes, etc. Individually reacting to space through movement and thus discovering new sensations of space. (...) From the point of view of the subject, space can be experienced most directly by movement, and on a higher level, in dance. The dance is an elemental means for realization of space-creative impulses. It can articulate space, order it."[266] The example of the Fueiho law brought a global understanding of oppression of the occupants of space's freedom. Dance is a medium of communication, a sport, a therapy, an art and a way to connect oneself to its environment and to other beings. "Dance, perhaps more than any other body-centered endeavour, cultivates a body that initiates as well as responds. (...) Such bodies have, admittedly, been trained so as to accomplish this fluency; a disciplining that strongly shapes the quality of their interaction with dance-making. Nevertheless, they sustain a 'conversation,' throughout the rehearsal process and sometimes in performance, that imaginatively invents and then lucidly enunciates their specific corporeal identities."[267]

Every space is a stage putting people's action under the spotlight. And every performance is an embodied action translating the citizen's identity. "Architects today still largely see themselves as the profession was defined in the 19th century, but architecture is not about producing images. It is a performing art."[268] **As architects, we have to learn the language of experience, embodiment, and appropriation to understand things that words can't evoke.**

263 Goonewardena, Kanishka. *Space, difference, everyday life : reading Henri Lefebvre*. New York: Routledge. 2008. p.24.

264 Ibid. p.52.

265 Pérez-Gómez, Alberto. *Architecture as a Performing Art.* Farnham: Ashgate Publishing. 2013. p.2.

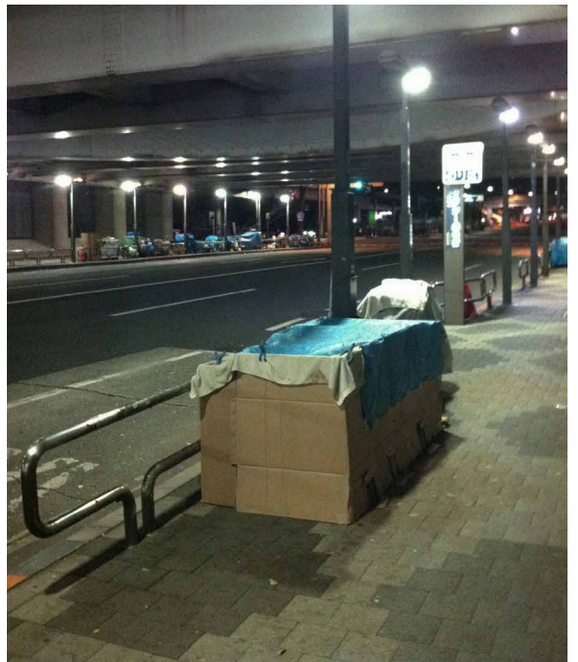
266 Merriman, Peter. *Architecture/dance: choreographing and inhabiting spaces with Anna and Lawrence Halprin*. Aberystwyth: Aberystwyth University. 2010. p.433.

267 Foster, Susan Leigh. *Choreographing History (Unnatural Acts: Theorizing the Performative).* Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1995. p.15.

268 Pérez-Gómez, Alberto. *Architecture as a Performing Art.* Farnham: Ashgate Publishing. 2013. p.1.

Permanent

As for the previous section, permanent appropriation of space will focus only on one section, which is a primary appropriation, embodied through homelessness.

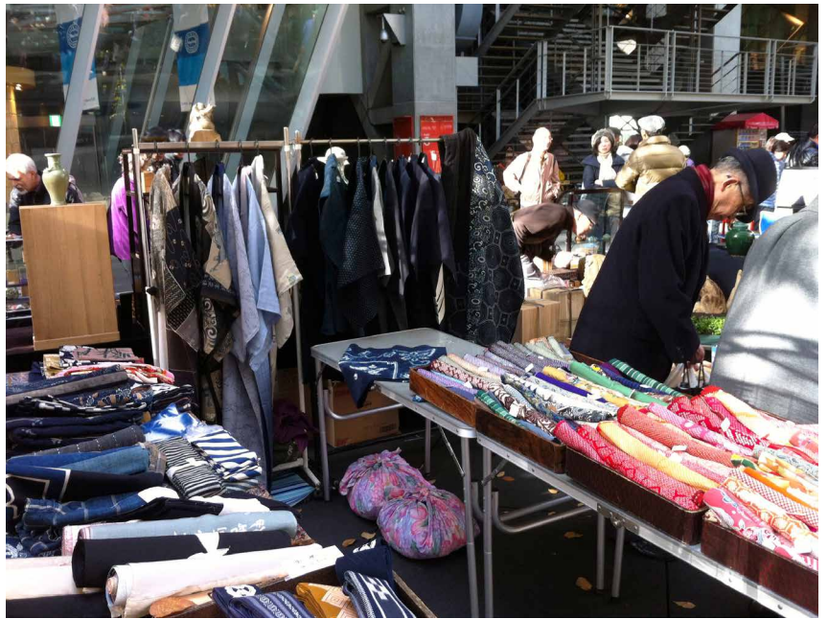


Permanent • Cyclic

The permanent cyclic typology indicates an invariable: time-based ownership of space. It is as if, at a certain time, during a given period, or even at a specific recurrence in months, years or days, some occupants felt that space belonged to them. This type of appropriation can combine other types of behaviours such as performances, functional, transitional or event. Examples of these behaviours can include colleagues reuniting every morning for a coffee on the same bench, or friends gathering at the bus station to travel to school together. It can also be an annual music festival at the same public square or the departure of a running club near a statue every Monday. These appropriation actions are grounded through their recurrence. This philosophical study of public architecture as it appears in the experience of its users considers specific timescales since the beginning of the chapter. Taking human beings as subjects permits short and long periods of observations; one day is sometimes enough to observe physiological behaviours, such as dining and sleeping patterns,[269] but it is impossible to acknowledge cyclic appropriation of public spaces on a short period of time without talking and interfering with the subjects.

A special phenomenon acknowledging perfectly cyclical appropriation from users relates to commerce activity. It is a tradition that businesses close every Sunday, therefore, small businesses such as informal restaurants, shops and markets use this opportunity to set their own business on the threshold of the closed commerce. These alternative businesses overlap legitimate businesses in the city space. They are located in areas with a marked traffic and take advantage of indeterminate zones and free spaces for appropriation. Designed to be nomadic, portable and easily removable, these businesses fit into the margins of traditionnal, closed business and ambiguous areas of ownership and space. This type of appropriation could be categorized as temporary, semi-permanent or permanent since initiators can be installed in the same area for an extended period, every Sunday, as they could only be installed for one opportunity.

269 Atelier Bow-Wow. *The Architectures of Atelier Bow-Wow: Behaviorology*. New York: Rizzoli. 2010. p.9.



The improvised commerce changes and redefines itself according to its site, the time of day and the constraints of the place of establishment and demonstrates a particular trait of Japanese behaviours: most appropriations are premeditated, organized and civilized. Effectively, these informal shops always have agreements with the business where they establish themselves for the day. Therefore, they have the necessary rights to be considered as temporary shops, they can even build customers base relations and continue their activities without legislative hassle.[270] For example, you could take notice of a small coffee capsule shop parked and positioned right next to another coffee shop apparently closed on Sundays. The one that is opened seems permanently installed, as it is equipped with care and those shops or cafes, prepared there in a small trailers, are connected to the commercial power grid. Indeed, established, permanent businesses can lease a right of exploitation once a week to other shops, who will pay a fee for electricity consumption. As for the surroundings of those capsule trailers and pop-up shops, they are also sometimes exploited to sell art objects or to read magazines and books. This appropriation movement is similar to those of street food trucks and seek to profit from unused space while avoiding the commitment and financial pressure of rent.

270 Lamarre, Marie-Ève. *Le phénomène des terrains vagues dans les villes en croissance et en décroissance du Japon*. Montreal: Université McGill. 2014. p.42.

This example also demonstrates a phenomenon increasingly common: Japan reinvents the model of trade and shops to afford to go into business. Already in 1969, Kurokawa said: "the capsule stands for an emancipation of the building in relation to the ground and heralds the era of moving architecture."[271] In addition to the architectural movement and redefinition of the nature of a place that allows this kind of practice, it also contrasts movement and the notion of private versus public stressed previously. Citizens have come to realize that space belongs to them and now seek to exercise their power with a much wider scope.

271 Koolhaas, Rem & Ulrich Obrist, Hans. *Project Japan: Metabolism Talks*. Cologne: Taschen. 2011.

In the 1980s, during the post-oil crisis, Japan avoided the global socio-economic changes and flexible accommodation experienced by western countries. But it followed up and faced change a decade later, after bursting its bubble economy. Its resultant was a unemployment rate increasing from 2% in 1980 to 5.4% in 2003.[272] "It is in this context that new social problems have arisen in Japan. For instance, from the mid-1990s, many cities have experienced a shocking increase in rough sleepers in parks and around train stations as well as in unemployment and numbers of non-regular workers among young people. The new word, *freeter*, emerged in the Japanese language to describe part-time, non-regular workers under 34 years old. The word NEET (Not in Employment, Education or Training) was also imported from the UK to describe characteristics of growing numbers of unemployed youth."[273] The problem of unemployment directly relates to street homelessness, which also involves social exclusion and greater investment of public space. Indeed homelessness often means physical and social exclusion from society and its private realm. What is understood to be a homeless person is, in this case, someone "roofless" or lacking a social-physical place to live. The addition of the term social in the definition enables a more dynamic analysis of the phenomenon. "Increasing numbers of rough sleepers in Japan have become a social problem, and hatred and criticism towards those who illegally occupy public space has developed, while there is also much sympathy in other quarters for those who can only sleep in public spaces. Regarding the growing prejudices against the homeless, news stories about youths throwing stones at rough sleepers clearly discussed by using the term 'social exclusion,' but has generated debate concerning those who are excluded from 'socio-physical space,' which requires social considerations."[274]

272 Hirayama, Yosuke & Ronald, Richard. *Housing and social transition in Japan*. Abingdon: Routledge. 2007. p.141.

273 Idem.

274 Ibid. p.144.

The burst of the bubble sent thousands of day labourers unable to find employment out on the street. The government consequently established a law for financial independence of homeless people in the early 2000s. This new law enabled "many people who were homeless or considered unable to work because of age or disability to receive welfare and take up residence in urban underclass areas".[275] Although, recently as the number of welfare recipient increased local governments reduced temporary welfare care for homeless people, and then cut it entirely in 2012. At the same time, the local government and the social and health service business developed a community welfare system that focused on recognizing residents but not the homeless. These actions combined affected a precarious social class; homeless people were struggling even more and welfare recipient migrated in dense and cheap neighbourhoods. Those areas, although not diversified, stay of great importance in Japanese's urbanity and for the people on the streets. Underclass neighbourhoods actually "provide access to social resources - for example through forging relations with supportive groups and getting free meals. As urban underclass areas have gradually changed into places of concentrated welfare recipients, those who do not receive welfare support and are homeless now face even greater pressure".[276] "An important cause of the wave of homelessness was also the drastic crumbling of the *yoseba* as a place to find employment; *yoseba* is a term for the places where employers would pick up day labourers. (...) As the homeless increased, they also spread geographically to parks, riverbanks, railway stations and other places where they could find water and relative safety and where they could make their living by collecting recyclables or by working as scalpers outside ticket offices. Apart from the ambulant rough sleepers with no fixed abode who carried their belongings with them during the day and passed the nights in stations and shopping areas, the 1990s also saw the rapid increase of homeless people with a relatively fixed 'home,' usually tents, made of vinyl sheets or cardboard shacks. Living in tent villages in parks and along rivers, they formed communities, which provided a degree of protection since they could patrol the area, exchange information and look out for each other. (As Jane Jacobs states, having "eyes on the street."[277]) A new stage in the development of homelessness began in the latter half of the 1990s when people who had no background in day labour work began to swell the ranks of the homeless. Young precarious workers started to appear among the homeless, standing in line for food at the *takidashi*, sleeping sometimes in the *doya* (cheap lodgings used by day labourers) and sometimes on the street. So-called 'net café refugees' - young homeless people, often working in short-term jobs, who spend their nights in the cheap individual boxes provided in places like 24-hour Internet cafés or so-called *manga kissa* became the focus of much mass-media attention beginning in 2007."[278]

Through the appropriation of public and commercial spaces as shelters, homelessness also became an issue of architectural and design conception. Before being concerned by the shelters themselves, it is important to enquire in the policies and measures that were provided to the citizens in need. In fact, the political and social context helps the understanding of the emerging context of behaviours in the improvised shelters, carton boxes, and net cafés. In fact, homeless policies provide medical services or the provision of houses in cases where poverty and deprivation are focused. In the case of social exclusion the measures aim to integrate homeless people or recipient of support into society through work. "Until the establishment of the Homeless Independent Living Act in 2002, the Living Standard Protection Act (*Seikatsu Hogo Ho*) proclaimed in 1950 mediated social assistance for those with housing problems in Japan."[279] Although, there are barriers to accessing *Seikatsu Hogo Ho*: the first one being non-Japanese nationals. The second is the requirement to demonstrate that even if all assets are liquidated, the person is still in a situation of poverty. This rule usually strikes out the old, sick or handicapped people that cannot surmount the task of building up the document and it also doesn't apply to working people. The third barrier is that the people claiming aid have to be accommodated in *hogo shisetsu* institutions only. This limits the people to those living only in major cities providing the accomodation. When the people are willing to move to get the service needed, it localizes the problems to very specific areas in a small number of cities only. Indeed, Japan does not have a housing allowance, which can be paid directly to landlords. The last barrier for getting help from the social assistance is that local governments have to pay 25% of the cost of the services provided. Therefore, those instances do not want an expansion or even a part in the *Seikatsu Hogo Ho* services. It is argued that those governments are supposed to provide services "only for their legitimate citizens in their areas."[280]

275 Yamamoto, Kahoruko. *Impact of Social Change and Restructuring of Urban Underclass Areas on Homeless People*. Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan University. 2014. p.1.

276 Idem.

277 Edge, Deckle. *Eyes on the Street: The Life of Jane Jacobs*. New York: Knopf. 2016.

278 Cassegård, Carl. *Youth Movements, Trauma and Alternative Space in Contemporary Japan*. Leiden: Brill Publishers. 2014. p.123-124.

279 Hirayama, Yosuke & Ronald, Richard. *Housing and social transition in Japan*. Abingdon: Routledge. 2007. p.154.

280 Idem.

"They are generally afraid of any concentration of homeless people in their areas because of their 'good provision' and fear of being blamed for unsettling the everyday life of other citizens. Although, welfare offices have duties to help all poor people, within their jurisdictions, by law (...). There is, therefore, a gap between the Act and its implementation mediated by local government processes."[281] Furthermore, Japan's entanglements in the system show that "housing support is more effective than job assistance in the social inclusion of homeless people. Furthermore, housing support is also necessary for NEET and *freeter* to be independent from their parents and to be able to settle into communities. Greater inclusion methods like housing are becoming crucial. The characteristic exclusion processes in street homelessness and the inadequacies of the government's inclusion policies identify the need to diversify routes of social inclusion in today's Japan."[282]

Furthermore, the improved law - the Homeless Independence Support Special Measures Law, that evolved from the Living Standard Protection Act (*Seikatsu Hogo Ho*) is said to be insufficient too. It is not a measure against the increase of homeless people, it is said, especially since those people have often been excluded from welfare with the excuse that they lack addresses or are able to work. The authorities have largely responded to the increase in homelessness through evictions coupled with the establishment of short-term shelters. "These measures were justified through the 2002 'Homeless Independence Support Special Measures Law'. The idea behind the law was to promote the 'independence' or 'self-reliance' (*jiritsu*) of the homeless by providing them with short-time shelters as a first step to returning them to the private labour market. At the same time, the law was used to legitimize harsher measures towards those homeless who chose to remain in the homeless communities in the parks."[283] Behind Japanese homelessness is the radical socio-economic change brought by the global idea of *laissez-faire*.

281 Hirayama, Yosuke & Ronald, Richard. *Housing and social transition in Japan*. Abingdon: Routledge. 2007. p.154.

282 Ibid. p.163.

283 Cassegård, Carl. *Youth Movements, Trauma and Alternative Space in Contemporary Japan*. Leiden: Brill Publishers. 2014. p.123-124.

Processes citizens go through before becoming homeless are complex and involve among others, marital status, employment, type of housing, sex, age, occupation, experience, and education.[284] On the counterpart, "after an intense campaign by the *Kotobuki day labourer union*, the requirement for a permanent address as a precondition for livelihood protection was removed in the mid-1990s. The result was a big increase in welfare recipients." [285] It is also stated - through Japan's government statistics - "that the homeless population has declined from 25,296 in 2003 to 7,508 in 2014. This improvement is partly due to the passing of the 2002 Homeless Self-Reliance Support Law, which had a 10-year limit but was extended for five more years in 2012. Under this law, national and local governments have shared the cost of constructing a network of municipal homeless shelters designed to get people off the street and help them to get back in employment and housing."[286]

Although, there are certain reserves toward those statistics since the appellation of "homeless" might not take into account the roofless citizens that have a roof for a short period of time throughout the year. In fact, homeless shelters have a maximum length of stay of usually one month on the lower floors or six months on the upper floor(s), which is reserved for people who have got a job and are building up their savings towards moving into a place of their own.[287] Multiple periods of residence are permitted, but one has to wait at least one month before applying for readmission to the lower floors. Some people have therefore developed a cyclical lifestyle, alternating a month in the shelters with a month on the streets and would not be counted as homeless.

284 Hirayama, Yosuke & Ronald, Richard. *Housing and social transition in Japan*. Abingdon: Routledge. 2007. p.152.

285 Gill, Tom. *Skid Row, Yokohama: Homelessness and Welfare in Japan*. Yokohama: Meiji Gakuin University. 2014. p.1.

286 Idem.

287 Idem.

It also happens that men are unable to afford the rent of their *doya* rooms, and then slip into the streets. "Several major Japanese cities have a slum district known as a *doya-gai*. The word *doya* is a venerable piece of Japanese street slang. It is the word *yado* (an inn) reversed, and it means a cheap lodging place. The nearest English equivalent would be 'skid row' - in both cases, we are talking about a slum that is populated almost exclusively by men."[288] There are, consequently, a lot of homeless people sleeping around districts with shelters, and a lot more in the surrounding streets of train stations, under viaducts, or in parks. For the sake of the research, the focus is mostly on the shelters in public venues such as public squares and parks. As stated, Japan post-bubble saw appear tent villages along the rivers and inside the parks of its big cities. But, since the turn of the millennium, authorities "have conducted an increasingly intensive campaign to evict the homeless from parks and riverbanks, often with the excuse of planned international exhibitions or sporting events. In response, activists and homeless people have protested and demanded the right for the homeless to live in the tent villages without fear of eviction. (...) Some homeless have instead been given a temporary abode in shelters while others have been granted welfare - something which until recently was practically impossible for those who had not reached retirement age - but the overwhelming number have instead been set adrift on the streets, sleeping where they can find space, in stations or under bridges."[289] As a matter of fact, as we have seen in the second chapter, public spaces have and can be redesigned, enlarged or reprogrammed to ensure that the needs of citizens are met. Public spaces can be redesigned from claim-making plazas and "ensure that other parks have a variety of forms to meet a variety of needs, for kids on skateboards as well as parents pushing prams, as well as book lovers and the homeless sheltering – although surely there is something perverse about ensuring park space caters for the homeless rather than building more social housing."[290]

288 Gill, Tom. *Skid Row, Yokohama: Homelessness and Welfare in Japan*. Yokohama: Meiji Gakuin University. 2014. p.1.

289 Cassegård, Carl. *Youth Movements, Trauma and Alternative Space in Contemporary Japan*. Leiden: Brill Publishers. 2014. p.117.

290 Parkinson, John R. *Democracy and Public Space. The Physical Sites of Democratic Performance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2012. p.221.

In fact, the observations have led to the conclusion that homeless people usually invest spaces that are unclaimed. The concept of no-man's-land or unclaimed spaces is basic to understand homelessness. **"No-man's-lands are spaces that, mainly because they escape official attention, allow for forms of behaviour not normally approved of, according to the norms governing mainstream public life.** Such spaces have been referred to as 'dead zones', 'wastelands', 'terrain vague' and 'urban voids', and can be exemplified by derelict harbours or train yards, abandoned barracks, empty lots, spaces below bridges or next to highways. Many of these terms seem to suggest empty space, devoid of habitation and use."[291] Spaces such as no-man's land and unclaimed spaces are sites with their own forms of political praxis. They arise through the actions "that are publicly visible, but they arise through a clash of rhythms."[292] Lefebvre describes the acts whereby disadvantaged groups challenge the spatial order to retake possession of the city as an imposition of autonomously formed rhythms of their own making on those of mainstream society.[293] Those actions succeed when they disturb or overpower the rhythm of mainstream society sufficiently to at least temporarily make way for alternative rhythms to be heard.[294] Those rhythms specifically help create the identity of the homeless population; giving them a chance to feel included in the broader community as they share awareness on the issue of accessibility and organized shelters. Unclaimed spaces and no-man's land, therefore, become claimed space and *man's land* since the homeless population invests them sporadically or permanently. "Spaces like these are essential to the survival of homeless people, helping them generate resilience in the face of oppressive conditions. It provides them with access to spaces for basic needs, such as sleeping and attending to bodily needs, which most other people rely on private spaces for. They are also spaces where the alternative, shadow economies can develop and are necessary for them to make a living - economies depending on scavenging and collecting cans, cardboard, and other recyclables."[295]

291 Cassegård, Carl. *Youth Movements, Trauma and Alternative Space in Contemporary Japan*. Leiden: Brill Publishers. 2014. p.119.

292 Ibid. p.121.

293 Lefebvre, Henri. *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*. Paris: Éditions Syllepse. 1992.

294 Cassegård, Carl. *Youth Movements, Trauma and Alternative Space in Contemporary Japan*. Leiden: Brill Publishers. 2014. p.121.

295 Ibid. p.122.

There seems to be an unconditional respect among homeless people to stay as discrete as possible. Usually, the spaces invested are situated outside the city center and homeless people travel through the city avoiding the hours of high attendance. It is also remarked or interpreted that homeless people try to help communities as much as possible in Japan. Homeless people have been excluded because of their financial situation, but their needs for socialization and security have remained the same. The socio-political context through which emerged the exclusion of homeless Japanese people inspired a strong comparison to the book "The Box Man" by Kobo Abe. Some may understand The Box Man as a metaphor for the repressed homosexuals dealing with their identity in Japan, but I saw it as a reference quite literal to the conditions and integration of homeless people in society. Indeed the box man refers to the homeless Japanese people living in cardboard boxes not as a temporary solution but as their choice and home. The account of the box man in the book gives insights on the cultural views of marginalized people and on the blindness of the government regarding the situation. It also presents the individuals living in the boxes as clear-minded people who made the choice of living a minimal life with no attachment to things or to people. I saw the introduction of the book as a critique of the phenomena from an inside perspective.

In the first few pages, I stumbled upon this striking quote: "I'm sure you've not yet heard of a box man. Though there can't be any statistics, there is evidence that a rather large number of them are living in concealment throughout the country. But I've never heard that box men are being talked about anywhere. Evidently the world intends to keep its mouth tightly shut about them. (...) Certainly, a box man is hardly conspicuous. He is like a piece of rubbish shoved between a guardrail and a public toilet or underneath a footbridge. But that's different from being inconspicuous or invisible. Since he is not especially uncommon, there is every opportunity of seeing one."[296] It is apparent in Japan that homeless people are not investing popular public spaces. It has been observed that there is a conflict between park managers, the police and the homeless people using the public spaces as their living space, particularly in the inner city parks. A study by the city of Osaka on the matter further states: "the park management policy hired by the city bureau should be successful in the removal of homeless people, but there should be more discussion related to inner city parks' function, specifically to the homeless issue in a whole city and social context."[297]

296 Abe, Kobo. *The Box Man*. New York: Berkeley Publishing Corporation. 1975. p.8.

297 Nagahashi, Tamesuke & Dohi, Masato. *The Impact on Homeless People of the Park Management Policy of Tennouji Park*. Tokyo: Journal of The Japanese Institute of Landscape Architecture. 1996. p.4.

The Box Man is therefore that much more exact when comparing homeless people to rubbish since the city itself sometimes considers their "removal" as a solution. Moreover, the society seems to see the problem of poor, homeless and social recipient people through the same lens, without distinctions. "A box man is different from a vagrant. Of course, as far as society is concerned they apparently don't distinguish very clearly between the two, as much as box men do. Indeed, they have not a few points in common. For example, not having an I.D. card, or a profession, or an established place of residence, or indication of name or age, or a set time or place for eating and sleeping. And then not getting your hair cut or brushing your teeth, rarely taking a bath, needing almost no cash for daily living, and a lot of other things. Yet, beggars and vagrants are apparently quite aware of a difference. (...) I have in fact never heard of a beggar turning into a box man. Since I have no intention of being a beggar, he has none of being a box man. Surprisingly enough, even beggars are a part of the environs that belong to the townsfolk, and when you become a box man perhaps you're below a beggar."[298]

298 Abe, Kobo. *The Box Man*. New York: Berkeley Publishing Corporation. 1975. p.18.

This view of the box man in regards to a beggar shows his concern for social acceptance and the place in society that homeless people struggle to find. More than a beggar, the box man puts himself out there before the eyes of everyone with everything he has to offer, his only possession, his cardboard box. Although it seems that box men or homeless people are self-aware of their situation, a little bit further, the box man talks about how "there is absolutely no relationship with the consciousness of being a social dropout. Not once does he feel guilty about his choice or his box. I personally feel that a box, far from being a dead end, is an entrance to another world. I don't know to where, but an entrance to somewhere, some other world. I say this, but the opening to that other world is not very different from a dead-end alley if I stifle my nausea as I examine the world outside my little observation window."[299] There is no shame in being a box man since it appears to be a choice. The box is a shelter, a secure place that protects the body within but not the mind. The mind is not restricted to those boundaries, it can float and imagine things as much as any other mind. Maybe the box man discovered a minimal way of life enabling him to appropriate the whole world instead of a few possessions.

The box man might be living outside the box: outside the realm of private life that was so judgementally criticized in old civilizations (such as Greece) and outside boundaries and limits. A comparison of the box to a protective shell is made further in the book and states that the box stands as vulnerability but also security in distancing themselves from a world in which they are so intrinsically immersed. "Generally, people know too little about box men. They take too casually the meaning the box has for a box man. (...) They say that even in the case of the hermit crab, once it begins its life under its shell, the back part of the body, being covered by the carapace, becomes soft and breaks into pieces, thus the crab dies if forced out. A box man can't very well take off his box and simply return to the ordinary world. When he takes it off, it is to emerge into another world just as an insect metamorphoses. (...) From the human chrysalis that is the box man, even I know not what kind of living being will issue forth."[300] This passage is quite poetic and beautiful, the shell or the box could also be viewed as the shelters that are taken from the individuals before they become homeless. There is nothing more violent than taking his home from someone. It surely exposes him to all bad weathers and conditions. It takes away security and comfort and places the individual as a victim.

299 Abe, Kobo. *The Box Man*. New York: Berkeley Publishing Corporation. 1975. p.18.

300 Ibid. p.41.

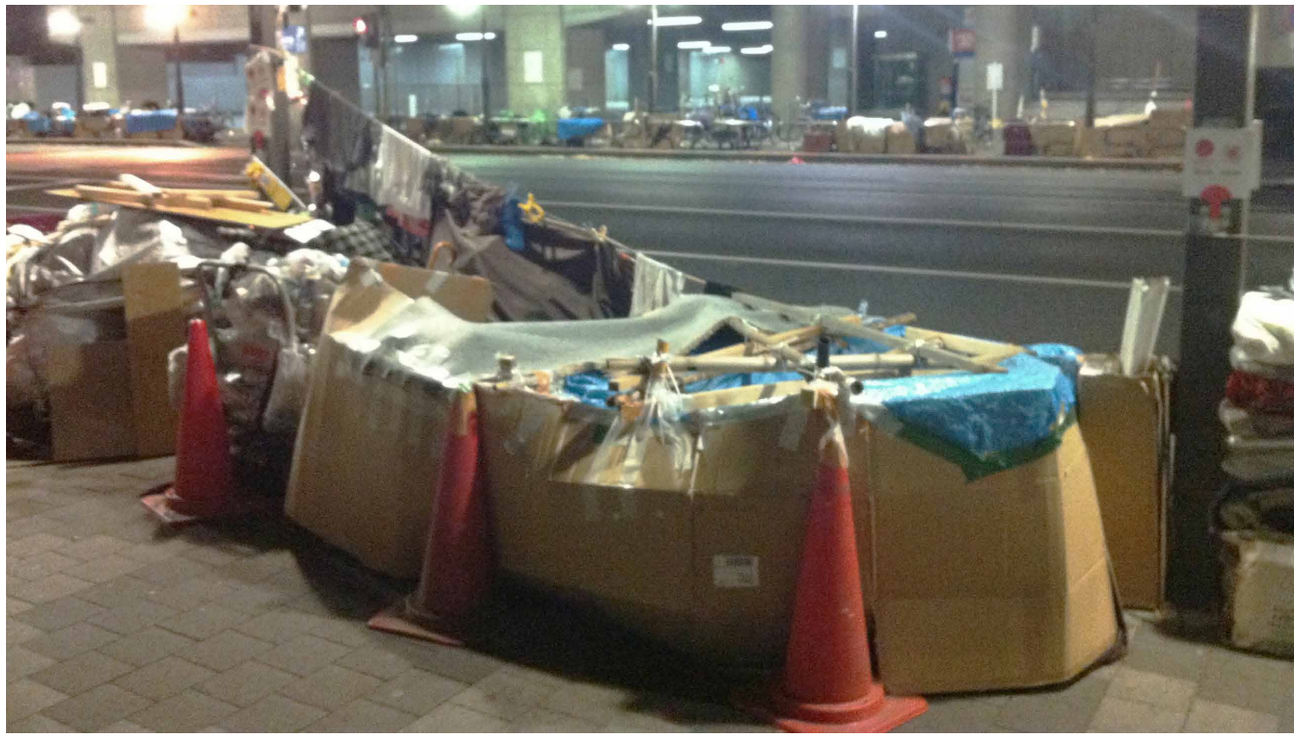
It is pretty clear that "homeless activism in contemporary Japan offers important insights into the transformation of the idea of the public sphere in the course of the political struggle."[301] Therefore it might, somehow, be in the architects' power to design spaces resilient enough to provide, if needed, a secure shelter to those in need. The shelter needed can be quite simple. As the Box man says: "actually a box, in appearance, is purely and simply a right-angled parallelepiped, but when you look at it from within it's a labyrinth of a hundred interconnecting puzzle rings. The more you struggle, the more the box, like an extra outer skin growing from the body, creates new twists for the labyrinth, making the inner disposition increasingly more complex."[302] The shelter provided should help the occupants feel as if they could do anything while being in a friendly and secure environment. One crucial aspect that was elaborated in the book is the exposure homeless people might feel. They are exposed to the elements, but also to the stares of everyone and can consequently feel judged, diminished and persecuted. "The reason men go on living, enduring the gaze of others, is that they bargain on the hallucinations and the inexactitudes of human eyes. (...) When one cannot avoid being seen it is common sense to demand compensation. As a matter of fact, in the theater or in the cinema usually, those who look pay money and those who are looked at receive it. Anybody would rather look than be looked at."[303] The Box Man made me realize that the box - or a shelter - is a tool to avoid exposing one's marginality and vulnerability.

With proper carapace, the box creates a reverse paradigm in which it is the individual inside the box that looks at people without being looked at. He controls his environment and his relation to other subjects. In other words, he gains power from the shelter he has constructed and in which he lives.

301 Cassegård, Carl. *Youth Movements, Trauma and Alternative Space in Contemporary Japan*. Leiden: Brill Publishers. 2014. p.117.

302 Abe, Kobo. *The Box Man*. New York: Berkeley Publishing Corporation. 1975. p.178.

303 Ibid. p.86.



Permanent Expression

The final category of typologies of appropriation includes actions that have permanent repercussions. Although some acts committed in public areas are ephemeral, sometimes, their marks are everlasting. They can be voluntary or unconscious, planned, intentional or unintentional and harmless but the result stays the same as they leave a mark, a scar or a tattoo on the city's skin and indicate the occupants' presence. This section will be divided into three categories, which include the aesthetic appropriation of a parcel of public space, the functional appropriation and finally the residual marks of an investment. Many actions could be interpreted as being part of one or another category depending on the observer. I have myself judged a permanent expression that can be interpreted as being aesthetic and poetic, yet, fulfilling the function of entertainment, and leaving a residue in places.

This appropriation is yet another "trajectory away from the politics of the public square and into the everyday city through personal appropriations of vestiges of the past found in the streets. (...) The objects of street observation studies are defined generically as 'inexplicable protuberances and concavities connected to buildings and streets in the city, which, while purposeless, have been beautifully preserved."[304]

Observing examples of appropriation on the field is difficult and usually impossible to decrypt without further research. The many ways of appropriating the public realm without embodiment and through permanent traces usually become either objects of heritage and conservation or trash. Although, the social importance of these interventions indicate, with the proper keys of interpretation, a lot more about culture than objects in a museum for certain people. It is actually the exact belief of an organization that was formed in Japan in 1986. "Members of the Street Observation Studies Society (*Rojo Kansatsu Gakkai*), indeed, rejected the theoretical approaches of architects and planners because they saw them as co-opted into a society of managed consumption that could be challenged only through a radical rethinking of how the city was made and how the individual encountered it.[305] By establishing a Society and through their desire of finding and interpreting the traces of others' interventions in the planned regularity of the contemporary city, the street observationists allied with an army of anonymous citizens claiming space by altering the streetscape.[306]

304 Sand, Jordan. *Tokyo Vernacular: common spaces, local histories, found objects*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013. p.88.

305 Ibid. p.89.

306 Ibid. p.90.

The group did not anticipate its popularity, but more and more people started searching for undiscovered places and curious surprises in the streets and places of cities. The intervention in itself is actually a global hunt of small objects in specified places updated by players on a website. I, myself, became an allied when I was invited by a group of Japanese young people to help in finding a paper and a small red object on the terrain of a Buddhist church late at night, much like a revisited scavenger or treasure hunt called geocaching. The purpose was then to document the details of the object in question, put it back in place for others to find, and acquire a "log" on the list of sites where you can engage with strangers anonymously through the medium of objects. Members of the group referred generically to the "uncommodified objects that they photographed and documented as *bukken*, a word for "property" appropriated from the argot of real estate. A *bukken* is an item, a material instance of property, rather than property in the abstract. The group's use of the term masked political intent since this eccentric word choice highlighted the materiality of the city they investigated while questioning how value came to be invested in material things and places.

There were actually layers of appropriation involved since the objects of street observation themselves claimed space, and the observationists claimed those objects by naming and interpreting them, through language that was itself appropriated from elsewhere."[307] This type of appropriation actually questions poetically the appropriated space itself. It revisits the stability of ownership and property. Lefebvre correlates this notion of appropriation of use and property with exchanges, which fits perfectly the mission, and sensitization this Society conducts. Of course, the purpose of the *bukken* is to engage strangers in a hunt to appropriate their surroundings and communicate with fellow players. It can as said previously, be seen as an aesthetic, poetic investment of the environment as well as functional since the game exists for the entertainment of its players and, for non-players, it could be viewed as residues, almost trash left at certain places.

307 Ibid. p.92.

In contrast to the usual form of documentation of architectural heritage, I've chosen a street observation empirical approach throughout this research to treat the contemporary city as a site of exploration and as an incubator of relationships. The method posits that things, people, and places are the new urban landmarks to study, protect and interpret. The method gives importance to the everyday *wabi* and *sabi* in the architectural evaluation of what imports and changes in society. The concept of a "culture of the everyday life" or a "living culture" (*seikatsu bunka*) has emerged by those means. In the end, the street observationists - such as myself - must be called optimists, for, without a belief in the possibility of redemption in individuals' reshaping the city to their own ends, they would not have taken to the streets to investigate.[308]

308 Sand, Jordan. *Tokyo Vernacular: common spaces, local histories, found objects*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013. p.109.

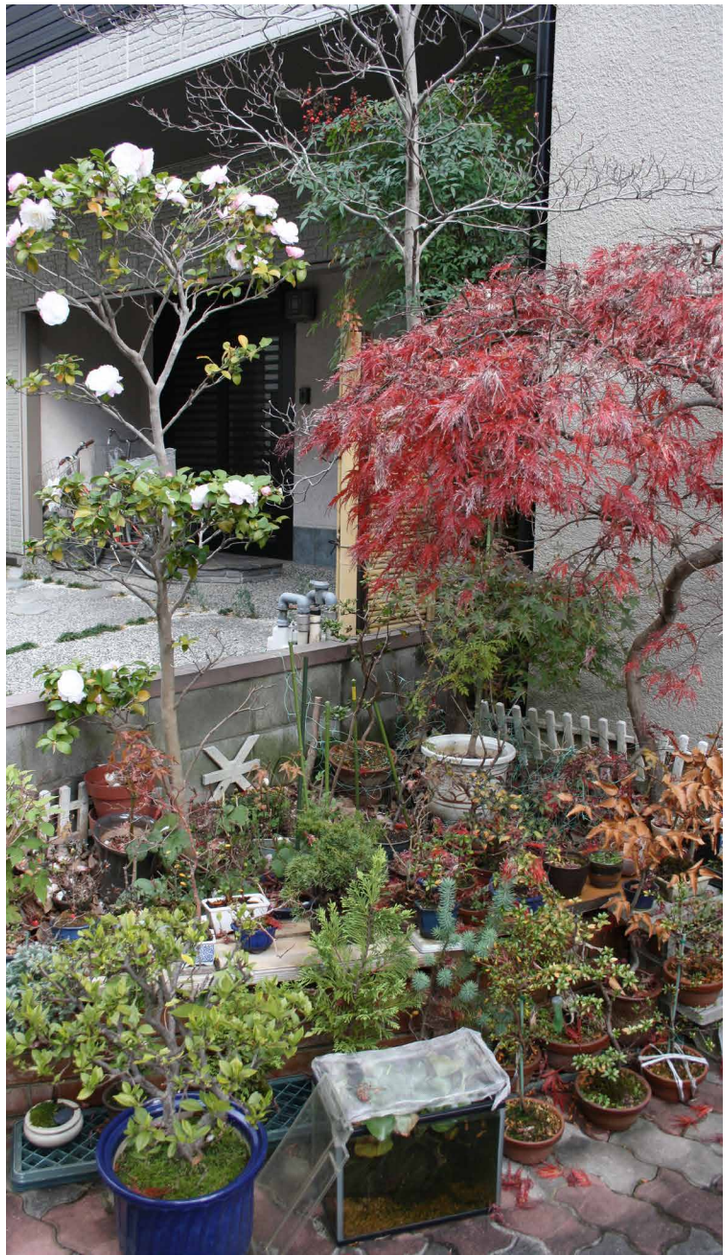
Permanent Expression • Aesthetic

Some gestures have committed a willingness beautification of public space through aesthetic actions. Depending on the medium used, some of them are not tolerated at all while others are encouraged. Those types of marks can include sculptures, graffiti, street art, wild posting, plants in pots, guerrilla gardening, and much more. Remarkably enough, in Japan, tags or graffiti are practically inexistent. As stated previously with the example of the Fueiho Law, some behaviours are highly regulated and, occupants are quite respectful of their fellow citizens and do not want to hamper their freedom. Therefore, as much as it is common in occidental cities, in Japan, it is really rare to see tags, graffiti or posters. In fact, during the whole stay, I only once encountered a tag on a very small electrical box and I noticed it only because a cleaning crew was busy making it disappear. It seems that employees for the maintenance of the city are really quick to respond to outbreaks to make sure they are not encouraging more overflows.

In terms of the wild display, it seems much less popular also. Some posters are put up to promote political candidates, but they are rare. Businesses and advertisers are sticking with spaces designed to promote and advertise their products and services. These are usually supervised by established organizations such as transportation or advertising companies and offer specific settings, layout and format on their trains, cars, stations and wagons. As for private spaces, there is not limit in advertisement; posters, lights, drawings and signs are overwhelmingly everywhere. Although the citizen's artistic expression is not only concerned with street art, advertisement, and graffiti; some occupants prefer leaving sculptures, horticulture creations, or toys as traces of their presence and care. As many cities in Japan consist of narrow streets that crisscross neighbourhoods without following a regular pattern, there is very little space for a garden or a backyard. Hence, a majority of citizens often invest public spaces such as sidewalks. Although, in residential neighbourhoods, there are generally no sidewalks and houses are constructed with a margin of approximately half a meter delimiting the house from the street. The margins are manipulated and used for the storage of big objects, for small gardens or can even become a drying laundry space.

These overflows actually act as extensions of the house towards the street space. As expressed in the architecture and aesthetic section, Japanese do not distinguish the exterior and interior of their residence as thoroughly as Western citizens. The recurring investment of margins in the urban space observed throughout Japan gives the impression that the interior is propelled outwards to soften the static limit of public and private life. Some citizens move their pots, sculptures or objects on a daily basis, arranging them carefully into the free spaces on the sidewalks, in the streets and public spaces or in the corners formed by two buildings that meet. Their attention for the exterior's aesthetic quality (*bigaku*) equals to their interior's care. *Uchi* and *soto*, the inside and the outside, are connected trough aesthetic implementations and connect the inhabitants to their community and their environment.[309]

309 Hirayama, Yosuke & Ronald, Richard. *Housing and social transition in Japan*. Abingdon: Routledge. 2007. p.172.




酒造好適米
祝
栽培圃

The modulation created by the objects is particularly interesting for observers since there are movements and changes in those objects with the work of time, through seasons and years. The plants change colors, grow, sometimes die or get replaced and so do objects and artworks. The commemoration of time is tangible in the Japanese culture and can take many forms. The horticultural overflows, for example, are significant and important in the Japanese culture of the ephemere and impermenant. As previously stated, *wabi* and *sabi* are aesthetic categories that acknowledge the beauty of time through tangible objects, things and even beings. "Many people everywhere spend their whole lives trying to escape the thought that one day they and all of theirs will be no more. Only a few poets look at the fact, and only the Japanese, I believe celebrate it. This commemoration takes many forms but the most common might be looking into a mirror, seeing one more gray hair, discerning one more wrinkle, and then saying to oneself: 'Good, all is well with the world - things are proceeding as they must."[310] This philosophy is very present in the *bigaku* appreciation and in the cultural celebrations framing the blossoms of cherry trees or any other plant.

Japanese also honour ephemerality by extending their beliefs to the transmission of knowledge. It is believed that the knowledge, not the objects have to be treasured. The poetic beauty of the transient accounts for much more than tangible heritage. For example, in architecture, the wealth of society is not transmitted through what was built but how it was built - the process is valued. This trait is very characteristic of Japanese society and extends to their judgment of taste and appreciation. Even though some annual species must be replanted and require more care and attention, and even though some shrine has to be rebuilt 20 years after setting its first foundation stone, all will rebirth by the transmission of knowledge of their caretaker. The application of aesthetic qualities and construction or arrangement differs, of course, according to both the subject and the aesthete using the system. According to the new "designer" and his interpretation, a *shin* garden for, example, can be both public and grand, belonging to a temple or a fine residence. A garden deemed *gyo,* can be both formal in some aspects and informal in others, as in a stylish private residence, and so forth.[311]

310 Richie, Donald. *A Tractate on Japanese Aesthetics*. Albany: Stone Bridge Press. 2007. p.37.

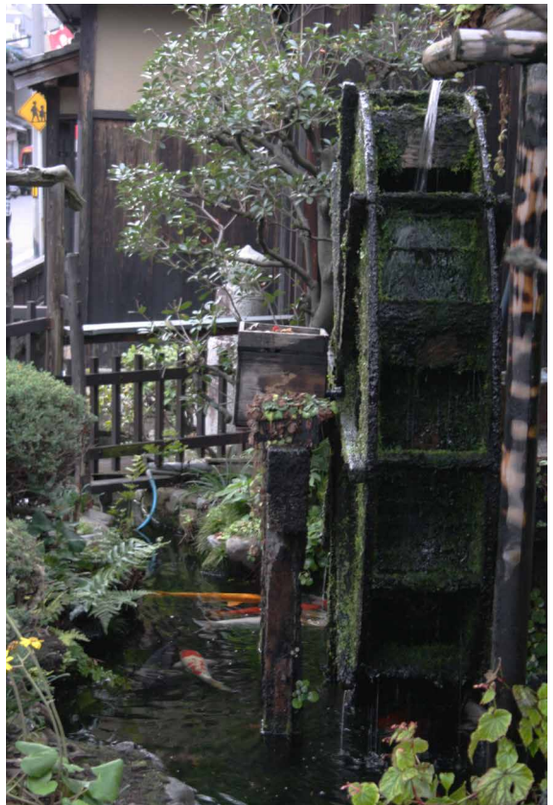
311 Ibid. p.59.


止まれ

In the same way than botanical street gardens, some citizens also build miniature buildings and shrines to guard their entrance. Those are placed on the margins of their houses, usually near the front door in order to protect their homes. Those mini-models are generally but not exclusively religious or spiritual. They either express a desire of the citizens to exteriorize to the public realm their faith and beliefs or they indicates the wish of the citizens to welcome spiritual institutions in their private spaces. The appropriation of the margins through the establishment of sculptural spiritual works is, therefore, somehow a sign of fluidity and blurriness operating at the limit of the public and private spaces. Unlike the plant pots, these little cabins, candles, photos, etc. are static and inform the passers-by of the allegiances of the owners of the space.

Then again, some other citizens create sculptures with rocks or dig small ponds for fish at the merger of private and public spaces. Those actions break the monotony of urban landscapes and express the need of citizens to embellish their surrounding environment through unique, self-made markers that celebrate their taste and good care.

Overall, all aesthetic actions demonstrate the devotion that citizens have towards the appearance of their surroundings. They also indicate that Japanese consider public space as an extension of private space; the limit stays blurry. The notion of openness between the public and private realm and transitional fluidity between interior and exterior are probably the cradle for the emergence of movements such as those listed above. Those appropriations indicate that Japanese are more concern with the beautification of their environment than they are with robbery or vandalism of the pieces they put out.




延命
地藏尊

Permanent Expression • Functional

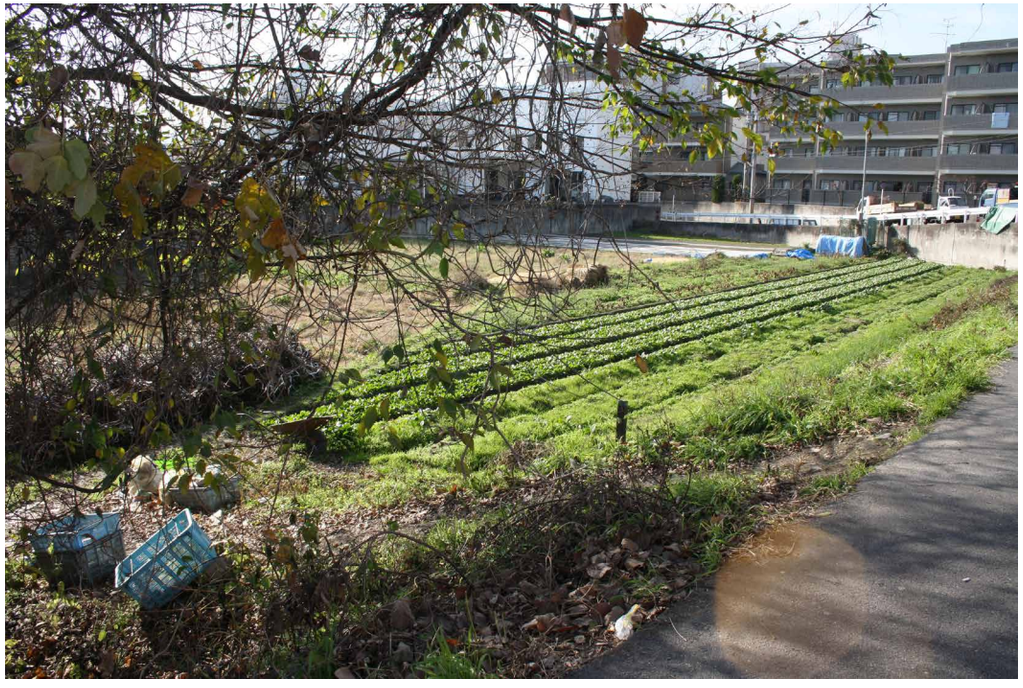
The modular, resilient and less programmed public spaces are increasingly popular and allow a freedom of use to their occupants. Occupants can express the needs for which they invest space by simply translating them onto the furniture or the materials. This section was briefly surveyed through the in between temporary and permanent functional appropriation, but the difference now is either the additional furniture brought by citizens or the actual furniture of a public space that was moved or modified to suit needs more adequately. That new or implemented furniture acts as an additional support to the urban quality of life and is a permanent tangible marker even if the being leaves. Those objects can help some occupants do their jobs better; for example a man bringing his chair on the sidewalk to count the cars on the highway. Or could also take the form of a group of friends moving the tables and benches in a park to sit together. The disposition will carry the movement and indicate a group was occupying the space at a specific moment even though they, themselves, left.

It can also, if the notion of public space is stretched a little, take the form of a cultivated land that produces fresh vegetables, legumes or fruits for the citizens. In fact, since the conception of private and public space is somehow different for every occupant, their appropriation is too. The appropriation of wastelands or abandoned parcels is that much more blurry in its ownership conception. Examples of investment have been observed especially on residential or commercial plots of land now abandoned. These places are legislatively private but are invested by citizens who do not necessarily own them. It is actually a growing phenomenon in Japan since the redistribution of lots is quite particular. When a land is inherited, the next generation divides the lot into parts according to the number of recipients.[312] The reason for the increased emergence of always smaller and more irregular lots is the laws imposing high taxes, sometimes as high as 40% of the value of the land, when there is a testamentary succession. Of course, to pay those estate taxes, the new owner is forced to cut its share and tries to respect the laws in force for the urban integration of the plot. The regulations, apart from the taxes, also include minimal margins or setbacks from the street and neighbours which we previously surveyed, the ratio of land occupation and the hours of exposition of sunshine on the neighbours' land. Indubitably, after a few generations, the lot becomes too small to be built on, and because of the regulations, buildings cannot be built in height either, therefore, the remaining part is abandoned or used as vacant land. These undeveloped lots are commonly appropriated by the neighbourhood as space for temporary activities. In most situations observed, theses lands are encroached and used for storage, for drying clothes and for parking cars and bicycles. It is also common to use the small remnant as a cultivable land. This kind of practice fulfills the function of producing food economically and environmentally friendly and is sometimes beneficial not particularly for the owners but for anyone seeking food in an urban environment.

312 Lamarre, Marie-Ève. *Le phénomène des terrains vagues dans les villes en croissance et en décroissance du Japon*. Montreal: Université McGill. 2014. p.44.

In fact, it is also quite common to see plots of land that have been abandoned being reinvested for cultivation purposes by small groups of people. It, therefore, acts as a permanent expression of ownership to also fulfill a vital need. People have great respect for the labours of cultivation and will not eat the crops or cut flowers without having permission.

But it also happens that a land is left completely empty at a given moment. The only signs of ownership, in that case, are the lack of waste and the presence of chains or fence to close the site from public appropriation. Surprisingly, those enclosed spaces are not appropriated at all, even temporally and it shows the propensity of the Japanese citizens to comply with rules and customs.

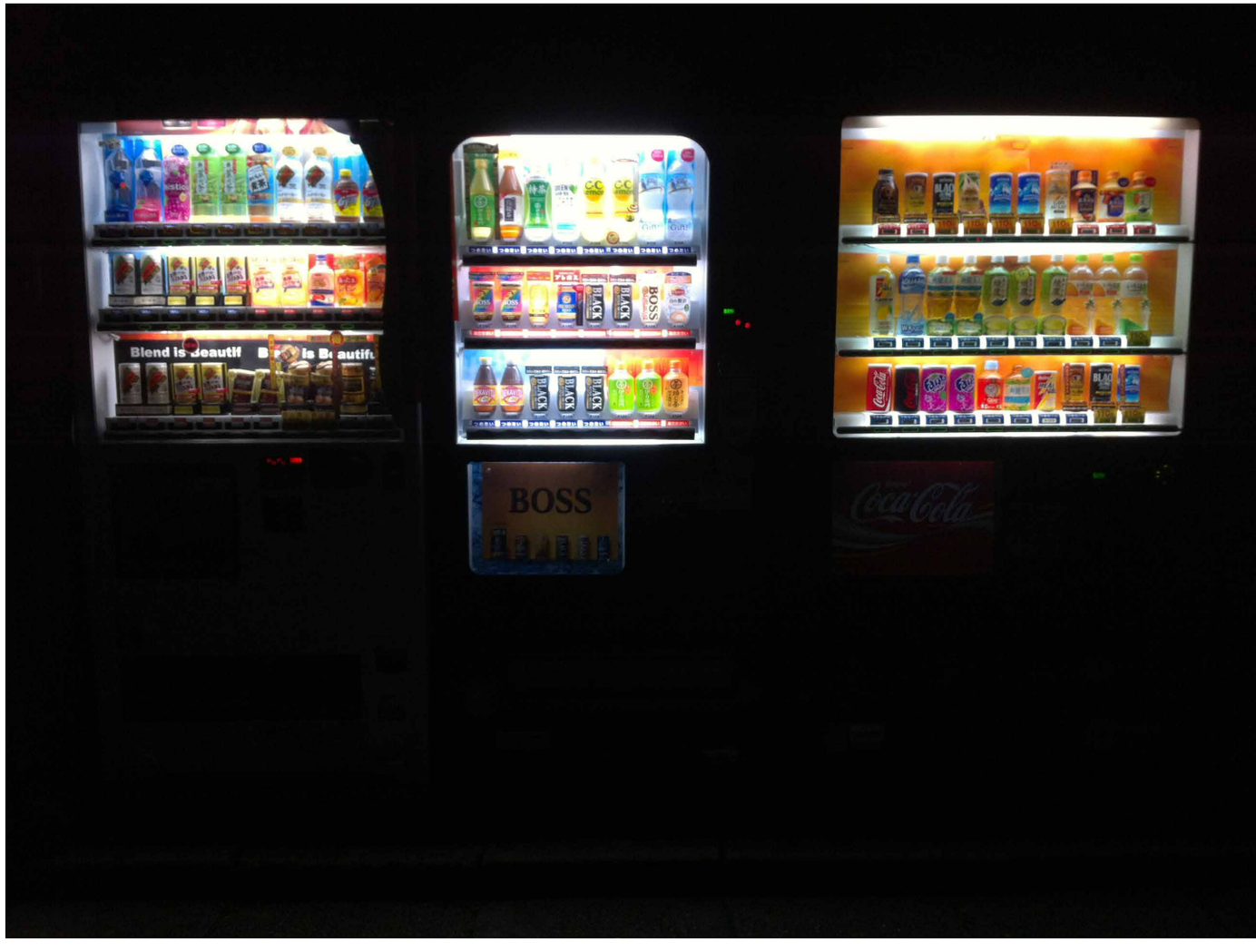



自転車


安全第一
安全第一


無火災推進日

This category includes all physical actions, voluntary or not, that have left a visible scar when the action is resolved. This type of action might include intentional vandalism that has no aesthetic, political or functional motivation. It could also include unintentional residues left on tables or in the streets inadvertently. Since, as explained formerly a lot of vandalism actions are illegal and frowned upon in the Japanese society, they are quite rare and difficult to detect. As expressed, Japanese maintenance is quick to intervene and to address the cause of mischiefs. Residual traces and trash left by citizens in contemporary cities are a phenomenon common and widespread. The management of waste is an issue dealt with daily in megalopolis. It appears that the awareness of Japanese citizens is greater and translates into the adoption of different habits to eradicate this nuisance. There is in Japan an elaborate management of personnel residues. It is actually very rare to find trash bins in public spaces, therefore, every citizen keeps his trash in his bag until he comes back home or until he finds the proper bin to dispose of them. The bins are found only near shopping, restorations or convenience businesses, but it is not common practice to eat or drink in the streets or while travelling.



As expressed through the homelessness section, the sorting of trash and recyclables is highly respected. The regard for rules, for sorting recyclables, and for keeping personal trash all day long if necessary, combined creates cities where almost no residues are seen in the streets or in public spaces. It is even difficult to find a gum or a cigarette butt on the ground somewhere. The awareness and respect towards fellow citizens is striking and admirable. For example, people do not smoke in public spaces; smokers have a specific space where cigarettes' bin and efficient aeration systems are appointed. There is, in Japan, a reversed paradigm where smoke bubbles, closed and bounded, are available to smokers while in western countries, citizens can smoke anywhere except in closed or private spaces. The application is once again contrasted as the rule of "smoking permitted nowhere but here" applies in comparison to "smoking everywhere except here." This practice not only diminishes the nuisance of secondary smoke by containing it, it also sorts and contains cigarette butts and other residues. Altogether, the cultural and political influence on behaviours affects their resultant; and in this case, the residual wastes left on the environment.

Conclusion-

The thesis has focused on the phenomenological account of behavioural freedom and on the conditions of its appearance. The approach unravelled through the sections showed that individual's liberty, will, and thoughts depend on public spaces where subjects manifest themselves through embodiment. The public freedom is both the result and the cause of individual freedom. Therefore, it should have important repercussions on how we conceive our political life and our architectural designs. Indeed, as stated by Pierre Bourdieu, "appropriated space is one of the sites where power is consolidated and realized, and indeed in its surely most subtle form: the unperceived force of symbolic power. Architectonic space whose silent dictates is directly addressed to the body and is undoubted among the most important components of the symbolism of power, precisely because of their invisibility (...) Social space is thus inscribed in the objective nature of spatial structures and in the subjective structures that partly emerge from the incorporation of these objectified structures. This applies all the more in so far as social space is predestined, so to speak, to be visualized in the form of spatial schemata, and the language usually used for this purpose is loaded with metaphors derived from the field of physical space."[313]

Expressed through many forms of appropriation that could be interpreted as metaphors for cultural, political and social beliefs, the study of behaviours helps architects and designers tame the public space. **Embodiment is a visualization of spatial schemes translated through the language of the body instead of the mind.** If the architect observes attentively a crowd during peak times and especially "if one listens to its rumour, one discerns flows in the apparent disorder and an order which is signalled by the rhythms: chance or predetermined encounters, hurried carryings or nonchalant meanderings of people going home to withdraw from the outside, or leaving their homes to make contact with the outside, business people and vacant people - so many elements which make up a polyrhythm."[314] As stated by Lefebvre, all rhythms imply the relation of time and space. The very presence of the occupants of space is a marker of a localized time or a temporalized place. The *ma,* inseparable combination of space and time only exists in oriental cultures. In Western societies, time and space were dissociated and their far-fetched blend does not even have a term; it is why we add adjectives such as *localized* time or *temporalized* place.

313 Goonewardena, Kanishka. *Space, difference, everyday life: reading Henri Lefebvre*. New York: Routledge. 2008. p.46.

314 Lefebvre, Henri. *Wrtings on Cities*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. 1996. p.230.

As stated by Augustin Berque, having the sense of *ma* is living in another space and time completely and it can only be learned through practice and not theory.[315] This is exactly why the present research accounts for lived experiences creating rhythms in the so praised Japanese *ma*. "Rhythm is always linked to such and such a space, to its place, whether it be to the heart, the fluttering of the eyelids, the movements of the street, or the tempo of a waltz. This does not prevent it from being a time, that is an aspect of a movement and a becoming."[316] The becoming of space and time, the becoming of the *ma* to suit the occupant is a key for building a sustainable and life-enhancing environment. Architects therefore have to acclimate themselves to the rhythm of a country and address all the senses simultaneously to help occupants fuse their image of self with their experience of the world.[317]

The rhythm of places unfolds through the actions of occupants, as we saw with the extensive examples of the last chapter. It is impossible and undesirable to permit actions without expecting overflows. People have the freedom to act and communicate their needs through embodiment and as architects the only we can do is listen, interprete and plan for such things. Drawing a line or designing a bench does not transform behaviours. Architecture integrates a combination of culture, values, perspective, personality, needs and many other things, and articulates a society's being-in-the-world. Architects offer an interpretation, a fantasy that permits citizens to ground and express themselves. All the power that is left is a power of invitation and offering. Architects can invite people to walk, to sit, to stay, and to see the city a certain way. These are all invitations to a better everyday. A better way to cross the street, a better way to wait for the bus, a better way to choreograph dance moves, a better way to feel comfortable and secure, a better to way to live your life. And that's all we can do.[318] As architects, we can invite people to understand themselves, their fellow citizens, their reality and their environment. But it is the occupants who offer the most part as they create embodied and lived existential metaphors that concretise and structure the being of their culture in the world.[319]

315 Berque, Augustin & Sauzet, Maurice. *Le sens de l'espace au Japon : Vivre, penser, bâtir*. Paris: Éditions Arguments. 1999. p.33.

316 Lefebvre, Henri. *Wrtings on Cities*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. 1996. p.230.

317 Pallasmaa, Juhani. *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*. West Sussex: Wiley. 2012. p.12.

318 Gehl, Jan. *The Human Scale. documentary.* Copenhagen: Andreas Møl Dalsgaard. 2012.

319 Pallasmaa, Juhani. *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*. West Sussex: Wiley. 2012. p.76.

Space

As architects try to create and produce a global resilient space acting as a social support for daily life, open to multiple possibilities[320] what they are actually achieving is the transformation of space into place. By enabling citizens to appropriate a space, by enabling them to ground themselves and their reality, architecture inscribes space in the mind of people through memories and experiences. The lived space becomes a place. As space seems to be vast and unbounded, it is theoretical; " 'space' and 'place' are familiar words denoting common experiences. Place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to the one and long for the other. (...) Space and place are basic components of the lived world; we take them for granted."[321] In fact, space is a theoretical environment becoming one or many places when it is carved in the subjective experience of occupants and in time. Tuan, on his part, states that when space feels thoroughly familiar to us, it has become place since the kinesthetic and perceptual experiences, as well as the ability to form concepts, are required for the shift.[322] I believe the change is much more sudden.

320 Lefebvre, Henri. *La production de l'espace*. Paris: Economica. 1974. p.485.

321 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. p.3.

322 Ibid. p.73.

A place can acquire deep meaning for the occupant through the steady accretion of his presence or his memories. Actually, a "number of means; rivalry or conflict with other places, visual prominence, and the evocative power of art, architecture, ceremonials and rites can make places visible. The identity of a place is achieved by dramatizing the aspirations, need, and functional rhythms of personal and group life."[323] The shift, I would say is more about the physical or mental discovery of space. It could, therefore, be triggered by media-generated images as much as by personal experiences. Although, it seems impossible to experience space without the boundaries, the objects and the context defining space itself.

Furthermore, human beings not only discern patterns and forms in nature or in their built environment to create places from space, they also try to embody their feelings, images, and thoughts in a tangible material. Space is transformed into place as it acquires definition and meaning. When occupants create embodied metaphors to concretize themselves in society, they also define space as a place. In fact, the definition of space not only enables the assertion of places towards which a sentiment was developed over the years, it also enables the assertion of our own body. The being is grounded through his definition of his environment. In between the cosmos and the earth, we should consider architecture as the mediator.

323 Ibid. p.178.

The architect indeed continues the line of human effort to "heighten awareness by creating a tangible world that articulates experiences, those deeply felt as well as those that can be verbalized, individual as well as collective."[324] The result created is sculptural and architectural space, and on a large scale, the planned city. "Progress here appears from developing feelings for space and fleeting discernments of it in nature to their public and material reification. Place is a type of object. Places and objects define space, giving it a geometric personality. Neither the newborn infant nor the man who gain sight after a lifetime of blindness can immediately recognize a geometric shape such as a triangle. The triangle is first 'space,' a blurred image. Recognizing the triangle requires the prior identification of corners - that are, places. A neighbourhood is at first a confusion of images to the new resident; it is the blurred space 'out there.' (...) Objects and places are centers of value. They attract or repel in finely shaded degrees. To attend to them even momentarily is to acknowledge their reality and value."[325]

As Christian Dimmer puts it, "a unified and integrated public space is indeed considered a universal panacea (or remedy for a healthy society)."[326] As public spaces become places, they also become catalyzers of emotions and impressions, of memories and of identity. They localize occupants in history and in time, in the rhythm and in the *ma* of a culture. Space or place are not very preeminent categories in social theories and perhaps they are related to the crystallisation of social sciences in a historical period "obsessed with progress and development, when theories about the evolution of species, the rise and future demise of capitalism and the advance of humankind from savagery to Western civilisation captured scholarly and laypeople imagination. (...) So while an 'end of history' has been proclaimed, nobody has postulated an 'end of time' yet, and one instead sees claims to a 'spatial turn' across the social sciences and humanities, also in Japan."[327] The study of Place in the *ma* of a society might just be the solution to understand the relationship of beings toward themselves, toward their environment and toward other beings.

324 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. p.88-100.

325 Ibid. p.17-18.

326 Dimmer, Christian & Solomon, Golani, Erez & Klinkers, Koen V. *Shinonome - New Concepts of Public Space* in Summaries of Technical Papers of Annual Meeting. Tokyo: Architectural Institute of Japan. 2005. p.925-926.

327 Brumann, Christoph & Schulz, Evelyn. *Urban Spaces in Japan: Cultural and Social Perspectives*. London: Routledge. 2015. p.1.

Since successful architecture creates the semblance of the world which is the counterpart of the self,[328] the appropriation's markers should be taken into account in architectural and political decision-making. The scenery of architectural conception and city planning has been going on for quite a number of years with an incomplete toolbox. The integration of democratic embodiment and behavioural choices would be a rather cheap and easy study to do prior to construction. As Jan Gehl states, "it is so cheap to be sweet to people in city planning. Compared to any other investment, it costs next to nothing. So there are real perspectives because man is basically a very clever animal who knows what he likes and who knows where he is uncomfortable."[329] A return to cities based on human scale, needs and culture is basically the first step to integrating democracy in architecture. Architectural space actually continues to articulate social order and acclimate political overflows. The modern built environment could even fulfill an educational and economical function as it informs by signs and posters and attracts masses when correctly designed. The public space is a communication platform that can be used to enhance social relationships and nourish cultural identity.

328 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. p.164.

329 Gehl, Jan. *The Human Scale. documentary.* Copenhagen: Andreas Møl Dalsgaard. 2012.

Spaces trigger the senses as the body of its occupant responds, as they've always done, to basic features of design. Designers and architects continue to enlarge the spectrum of embodied consciousness by creating a vibrant environment. Although it has been noticed that in the contemporary society, active participation is much reduced. "In the modern world people do not, as in nonliterate and peasant societies, build their own houses, nor do they participate even in a token manner in the construction of public monuments. Rites and ceremonies that focus on the building activity, which used to be thought of as the creation of a world, have greatly declined so that even in the erection of a large public edifice there remain only the rather wan gestures of laying the foundation stone and topping."[330] It is therefore that much more important to take into consideration the gestures that have lasted in the modern society.

Behaviourology is a form of communication in itself as it is a tool to understand a culture's splintered beliefs and conflicting ideologies. In fact, it is a heritage to preserve and to consider in an increasingly literate society. Effectively, since we depend less and less on material objects and the physical environment, to embody the value and meaning of a culture is all that counts.

330 Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. p.116-117.

The power preserved in communicative symbols or mediums such as the body has progressively displaced materials symbols.[331] As said by Von Uexküll, the being unfolds the world he wants to see before him,[332] but I would correct that the *body* unfolds the world he wants to see before him. The act of dwelling, the embodiment, is an exchange, a communication between one and his *space* (in the becoming of place). This merger of space and self is one of the founding ideas of Merleau-Ponty's philosophy and it offers a fertile conceptual ground for the understanding of artistic, architectural, and existential phenomena.[333] Deriving inspiration from daily phenomena and behaviourology in architectural practice could help it become less specialized, self-contained and detached from true living cultures, arts, knowledge, and life in general. As it was famously said, "Friendships would seem to hold cities together."[334] I would propose in a broader sense that relationships, of any kind, between beings or between world and beings, hold cities together as they are their structure, their glue, and their purpose.

Hence, the appropriation of public spaces enables us to be attuned to our body, in our relationships and in our world.

331 Idem.

332 Uexküll, Jakob von. *Mondes animaux et monde humain: suivi de Théorie de la signification*. Paris: Denoël. 1965. p.27.

333 Bhati, Ritu. *Rethinking Aesthetics, the role of body in design*. New York: Routledge. 2013. p.223.

334 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*. Newburyport: Focus Publishing. 2002. p.1155a23.

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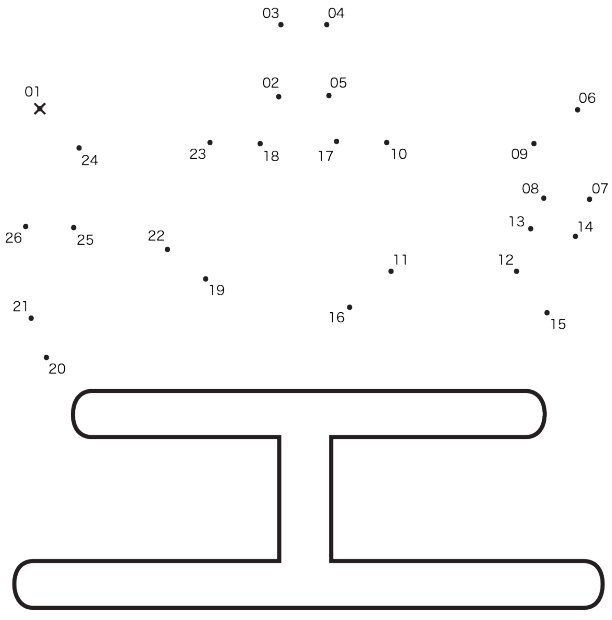
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