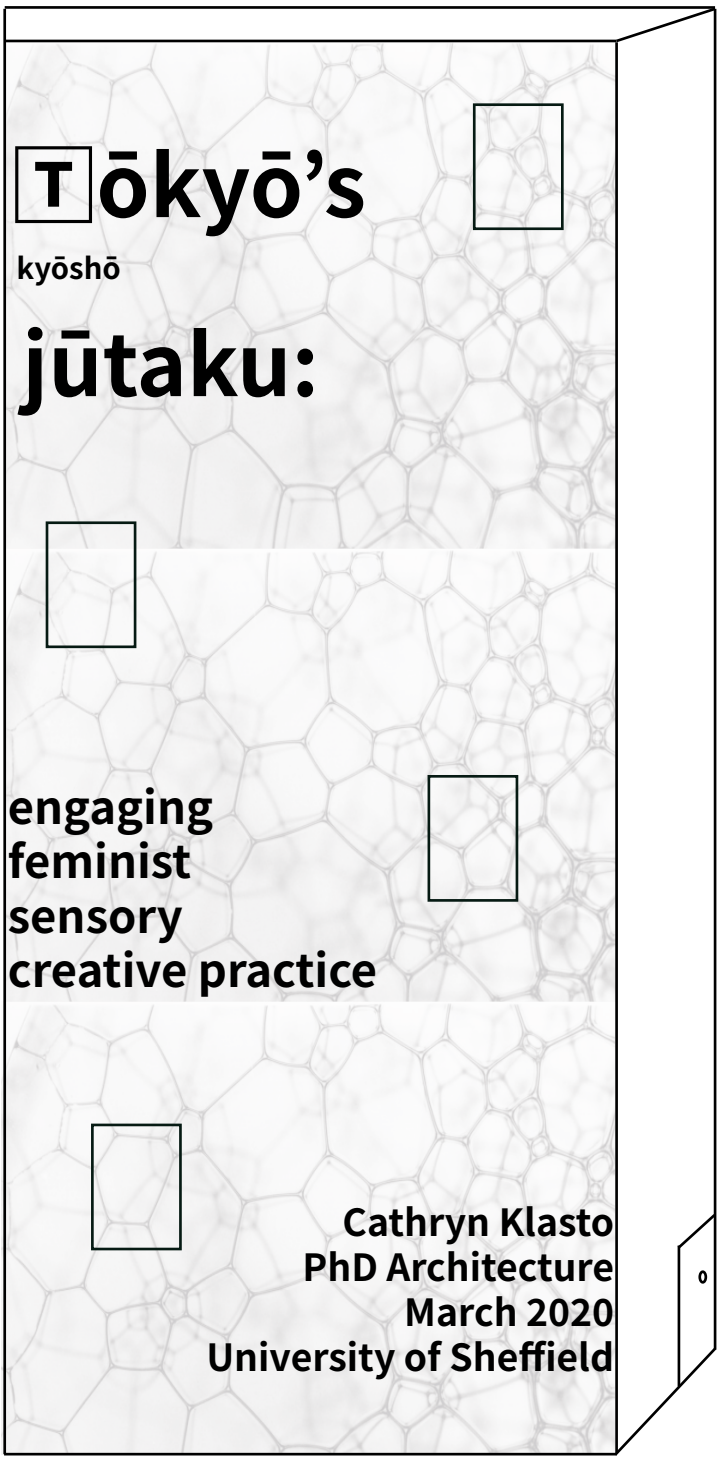
Tōkyō's
kyōshō
jūtaku:
engaging
feminist
sensory
creative practice
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# Abstract

This transdisciplinary thesis occupies the in-between space of architecture and art and takes the cultural, social, spatial and urban existences of Tōkyō's *kyōshō jūtaku* (small house) as a focus point. By concentrating on the fourth generation of houses and architects (2001-), it argues that in order to understand the history, present and future of this housing model, there is a need for anglophone representations to move beyond design obsessed narratives which often rely on stereotypes and fictionalised imaginaries of Japan. To challenge this and offer an alternative lens of looking, the thesis embodies and advocates for situated slowed down architectural research, which centres insider-outsider conversations and intimate experiences of the everyday.

Overarchingly, as a way of rejecting the image of the *kyōshō jūtaku* as a static architectural object, the thesis theoretically works to connect the model to a macro public-private network. Applying Peter Sloterdijk's theory of foam, the thesis demonstrates how Tōkyō operates as a foamy network which in turn produces individual cells, or houses, which function as micro containers of urban life. To access the influence of the macro foam structure of the city on the individual cells, the thesis extends Atelier Bow-Wow's methodological approach of *zooming* which encompasses both zoomed in site encounters and zoomed out ecological perspectives. This is achieved through curating an original methodology coined feminist sensory creative practice (fscp) which has a qualitative foundation of feminist ethics, sensory ethnography and artistic engagement.

As a way of revisioning how these houses are understood, the thesis goes one step beyond the macro public environment of Tōkyō and the micro private existences of the houses, by discussing how the *kyōshō jūtaku* relates to Isozaki Arata's conceptualisation of Japan-ness. Through the term, Isozaki challenges the foreign gaze and the outsider interpretation of what constitutes a Japanese architectural identity, but in turn creates his own set of limitations. The thesis demonstrates how fourth generation architects are developing nuanced understandings, meanings and practices of Japan-ness which develop the theory in new localised directions. As a way of materially responding to these interpretations, the thesis creates five art works and spatial writings, which aim to challenge how theory can be represented and disseminated.

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# Preface

I am not an architect.
I am not Japanese, nor an expert (if such a thing exists) on Japanese culture.
I speak Japanese (it definitely could be a lot better).

This thesis begins, perhaps slightly alarmingly, by making explicitly clear the potential flaws in my positionality and skills as a researcher which impact this research. Taking lead from the way in which Judith Butler and later Jane Rendell encourages one to "give an account of oneself"[1], I hope to establish a level of academic transparency from the offset which supports a self-reflexive feminist path of scholarly conduct. Feminist work has long been paying equal attention to what is both lacking and present within situated subjective positions, in order to ethically engage with those people, places and ideas which occupy the infinite boundaries, intersections, silences, gaps and peripheries.

Perhaps reading the above three sentences may leave a reader wondering why this piece of architectural research is worthy of attention. Surely, work produced by Japanese architects on this topic may offer more insightful knowledge. To this I firstly say yes, do go read this work that plentifully exists. This research does not in any way wish to take space away from that work, it rather alternatively aims to contribute towards it by adding an external perspective. As a result of this aim, when designing, conducting and writing this research I have chosen (sometimes with difficulty) not to shy away from my outsider-ness, but actively lean into it. This is because, fundamentally, I believe the viewpoints and experiences of the outsider can be of value to an overall understanding of a topic of knowledge enquiry. All of the work presented here represents collaborative dialogues and knowledge exchange; insider and outsider coming together to instigate new discussions and idea sharing.

This union has heavily informed my methodological approach to this project, which subscribes, alongside a variety of other things, to multivocality[2]. Voices come in infinite forms: human, non-human, active, passive, silent, loud, understandable, incoherent; voices can function collectively and/or individually – allowing us to speak with, for, against. Research, in all of its diverse forms, features a multiplicity of voices, whether or not we choose to pay attention to them all. There are many voices present within these pages, my own but one. There are a great number of voices surrounding the topic of architecture in Japan, to which I am now adding mine to the collection. By stating the flaws within my voice openly, I hope to encourage readers to contest, critique, question and build upon what is presented within this thesis.

Continuing with the position of the outsider, I am not only an outsider to Japan as a culture and a geography, but also to the practice of architecture and the field of Japanese studies, being formally trained in neither. I think of myself as academically in-between, which while having its institutional difficulties, is more often than not a source of strength, creativity and innovation. This position has forced me to contend with what the academy considers authentic and valuable and has taught me to push against normative frameworks. As a piece of

1 Judith Butler, "Giving an Account of Oneself", *Diacritics*, 31:4 (2001), 22-40; Jane Rendell, "Giving an Account of Oneself: Architecturally", *Journal of Visual Culture*, 15:3, (2016), 334-348.
2 In reference to this subscription, I would like to thank all those who took part in an event held in 2017 titled "Multivoices in research: co-interpreting art and architecture" organised by scholar and friend Jonathan Orlek. This influenced my approach to research immensely and I feel greatly indebted to those who shared their knowledge, experiences and the space with me. For more information see: Jonathan Orlek, Jon Cannon and Matthew Cheeseman (eds), *Multivoices: a script by researchers* (Spirit Duplicator, 2018).

transdisciplinary research, which manifests in both textual and artistic forms, I hope this thesis represents this position and the potential that it offers. To make clear I frame this research as transdisciplinary as opposed to interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary because I believe the term connotes a more flexible and pluralised understanding of knowledge, whereby disciplines merge to form a decentralised mass with no disciplinary centre/s. This contrasts (multi/inter) disciplinary, which both present the idea of stable disciplinary wholes remaining intact and uninfluenced by each other during processes of interaction[3]. Transdisciplinary is therefore a more open and porous knowledge form, meaning that this thesis remains perpetually open to change and development.

With this research grounding established, there are a number of things that may be helpful to make clear to readers:

▶The text, while written in English, does use Japanese terms throughout. These are presented in *rōmaji* script (the method of latinisation of the three main scripts of written Japanese - *hiragana*, *katakana* and *kanji*). All uses of these terms are accompanied by an English translation. It was a conscious choice to use the original terms rather than solely the English translations, as often there was not an English word which captured the full extent of nuances and meanings of what was expressed. Therefore, I have provided (with the help of fluent and native speakers) as close a translation as possible. In some instances, the *kanji* reading is provided for readers of Japanese in a footnote, specifically when I want to emphasise differences between terms (i.e. Japanese-ness and Japan-ness). Further, all Japanese names are written in the Japanese format of surname, given name.

▶As mentioned, this research is presented in two forms: this textual thesis and an insert made up of five artworks and spatial writings. While both are interconnected and influenced by each other, each are also autonomous and can be engaged with individually (for detailed information on this decision, see chapter one).

▶Each chapter presented builds upon the knowledge gained in the previous. It is therefore recommended that the thesis be read in chapter order.

Before beginning, I think it is worth informing the reader as to why I chose to research the topic of Tōkyō's small houses. Firstly, through my own interest and experience of Tōkyō, I began noticing a significant amount of anglophone commentary being produced on the topic, which I felt lacked any solid cultural and social understandings. Rather this work (which I discuss in the introduction) took a sole focus on design. While design is a critical element of any architecture, the whole context of its existence, in this case the infinite components which make up the urban environment of Tōkyō, is something which should not be ignored. For this reason, I wanted to provide anglophone research on these houses which centred the voices of those inside designers who are currently working within this context. By doing this, the thesis aims to provide a narrative of design that encompasses significantly more than the architecture itself.

Secondly, as our global urban environments deplete in space and new explorations of housing design are being produced as a result, I felt having scholarly research on this topic would serve this agenda well. *Kyōshō jūtaku* (the small house) has proven itself a model which has longevity within an environment constantly undergoing change. Japanese architects have generations of vast skills and experiences in making domestic smallness extend beyond the spatial confines of the urban. Architects working within different

3 Eve Darian-Smith and Philip McCarty, "Beyond Interdisciplinary: Developing a Global Transdisciplinary Framework", *Transcience*, 7:2 (2016), 1-26.

geographies can learn lessons; although whether concepts and modes of being in space can transverse their cultural and social origins is a question which needs be asked. Unfortunately, this thesis doesn't have the space to enter the conversation, but it is a route of inquiry which can be built off of its perimeter.

Finally, I would like to thank those that made this research possible – primarily the architects who gave me their time and shared their insights with me. Your perspectives and knowledges have allowed this research to take the shape it has, and your encouragement of my work has made this project worthwhile. I sincerely hope you enjoy reading and that our conversations can continue.

PS:
chapter break = ……
chapter end = ……
red text: direct quotes from interview participants
green text: my own fieldnotes

# Glossary

▶ *Ainu* (アイヌ) = Indigenous people of Japan
▶ *Baburu Keiki* (バブル景気 )= Bubble Condition, referring to Japan's national condition after the burst of the bubble economy
▶ *Burakumin* (部落民) = modern day decendents of Japan's feudal outcast group
▶ *Byōbu* (屏風) = folding screen, often decorative
▶ *Cho* (町) = neighbourhood
▶ *Chūryū* (中流) = middle (often used in relation to middle class)
▶ *Danchi* (団地) = multi-unit apartment complex, popular in the 1960s and 1970s in Japan
▶ *Doma* (土間) = liminal domestic space, traditionally an earthen-floored foyer
▶ *En* (縁) = edge, rim, boundary
▶ *Engawa* (縁側) = veranda or porch
▶ *Enshaku* (遠借) = distant borrowing (term relating to borrowed scenery)
▶ *Fushaku* (俯借) = downward borrowing (term relating to borrowed scenery)
▶ *Fusuma* (襖) = sliding panels that function as doors or room dividers
▶ Fscp = feminist creative sensory practice, an original methodology devised for this thesis
▶ *Ie* (家制度) = Japanese household legal structure (1898-1947)
▶ *Ikedori* (生け捕り) = to capture something alive
▶ *Ise Jingū* (伊勢神宮) = Ise shrine, a shinto shrine located in the city of Ise.
▶ *Gejin* (外陣)= outside sanctuary (in temple design)
▶ *Genkan* (玄関) = traditional Japanese entrance way areas for a house or building
▶ *Gyōshaku* (仰借) = upward borrowing (term relating to borrowed scenery)
▶ *Hikikomori* (引きこもり) = social withdrawal
▶ Japonaiserie(ジャポネズリ) French term first used in 1896 to refer to a style of art which was thought to reflect Japanese qualities or motifs
▶ *Jichinsai* (地鎮祭)= groundbreaking, a ceremony where a priest blesses and purifies a site before a house is built
▶ *Kacchu* (甲冑) = samurai related objects such as armour
▶ *Kawaii* (可愛い) = cute, adorable
▶ *Kiyomizu-dera* (清水寺) = buddhist temple in Kyōtō
▶ *Kōgengaku* (考現学) = Modernology (study of modern societies)
▶ *Ku* (区)= ward, borough, district
▶ *Kyōshō jūtaku* ( 狭小住宅 ) = Japanese small house
▶ Lost Decade (失われた１０年) = 1990s Japan (the decade after the burst of the Japan's bubble economy)
▶ *Ma* (間) = interval in time and space, created by the void(s) between objects
▶ *Manshon* (マンション) = contemporary *danchi*, high rise and mid rise apartment building
▶ *Matsuri* (祭り) = festival
▶ *Mikiri* (見切り) = view trimming, to create a boundary or edge (used in borrowed scenery)
▶ *Mikoshi* (御輿) = portable shrine carried during festivals
▶ *Minka* (民家)= private houses constructed in any traditional building style
▶ *Nagaya* (長屋) = row house
▶ *Naijin* (内陣) = inner sanctuary (in temple design)
▶ *Nainaijin* (渡月) = innermost sanctuary (in temple design)
▶ *Nihonjinron* (日本人論) = theories of Japanese cultural or racial uniqueness
▶ *Nihon-teki* (日本的) = Japan-ness (architectural theory conceived by Isozaki Arata)

▶ *Nihonteki na mono* (日本的粥換乾) = things typically Japanese
▶ nLDK = spatial layout for housing introduced in the 1950s
▶ *Rinshaku* (隣借) = adjacent borrowing (term related to borrowed scenery)
▶ *Roji* (路地) =alley
▶ *Ryōan-ji zen (竜安寺) = zen temple in* Kyōtō
▶ *Ryūkyūan* (琉球民族) = East Asian ethnic group native to the Ryūkyū islands (Okinawa or Kagoshima prefectures) between Japan and Taiwan
▶ *Seisansei* (生産性) = productivity
▶ *Shakkei* (借景) = natural scenery used as part of a garden design
▶ *Shinmitsu* (親密) = intimacy
▶ *Shitamachi* (下町) = lowlands of Eastern Tōkyō
▶ *Shizen* (自然) = nature
▶ *Shōgun* (上様) = emperor
▶ *Shōji* (障子) = paper screens
▶ *Soto* (外) = outside, exterior
▶ *Sudare* (簾) = bamboo screens
▶ *Tatami* (畳) = straw floor coverings used in traditional houses as furniture
▶ *Uchi* (内) = inside, within
▶*Ukiyo-e* (浮世絵) = Edo period woodblock print
▶ *Wabi* (侘び) = humble (also has multiple other meanings)
▶ *Yamanote* (山の手) = hilly area of Western Tōkyō
▶ Yuanye = Chinese manual of borrowed scenery

# Introduction: *kyōshō jūtaku*?

*Kyōshō jūtaku* ( 狭小住宅 ), is a contemporary Japanese architectural term that lacks a strict definition. The word *kyōshō* (狭小) is made up of two Japanese characters: the first meaning narrow and the second meaning little or small[4]. The word *jūtaku* (住宅) meaning house, is similarly made up of two characters - the first meaning to live, to dwell, or to inhabit and the second meaning home or house[5].

Salvator John A. Liotta has argued that the Japanese language creates a margin for choice, a certain space which demands the listener to sense out the contextual meaning and discourse, its ambiguity presenting us with a multiplicity of meanings and images[6]. As an architect, he makes the comparison between the capabilities of the language and Japan's limitless understandings and uses of space[7]. Bearing this in mind, *kyōshō jūtaku* is a term which linguistically alludes to a narrow house, but is often, both practically and popularly, used to refer to a small house[8]. The term is further made ambiguous as it is dependent on how one categorises and understands small, making it very difficult to put a definitive scale and definition in place.

Harada Masahiro, founder of architectural studio Mount Fuji Architects, believes that representation in Japanese culture lacks a commitment to scale. He constructs this as an important idea when thinking about the meaning of *kyōshō jūtaku*, arguing that something very small can be thought of and understood as something much bigger, as language cannot define one's spatial imagination[9]. For Yamada Tomihiko, architect and founder of Studio Battery, it is not the house itself which is defined as *kyōshō jūtaku*, but rather the land on which it sits; as it is the land which is the primary factor in determining the size of the house[10]. Others, such as Nariaki Chigusa of ICADA, believe *kyōshō jūtaku* is achieved out of the relationship between the height and width of the house: the width having to be shorter than the height[11].

Despite this clear subjectivity surrounding the specifics of the term, there does appear to be a general belief among architects in Japan that in order to qualify as a *kyōshō jūtaku*, the small house must be detached, typically exist on a maximum plot of a 100 m2, and due to Japanese

4 Definitions taken from "Jisho.Org: Japanese Dictionary", *Jisho.Org*, 2020 <https://jisho.org> [Accessed 2 December 2018]. To note, each radical definition was checked with fluent Japanese speakers.
5 Ibid.
6 Salvator John. A Liotta, "Unzipped Tokyo - Language, Body, Architecture", in *Small Tokyo*, ed. by Darko Radovic and Davisi Boontharm (IKI: International Keio Institute and Flick Studio co.ltd, 2012), pp.024-031 (p.025). One could argue that this is perhaps no different from any other language, however, I believe Liotta is referring specifically to the complexity of the Japanese language in that it is produced by three vocabulary sources (*yamato kotoba* (大和言葉) or *wago* (和語), *kango* (漢語), and *gairaigo* (外来語)) and has three written languages (*hiragana*, *katakana* and *kanji*) - all of which have different origins and registers which intersect and produce layered meanings.
7 Ibid.
8 An example of *kyōshō jūtaku* being defined as a small house can be found by searching 狭小住宅 [kyōshō jūtaku] in architectural database: "10+1", 2020 < http://tenplusone-db.inax.co.jp/backnumber/issue/tpobibid/25> [Accessed 8 December 2018].
9 Interview with Harada Masahiro, founder of Mount Fuji Architects, 12th October 2018. Translated from Japanese.
10 Interview with Yamada Tomihiko, founder of Studio Battery, 20th August 2018. Interview conducted in English.
11 Interview with Nariaki Chigusa, partner at ICADA, 10th September 2018. Translated from Japanese.

land regulations[12], have a construction size of considerably less[13]. While it is not considered essential for *kyōshō jūtaku* to be designed by an architect, it is more often than not the case, as the majority of small plots which are occupied by these structures are difficult - having complex terrain, awkward angles or unique building restrictions. Therefore, many clients wanting a *kyōshō jūtaku* hire an architect to overcome these obstacles and secure the maximum potential from these spaces.

While *kyōshō jūtaku* exist throughout Japan's major cities, notably Ōsaka, Sapporo and Kyōto, and even in some rural areas[14], this research focuses specifically on houses within Tōkyō[15]. These houses first emerged in the capital and the rate of the city's urban growth has led to the implementation of a unique generational lifecycle which determines housing development, as will be discussed in more depth later in this introduction[16]. Similarly, many of the influential architects who have built their careers out of the small house specifically, practice within the context of Tōkyō[17].

There is very little statistical data available on *kyōshō jūtaku*, as the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism fails to include specific data sets on custom built 50m2 (floor area) houses in their annual housing survey, a fact which gives an indication of how few of them there are in relation to all housing in Tōkyō. To give an idea, according to a 2018 survey, there are a total number of 6,801,700 dwellings in Tōkyō - 4,832,500 of which are apartments and 1,822,300 of which are detached houses[18]. The majority of these detached house are not custom-built structures, but prefabricated houses. Thus, as an estimate, if 71% of all housing in Tōkyō are apartments, with detached houses making up just 26% (with 20% of that 26% being prefabricated or mass-produced housing), it is likely that *kyōshō jūtaku* make up under 6% of all housing in Tōkyō. Thus, unlike common narratives to come out of Europe and North America which create the illusion that many people in Japan live in *kyōshō jūtaku* (as explored later), in reality the number is extremely small. However, despite this small figure, the model continues to form a foundational component of the portfolios of architectural studios in Tōkyō and still plays a role, however minute, in domestic urban life.

This PhD project explores not only the spatial, but also the social, cultural and urban identity of the *kyōshō jūtaku*. In order to do that, and before explaining the research in detail, a brief introduction to *kyōshō jūtaku* history must be established.

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12 Japanese land regulations are complex and highly specific. It is important to note for this research that the building coverage ratio (BCR) or *kenpeiritsu* [建蔽率] equals the maximum amount of land which can be built upon. The ratio is dependent on the zone where the land is situated and can be anywhere between 30%-80%. It is implemented in order to control building density, ensure fire safety and control light and air ventilation. There is also a floor area ratio (FAR) or *yōsekiritsu* [容積率] which sets the maximum floor area across all floors within a house - this is considered a percentage of the total site area. This ratio is also dependent on zoning. Similarly, there is a road width coefficient regulation which ensures that plots are c.4-5m set back from the road which is something which can also decrease available land on which to build. These regulations demonstrate that even if a house has a plot of 100m2, the total amount of space allowed to be lived in is significantly less. For more detailed information on this visit: "Japanese Building Law", *alatown, 2013* <http://www.alatown.com/japanese-building-law> [Accessed 9 December 2018]. ; "Floor Area Ratio and Building Coverage Ratio", *realestate Tokyo*, 2017 <https://www.realestate-tokyo.com/news/floor-area-ratio-and-building-coverage-ratio/> [Accessed 9 December 2018] ; "Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism", *mlit*, 2020 < http://www.mlit.go.jp> [Accessed 9 December 2018].

13 The size of *kyōshō jūtaku* came up within most of the interviews that took place with architects for this research. In those where it did not arise in the interview itself, member checks were conducted at a later date via email to confirm participants' opinions on this statement.

14 Examples of *kyōshō jūtaku* existing in Ōsaka, Kyōto and Sapporo as well as rural areas can be seen in Naomi Pollock, *Jutaku: Japanese Houses* (Phaidon Press, 2015).

15 Imai Heide in his thesis 'Tokyo's Contested Alleyways: The Role Of The Roji In Understanding Globalization, Attachment and The Social Construction Of Place', (unpublished PhD thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2009), argues that when we speak of Tōkyō we should distinguish between the National Capital Region (NCR), the Tōkyō Metropolitan Region and the Tōkyō Metropolis founded by the 23 special wards (p.75). This thesis takes the Tōkyō Metropolis as its focus, concentrating on *kyōshō jūtaku* which have been constructed within the 23 wards. There is one exception, *Transustainable House*, which is located in Chōfu, a city that is part of the Tōkyō Metropolitan Region.

16 This is explored and argued throughout the essays contained within Cathelijne Nuijsink, *How to Make a Japanese House* (Nai010 Publishers, 2012).

17 Examples include Chiba Manabu, Yamashita Yasuhiro, Shinohara Kazuo, Itō Toyō, Sejima Kazuyo, Nishizawa Ryūe, Hasegawa Gō.

18 This data can be found in Japanese here: *mlit*, 2020 < http://www.mlit.go.jp/statistics/details/t-jutaku-2_tk_000002.html [Accessed 4 June 2018]. It is summarised in English here: *e-stat*, 2020 < https://www.e-stat.go.jp/en/stat-search/files?page=1&layout=datalist&toukei=00200522&tstat=000001127155&cycle=0&tclass1=000001127156&second2=1> [Accessed 4 June 2018].

## (Kyōshō) History

Small houses began their architectural life during the years following the second world war, something architectural scholar Fujioka Hiroyasu believes was a result of the emergence of the Housing Loan Corporation in 1950; a body designed by the Japanese government which helped landowners to build detached homes on individual plots by providing low-interest loans[19]. This was a direct attempt at countering the housing shortage fuelled by the financial decline which had plagued Japan after the war. Architects, such as Masuzawa Makoto[20] who were working at the time, proposed models for small houses which could be made in conjunction with this loan scheme - affordable designs to suit this difficult era of national rebuilding and economic readjustment.

According to architect Chiba Manabu, ten years later during the 1960s, architects had become comfortable with the model of the small house and had begun to explore its creative potential. He argues that the decade saw the eruption of housing designs which were inspired by the city of Tōkyō and its vast infrastructural development[21]; one such design was Takamitsu Azuma's *Tower House* built in 1966 (figure 1). Often framed as a pinnacle structure of this experimental era, it is made entirely out of reinforced concrete on a minuscule 20m2 plot. Despite the density of its material form, the structure is partition-less and utilises openness and gaps, something architect Aoki Jun believes relates to Azuma's active promotion of using the city as an extension of your home: when space is minimal, the city becomes your living room, kitchen and place to entertain[22].

This structural engagement with the city, reflects aspects of the wider architectural culture in 1960s Japan - most notably seen within the Metabolist movement. Fuelled by the technological developments which were taking place, The Metabolists, led by modernist Tange Kenzō, believed they could combine technology and biomorphism to create a new social structure within Japanese cities[23]. It was very much a utopian ideal, that was in part a nationlist reaction to the end of the American occupation in Japan (1952)[24]. According to Metabolist scholar Zhongjie Lin, the Metabolists desired to restore Japanese tradition and provide a solution to the social and cultural dilemmas that the nation was facing during this time of identity discovery[25]. Part of this process of renewal was locating a new appreciation of the urban environment and *kyōshō jūtaku* were mobilised by some as components or micro cells of how this relationship could be explored[26].However, this approach was not embraced by all.

Shinohara Kazuo, a notable critic of Metabolism, believed that the small house was under threat from Metabolist industrialisation, arguing that the house should sit in opposition to the factory and celebrate the essence of what it means to be human[27]. In contrast to open and heavy structures such as *Tower House*, Shinohara was creating works such as *House in White* (1964-1966) (figure 2) which, inspired by traditional *minka* farmhouses, explored purity of form

19 Fujioka Hiroyasu, "A History of the Individual House in Modern Japan", in *The Japanese House - Architecture and Life After 1945* [exhibition catalogue], ed.by Pippo Ciorra and Florence Ostende (Marsilio Editori, 2016), pp.13-20 (p.13).
20 Masuzawa's 1952 prototype *Nine Tsubo House* is a key example. More detailed information on Masuzawa's approach can be found in Igarashi Taro, "Kyutsubo Jūtakū Kō [Nine Tsubo House]", *10+1*, 30 (2003), 184-193.
21 Chiba Manabu, "Can the City be Delineated by Means of Houses", *Japan Architect*, 34 Summer (1999), 6 (p.6).
22 Aoki Jun, "Suburban Toy House", in *How to Make a Japanese House*, by Cathelijne Nuijsink (Nai010 Publishers, 2012), pp.34-43 (p.34).
23 For further scholarly examples on the Metabolist movement see Tamari Tomoko, "Metabolism: Utopian Urbanism and the Japanese Modern Architecture Movement", in *Theory, Culture and Society*, 31:7 (2014), 201-225; Rem Koolhaas and Hans Ulrich-Obrist, *Project Japan: Metabolism Talks* (Koln: Taschen, 2011); Kikutake Kiyonori, *Taisha Kenchiku Riron [Theory of Metabolist Architecture]* (Shokokusha Publishing Co. Ltd, 1969); Kurokawa Kisho, "Metaborizumu Hōhōron [The Methodology of Metabolism]", *Kindai Kenchiku*, November (1960), 50-63.
24 Koolhaas and Ulrich-Obrist, p.118.
25 Zhongjie Lin, *Kenzo Tange and the Metabolist Movement - Urban Utopias of Modern Japan* (Routledge, 2010), p.73.
26 This belief is exemplified in Kawazoe Noboru, "Yōtopia to Kenchikuka: Risō Toshi ron Josetsu Toshite [Utopia and Architect: As an Introduction to the Ideal City]", *Kindai Kenchiku*, 13 November (1959), 9-11.
27 Shinohara Kazuo, "Jūtakū Wa Geijutsu De Aru [A House is Art]", *Shinkenchiku*, 37:1 (1962), 77.

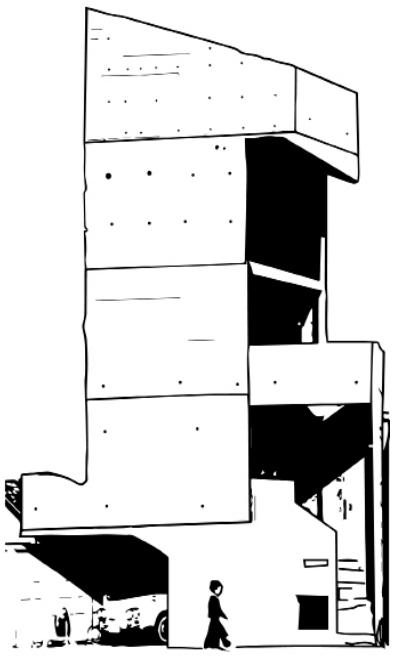

figure 1. Takamitsu Azuma, *Tower House*, 1966.
Image drawn by author.



figure 2. Shinohara Kazuyo, *House in White*,
1964-1966. Image drawn by author.

and colour. The design was an attempt at visualising how simplified domestic existences can be contained within the interior, banishing unnecessary excess to the outside[28].

By the late 1960s and into the 1970s, Tōkyō was growing at an astounding rate - economically, technologically and spatially. Quality housing had rapidly started to become scarce and people were no longer focusing on the positive effects of the city's development. By 1968, according to the Tōkyō Metropolitan Government (TMG) 1,010,000 households in Tōkyō (34% of the total) complained of inadequate housing[29]. The TMG, through their plan *Tōkyō for the People*, encouraged a new focus on the individual and the private needs of the family. The majority of people manifested this post-war familial existence within governmental controlled housing blocks called *danchi*; however, to cater to the privileged minority, architects responded by beginning to design *kyōshō jūtaku* which were closed off from their environments - functioning as safe havens from the overwhelming sensory megacity. One Tōkyō example of this closure would be Itō Toyō's *White U* built in 1976 (figure 3). The house was constructed from a solid concrete curved facade, with the only access to the outside being through a central internal open space. It emulated a bunker aesthetic which fits with this protective escapism ideology which permeated the decade[30].

After a stagnant economic period in the late 1970s and early 80s, the *baburu keiki* or bubble condition, hit Japan in the mid 1980s and lasted until 1991. This social condition, a result of the bubble economy, saw the inflation in the value of real estate, land, and stock prices which in turn generated a period of excess as a result of people's individual net worth increasing. To put this financial acceleration into perspective, scholars Suzuki and Gold discuss a 1993 survey which estimates that 30% of all built structures in Tōkyō were erected within the bubble period[31]. Architectural critic Yatsuka Hajime argues that architecture and society are partners in crime through the way they function as two supporting entities[32]; the bubble period is an acute example of this statement in practice: the increase in national social wealth resulted in architects producing an array of experimental and radical housing designs. One such example can be found again in the work of Itō Toyō. His 1989 design *Pao II* was a micro design for a nomadic urban young woman; inspired by the light, it incorporated transparent acrylic panels which combined to form a tent like shape[33]. Its unique visuality matched this radical new idea of a female nomadic lifestyle, reflecting the belief that anything was possible during this bubble condition of opportunity.

28 This work is explored in more detail within "Special Issue: Kazuo Shinohara - Complete Works in Original Publications", *Japan Architect,* 93: Spring (2014).
29 Tōkyō Metropolitan Government, *Tōkyō for the People: Concepts for Urban Renewal* (Tōkyō Metropolitan Government Municipal Library No: 6, 1972), p.82.
30 More information on this project can be found in Sophie Roulet and Sophie Soulie, *Toyo Ito : L'architecture de l'éphémère* (Le Moniteur Editions, 1991).
31 Suzuki Ichiro and Scott M. Gold, "Collective Housing: Typologies in Evolution", *Casabella: Japan: A Dis-Orientated Modernity*, 608-609 (1994), 52 (p.52).
32 Yatsuka Hajime, "Between West and East - Part III", *Telescope #8*, Tokyo: Autumn (1992), 87 (p.87). For more information on this project, including images, see: "Pao Dwellings for the Tokyo Nomad Woman", *Socks-Studio*, 2020 < http://socks-studio.com/2016/02/07/pao-dwellings-for-the-tokyo-nomad-woman-by-toyo-ito-1985-and-1989/> [Accessed 10 January 2019].
33 More details of this project can be found in Frédéric Migayrou, and others, *Japan-ness: Architecture et urbanisme au Japon depuis 1945* (Centre Pompidou-Metz Éditions, 2017).

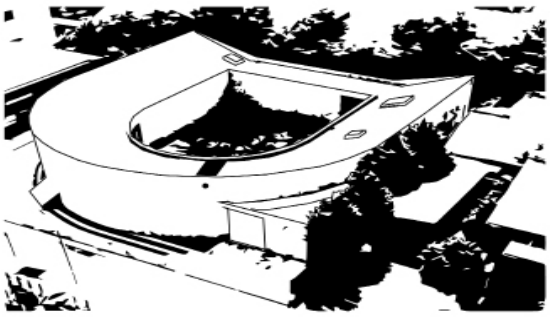

figure 3. Itō Toyō, *White U*, 1976.
Image drawn by author.

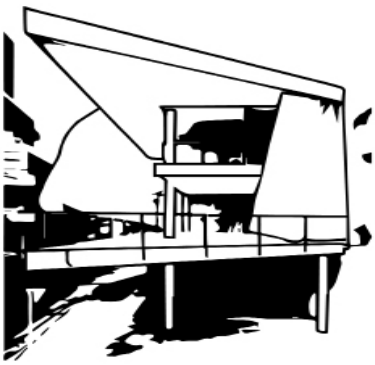

figure 4. Ban Shigeru, *Curtain Wall House*, 1995.
Image drawn by author.

Unfortunately, the end of these prosperous years came quickly, and the drastic changes had a sobering effect on the people of Japan. The 1990s, frequently referred to as the "lost decade"[34], saw the country slowly begin a process of recovery. For the architectural industry, this called for re-evaluation and a rejection of previous relationships which had existed between architecture and the city[35]. Architects began to form new connections between tradition, identity, architecture, and the urban - connections which helped foster a boost of domestic positivity towards the country during its bubble hangover[36]. Kuma Kengo argues that this positivity was generated by returning to the past and recovering the essence of humility which is found within traditional Japanese architecture[37]. A good example of this hopeful contemporary revisioning of tradition can be found within Ban Shigeru's *Curtain Wall House* built in Tōkyō in 1995 (figure 4). Between the second and third floors of the house, a white exterior curtain hangs down, marking the boundary between inside and outside. According to Ban, the thin membrane of the curtain takes the places of *shōji* (paper screens), *sudare* (bamboo screens) and *fusuma* (sliding panels that function as doors or room dividers) that appear in the traditional Japanese house[38].

The years after the "lost decade" (2000 onwards) have indicated a desire to reclaim and reconsider a Japanese identity within architecture. Isozaki Arata has argued that Japan-ness in architecture, or the aesthetic qualities in which architecture is viewed as "Japanese", has previously been a dominant focus of western architectural interaction with Japan[39]. However, the bubble period presented a globalised superpower image of Japan which, according to Isozaki, allowed the traditions which once gave substance to Japan-ness to decompose[40]. During these last two decades, the *kyōshō jūtaku* has been experimentally conceived by architects as a model which represents "a continuous and balanced "dialogue" between the old and the new"[41]- reflecting family dynamics, lifestyles and emerging relationships with the wider urban ecology. Fujiwara Teppei describes this as a process of maturity, as architects have reached a point of understanding the urban damage created by rapid excess, and have begun to redefine small-ness and the possibilities of flexibility which can exist within it[42]. According to Fujii Yuri, Associate Professor at the School of Architecture at Waseda University, the small house shows no sign of disappearing as ultimately, new lifestyles in Tōkyō reveal new possibilities for *kyōshō jūtaku*[43].

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## Architectural Generations

*Lifecycle*

The history of the *kyōshō jūtaku* was introduced through the framework of decades in order

34 The lost decade refers to the economically stagnant period after the collapse of the bubble economy (1990s). The scholarly use of its term can be found in Hayashi Fumio and Edward C Prescott, "The 1990s in Japan: A Lost Decade", *Review of Economic Dynamics*, 5:1 (2002), 206-235; Hashimoto Kayoko, "Japan's Language Policy and the "Lost Decade"", in *Language Policy, Culture, and Identity in Asian Contexts*, ed. by Amy Tsui and James W. Tollefson (Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2007), pp.25-36.
35 Maki Fumihiko, "Driving Force of the 1990s", *Japan Architect*, 02: Spring (1991-2), 4-11 (p.11).
36 These connections are focused on in the work of Botond Bognar, *Beyond the Bubble - The New Japanese Architecture* (Phaidon Press, 2008); Thomas Daniell, *After the Crash: Architecture in Post-Bubble Japan* (Princeton Architectural Press, 2008).
37 Kuma Kengo, "Steel Train", in *How to Make a Japanese House*, by Cathelijne Nuijsink (Nai010 Publishers, 2012), pp.46-55 (p.46).
38 "Ban Shigeru Architects", *Curtain Wall House*, 2020 <http://www.shigerubanarchitects.com/works/1995_curtain-wall-house/index.html> [Accessed 5 December 2018].
39 Isozaki Arata, *Japan-ness in Architecture* (MIT Press, 2011). A more detailed definition of Japan-ness is provided in chapter four.
40 Ibid, p.57.
41 Harada Masahiro, "A Violin Inside a Rock", in *How to Make a Japanese House* by Cathelijne Nuijsink (Nai010 Publishers, 2012), pp.202-211 (p.202).
42 Fujiwara Teppei, "Towards a New Urban House", *Japan Architect*, 106: Summer (2017), 8-9 (p.8).
43 Interview with Fujii Yuri, Associate Professor in the department of Architecture at Waseda University, 14th November 2018. Translated from Japanese.

to emphasise the contextual importance of architectural time. Specifically, within Tōkyō's architectural industry, housing is frequently referred to and framed in relation to generations. Tsukamoto Yoshiharu of Tōkyō architectural studio Atelier Bow-Wow, speaks concisely on this, arguing that there are four generations of Tōkyō house - the first beginning in 1923, the second in 1949, the third in 1975 and the (current) fourth in 2001[44]. Each 26-year gap reflects the lifecycle of Tōkyō houses; architects generally agreeing that houses have a 26-35 year existence before being demolished and either re-built or the land reused for another purpose[45]. Tsukamoto further believes that this in-built cycle of housing renewal allows Tōkyō to be an active embodiment of the dynamic changing city[46], making it an exciting and kinetic environment for architects and designers. Architect Hosaka Kenjiro agrees, further arguing that an established genealogy of houses allows architects to understand how each generation speaks to each other, as well as how critical relationships between houses are generated within this complex network[47]. It is this generational amalgamation of houses which has contributed towards the popular narrative of Tōkyō as an irresolute, chaotic and fragmentary landscape[48].

In their paper *Obstacles to Affluence: Thoughts on Japanese Housing*, economists Richard Koo and Sasaki Masaya have attempted to answer why exactly this c. 30-year cycle occurs, arguing that a combination of steady rising land prices and Japan's significantly small second housing market creates a housing culture of impermanence[49]. Rather than the house itself, value is placed on the land - something which appears to intertwine with the way inheritance tax is levied. In Japan, if a person inherits a piece of land, that land can be taxed up to 50% of the total assessed value[50]. To put that into a contemporary Tōkyō perspective, Suemitsu Hirokazu co-founder of studio SUEP, relayed in an interview how 1m2 in sought after residential area *Setagaya-ku,* is worth around 1 million Japanese yen[51]. Thus, if a 100m2 plot is inherited in this area, there is a potential tax bill of ¥50 million (c.£350,000). With large tax figures such as this, it is difficult for the majority of people to find the cash to pay, so many people who inherit property find themselves demolishing the existing structure in order to section the land into small plots which can then be sold off - hereby establishing the micro spaces that *kyōshō jūtaku* occupy[52]. Further, Cathelijne Nuijsink points out that owners can receive tax benefits for demolishing old buildings[53], as it is more difficult for the ward offices to monitor if older buildings are complying with the frequently revised building regulations. Thereby the generational turnover process is generally cheaper and easier for all stakeholders involved. In light of this, it is clear why in Japan, from an economic perspective, the land amasses more value in the national mindset as opposed to the house. The house is

44 Tsukamoto Yoshiharu, "Four Architectural Generations", in *How to Make a Japanese House* by Cathelijne Nuijsink (Nai010 Publishers, 2012), pp.80-82 (p.80).Architectural Generations are also discussed in Atelier Bow-Wow, *Echo of Space/Space of Echo* (Contemporary Architect's Concept Series 5 LIXIL Publishing, 2009), p.94-95. These generations are not strictly fixed to these years, the idea of generations is implemented as a temporal axis to observe change.

45 This 25-35-year time frame is not definitive and can be contested. During my interviews, some architects believed it to be 26 while others said closer to 35. According to the Tōkyō Government's white paper titled "Realizing Affluent Residential Living", *milt*, 2020 <http://www.mlit.go.jp/common/001216020.pdf> [Accessed 16 December 2018], housing has little value in the minds of Tōkyōites after 25 years.

46 Tsukamoto Yoshiharu, "Escaping the Cycle of Intolerance: Fourth-Generation Houses and Void Metabolism", in *Tokyo Metabolizing* by Kitayama Koh, Tsukamoto Yoshiharu and Nishizawa Ryūe, 3rd edition (TOTO, 2018), pp.29-43 (p.29).

47 Hosaka Kenjiro, "Why Houses?", in *The Japanese House - Architecture and Life After 1945* [exhibition catalogue], ed.by Pippo Ciorra and Florence Ostende (Marsilio Editori, 2016), pp.57-64 (p.58).

48 Examples of this narrative can be found in Ewa Maria Kido, "Elements of the Urbanscape in Tokyo", *OL Pan*, VIII:1 (2012), 75-92; Fujimori Terunobu, "The Origins of Atelier Bow-Wow's Gaze", in *Atelier Bow-Wow Behaviorology* by Tsukamoto Yoshiharu and Kaijima Momoyo (Rizzoli International Publications Ltd, 2010), pp.122-129; Kojima Kazuhiro, "Under the Canopy", in *How to Make a Japanese House* by Cathelijne Nuijsink (Nai010 Publishers, 2012), pp.70-79.

49 Richard Koo and Sasaki Masaya, "Obstacles to Affluence: Thoughts on Japanese Housing", *Nomura Research Institute Papers*, 137 (2008), 1-14 (p. 6-9).

50 This percentage can be found in the policy bureau "Tax System on Acquisition of Land", *milt*, 2020 < http://www.mlit.go.jp/en/totiken-sangyo/totikensangyo_fr5_000030.html> [Accessed 10 December 2018].

51 Interview with Suemitsu Hirokazu and Suemitsu Yoko, co-founders of SUEP, 7th August 2018. Translated from Japanese.

52 This is discussed within Tsukamoto, "Escaping the Cycle", p.38. It also came up as a point of discussion within every interview conducted for this research.

53 Cathelijne Nuijsink, "The Japanese Single Family Home - A Typology that Moves with Time", in *How to Make a Japanese House* by Cathelijne Nuijsink (Nai010 Publishers, 2012), pp.22-29 (p.24).

something which can adjust and adapt to the changing family - hence the entrenchment of the turnover system of generational removal and rebuilding.

Tōkyō-based architectural critic Naomi Pollock alludes to the value of land in her essay *Tokyo: A Sprawling City of Small Wonders*. She argues that in Tōkyō, people hanker after a "direct connection to the ground" which she believes connects to a deep understanding and engagement with nature[54]. While this argument can be critiqued in regard to the underlying essentialising of national identity, this research has found that this "direct connection" is manifested through the desire to have a plot of one's own, which in turn cultivates a sense of stability within a nation which frequently contends with the realities of impermanence. Japan is perpetually in a state of preparation, knowing that the unpredictable consequences of natural disasters can be extensive and devastating; Tōkyō alone has endured earthquakes, tsunamis, floods and fires. However, the country has always found a way to rebuild, supported by the awareness that while everything else may be subject to destruction, the land remains, and nature prevails. Maki Fumihiko reiterates this, albeit narrowly, by suggesting that in no other country have people been so attached to the land and so little disposed to view buildings as permanent[55]. This continuous engagement with impermanence is exemplified in the short text, *Hōjōki*, written in 1212 in the Kamakura Period (1185-1333) by the Buddhist monk and writer Kamo no Chōmei. He writes that the essence of the Buddha's teaching to man is to remove any attachments to objects, speaking of houses as bubbles on the water's surface - forming, floating and then quietly vanishing away[56].In recent years however, architects have been pushing an agenda of eco-sustainability by thinking through ways of reducing the frequency of this cycle of rebuilding[57].

One such way, and one which is explored more within chapters two and three of this thesis, is *kyōshō jūtaku* design which embeds spatial flexibility in order to adapt to generational changes within family structures. Whether this will extend the 30-year lifecycle is yet to be seen, but those currently building fourth generation houses appear to have set it within their sights to offer new solutions. Despite an emerging movement of collective housing within Tōkyō[58], many of the architects who I spoke to relayed that in their experience, families still place owning one's own plot of land, regardless of how small, as the ultimate lifestyle premium; something which only further confirms Fujii Yuri's belief that *kyōshō jūtaku* are showing no signs of becoming redundant in the next generation[59].

## *The Generational Family*

To go back to Tsukamoto Yoshiharu's framing of the four housing generations, he makes an important point that each generation reflects the time-specific societal manifestation of family[60]. Yamanaka Shintaro supports this architectural need to engage with the formation of family in order to understand houses, as he argues that typically modern houses are

54 Naomi Pollock, "Tokyo: A Sprawling City of Small Wonders", in *City with a Hidden Past,* by Maki Fumihiko, Wakatsuki Yukitoshi, Ohno Hidetoshi, Takatani Tokihiko and Naomi Pollock (Kajima Institute Publishing Co.,Ltd. 2018), pp.8-13 (p.9-10).
55 Maki Fumihiko, "The Japanese City and Inner Space", in *City with a Hidden Past* by Maki Fumihiko, Wakatsuki Yukitoshi, Ohno Hidetoshi, Takatani Tokihiko and Naomi Pollock (Kajima Institute Publishing Co.,Ltd. 2018), pp.153-170 (p.162). To expand on my use of narrowly, this statement is dismissive of many global indigenous communities who also consider land to be the foundation of social and cultural ties.
56 Kamo no Chōmei, "Hōjōki [An Account of My Hut]", trans. by Donald Keene, in *Anthology of Japanese Literature*, ed. by Donald Keene (Grove Press, 1955), pp.197-212 (p. 197, 211).
57 An example of this agenda can be found in Suemitsu Hirokazu and Suemitsu Yoko, *SUEP BOOK 1: Architecture as a Part of Natural Circulation* (Garden City Pub. Ltd, 2015).
58 Collective Housing in Japan is an act of commons, typically referring to the process of families joining together to invest in a larger property. The financial burden is shared, and responsibilities and social activities are collaborative. An example of this is the *Kankanmori Collective* in Nippori, Tōkyō. For more information visit here: "Kankanmori Collective", *collectivehouse*, 2020 <http://www.collectivehouse.co.jp/en/> [Accessed 12 December 2018].
59 Fujii, 2018.
60 Tsukamoto, "Four Architectural Generations", p.80.

designed around the modern family[61]. Hereby, it is perceivable that changes in family structures and dynamics have significantly influenced the differing generational models of Tōkyō housing. While chapter two goes into depth in regard to particular contemporary familial lifestyles contained within *kyōshō jūtaku*, it is worth by means of an introduction to the context of this research, to discuss how the history of family structures have influenced design shifts within the different generations of housing in Japan.

As argued by Tsukamoto and Kaijima, the formation of the modern house began in 1923, alongside the creation of the suburb[62]. Prior to the 1920s, the Japanese family system or *ie*, had been in place since the beginning of the Edo period (1603), mobilising as the country's primary social organisation model[63]. The *ie* system functioned in such a way that generations of one family lived under one roof, which according to family scholar Anne Imamura, allowed for the preservation of production and reproduction which centred on principles of cross-generational continuity, hierarchy and gendered division of labour. In accordance with this, houses commonly functioned as communal and open spaces; many housed shops and businesses[64], as well as areas which negotiated spatial boundaries, such as the *genkan* (entrance) and the *engawa* (veranda), which were spaces for socialisation and community activity[65].

The arrival of Tōkyō's first generation of modern housing in c.1923, was a result of urban zoning measures which created residential only areas - a developmental move to ensure Tōkyō's reputation as a liveable, cultural and individual city[66]. Influenced by housing developments happening in Europe and the United States, architects began deconstructing the traditional multi-purpose house which combined labour activity and family lifestyle, instead creating family only houses which emulated culture and education[67]. Thus, according to historian Jordan Sand, the modern home experimented with the removal of gendered segregation spaces, as well as the introduction of sitting rooms designed for chairs as opposed to *tatami* (straw floor coverings), in an attempt to embrace a "modern" lifestyle[68].

Fast forwarding two decades, it was after the Second World War, and subsequently the American occupation of Japan (1952), which brought about a new family ideology - one which had a foundation of equal rights for women, equal inheritance and more choice when it came to marriage and careers[69].While this move towards women's equality was significant, it still did not radically shift the dominant nuclear image of the *ikka danran* or happy family at the time, which was comprised of a salary earning husband, a housewife and children. This ideal image emerged in sync with the economic prosperity and rapid urbanisation of the period. For example, it was now financially feasible for young married couples to live in their own house instead of automatically living with their parents[70]. This societal change towards nuclearization, led to the emergence of the second generation of housing; as Katō Akihiko argues, a small house on a small plot of land was a rational spatial redesign fitting for this new

61 Yamanaka Shintaro, "Gisō Suru Jūtakū - Hi Ketteironteki Jūtakū-ron no Kokoromi [Camouflaged Housing - An Essay on an Indeterminate Theory of Housing]", *10+1*, 18 (1999), 111-120 (p.113).
62 Tsukamoto Yoshiharu and Kaijima Momoyo, "Tokyo in Practice Atelier Bow-Wow", in *Tokyo Metabolizing*, 3rd edition (TOTO publishing, 2018), pp.46-73 (p.46).
63 Merry Isaacs White, *Perfectly Japanese - Making Families in an Era of Upheaval* (University of California Press, 2002), p.6-7.
64 Anne E. Imamura, "Family Culture", in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Japanese Culture*, ed. by Sugimoto Yoshio (Cambridge University Press, 2009),pp.76-91 (p.77).
65 Michael Lazarin, "Phenomenology of Japanese Architecture: Heidegger and Derrida", *Interdisciplinary Phenomenology*, 1 (2004), 189-206 (p.196-197).
66 Jinnai, Hidenobu *Tokyo - A Spatial Anthology*, trans. by Nishimura Kimiko, (University of California Press, 1995), p.171-173.
67 Jordan Sand, *House and Home in Modern Japan: architecture, domestic space, and bourgeois culture* (Harvard University Press, 2005), p.229-231.
68 Ibid, p.230-231.
69 Nuijsink, "The Japanese Single Family Home", p.25-26.
70 Katō Akihiko, "Continuity and Change in the Japanese Family - Testing the Family Nuclearization Hypothesis", in *A Quantitative Picture of Contemporary Japanese Families: Tradition and Modernity in the 21st Century*, ed. by Sigeto Tanaka (Tohoku University Press, 2013), pp.13-55 (p.15-16).

conjugal centred household[71].

While this discussion is concentrating on the single free-standing house as a means of tracking the historical trajectory of the *kyōshō jūtaku*, it is important to note that this period saw the mass introduction of *danchi* apartments, with the Japan Housing Corporation building 810,000 units between 1955 and 1973[72]. Therefore, the ideal second generation of house mentioned by Katō was challenged by the huge demand for *danchi*, particularly by, what Tillack terms, the "white-collar demographic"[73]. For the majority of people during the second generation, *nichijō seikatsu*, or everyday life, was played out in these apartments. However, while offering different domestic experiences[74], both *danchi* and the second generation of house grappled with new meanings and manifestations of privacy.

According to architect Kojima Kazuhiro, the western notion of privacy within the realm of architecture was not introduced to Japan until the 1960s[75], an arrival which sociologist Ueno Chizuko believes encouraged the image of the family as a private members club, cut off from the outside world[76]. From an interior spatial perspective, anthropologist Inge Daniels argues that prior to the 1960s, it was common for families to sleep together in one room[77]. However, this tradition was challenged by the second-generation through the introduction of the nLDK system, an American inspired spatial system referring to the number of bedrooms (commonly two[78]) plus the communal areas of living, kitchen and dining[79]. Through the subsequent creation of private rooms with designated functions, architects began to consider and experiment with notions of the individualised self as a component of the nuclear family[80].

It was also the second generation of houses which, as mentioned previously, saw the emergence of the *kyōshō jūtaku* as a housing category in the 1950s. It was born into this social push towards the nuclear family and the imported American spatial ideals which denied traditional extended family cohabitation by advocating for the house to contain only the private primary unit. However, the size of the *kyōshō jūtaku* was an obvious restriction to the implementation of the westernised nLDK system which relies on a certain amount of space to achieve privacy and support gender fixed roles[81]. Thus, the *kyōshō jūtaku* could be framed as an alternative to mass-produced homes and apartments; each individually designed house physically symbolising the rejection of design commodification which accompanied the second-generation state ideology of the Japanese family.

The third generation of house (c.1975-2001) was developed within the time frame of two extreme moments of history - the bubble era and the preceding lost decade. Ronald and Alexy argue that while the nuclear family was still functioning as the principal image to aspire to, there was also time-specific factors which affected its stability[82]. During the prosperous bubble years, families became affluent which saw a boom in the housing market and a celebration of urban lifestyles.

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71 Ibid, p.43.
72 Peter Tillack, "Concrete Abstractions: Gotô Meisei's Hapless Danchi Dwellers and Japan's Economic Miracle", *Positions*, 23:2 (2015), 231-257 (p.236).
73 Ibid, p.238.
74 This has a clear link to class and wealth, something which is discussed in the next section of this chapter.
75 Kojima p.78.
76 Ueno Chizuko, *Kazoku o Ireru Hako Kazoku o Koeru Hako [Jacob beyond family: Jaco families]* (Heibonsha, 2002), p.111.
77 Inge Daniels, *The Japanese House - Material Culture in the Modern Home* (Berg, 2010), p.37. It is interesting to note that according to Daniels, it wasn't until the 1980s that the private marital bedroom became a commonplace feature in houses across Japan.
78 Unknown author, "Beyond Family", in *The Japanese House - Architecture and Life After 1945* [exhibition catalogue] ed.by Pippo Ciorra and Florence Ostende (Marsilio Editori, 2016), p.207.
79 Tsukamoto, "Four Architectural Generations", p.80.
80 This idea is explored in Ozaki Ritsuko and John Rees Lewis, "Boundaries and the meaning of Social Space: A Study of Japanese House Plans", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 24 (2006), 91-104 (p.93-95).
81 This issue is discussed in Itō Toyō, Isozaki Arata and Kawakami Satoshi, "Kyōshō Jūtakū Sekkei no Mirai-Zō: `Banzai' Shimatsu-ki [An image of the future of small housing design]", *Kenchiku Bunka*, 13:9 (1958), 7-12 (p.9).
82 Richard Ronald and Allison Alexy, *Continuity and Change in Japanese Homes and Families* (Routledge, 2017), p.2.

As explored in Berzano and Genova's *Lifestyles and Subcultures - History and a New Perspective*[83], there has been significant scholarship by the likes of Simmel, Weber, Colasanti and Bourdieu which has indicated the importance of material conditions and cultural objects within lifestyle creation. Considering Japanese identity and culture building, Sugiyama Lebra has discussed the creation of what she calls "display culture" - a performance which shows ordinary people functioning as symbolic capital by enhancing, enriching, refining and decorating themselves to emulate a certain cultural shift[84]. For example, Tōkyō houses within the 1980s functioned as bubble lifestyle signifiers or display performers; architectural experimentation became an "inescapable condition" which worked to reinforce familial success[85]. However, as Kuma Kengo notes, after the burst of the bubble, the definition of the nuclear family became somewhat ambiguous[86], its previous success was suddenly up for critique through the increase of childless couples, divorcees, unmarried adult children and elderly people living alone[87]. Due to the hard times of the decade, multi-families started to take form within the single-family house, a coming together born out of necessity[88].

As if in response to this post-bubble boundary blurring of the nuclear image, the turn of the decade saw feminist sociologist Ueno Chizuko ask the new fourth generation of architects why houses are unable to compliment family diversification and flexibility[89]. She critiqued the industry by claiming that architects are too involved with their material tools, and as a result, are unable to process the rapid sociological changes that have occurred within Japanese living situations[90]. She urged the new generation to ask themselves the simple question: what is family? - a question she believed would lead to housing design which could successfully accommodate the future Japanese family[91].

Numerous architects, as well as scholars, have since noted the importance of the flexible family in relation to fourth generation design. For Tsukamoto and Kaijima, the condition which the fourth generation must address is the ability for houses to open up again, allowing the family to experience the outside[92]. Both Nuijsink and Hosaka, believe that the fourth generation contribute to the Japanese urban landscape through fostering new family lifestyles that allow for connections with the city[93]. In a discussion with Yamada Tomohiko of Studio Battery, Yamada noted architect Yamamoto Riken's *Jūkyo-ron* (theory of housing) as one of the most interesting explorations of family within Japanese literature on housing[94]. Interestingly the text was originally written much earlier but was revised by Riken to reflect the emerging ideas of the fourth generation. Riken supports the argument that houses need to support the family as a unit and allow them to nurture new ways of establishing contact with the outside. The family as a source of *kyōshō jūtaku* inspiration is further raised at different moments within *Japan Architect* magazine's 2016 issue on young architects and their works; Asano Cohta of studio BHIS for example, stated that with his designs he hopes to support families in adapting and revising space in correspondence with change[95]. As is demonstrated within this thesis, every architect interviewed during the course of this research discussed family and their own individualised approaches to its multiple formations. This interest supports the argument that

83 Luigi Berzano and Carlo Genova, *Lifestyles and Subcultures - History and a New Perspective* (Routledge, 2015).
84 Takie Sugiyama Lebra, *The Japanese Self in Cultural Logic* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), p.xii. This idea of display culture is discussed further in chapter two.
85 Bognar, p.25.
86 Kuma, "Steel Train", p.54.
87 Ronald and Alexy, p.1-2. This is also explored in Jeff Kingston, *Contemporary Japan - History, Politics and Social Change since the 1980s* (John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2013).
88 Kuma, "Steel Train", p.54.
89 Ueno, p.122-123.
90 Ibid, p.257-260.
91 Ibid, p.132.
92 Tsukamoto and Kaijima, "Tokyo in Practice", p.64.
93 Nuijsink, "The Japanese Single Family Home", p.28; Hosaka, p.64.
94 Yamada, 2018; Yamamoto Riken, *Jūkyo-ron [theory of housing]* (Heibonsha Publishing, 2nd Edition, 2004).
95 Asano Cohta, "Thoughts from BHIS", *Japan Architec*t, 102: Summer (2016), 115-116 (p.116).

family, as a dominant influence of housing design, continues to have as much weight as it did during the first generation, the difference being that now there is perhaps more of an embrace of its transformative ability to deconstruct and redefine.

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## Class vs. Wealth

A final discussion to briefly raise in relation to family and housing generations is one of social class and access. To make clear, this research does not contend with the complexities surrounding the distribution of wealth and social standings within Japan. However, it is important by means of an introduction to the context of this project, to offer a brief analysis as to why the *kyōshō jūtaku* is often architecturally framed across generations, as an economical option for those wanting to live within Tōkyō.

It has been both argued and contested, that Japan is a country where 90% of people consider themselves to be a type of middle class (lower, middle, upper and branches in-between). Those that advocate against the statement believe that by perpetuating the narrative of the equalised middle class, there is a failure to accurately represent vast gaps in income which have become prevalent after the burst of the bubble economy[96]. Scholars who support the 90% claim, such as Momma and Murakami for example, have suggested that the notion of the middle class continues to hold strong within public consciousness which has in turn generated a sense of social stability in regard to wealth[97]. What makes this more complex is the argument that to even acknowledge the existence of class within the context of Japan is misinformed.

Historian Jordan Sand writes extensively on the development of the middle class within the context of architectural Japan. He argues that from the 1880s onwards, the term *chūryū*, meaning middle, was used by the bourgeoisie to label their social position[98]. However, he makes clear that the word *kaikyū* (class) was not often used in conjunction with it, as the reality or influence of a Japanese class system was commonly rejected at the time[99]. This rejection has continued well into the 20th century with historians such as Nakane and Tominaga arguing that European and North American understandings of social class, regardless of possible detectable traits of it within Japan, fail to accurately explain and capture the differentiations present within the Japanese social structure[100]. More recent scholars have challenged this dismissal of a Japanese class system through comprehensive studies which compare and highlight similarities between class manifestations within western countries and Japan[101].

The only scholarly consensus on class in Japan, is that cannot be viewed from a singular lens. It is therefore helpful for this research to turn the focus away from the complexities of the macro and generalisable social theorisation, and instead consider the micro. Namely, how those involved within this research specifically considered class.

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96 To note, historians such as Laura Hein have argued that these gaps existed prior to the bubble burst but they were more inconspicuous. See Laura Hein, “The Art of Bourgeois Culture in Kamakura”, in *Japan From 1945: From Postwar to Post-Bubble*, ed.by Christopher Gerteis and Timothy George (Continuum Books, 2013), pp.10-26.

97 Momma Maki, "Middle Class Perception - A Dozen Years Later", *The Economic Review of Toyo University*, 42:2 (2017), 189-201 (p.189, 200); See also Murakami Yasusuke, "The Age of New Middle Mass Politics: The Case of Japan", *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 8:1 (1982), 29-72.

98 Jordan Sand, *House and Home,* p.10. For later work see Jordan Sand, "中流 Chūryū/Middling", *Review of Japanese Culture and Society*, 25 (2013), 67-75.

99 Ibid, p11.

100 Nakane Chie, *Japanese Society* (University of California Press, 1972); Tominaga Ken’ichi, *Nihon Sangyō Shakai no Tenki* [Turning points of Japanese Industrial Society] (Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1988).

101 An example is Ishida Hiroshi and David H. Slater, "Does Class Matter in Japan? - Demographics of class structure and class mobility from a comparative perspective", in *Social Class in Contemporary Japan: Structures, Sorting and Strategies*, ed. by Ishida Hiroshi and David H. Slater (Routledge, 2010), pp.33-56.

As is explained concretely in chapter one, this project interviews a number of architects who design *kyōshō jūtaku* within Tōkyō. Class was never raised as a topic of conversation within any of those interviews. Instead, it was commonplace to discuss wealth in relation to clients. This irrelevance of class and focus on wealth is further enforced through the aforementioned statistical data on housing produced by the *Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism*. Out of the large amount of data produced each year, class is not considered in any capacity, while a research section titled *Kenchiku–hi oyobi chika no genjō* (The present conditions of buildings costs and land prices) is a dominant aspect of the total data set[102]. To give an idea of general cost, a summary of this data posits that the average building cost for a 50m2 house (floor area) in 2013 was ¥12,200 million (c. £86,000), rising up to ¥13.5 million (c.£95,000) in 2016 and dropping back down to ¥12,280 million (c. £86,000) in 2017[103]. However, these relatively cheap figures do not take into account the cost of land.

As mentioned previously, land is often passed down generationally. This may or may not determine a class position but does indicate a level of wealth privilege. Many architects, both within the literature and within interviews for this research, do not acknowledge this foundational land wealth. They instead focus on the structure itself, arguing that the *kyōshō jūtaku* is an accessible model of housing because wealthy clients can invest in a more expensive house by surpassing these averages, while those with much less can go below them and build a much cheaper house. Therefore, the image of the *kyōshō jūtaku* itself was not considered by architects to be a marker of social status, rather its specificities such as location and materials could indicate a client's wealth. In the context of this research, architects consequently deemed the *kyōshō jūtaku* as an economical model because they placed emphasis on its inherent ability to be flexible.

The main point of my argument here, is that social status and wealth are not necessarily perceived as mutually defining entities within the context of Japan[104]. Accordingly, architectural critic Thomas Daniell emphasises that employing an architect to design a family home is not seen as unusual or a symbol of elitism in Japan, with lifestyle magazines aimed at a general audience often featuring architecturally designed houses, with guides and advice as to how readers can commission an architect[105]. Moreover, Namba, Oshima and Fukuoka have more recently argued that "the unique lifestyles exposed through such magazines have led to a broader public to commission independent architects"[106]. I detail the social representation of those living within specific *kyōshō jūtaku* projects more fully in chapter two, but it is worth noting here that the majority of all clients which were discussed by architects for this research were, from their perspective, ordinary working families. For example, in a discussion with Tōkyō based firm Atelier Hako Architects, they emphasised how they design beautiful spaces for people to live; that their interest as architects stems from making the 'ordinary' lives of Japanese people better[107]. Yet, this idea of 'ordinary working families' needs to be considered with some degree of caution – there may be a significant difference between how certain architects are envisioning an ordinary working family and how this image correlates to wider Japanese society. Architects may not be privy to information regarding their clients' class status and may consequently generalise them as middle class due to prevailing beliefs

102 Housing Data produced by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism can be found here: "Housing Statistics", *milt*, 2020 <http://www.mlit.go.jp/statistics/details/t-jutaku-2_tk_000002.html> [Accessed 14 April 2019].
103 These figures can be found summarised here "Summary of low-cost small housing", *fudosan*, 2019 <https://fudosan-info.com/zero-cube/summary-of-low-cost-small-housing> [Accessed 14 April 2019].
104 This idea is explored in John Clammer, *Difference and Modernity - Social Theory and Contemporary Japanese Society*, e-book edition, (Routledge, 2010); Joy Hendry, *Understanding Japanese Society* (Routledge, 2012).
105 Thomas Daniell, "Cycle of Dwelling", *Japan Architect,* 65: Spring (2007), 12 (p.12).
106 Cathelijne Nuijsink, "Alternatives to An Architect - One Home-Building Companies, House Producers and Prefabricated Design Homes based on interviews with the following experts: Kazuhiko Namba x Shigeru Oshima x Tadashi Fukuoka", in *How to Make a Japanese House* by Cathelijne Nuijsink (Nai010 Publishers, 2012), pp.289-296 (p.294).
107 Interview with Nanashima Yukinobu and Sano Tomomi, co-founders of Atelier Hako Architects, 4th October 2018. Translated from Japanese.

that the majority of Japanese people occupy this social position. Further, regardless of the model's arguable capability to be economically flexible, it does not mean that *kyōshō jūtaku* function as accessible to all; it is important to be aware that an entangled mesh of underlying class and/wealth privilege may be informing who has access to such designs and who does not.

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## Representation

It is necessary to have an understanding of how others have portrayed the small house in order to establish how this research contributes to and expands on what is already in existence. This section introduces some of the ways in which *kyōshō jūtaku* have been represented in popular media, scholarship and the architectural industry.

Before embarking on the task at hand, it is critical to make clear that there is currently very little formal academic scholarship, both anglophone and Japanese, which take the *kyōshō jūtaku* as its focus. To date, there is one other anglophone written PhD study which deals with the *kyōshō jūtaku* specifically[108] and one which considers the broader scope of the Japanese house from 1995 onwards, both having been recently completed in 2017[109]. Alongside these, there is one book chapter written by University of Toronto architect Katy Chey in her 2018 publication *Multi-Unit Housing in Urban Cities*[110]; a number of Master's dissertations which make reference to the *kyōshō jūtaku* within wider discussions on global housing cultures, and one published article[111]. Academic scholarship written in Japanese shows that architectural scholars do make reference to the *kyōshō jūtaku*, but primarily within practical discussions on large scale housing issues within Japan. These are typically quantitatively researched articles on the environment, particularly in reference to the climate, disaster and approaches to urban renewal and rebuilding[112] as well as those which offer critical commentary on social life (population, new housing demand and studies of suburban life)[113].

Most *kyōshō jūtaku* representation is therefore non-scholarly in nature and typically focuses on architectural design and practice; anglophone publications are primarily written by architectural journalists and critics[114] and Japanese written texts commonly come

108 Angelo Gangi, 'Kyosho Jutaku (tiny houses)' (unpublished PhD thesis, Politecnico di Torino, 2017).
109 Cathelijne Nuijsink, 'What is a House? Architects Redesigning the Domestic Sphere in Contemporary Japan, 1995-2011' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 2017).
110 Katy Chey, *Multi-Unit Housing in Urban Cities*, (Routledge, 2018).
111 The published article is Jasmine Ford and Lilia Gomez-Lanier, "Are Tiny Homes Here to Stay? A Review of Literature on the Tiny House Movement", *Family & Consumer Sciences*, 45:4 (2017), 394-405; examples of masters dissertations include Simon Richmond, 'Micro-Living: Learning to Live Large in Small Spaces' (unpublished Masters thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2012); Jamie Bakkes, 'Smart Small Living at the Groenmarkt' (unpublished Masters thesis, Delft University of Technology, 2018).
112 Examples include Murakami Masahide, Ken Tahara and Fujita Yoshinori, "Hanshin Awaji Daishinsai ni iru Zairai Mokuzō Toshi-Gata Jūtaku no Mondaiten [problems of conventional wooden urban housing seen in the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake]", *Journal Of Structural and Construction Engineering*, 61:481 (1996), 71-80; Sato Keiji et.al, "Kyōshō Takuchi Jūtakū Chiku ni Okeru Jūtaku Tatekae Potensharu no Teika Keikō ni Tsuite [Declining trend of housing rebuilding potential in an narrow residential area]", *Annual report of the Japan Institute of Architectural Planning*, 401 (1989), 65-78; Ding Ding and Kobayashi Hideki, "Toshin-Bu no Shea Kyojū ni Okeru Jūtakū Sutokku Katsuyō no Kanōsei ni Kansuru Kenkyū — Famirī-Muke Jūtakū o Riyō Shita Shea Kyojū no Sogai Yōin to Sokushin Yōken ni Tsuite [A Study on the Possibility of the Utilization of Housing Stock in a Shared Residential Urban -On the Inhibiting Factors and Promotion Requirements of the Shares Utilizing Family Residential Housing]", *Urban Housing Studies*, 71 (2010), 56-61.
113 Examples include Hirayama Yōsuke, *Toshi no Jōken: Sumai, Jinsei, Shakai Jizoku [City Conditions: Living, Life, Sustainability]* (Enutitishuppan, 2011); Shikasho Takashi et.al, "Gendainihon no Kenchikka ni Yoru Shitsu Kūkan Keishiki no Jūtakū no Sekkei Ito [The Design Intention of One Room Spatial Housing by a Contemporary Japanese Architect]", *Proceedings of the Architectural Instutite of Japan*, 77:677 (2012), 1617-1624.
114 Examples include Claudia Hildner, *Small Houses: Contemporary Japanese Dwellings* (Birkhäuser, 2012); Pollock, *Jutaku;* Nuijsink, *How to Make a Japanese House.*

from architects themselves[115]. Alongside this literature exists a variety of media representations. From a global perspective, within the last ten years in particular[116], the *kyōshō jūtaku* has gained popularity, having been written about, discussed and represented in numerous media forums, notably a major international exhibition held in 2017, *The Japanese House - Architecture and Life After 1945*, which toured Rome, London and Tōkyō. Online magazines such as Dezeen, Archdaily and Designboom write frequent articles on newly constructed *kyōshō jūtaku*[117] and even tabloid newspapers such as UK's *The Financial Times*[118] and *The Guardian*[119] have published opinion pieces.

Japanese produced media which engage with the *kyōshō jūtaku* can be split into roughly two categories: the magazines and journals which target the architectural industry and its educators through engaging in architectural criticism and projects; examples being *Kenchiku Bunka*, *Kindai Kenchiku*, *Japan Architect (JA)*, *GA Houses*, *10+1*, *Nihon Kenchiku Gakkai*, *Jutaku Kadai*, *Shinkenchiku* (originally named *Sinkentiku*), *Teresukōpu* and *Spa-De*, to name but a few[120]. The other category is made up of popular lifestyle magazines which target potential clients of *kyōshō jūtaku*, a notable example being *Casa Brutus*, which, as is later discussed, has significantly affected the knowledge accumulated by the general public[121].

It is important to note that during this section I only refer to representations which explicitly centre the *kyōshō jūtaku* or small house, excluding those which explore related themes such as Tōkyō's urban landscape, nature, materiality and the philosophy of Japanese architectural space. While these other presentations are important to this project, to review the strengths and weaknesses of them all would be a huge task which would serve no real purpose or clear objective for the research at hand. Instead, these works are analysed and discussed within later chapters, where they are relevant and necessary to support the arguments put forward. Similarly, I only consider material written in English or Japanese as the majority of all *kyōshō jūtaku* discourse stems from these two languages.

## *Popular Media*

As popular media, both online and material, is the easiest access format to gather information on the *kyōshō jūtaku*, it appears an obvious place to begin this discussion on representations. A simple google search of the words "Japan small house" brings up a vast array of magazine and newspaper articles, blog posts and videos, all offering a range of outside opinions, the majority built around stereotypes and misinformed cultural information.

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115 Examples include Shinada Kyoichi, *Kanarazu Yaku ni Tatsu Kyōshō Jūtakū 63 : Tokai no Chiisana Tochi ni Tateru Ie [Narrow houses that are sure to be useful :63 houses built on small urban land]* (Wārudo Foto Puresu, Heisei 16, 2004); Matsubara Ryūichirō and Horibe Yasushi, *Shoko o Tateru : Ichimansatsu no hon o Osameru Kyōshō Jūtakū Purojekuto [Building an archive: a small housing project that holds 10,000 books]* (Shinchōsha, 2014); Itō Nobuhiko, *Neko no Hitai de Iezukuri : Kenchikushi to Tateru Toshigata Kyōshō Jūtakū [Building a House with a Cat's forehead: Building with an architect! Urban Narrow House]* (Shōunsha, 2004).

116 Doing a google search of the words "Japan small house" shows numerous articles and videos all of which have been written since 2010. See for example Philip Kendall, "10 incredible tiny houses in Japan: a photo tour", *soranews*, 2013 < https://soranews24.com/2013/07/25/10-amazing-tiny-houses-in-japan-a-photo-tour/> [Accessed 7 December 2018]; Lucy Craft, "In Japan, Living Large in Really Tiny Houses", *npr*, 2010 <https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=128953596> [Accessed 7 December 2018]. Literary examples include Marcia Iwatate, *Japan Houses: Ideas for 21st Century Living* (Tuttle Shokai Inc, 2011); Philip Jodidio, *The Japanese House Reinvented* (Thames & Hudson Ltd, 2017).

117 Examples can be found at *dezeen*, *designboom*, *archdaily,* < https://www.dezeen.com/tag/japanese-houses/>;< https://www.designboom.com/tag/architecture-in-japan/ >; <https://www.archdaily.com/search/projects/categories/houses/country/japan> [Accessed 7 December 2018].

118 Edwin Heathcote, "Japan's Experimental Homes, from the strange to the sublime", *The Financial Times*, 2017 <https://www.ft.com/content/9dc807cc-04b5-11e7-aa5b-6bb07f5c8e12> [Accessed 7 December 2018].

119 An example can be found at "Japan Avant Garde Houses", *the guardian*, 2015 < https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/gallery/2015/oct/19/japan-avant-garde-houses-naomi-pollock-in-pictures> [Accessed 7 December 2018].

120 Examples include "Shūgō Jūtakū Tokushū [special issue on multi-family housing], *Shinkenchiku*, August (2017); "Chīsai Koto [Small Things]", *Japan Architect*, October (2001); *GA Houses*, 161, November (2018).

121 Examples include "Tokubetsu Henshū-Ka-Dzukuri no Kyōkasho [special editorial creative textbook]", *Casa Brutus*, June (2017); "Risō no Ie no Tsukurikata [My Home 2019]", *Casa Brutus*, February (2019); "Hajimete no Ie-Dzukuri Tokusōban Chīsakute mo `Kurashi Yasui Ie' : Besuto 58 [special edition "small house living": best 58]", *Shufunotomosha [Friend of a Housewife]*, October (2016).

One such example is British architect Edwin Heathcote's article in *The Financial Times*, a piece written in conjunction with the London exhibition opening of *The Japanese House - Architecture and Life After 1945*.

A close analysis of the article reveals Heathcote's use of language to be highly problematic when he describes the small house. He begins by announcing the exhibition as offering a "mouthwatering architectural feast of the sublime, the strange and the magical"[122]. The use of "mouthwatering feast" provides a metaphor of him physically consuming that what he deems strange; an image which adheres to Isozaki Arata's belief that foreigners create cultures of *Japonica*, *Japanophilia* and *Japanesquization* whereby Japanese aesthetics, in the form of both objects and concepts, are taken, devoured and then reframed in relation to western understandings[123]. Subsequently, this notion has been explored in recent academic scholarship.

Architect Nikola Nikolovski undertook a PhD study at the University of Tōkyō which explored Japanese architectural representation in Western media. His work concludes that representation of Japanese architecture "has been subjected to eurocentricity" which has resulted in cases of misinterpretation and misrepresentation fuelled by limited knowledge of Japanese history[124]. Further he suggests that Japanese architecture is often contextualised and represented through western spatial understandings[125]. Heathcote's article actively demonstrates this eurocentricity, particularly through his use of "strange and magical"[126]. Furthermore, "strange" plays into the narrative of what Japan focused anthropologist Inge Daniels deems a "relentless fascination with Japan as the quintessential, exotic 'other'' which she believes has been present within international discourse since the 1980s[127]. This argument is supported by the data generated for this research.

With every architect I interviewed for this project, I asked how they felt *kyōshō jūtaku* were represented outside of Japan. The words which were most frequently used were: *hen* and *okashii* meaning strange or odd and some also used the English word extreme. Predicatably, Heathcote superficially focuses on the architectural form, isolating design elements as support for his reading of "strange", referencing "houses in the shapes of faces and others with no doors or walls" as well as "houses with no windows, [and] others that are completely transparent" - an act which Others Japanese architecture by removing it from the realm of normalcy[128]. As an outsider, Heathcote views *kyōshō jūtaku* as different or surprising, and chooses to embrace an easier and somewhat lazier journalistic approach which uses "strange" as a justification for his lack of knowledge, something which Isozaki Arata believes, Japan has been subjected to for generations[129]. Further still, his use of "magical", a word which according to the Oxford Dictionary, can be defined as "beautiful or delightful in a way that seems removed from everyday life"[130], linguistically works to strip houses of their commonplace social, cultural and urban realities. By referring to Heathcote's article, I am not trying to suggest that all anglophone media discourse on the *kyōshō jūtaku* is inaccurate or misinformed. Rather, it serves as an example of the way *kyōshō jūtaku* can be showcased when an anglophone gaze is unchallenged and deliberate in its cultural ignorance.

122 Heathcote, 2017.
123 Isozaki Arata, *Japan-ness in Architecture* (MIT Press, 2011), p.xv, 3, 31.
124 Nikola Nikolovski, 'Representation and Contextualization of Japanese Architecture in Western Architectural Periodicals', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Tokyo, 2015), p.28.
125 Ibid, p.28.
126 Heathcote, 2017.
127 Daniels, *The Japanese House*, p.3.
128 Heathcote, 2017.
129 Isozaki, *Japan-ness.*
130 Definition found "Oxford Dictionary", *oxford dictionaries*, 2020 < https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/magical> [Accessed 13 December 2018].

Unsurprisingly, the Japanese popular media engages with *kyōshō jūtaku* radically differently. During interviews, architects spoke about the rising popularity of lifestyle magazine *Casa Brutus*, which has not only contributed to the popularisation of *kyōshō jūtaku*, but has also functioned as a mechanism to produce tastes, styles and architectural opinions. Some architects found the role of the magazine amusing, particularly when clients come to them asking for direct replications of featured houses (despite *kyōshō jūtaku* promoting itself as a unique model). Others found it frustrating and time consuming, as it would take effort to explain why the plot or specific land regulations couldn't permit certain design requests.

In 2015, *Casa Brutus* produced a "*kyūkyoku no sankōsho*" or "ultimate reference book" for urban small house living[131]. The edition features *kyōshō jūtaku* examples, advise on tax and loans, discussions on failed *kyōshō jūtaku* projects, ideas for how to live "*kashikoku*" or "wisely" within *kyōshō jūtaku* and a complete list of *kyōshō jūtaku* architects within the whole of Japan. Whereas architectural style and design are clearly showcased, the majority of the information stems from the practicality of living within a small house and how one makes adjustments within lifestyle and family in order to make the design successful. Even when aesthetics are discussed within more arts-based media, there is often an lens of everyday practicality which is employed as a way of looking. For example, Japanese photographer Tsuzuki Kyoichi, author and creator of popular photobook *Tokyo Style*, a book which documents the inside of Tōkyō houses, argues that bookstores are filled with more publications on Japanese space than one would ever want to see, all of which he argues present houses as "attractive showpieces"[132]. *Tokyo Style* thus offers as a way of countering what he calls "media trickery" - choosing to show spaces where Japanese people honestly and truly spend their days[133]. It is this engagement with the practical realm, a driving force in the Japanese media, which is often missing within international commentary. However, to give credit when credit is due, the recent large-scale exhibition, *The Japanese House - Architecture and Life After 1945* attempted (and to an extent, suceeded) to try and capture a sense of lived *kyōshō jūtaku* realities.

*The Japanese House*, shown between 9th November 2016 and October 29th 2017 in Rome, London and Tōkyō, was a collaboratively organised and produced exhibition designed by Maxxi, The Barbican Centre, the National Museum of Modern Art Tōkyō and The Japan Foundation. Each location it was shown, featured a unique architectural structure made via collaborative means. In Rome the exhibition was designed by Atelier Bow-Wow, in London, Nishizawa Ryue created a life-size replica of his work *Moriyama House* (2005) and in Tōkyō, Seike Kiyoshi's *Professor Saito's House* (1952) was replicated using original furniture from the site. These collaborations highlight the desire to centre Japanese design perspectives as structural frameworks for the curatorial direction, one somewhat practical approach to rejecting institutional eurocentricity. Within each individual design, the show brings together 75 houses by 56 groups of architects through more than 400 materials[134] and is centred around 13 themes in order to show societal and cultural connections which are present between generations of architects and houses.

The selection of the themes: Japaneseness, Mass Production, Earthy Concrete, Close to Open, A House is a Work of Art, Play, Sensorial, Machiya, Redefining the Gap, Lightness, Unmarketable, Learning from the Vernacular, and Beyond Family demonstrate significant knowledge of the social historical trajectory of the Japanese architectural context within the period. Each theme engaged with a range of visual material; from models, photographs, film

131 "Tokubetsu henshū saikyō no Iezukuri kyūkyoku no sankōsho ~ toshigata jūtaku ni sumu [special edition: Ultimate Reference Book for Urban Living]", *Casa Brutus*, March (2015).
132 Tsuzuki Kyoichi, *Tokyo Style* (Shashin Kagaku Co.LTD, 1993), p.19.
133 Ibid, p.19.
134 Information taken from the "National Museum of Modern Art Tokyo", *momat*, 2020 < http://www.momat.go.jp/english/am/exhibition/the-japanese-house/> [Accessed 4 January 2019].

and drawings, something which helps to provide a multiplicity of creative narratives and perspectives. Further, there were attempts to represent everyday moments; one example is the showing of Bêka and Lemoine's documentary *Moriyama-san*, which gives an intimate look into the life of Moriyama Yasuo, the long-standing resident of Nishizawa's *Moriyama House*. The film shows him engaging in everyday acts: reading, listening to music, watching films and sitting outside; scenes which allow the viewer to see how the house, through its design, supports a life being lived. This was particularly prevalent in the London show, which as previously mentioned, centred a replication of *Moriyama House* in the gallery space, a design in which visitors were encouraged to step into Moriyama-san's shoes and take their time in the space, exploring the furniture and daily objects which filled the structure. When the visitor stepped out of *Moriyama House*, they were met with a tree-house like teahouse placed within a garden, designed by master of the contemporary teahouse, Fujimori Terunobu. The garden was constructed as a sensory experience: children ran between the inside and outside of the house, playing upon the trees and lying in the grass while adults rested in the teahouse. This interactive element of the show indicates a desire to deconstruct any potential imaginary of the 'other' or 'exotic' as European viewers were asked to physically position themselves within replications of everyday space. In order to do this successfully, the curators deconstructed the traditional white cube aesthetic of the gallery space, a spatial framework which typically demands a barrier between viewer and work. This act of spatial deconstruction shows a clear emulation of the design approaches of many of the architects featured in the show, whereby the spatial field is a fluid and interactive negotiation.However, despite this acknowledgment that the show made attempts to deconstruct eurocentric practices and centre real existences, some critiques can still be made.

Firstly, out of the 48 architects featured within the exhibition, only 11 were representative of the current fourth generation (studios established from 2001 onwards)[135]. This supports the reading that the show was more focused on showcasing those second and third generation architects with established reputations; the majority of houses themselves symbolising the past accomplishments of the model rather than the innovation which is currently happening on the ground today. In a similar vein, there was no discussion or mention of the current factors which are impacting the decline of small house building in Tōkyō, in particular the declining birth rate which has resulted in, what Unemori Hiroyuki deems a move to renovation rather than new builds[136]. No renovation projects were included within the exhibition despite it emerging as one of the dominant ways for new architects to secure commissions. The fact that the exhibition only showed realities which are grounded in prosperity, such as the life of Moriyama-san, rather than alternative realities which reveal the nuances and difficulties of small house building, demonstrates a singular view of Japan as a generationally stable architectural haven.

Another critique which can be made is the show's representation of Japan-ness. To reiterate, Japan-ness[137] is the specific term theorised by architect Isozaki Arata in his text *Japan-ness in Architecture* and is used to refer to the ways in which foreigners interpret Japanese architecture as representing a visual and conceptual Japanese identity[138]. To be explicitly clear, Japaneseness or *Nihonjinron*[139] is a different term which has a much longer

135 A list of the architects featured can be found at the "Barbican Centre", *barbican*, 2020 https://www.barbican.org.uk/the-japanese-house-architecture-and-life-after-1945> [Accessed 13 January 2019].
136 Interview with Unemori Hiroyuki, founder of Unemori Architects, 18th September 2018. Translated from Japanese.
137 For those readers of Japanese, the *kanji* reading of Japan-ness is: 日本的.
138 Interesting to note Ōshima Tadashi Ken writes in his review of the text: "While the term "Japan-ness" may seem awkward as a newly constructed word, it is a translation of the phrase *Nihon-teki na mono* which literally means "things Japanese in character.", "Japan-ness in Architecture Review", *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, 34:1 (2008), 234-238 (p.235). This is discussed further in chapter four.
139 For readers of Japanese, the *kanji* reading of Japaneseness / *Nihonjinron* is: 日本人論

history of scholarly and popular debate[140]. While this thesis does not take *Nihonjinron* as a direct subject of enquiry, it is necessary to highlight its history as a way of emphasising how the two terms are different. To give a brief summary, *Nihonjinron* is categorised as domestic theories of Japanese cultural nationalism, usually expressed through varying material forms, which rose to prominence in the 1970s and had strong effects in the 1980s[141]. Used as a way of claiming back a 'Japanese identity' which was lost during the war and the American occupation, the aim of *Nihonjinron* is to demonstrate how Japan is unique in its linguistic, communicative and social culture; this in turn generates a rejection of foreignness, in particular that of the 'west'[142]. As *Nihonjinron* is flexible enough to be applied to many aspects of Japanese culture, its theories have been used to incite essentialising and racist views which promote the belief that Japan is made up of a singular superior homogenous culture[143], something which serves to delegitimise the Japanese identities of indigenous groups such as the *Ainu*, *Burakumin* and *Ryūkyū*.

While *Nihonjinron,* or the theory of being Japanese, is a home-grown ideology that has been used for clear problematic ends within Japan, Japan-ness, as Isozaki coins it, is a term completely devised from the outside[144]. Its history stems from the mid-nineteenth century, when primilarly European and North American tourists visited Japan in order to locate and promote a certain image of Japanese identity, returning with objects that they deemed to be authentically Japanese[145]. This history provided a foundation for architects in the 1930s to repeat this process but instead of objects, they returned home with concepts such as "simplicity, humility, purity, lightness" which they later implemented into their designs[146]. Previous to this foreign influence, architecture in Japan was not considered or thought to be 'Japanese', it was merely architecture. Therefore, unlike *Nihonjinron* which serves to instate a Japanese identity within Japan, Japan-ness is about tracing how a Japanese identity has been conceived outside of Japan; Japan-ness is not believed to hold domestic nationalist foundations but rather was born out of foreign-devised stereotypes and cultural ignorance. Chapter four will interrogate the construction of the theory in detail, but for now, it is merely important to understand that *Nihonjinron* and *Nihonteki* are different terms with unique histories and should not be used interchangeably.

In the *Japanese House* exhibition, the theme of Japaneseness is put forward rather than Japan-ness which shows a lack of understanding in regard to the differences between the two concepts. The text introducing the theme posits Japaneseness (referring to Japan-ness), as a period of time (1950s) in which Japanese architects began to rediscover tradition in reaction to the end of American occupation. This is problematic is two ways.

Firstly, it fails to address other European and North American engagement other than occupation, such as that I previously mentioned whereby foreigners in the mid nineteenth century travelled to Japan to collect objects, known as *Japonaiserie*, which included "*ukiyo-e* (woodblock prints), *byobu* (folding screens), *kacchu* (samurai elements)"[147] and those 1930s architects who repeated this process, a notable example being German architect Bruno Taut. Subsequently, this historical process of colonial-style extraction was the foundation for a much

140 There is extensive scholarship which discusses *Nihonjinron*, including John Lie, *Multiethnic Japan* (Harvard University Press, 2001); Befu Harumi, *Hegemony of Homogeneity - An Anthropological Analysis of Nihonjinron* (Trans Pacific Press, 2001); Peter Dale, *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness* (Routledge, 1988); Fujita Yuiko, "Fabricating Japaneseness? The Identity Politics of Young Designers and Artists in Global Cities", *International Journal of Japanese Society*, 20 (2011), 43-58. There is also an example of Japaneseness being discussed by an architect, who considers how his Japanese identity shapes his architectural practice, see Iijima Yoichi, "Towards Japaneseness", *Japan Architect*, 18 Summer (1995), 288-293.
141 Kosaku Yoshino, *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan – an anthropological enquiry* (Routledge, 1992), p.2
142 Ibid, p.11-12.
143 Befu Harumi, *Hegemony of Homogeneity* (Trans Pacific Press, 2001), p.68.
144 Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, p.3, 114.
145 Ibid, p.3.
146 Ibid.
147 Ibid, p.3-4.

earlier recognition of Japan-ness which is not mentioned within the exhibition text.

Secondly, Japan-ness as a process contained to a specific time is a misreading of Isozaki. This time-specific reading is also put forward by Maxxi curator Pippo Ciorra within the exhibition catalogue. In his essay *I Love Japanese Culture*[148], a title which in itself emulates this centring of the "external gaze" of Japan-ness, he argues that Isozaki theorised a firm beginning (1930s) and end (1990s) of Japan-ness. While Isozaki does refer to historical moments which contribute to the materialisation of Japan-ness, as well as moments which signal its decomposure, his relationship to Japan-ness is not one of finality but rather one which signals an ongoing negotiation. Arguably Japan-ness can be read in a similar way to how Latin American scholars such as Ramon Grósfoguel, Walter Mignolo, Aníbal Quijano and María Lugones have framed coloniality; whereas colonialism is a historical period of time which marks colonial rule, coloniality is a historically repeated process, whereby colonial power continuously morphs into different entities in relation to contemporary contexts[149]. As is argued further in chapter four, Japan-ness is a similarly flexible and recurring concept, one which can be traced in past, current and future architectural experiences which in turn can generate new meanings and understandings.

*Scholarship*

Having considered some popular media depictions, the small arena of scholarly work which centres the *kyōshō jūtaku* can now be considered, beginning with the one other anglophone PhD study[150]. Angelo Gangi's thesis begins by tracing the history of the model, showing how *kyōshō jūtaku* have occupied narrow spaces throughout generations. In chapter two, the author emphasises how there have been different urban motives for the continuation and development of the model which relays to social and economic shifts within the country. This is an excellent point, as international representations have at times cultivated an impression that *kyōshō jūtaku* is a completely new model which emerged in the 2000s as a result of the economic bubble burst. An example of such narrative framing, is Katy Chey's book chapter *Tokyo: Since 2000*, in which the title alone demonstrates an emphasis on this narrative. Chey writes: "In the early 2000s, an even smaller version of the single-family house emerged...known as *kyosho jutaku* which translates to micro house"[151]. While *kyōshō jūtaku* became significantly popularised in this period, with the term itself becoming more widely known, the introduction to this chapter has shown that small houses as an architectural movement have been occupying the Japanese landscape from the 1950s onwards. I say architectural movement, because prior to this, there have been small and narrow domestic structures in existence throughout Japanese history, they were just not being designed by architects or considered to be architecture. One only needs to refer back to *Hōjōki*, the 12th century text in which the author speaks of his humble hut built by himself[152], a simple space which emulates the Buddhist adage of: "Half a mat to sit, one mat to lie down. No matter how huge a mansion you may build, there's no need for more than 1mx2m when you sleep"[153].Therefore, while Gangi makes an important contribution in the first chapter of the thesis, from there onwards, some critiques can be raised.

148 This title likely pays homage to Bruno Taut's book title: *Ich Liebe Die Japanische Kultur: Kleine Schriften Uber Japan* (Gebruder Mann Verlag, 2003).
149 Examples from these authors include Ramón Grosfoguel, "Colonial Different, Geopolitics of Knowledge, and Global Coloniality in the Modern/Capitalist World-System", *Review (Fernand Braudel Center*), 25:3 (2002), 203-224; Walter Mignolo, "Geopolitics of Sensing and Knowing: On Coloniality, Border Thinking, and Epistemic Disobedience", *Confero Essays on Education Philosophy and Politics*, 1:1 (2013), 129-150.
150 Gangi, 2017.
151 Chey, p.284.
152 Kamo no Chōmei.
153 This adage was translated in Tsuzuki, p.375.

The second half of the thesis shows Gangi focusing on what he deems to be "main" *kyōshō jūtaku* projects - which immediately begs the question as to how they can be categorised as "main"? As all of the single detached houses featured in Gangi's thesis are from the second and third generations[154], there is a suggestion that "main" is not a term that he associates with current fourth generation houses. This can be similarly questioned within anglophone non-scholarly publications as there is a vast amount of literature in existence which speaks to the work of second and third generation architects[155], yet there is none which focuses on the current fourth generation. A potential reason for this bias is that fourth generation architects architects typically own young, small independent studios, which work on small scale projects in Japan rather than abroad. Subsequently, their websites and information relating to their projects are not usually translated into English. Simply put, not only do they commonly lack an international reputation, but they are actually still shaping their legacy in Japan. The fourth generation are the ones designing and influencing the *kyōshō jūtaku* being built today and tomorrow; thus, if one attempts to speak about the entire history of the *kyōshō jūtaku*, there needs to be an equal representation of generations, as all of them bring unique influences and ideas to its development. Futher yet, to ignore one generation is to present an inaccurate picture.

The rest of Gangi's thesis takes a direct architectural design focus, with the author using design techniques gathered from his reading of existing *kyōshō jūtaku* to produce his own housing design, complete with schemes, technical plans and renders - a formidable approach, but one very different from mine.

To briefly return to Katy Chey's engagement with the *kyōshō jūtaku*, we can detect a similar problematic use of language to Heathcote, indicating that this problem is not contained to media representations. In a justification for why *kyōshō jūtaku* have become popular within Japan, Chey draws on *kawaii* (cute) culture not only arguing that "Japan has a fascination with everything small and cute"[156] but going further to state that due to Japan's fabrication of "Pokémon, Harajuku fashion, robot restaurants, and maid cafés, it is easy to see why *kyōshō jūtaku* would be wholeheartedly embraced by a nation with a penchant for new and unusual things"[157]. Here the culture of exoticisising and stereotyping Japan is evident. For instance, research such as Joshua Paul Dale's exploration into the history of *kawaii* and how its complexities encompass significantly more than the English word 'cute'[158] fail to be acknowledged. In another instance Chey uses the word "experimentation" to refer to the houses[159], which from an outside perspective, may appear true; the anglophone media often corroborates this notion that each house is an architectural experimentation[160]. To an extent even Japanese architects have acknowledged that *kyōshō jūtaku* may appear surprising to foreigners -a conversation between Tsukamoto and Nagae in 2002 show them saying that the small houses must appear "*kurēji*" or 'crazy' to a westerner[161]. However, fast forward close to two decades later, and an interview with Atelier Hako, reveals that this foreign surprise is perhaps wearing thin. They expressed concern over the ways in which

154 The single housing projects featured in the thesis which are deemed "main" are *Tower House* by Takamitsu Azuma, *Azuma House* by Ando Tadao, *R-Torso* by Atelier Tekuto and *Moriyama House* by Nishizawa Ryūe.
155 Examples include Naomi Pollock, *Sou Fujimoto* (Phaidon Press, 2016); Heidi Zuckerman Jacobsen, Claude Bruderlein, Naomi Pollock and Eyal Weizman, *Shigeru Ban: Humanitarian Architecture* (Aspen Art Press / D.A.P, 2014); Agustin Perez Rubio, *SANAA Houses* (Actar, 2007); Kenneth Frampton, *Kengo Kuma: Complete Works* (Thames & Hudson, 2013).
156 Chey, p.29.
157 Ibid, p.303.
158 Joshua Paul Dale, "The Appeal of the Cute Object – Desire, Domestication, and Agency", in *The Aesthetics and Affects of Cuteness*, ed.by Joshua Paul Dale et.al (Routledge, 2016), pp.49-70 (p.53).
159 Chey, p.304.
160 Online examples include "Japanese House", *curbed*, 2017 <https://www.curbed.com/2017/5/31/15719310/japanese-house-architecture-design-exhibit-barbican> [Accessed 17 January 2019]; "Why Japan's Futuristic Micro Homes are so Popular", *hyperallergic*, 2016 <https://hyperallergic.com/250380/why-japans-futuristic-micro-homes-are-so-popular/> [Accessed 17 January 2019].
161 Tsukamoto Yoshiharu and Akira Nagae, "Seshu to kenchikka — — aruiwa kenchiku ga jūtaku ni naru tame ni [The Client and the Architect: or, How Architecture Becomes a House]", *10+1*, 28 (2002),74-85.

the idea of experimentation has become somewhat stereotyped, stating that while they do sometimes experiment with ideas in their designs, just as any architect would, they do not create experimentations. Rather they create homes for families to live in and they would prefer if their projects could be framed in that way[162].

Related to this, and present in both Gangi's thesis and Chey's chapter is the notable lack of collaborative knowledge production. Neither scholar appears to have conducted qualitative interviews with Japanese architects or homeowners, meaning that their framework of thought, idea and knowledge construction is never challenged or critiqued from insider perspectives[163]. In the case of Chey in particular, this results in published scholarship which gives an illusion of factual knowledge. Yet as demonstrated, international representations on the *kyōshō jūtaku* are not always reliable sources of information, meaning that to only draw on this data is to produce a limited reading which lacks situated criticality. In contrast, both Nikola Nikolovski's PhD study on western media representations of Japanese architecture and Cathelijne Nuijsink's thesis on the Japanese house from 1995 onwards, are two strong examples to draw on in terms of ways of creating anglophone knowledge production through engaging with Japanese architects directly. By conducting qualitative interviews, both scholars test their own understandings and theories through listening and learning from inside voices. It is specifically this type of scholarship which is currently lacking and thus needed on the *kyōshō jūtaku*, work which brings together inside and outside engagement and initiates cross-cultural dialogues and idea exchange.

*Architectural Criticism*

There are a number of books written in English on the Japanese small house which appear to target the coffee table audience through glossy photos and generalised texts. These works do not take an in-depth approach to the subject and typically emulate information which can be found online. Therefore, rather than considering them within this section, it is more useful to concentrate on texts which display aspects of conceptual or methodological originality which as a result, have offered lessons for this research. These works are published as architectural texts aimed at an industry audience who have an interest in *kyōshō jūtaku*.

Continuing with the discussion around the co-production of knowledge from the previous section, the first text of relevance is Cathelijne Nuijsink's *How to Make a Japanese House*. The book reflects Nuijsink's literary occupation of the in-between between scholarship and architectural criticism; it articulately presents 21 housing projects, each structured around a set of specific design lessons. The text is sectioned into three generations (50s,60s,70s) in accordance with when architects were born (i.e. The 1950s Generation consisting of Kuma Kengo, Aoki Jun etc) rather than generations of houses specifically. Important to note is out of the 23 architects presenting the 21 projects, 12 are representative of the current fourth generation[164]. This is significant as no other anglophone publication has given such a focus to the fourth generation.

162 Nanashima and Sano, 2018.

163 This is not something just contained within this scholarship, there are examples of books by architectural journalists/critics which demonstrate a lack of engagement with Japanese architects. Examples include Alice Sordelli and Elena Zanoni, *Japanese Contemporary Houses - small anthology of floating spaces* (Lettera Ventidue, 2017); Claudia Hildner, *Small Houses - Contemporary Japanese Dwellings* (Birkhäuser, 2011); Heino Engel, *Measure and Construction of the Japanese House* (Tuttle Publishing, 1985); Chris Fawcett, *The New Japanese House - Ritual and Anti-Ritual Patterns of Dwelling* (Harper & Row Publishers, 1980); Francesca Chiorino, *Homes in Japan* (Mondadori Electa, 2017).

164 These studios are KMAA est. 2002; Akihisa Hirata Architecture Office est. 2005; TNA architects est. 2004; Mount Fuji Architects est. 2004; Suppose Design Office est. 2014; Gō Hasegawa and Associates est. 2005; Hidenyuki Nakayama Architecture est. 2007; Yuko Nagayama & Associates est. 2002; junya.ishigami +associates est. 2004 and Ryuji Nakamura & Associates est. 2004.

In regard to co-production, each of the design lessons are presented by the architects themselves rather than Nuijsink, which frames her as an active learner who centres the voices of insiders. This allows her own opinions, as expressed in the introductory essay *The Japanese Single-Family Home - A Typology That Moves With Its Time*, to be informed by the viewpoints of those she interviewed. This has particular significance as during the design of this study, I was met with scholarly opinions which suggested that it would be incredibly difficult as an outsider, to get architects to agree to be interviewed. Nuijsink's book demonstrates that this is not necessarily the case if one positions themselves as open to listening, learning and co-producing architectural knowledge - something which functioned as a guide when forming my methodological approach. Chapter one expands on how this approach became critical in the design of this thesis.

Aside from its methodological contribution, the way the book is structured allows the reader to identity the key themes which are considered by multi-generations of architects as important to their practice. This speaks to Hosaka Kenjirō's emphasis mentioned earlier about the value in seeing different generations alongside each other, as shifts and similarities in ideas and inspirations can be traced, giving a more accurate overview of the model's architectural history. This proved to be a useful starting point when designing the conceptual framework for this research, as it allowed for the centring of the themes that architects themselves found significant. These included: family, nature, materiality, voids, the relationship between inside and outside, the philosophy of space - all of which were included within the interview questions generated for this project, as a way of testing their importance and relevance.

Another architectural text which provided both methodological and conceptual support to this project was *Houses*, a co-produced textual collaboration between studio SANAA (Sejima Kazuyo and Nishizawa Ryūe), curators Agustin Perez Rubio and Hasegawa Yuko and architect Sam Chermayeff. The book details the studio's housing projects (including two Tōkyō *kyōshō jūtaku* projects, *House in a Plum Grove* and *Small House*) establishing their design influences, structural approaches and their wider understanding of space. Serving as an introductory text, the book features a conversation between Perez Rubio and SANAA, a narrative in which the outside author does not speak for the two architects but rather engages and subsequently learns from their approach. In the conversation Sejima speaks about the role of borders in their work, arguing that the meanings and practices of transparency and reflection allow for clarity and the creation of new spaces which encompass a "diversity of relations"[165]. This idea is then further explored in the book through an essay by Hasegawa Yuko who posits houses as physical bodies which are made up of borders and boundaries in which vast amounts of information flows[166]. This presents a view of architecture as a living process rather than a static form which is not only a critical aspect of SANAA's practice, but also one which supports the notion that housing design more generally is deeply connected to the social, cultural and ecological environments of their situated sites.

In conjunction with this, Hasegawa also raises the relationship of public and private as a potential way of looking at space[167], a binary which offers an interesting perspective on how private houses interact with the wider public urban ecology. These ideas of situatedness and public - private manifestations have been important for this study, the details of which are examined more closely in the preceding section of this chapter.

Aside from these two books, Japanese architectural magazines have provided this research

165 Nishizawa Ryūe, Sejima Kazuyo and Agustin Perez Rubio, "Feeling at Home with SANAA - A conversation between Agustin Perez Rubio and Kazuyo Sejima & Ryue Nishizawa", in *SANAA Houses* by Nishizawa Ryūe and others (Actar, 2007), pp.9-17. (p.17.)
166 Hasegawa Yuko, "Radical Practices in Constructing Relationships", in *SANAA Houses* by Nishizawa Ryūe and others (Actar, 2007), pp.182-185 (p.183-184).
167 Ibid.

with not only structural and design details about *kyōshō jūtaku* projects, but have also emphasised the critical nature of Japan's architectural industry. *Kenchiku Bunka* (1946-2004) meaning architectural culture, is one such publication which has a long history of providing a critical platform for discussions on the *kyōshō jūtaku*. One 1958 edition in particular (vol.13, no.9), takes the small house as it editorial theme and demonstrates how the *kyōshō jūtaku* was a topic of great debate during the emergence of the model within the industry, further alluding to its pre-bubble influential history. The edition features an essay by Itō, Isozaki and Kawakami where they provide evidence for why they believe the small house is the future of Japanese architecture[168]. The authors argue that the small house presents architects with philosophical and psychological opportunities, particularly through the spatial and material potential of smallness[169]. Smallness, rather than being considered as a reductive spatial quality, is framed as an opportunity to tap into universal human experiences in an intimate way. To support their claims, they draw on gestalt psychological theory, an approach which, when simplified, argues that a whole, while made up independent parts, functions as a gestalt or an independent structure with an independent reality[170]. They therefore encourage architects to not only explore the individual parts which make up *kyōshō jūtaku* but also to consider its role as a whole within the urban environment.

Itō, Isozaki and Kawakami's 1958 argument holds as much relevance today as it did then. Additionally, it can be extended by correlating it with Gilles Deleuze's assemblage theory which also draws on the relationship between a whole and its parts; utilised within urban studies, the theory works to establish assemblages as historical identities[171]. It problematises the stable concept of the "whole" by arguing that "parts of an assemblage do not form a seamless whole" in the sense that "the same assemblage can have components working to stabilize its identity as well as components forcing it to change or even transforming it into different assemblage"[172]. Applying this to the context of the small house, the house cannot be considered a consistent whole as, according to historian Fernand Braudel, houses are constantly bearing witness to changes in cultures and civilisations[173]. Thus, houses are not static or stable things - they are transformative bodies constantly restructuring. Chiba Manabu also believes that the structure of houses should not be considered as an expression of structural mechanics but rather as the assimilation of things in space[174]. These viewpoints are important for this research as they make clear that there are multiple "wholes" at play within *kyōshō jūtaku* structures, and that rather than viewing them as fixed entities, it is more accurate to read them as having transitory identities which are produced by the ways micro and macro components interact in space.

A final architectural media representation that has significance for this research is the architectural magazine *Japan Architect* (JA). It is one of the only architectural publications written in both Japanese and English and thus serves as a mediator between foreign architects with an interest in working in Japan and Japanese architects who are looking to build an international profile. It is a particularly good source for tracing the progression of the *kyōshō jūtaku*, as the publication began within the first decade of the architectural birth of the model (1959) and still continues today. As is explained in the following section of this chapter, this thesis takes the fourth generation of houses as its focus, a decision which resulted in identifying those essays within JA which engaged with the small house in this generational

168 Itō, Isozaki and Kawakami.
169 Ibid, p.8
170 Johan Wagemans and others, "A Century of Gestalt Psychology in Visual Perception: II. Conceptual and Theoretical Foundations", *Psychological Bulletin*, 138:6 (2012), 1218-1252 (p.1218).
171 Manuel DeLanda, *The New Philosophy of Society - Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity* (Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd, 2006), p.3.
172 Ibid, p.11-12.
173 Braudel explores this idea in Fernand Braudel, trans. by Richard Mayne, *History of Civilization*s (Penguin Random House, 1995).
174 Chiba Manabu, "The Strength of Houses", *Japan Architect*, 37: Spring (2000), 6-7 (p.7).

time period. One of the most critical and insightful editions of JA was published in 2016 (*Houses by young architects and their works)*. It featured works and insights by over 60 studios based in different parts of Japan, many of whom have a large number of *kyōshō jūtaku* projects in their portfolios. Through analysing these projects and discussions, the thought processes of the fourth generation can be considered alongside each other which allows for the identification of a broader generational approach to housing. (Figure 5) shows how six recurring themes were generated as design references by the different studios - those that referred to more than one of themes have more than one colour identifier[175]. Interesting to note here, is that the most popular combined themes discussed were Japan-ness (by ways of culture, history and identity) and nature, something which appears to not only reinforce Itō, Isozaki and Kawakami's 1958 argument but also one made by Tange Kenzō in 1956, in which he posited that the space of Japanese architecture is given by nature[176]. Creating this map during the initial design of the research was a way of locating some potential areas of interrogation such as family, relationship to the city, spatial relationships, lifestyle - all of which stemmed from the viewpoints of the architects themselves rather than from those found in external representations. As well as this, the map also provided some key fourth generation studios who could be targeted for interviews.

175 Those studios in black referred to themes outside of the recurring six.
176 Tange Kenzō, “Gendai Kenchiku no Sozo to Nihon Kenchiku no Dento [Contemporary Architectural Creation and Japanese Architectural Tradition]”, *Shinkenchiku*, 31:6 (1956), pp. 29–72.




figure 5. Colour theme map of Japan Architect edition
*Houses by Young Architects and their Works*, 2016. Designed by author.

## Expanding Knowledge: Making a Contribution

Having engaged with scholarly, architectural and popular media-led representations of *kyōshō jūtaku*, this section details how this thesis expands on the existing work and by doing so cultivates original knowledge production. To aid this conversation, the specific research questions which this thesis addresses are introduced in conjunction with the theory that will be mobilised to answer them. The questions have undergone a process of transformation at different stages of the project, as the initial questions which were formed during the design of the project were re-framed during the fieldwork. Gaining access to new literature in Tōkyō, listening to and talking with architects and scholars, visiting the houses themselves and implementing methods - all influenced the thought processes which subsequently shifted what was considered valuable and representative to ask and interrogate. After reading, viewing and analysing a multiplicity of representations, three key subjects emerged as scholarly areas which, when expanded on, can offer new insights to a global understanding of the *kyōshō jūtaku*.

Inspired by the architectural approach of Atelier Bow-Wow, the first subject expanded on is the relationship between architecture and environment. As was earlier emphasised, there needs to be more anglophone *kyōshō jūtaku* scholarship which actively moves away from representing these houses as detached design objects. Instead, new work needs to reveal their multi-layered realities which exist in situ with the city's wider urban ecology. By doing this, architecture is transformed from an expression of static built forms to a living socio/cultural process which contains and communicates a multiplicity of everyday interactions and activities. I will discuss how it is possible to achieve this vantagepoint in the section titled *Urban Ecology: Zooming and Behavirology*.

The second subject for expansion tackles the generational gap that can be seen within the majority of representations. The current fourth generation of architects, those with young studios and small projects, are often absent from international conversations on the Japanese house. To address this absence, the following section evidently titled *The Fourth Generation*, will make clear how this thesis aims to change that common narrative and centre the voices of those working on the future of the model.

The third subject is Isozaki's notion of Japan-ness. This was identified as a result of both engaging with the *The Japanese House* exhibition and noticing that there was a gap in the literature in regard to theory which discusses how the small house and Japan-ness are relational. The section titled *Japan-ness*, therefore demonstrates how this thesis challenges and expands on Isozaki's original conceptualisation through focusing on the opinions and projects of fourth generation architects. It further works to engage them in a conversation through creative practice as a means of expanding our representation of both the *kyōshō jūtaku* and the theory of Japan-ness.

Finally, the closing section of this chapter cements the public - private theoretical framework which is used as an observational and organisational structure in which to analyse the generated data. By resituating philosopher Peter Sloterdijk's metaphors of both foam and cells into the structure of the project, the public-private is shown to be a useful and insightful composition for this research context.

*Urban Ecology: Zooming and Behaviorology*

As previously noted, anglophone representations of the *kyōshō jūtaku*, with some exceptions (notably Nuijsink), have taken a design focus; an approach which frames each house as a static individual design object, failing to present a situated environmental context. This way of looking not only denies the critical role of the environment as a foundational factor in the design but also shows overlaps with previous problematic histories of Japan whereby Japanese objects were externally gazed upon and consequently removed from their physical and ideological cultural origins. This research moves away from this practice and instead, actively takes inspiration from the work of those Japanese architects and scholars who emphasise the importance of understanding houses through their connections to their wider ecologies. While there have been a number of texts which have explored this interaction, none have proven to be as methodologically succinct and as developed in the context of Tōkyō specifically, than the writings of architectural studio Atelier Bow-Wow (AB-W). Two concepts in particular have been influential to this research, as they have provided a foundation for the scholarly interrogation of the relationship between house and city; both the methodological act of *zooming* and the theoretical framework of *behaviorology*, scrutinise and seek to record the dynamics which emerge out of this relationship.

The 2001 book *Made in Tokyo*, is where AB-W's methodology of *zooming* is explained and actively put to use[177]. The book is presented as a guidebook to Tōkyō's "nameless and strange buildings", arguing that is it through an in-depth look into these often missed spaces, that Tōkyō's operational strategies can begin to be explained[178]. Tōkyō is not framed as a whole urban entity, but more as a hybrid network of infinite differing realities making it an unstable environment that is constantly in flux. AB-W posit *zooming* as a process of reframing the act of looking to encompass these fluxed flows of activity. In other words, *zooming* back from merely looking at the design itself to get an image of the whole vantage point[179]. Doing this allows for the identification of cross-categories, for example the interaction between architecture and geography, culture and society[180]; *zooming* thus structures houses as micro cross-bred individualised eco-systems operating within the city, stages for a multiplicity of human and non-human urban actors. What is directly related to the idea of *zooming*, is AB-W's belief that the behaviour of architecture and urban space can be split into three categories: the behaviour of human beings, the behaviour of the natural elements and the behaviour of the buildings themselves[181].

*Behaviorology* therefore "attempts to place architecture and urban space in a position where these three categories are effectively synthesized"[182]. These multiple behaviours interact on differing scales, forming an "ecosystem of behaviour" which establishes the small house not as an architecture of spaces, but an architecture of relationships[183]. Relatedly, AB-W make two important claims of *behaviorology*: 1) that the ecosystem of behaviour is dependent on both regional and cultural difference and that 2) it is centred around time. In other words, there is not a singular framework for an ecosystem of behaviour as each contains unique rhythms which connect to time, space and place[184]. These rhythms are embedded within a multiplicity of objects and result in various encounters combining the past with the future, the social with

177 Kaijima Momoyo, Kuroda Junzo and Tsukamoto Yoshiharu, *Made in Tokyo: Guidebook* (Kajima Institute Publishing Co.,Ltd, 2006).
178 Ibid, p.9.
179 Ibid, p.18. My recent article explores the methodological act of *zooming* in more depth. see Cathryn Klasto, "Reviewing as a Caring and Creative Practice: Zooming into Made in Tokyo", *Architecture and Culture*, 2020 DOI: 10.1080/20507828.2019.1705081.
180 Ibid, p.19,22.
181 Tsukamoto Yoshiharu and Kaijima Momoyo, *The Architectures of Atelier Bow-Wow: Behaviorology* (Rizzoli International Publications LTD, 2010), p.8-9.
182 Ibid, p.9.
183 Ibid, p.11,127.
184 Ibid, p.15.

the natural, the cultural with the spatial[185]. Due to these specificities, Tsukamoto deems *behaviorology* to be the study of a flexible system of living communication[186]. By tracing these ecosystems of behaviour through a process of *zooming*, *kyōshō jūtaku* have the potential to become more talkable[187].

This research seeks to expand on these acts of *zooming* and behaviour tracing by creating an original methodological approach coined feminist sensory creative practice (fscp). It is built from a foundation of feminist theory, sensory studies and visual art practice and ensures not only an original process of knowledge creation, but also a guaranteed new artistic outcome. To explain further, feminist theory is used to establish the theoretical grounding on which the methodology rests; intertwining ideas of subjective performance, ethics, multivocality and transformation. This is then merged with sensory studies as an established methodological practice among disciplines; the process of gathering data and producing intellectual connections becomes influenced by the sensory experiences which emerge from the act of site visiting. Finally, the outcome of the methodology is creative practice; theory is transformed from being explored in a purely textual form, and instead is moulded and expanded through the act of making and creating new artistic imaginaries.

While the different components which make up the methodology are detailed fully in chapter one, it is critical to establish here how the fscp methodology is mobilised to expand on both *zooming* and *behaviorology*. Beginning with *zooming*; it is critical to note that AB-W only speak about *zooming* as a process of *zooming* out, as opposed to in. They argue in their book *Echo of Space / Space of Echo* that "the place's "form of being" always shows people involved how its "form of doing" should be"[188]; if the "form of being" can be categorised as the eco-system generated by the interaction of the house and the environment, then to understand its manifestation in realities, i.e the "form of doing", we must take a magnifying glass to the system. In other words, *zooming* in to the micro everyday realities experienced through and in conjunction with the design, can contribute to the whole zoomed out perspective which captures the relationship between the architectural form and its environment.

Fscp is utilised within this project to simultaneously zoom in to the micro and out to the macro: they are mutually supporting processes which cannot be separated. As is detailed in the following chapter, *zooming* is conducted through site visits to *kyōshō jūtakū* projects. Feminist theory and negotiations of ethics are embedded into the act to provide more knowledge on the ways of doing or performing *zooming*, as opposed to solely concentrating on the outputs of the act. More specifically, these lines of interrogation ask: who can zoom? Can one zoom ethically? Can *zooming* represent transformation or acts of becoming? When combined with sensory experiences, *zooming* becomes an embodied material process raising questions as to how it is felt by both those doing it and by those encountering it. As inside performers, AB-W generate a certain perspective. The way they zoom, for a multiplicity of reasons, will result in different outcomes, understandings and meanings. How does my own researcher position (or any individual position for that matter) inform and alter both the performance and the results? These are all questions which are explored in chapter one.

With regards to *behaviorology*, AB-W cite observation as a way of understanding ecosystems of behaviour, and further argue that the methodology of *behaviorology* only grows in meaning when multiple protagonists and perspectives are generated from it[189]. My research perspective as an outsider is representative of a new viewpoint, and as per their definition,

185 Ibid.
186 Tsukamoto Yoshiharu and Nango Yoshikazu, "Ima Naze 'Biheibiororoji' [Why Behaviorology Now?]", *10+1*, 49 (2007), 84-89 (p.88).
187 Tsukamoto Yoshiharu, "Zūmu Bakku Tōkyō [Zoom Back Tokyo]", *10+1,* 14 (1998), 92-94 (p.93).
188 Atelier Bow-Wow, *Echo of Space,* p.16.
189 Tsukamoto and Kaijima, *Behaviorology*, p.15.

each experience of rhythm observation is unique in regard to time and space. Therefore, all the behaviours experienced through fscp site visits are actively contributing to the expansion and development of *behaviorology* as an architectural approach. As well as the theory itself, the outputs are also expanded through fscp. AB-W have notably traced behaviour rhythms through drawings[190] - an approach, which is continued in this project. However, rather than just adopting AB-Ws methodology, I extend it through employing other creative avenues to support the drawing, including soundscape making and photography. This allows for various material outputs which can generate new meanings, understandings and voices. The importance of this ability to develop a theory or methodology is explored in the work of sociologist Jason Orne and anthropologist Michael Bell.

Orne and Bell argue that extendability within research production is achieved through testing and applying the theory or method designed for a certain context within another, thus achieving intercontextuality[191]. It is the specificities of a given locale, which raises differences, highlighting the connections and disconnections with the original context[192]. AB-W mobilise *behaviorology* as a way of representing architecture – moving away from a top down approach to structures and space and utilising methods such as drawing, to destabilise static architectural constructions; studying the behaviours of architectures is a way of experiencing them in a more tangible and embodied way which in turn produces new ways of knowing. Thus, mobilising the fscp approach for this research is a way of establishing AB-W's *behaviorology* as an extendable mechanism of representation which works to produce new situated knowledges.

This fscp expansion of *zooming* and *behaviorology* generated one of the research questions, namely: **Can a feminist sensory creative practice approach extend both the methodological act of *zooming* and the theoretical framework of *behaviorology*?**

*The Fourth Generation*

The review of *kyōshō jūtaku* representation highlighted a focus on those Japanese architects whose reputations are both domestically and internationally recognised. Many have extensive portfolios, having built works across different geographies, and the majority have numerous publications written both by external critics and journalists as well as texts produced by architects. Consequently, there is a vast amount of knowledge in existence, both in English and Japanese.

The process of reviewing this literature did reveal a significant gap, particularly within *kyōshō jūtaku* scholarship, in regard to representation of architects and studios building fourth generation houses. There is currently no anglophone academic work on fourth generation Japanese architects in existence; something which may be due to the majority operating as small-scale studios which are in their infancy in terms of projects. Therefore, in order to begin to fill this knowledge gap, the thesis takes the fourth generation as its focus and looks solely at Tōkyō houses built and architectural studios established, from 2001 onwards. Nine out of the 14 *kyōshō jūtaku* projects featured within this thesis were built in the latter half of the generation (from 2013 onwards) in order to present the current context more concretely (see Appendix A). In this project 17 architects were interviewed, representing 14 architectural studios in Tōkyō (some of which are co-created). The ideas and perspectives presented in the thesis are centred on the knowledge and experience generated with these inside voices. While

190 These drawings can be seen in many of AB-W publications including *Made in Tokyo: Guidebook* (Kajima Institute Publishing Co.,Ltd, 2006); *Graphic Anatomy*, (TOTO, 2007); *Pet Architecture Guidebook Vol.2*, (World Photo Press, 2002).
191 Jason Orne and Michael Bell, *An Invitation to Qualitative Fieldwork* (Routledge, 2015), p.59.
192 Ibid.

it is impossible for me to write outside of my own subjectivity, all of my opinions are informed by those I interviewed and who generously shared and collaborated with me. This thesis hereby prioritises the perspectives of the fourth generation and it is one of my primary scholarly aims to accurately represent all architects involved[193].

*Japan-ness*

Reviewing *kyōshō jūtaku* literature in both English and Japanese also led to the discovery that Isozaki's reading of Japan-ness has not been discussed in direct relation to the contemporary small house. From a Japanese perspective, a reason for this could be that the theory is seen as conceptually outdated[194] and irrelevant to current architectural thinking, a viewpoint which did arise during interviews. However, in international representation it is still a lens for looking which is utilised in different forums, including a large-scale exhibition sponsored by the Japan Foundation and held at the Centre Pompidou-Metz in France, titled *Japan-ness. Architecture et urbanisme au Japon depuis 1945 (Japan-ness. Architecture and urbanism in Japan since 1945)* (2017-2018).

Due to this continuation of foreign-led interaction with Japan-ness, a fact which just re-iterates Isozaki's original claim, this thesis actively interrogates whether Japan-ness holds any meaning or relevance for fourth generation architects designing *kyōshō jūtaku*. It does this to see whether Japan-ness is being, or could be, re-imagined and reframed by Japanese architects, in order to reject its foreign foundations and instead be used as a conceptual mechanism to explore current understandings and expressions of Japanese identity within material space. Therefore, this thesis asks: **Do fourth generation Japanese architects engage with Japan-ness (in the conception of *kyōshō jūtaku*)?**

As is demonstrated in chapter four, the thesis finds that Japan-ness is explored by the architects interviewed for this research through the practicality of design as opposed to through Isozaki's conceptual framework. Inspired by this practice of theory, the creative practice element of the fscp methodological approach is mobilised to creatively engage with these practical manifestations of Japan-ness. The insert details the perspectives of the architects which have been transformed into original artworks which accompany this written thesis.

Although I as an outsider have done the making, thus unavoidably retaining the foreign presence, the artworks are constructed as collaborations; objects which represent the fieldwork practice - an experience which was centred on knowledge and idea exchange. To clarify, I have not created my own understandings of Japan-ness. Rather the works represent inside opinions in a spatial way, something which is more in tune with how the architects understand and express the concept. As the artworks are all original creations, they deconstruct the recurring histories of removing Japanese art objects from their cultural and geographical homes; all perspectives utilised through the practice were ones shared as opposed to taken. In light of this, the thesis asks: **Can situated creative practice be used to expand the representation of both Japan-ness and Tōkyō's *kyōshō jūtaku*?**

193 For more detail, see the section on rigour in chapter one.
194 Isozaki's book *Japan-ness in Architecture* was originally published in 2006 and then later in 2011. One architect (Chigusa Nariaki) out of the 17 interviewed for this research, had engaged significantly with the work of Isozaki and had written a review of Japan-ness in Architecture. This review can be found in: *Kenchikka no Dokusho Juku [Architect's reading of cram school]*, (Misuzushobō, 2015).

*Public - Private as a Framework for Knowledge Production*

To begin, it is useful to briefly introduce the work of psychologists Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke[195]. In their book *Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide for Beginners*, their main argument centres on the notion that within research, themes do not pre-exist. In other words, the researcher/s, through either individual or collaborative processes of structuring, analysing and organising, generate and produce themes out of the data. Others could take the same data and locate alternative themes - one thematic approach would not be better or more valuable than another, rather they would just exemplify different ways of looking.

With this in mind, this thesis has been thematically structured by using a framework which is in accordance with the act of *zooming*. To reiterate, the argument was made that both *zooming* in and *zooming* out formed a simultaneous process which served to provide a whole vantage point of the micro and macro ways houses engage with their environments. By arranging the themes, which were generated by analysing the interviews with fourth generation architects and the site visits, into the framework of public - private, the data demonstrates how Tōkyō's *kyōshō jūtaku* can be viewed on an intimate private spatial level (via the individual houses) and on a public level (i.e. how the individual houses operate as components of wider macro structures). This way of looking contributes towards providing a whole vantage representational narrative which was pointed out by Atelier Bow-Wow as a fundamental aspect of *zooming* as a practice. Japanese historian Vera Mackie makes an important point by arguing that when questioning the public-private divide, there needs to be focus on "bodies, emotions and practices"[196]. This thesis argues that organising the data themes in accordance with public-private, is a way of further engaging with the practice of *zooming*, which involves human (researcher/architects) and non-human bodies (houses). In accordance with this, the thesis asks: **How does the application of a public-private framework in the research of *kyōshō jūtaku* generate new perspectives on the subject?**

Whereas Mackie uses the word "divide" in relation to these two states, this research does not structure public-private as a rigid dichotomy. Just as *zooming* in and out are not distinct processes, public-private has what Kuma Kengo describes as, an "ambiguous border"[197]. Through the way the inform each other, they consequently "leak" into each other[198]; themes categorised as private overlap and prove relevant to those public themes. The research hereby aligns with the arguments put forward by architectural phenomenologist Christian Norberg-Schulz, who states that the public realm functions as an extension of the private world, and in order to understand the private we must comprehend its role as part of a larger public whole[199]. Thus, inspired by Donna Haraway's approach to bodies, whereby she argues that they are "boundary projects"[200], this research considers Tōkyō's *kyōshō jūtaku* as architectural bodies in which the public and the private can be considered as a coming together of micro and macro boundaries. It is through the act of *zooming*, that those boundaries can be traced.

Further, as is demonstrated concretely in chapters two and three, the work of German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk has been fundamental to this project's fluid framing of public-private. In his text *Foams* (one work in his *Spheres* series) he constructs a relationship

195 Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, *Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide for Beginners* (Sage Publications Ltd, 2013).
196 Vera Mackie, *Feminism in Modern Japan: Citizenship, Embodiment and Sexuality* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.11.
197 Kuma Kengo and Dark Radovic, "Seven Fragments from One Conversation", in *Small Tokyo*, ed. by Darko Radovic and Davisi Boontharm (IKI (International Keio Institute) + flick studio co.ltd, 2012), pp.014-023 (p.020).
198 Ibid.
199 Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Existence, Space & Architecture* (Studio Vista Limited, 1971), p.30-31.
200 Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective", *Feminist Studies*, 14:3 (1988), 575-599 (p.595).

between foam, as a structural entity, and the individual cells which function as vital components of the foam structure. Foam is posited as a "fleeting form", comprised of constantly changing processes whereas the cells are conceptualised as autonomous membranes which rely on the foam to maintain their identity[201]. This image is particularly useful in regard to this project; it can be applied so that the individual 'private' cells represent individual *kyōshō jūtaku* and the foam symbolises the 'public' urban structure of Tōkyō. Whereas each house is autonomous, it is still reliant on the factors which make up and expand the urban environment in order to exist. Therefore, in regard to public and private, this foam-cell framework, emphasises the interrelationship between the two, notably through Sloterdijk's development of the term co-isolation. Chapter three explains this in detail, but to give a loose understanding it refers to the way that each cell (or house) is simultaneously isolated and connected. Through this structural metaphor, public and private become both isolated and intertwined processes, an overarching emphasis of this thesis.

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## Thesis Structure

To summarise, this thesis focuses on producing new *kyōshō jūtaku* representation through engaging with the work of Tōkyō's fourth generation of architects. The themes which were developed out of both conversations with these architects and site observations of their projects, are discussed and presented through the framework of public foam and private cells. Using this imagery allows the houses to be documented in relation to micro and macro *zooming*, a process necessary to present an accurate whole as to how they function as urban components of Tōkyō's ecology.

Building off from the theoretical resources discussed in this introduction, chapter one looks closely at the methodological design and approach of this research. As previously mentioned, in order to generate insider - outsider cross-cultural dialogues, idea sharing and new perspectives on *zooming* and *behaviorology*, an original methodological approach has been developed, coined fscp (feminist sensory creative practice). The first chapter analyses and explains each individual component rooted within it; beginning by engaging in my feminist position as a researcher and the theoretical frameworks which have been utilised to support and promote collaborative, contestational, and multivocal research practice. Building from that foundation, the chapter looks at how this project uses the sensory as a way of extending the act of *zooming* and exploring imagination. Finally, it turns to the role of creative practice within fscp and discusses the ways in which theory and methodology can be interconnectedly expanded through creative forms, as a way of inciting innovative *kyōshō jūtaku* knowledge production and representation. The chapter ends with a summary of the methods which were used to practice fscp and an overview of the data analysis process.

Chapter two is the first chapter which embeds the data generated during fieldwork in Tōkyō. Drawing primarily from the interviews with fourth generation architects and their *kyōshō jūtaku* projects, the chapter considers the public foam aspect of the thematic framework through four sub-themes which were generated from the data. The first engages with ecology, considering manifestations and understandings of nature and climate, *shakkei* (borrowed scenery) and wrapping. The second explores materiality, *zooming* into fourth generation uses of wood and concrete (as recurring materials) within *kyōshō jūtaku* design. The third turns to the philosophical conceptualisation and practicality of time and the fourth concludes by exploring the role of lifestyle and familial social dynamics among the owners of *kyōshō*

201 Peter Sloterdijk, *Foams – Spheres III*, trans. by Wieland Hoban, (Semiotext(e), 2016), p.28, 48, 50.

*jūtaku* projects.

Chapter three consequently looks at the inner spatial workings of the private cells / houses. Similarly to chapter two, multiple sub-themes were generated out of the fieldwork data; three of which were determined dominant. Thereby, the first examines the use of scale, primarily considering how small-ness functions as a facilitator of intimacy and everyday connections. The second and third are interwoven, both from a practical design perspective and theoretically, and are therefore discussed together. The second looks at how architects have established innovative uses of *uchi - soto* or inside -outside within their *kyōshō jūtaku* designs; specifically addressing the ways in which spatial graduation is employed to create a blurred understanding of the two. The third considers the ways in which the Japanese spatial philosophical concepts of *ma* (in-between) and *en* (boundaries) are engaged with on the level of the everyday.

Chapter four develops the concept of *zooming* by *zooming* out to the global knowledge scale. It begins by discussing Isozaki's theoretical construction of Japan-ness, highlighting its historical origins and ideological framing. From there the chapter presents the views of fourth generation architects - detailing how they understand and express Japan-ness in their work - a process which reveals limitations within Isozaki's perpsective. It concludes by thinking of some ways Japan-ness can develop via the *kyōshō jūtaku* model.

The *Re-imagining, Re-Representing* insert is a creative continuation of chapter four. Inspired by the practical spatial approach to Japan-ness expressed by fourth generation architects, the insert explains the creative practical approach I took to representing this expansion of Japan-ness. Each individual artwork which accompanies this written thesis, explicitly relates to and represents the ideas and expressions of Japan-ness which were discussed by architects in relation to their *kyōshō jūtaku* projects. As is explained fully in chapter one, the artworks operate as a whole body of work which represents the embodied sensory experience of doing research through the"combining, connecting and interweaving of theory, experience, reflection, discourse, memory and imagination"[202]. Using this notion as a foundation, a reflection on how creative practice can be used to conduct and represent social science research is presented and evidence of why creative work is an effective way of representing a transdisciplinary thesis is given. The creation of the artwork produces images of the wider ecology which *kyōshō jūtaku* connect to, images which allow the model to be represented in ways which goes beyond object-focused design. Further, creative practice allows for the employment of a critical sensory imagination which can connect *kyōshō jūtaku* to their environments while expanding on how we define and engage with social and architectural theory.

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202 Sarah Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, 2nd Edition (Sage Publications Ltd, 2015), p.48-49.

# Chapter One: Feminist Sensory Creative Practice

Split into four parts, this chapter uncovers the project's (feminist sensory creative practice) methodological position. It was developed in order to expand Atelier Bow-Wow's concept of *zooming*, by implementing a clear feminist research position, a sensory imagination and practical creativity. To be clear, fscp, while designed as a way of engaging with this specific research context, does have the potential and capacity to be applied to other research avenues, as its flexible nature refuses to be tied to a discipline or area of enquiry; an ability which is undoubtedly its core strength. Fscp lends itself to a qualitative mode of knowledge production as it offers new possibilities, interpretations and meanings in regard to the transformative capability of everyday practices and processes. Denzin and Lincoln posit qualitative research as a situated naturalistic activity[203]– this chapter demonstrates how each component of fscp embodies this active approach, encouraging the researcher/s to situate themselves within a context and observe and interact with it in its natural state.

The following three sections interpret each fscp element in line with the subject of this thesis. I begin by discussing the feminist aspect, followed by the sensory and then the creative practice. Finally, the chapter then details the methods which were used to conduct a fscp approach during fieldwork, as well as how the generated data was analysed. It should be noted that if the fscp approach is adopted by future researchers; the feminist, the sensory and the creative can be discussed, portrayed and practised in limitless ways.

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## (f)scp

*The outside is a peculiar place, both paradoxical and perverse. It is paradoxical insofar as it can only ever make sense, have a place, in reference to what it is not and can never be —an inside, a within, an interior[204] .*

This research project and consequently this written thesis, is underpinned by a feminist approach to knowledge production. This is inevitable as I subscribe to the common belief that the personal and political are irrevocably intertwined; meaning, that my personal feminist identity takes shape and influences the work I produce. Therefore, before being able to consider how I as a researcher chose and implemented a specific feminist methodological approach, there is first a need to understand my position within this specific research context. By critically engaging with how it develops and supports a specific lens of looking, the subsequent methodological choices can be concretely understood.

The starting point for an interrogation into my own position stems from the fact that its individual facets (being a white British woman researching architecture in Japan) interact through outsider-ness. To expand, the insider vs. outsider debate has long been present within

203 Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, "Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research", in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed. by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (Sage Publications, Inc, 2011), pp.1-21 (p.3).
204 Elizabeth Grosz, *Architecture from the Outside – Essays on Virtual and Real Space* (MIT Press, 2001), p.xiv.

a variety of anglophone academic disciplines and critical theories[205]. It began with the assumption that cultural insiders, or those researchers who conducted studies on and in cultures and societies which they themselves were also a member of, were granted easy access in terms of place and space and truthfulness when it came to communication from research participants. The outsider, in contrast, was thought to be granted permission to ask more in-depth and taboo questions, using curiosity and a lack of emotional or historical alliances to further their study. In essence, where the insider found strength the outsider found weakness and vice versa. In reality though, as Merriam (et.al) articulate, for many people "there is a good bit of slippage and fluidity between these two states"[206] resulting in the occupation of betweenness or the "outsider within"[207], a position which can be both fruitful and frustrating[208].

Philosopher Elizabeth Grosz, in her book *Architecture from the Outside*, chooses to actively lean into her position as an outsider to engage with the discipline of architecture. Deeming herself an "interested outsider"[209] who is "concerned about the inside from the point of view of the outside"[210], Grosz acknowledges the limits of her position and seeks to purposefully mobilise these limits to support her quest for scholarly innovation. Inspired by this acknowledgement of the outsider position, I also lean into outsider-ness. To explain the meaning of this this, we can consider the work of feminist standpoint theorists, evident examples being Donna Haraway and Sandra Harding.

Harawary and Harding ground their work on the notion that it is not possible to escape the confines of our subjective social and material origins. As a result, they believe that by diversifying and enabling new perspectives and ways of seeing the word, i.e. through engaging with infinite standpoints, we "enlarge the horizons of our explanations, understandings and yearnings"[211]. With this in mind, through viewing this research context from the vantage point of the outsider, there is potential to extend our collective knowledges. Further, through taking a situated stance, it becomes impossible for me, a white British person, to become an insider in Japan, regardless of how learned I am (or become) in the cultural context and language of Japan or how well-developed my fieldwork relationships become. However, while I do not believe an insider identity to be possible for someone like myself in this research context, this does not mean that I completely reject insider/outsider fluidity and complexity. For one, I believe it necessary to gain and labour towards a level of cultural and linguistic competency (a degree of self-taught insider-ness) in order to conduct oneself respectively, sensitively and informatively. While I acknowledge that my competency in both the Japanese language and knowledge ofJapan's culture could be extended, I nevertheless worked towards achieving this level of competency. Thus, the position of the outsider does not mean an embrace of ignorance and a replication of problematic orientalising approaches as

205 Recent scholarly examples include: Thomas M. Kersen, "Insider/Outsider: The Unique Nature of the Sociological Perspective and Practice", *Journal of Applied Social Science*, 10:2 (2016), 104-112; Lizzi Milligan, "Insider-Outsider-Inbetweener? Researcher Positioning, Participative Methods and Cross-Cultural Educational Research", *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 46:2 (2016), 235-250; Mags Crean, "Minority Scholars and Insider-Outsider Researcher Status: Challenges along a Personal, Professional and Political Continuum", *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 19:1 (2018), 1-16.

206 Sharan B. Merriam and others, "Power and Positionality: Negotiating Insider/Outsider Status Within and Across Cultures", *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20:5 (2001), 405-416 (p.411).

207 This term originated from Patricia Hill Collins, who considers how Black feminism interacts with standpoint epistemology. See, Patricia Hill Collins, "Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought", *Social Problems*, 33:6 (1986), 14-32.

208 Scholarly examples of the complexities which can arise from the occupation of the in-between include Hannah Avis, "Whose Voice is That? Making Space for Subjectivities in Interviews" in *Subjectivities, Knowledges and Feminist Geographies*, ed.by Liz Bondi and others (Rowman & Littlefield Inc, 2002); Yawei Zhao, "Doing Fieldwork the Chinese Way: A Returning Researcher's Insider/Outsider Status in her home town", *Area*, 49 (2017), 185-191; Miyazawa Kaoru, "Becoming an Insider and an Outsider in Post-Disaster Fukushima", *Harvard Educational Review*, 88:3 (2018), 334-354.

209 Grosz, *Architecture from the Outside,* p.xv.

210 Ibid.

211 Sandra Harding, "Introduction: Standpoint Theory as a Site of Political, Philosophical and Scientific Debate", in *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader, Intellectual & Political Controversies*, ed. by Sandra Harding (Routledge, 2004), pp.1-35 (p.5).

theorised by postcolonial scholars such as Edward Said[212]. In fact, aided by feminist politics, my outsider position actively seeks to depart from such problematic research histories. Ultimately, how successful I am in achieving this, is to up to subjective perceptions and debates. To aid my attempt, my outsider position could not be static and unwilling to challenge my own opinions – rather it needed to be open and flexible to change. The longer I was situated in Tōkyō, the more my outsider position was moulded and influenced by the insiders I encountered. Therefore, through insider knowledges taking shape over time within my outsider researcher body, the boundaries between the two blurred; I became a leaky container of insider knowledges, knowledges which I slowly began to filter and analyse, a process which ultimately affected the ways I conducted myself as an outsider. Thus, complexity became a valuable tool to establish a more nuanced and culturally responsive/responsible outsider position.

In light of this, my methodological approach is interested in developing our understanding of the temporal outsider within cross-cultural research, considering how one performs a 'feminist outsider' research identity and what the benefits are in doing so. Not only does this align with feminist approaches to research insofar that it engages with my subjective position through reflexivity; it also, as will be discussed, works to develop and expand the practice of *zooming*.

### *Performing the Feminist Outsider*

In entering a conversation about identity performance, one cannot avoid the pioneering work of Judith Butler. Notably in regard to gender and sexuality, Butler structures identity as something that is done, something performed through expressions and repetitive acts[213]. She makes a distinction between performance and performativity by stating that a performance requires a subject to do the performing, while performativity questions the very notion of a subject, i.e. the subject does not precede performativity but is rather constituted by it[214]. The feminist outsider researcher falls into the former category as the personal subject of the researcher comes before the performance, so much so that the subjectivity of the researcher dictates the performance. Therefore, a research performance is a performance *of* the self as opposed to an autonomous performance being performed *through* the self.

Unlike performativity, which is often unescapable, a research performance, is typically constructed in or around a time-space specific field(s) - it is centred in relation to the politics of location[215]. While a theatre performance relies on the collapse of structured time and environment, the research performance speaks to boundaries, although how flexible these boundaries are can be questioned. To expand, in a similar way to theatre, a research performance emulates impermanence and to an extent relies on its material temporal state, which is made up of specific spatial and sensorial components. This ties it to the realm of the present, which fails to account for the ways the performance may leak beyond its material confines and re-locate into the future. In this sense, it is difficult to conceive of the research performance as ever whole, or complete. Rather, it appears fragmentary and possesses the

212 See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Routledge, 1978). In relation to Japan specifically, anthropologist Dorinne K. Kondo has also engaged with what she calls, Orientalism as an "enduring theme": see Dorinne K. Kondo, *Crafting Selves: power, gender, and discourses of identity in a Japanese workplace* (University of Chicago Press, 1990); Dorrine K. Kondo, "Dorinne Kondo in Interview with Nirmal Puwar", *Fashion Theory*, 7:3-4 (2003), 253-256.

213 Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (Routledge, 1990), p.25; Judith Butler, "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory", *Theatre Journal*, 40:4 (1988), 519-531 (p.519).

214 Judith Butler, "Gender as Performance: An Interview with Judith Butler", *Radical Philosophy: A Journal of Socialist and Feminist Philosophy*, 67 (1994), 32-39 (p.33).

215 Rosi Braidotti and Lisa Regan, "Our Times are Always Out of Joint: Feminist Relational Ethics in and of the World Today: An Interview with Rosi Braidotti", *Women: A Cultural Review*, 28:3 (2017), 171-192 (p.191). For more in-depth work on the politics of location see Braidotti's work on Nomadic Theory.

potential to be ongoing. This is beneficial in regard to transformation, something which is discussed later within this section.

The process of critically theorising performance enables us to investigate what is often concealed or dissimulated[216]. In this case, the feminist politics which underpin my outsider research position. It is also a process of reflexivity, of "opening the way to more radical consciousness"[217] by facing what lies beneath the knowledge we produce[218]. The following three sections both reveal the ingredients of the feminist outsider research performance and consider their affects.

*An Ethic of Care*

Care, as both a methodology and a theory, has been present within feminist scholarship since the 1980s. Scholars such as Carol Gilligan, Joan Tronto and Nel Noddings formulated care as an ethical concern, positing that if care is embedded into our practice of ethics, it has the capacity to generate by-products such as transformation, responsibility, respect, sustainability, and empathy[219]. While an ethic of care is not inherently feminist and should not be conceived as such, the by-products it produces emulate and are useful for a feminist methodological approach; in a similar way to how connections and relationships inform a feminist methodology, relational structures support an ethic of care, often through a framework of those who give care and those who receive it, something which makes it both situated and accountable[220].

Carol Gilligan defines an ethic of care as grounded in voice and relationships; to practice an ethic of care is to acknowledge different voices and actively pay attention, listen and respond[221]. This capacity to listen and respond to voices, specifically those speaking from the position of the insider, was a fundamental aspect of my feminist outsider research performance.

From the viewpoint of ethics, Elizabeth Grosz has asked: "how can I be worthy of the events that await me, how can I enter into events that sweep me up, pre-exist me, or that I cannot control?"[222] – these questions are essential when preparing for fieldwork, a research component which often involves the unexpected and the unplanned. After coming to the realisation that the compulsory institutional ethics procedure of the university has its limitations in so far that it fails to adequately prepare researchers for that which is complex, unplanned and unexpected, building an ethic of care into the feminist outsider research performance was a way of preparing a foundation to rely on during fieldwork. As a result of this labour, my ethic of care is rooted in practice and takes three forms:

Practising Care as a means of communication
Practising Care as a means of occupying public space
Practising Care as a means of producing knowledge

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216 Elin Diamond, "Introduction", in *Performance and Cultural Politics*, ed. by Elin Diamond (Routledge, 1996), pp.1-14 (p.5).
217 Helen Callaway, "Ethnography and Experience: Gender implications in Fieldwork and in Texts", in *Anthropology and Autobiography,* ed. by Judith Okely and Helen Callaway, 1st edition (Routledge, 1992), pp.29-49 (p.33).
218 A pertinent example of feminist reflexivity within the field of Japanese feminist theory and methodologies is Miyazawa Kaoru, "Becoming an Insider and an Outsider in Post-Disaster Fukushima", *Harvard Educational Review*, 88:3 (2018), 334-354.
219 Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice. Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Harvard University Press, 1982); Joan Tronto, *Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care* (Routledge, 1993); Nel Noddings, *Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education* (University of California Press, 1984). This section on care was also informed by Kim Trogal, 'Caring for Space – Ethical Agencies in Contemporary Spatial Practice', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 2012).
220 Rosi Braidotti, *Transposition*s (Polity Press, 2006), p.119.
221 Carol Gilligan, "Interview on June 21st", *ethics of care*, 2011 < https://ethicsofcare.org/carol-gilligan/> [Accessed 15 July 2019].
222 Elizabeth Grosz, *The Incorporeal – Ontology, Ethics, and the Limits of Materialism* (Columbia University Press, 2017), p.151.

Beginning with care as communication; it was practiced from the perspectives of verbal/written language and non-verbal gesture. In regard to language, the research performance was conducted using Japanese, English and a hybrid of the two. In order to pay attention, listen and respond to different voices, care was taken to provide space for voices to materialise. For example, all initial email communication with architects was written in both English and Japanese, allowing individuals to choose their preferred voice. Further, all research documents (information sheet, consent form, ethical compliance agreement) were also written in both languages for clarity. This communication practice continued within the interviews, the details of which are explained thoroughly later in this chapter, by giving participants the option to choose the language they wish to use. If Japanese was chosen, in order to avoid miscommunication, a fluent Japanese interpreter was present. This was one way of providing a more comfortable environment for participants.

Non-verbal gestures as a means of communication were particularly important when visiting the sites of individual *kyōshō jūtaku*. This is something I will discuss in more detail later in the chapter, but for now consider the following examples. When entering neighbourhoods, I came into contact with various urban actors, including housing owners, neighbours, construction workers, recycling collectors - many of whom showed interest in my activity. Non-verbal communication, such as bowing, nodding, waving and smiling, became important signifiers which confirmed that my presence was accepted. In order to perform the feminist outsider ethically in space, care was taken to appropriately respond to every interaction. At times this non-verbal communication was extended through physical objects, which also came to symbolise care. For example, during a site visit when I was drawing in the heat, a nearby restaurant owner came and placed a can of coke next to my chair (figure 6). No language was exchanged, only a smile and a bow. Similarly, another incident saw a neighbour move her umbrella so I could sit in the shade while drawing – again no language was exchanged. As well as cementing the importance of non-verbal exchange as a way of establishing connections, these objects also shifted the framework of care, whereby I became the receiver of care. By practicing care in my initial interactions with these actors, they extended, what Nel Noddings deems, the chain of care[223].

Finally, practicing care as a means of knowledge production is built from responsibility. As the generated data exists only out the generosity of the architects involved, I wanted to make sure to take care not only with their words, but also with their ideas. Care was taken to correctly represent their voices, voices which more often than not travelled through translation. One aspect of this was discussing choices of words, meanings and contexts with the professional interpreter who was present within those interviews conducted in Japanese. This was a way of actively listening to the voices as opposed to passively hearing them and was also, through the production of this thesis, a way of reflexively responding.

223 Noddings, p.46-48.




figure 6.
Coke can as an object of care. Image by author.

*Multivocality*

In conjunction with care, multivocality also became an ingredient for the feminist outsider research performance. Jason Orne and Michael Bell's book *An Invitation to Qualitative Fieldwork* is driven by the notion that to conduct research is to engage with a multiplicity of perspectives, voices, contexts, understandings, explanations, all of which "interplay when we gather evidence, when we write, and when our work is read"[224].

Orne and Bell speak about research having three voices: *They*, *You* and *We*. They posit the *They* voice as the community or group of people who participate in a research study, the *You* voice as the researcher/s and the *We* voice as the audience/s of the work -all three voices uniting to create an "ecology of contexts"[225]. Their central argument concerning voices is that the more *They*, *You* and *We* voices in a research project, the greater potential for development, contestation and constructive challenges.

While this tertiary structure is helpful in identifying who is speaking, it doesn't help to locate how voices speak. As mentioned in the preface, voices materialise in vastly differing ways, speaking through both human and non-human, something Bell and Orne do not explicitly acknowledge. As a result, their framing is a useful starting point when exploring multivocality, but in order to tie it more closely to feminist methodology, there is a need to analyse beyond this initial structure.

First, let us consider the *They* voice. In the *They* category in this research project there are

224 Orne and Bell, p.14.
225 Ibid, p.14, 24.

audible active human voices (researcher, architects, academics, artist), (mostly) quiet passive human voices (neighbourhood actors), (mostly) silent human voices (owners), active non-human voices (houses) and (mostly) passive non-human voices (Tōkyō as an urban environment). As the use of (mostly) indicates, these categories are not always fixed, in reality, there were instances of slippage. For example most of the time neighbourhood actors did not engage with me, but there were a number of times when they did; similarly, while the owners would most often non-verbally acknowledge me, occasionally they would say hello. Critically, and in line with posthuman feminists who posit equal agency among human and non-human[226], this research does not view human voices as more valuable than non-human. Similarly, active voices are not valued more than silent ones. Rather, there is an acknowledgement that the variety of voices equally contribute to knowing.

In relation to the above and the fact that feminist researchers aim to challenge structures of power, there is a need to confront why the voices of the owners were categorised silent. In line with an ethic of care and in order to respect the privacy of owners, I made the decision to not request interviews or meetings with *kyōshō jūtaku* owners. This decision was made in conjunction with my outsider status, Japanese structures of domestic privacy[227], and the fact that I do not speak fluent Japanese - something which would require me to bring another person into the space in order to ensure ethically considerate communication. While some may see the lack of owner voices as a limitation, I view it as an opportunity for a Japanese scholar to continue the project by turning the focus onto owners.

In this project, architects operated as gatekeepers as they contacted owners on my behalf to seek permission for me to visit the exterior sites. This falls in line with the formal structure of Japanese business hierarchy, whereby networked introductions are usually essential to progress[228]. While I had decided that I wouldn't ask for interviews with owners, if they expressed an interest in meeting me through an architect, I felt ethically required to accept. This meant that owners who decided to contact me via their architect, were exercising agency and making the active choice to engage with the research rather than having it imposed on them. This is the distinction between the owners representing a silent voice, as opposed to a marginal voice – the element of choice was present. The majority of owners did not express interest in meeting me, although they were happy for me to know the geographical location of their house, something which incites non-verbal trust. There were three exceptions – in two cases the architects themselves were the owners which meant that interviews were conducted inside the houses, something I discuss in detail later. In the one other case, the set of owners did wish to meet me and wanted me to have a chance to see their house from the inside. Further to these exceptions, and to go back to the ideas around care as communication, there were numerous instances where owners interacted with me non-verbally, after they became aware of my presence on the site (i.e. bowing, nodding, waving, smiling)[229]. Therefore, while owner voices may be (mostly) verbally silent, they had the capacity to express themselves non-verbally which subsequently challenges how we categorise silence. For me as a researcher, this was a lesson in how to listen and pay attention to actions and gestures as they mobilised as critical ways in which people's voices took shape.

Next, we can turn to the *You* voice. In the case of this project, I have three voices: my voice as a subjective person, my voice as a researcher, and my research voice performing the feminist outsider. In the production of social science there is an established and entrenched

226 For example, see the posthumanist work of Rosi Braidotti and Donna Haraway.
227 Daniels, *The Japanese House*, p.19 -20. See also Lebra, p.148.
228 For details as to how formal introductions work in a fieldwork capacity see Theodore C. Bestor, Patricia G. Steinhoff and Victoria Lyon Bestor, "Introduction: Doing Fieldwork in Japan", in *Doing Fieldwork in Japan*, ed. by Theodore C. Bestor, Patricia G. Steinhoff and Victoria Lyon Bestor (University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), pp.1-18 (p.14).
229 To note, all of the owners were informed of my presence on the sites in advance by the architects.

notion that to conduct research is to do so as a whole rational person[230]. This fails to accommodate for the different voices contained within the material body, and how they may at times support or challenge each other. Helpfully, Rosi Braidotti theorises the term 'subjects in process'[231] which can be applied to the figure of the researcher, in the sense that the researcher contains multi-faceted layers of subjectivity (voices), all of which are navigating the process of becoming the researcher; it is not a concrete or fully formed position. An example which demonstrates this occured during a site visit; an elderly man approached me while I was sketching a house and asked if I could come and draw his house too. While my researcher voice, which was focused on the task I needed to complete in order to secure accurate data, was telling me I did not have time, my personal voice and the feminist outsider wanted to listen, respond and demonstrate care. In the end, the latter two voices were louder than the rationality of the researcher voice and I gave time to a task which did not logically contribute to the research. As a result, I drew his house and gave him the drawing. This example serves to demonstrate that the reality of conducting research is such that a whole *You* voice does not exist. Rather, to engage with the *You* voice is to negotiate between voices.

Finally, there is a need to interrogate the *We* voice as it encompasses different voices. While this is beneficial in terms of contestation and knowledge expansion, it is difficult to navigate in regard to knowledge gatekeeping. It is clear that this anglophone thesis with its institutional ties is more accessible to anglophone scholarly voices than to Japanese architectural voices. In other words, not all *We* voices have equal access as knowledge platforms are always dictated by structures of power. One way of combatting these structures was to develop a body of work in conjunction with but not dependent on the written thesis, i.e. the creative practice. As will be explained in the insert, this work is available online via a non-institutional digital platform as a way of increasing accessibility and with an aim of developing new cross-cultural dialogues.

### *Transformation*

Having established the two central ingredients (an ethic of care and multivocality) which made up the feminist outsider research performance in this project, the discussion can now turn to the effects of the performance, both positive and negative. Firstly, to tie it back to the methodological inspiration behind fscp, the feminist outsider research performance was a way of expanding *zooming* by extending its methodological consideration to include who is subjectively *zooming* and how it can be practiced, namely through feminist concepts such as care and multivocality. It is important to understand one's subjective position as this dictates the experience, access and knowledge produced out of the performance. This idea of expanding a methodology, such as *zooming*, arguably holds a connection to what feminist researchers have termed transformation[232]. In other words, to conduct feminist research is to actively transform practice in such a way that it produces tangible affects (either in regard to social change and/or how knowledge is generated and produced). In light of this, in constructing the feminist outsider research position as the foundation for the practice of *zooming*, the latter becomes transformed. The work of Elizabeth Grosz supports this as she argues that,

*Just as material encounters transform materiality, so conceptual encounters, the clash or confirmation of concepts, transform ideality, each adding to and complicating the other [233].*

230 Susie Scott, *Shyness and Society. The Illusion of Competence* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
231 Braidotti and Regan, p.176.
232 See for example Maureen McHugh, "Feminist Qualitative Research: Toward Transformation of Science and Society", in *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*, ed.by Patricia Leavy (Oxford University Press, 2014), pp.137-160; Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber, "Feminist Research: Exploring, Interrogating, and Transforming the Interconnections of Epistemology, Methodology, and Method", in *The Handbook of Feminist Research: Theory and Praxis*, ed. by Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber, 2nd edition (Sage Publications, Inc, 2012), pp.2-27.
233 Grosz, *The Incorporeal*, p.253.

From Grosz's perspective to add to and/or to complicate an idea or concept is to transform it. In line with this, a feminist approach was added to *zooming* which in turn complicates its conceptual grounding; it is no longer methodologically or politically neutral. Also helpful is Rosi Braidotti's theory of "alternative figurations", something she frames as necessary in order for transformation to occur. She constructs figurations as "situated, embedded, and embodied positions" that are then occupied by subjects[234]. As the original figuration for the development of *zooming* stemmed from the architectural practice of Atelier Bow-Wow and was therefore occupied by Japanese insider subjects, my adoption of a feminist outsider position is therefore an "alternative figuration" in that it departs from its subjective roots.

As stated, transformation does not just speak to the conceptual realm. *Zooming* is also a practice and in line with feminist work which steps outside of the self, there is a subsequent need to consider how this feminist transformative performance, as mobilised through care and multivocality, affected those urban actors I encountered. There is no way to be certain that the performance did not unintentionally cause any negative effects, however, through actively conducting and receiving meaningful and caring acts, be it by drawing for an elderly man, waving to owners, reducing noise, sitting under a borrowed umbrella etc., the performance felt like a positive experience for both myself and those I interacted with. By 'felt' I refer to Andrea De Antoni and Emma Cook's discussion into "feeling in the field" during research in Japan. They emphasise that feeling can be an active mode of engagement which helps document the experienced realities of bodies and material environments in a given context. In this way, they term feelings an "affective practice" of being with the field, and a valid way of researching meshed environments[235]. Using their approach as a grounding, these meaningful and caring acts which represent feeling with the field, were ways of practically inciting micro moments of transformation.

*Rigour*

A final issue to raise in regard to the feminist outsider research performance, is the question of rigour when adopting this subjective position. There has been significant debate within feminist research as to how to define and practice rigour given that its foundations are frequently thought to rest on masculine academic discourses[236]. As Damaris Rose points out, while feminist scholars have deemed transparency to be a key criterion for rigorous social research, there are no definitive rules for establishing validity[237]. Hereby, it comes down to how one justifies and constructs rigour through the individual choices made pertaining to the specificities of the project.

With this in mind, I define rigour as something which is formed through two concepts: trustworthiness (as coined by qualitative researchers Lincoln and Gurba[238]) and credibility. While Lincoln and Gurba have a rather rigid and easily contestable set of criteria for trustworthiness, Steinmetz has succinctly summarised its foundations by stating that to generate trustworthiness depends on how one "approaches, collects, analyses, interprets and

234 Rosi Braidotti, *Nomadic Theory - The Portable Rosi Braidotti* (Columbia University Press, 2011), p.13.
235 Andrea De Antoni and Emma E. Cook, "Feeling (with) Japan: affective, sensory and material entanglements in the field", *Asian Anthropology*, 18:3 (2019), 139-153 (p.144).
236 For examples see: Joan Acker, Kate Barry and Joke Esseveld, "Objectivity and Truth: problems in doing feminist research", in *Feminism and Social Change: Bridging Theory and Practice*, ed. by Heidi Gottfried (University of Illinois Press, 1996), pp.60-87; Lorraine Code, "How do we know? Questions of method in feminist practice", in *Changing Methods: Feminists Transforming Practice*, ed. by Sandra D. Burt and Lorraine Code (Broadview Press, 1995), pp.13-44.
237 Damaris Rose, *Revisiting Feminist Research Methodologies: A Working Paper* [electronic] (Status of Women Canada, 2001), p.34-35.
238 Yvonna S. Lincoln and Egon G. Gurba, *Naturalistic Inquiry* (Sage Publications, Inc, 1985).

reports data"[239] so that it is conducted fairly, ethically and accurately[240]. To add to this, I would also posit that a researcher must be honest about the potential weaknesses, biases and subjectivities in their position in order to instigate a good level of trust. Through reflexively engaging with my outsider status and the complexities which are embedded within it, as well as the feminist politics which underpin the status and guide my approach to ethics, I attempt to establish trust within this thesis, not only with my readers but also with my participants. This, however, can be challenging at times. One aspect of trustworthiness that has been difficult to negotiate is that of participants' voices.

Feminist scholars have long been debating whether participants voices should be left unchallenged in feminist research as a way of respecting and centring them or whether voices should be challenged as a way of establishing rigour and criticality. Some statements and concepts which stem directly from my participants are factually or historically incorrect or perpetuate a certain politics around national identity and uniqueness which do not necessarily align with my own position. As a result, it has been difficult to decide whether to allow their opinions to remain intact or challenge them with outsider knowledge. In this thesis, I have decided to try and occupy the in-between – not challenging but accessing with criticality and pointing towards differing perspectives. In doing this, I hope to ascertain credibility (which is fundamentally tied to trustworthiness) while retaining the trust and respect of my participants and hopefully also readers.

In regard to credibility in qualitative research, David Silverman and Amir Marvasti have established a set of useful criteria[241]:

• thinks theoretically and with data.
• develops empirically sound, reliable, and valid findings.
• uses methods that are demonstrably appropriate to the research problem.
• where possible, it contributes to practice and policy.

I have used these criteria as a guiding framework – choosing these over others as they are flexible enough to support the fact that I do not attempt to produce generalisable science (this is discussed further later in this chapter).

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## f(s)cp

*What is important now is to recover our senses. We must learn to see more, to hear more, to feel more* ~ Susan Sontag[242].

Sensory Studies is an inherently transdisciplinary approach to knowledge. Consequently, the range of "sensuous scholarship"[243] across cultures of visual, auditory, smell, taste, touch and

239 Elizabeth Merrick, "An Exploration of Quality in Qualitative Research – Are "Reliability" and "Validity" Relevant?", in *Using Qualitative Methods in Psychology*, ed.by Mary Kopala and Lisa A. Suzuki (Sage Publications, Inc, 1999), pp.25-36.
240 Ann McCormack-Steinmetz, "Doing: introduction; participant observation; what was that question again?", in *Doing Qualitative Research: Circles Within Circles*, ed. by Margaret Anzul et.al (Routledge, 1991), pp.41-105.
241 David Silverman and Amir Marvasti, *Doing qualitative research: a comprehensive guide* (Sage Publications, 2008).
242 Susan Sontag, "Against Interpretation", in *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* by Susan Sontag (Penguin Books Ltd, 2009 [1961]), p.14.
243 This term is taken from Paul Stoller, *Sensuous Scholarship* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997). More recent scholarly examples of sensory studies work include Liz Gunner, *Radio Soundings – South Africa and the Black Modern* (Cambridge University Press, 2019); Daniela Hacke and Paul Musselwhite, *Empire of the Senses – Sensory Practices of Colonialism in Early America* (Brill, 2017); Kelvin E.Y Low and Devorah Kalekin-Fishman (eds), *Senses in Cities – Experiences of Urban Settings* (Routledge, 2018); Barbara Erwine, *Creating Sensory Spaces: The Architecture of the Invisible* (Routledge, 2017).

beyond is plentiful[244]. The approach to the sensory in this project stems specifically from the field of sensory ethnography, whereby the qualitative researcher "self-consciously and reflexively attends to the senses throughout the research process"[245]. Sensory ethnography, which began in the 1990s in the field of anthropology, posits the sensory, not as made up of singular disconnected senses but rather as polysensory. In other words, there is a commitment to acknowledging that a research context is made up of an entanglement of sensory experiences, and to separate them would be to ignore the ways they interact and influence each other. The nature of entanglement means that sensory ethnography is framed as exploratory and experimental, something which, as sensory ethnographer Sarah Pink notes, allows it to be open to multiple ways of inciting new knowledge routes[246].

Sensorial anthropologist David Howes, states that while scientists believe there could be up to 33 senses, Western[247] philosophy and social theory tend to focus on only five, separating them into a hierarchy based on value[248]. Relatedly, Japanese author Tanizaki Jun'ichirō', in his essay *In Praise of Shadows*, engages with what he deems the difference is between Japan's relationship to the senses and that of the West[249]. The essay constructs Japanese people, spaces and objects as interacting with an alternative sensory layer, centred on the notion of *wabi-sabi* or impermanence/transience. Sight, sound, touch, taste and smell are deconstructed into much more complex experiences; the essay alludes to chronoception (the ability to sense the passing of time), thermoception (our sense of environmental temperature) and kinaesthesia (the sense of movement). Tanizaki suggests that a Japanese understanding of space is informed by a deep multi-sensory perception, with no singular component holding more value over another, something which he argues extends beyond western ontological and philosophical understandings. In response to this line of thought, when speaking of the sensory, the research frames the polysensory as an experience which has the potential to encompass more than five possible avenues. Further, all sensory components are considered of equal value.

Establishing the sensory as a mode of enquiry raises the question of why take a sensory approach to this research specifically? Firstly, involving the sensory as a component of the fscp methodology was a way of extending the practice of *zooming* in (by tracing the details of architectural existence which operate outside of design), while at the same time being a unique process of recording the situated time and space of the research context. The polysensory manifests in the entirety of this situated context, one which is made up of the behaviours and experiences of myself as a researcher, the urban environment and the house themselves. Documenting the sensory is thus a way of producing an in-depth understanding of a specific engagement. The word situated is used to make reference to the impermanent nature of any research context. As a result, the involvement of the sensory reflects how this project seeks to produce extendable social science rather than generalisable – that is to say, if the same research was conducted in another space and/or time, it could produce additional sensory territories, as the researchers, times and experiences of space can be different, thus extending our overall knowledge. The word 'could' is emphasised to make clear that it is also possible that very similar data would be generated, difference is not guaranteed. What is, however, is the ability to trace similarities and differences in order to generate intercontextuality. To note, I discuss the role of intercontextuality in the production of social research in more depth in a later section of this chapter.

244 For more information, see the database of "sensory studies", 2020 < http://www.sensorystudies.org> [Accessed 18 June 2019].
245 Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, p.7.
246 Ibid, p.5.
247 To note, Western and Non-Western is Howes's choice of binary, not my own.
248 David Howes, "Introduction: The Revolving Sensorium", in *The Sixth Sense Reader*, ed. by David Howes (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2009), pp. 1-28, (p.22-25).
249 Tanizaki Jun'ichirō, *In Praise of Shadows* (Leete's Island Books, 1977).

Another key reason for involving the sensory was to explore Jane Rendell's concept of a critical imagination (as a way of distributing knowledge) from a new perspective. Rendell speaks about how she employs a critical imagination in her writing by blurring modes of storytelling, remembering, analysing and imagining[250]. Doing this allows her to engage in two positions simultaneously – the critic as outsider and the critic as insider. The outside critic (in this case researcher) remains exterior to the work and as a result can judge and analyse the work as a detached object[251]; however, the inside critic (in this case, the artist) turns towards the emotions, memories and stories which gather inside when they produce the work[252]. The ability to express both is a way of detailing the research experience in more depth and nuance. Rendell primarily focuses on how to express both through writing, notably through her exploration of site-writing[253]. This thesis takes a step further and engages with the sensory (as is detailed later on), by mobilising a critical imagination in both writing and creative practice. This is a way of further exploring the interconnections between artist and researcher. Further, by engaging in the sensory through creativity, the project responds to Paul Stoller's request that sensory ethnographers produce "fresh representational strategies" when exploring the multifaceted textures contained within a polysensory environment[254]. The thesis takes Rendell's concept and applies it directly to the sensory – thus establishing a critical sensory imagination.

*Establishing a Critical Sensory Imagination*

Before going into the details of what it means to establish a critical sensory imagination in this research context, it is first necessary to make clear the philosophical underpinnings of how this project constructs a sensory imagination, as only after that can we understand how it manifests.

Firstly, the construction is based on a critical realist ontology. To clarify, ontology is not based on what we *know* to be true but rather what we *believe* to be true[255]. Therefore, a critical realist ontology, relying on the philosophy of science, rests on the belief that there is a reality which exists independently of our experience and knowledge (epistemology) of it[256]. The work of Andrew Sayer is essential here – notably his critical realist framing of intersubjective intelligibility and practical adequacy[257]. The former refers to the ability to understand and imagine something regardless of our subjective positions – for example, imagine someone was to tell us that they needed to sneeze. We may not know how that person conceives a sneeze, or the cultural and social context in which the sneeze happens, but, as the chemical and physical reactions which occur when this involuntary bodily action takes place is shared by the majority of humanity, it is intersubjectively intelligible enough for us to *imagine* what a sneeze is and/or what it may feel like. Practical adequacy is centred on the notion that "all social constructions of knowledge are fallible and as such knowledge of the social world is limited to providing epistemic gain"[258] – as such, knowledge that is practically adequate in describing the world as opposed to full truth should be sought. If we apply practical adequacy to the image of the sneeze, for us to imagine what a sneeze physically feels like is based on our own bodily

250 Jane Rendell, "Site-Writing: She is Walking About in a Town Which She Does Not Know", *Home Cultures*, 4:2 (2007), 177-199 (p.185).
251 Evidently the object is detached from its means of production but not from the epistemologies that the outside critic brings to the analysis.
252 Ibid, p.186.
253 See Jane Rendell, *Site-Writing: The Architecture of Art Criticism* (IB Tauris, 2006).
254 Stoller, p.116.
255 Danermark and others, *Explaining Society: An Introduction to Critical Realism in the Social Sciences (Critical Realism Interventions)* (Routledge, 2001).
256 For a more in-depth definition see the work of Roy Bhaskar, the philosopher who first introduced critical realism.
257 See Andrew Sayer, *Realism and Social Science* (Sage Publications Ltd, 2000).
258 Stephen Kempster and Ken W. Parry, "Grounded Theory and Leadership Research: A Critical Realist Perspective", *The Leadership Quarterly*, 22 (2011), 106-120 (p.112).

experiences of it – thus, we have developed a plausible imagined reality which in turn translates the act of imagination into practically adequate knowledge. Whether this knowledge is perfect or describes the full objective truth about a sneeze is not neccessarily relevant, what is, is our ability to understand each other to a reasonably good level.

If we think of knowledge production and distribution in this way, that both are fallible in light of new information, a critical sensory imagination as a method of knowledge distribution becomes possible. While the sensory experiences of myself as a researcher, the urban environment and the houses themselves are situated in their cultural and social context, meaning that a reader of the thesis may not know this context, they still have the capability of imagining it. This reflects anthropologist Jamie Coates suggestion that our ability to imagine contexts is something which makes "life liveable and social worlds possible"[259]. In regard to sensory practice specifically, Pink establishes that "the task of the sensory ethnographer is in part to invite her or his reader or audience to imagine themselves into the places of both the ethnographer and the research participants represented"[260]. Thus, through engaging in their own critical sensory imagination, readers can gain intimate knowledge into this research context, which in turn, as Rendell suggests, can lead to a more in-depth understanding.

*The Three Sensory Perspectives*

Having made clear the reasons as to why the sensory was chosen as a methodological component, the section can now turn to the three sensory perspectives: environment, architecture and researcher. To re-emphasise, these three perspectives are not viewed as separate but rather as a part of an intertwining polysensory atmosphere. Beginning by considering the sensory experiences of the environment and the architecture itself, takes us back to the concept of *zooming*. As mentioned in the introduction, AB-W critique those design approaches to architecture which only concentrate on design; approaches which are often solely reliant on the visual sense. *Zooming* to them is therefore an ability to encompass the whole ecology of which architecture sits and is influenced by. Relatedly, architectural anthropologist Marie Stender asks,

*When studying housing, architecture, and urban environments, we might listen carefully to what people say about their houses and built environments, and we might observe how they use and interact with and around them, but how do we approach what the house itself might be doing or saying? Do we know how to interview a house or do fieldwork, not just in, but also among buildings?* [261]

Stender's questioning builds off of the work of Victor Buchli, who in his book *An Anthropology of Architecture*, asks how we might consider the wider sense of a building's materiality and the terms under which dwelling takes place?[262]. In order to begin to locate answers to Stender's and Buchli's questions, there is a need to commit to zoom into architecture and environments in such a way that goes beyond the visual. By taking a polysensory approach to both, their voices become enriched and our knowledge of them widened. To make this commitment, one needs to reconsider the tools one uses to instigate conversations with architecture, spaces and environments. Intrestingly enough,there are a

259 Jamie Coates, "Trust and Other: Recent Directions in Anthropology", *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale*, 27:1 (2019), 100-105 (p.103).
260 Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*, p.49.
261 Marie Stender, "Towards an Architectural Anthropology - What Architects Can Learn from Anthropology and Vice Versa" *Architectural Theory Review*, 21:1 (2017), 27-43 (p.31).
262 Victor Buchli, *An Anthropology of Architecture* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2013), p.179.

number of Japanese architects, both historically and contemporarily, who have taken a polysensory approach when recording the experiences of architecture by engaging with ethnography as a method.

Kon Wajirō, who worked in the early *Showa* period (1926-1989), took a sensory approach to urban life by establishing a school of thought which he called *Kōgengaku* or Modernology. The school promoted an ethnographic style of data collection reminiscent of ethnography and Benjamin's arcades project, inspired by the everyday lives of people and spaces in Tōkyō[263]. After the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, Kon applied this methodological praxis to a material and cultural study of Ginza (a neighbourhood in Tōkyō) which concentrated on how people were adapting to post-disaster housing. His approach began with *rojō kansatsu* or street observation, a process he undertook using a pencil, paper and a camera. Using these tools, he created many highly detailed drawings which relayed the sensory life of the environment and buildings themselves, as well as the everyday realities that residents dealing with the aftermath of disaster were facing at the time. In 1935, he took his praxis outside of Tōkyō to Tōhoku and made a film titled *Onshi-goso to Kashiwagi yama no kioku* (Storage Houses and Memories of Kashiwagi Yama Area), which zoomed into a singular existence of a storage house.

Kon's attention to the polysensory environment allowed him to record a level of detail which created a whole picture of a built structure and its lived environment[264]. He used a range of recording methods which allowed him to interact with his subject on multiple levels and subsequently provided different avenues for the voices of architecture and its environment to speak through. Further, he took a slowed down approach to ethnography by situating himself in an environment in order to build spatial relationships with architecture. For these reasons, I argue that his approach is conductive to a sensory imagination. Importantly, the power of a critical sensory imagination, when informed by critical realist ontology, overcomes geographical, spatial and time specificities. This means that it is possible that it can connect to and inspire new work through its capability of connecting across lines of past, present and future.

What is more, Fujimori Terunobu has made the argument that all contemporary Japanese observational approaches towards architecture have the work of Kon Wajirō as their historical foundation[265]. As a continuation of Kon's work, Fujimori went on to establish the ROJO society in 1986[266] embedding the same situated style of data collection, emulating what Iseki Yu deems a "practical branch of learning, involving describing and recording"(figure 7, figure 8). Whereas Kon only had a notebook, a pencil and a camera – the drawing completed by the ROJO society demonstrates the progression of Japanese architectural ethnography by the wider variety of tools being used (figure 9).

Continuing from the 1980s into contemporary practice, I propose that Atelier Bow-Wow's *zooming* and *behaviorology* approaches further cement the legacy of Kon. The bodily perspective of their architectural praxis is reflected in their highly detailed graphic drawings which show each structural rendering accompanied by annotations which give an insight into both the architectural form and the surrounding site where it is situated.

263 Jilly Traganou and Kuroishi Izumi, eds., *Design and Disaster - Kon Wajiro's Modernologio* (Parsons The New School for Design, 2014).
264 To see Kon's drawings, see Traganou and Kuroishi, 2014.
265 Fujimori Terunobu, "Rojō kansatsu no hata no shita ni [Under the Banner of Street Observation]", in *Rojō kansatsugaku nyūmon [Street Observation Studies Primer],* ed. by Genpei Akasegawa, Terunobu Fujimori, and Shinbo Minami (Chikuma Shōbō,1986), p.6–22.
266 Other members of the ROJO society included Genpei Akasegawa, Shinbo Minami, Jōji Hayashi and Tetsuo Matsuda.




figure 7. Genpei Akasegawa practising with the ROJO Society. Copyright and permission for redistribution given by Fourty-Five journal and Thomas Daniell. “Under the Banner of Street Observation”, 2016 <http://forty-five.com/papers/154> [Accessed 12 August 2019].

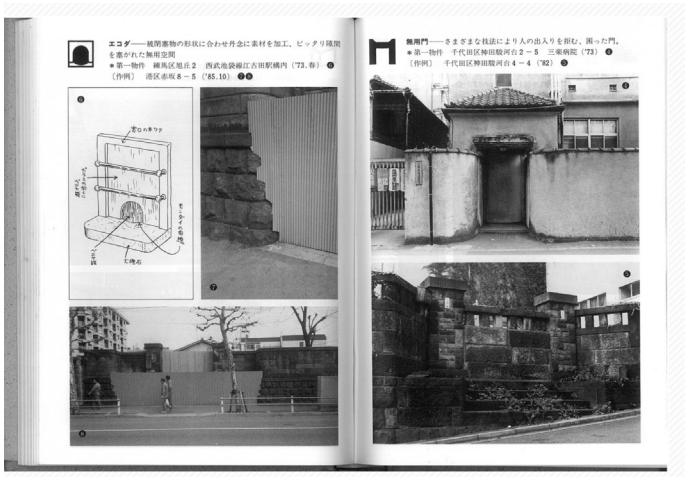

figure 8. Work produced by the ROJO Society. Copyright and permission for redistribution given by Fourty-Five journal and Thomas Daniell. “Under the Banner of Street Observation”, 2016 <http://forty-five.com/papers/154> [Accessed 12 August 2019].




figure 9. Street observation equipment by the ROJO Society. Copyright and permission for redistribution given by Fourty-Five journal and Thomas Daniell. “Under the Banner of Street Observation”, 2016 <http://forty-five.com/papers/154> [Accessed 12 August 2019].

As discussed in AB-W's guidebook *Made in Tokyo*, their methodology is observational: they walk the city and locate new perspectives, taking photos and engaging in “careful drawing”, which allows them, in their words, to see the objects of their study with love[267]. Photographer Homma Takashi argues that it is these drawings which bring their observational photographs to life; it is their combined ethnographic approach which allows them to capture “the living condition of Tokyo”[268]. AB-W argue that perhaps in ten years’ time their guidebook will be outdated as Tōkyō moves and changes so quickly. I however disagree; I think that like the work of Kon and the ROJO society, AB-W's ongoing ethnographic legacy is found, not within their interpretations of individual structures, but within how they provide a model for how to take a situated, caring and sensory approach to building relationships with environments and architectures[269].

Considering this work in relation to Stender and Buchli’s questions leads to the conclusion that in order to interact with environments and architectures in a way that allows them to speak for themselves, two things need to be considered. Firstly, the tools one uses to observe and record need to be varied in order to reflect the polysensory nature of the enquiry. Multiple formats allows for multi-narratives to take shape. For example, whereas a photograph may capture a static moment, it will often fail to document the sense of movement which surrounds it. Secondly, taking a caring slowed approach to the non-human is way of building relationships which incite in-depth engagement. In this chaotic and fluxed world, one has to actively pay attention to the sensory, meaning that researchers need to make the time to do that effectively. This relates explicitly to my feminist researcher performance through care and multivocality; taking time is an act of care and to do so holds more possibility for actively listening to multiple voices.

A final point of discussion into the sensory aspect of the fscp methodology, is the sensory perspective of the researcher. As a way of interacting with my feminist outsider research position and employing my own voice within the many that exist within the research, my own sensory experiences as a researcher were traced when conducting site visits, an ethnographic process which allowed my body to function as a research tool. In order to discuss this effectively, a distinction must be made between the body (as a biological material entity) and embodiment (as a methodological field defined by subjectivity, experience, presence and engagement)[270].

During site visits, sensory experiences engaged with my material body and simultaneously manifested through embedded embodied actions. For example, upon hearing a member of he neighbourhood greet me, I often responded first by bowing – a culturally embodied action within the context of Japan. Embodiment, according to phenomenologist Thomas Csordas, thus represents the experience of being in the world[271], which is why it is often found within ethnographic approaches.

Paul Stoller further argues that,

*Ethnographic embodiment is more than the realisation that our bodily experience gives metaphorical meaning to our experience; it is rather that we too are consumed by the sensual world, that ethnographic things capture us through our bodies, that profound lessons are learnt*[272].

267 Kaijima, Kuroda and Tsukamoto, p.19.
268 Ibid, p.185.
269 For more in depth discussion into this legacy, see Klasto, "Reviewing as a Caring and Creative Practice".
270 Thomas J. Csordas, "Embodiment and Cultural Phenomenology", in *Perspectives on Embodiment – The Intersections of Nature and Culture*, ed. by Gail Weiss and Honi Fern Haber (Routledge, 1999), pp.143-162 (p.145).
271 Ibid, p.150.
272 Stoller, p.23.

In other words, by recording the bodily and embodied sensory experiences of myself as a researcher, ethnographic traces are recorded which contribute to a more in-depth knowledge of this situated context. Further, they work to mobilise a sensory imagination, in the sense that readers can use their own bodies as tools to imagine themselves in the position of the researcher (through the aid of intersubjective intelligibility), which provides a level of engagement which goes beyond purely epistemological understanding. To provide a concrete example, here is an excerpt taken from my fieldnote diary:

*I conduct a second visit to Balcony House on a cloudy grey evening in September. Exiting the busy subway station, the rains starts to drip slow and cold and unlike everyone else in the vicinity, I have forgotten my umbrella. I pause under a shop door and put on my clear poncho; it sticks to my skin uncomfortably. Within the first five minutes of walking, the sky turns from daylight to dark and as I wait at the large intersection for the lights to change; the smell of flowers from the tiny wooden flower shop, which finds itself squeezed in-between two large-scale concrete buildings, is surprisingly sweet and strong. Although Google maps says the final straight road from the intersection to the site will take a 15-minute walk, I know from last time that it only takes 10 - especially as I am moving quickly, avoiding puddles. I walk past a long line of taxis, the drivers leaning against their cars smoking cigarettes under clear plastic umbrellas. I can see and smell the smoke in the rain. One of them nods to me, I nod back. Within 30 seconds of reaching the site, the rain turns torrential. Just off from the main road, the house sits in an Edo style neighbourhood, meaning everything is tightly packed together and there is little shelter close by. I notice a homeless man, accompanied by a bicycle with an array of bags hanging off it, standing under the only visible awning, directly adjacent to Balcony House. He gestures for me to come. He says hello and laughs about the rain, saying the word "Bōfūū" (storm) and pointing up to the sky. There is something strangely intimate about being in a storm with a stranger. We are the only two people here. The house itself is quiet, no lights, it seems like no-one is home. The whiteness of its box body is even brighter when being hit aggressively by heavy rain. The three potted plants which sit outside look both miserable and vulnerable. As we waited, I remember that I had bought a sandwich from the local combini. I offer half to the man, he seems pleased and we eat in silence. I begin taking photographs of the house and scribbling notes on my notepad, the edges of which are damp. I also take out the surround microphone, place it on the floor and press the record button. This is something which seems to vaguely interest the man; as if in response, he stares at the house. After 20 minutes, the rain suddenly, as quickly as it had come, subsides. The man chuckles and says goodbye, bowing and walking off. I gather my things and take some more photographs of the lonely structure. A lady walks past the house with a large blue umbrella, her footsteps interrupt the silence loudly. Everyone else is sensibly inside. I feel closer to the house than I had when I had visited it the first time (sunny midday), where there were lots of people going about their routines. I pack up my things and turn back onto the main road, making my way back to the station.*

The narrative posits my physical body and its embodied practices as a vehicle to relay detailed information about the site visit. The writing leans into my subjective outsider position, providing a snapshot into how ethnographic practice took place in this particular space. Philosopher Watsuji Tetsurō has posited that temporality cannot be considered temporal unless it is seen in conjunction with spatiality[273]. Therefore, through situating the polysensory experiences within space (as opposed to writing solely about the house itself), the writing captures a whole temporal moment, enhanced by the passing of time and the use of the present tense. The critical sensory imagination is drawn on through using the sensory as

273 Yuasa Yasuo, *The Body: Toward an Eastern Mind-Body Theory*, trans. by Nagatomo Shigenori and Thomas Kasulis (State University of New York Press, 1987), p.39.

a way of telling a story and remembering. Importantly, through its critical realist ontological foundation, the critical sensory imagination engages with ethnographic work on the basis that "subjects' own accounts are the starting point but not the end of the research process"[274]. Thus, this account represents a starting point for others to re-imagine, replicate and reframe. By using my material body and embodied experiences as a means of imaginative communication, the urban environment is constructed as a bodily, perceptive and material ecology[275].

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## fs(cp)

In order to gain an understanding as to how creative practice functions within this specific research project context, it is first imperative to know how the concept of creative practice has developed within the realm of academic scholarship.

Creative practice research (sometimes referred to as arts-based research or art-as-research) refers to a process of researching which develops a relationship between practice-making and theory development. It is a process of drawing connections to produce a hybrid complementary and corresponding praxis by which art (in all its forms) is mobilised as a primary way of understanding and examining experience[276]. The researcher becomes artist, entering into intellectual dialogues so the two become indistinguishable. There is a belief that by conducting creative practice, there is a capacity to explore and explain complex theoretical concerns by making initiative intellectual leaps towards new knowledge[277]. Art-based scholar Kathleen Vaughan makes the argument that when art and theory combine, one unlocks the multiplicities of knowledges which they contain, initialising a profound engagement which provokes something new – hence creative practice holds the potential to be transformative[278]. This ability to incite transformation, as explored by art-based theorist Nicholas Davey, demands that art and theory can no longer be viewed in oppositional terms. To unite them, he suggests tracing back the roots of modern theory, to the ancient Greek conception of theoria which stems from the word theoros, meaning participant[279]. Thereby, theoria is as an active process which the researcher participates in, a notion which is particularly fitting when presenting an argument as to why practice is a suitable and dynamic component for theoretical research; it is fundamentally present in its origins.

Despite a growing number of creative practice researchers across disciplines and institutions globally, as well as a significant body of scholarship documenting these processes, creative practice still operates on the margins of the academy, often being dismissed as an unsophisticated knowledge form. Long term advocates of creative practice, Katy Mcleod and Lin Holdridge, have offered a reason for this, suggesting that its style of communication is often emotive, something which does not adhere to the "conventional academic mind" or conform

274 Paul K. Edwards, Joe O'Mahoney and Steve Vincent, "Critical Realism and Ethnography", in *Studying Organizations Using Critical Realism: A Practical Guide*, by Paul K. Edwards, Joe O'Mahoney and Steven Vincent (Oxford University Press, 2014), p.9.
275 Sanne Krogh Groth and Kristine Samson, "Urban Sound Ecologies – An Analytical Approach to Sound Art as Assemblage", *An Interdisciplinary Journal of Sound and Sound Experience*, 3:3 (2013), 95-112 (p.101).
276 Shaun McNiff, "Art Based Research", in *Handbook of the Arts in Qualitative Research*, ed. by J. Gary Knowles and Ardra L. Cole (Sage Publications Ltd, 2008), pp.29-41 (p.29); Stephen Goddard, "A Correspondence Between Practices", in *Practice as Research – Approaches to Creative Arts Enquiry*, ed.by Estelle Barrett and Barbara Bolt (I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2007), pp.113-121 (p.118).
277 Graeme Sullivan, "Making Space: The Purpose and Place of Practice-led Research", in *Practice-Led Research, Research-Led Practice in the Creative Arts*, ed. by Hazel Smith and Roger T. Dean (Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp.41-65 (p.43).
278 Kathleen Vaughan, "Mariposa: The Story of New Work of Research/Creation, Taking Shape, Taking Flight", in *Practice-Led Research, Research-Led Practice in the Creative Arts*, ed. by Hazel Smith and Roger T. Dean (eds), (Edinburgh University Press, 2009), pp.166-186 (p.170).
279 Nicholas Davey, "Art and Theoria", in *Thinking Through Art – Reflections on Art as Research*, ed. by Katy Mcleod and Lin Holdridge (Routledge, 2006), pp. 20-39 (p.20).

to the processes of "comprehensive or stable knowledge"[280]. There are similarities here with how feminist research was initially, and to an extent still is, viewed – as being too emotional, too messy, too uncomfortable and too disruptive. Both feminist scholarship and creative practice, in part because of their subjugated positions, are capable of transforming normative understandings of knowledge – by using innovative approaches which reshape the very essence of what we understand to be knowledge. Practice-based researcher Graeme Sullivan eloquently summarises this by writing that artist-researchers "take us to where we've never been, to see what we've never seen. And then they bring us back and help us look again at what we thought we knew"[281]. Creative practice conceptually, dialectically and materially ruptures the research space by removing the boundary between art and theory.

*Value of Creative Practice*

The question which inevitably arises is how does creative practice add value to the specificities of this research context. Firstly, the transdisciplinary foundations of creative practice mirror the range of disciplines which plurally come together in this project, primarily Architecture, Sensory studies, Urban studies and Philosophy. Creative practice provides an avenue for these disciplines to theoretically merge and combine to produce original research which conveys itself in different forms. When presented in multiple forms, knowledge is no longer consumable in a singular way, which subsequently opens up the potential for impact and further enquiry. Importantly, it takes social science research into both textual and material realms which furthers the potential for multivocal contestations and discussions. Further the theories expressed by the art itself, have the capacity to represent and contain the collective concepts relayed by the multiple voices of fourth generation architects. Alongside this, it simultaneously represents my own voice as a researcher, exemplified through the process of making.

Creative practice can also enhance cross-cultural dialogues, both during the process of conducting the research and in regard to its dissemination. Beginning with the former, scholars such as Cazeaux and Skains have written about how researchers who use creative practice only as an output rather than a process are reducing its potential. Skains argues that when creative practice is utilised effectively, researchers engage in its examination in a more direct and intimate way, by observing, analysing and reflecting on the act of creation[282]. To focus only on the artwork as an end product is to find its value solely in "accordance with criteria which measure contribution to knowledge"[283] which in turn reduces its ability to transform how research is conducted. An explicit example of this can be found later within the chapter when speaking about drawing as a creative method. Drawing the houses via site observation and analysing them both individually prior to conversations with architects and then collectively in interviews, was a continuous process throughout the fieldwork. Had the drawings been done at a later stage of the research, they would have functioned as static data outputs rather than as active material enablers of conversation.

That being said, research still has to be disseminated in order to generate value. In this project, creative practice is used to provide an alternative way of engaging with the research, which does not rely on having to read an institutionally owned anglophone document. When working in a non-anglophone context as this project does, this is particularly important as it opens up the potential for access and instigates communication methods that are not solely reliant on language. This is why it is particularly critical that the thesis and the body of artwork are

280 Katy Mcleod and Lin Holdridge, "Introduction to Part Three", in *Thinking Through Art – Reflections on Art as Research*, ed. by Katy Mcleod and Lin Holdridge (Routledge, 2006), pp.185-189 (p.189).
281 Sullivan, p.62.
282 R.L Skains, "Creative Practice as Research: Discourse on Methodology", in *Media Practice and Education*, 19:1 (2018), pp.82-97 (p.84).
283 Clive Cazeaux, *Art, Research, Philosophy* (Routledge, 2017), p.3.

autonomous – one does not have to read the thesis in order to engage with the art. While a reading of the thesis may offer some contextual and extended theoretical understanding, from the perspective of the art, it is supportive as opposed to compulsory material. The art work can stand alone precisely because it is a product of creative practice, whereby the theories are embedded into the work itself. The online space where the work is documented adapts the scholarly explainations of each art work found in the insert to make them more accessible.

The shift away from the written as a sole method of research communication speaks to another way in which value is produced out of this specific project; creative practice has the capacity to extend both the feminist and sensory components of fscp, something which further unifies and solidifies the methodology. From a feminist perspective, deconstructing what feminist creative researcher Julieanna Preston deems "normative reading practices"[284], is a way of responding to Rosi Braidotti's call for feminist scholarship which "rise(s) to the challenge of (more) conceptual creativity"[285]. By engaging with creative practice as a marginal research approach, the feminist research ethic of a commitment to inquire about how we inquire[286] is mobilised. The inclusion of multiple voices, as spoken about earlier in the chapter, become physicalised through the art work and the role of the outsider becomes layered as both the researcher/maker and the viewer adopt this position.

In a similar way, creative practice embodies a sensory imagination and tangibly interacts with the senses of both the maker/researcher and the viewer. To go back to the philosophy of Watsuji Tetsurō, who advocated for *shinjin ichinyo* or the oneness of the body and the mind, he argued that human experience is only grasped when mind and body process connectively[287]. Through the sensory processes of making and viewing, *shinjin ichinyo* is manifested in space, which in turn can incite a deeper understanding of the information and knowledge being presented.

*Zooming in to Tōkyō: A Discussion with Suzanne Mooney*

Suzanne Mooney is an arts-based researcher who has lived and worked in Tōkyō for over ten years. Currently a lecturer at Tama University of the Arts in the faculty of Art and Design, Mooney's work, primarily photographic practice, engages with the urban landscape by considering how we individually and collectively interact with space and place[288]. She completed her PhD in art practice, a process which saw her build intimate relationships with Tōkyō as a topographical site, and in a way, her approach to creative practice actualises the notion of *zooming* in to the city. During my time in Tōkyō, I interviewed Mooney in order to gain insight into the work of a creative practitioner who explicitly situates herself within the city and to consider the ways her creative approaches could influence my own. Further, Mooney as an outsider to Tōkyō, emulates my own position in this project – her work therefore served as an example and foundation of how an outsider lens can be creatively positioned.

*When I first came to Tōkyō, I was looking for an image of an East Asian City, this kind of sprawling metropolis, and because of that, I started to look up from above. I wanted to leave out a lot of the landmark buildings that would identify the images with Tōkyō, it wasn't specifically about Tōkyō. But then, after living here, other themes have come into my work. The series The Urban Machine came about from not wanting my commute time to be a waste*

284 Julieanna Preston, "Blazing Inter Alia: Tropes of a Feminist Creative Practice", in *Feminist Practices: Interdisciplinary Approaches to Women in Architecture*, ed. by Lori A. Brown (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2011), pp.99-122 (p.99).
285 Braidotti, *Nomadic Theory*, p.229-230.
286 Brooke Ackerly and Jacqui True, *Doing Feminist Research in Political and Social Science* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p.22-23.
287 Yuasa, p.48.
288 For more information see *Suzanne Mooney, 2020* < http://suzannemooney.com> [Accessed 20 June 2019].

*of time. I felt like I needed to be doing something creative at that time. It's really different to my other work and it is 100% influenced by Tōkyō - it's about the act of travelling not to get anywhere but travelling as part of the everyday...you're not really getting anywhere because you're just in the process of moving*[289].

Mooney places significant emphasis on the processes which underpin her work, many of which are intertwined with the experience of being in the city. As she relays, *The Urban Machine* series of photographs (figure 10), is a way of shooting and communicating which mirrors how she is spatially interacting and establishing daily rhythms with Tōkyō.

*The Urban Machine series is deliberately taken with my Iphone. It's a deliberate choice because that's what I have with me always when I'm travelling, it's how I find train routes, it's how I communicate...everything about my commuting life is centred around my phone [….] I was at my studio and I was just on my way home and this crazy rain started - I had an umbrella but I got about half way to the station to shelter under the shop awning -someone on a bicycle had also done the same - and I just took a second to take a look around, it looked amazing and the sound of the rain was incredible. I looked behind me and just the way the light had fallen on this person's silhouette and that was it, I just snapped it* (figure 11)[290].

As this narrative behind the making of the *Koganecho* lightbox work reveals, these creative processes connect to sensory experiences, which can then go on to spark a sensory imagination when engaging with the work. Drawing on the ideas presented in the previous section, this establishes an important thread between maker and viewer, connecting them through imaginary embodiment.

Alongside this formal deconstruction of artist and viewer, Mooney's approach also collapses any boundary between herself as both artist and researcher - making her an exemplary figure of the creative practitioner. Speaking about drawing, she posits that,

*My relationship to drawing is very similar to my relationship to writing - it's about exploring ideas and juxtaposing different motifs or concepts that don't necessarily exist together in the real world - I see it very much as a process*[291].

Here she demonstrates how the imaginary can be present in the both artist and the researcher, serving to bring them closer together in their union; something which takes us back to Jane Rendell's engagement with writing the site and developing "the critical imagination" - both of which employ different modes of communication such as story-telling, remembering and imagining[292]. Importantly, Rendell uses the critical imagination to erase a distinction between researcher (or writer) and artist, acknowledging that a combined approach can offer new critical knowledge on spaces and places. Mooney embeds a critical imagination into her processes, something which is reflected in her final work. One notable example is *Tokyo Summit A* (figure 12).

289 Interview with Suzanne Mooney, artist and researcher, 15th October 2018. Interview conducted in English.
290 Ibid.
291 Ibid.
292 Rendell, "Site-Writing: She is Walking", p.185.



figure 10. Image from *The Urban Machine* series.
Copyright and courtesy of Suzanne Mooney.



figure 11. *Koganecho* Lightbox. Copyright
and courtesy of Suzanne Mooney.

*The light box series of the Tōkyō-scape that I made is called Tokyo Summit A. You can't see the whole city – it's based on the idea that you would have to have multiple images in order to see it all and even if you had those multiple images, you wouldn't really be able to see it all because it would be too small* [293].

When gazing upon this work, only "A" is presented, leaving the rest of the expansive view missing. The viewer is thereby forced to use their imagination in order to ingrain a whole image of Tōkyō within their mind – an image which through its reliance on the imaginary, contains limitless interpretations. By doing this, Mooney's work becomes a vehicle to develop one's own engagement with the city.

Another topic which Mooney contemplates, and one which is later discussed in chapter two, is the impermanence of the Japanese landscape. Uniquely, her entry into her PhD was aligned with one of the biggest Japanese natural disasters in contemporary history,

*After the 2011 earthquake and tsunami, I realised that there is actually something different about the Japanese landscape that I wanted to acknowledge....I started my PhD literally two weeks after....and I started by going up to these observatories (for example, Sunshine City in Ikebukuro) and looking down with this feeling that it might not be there, it could just be gone. For the first time, I started to engage with this idea of impermanence...this temporality and this rebuilding, remaking, destroying as a mean of sustaining.... for the first time it made sense to me* [294].

Through these words, Mooney conveys how creating in the context of Japan, and Tōkyō specifically as a constantly changing urban environment, is accompanied by the potential for loss. For this reason, Rendell's critical imagination with regard to remembering takes on significant importance. Creating allows one to remember and record Tōkyō's processes, while also embedding an imagination for what could be. Having this conversation with Mooney demonstrates how creative practice within this geographical context is not stable, a reality which allows creative practitioners to respond with new theories and artistic expressions, allowing their practice to change in conjunction with the city. Her words about her work and approach speak to a sensory engagement; her tendency to move with the city, to look up, to use transitory experience as a means of artistic communication – all informed my fscp practice. Suzanne's perspectives and work provided me with a valuable practical experience which helped in the selection of my creative tools – notably cementing the value of photography as a means of conveying urban Tōkyō[295].

293 Mooney, 2018.
294 Ibid.
295 This use of photography is discussed within the following methods section.



figure 12. *Tokyo Summit A*
Copyright and courtesy of Suzanne Mooney.

## fscp Methods

Having established how the methodology was constructed and theoretically informed, this section outlines the methods which were mobilised during fieldwork. The discussions of each pays particular attention to the way each relay the fscp framework, as well as how they explicitly relate to and engage with the act of *zooming*.

*Qualitative semi-structured interviews*

The semi-structured interview is commonly defined as "a qualitative data collection strategy in which the researcher asks informants a series of predetermined but open-ended questions"[296]. Interviewing as a data collection method was an appropriate choice, as it allowed access to insider perspectives which could offer expansive, in-depth and original information on *kyōshō jūtaku*. The interview is a way of *zooming* in to knowledge, as it allowed for one-to-one engagement, focusing on the details of each project. In gathering these zoomed details, the houses themselves became more talkable.

The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured style as this was a way of explicitly embedding the feminist component of fscp. From a historical perspective, qualitative interviewing has long been considered a feminist method due to its potential to create collaborative, emotive, ethical, multi-vocal and nuanced experiences for both researcher and interviewee. Psychologist Maureen McHugh considers the practice of feminist interviewing to be "conscious of the relationship between the researcher and the researched"[297] while sociologist Ann Oakley stresses the need for the practice of feminist interviewing to actively engage in the act of mutual listening[298].

Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber's writing on feminist interviewing was a particular useful tool when constructing my approach. She emphasises the need to create space for reflexivity and contestability, defining reflexivity as the ability to take "a critical look inward"[299]. Further she advocates that by being reflexive, feminist interviewers remain mindful. Conducting site visits (the details of which are in the following section), prior to interviews allowed for that generated data, as well as the ideas and opinions formed from it, to be contested by the architects during interviews. In conjunction with this, I was able to practice reflexivity in the interview, by maintaining a flexible environment, which allowed the experience to function more as a conversation. Ideas that emerged as a result of reflecting on contestations had space to take shape because of the semi-structured nature of the interactions. This is something both Orne and Bell endorse, particularly the belief that by co-constructing interviews with your interviewees, you "invite participants to share in the process of the interview", which in turn, can alert "the researcher to important matters she might not have thought to ask"[300]. This established an environment whereby insider and outsider generate a space of mutual listening and co-create meaning(s).

296 "Semi Structured Interview", *Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, 2008, < http://methods.sagepub.com/reference/sage-encyc-qualitative-research-methods/n420.xml> [Accessed 12 May 2019].
297 McHugh, p.150.
298 Ann Oakley, *Experiments in Knowing - Gender and Method in the Social Sciences* (Polity Press,2000), p.47.
299 Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber, "The Practice of Feminist In-Depth Interviewing", in *Feminist Research Practice: A Primer*, ed.by Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber and Patricia Lina Leavy (Sage Publications Inc, 2006), pp.182-232 (p.187).
300 Orne and Bell, p.77.

*Interview Details*

The interview participants for this project consisted of 17 fourth generation architects working in Tōkyō, as well as 2 academics and an artist who also work within this context. Regarding the architects, the process began by emailing 15 studios, explaining the project and the reasons why I wished to interview them[301]. These original 15 studios were selected partly in accordance with a thematic survey conducted on Japan Architect Magazine's issue titled 'Houses by Young Architects and their Works' which was published in 2016 (see figure 5). The themes these studios engaged with in the issue, as well as the way their specific projects and studio ethos's aligned with the pre-designed interview questions (which were structured around the themes of the magazine issue) were the reasons why they were specifically chosen. Out of these 15 firms, five agreed to be interviewed and provide a site visit access to their projects. The other 10 were unable to provide access, either to an interview and/or to a project site, both of which were essential to the success of the research. As a larger pool of participants was needed, the email process was repeated with a further 13 firms[302]. These firms were chosen again in conjunction with the magazine issue but also through discussions - both with those who had agreed to take part in the research and those who could not provide access – who recommended I contact these further firms. Out of these firms nine firms agreed to be interviewed and provide site visit access. Agreements from both the first five firms and the second nine firms were not immediate and were staggered throughout the fieldwork process (over the course of six months), meaning that each architect was added individually to the participant pool.

As I was interviewing people based on predesigned interview questions, after 11 interviews, I began to see that the data was showing overlaps and similarities, in that answers had begun to repeat themselves. Up until this point, I had been continuing to contact firms for their participation in the project, based on names I was being told may be of interest; each one of these firms were unable to provide both the interview and site visit access. Given this and no-access repetition, I made the decision to stop contacting firms and concentrate more in-depth on the participants (14 studios, 17 architects[303]) who were already involved. Of course, it is possible that had I kept contacting, a firm may have agreed to give full access and that may have produced new data. Similarly, it is equally questionable whether anything new in relation to the already agreed upon research questions , would also have arisen. Therefore, it is important to reiterate, that this project does not represent comprehensive and generalisable social science and as a result, in line with Virgina Braun and Victoria Clarke[304], it does not use the word saturation to describe the data. Saturation creates the illusion that data is final and complete, something which fails to provide for extendable science, whereby the research can be continued and added to[305].

All interviews took place between August-October 2018 in Tōkyō and architects were given the choice as to where their interview took place. Nine interviews were held within architectural studios, three interviews took place within the houses themselves, one interview took place at

301 The original 15 studios contacted were TNA Architects, Junpei Nousaku Architect, Koji Aoki Architects, Kino Architects, Takuro Yamoto Architects, Takahashi Ippei Office, Airscape Architects, Kochi Architect's Studio, Atelier Kukka, Motoki Ishikawa Architect + Associates, Mount Fuji Architects, Mamm Design, SUEP, MiCo, Studio Battery. The second batch of firms emailed were Atelier Hako Architects, Takeshi Hosaka Architects, Ikeda Yukie Architects, FT Architects, Tomomi Kito Architect & Associates, ICADA, Unemori Architects, Sugawaradaisuke Architects, Ashida Architect + Associates, Chop+Archi, No.555, Niji Architects, CHIDA Architects.

302 The second batch of firms emailed were Atelier Hako Architects, Takeshi Hosaka Architects, Ikeda Yukie Architects, FT Architects, Tomomi Kito Architect & Associates, ICADA, Unemori Architects, Sugawaradaisuke Architects, Ashida Architect + Associates, Chop+Archi, No.555, Niji Architects, CHIDA Architects.

303 The reason for a larger number of architects than studios were that some studios are co-led.

304 To note, a recent paper by Virigina Braun and Victoria Clarke argues that saturation in qualitative research which uses reflexive thematic analysis (as this one does, see p.78) should not be a requirement as "data saturation is not a particularly useful, or indeed theoretically coherent concept" (p.12). See Virigina Braun and Victoria Clarke, "To Saturate or not to Saturate? Questioning data saturation as a useful concept for thematic analysis and sample-size rationales", *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, [online] 2019, 1-16.

305 Orne and Bell, p.57-60.

the School of Architecture at Waseda University where I was positioned as a Visiting Researcher, and one interview took place at a cafe close by to the firm's central office. All interviews lasted from 40 to 110 minutes. All participants were sent their interview questions in advance, a customary practice within Japan, and could email any questions before or after the interview. Each participant received ten general questions[306], with a further four-six individualised questions based on the specific *kyōshō jūtaku* that was visited (see Appendix B).

All initial emails sent to participants contained six attachments (three in English and three in Japanese): two information sheets about the research, two consent forms and two confidentiality agreements (see Appendix C). In order to take part in the research, participants needed to sign the consent forms in order to make sure the research was compliant to the University of Sheffield's ethics approval (see Appendix D). Participants could either email their signed consent forms, or they could sign a printed copy before the interview. Out of the 14 interviews, 10 were conducted in Japanese and four in English. For the Japanese interviews, I was accompanied by a professional interpreter. Prior to the interviews taking place, I met with her to discuss the project in order to ensure she was aware of not only specific architectural vocabulary but also the type of data we would be generating[307].

*Site Visits*

To ensure situated specificity within this research and to support the data generated within the interviews, one *kyōshō jūtaku* project completed by each studio was chosen as a topological site of enquiry[308]. By visiting these individual houses, the physical results of each design could be examined. Further, it was a way of testing how each design functions within the reality of its urban environment. Considering the visits collectively allowed wider theoretical arguments to be conceived; similarities and differences could subsequently be constructed between each fourth-generation structure.

In constructing the foundations of the site visits, i.e. how would they transpire and what would I be looking to gain from them, I began by considering them in relation to *zooming*. Earlier in chapter one, three questions were posed: who can zoom? Can one zoom ethically? Can *zooming* represent transformation or acts of becoming? In *Empire of Signs*, Roland Barthes states that Tōkyō "can be known only […] by walking, by sight, by habit, by experience"[309] – a general statement which fails to take into account who is doing the experiencing. Urban anthropologist Jamie Coates makes an important point in regard to urban mobility, arguing that one's position dictates the possibility of access to urban spaces[310] – meaning that some people occupy markers which allow or disallow them these experiences Barthes notes.

On the one hand, my white female body allowed for easy mobilisation within non-tourist neighbourhoods as neither markers typically have threating associations within the context of Japan. Critical ethnographer Anima Adjepong writes in her article *Invading Ethnography*, that when foreigners invade a space, they interact with pre-existing hierarchies of belonging[311]. In Tōkyō specifically, the white expat community is extensive and well established, meaning that while both my whiteness and femaleness is representative of difference, this difference isn't necessarily considered a negative disruption. At no point during the period of six months when the site visits took place was I made aware that my presence in these spaces was unwanted or

306 These general questions given to all participants was a way of maintaining rigour within the interview method.
307 For more reflection on the intepretation process, see the conclusion.
308 One site was chosen for each in order to honour the slowed down approach to architectural research. One project allowed me to establish meaningful connections from multiple visits.
309 Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs*, 2nd edition, (Hill and Wang, 1983), p.35-36.
310 Jamie Coates, "Key Figure of Mobility: the Flâneur", *Social Anthropology*, 25:1 (2017), 28-41 (p.38).
311 Anima Adjepong, "Invading Ethnography: A queer of color reflexive practice", *Ethnography*, 20:1 (2019), 27-46 (p.29).

a cause of concern. Rather, I had many positive experiences within these spaces, including chatting with local members of the community, being offered food, drinks, umbrellas and shelter by local business owners, receiving non-verbal signs of acceptance including nodding, bowing and waving from both passers-by and owners of the houses. Negative interactions such as being followed and confronted, which happens to other bodies in Tōkyō[312] , did not occur. However, it is neccessary to point out that during a site visit to *A House for 4 Generations*, awareness of my body was heightened as people showed great interest in my presence, which caused people to look out of their windows, stare and address their neighbours. While I do not know if this was suspicion or mere curiosity, I made the decision to leave the space, as it felt like my body was functioning as a disrupter of everyday life which undermines the overarching aim of the fscp methodology which is to observe the natural state of the site. Making the decision to leave interacts with the second line of enquiry which questions whether one can zoom ethically. This explicitly relates to the feminist component of fscp, notably the concept of care which was discussed previously. In this project, actively implementing a feminist ethical way of being involved taking care in space and being aware of the outsider position. In the research context, this translated into acts such as being aware of the times of day visiting as to least disturb the neighbourhood, being aware of making noise, being aware of respecting the privacy of occupants, and being aware of which methods of recording were appropriate for individual scenarios. Had these examples of care not been embedded into the research practice, negative interactions which were previously noted as not having occurred, could have. This ties together the first and second questions suggesting that who can have access to zoom, in this case specifically, is influenced by ethical engagement.

The third question, regarding the possibility of transformation or becoming, relates to the unplanned nature of the site visits and their engagement with impermanence. Building off the work of architectural scholars Carolyn Butterworth and Sam Vardy, who question the controlled nature of the architectural site survey, the site visit method for this research moves away from object-focused research to exploring processes.

Butterworth and Vardy posit that creative approaches towards the site can generate an experimental, open-ended, performative context of territory, which does not follow a pre-determined pattern[313]. This belief underpins my site visit approach - influencing what I was attempting to capture and hereby dictating the creative methods used. The site visits aimed to zoom in on the micro processes which were occurring in and around the houses, particularly emphaising the sensory. By immersing oneself in the site, it was possible to view transformations – be it urban macro ones such as large-scale neighbourhood construction, or small-scale moments of change such as the effects of weather and the behaviours of individual actors on each site. The site visits allowed each house to be given a voice within the thesis, giving them valuable presence; even if those voices were silent, they spoke in many other ways by mobilising the different senses. Experiencing the site in its natural everyday state was an essential way of building relationships with structures in situated space, relationships which influenced the theoretical arguments presented in later chapters. Further, having the ability to discuss houses on an intimate level proved to be a tool which instigated a platform of knowledge sharing with architects, who were interested in discussing my experiences as an outsider on the site. Furthermore, the element of the unknown resulted in the necessity for a range of creative methods which could record the various events in different yet mutually supporting ways. Butterworth and Vardy place emphasis on the need for experimentation in order to capture these processes in new and insightful ways. As the following section relays,

312 Scholarly examples which discuss racist/xenophobic exclusion within Tōkyō include: Iwabuchi Koichi, “Lost in Translation: Tokyo and the urban imaginary in the era of globalization”, *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 9:4 (2008), 543-556; Jamie Coates, “The Cruel Optimism of Mobility: aspiration, belonging and the “good life” among transnational Chinese migrants in Tokyo”, *positions*, 27:3 (2019), 469-497.
313 Carolyn Butterworth and Sam Vardy, "Site-Seeing: Constructing the 'Creative Survey'", *Field*, 2:1 (2008), 125-138 (p.127-128).

the creative methods as a collective were employed as an experiment, each having its own strengths and weaknesses which were negotiated with on the site itself.

*Site Visit Details*

There were two topological criteria for the selection of each house. One, they had to have a plot size of 100 sqm or under and a construction size of less, in order to qualify as a *kyōshō jūtaku*. Two, they had to be located in Tōkyō. The houses chosen for the project were selected after surveying the portfolios of each studio and locating the houses which fit this criterion. As mentioned with the introduction, each participant confirmed their size requirements for *kyōshō jūtaku*, either within the interview itself, or later during member checks. These member checks were conducted via email in order to clarify each architect's opinion on this topic. To note, two out of the 14 projects visited (*House for 4 Generations* and *A House in Tsukishima*) were interior renovation projects as opposed to new exterior builds. I was initially unsure whether to select these projects, but, the decision to include them was later made for two reasons. Firstly, both projects shed new light on both the *uchi - soto* (inside-outside) boundary and smallness (see chapter three). Further, as mentioned in the introduction, Unemori Hiroyuki of Unemori Architects raised a pertinent argument within his interview, by stating that housing in Tōkyō is now heading more towards renovation projects as opposed to new builds, largely as response to Japan's population decrease which has resulted in too many houses for the number of people. It was therefore beneficial to include the two post-2015 projects, as they perhaps reveal how small housing is currently developing in Tōkyō.

As well as having a feminist methodological foundation, the site visits also embedded the sensory component of fscp. The process of visiting each site subscribed to a slowed down approach to architectural research; it took time to immerse oneself in the space and allow sensory experiences to be documented. As previously detailed, sensory experiences were examined from three perspectives: the perspective of the researcher, the perspective of the house, and the perspective of the urban environment surrounding the structure. To explain further, sensory experiences I had when at the site were recorded, including specific things touched, tasted, spoken, heard. Similarly, sensory elements relayed by the structure itself – for example movement in and out of the house, sounds and smells which leaked from the interiors – were also documented. Finally, the urban activity was noted as a way of situating the structure within its place context. While for the purpose of writing, these three can be detached from each other, in reality they were intertwined and often simultaneous.

As is detailed in the following section, the methods used to capture these sensorial experiences link directly to the creative practice aspect of the fscp methodology. Photographs, fieldnotes, drawings and soundscapes were collected at each site during unplanned different times of day.

*Photography*

From both domestic and international perspectives, photography is a common way of showcasing *kyōshō jūtaku*. These photos are taken from the insider perspective of both architect and occupant and from the outsider popular culture media perspective.

The insider perspectives are commonly taken for the pages of websites, portfolios and books; or for design and interiors magazines whereby the occupant allows their house, and to a

certain extent their lifestyle, to be captured. In both of these cases, the photographs are extremely styled, often intent on capturing the minimal decor, the detailed aesthetics of the architectural design or the design objects effortlessly positioned to give the reader a very specific reading of life within these small structures. Due to this context, this project implements an alternative approach to architectural photography; focusing on the everyday interactions which occur in the neighbourhoods they are situated in, paying attention to the small signs of daily activity and how they relate to the urban community around them.

Coming from the position of the outsider, inspiration was taken from the work of French photographer Jérémie Souteyrat, whose book *tokyo no ie*, reveals itself as a photo-documentation of Tōkyō's *kyōshō jūtaku*. Souteyrat has a very similar aim, as he works towards setting these houses in context while considering their surroundings. He wants to capture the relationship between the house and the human, arguing that his work "reconcile(s) the underlying humanity of urban photography with the rigor of the architectural image"[314]. Therefore, each carefully curated image features a human in a sort of everyday conversation with each house (figure 13). The photographs taken for this project do not capture the human in this way; rather they instead create an architectural context by focusing on the everyday sensory micro expressions of the houses themselves. The images are less carefully curated artworks and more snapshots of reality in a fieldwork context, something which contrasts Souteyrat's high resolution and polished framings.



314 Jérémie Souteyrat, *tokyo no ie* (Seihensha, 2017), p.3.



figure 13. 1st image: "Tokyo, November 10 2010 - *A house* by Hiroyuki Fukuyama architects" / © Jérémie Souteyrat assisted by Bruno Belec, from the *tokyo no ie* (Tokyo Houses) series. 2nd image:"Tokyo, May 30 2013 - *A life with large opening* by ondesign" / © Jérémie Souteyrat, from the *tokyo no ie* (Tokyo Houses) series

As the sensory was a methodological driver in how the photographs were captured, the images for this research paid particular attention to multisensory experiences, concentrating on light, movement and the results of different weather conditions. The work of Japanese photographer Hatakeyama Naoya shows how this is possible; his *Slow Glass/ Tokyo* series show him *zooming* in to the city through raindrops which have built up on his lens (figure 14). The results are beautiful light distortions, which are obscured behind an intense sensory layer of water. This body of work was a reminder to watch for the way that even the tiniest raindrop can become a micro portal to another way of seeing.

The photographs taken for this project, which are located throughout the following chapters, are different to both Souteyrat's and Hatakeyama's static photographic setups. Shooting while walking creates a more candid snapshot approach which further supports the temporal sensory existence. This ties explicitly to Suzanne Mooney's approach in her *Urban Machine* series, whereby her method of photographic communication reflects how she interacts with the city on an everyday level. Relatedly, walking ethnographer Cristina Moretti speaks eloquently about how walking can support artistic practices[315]. She argues that walking is an imaginative practice through the way it inhabits, researches and represents everyday realities; helping us learn situated locales by encouraging us to think about particular

315 There is large body of literature which engages with walking as an artistic practice –three widely cited examples include: Francesco Careri, Walkscapes: *Walking as an Aesthetic Practice* (Gustavo Gili, 2001); Michel de Certeau, "Walking in the City", in T*he Practice of Everyday Life,* by Michel de Certeau (University of California Press, 1988), pp. 90-221; Guy-Ernest Debord, "Theory of the Dérive", *Les Lèvres Nues*, no.9 (1956), pp. (unknown). Other less well cited examples include: Simone Hancox, "Contemporary Walking Practices and the Situationist International: The Politics of Perambulating the Boundaries between Art and Life", *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 22:2 (2012), pp.237-250; Ernesto Pujol, *Walking Art Practice: Reflections on Socially Engaged Paths* (Triarchy Press, 2018).

perspectives through our bodies[316]. Walking through the neighbourhoods of Tōkyō, locating each house on foot, incited a creative imagination. My presence on the ground instigated sensory communication and connection with people and objects; my camera operating as a vital tool to record. This theoretical construction is re-enforced by visual ethnographer Sarah Pink who has also worked with photography. Framing photographs as objects "produced and consumed as we move through environments", she argues that photography is a creative embodied action which "involves understanding the sensoriality of images as something that is generated through their interrelatedness with both the persons they move with and the environments they move through and are part of"[317].



figure 14. ""Slow Glass / Tokyo #048" 2006
C-print, mounted on aluminum
90 x 60 cm © Naoya Hatakeyama / Courtesy of Taka Ishii Gallery, Tokyo

316 Cristina Moretti, "Walking", in *A Different Kind of Ethnography - Imaginative Practices and Creative Methodologies*, ed. by Denielle Elliott and Dara Culhane (University of Toronto Press, 2017), pp.91-111 (p.93).
317 Sarah Pink, "Sensory Digital Photography: re-thinking 'moving' and the image", *Visual Studies*, 26:1 (2011), 4-13 (p.4).

An important visual example of this use of engaged bodily walking photography for this project specifically is Kusama Yayoi's *Walking Piece* of 1966. The piece is comprised of 25 stills of a young Kusama walking the streets of New York City dressed in a vibrant pink *kimono* and holding a *wagasa* (traditional umbrella)[318]. Not only does the piece engage with how photography interacts with and physically reproduces transitory environments through perspectives and blurred figurations, but it also actively reflects on outsiderness. In this case Kusama herself becomes the walking image of the outsider as she negotiates her identity within an unfamiliar place. This connects to my own process of walking through unfamiliar neighbourhoods in Tōkyō and reflecting on the ways in which my interconnected imagination and sensory body were influenced by my position as an outsider. While Kusama is the object photographed, I was the photographer behind the lens– meaning that I had to pay attention to what urban activities I was drawn to capture and the reasons which underpinned those choices. Kusama's piece makes clear that walking is not a neutral act, we walk as subjective individuals which alters the way in which we look and reproduce the environments we experience.

### *Fieldnotes*

For this project, fieldnotes are extensive recordings of specific events which occured during fieldwork. They are observational writings which aim to document the event exactly how it was experienced, noting objective occurrences as well as subjective ones. Fieldnotes were taken during every *kyōshō jūtaku* site visit (see Appendix E for examples) in order to produce a record of urban activity. By writing fieldnotes, the experiences of each site were detailed, making it an easier task to discuss the wider urban framework with architects in interviews and within the thesis writing process. As well as emulating accuracy, they also paid attention to sensory details, drawing them out and analysing their effects.

The majority of all fieldnotes were written during the site visits themselves, as I was most often alone and had ample time to make space for the act of writing. Sometimes however, the site was not always an appropriate space to write, particularly if neighbours had noticed my presence. Other times, weather conditions (notably thunderstorms!) made writing without shelter a near impossibility. Therefore, in these instances, I wrote down jottings, something which Orne and Bell define as "quick ideas that can be noted during a participant observation"[319], which can later be expanded on and make complete in the fieldnotes. Emerson, Fretz and Shaw in their helpful text *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*, stress the importance of writing full fieldnotes as soon as possible after the day's (or night's) research is done as doing this produces fresher, more detailed recollections[320]. This is particularly pertinent when documenting sensory details as they often materialise as small moments which are easily forgotten. Therefore, all fieldnotes were written on the same day at the site visit, in order to ensure accuracy and rigour.

### *Drawing*

Drawing has long been an important tool for insiders who have been designing and constructing *kyōshō jūtaku*. Architects such as Yoshizaka Takamasa, Kikutake Kiyonori,

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318 These stills can be viewed here: "Yayoi Kusama: Walking Piece, 1966 & Kusama's Self Obliteration, 1967", *Sammlung Goetz Filmbox*, 2003 < https://www.sammlung-goetz.de/en/Exhibitions/past/2003/Yayoi_Kusama.htm> [Accessed 14 September 2019].
319 Orne and Bell, p.107-108.
320 Robert M. Emerson and others, *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*, 2nd Edition, (The University of Chicago Press, 2011), p.49.

Watanabe Yōji, Azuma Takamitsu and Suzuki Ryōji set an example for the fourth generation by showcasing how illustrations could not only contribute towards innovation in design but also how they can be framed as works of art in their own right.

During the process of initial research on each architectural studio, it became clear that a number of architects demonstrated a tendency to draw their ideas. During an interview with co-led studio FT Architects, architect Tominaga Hiroko relayed the value of drawing to her practice.

*For me, drawing is a way of knowing and understanding deeply the building and the site. When am looking for inspiration, I watch buildings very carefully, so I can understand the subtleties. I use the style of manga when I draw, because it tells a story and I can communicate an atmosphere of a building - it helps to showcase the experience of the space. Drawing makes the architecture feel more alive* [321].

This way of framing drawing as a tool to achieve in-depth understanding of a context, relates to the work of drawing ethnographer Andrew Causey.

Causey's approach to scholarship has been influential in how this project cites drawing as a valid method of social science knowledge production. Particularly, his belief that drawing can enable one to see deeply, which in turn helps researchers write evocatively and engagingly to convince readers of the clarity of what was witnessed[322]. Drawings can supplement the didactic preciseness of writing, while providing the human touch which is absent from photography[323].

In part due to the desire of continuing the history of drawing within the context of the *kyōshō jūtaku*, and having engaged in Causey's work, the decision was made to spend time drawing during each site visit. Each house was drawn in detail as a way of getting to know each structure intimately. Each drawing was simulatenously annotated with sensory observations in order to make each situated to urban context (see Appendix E for examples). Many hours were spent carefully looking, a process which, as previously mentioned, speaks to the value of slowed down architectural research. It is only by taking time within space that both sensory and structural details can emerge. In this way, slow *zooming* took form.

The process of drawing also connected to the aspect of feminist care present within the application of fscp. It was not always appropriate and sensitive to take photographs in certain times and spaces, particularly as the lens of a camera can be construed by some as an intrusive and/or suspicious object. Therefore, having a sketchbook and a pencil, as quiet and non-invasive tools, was an ethical necessity. Further, they were means of initiating conversations. Many people within the neighbours stopped and talked to me as I sat and drew the houses; most were surprised, and the majority were keen to observe the houses and take an interest in them. Drawing thus functioned as a mediator between the house and its neighbourly onlookers: it brought them into conversation. This ties to the multi-vocal nature of the thesis, as voices which may have been silent suddenly had the capacity to become active. In this case, drawing went beyond the realm of imagination and actively connected human and non-human in physical space.

The drawings were not just a way of communicating with urban actors on the sites themselves, they also proved to be essential ways to draw out new knowledge from the architects. Additionally, the drawings proved to be a way of ensuring triangulation, as well as

321 Interview with Fukushima Katsuya and Tominaga Hiroko, co-founders of FT Architects, 25th September 2018. Translated from Japanese.
322 Andrew Causey, *Drawn to See - Drawing as an Ethnographic Method* (University of Toronto Press, 2017), p.16.
323 Ibid, p.36.

encouraging contestation and differing viewpoints. The element of care also emerged as the drawings acted as signifiers, informing the architects that their work was valued; spending time drawing on the site was considered by all architects as an act of appreciation and care.

As well as showing architects my own drawings as a way of generating conversation, each studio was also asked to draw their own image of their *kyōshō jūtaku project* (drawings which are found in later chapters). This took inspiration from the work of artist Ami Sioux, whose book *Tokyo 35°N*, shows her asking different people to draw their own individual maps of their favourite places throughout the city (figure 15, 16). Sioux writes that the hand drawn illustrations, which differ greatly in style and form, intimately guided her into the imaginary of the map-maker[324]. Just as the results found within the book vary, the results generated from each architect were similarly contrasting. Interestingly, nearly all the architects drew silently, the only audible sounds being the pen marking the paper. The pen itself became a voice, relaying the creative process behind each structure.

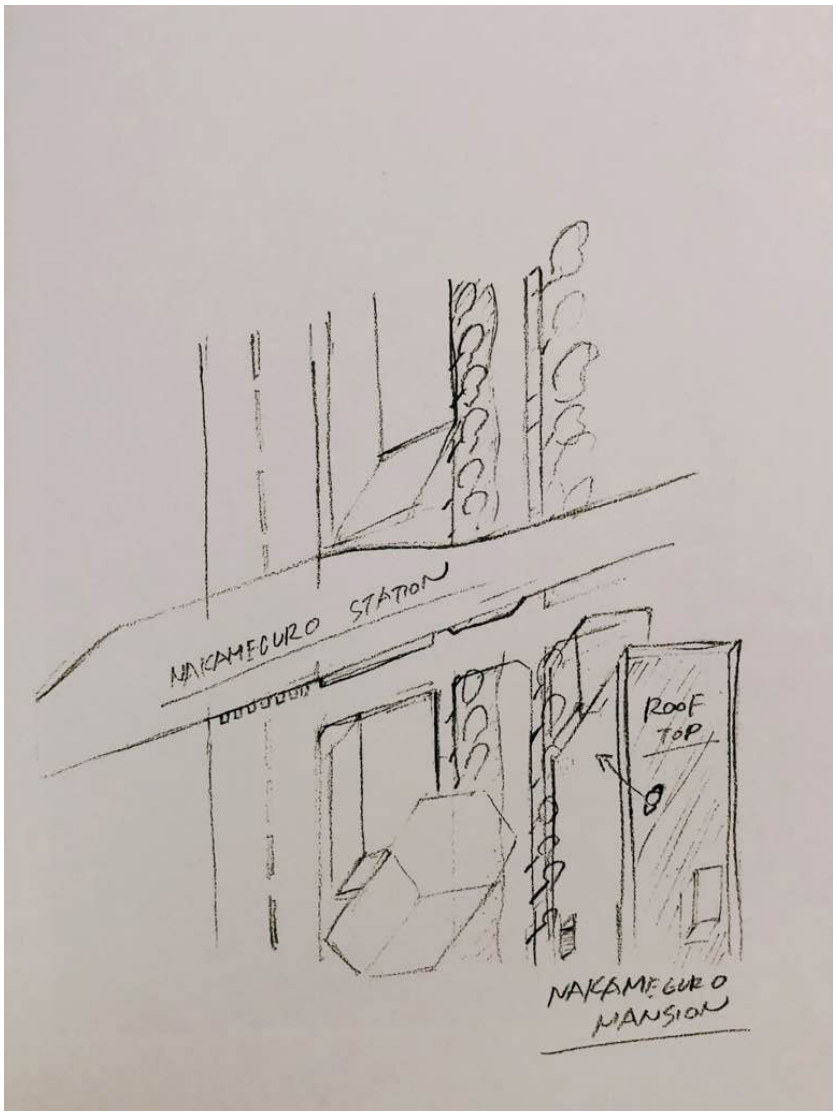


figure 15. Map
taken from Ami Sioux's
*Tokyo 35° N*. Image courtesy and
copyright of Ami Sioux.

324 Amy Sioux, *Tokyo 35 ° N* (Editions OK Fred, 2017), p.3.

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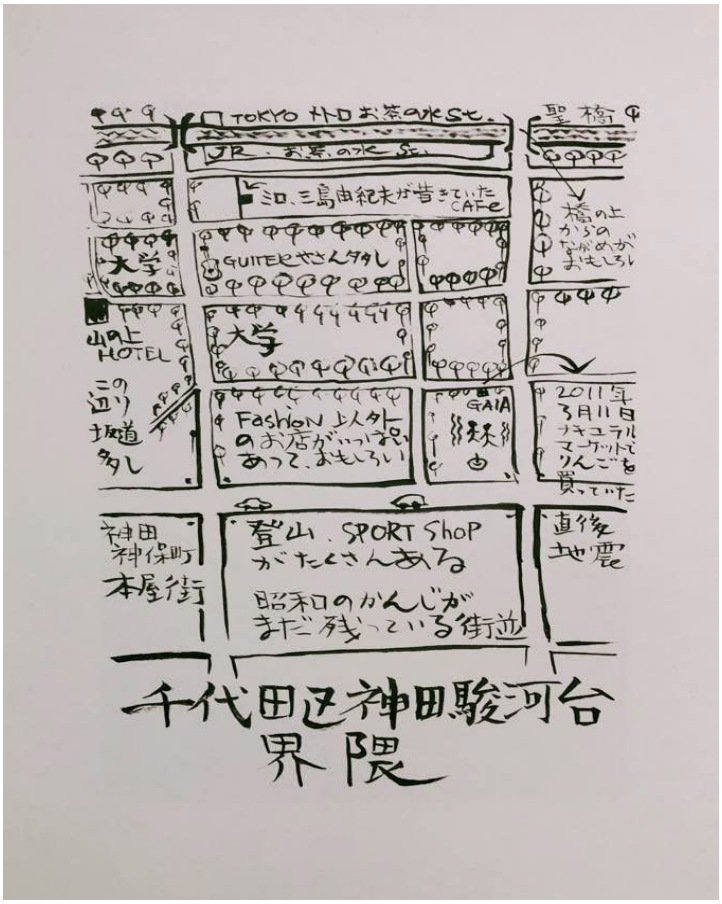


figure 16. Map taken from Ami Sioux's *Tokyo 35° N.* Image courtesy and copyright of Ami Sioux.

*Soundscapes*

The final method used was soundscapes. They were chosen in order to present a contrasting sensory data set to the visuality of the photographs and drawings. According to soundscape pioneer Raymond Murray Schafer, soundscapes are records of events that have taken place within our sonic environments[325]; they are outputs of sonic practice which investigate how meanings of spatial contexts are created and supported by the sounds they produce[326]. Lorraine Plaude, whose work considers the relationship between sound and noise within the context of Tōkyō, argues that if we learn to engage with the process of listening fully, sounds can work to reveal social and cultural meaning[327]. It is therefore an active engagement, and, by utilising our bodies for its production, requires full sensory engagement as opposed to a sole reliance on the auditory. Listening is evidently a subjective act, something which reinforces the fact that this research is not aiming to generate generalisable science, rather the soundscapes recorded are representative of its aim to produce situated, specific and extendable data.

During site visits, the sounds present at different points of each site were recorded with a surround microphone. Sound scholar Alexandrine Boudreault-Fournier believes that the act of recording involves careful attention, as it is fundamentally about sensing the visual and sonic details that one wishes to collect[328]. In a similar way to the act of drawing, recording sound is

325 Raymond Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape* (Destiny Books, 1993), p.7.
326 Joseph D. Hankins and Carolyn S. Stevens, "Introduction", in *Sound Space and Sociality in Modern Japan*, ed. by Joseph D. Hankins and Carolyn S. Stevens (Routledge, 2013), pp.1-19 (p.14,19).
327 Lorraine Plourde, "Distraction, Noise and Ambient Sounds in Tokyo", in *Sound Space and Sociality in Modern Japan*, ed. by Joseph D. Hankins and Carolyn S. Stevens (Routledge, 2013), pp.71-88 (p.75, 88).
328 Alexandrine Boudreault-Fournier, “Recording and Editing” in *A Different Kind of Ethnography - Imaginative Practices and Creative Methodologies*, by Denielle Elliott and Dara Culhane (eds), (University of Toronto Press, 2017), p.79.

about generating a deep understanding of the environment in which you are situated - therefore binding it to the act of *zooming*.

To relate Boudereault-Fornier's concept of collecting details to this project, when visiting *Balcony House*, I began by walking around the perimeter of the house with the surround microphone. My attention when creating the soundscape was focused on the sounds of a nearby construction site, by which its audible presence indicated the neighbourhood to be engaging in a moment of transformation. However, when listening back to what was captured and isolating the frame taken outside the house's central window, the consistent cries of an infant are audible. This sound detail reveals more about the make-up of the family of the house's occupants, a detail that perhaps would not have been acknowledged otherwise.

This incident links to the Japanese phrase *moreteiru oto*, which refers to the sounds which leak out from people's earphones on the subway[329]; in this case, the house is representative of the leaking earphones, the sound of the infant escapes out into the public space of the neighbourhood. When creating soundscapes, attention must therefore be given to boundaries of sound and the blurring of public and private space. Focusing on this relationship has the potential to lead to new understandings regarding how it manifests. Relatedly, soundscapes provide an alternative to static photographs as they demonstrate that these houses are not closed off structures which retain spatial boundaries. Sound travels through space to occupy both public and private simultaneously which complicates the singular and rigid image of the "design object" which typically accompanies their existence.

Alongside analysing each individual soundscape, I also created an assemblage of sound, by bringing them together into conversation. Doing this revealed the aural connections between the houses and neighbourhoods and revealed common practices of Tōkyō as an urban environment. According to soundscape compositionist Eylul Iscen, editing sounds into a whole creates a specific knowledge context, which in turn invokes the listener's associations, memories and imaginations relating to that context[330]. This knowledge context reflects the possibility for collective *zooming*, whereby the zoomed details of multiple spaces come together to produce something new. This conjoined scape was further useful as a tool when constructing the overarching theoretical arguments located in chapters two and three.

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## Data Analysis

All of the generated data was analysed using Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke's approach to thematic analysis. The thematic analysis method was selected as it is the only generic analysis method as it "does not prescribe methods of data collection, theoretical positions, epistemological or ontological frameworks" [331] . To reflect the fact that the fscp methods are inherently flexible, the analysis method needed to follow suit. Out of the many scholars who engage in thematic analysis, Braun and Clarke were chosen as scholarly guides as they not only promote flexibility, creativity and reflexivity, but they also posit thematic analysis as "context-bound, positioned and situated"[332], a clear philosophical overlap with the feminist outsider research performance. As Braun and Clarke urge, it is critically important to emphasise whose style of thematic analysis one follows, as each approach differs significantly

329 Hankins and Stevens, p.21.
330 Eylul Ozgun Iscen, "In-between Soundscapes of Vancouver: The Newcomer's Acoustic Experience of a City with a Sensory Repertoire of Another Place", *Organised Sound*, 19:2 (2014), 125-135 (p.127).
331 Braun and Clarke, *Successful Qualitative Research*, p.436.
332 Victoria Braun and Victoria Clarke, "Reflecting on reflexive thematic analysis", *Qualitive Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*, 11:4 (2019), 589-597 (p.591).

and a lack of clarity can lead to an incorrect application[333].

As previously mentioned within the introduction, Braun and Clarke believe that by doing thematic analysis we become active coders and produce themes; qualitative research data does not contain pre-existing themes which passively emerge out of the data[334]. In short, themes are "patterns of shared meaning underpinned or united by a core concept"[335] and are developed in line with research questions and data familiarisation. Importantly, words on their own do not constitute themes, rather themes are statements which answer the research questions and simultaneously represent a pattern in the data.

Data is assigned to a theme via a reflexive coding process – a process which does not focus on accurate or reliable coding but on the researcher's thoughtful engagement with their data; it is therefore designed to "develop a richer more nuanced reading of the data"[336]. This coding process speaks to this project's desire to create extendable social science as opposed to generalisable.

This project has identified two core concepts: **Japan-ness** and **Public-Private**. Within the public-private conceptualisation, there are seven sub-themes: *ecology*, *materiality*, *time*, *lifestyle*, *scale*, *uchi-soto*, *ma-en* - all of which contribute to an overall understanding of public-private. Developed in relation to these core concepts, the project has five themes which were identified as viable areas of theoretical expansion after conducting a thorough literature review (this was explained in detail in the introduction). The themes are as follows:

*Fscp extends both zooming and behaviorology through outsider situated practices.*

*Macro (foam) and micro (cells) structures influence kyōshō jūtaku existence.*

*Fourth generation architects engage with Japan-ness through spatial practice.*

*Japan-ness is practical, material, and takes multiple forms.*

*Situated creative practice produces original kyōshō jūtaku and Japan-ness representation.*

These themes were generated by using a top-down approach, meaning that the data was used to explore the two pre-identified theoretical concepts. Further, all five themes directly address one of the project's research questions, which to reiterate, are:

**Can a feminist sensory creative practice approach extend both the methodological act of *zooming* and the theoretical framework of *behaviorology*?**

**Do fourth generation Japanese architects engage with Japan-ness (in the conception of *kyōshō jūtaku*)?**

**Can situated creative practice be used to expand the representation of both Japan-ness and Tōkyō's *kyōshō jūtaku*?**

**How does the application of a public-private framework in the research of *kyōshō jūtaku* generate new perspectives on the subject?**

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333 Ibid, p.592-593.
334 Ibid, p.594.
335 Ibid, p.593.
336 Ibid, p.594.

# Chapter Two: Foam

Drawing explicitly from fieldwork data, this chapter explores the public aspect of the public-private thematic framework. In order to comprehend how the framework is theoretically conceived, it is necessary to begin by establishing how public or *paburikku* is defined within this research context[337]. As previously noted, the thesis considers public to be representative of a macro network made up of urban, cultural, ecological and social structures that produce *kyōshō jūtaku*, along with potentially other architectures. I use the term network to emphasise, in a similar way to communications scholar Catherine Squires, that there is not a singular whole public sphere in which public life is performed[338]. Rather, there are multiple public(s) and "coexisiting counterpublics"[339] which function as an intersecting and interactive network.

French philosopher Bruno Latour, as a part of his influential actor-network theory, argues that,

*Network is a concept, not a thing out there. It is a tool to help describe something, not what is being described...In the same way, a network is not is what is represented in the text, but what readies the text to take the relay of actors as mediators*[340].

In conjunction with this, the idea of a network is used in this thesis to describe the public(s); a network made up of interconnected urban, cultural, ecological, and social nodes – each with their own overlapping sets of agents. These nodes are interconnected by streams of information which flow and circulate between them, information carried and mediated by actors[341]. To expand on this framing of public(s), I draw on the work of Peter Sloterdijk, specifically his construction of foam, which is one defining concept of his *Spheres* series.

While the introduction gave a brief summary of his philosophy, the following section goes into more depth as a way of securing a solid comprehension as to how a public(s) network, foam and *kyōshō jūtaku* are relational.

Sloterdijk's *Spheres* trilogy is driven by the question, as encapsulated by Latour, "what does it mean to be "in" some place? It always means being inside some sphere, (some atmosphere)"[342]. In other words, the concept of spheres is driven by the belief that the success of human life is defined by spatiality, something Sloterdijk posits as a "shared circle"[343]. For him, this shared spherical structure takes numerous forms, three of which he explores extensively: bubbles (micro-scale), globes (macro-scale) and foam (micro + macro scale). Focusing specifically on foam (volume III), Sloterdijk frames it as "multichamber systems consisting of spaces formed by gas pressure and surface tensions, which restrict and deform one another according to fairly strict geometric laws"[344]. His interest lies in the dyadic spatial

337 There are a number of Japanese words which can be used for the English 'public'. The one chosen (*paburikku* パブリック) is written using the katakana syllabary system which is largely used for foreign imported words. My interpreter and I had a discussion as to the correct term to use in this context. We decided to trial using different versions of the word during the first five interviews – in the context of the question asked, *paburikku* パブリック was most easily comprehended. This choice was made based on a small sample size and can thus be contested.
338 Catherine R. Squires, "Rethinking the Black Public Sphere: An Alternative Vocabulary for Multiple Public Spheres", *Communication Theory*, 12:4 (2002), 446-468 (p.446).
339 Ibid.
340 Bruno Latour, "Network: A Concept, Not a Thing Out There (2005)", in *Networks – Documents of Contemporary Art*, ed.by Lars Bang Larsen (Whitechapel Gallery and the MIT Press, 2014), 68-73 (p.71).
341 Bruno Latour, "Networks, Societies, Spheres: Reflections of an Actor-Network Theorist", *International Journal of Communications*, 5 (2011), 796-810.
342 Bruno Latour, "Air'", in *Sensorium: Embodied Experience, Technology, and Contemporary Art*, ed.by C.A. Jones (MIT Press, 2006), pp.105-107 (p.106).
343 Peter Sloterdijk, *Sphären I: Blasen. Mikrosphärologie* (Suhrkamp, 1998), p.28.
344 Bettina Funcke, "Against Gravity: Bettina Funcke Talks with Peter Sloterdijk", *Bookforum*, February/March (2005), 26-29 (p.28).

relationship between the individual membranes (micro-spheres) and the larger multi-structure[345]. Further, he considers how the individual cells connect to each other through shared walls; the connecting walls offering each cell protection from the outside making them reliant on each other. This leads him to the term “co-isolation”, built out of the isolated individualism of the cells and their (co-)dependence on both each other and the whole foamy structure.

Sloterdijk’s construction of foam proves helpful when spatialising the public(s) as a network. He stresses that “foams are processes” which instigate “constant leaps, redistributions and reformattings”[346]. Foams are not static entities, they grow and shift in an attempt to secure “greater instability and inclusion”[347]. This is not only true of the network structure itself, in so much that networks tend to reconfigure themselves, but also true from the perspective of the individual nodes or ‘centres’ which absorb new information. Subsequently, the public(s) as a network, is always in process of being physically and imaginarily formed; just as both networks and foam gather strength through their “flexibility, adaptability and capacity to self-reconfigure”[348], so does the public(s)[349].

Sloterdijk argues that a theory of foam is different to network theory as it steps away from the line-based structure of networks and instead focuses on non-linear spatiality[350]. However, rather than positing them against each other, I propose that it is more useful for our public(s) understanding to combine their strengths. Latour’s concept of the actor-network is helpful in so much that it is flexible, open to expansion (he specifically draws on the digital in regard to this) and accessible. Through this network framework, the public(s) is capable of deconstructing the dominant image of the singular public sphere through opening up and making it accessible for marginalised counterpublics to expand. Foam theory is helpful in that it provides a comprehensible image by which to complicate the relationship between the individual cells (as micro-continents) and the whole structure, thus providing, as philosopher Christian Borch notes, a theoretical vocabulary to complicate micro and macro relations[351]. Through this the public(s) network can more carefully consider how individual public(s) cells relate to macro structures in non-linear ways. Accordingly, we can produce, out of their combined strength, a potential image of a spherical foamy public(s) network.

While chapter three zooms into the micro structures of the cells within the foam, it is essential to emphasise now that this thesis mobilises the concept of public(s) network (as a spherical foam structure) to represent the urban ecology of Tōkyō, and the individual nodes in this network (as cells within the foam structure) to represent individual private *kyōshō jūtaku*. If we consider *kyōshō jūtaku* to function as micro-spheres, each with individual unique existences, in order to understand how these existences are lived out in the everyday, there must be an understanding of the foam or the greater public(s) network to which they are a product of.

This chapter thus serves to detail the key concepts which were generated from the fieldwork data. These concepts operate within this foam public(s) network and are coded and discussed as follows: the urban ecology (focusing on nature and climate), material narratives (focusing on wood and concrete), time and lifestyle. To reiterate, these concepts which are hereby categorised as public(s) are not distinct from the private arena. Rather, the public-private fabric

345 Sloterdijk, *Foams: Spheres III*.
346 Ibid, p.48.
347 Ibid.
348 Ibid.
349 Manuel Castells, "Communication is Power", in *Networks – Documents of Contemporary Art*, ed.by Lars Bang Larsen (Whitechapel Gallery and the MIT Press, 2014), 180-184 (p.182).
350 Sloterdijk, *Sphären III: Schäume: Plurale Sphärologie* (Suhrkamp, 2004), p.257.
351 Christian Borch, "Foam, Affect, and Architecture", *Organization*, 17:2 (2009), 223-241 (p.227).

of the network cannot be separated, much like cells within foam.

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## Engaging the Urban Ecology: Nature and Climate

An urban ecology is frequently defined as the interactions of organisms, built structures and the natural environment within a town or city[352]. Rather than viewing the city as a static artefact, Mohsen Mostafavi frames it as a dynamic and transformative entity made up of visible and invisible connections[353]. It operates, to use the words of geographer Erik Swyngedouw, as a "network of interwoven processes that are simultaneously human, natural, material, cultural, mechanical and organic"[354]. The urban is one of the centres or important nodes within the network of the public(s), a centre which has its own infinite sub-nodes (ecological processes). Some of these ecological processes are traced in the data, specifically weather, sound, smell, geography, transport, temperature, sustainability, nature and climate. The latter two however, became dominant processes of discussion among fourth generation architects, making them the focus of this urban ecology section.

Beginning with nature, it is first useful to clarify that according to historian Julia Adeney Thomas, the word nature (*shizen*) in the Japanese language has developed into multiple linguistic meanings throughout different historical and political periods, leading her to conclude that in the Japanese context, nature is a "series of radically reconfigured ideas"[355]. Despite this, there remains a continued history of urban and natural life operating interconnectedly. As Yokohari and Amati argue in their survey of Tōkyō's natural history, "understanding the city in nature becomes as important as understanding nature in the city"[356]. To continue with Tōkyō specifically, the Edo period's (1603-1868) engagement with urban nature helped to define how the contemporary city generates natural engagement[357]. For example, both the waterway system and the green mountainous regions helped to establish a "socio-economic landscape" whereby the water of the Sumida river marked the lowlands or *shitamachi* and the western hills of the *yamanote* were spatially designated to the warrior class[358]. Despite vast changes in the landscape since this period, scholars have noted how the high and low have continued to divide the city throughout the following 150 years, both physically and through the social imaginary[359]. For example, individualised natural relationships were cemented through agriculture - around 4-6km of central Edo (Tōkyō) were used for small and segregated patches of land among residential neighbourhoods for vegetable growing[360]. Interestingly, Tōkyō still continues to make space for urban gardening, natural preservation and food production, both individual and collective, through initiatives

352 Richard T.T Forman, "Urban Ecology and the Arrangement of Nature in Urban Regions", in *Ecological Urbanism*, ed. by Mohsen Mostafavi and Gareth Doherty, revised edition, (Lars Müller Publishers, 2016), pp.328-337 (p.328).
353 Mohsen Mostafavi, "Why Ecological Urbanism? Why Now?", in *Ecological Urbanism*, ed. by Mohsen Mostafavi and Gareth Doherty, revised edition, (Lars Müller Publishers, 2016), pp.12-51 (p.29).
354 Erik Swyngedouw, "Modernity and Hybridity: Nature, Regeneracionismo, and the Production of the Spanish Waterscape, 1890-1930", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 89:3 (1999), 443-465 (p.445).
355 Julia Adeney Thomas, *Reconfiguring Modernity – Concepts of Nature in Japanese Political Ideology* (University of California Press Ltd, 2001), p.32-33, 58-61, 224.
356 Yokohari Makoto and Marco Amati, "Nature in the city, city in the nature: case studies on the restoration of urban nature in Tokyo, Japan and Toronto, Canada", *Landscape and Ecological Engineering*, 1:1 (2005), 53-59 (p.58).
357 I discuss this in more depth in Cathryn Klasto, "Tokyo's Kyōshō Jūtaku: Nature through the Inside, Outside and the In-Between", *Interiority*, 2:2 (2019), 155-176.
358 Ibid, p.160.
359 See for example Edward Seidensticker, *Low city, high city: Tokyo from Edo to the Earthquake* (Allen Lane, 1983).
360 Fujii, Minami, Yokobari Makoto, and Watanabe Takashi, "Edo jidai makki no Edo ni okeru nōchi no bunpu keitai no kaimei [Identification of the distribution pattern of farmlands in Edo], *City Plan Rev Spec Issue*, 37 (2002), pp.931-936.

such as the Tōkyō Urban Permaculture and the Ginza Honey Bee Project[361]. It is therefore possible to conclude that Edo helped to establish an urban desire for access to nature, one which prevails today. However, there is a distinction to made in regard to urban nature as a concept and the realities of its construction.

The strict implementation of Tōkyō's land and planning regulations ultimately means that nature cannot occupy the urban without terms and conditions. Urban theorist Paul Waley summarises this by arguing that "just about every aspect of Tōkyō's daily-lived landscape has been shaped by the regulations that control the height of buildings, their setback from the street, the materials with which they are constructed, and a whole host of other considerations"[362]. Within the practice of architecture, architects throughout the generations have learnt to work with these constantly changeable regulations, utilising technology as a mediator between nature and its regulated urban environment. An example within the data is the ethos and methodology of architectural studio SUEP, who seek to build meaningful urban relationships between human and non-human through mobilising technology which directs wind and light flow within both individual housing designs and in collective neighbourhoods[363].

Philosophers Deleuze and Guattari perpetuated the notion that nature is inherently diverse and polyphonic, in the sense that there are multiple natural voices which create their own intersecting patterns, rhythms and refrains[364]. In this sense, urban nature reflects the diversity of the public(s) network it contributes to. Consequently, in the following discussion, urban nature, as constructed from the data, is understood (on both physical and ideological levels) to be natural life (such as trees, greenery, flowers); natural spaces (such as parks, gardens, lakes); and natural processes (such as wind flow, light and seasonal change). The chapter demonstrates how these three aspects of nature engage in, to use Adeney Thomas's phrasing, 'radical reconfigurement' through their innovative spatial interaction with fourth generation *kyōshō jūtaku* design. This radical reconfigurement contributes to the expansion of the urban, and subsequently Tōkyō's public(s), foam network.

In conjunction with discussions about nature, architects also spoke about the climate. When speaking about it, architects commonly referred to the climactic conditions of the whole of Japan, rather than those of Tōkyō specifically. Interestingly, the history of the Japanese climate, notably its natural disasters, was raised equally as often as the current climatic circumstances, suggesting the two should not be viewed as distinct. Architects were keen to stress the nation's long-standing complex and unstable climate conditions that have shaped design decision-making processes throughout the generations. In regard to Tōkyō specifically, these conversations served as a way of integrating the city's histories, particularly those of Edo, into its contemporary realities.

This consolidation of the past is, what architectural historian Jinnai Hidenobu argues within *Tokyo - A Spatial Anthology*, an essential practice required to understand the city's present inner workings[365]. This notion speaks to Henri Lefebvre's broader theory of double determination whereby he deems nature (which we can extend to climate) as simultaneously past and present[366]; traces are left and rediscovered resulting in not so much a

361 See "Tokyo Permaculture", 2020 < https://www.tokyourbanpermaculture.com> [Accessed 3 July 2019]. For more regular updates see @ TUPermaculture on twitter. For the Ginza Honey Bee Project see: "Ginza Honey Bee Project", 2009 <https://tokyogreenspace.com/2009/08/06/ginza-honey-bee-project/> [Accessed 3 July 2019].
362 Paul Waley, "The Urbanization of the Japanese Landscape", in *The Routledge Handbook of Japanese Culture and Society*, ed.by Victoria Lyon-Bestor, Theodore C. Bestor and Akiko Yamagata (Routledge, 2011), pp.89-99 (p.91).
363 Suemitsu and Suemitsu, 2018.
364 Andrew Ballantyne, *Deleuze and Guattari for Architects* (Routledge, 2007), p.47.
365 Jinnai, 1995.
366 Henri Lefebvre, "Nature and Nature Conquered", in *Introduction to Modernity - twelve preludes September 1959 - May 1961*, by Henri Lefebvre, trans. by John Moore (Verso, 1995).

fusing of history and climate, but a clear association[367]. In regard to Japan specifically, fictionalised ideas of the country's past connections to nature have been used to cement an aesthetic type of *Nihinjinron* or nationalist discourse which posits that Japanese people have an inherent love of nature stemming from a unique climate (extending to agriculture). This problematic and homogenous narrative relies on the idea that Japan's climate and ecology has remained unchanged and thriving which is evidently incorrect[368]. This chapter shows how even when traditional cognations around spatiality are imported to the present, they undergo change and development. As is demonstrated, each architectural studio reconfigures both nature and climate through their designs in a multiplicity of ways, thus countering this idea that Japanese people possess a sense of ideological harmony in regard to ecological approaches.

The interview material along with the site visit data which explicitly relates to nature and the climate have been categorised into three recurring sub-themes. The first, are those *kyōshō jūtaku* projects which relate to the design act of opening up, a concept Tsukamoto Yoshiharu deemed the critical calling of Tōkyō's fourth generation architects[369]. It refers to the ways in which architects attempt to open their housing designs so that the structures may interact and engage with nature, thus countering the closed approach that can be seen within the designs of the second and third generation. The second considers how fourth generation *kyōshō jūtaku* appropriate the traditional concept of *shakkei* or borrowed scenery. Stemming from landscape gardening, the term alludes to the practice of incorporating a distant view into the design[370], in order to make a structure feel not only bigger, but closer to nature. The final third sub-theme engages with nature and climate through the idea of wrapping; both a practical process and a theoretical scholarly idea within Japanese studies. Anthropologist Joy Hendry engages with the multiple ways one can interpret wrapping: the wrapping of an object (gift culture), the wrapping of the body, of space, of language and of social systems as a way of wrapping people[371]. This chapter analyses two spatial approaches to wrapping in order to demonstrate how its use can be extended, both physically and conceptually.

*Opening Up*

*The walk to Minna-no-ie from Yūtenji station takes approximately 20 minutes by foot. I have already been pre-warned by the architects that the house is located down a small roji (alley) and that the people who live along it may get suspicious if they see me there. I decide to just take my phone, a pencil and a pad to sketch - all things which can be easily hidden. As I reach the end of the alley, the gathering of detached houses feels claustrophobic to say the least. There is nowhere to stand without feeling totally exposed as the outsider I am. Nestled on an incredibly awkward small-shaped plot, Minna-no-ie is obscured from view from my position, only the front facade and the open garage space can be seen (figure 17). From my view, the one visible window has its blind closed, making the house feel firmly closed off to everyone. A few faces begin to appear at neighbouring windows, nods are exchanged, and I leave, not wishing to invade their privacy any longer.*

Notes from Site Visit Diary, October 2018.

367 Ibid, p.148.
368 Japan's excess use of waste (an example being the high dioxin levels produced at Tokorozawa waste site), tetrapods and as Alex Kerr notes in his book *Dogs and Demons: The Fall of Modern Japan* (Penguin, 2002), its huge abuse of concrete – are all evidence which demonstrates that the country's landscape is suffering at the hands of Japanese people.
369 Tsukamoto, "Escaping the Cycle'", p.43.
370 Higuchi Tadahiko, *Visual and Spatial Structures of Landscapes*, trans. by Charles Terry (MIT Press, 1983), p.20.
371 Joy Hendry, "Gardens and the Wrapping of Space in Japan", *JASO*, 25:1 (1994), 11-19 (p.12).

*Minna-no-ie*, meaning everybody's house[372], was co-designed by architects Mada Akira and Mada Maya, founders of Tōkyō-based architectural studio, MAMM Design[373]. The husband and wife led firm designed a 35.96 m2 house on a 67.79 m2 plot for themselves in 2010, choosing to embed a six-metre tree within the structure's central interior. In an interview with the two architects, Mada Maya relayed the inspiration behind the tree:

*We are both from the country and we grew up surrounded by nature and having spaces like yards and gardens to explore. So, when we were designing the project, we wanted a way to have a garden. We did all of these studies but found that it just wasn't going to work because of the limitations of the plot, so at some point we realised, ok, let's just put it inside the house[374].*

The tree is an explicit example of the act of opening up to nature (figure 18). Akira Mada relays that the central space which it occupies does not have a designated function, but it does seek to establish common ground for people to come together[375]. Spatial harmony is thus created through the tree's power to unite the closed spaces which lead off from the centre. Mada Maya refers to the tree's function of creating an imaginary small street which people can visit and generate a sense of community and togetherness - something which emulates the name of the house, as a space for everybody[376]. In the early 90s, Takahashi Hiroshi theorised the role of the imaginary in architecture, arguing that "reality is literally becoming more and more imaginary"[377]; here twenty years on, nature is being used as a tool to incite an imagination of openness.

To return back to the site diary entry, it becomes clear how in this case, the relationship between the inside and outside can be read as heterogeneous. My initial reading of the structure as a closed entity, deeply contrasts the idea behind the tree and its role in opening the house. Not only does this complicate any narrow view of nature as operating exclusively within the external realm, it also serves to demonstrate that an external vantage point fails to allow for an accurate understanding of this house's internal spatial engagement with nature as a generator of openness. This raises the idea that nature is complex in the sense that it occupies both public(s) (external) and private (internal) life, thus serving as an example to reiterate that public(s) and private do not function as separated entities. To draw back on Adeney Thomas's phrase as nature as a set of "radically reconfigured ideas[378], *minna-no-ie*'s tree, as representative of nature, is radicalised through the way it is physically contained within the private realm, while working to provide a connection to the publicness of the outside.

Another aspect of opening up to nature which was raised by a number of architects, relates to how nature can be mobilised to escape the smallness of the house itself. Roof terraces are design interventions which make use of the atmosphere as a natural space to occupy, acting as mediator spaces between inside and out. Ashida Masato of Ashida Architect & Associates, confirms this role by stating that "Japanese people in Tōkyō particularly, don't usually have enough land for a garden, so we use balconies and roofs"[379]. From a global perspective this urban phenomenon is evidently not specific to Tōkyō or Japan and does not only effect those living within its confines. However what Ashida is perhaps alluding to is that the size and dense scale of the city allows the use of balconies and roofs to appear heightened.

372 As in everybody can enter (ideologically speaking) rather than ordinary or basic.
373 Further information about this *kyōshō jūtaku* project can be found here: "Minna-no-ie", 2020 <http://mamm-design.com/minna-no-ie/> [Accessed 2 February 2019]. I also discuss this project from an interconnecting but different perspective in Klasto, "Tokyo's Kyōshō Jūtaku", p.169-170.
374 Interview with Mada Akira and Mada Maya, co-founders of Mamm Design, 12th October 2018. Translated from Japanese.
375 Ibid.
376 Ibid.
377 Takahashi Hiroshi, "Thoughts on Architectural Form", *Japan Architect,* Spring (1992), 4-7 (p.4).
378 Adeney Thomas, p.224.
379 Interview with Ashida Masato, founder of Ashida Architect & Associates, 15th August 2018. Interview conducted in English.



figure 17. *Minna no-ie*
street view from the alley.
Image by author.

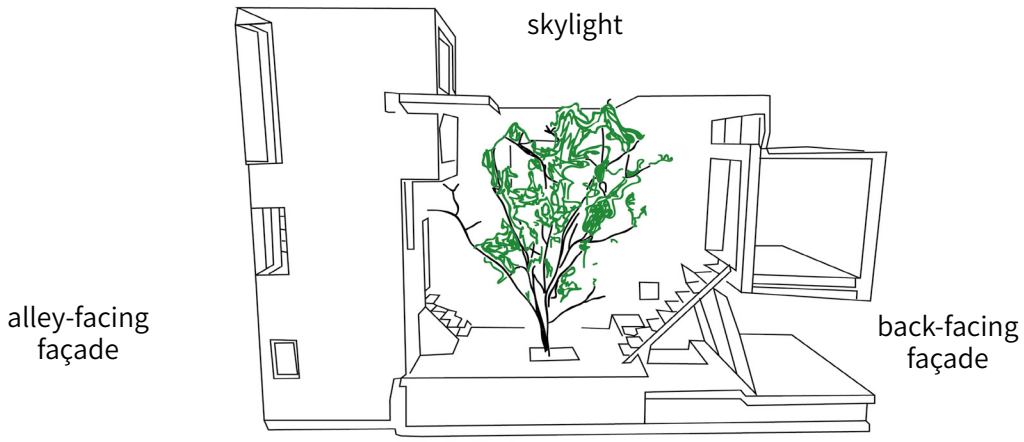


figure 18. Drawing
of *Minna no-ie* by author

*I visit HP Roof House on a hot, blue skied afternoon in July. There is an unoccupied parking lot diagonally opposite the house and I set up my chair and get out my equipment. I sketch for roughly 30 minutes, watching the laundry blow in the wind from the roof terrace (figure 19). I notice the side door open and watch as a young boy of around five years old drags two trucks to play on the front of the plot. He notices me, and I'm suddenly nervous that I may scare him enough for him to go back inside. Instead, he chooses instead to wave, I wave back. We both continue our tasks. Shortly afterwards, a woman appears on the roof terrace and begins to collect the laundry. After having done so, she pauses for a few minutes, putting her hand up to her eyes to hide the sun. She looks out at the view of the city and beyond, the laundry bundled in her arms.*

Notes from Site Visit Diary, July 2018.

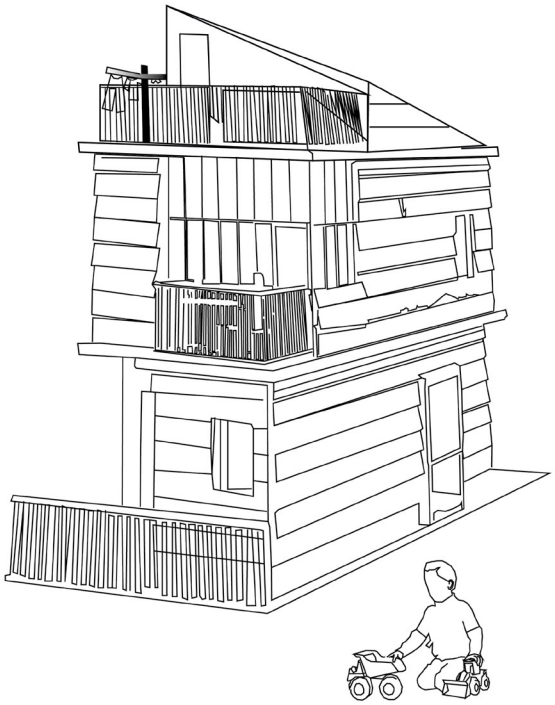

figure 19. Digitalised drawing of *HP Roof House* based on site visit drawing by author.



figure 20. View of the washing on the second floor roof terrace of *HP Roof House*. Image by author.

Ashida's 2016 *kyōshō jūtaku* project *HP Roof House* (figure 20), which as the name implies, is designed to make full use of the roof space[380]. The house, which has a construction area of 49.04 m2, has a unique hyperbolic paraboloid roof structure[381], a design process which Ashida reveals was complex and time-consuming. While showing me the roof plans, he explains how the original simpler design had to be significantly altered in order to comply with the civic regulations often referred to as the "sunshine laws". The sunshine laws, are a set of rules established by the Tōkyō Metropolitan Government which govern how much shadow a structure can cast onto the adjacent public spaces. They are designed to ensure that light effectively infiltrates the large volume of high-density areas throughout the city. The roof of this project hereby renforces Paul Waley's argument that just about every aspect of Tōkyō's

380 Further information about this *kyōshō jūtaku* project can be found here "HP Roof House", 2020 <http://www.ashdaa.com/works/870/> [Accessed 7 February 2019].
381 A hyperbolic paraboloid (h/p) is a doubly curved surface, mirroring the shape of a saddle.

daily-lived landscape is shaped by regulations of control[382].

Aside from its regulated structure, Ashida believes the roof terrace to be a way of connecting not only to the city, but to nature itself.

*In terms of the house itself, I didn't particularly think about its connection to the urban environment. However, the roof was different. I think that it does connect to the city. It is higher than all the other houses in the neighbourhood, so the city is extended for these clients, they can even see Fuji Mountain [.....] which gives them a connection to nature[383].*

Ashida's attention to Mount Fuji as a form of nature is interesting if we consider the views of historians, Jinnai and Tillack. Tillack posits Mount Fuji as a natural entity which is "emblematic"of Japan itself[384] while Jinnai argues that it remains "a strong presence in the city dweller's consciousness both as (a) geographical orientation(s) and as (a) repository(y) of symbolic meanings"[385]. In Ashida's design, the roof embeds a natural symbol into everyday domestic space, developing beyond the confines of private and public and entering into the realm of national identity and consciousness. This establishes the idea that the process of opening up to nature within *kyōshō jūtaku* design can extend beyond physicality and connect to a symbolic representation of nature.

A final approach of opening up to nature discussed in a number of interviews, relates to light as a natural process. Out of those *kyōshō jūtaku* designs visited for this research, one in particular is conceived around the concept of light, namely *Shakujiidai Y* (figure 21).

*Shakujiidai Y*, by Ikeda Yukie Ono Toshiharu Architects, was built in 2011 on a 91m2 plot in North West Tōkyō[386]. At the time of design and construction, the south and south west plots adjacent to the house were empty, meaning that the architects had to consider how light would travel to the house if in the future structures were built in these spaces. As demonstrated in the drawing Ikeda and Toshiharu drew in our interview (figure 22), design decisions (including stair placement, choice of materials, placement of eaves) were made to ensure that paths of light channelled into the house at certain points, resulting in light spreading throughout hidden or restricted space. In our conversation Ikeda Yukie expanded on her engagement with light.

*I travelled and studied abroad in Europe and when I came back, especially from Finland which is so dark, I realised how light Japan is and how wonderful that resource is. I definitely rediscovered it as an architectural tool and inspiration [....] We used light - not only to physically light the house, but also as a way of connecting the family[387].*

The notion that light can be constructed as a method of communication speaks to Nuijsink's argument that fourth generation architects are reconfiguring nature to function as a new architectural language[388]. It has the potential to unify people through a shared experience; light in this case, becomes a tool of social expression. Ikeda expands this idea further, as she goes on

382 Waley, "The Urbanization of the Japanese Landscape", p.91.
383 Ashida, 2018.
384 Tillack, p.251.
385 Jinnai, p.119-120.
386 Further information about this *kyōshō jūtaku* project can be found here "Shakujidai Y", 2020 <http://ikedaono.com/works/shakujiidai-y/> [Accessed 15 February 2019].
387 Interview with Ikeda Yukie and Ono Toshiharu of Ikeda Yukie Ono Toshiharu Architects, 28th September 2018. Translated from Japanese.
388 Nuijsink, "The Japanese Single-Family Home", p.28.

to discuss the national fear surrounding *shakaiteki hikikomori* [389] which she notes is a particular concern for parents who see their children spending too much time alone in darkened rooms. As the family who lives within *Shakujiidai Y* have two children, she argues that the house, by being filled with light, "removes that fear". Here, in a similar way to *HP Roof House*, nature is shown to connect to national identity, as *hikikomori* was considered by Ikeda to be a Japanese phenomenon[390]. However, in this case it embodies a dimension of cultural reality, framing itself as a potential physical antidote to family disconnect and social disorder. Opening up to nature is therefore "radically reconfigured" through its capacity to counter social concerns of contemporary life which manifest within the private domestic realm.



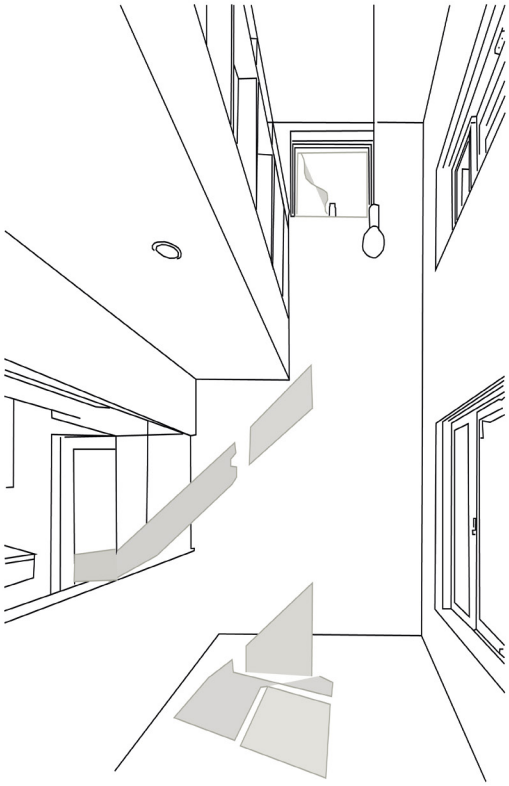

figure 21. (left) Sensory light photos of *Shakujiidai Y* taken by author during site visit and (below) a digital drawing of interior light patterns, modelled off a photograph taken by architects.

389 Hikikomori is a social phenomenon whereby people withdraw from the world and often remain indoors for lengthy periods. There is said to be a significant number of sufferers in Japan, particularly among young people. For more information see: Saitō Tamaki, *Hikikomori – Adolescence without End* (University of Minnesota Press, 2013 [1998]).

390 To note, there is a lot of misinformation surrounding *hikikomori* – when Saitō first introduced the term in 1998 he estimated that there were 1 million cases in Japan – there has since been three studies (2002, 2008, 2010) which have disproved this. Further, there is evidence which shows that it is not a uniquely Japanese phenomenon, with the condition having occurred across diverse groups and geographies. See Alexander Krieg, "Reclusive Shut-Ins: Are Hikikomori Predominantly a Japanese Problem?", 2016 <https://think.iafor.orgreclsive-shut-ins-hikikomori-predominantly-japanese-problem/> [Accessed 20 March 2019].

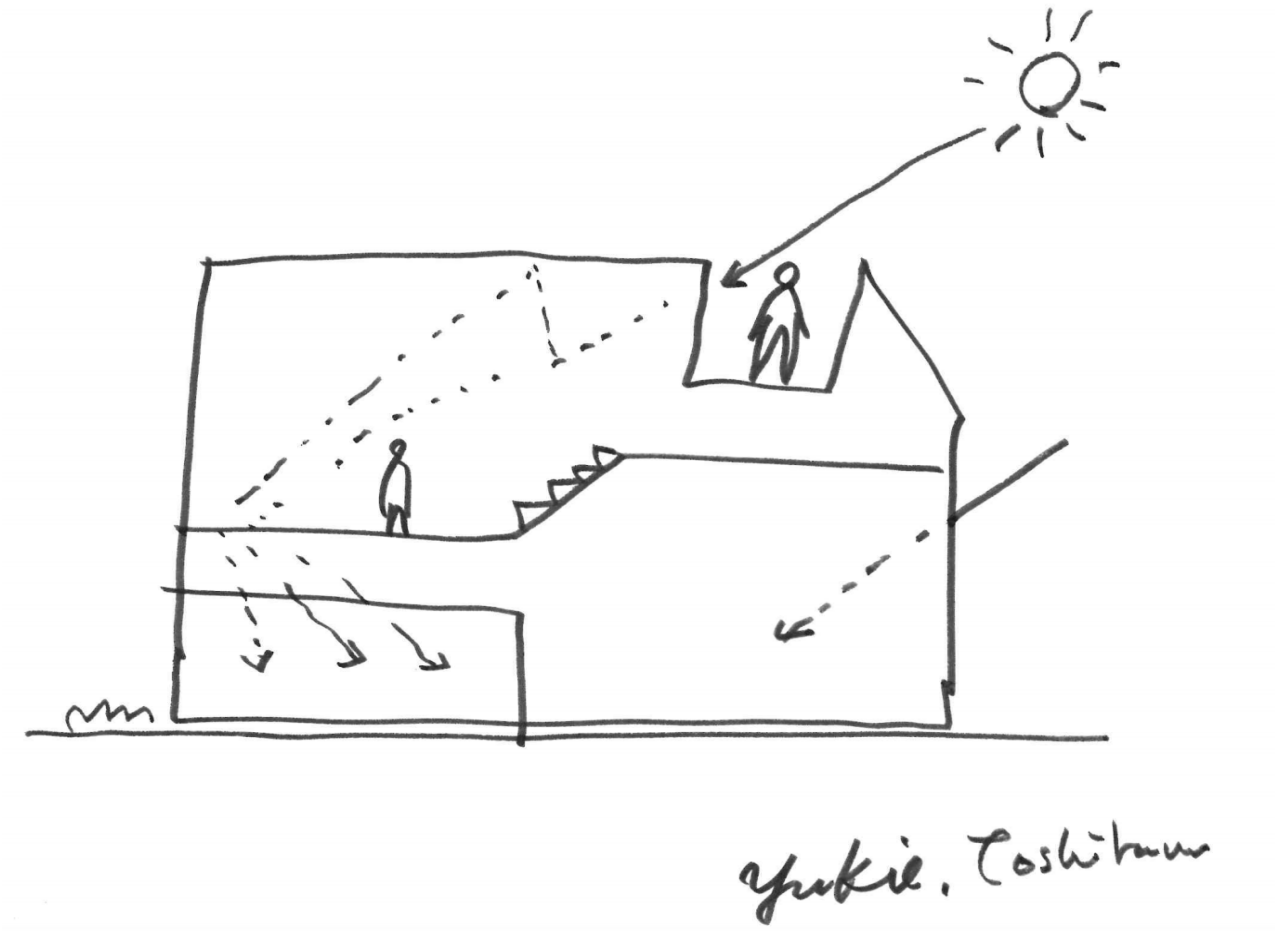


figure 22. Drawing by Ikeda Yukie.

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*Opening up: Identifying the public(s) network*

To connect the concept of opening up to nature back to the foamy network of public(s), we can use the three examples. The first, *Minna-no-ie*, uses nature as a spatial mediator between the private of the interior (individual cell) and the structure of the public(s). The success of the structure is reliant on a connected relationship between inside and outside, much like the walls of the individual cells being reliant on the external foam structure. *HP Roof House* demonstrates the flexible capability of people's access to nature when spatial design is supported by technology. This is despite the regulatory structures which play a significant role in the design process, notably Tōkyō's planning rules. Similarly, the public(s) network is flexible in its possibilities, despite the defined spherical structure of the foam. The way in which the individual experience of the house allows for the connection to symbolic public(s) imaginaries (such as Mount Fuji) shows how expansive the network can be. Finally, *Shakujiidai Y*, uses the natural process of light as a tool to open up the structure and in turn, generate social cohesion. Sloterdijk emphasises how the social capacity of the individual cells, defined as relational vibrating households[391], includes internalised self-care, a process which subsequently effects the whole structure[392]. This internal self-care leaks out into the external public(s), the ramifications of which have the potential to re-define and expand the network. If housing

391 Sloterdijk, *Foams: Spheres III*, p.52, 537.
392 Ibid, p.537.

design can contribute, as Ikeda believes, towards reducing social conditions such as *hikikomori*, this will potentially affect the whole of Tōkyō's public(s).

*Extending the Plot: Shakkei*

*After our interview on the ground floor of the building, Sano Tomomi (one half of Atelier Hako) invites me upstairs to see their own kyōshō jūtaku renovation which they completed in 2014. The architect couple live above their office, and she tells me how they use it as a prototype for their clients to test out whether kyōshō jūtaku living is really for them. It is incredibly beautiful, with each detail designed with love. It is a warm day in early October, the record player plays soft jazz and the doors to the small balcony terrace are wide open. Looking out over the Sumida River, the view is stunning. The nearby trees frame the window, so it looks almost like a watercolour painting (figure 23).*

Excerpt taken from interview notes, October 2018.



figure 23. *Monzen-Nakacho* studio, view from the window.
Image by author.

*Shakkei*, deriving from the Chinese concept of *jièjǐng*, is commonly referred to as borrowed scenery[393]. Originating as a method applied in landscape gardening, it is used to describe the act of incorporating a view of nature into a design composition. Itō Teiji, the first to formally write about the history and practice of *Shakkei* in Japanese, cited its Japanese origins as harking back to the fourteenth century whereby *shōgun* (military ruler) Ashikaga Takauji ordered the structuring of *Tenryūji* temple in Kyōtō to incorporate a view of the Arashiyama cherry blossoms[394]. Interestingly, *shakkei* was first known as *ikedori*, meaning to literally

393 Wybe Kuitert, "Borrowing Scenery and the Landscape that Lends - the final chapter of Yuanye", *Journal of Landscape Architecture*, (10:2, 2015), 32-43 (p.32).
394 Itō Teiji, *Space and Illusion in the Japanese Garden* (Weatherhill, 1973).

"capture alive" a natural feature[395]. In the original Chinese manual of borrowed scenery (*Yuanye*), four specific elements make up the concept, which when translated into Japanese are: *enshaku* (distant borrowing), *rinshaku* (adjacent borrowing), *gyōshaku* (upward borrowing) and *fushaku* (downward borrowing)[396]. According to architect Nakamura Ryūji, engaging with these four directional based acts of *mikiri* or "view trimming" allow for certain scenes to emerge in our minds[397]. Further, Masahiro Harada, co-founder of Mount Fuji Architects, has argued that when it comes to housing design, "all we want is the effect of enlarging the very limited space of a small plot of land"[398]. *Shakkei* is one way of perceptually enlarging a space through working with nature; placing emphasis on living alongside and in harmony with natural life, seeking to control space as opposed to nature itself.

The ability to enlarge through embedding *shakkei* into design also takes on an aesthetic as well as a spatial dimension. Aesthetic scholar Peter Baofu argues that aesthetic appeal is heightened through the context of nature due to it creating an intoxicating effect of awe[399]. To take the original *shōgunate* example, and the original word *ikedori*, the act of capturing alive the Arashiyama cherry blossoms, as informed by *enshaku*, it is intersubjectively intelligible to suggest that this would have increased the effect of awe in relation to the spatiality of the temple itself. Thus, the imaginary of the space is enlarged from both a physical and emotional perspective.

During an interview with Nanashima Yukinobu and Sano Tomomi of architectural studio Atelier Hako, our discussion of nature in their *kyōshō jūtaku* design led to *shakkei*. They relayed how the concept has informed many of their designs, including *Tokyo Treehouse* (2011), *Puzzle House* (2009) and *Shosai sagei-kan* (2009)[400]. They believe that in deploying *shakkei*, their clients are made to feel as if "the park or the river is their space, their garden"[401].

Atelier Hako's own combined studio and apartment in Monzen-Nakacho, South Eastern Tōkyō, is another *shakkei* example which they invited me to visit. The 43m2 project, completed in 2014, is a renovation of a 45-year-old building which overlooks the Sumida River. The first and second floors are used as the architects' office while the third, fourth and fifth floors are designated for their living. As shown in figure 23 taken from the fifth-floor balcony, *shakkei* has been deployed through the design of the window which spans the whole side of the south facing wall, framing the view of the river below. Itō emphasises that in *shakkei*, the sky can be framed as an empty area to further the feeling of expansion[402]; when sitting on their sofa, one's line of sight is drawn to the sky as the window is positioned to employ both *gyōshaku* (upward borrowing) and *fushaku* (downward borrowing), the sky and the river operating as natural composition devices. The trees creep into the frame from below, again through the use of *fushaku*. Further, these trees are important signifiers of *kisetsu* or the sensing of the seasons, as they pull the room into a moving trajectory of time. The *shakkei* image is not frozen or static, instead the natural elements contained within the urban environment (the trees and the river most notably) are repeatedly playing out in systems of regrowth and change. This helps to establish a painterly image, one simultaneously created by the traditional spatial framing of *shakkei* which draws on the past, and the view of Tōkyō's contemporary ecology in flux which is constantly propelling towards the future. From this window, nature is simultaneously experienced through lenses of past,

395 Joy Hendry, "Nature Tamed: Gardens as a Microcosm of Japan's View of the World", in *Japanese Images of Nature: Cultural Perspectives*, ed.by Pamela Asquith and Arne Kalland, (Curzon Press, 1997), pp. 412-434 (p.416-417).
396 Itō, *Space and Illusion*.
397 Nakamura Ryuji, "Ruler of the Site", in *How to Make a Japanese House* by Cathelijne Nuijsink (Nai010 publishers, 2012), pp.266-275 (p.274).
398 Harada, "A Violin", p.203.
399 Peter Baofu, *The Future of Aesthetic Experience: Conceiving a Better Way to Understand Beauty, Ugliness, and the Rest* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), p.81.
400 For information and images of these projects see Atelier Hako, 2020 < https://www.hako-arch.com> [Accessed July 2019].
401 Nanahima and Sano, 2018.
402 Itō,*Space and Illusion*.

present and future, which reiterates Lefebvre's circular construction of nature detailed earlier in the chapter[403]. He muses in his *Writings on Cities*, that "the past, the present, the possible cannot be separated for the foundations of the old are constructing the now which will then form a shadow of the future in the light of a rising sun"[404].

*Shakkei: Identifying the public(s) network*

*Shakkei*, as a spatial ecological process, much like the foamy network of public(s), is not static. It expands beyond a singular experience of time, drawing on multiples time(s) to capture a sense of natural aliveness and pull viewers into the public(s) network of the city. Latour has stated that on a philosophical level, a network is defined by little jolts that "allow the inquirer to register around any given substance the vast deployment of its attributes"[405]; in other words, each network component features small indicators which relay the multiplicity of factors contained within its existence. To apply this, in observing or participating in the spatial experience of *shakkei* (as a component of nature), one experiences a series of jolts which indicate how it is made up of past, present and future public(s) nodes. For example, when sitting on the sofa and looking out to the river in Atelier Hako's studio, I experienced jolts of a cultural past, imagining the past history of the building and the past socio-economical *shitamachi* network which was built off of the Sumida river. Simultaneously, I experience the sensory present, the smell of the river, the sounds of the branches moving in the wind dancing to the soundtrack of jazz, the chatter of people walking along the streets. There is also a feeling of the future being just around the corner; the autumn leaves shedding in preparation for winter, the visible construction sites emerging from the painterly frame, the cars propelling across the river. These small indications of movement propel the scene captured through *shakkei* forward into new spatial experiences of public(s).

*Wrapping*

According to the Oxford Dictionary, the verb 'to wrap' can mean to cover, to enclose, to clasp, to embrace - all of which produce a connotation of protection[406]. In Japanese, there are a number of words that can be used to refer to wrapping, depending on the context. One of the more common words, *tsutsumu*, can be used not only in regard to covering and packing, but also to indicate concealment, engulfment and envelopment[407]. Relatedly, wrapping in the Japanese context can take on multiple forms, both practical and imaginary - wrapping of the body, wrapping of space, of social relationships, of gifts, of language[408]. Due to its multiple uses and forms, wrapping is a useful word to explore in relation to nature, which is also varied in application and appearance, occupying both practical and imaginary realms.

As part of the 2017 touring exhibition, *The Japanese House*, architect Nishizawa Ryūe gave a lecture at The Barbican in London. During the hour-long talk, he suggested that the concept of wrapping can be considered a metaphor for how nature and architecture relate to each other; nature, he argued, can wrap around and encase architecture which can in turn, produce interesting spatial relationships[409]. Nishizawa's theory is applicable to two *kyōshō jūtaku* site visits in particular, and were therefore explored in the interviews with the two architecture

403 Lefebvre, *Introduction to Modernity .*
404 Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities* (Wiley-Blackwell, 1996), p.48.
405 Latour, "Networks, Societies, Spheres", p.799.
406 Definition taken from "Oxford Dictionary", 2020 < https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/wrap> [Accessed 19 February 2019].
407 Definition taken from Jisho, 2020 <https://jisho.org/word/包む> [Accessed 19 February 2019].
408 Joy Hendry, "Gardens and the Wrapping of Space", *JASO*, 25:1 (1994), 11-19 (p.12). See also *Unwrapping Japan – Society and Culture in Anthropological Perspective*, ed. by Eyal Ben-Ari, Brian Moeran and James Valentine (University of Hawaii Press, 1991).
409 Nishizawa Ryūe, "Architecture on Stage: Lecture by Ryūe Nishizawa", held at The Barbican Gallery, London. Sunday 28th March 2017.

studios that designed the projects.

The first house, *E-House*, was completed in 2006 by FT Architects[410]. From the outside perspective of a viewer looking from the street, the house appears layered; the inner layer (the main body of the structure) tries to break free from the second layer, made up of a steel mesh geometric wall which surrounds it. Further, the second layer has a third layer growing on it - greenery has taken over the surface, creating a soft natural barrier against the outside. The layers are not neatly contained to a space, rather they push against each other, heterodoxically overlapping and refusing to comply with boundaries (figure 24).

In a discussion with co-founders of the studio, Fukushima Katsuya and Tominaga Hiroko, they detailed the inspiration behind the design.

*TH: We made a series of layers, involving the inside and outside. Traditional Japanese houses have always had a lot of layers, so we decided to adapt that concept into this modern design.*

*FK: Kyōshō jūtaku, because of their smallness, need to have a dedicated privacy system. Just using a wall to separate inside and outside is too simple. We wanted to create a more complex translucent system. The owner of the house is a famous costume designer in Japan, so we took ladies fashion as an inspiration for the structure: the layers, the folds. Particularly we looked at furoshiki cloth wrapping, as the folds of cloth don't fold neatly, they stick out. We wanted the inside / outside relationship of the house to replicate this*[411].

Considering that wrapping informed the architects' thinking for the design, the natural green layer can be considered as a ductile wrap that is not only protective, but also actively contributes to maintaining privacy. Fukushima tells me that "from the inside, the owner can see outside but the steel mesh wall and greenery are positioned in such a way that an outsider cannot see inside"[412]. It therefore simultaneously protects, conceals and opens up the inside viewpoint - multiple processes which complicates the notion of wrapping as an act which only affects the outside. In reality, wrapping enhances and shapes both the spatial experience of the outside and the inside; in this instance, wrapped nature functions as a way of blurring the divide between the two states.

410 Further information about this *kyōshō jūtaku* project can be found here: "E-House", 2020 <http://ftarchitects.jp/e-house/> [Accessed 2 March 2019].
411 Fukushima and Tominaga, 2018.
412 Ibid.



figure 24. *E- House* (sensory overlay). Image by author.

The second *kyōshō jūtaku* project which demonstrates a relationship to wrapping is *Transustainable House*[413] . Completed in 2014 by SugawaraDaisuke Architects, the house has a construction size of 38m2 and sits in a suburb of western Tōkyō:

*I notice Transustainable House immediately as I turn the corner of the quiet street. It is a particularly windy day and the air is filled with the sound of bells which hang outside a number of neighbouring doors. As I get closer, I notice that around a quarter of the front facing facade has rusted, leaving a deep brown colouring with clear marks of weathering. The rest of the house is enclosed by an industrial like mesh covering, which provides a glimpse into the white internal box of the main house. Small trees are planted within the terrace area and sunlight fills the space.*

Notes from Site Visit Diary, August 2018.

In a conversation with Sugawara Daisuke, founder of the studio, he relayed how and why he arrived at rust as an architectural documentation process:

*SD: The facade of the house was originally black. It was painted with a special paint which contains metal powder. This paint rusts over time from the effects of the climate - the wind, the rain, the sunlight etc (figure 25).*

*CK: So, it was a deliberate choice to see the effects of the ecosystem on the house?*

*SD: Yes exactly. Normally, rust is seen as a negative thing. But I think for my design, it is a record of the climate - it's a way of having a relationship with the townscape* [414].

Here, rust functions as an alive micro document for the climate; it can be viewed as 'wrapping' the house by the way it actively situates the structure within its environmental context. The house's rusted façade problematises the way in which both 'wrapped' and 'unwrapped' are presented as not only oppositional but also as definite and fixed states. Yet, as the example demonstrates, the act of wrapping can occupy a state of flux; in this case changing in response to the trajectory of the ecology. As the rust changes a new layer is built up on top of the previous, thus engaging the house in a process of constant re-wrapping. This emulates Aoki Jun's belief that "the wrapping method itself becomes the reality of the present"[415].
Further, the writing of architect Maki Fumihiko can be used to extend and support this idea, as he explores the concept of *kukantai* or "spatial entity". He defines the term as a wrapped surface in transition - a definition which rests on the notion that the surface "has not yet crystallised into something definite"[416]. The rusted facade of *Transustainable House* appears to embody this conceptualisation, paying aesthetic homage to nature's traces, flows and passage[417].

413 Further information about this *kyōshō jūtaku* project can be found here "Transustainable House", 2020 <http://sugawaradaisuke.com/works/929/> [Accessed 4 March 2019].
414 Interview with Sugawara Daisuke, founder of SugawaraDaisuke Architects, 27th August 2018. Interview conducted in English.
415 Brownell, Blaine, *Matter in the Floating World – Conversations with Leading Japanese Architects and Designers* (Princeton Architectural Press, 2011), p.155.
416 Maki Fumihiko, "Space, Image and Materiality", *Japan Architect*, 16 Winter (1994), 4-13 (p.4).
417 This paragraph is also found in Klasto, "Tokyo's Kyōshō Jūtaku", p.166.



figure 25. Rusted façade of *Transustainable House*. Image by author.

The spatial ecological process of wrapping correlates to the relationship of co-isolation which exists between the micro cells and the macro structure of foam. The cell's walls wrap and protect each individual cell from the pressure and tension present within the whole structure, establishing a sense of privacy which allows Sloterdijk to deem them autonomous worlds. In a similar way to how the record of the climate transitionally wraps and re-wraps *Transustainable House*, the wrapped walls of the cells are transitional in that they collapse and then rebuild, establishing a continuous cycle of wrapping. Relatedly, Tōkyō's foam public(s) network continuously wraps and rewraps *kyōshō jūtaku*, leaving behind cultural, social, ecological and material traces.

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## Material Narratives: *Zooming* into Wood and Concrete

Building from architectural engagement with nature and the climate as a way of situating individual houses within their urban ecology, this section considers how fourth generation architects engage with and frame the role of materials in their *kyōshō jūtaku* projects. In Japanese, the word for material, *sozai*, means not only a resource but an ingredient[418], a meaning which reflects each material's ability to complement a whole design recipe. As is demonstrated below, this ability encompasses practical, social and cultural dimensions.

In Japanese architecture, uses and approaches to materials are generally understood to possess an "intrinsic logic" which in turn produces a certain material character[419]. This character generates narratives which encompass national meanings and understandings; for example, wood has strong links to historical, cultural and religious traditions, something Isozaki, as well as many historians, have discussed through critical analyses of Ise Shrine as a spiritual site of animism[420]. These various material narratives are present within the data through the way fourth generation architects made reference and gave emphasis to them in interviews.

While a number of materials were discussed, wood and concrete in particular kept recurring in interviews, largely because they are found within the majority of the projects involved. As well as gaining insights into the approaches to these two materials from architects, site visits proved to be a way to consider how these material narratives manifest within their everyday lived realities.

The following speaks to the publics(s), as ecological, organic, technological, human, non-human and cultural narratives flow into the nodes of Tōkyō's public(s) network, shape-shifting and taking form among physical and imaginary public(s) spaces. Architect Abe Hitoshi stresses that "when using materials, one should not try to erase their character, but rather look for their hidden potential to create something new"[421]. As this section demonstrates, it is the innovative application of materiality within *kyōshō jūtaku* design which contributes towards extending and continuing these narratives and the public(s) network within which they operate.

418 Definition can be found at "Jisho", 2020 < https://jisho.org/search/sozai> [Accessed 18 March 2019]. It can also mean subject matter or topic.
419 Brownell, p.8.
420 Isozaki, *Japan-ness in Architecture*, p.129-135; John Breen and Mark Teeuwen, *A Social History of the Ise Shrines: Divine Capital* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017).
421 Brownell, p.162.

*Wood*

In the Japanese context, wood has a complex set of associations. On the one hand, it has garnered a myriad of positive historical and contemporary narratives: it has been said to be spiritually performative[422], a sustainable and eco-friendly solution for natural disaster [423], a site of craftsmanship[424], a way of producing flexibility[425], and a conductor of simplicity[426]. On the other hand, wood has also generated many painful narratives of Tōkyō's destruction, having served as a catalyst for both the Great Meireki Fire of 1657 and the Great Tōkyō Fire in 1923[427]. It is perhaps this multifaceted nature which entices fourth-generation architects to continue to expand and develop its usage within *kyōshō jūtaku* design.

Out of the houses involved in this research, three projects in particular emulate a particular pattern, whereby the exteriors are made from a material associated with contemporary technological development (such as steel, aluminium, concrete) and the interiors are made using wood. The reasons for this, as detailed by architects, were simultaneously overlapping and contrasting.

Harada Masato, co-founder of Mount Fuji Architects, discussed his use of wood in the first of these three projects: *Near House*, a *kyōshō jūtaku* built in 2010 in an old district of north western Tōkyō (figure 26, figure 27) :

*I wanted to choose a material that had a grain, a feeling of closeness - so of course I chose wood over a metal. Wood is also a living thing, it slowly decomposes. It's the only material we use that is alive. In this house, the beams are incredibly small, 30mm, so we didn't use machinery to make them. Instead we worked with highly trained specialist wood makers, meaning everything is handmade [428].*

Harada notes three words which generate an interlaced image: closeness, alive and handmade. Closeness, he situates later in our discussion, has connections to scale, with him arguing that the minute details of the grain draw the occupier close, generating a physical intimacy with the surroundings[429]. The smallness of the details works to put the smallness of the space into an alternative perspective; suddenly what was once seen as small takes on a metaphorical largeness when placed in conversation with the grain of the wood. Harada argues that while "a house might be very small, it doesn't affect spatial imagination"[430] - material, wood in this case, can thus work to transport beyond spatial reality. Observing the grain, an act Harada likens to looking closely at the skin of a peach[431], engages the word

422 Isozaki in *Japan-ness in Architecture* discusses wood in relation to the eighth century construction method *kenmen-ho* which places value on the performative capability of material in space.
423 See for example Ban Shigeru's 2016 wooden temporary housing project: "Kumamoto", 2020 <http://www.shigerubanarchitects.com/works/2016_kumamoto_PHP18/index.html> [Accessed 19 March 2019].
424 The Takenaka Carpentry Tools Museum in Kobe details the history of wooden craftsmanship in Japan see "Dougukan", 2020 <https://www.dougukan.jp/about_architecture?lang=en> [Accessed 19 March 2019].
425 See Yoneda Akira, "Void in a Void", in *How to Make a Japanese House* by Cathelijne Nuijsink (Nai101publishers, 2012), pp 108-119 (p.110).
426 See Itoh Teiji, *In Japanese Architecture – Versions of the Sukiya Style* (Weatherhill/Tankosha, 1972) for details as to how wood was used to create simplicity in *sukiya* teahouse design.
427 The Great Meireki Fire destroyed over 60% of the city of Edo (Tōkyō), taking an estimate of 100,000 lives (out of the 300,000 population at the time). In the aftermath, the city underwent large scale spatial re-planning and design including widening the streets, building embankments and relocating upper class dwelling sites. Edo was radically redefined and thus the incident holds great cultural significance in the timeline of the city. The Great Tōkyō Fire started as a result of the Great Kantō Earthquake. The devastation was so extensive that there were serious talks to move the capital elsewhere. Again, Tōkyō underwent a large-scale redesign. Since 1960 the day has been commemorated and drills and trainings are completed in order for city dwellers to be prepared if an earthquake of large magnitude was the hit the city again. Both historical events hold significant importance in the history of Japan. See Matsukata Fuyuko, "Fires and Recoveries Witnessed by the Dutch in Edo and Nagasaki: The Great Fire of Meireki in 1657 and the Great Fire of Kanbun in 1663", *Itinerario*, 37:3 (2013), 172-187.
428 Harada, 2018.
429 Ibid.
430 Ibid.
431 Ibid.



figure 26. Street view of *Near House*. Image by author.



figure 27. Interior view of *Near House*. Image copyright and coutesy of Mount Fuji Architects.

handmade. It is through careful looking that the traditional craftsmanship becomes visible, situating history and the concept of time as a micro component of the space. This can be considered in relation to the concept of *wabi*, a somewhat subtle word that can be used in a variety of ways but is often taken to mean humble[432].

Sukiya theorist, Itoh Teiji believes that the beauty of *wabi* depends on the spiritual capability of the person viewing, one needs to be living a meaningful existence in order to be able to appreciate instances of humble beauty[433]. This draws on the Harada's reference to the word alive; while the wood itself is alive, it also takes a certain kind of mindfulness of one's aliveness to be able to appreciate the intrinsic character of the wood and its capabilities in enhancing the space. In this instance the wood creates a narrative of a closeness, drawing a web between past and present, existence and meaning.

The second *kyōshō jūtaku* which speaks to this pattern, is *House for Four Generations*, a renovation project designed by Tomomi Kito Architects in 2016[434]. The exterior structure of the house is that of a typical nLDK second generation American import, which Kito Tomomi tells me dates back to the 1970s (figure 28). Discussing his approach to the design of the interior (figure 29, figure 30), he states:

*When I had the initial meeting with the clients, I took them some pictures of what kinds of houses were possible and from that I got a sense of what kind of building they might like, but also what kind of materials they were drawn to. I also wanted to find a material that could create a lot of intimacy, so it felt natural to choose wood [435].*



figure 28. Exterior view of *House for Four Generations*. Image by author.

432 Itoh, p.15.
433 Ibid.
434 Further information about this *kyōshō jūtaku* project can be found here: "House for 4 Generations", 2020 <http://tomomikito.com/works/005.html> [Accessed 21 March 2019].
435 Interview with Kito Tomomi, founder of Tomomi Kito Architects, 21st September 2018. Translated from Japanese.



figure 29. Interior view of *House for Four Generations*.
Image courtesy and copyright of Tomomi Kito Architect & Associates and Shigeta Satoshi.



figure 30. Interior view of *House for Four Generations*.
Image courtesy and copyright of Tomomi Kito Architect & Associates and Shigeta Satoshi.

Kito's need to establish intimacy links directly to the makeup of the family. As the name suggests, its occupiers are four generations of one family: from great grandmother to newborn great grandchild. Kito notes the difficulty of designing a house to encompass different generational lifestyles and understandings of space. He stresses that the great grandmother moved into the house from Yamaguchi ("way out in the provinces") so there was a need for a spatial negotiation which could allow for the merging of sharing culture (practised in rural areas) and the need for privacy which has become more widely adopted in urban life[436]. One such compromise was structural. Previous to the renovation, the house had what Kito describes as "typical western room divisions"[437], which he chose to remove in favour of creating a large common space which allows for a flow of people and relationships to pass through. In order to reach the private spaces of the house (p), one must pass through the common space (figure 31).

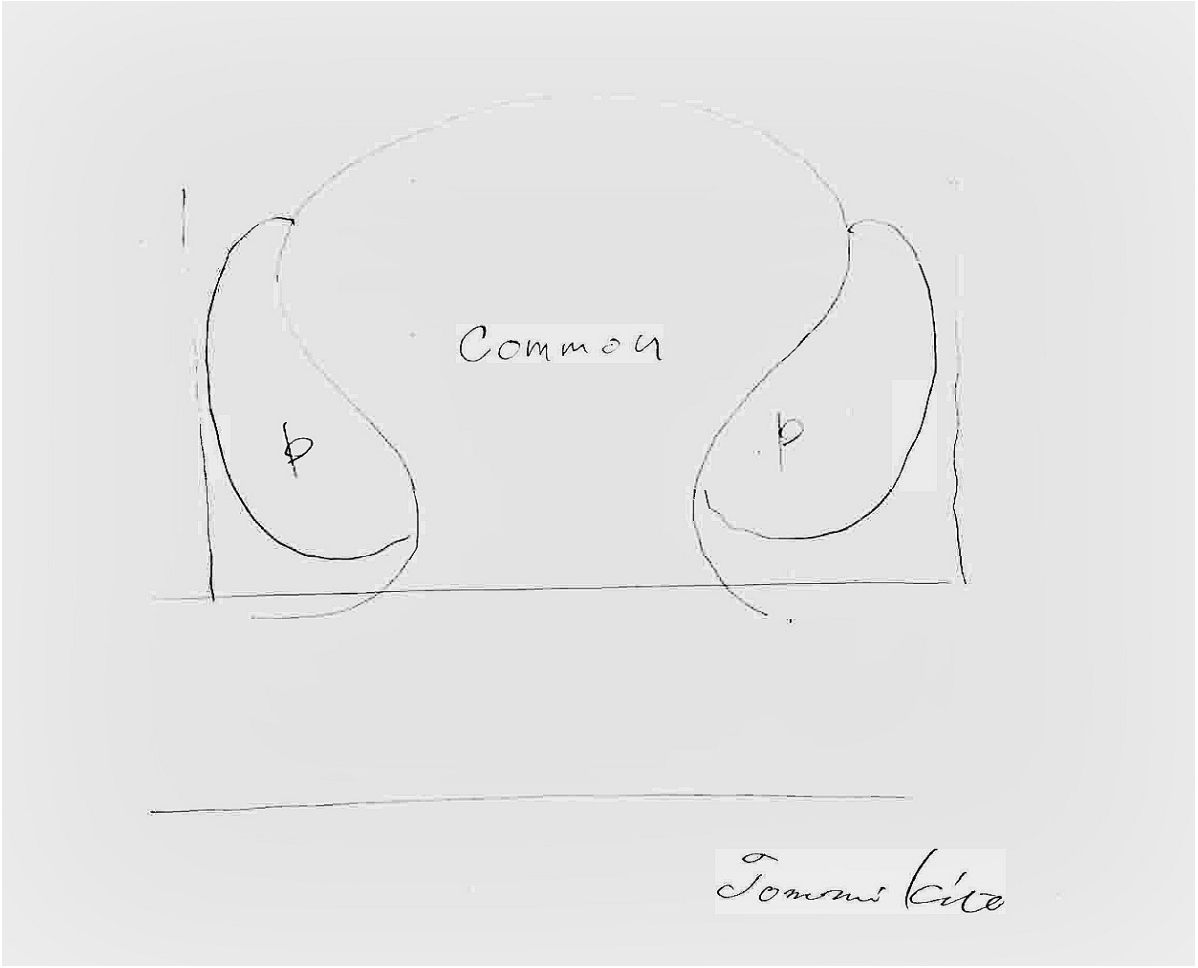


figure 31. Drawing of common space by Kito Tomomi.

Wood is a key ingredient in this configuration, used to create familial intimacy between generations. Kito's bell curve diagram of commonality shows links to architectural theorist Christian Norberg-Schulz's belief that space, paths and domain form an "integrated whole" constituting a field[438]. The domain or activity in this case is intimacy, enhanced by the materiality of the space. Paths take on a double layered physical meaning - there are those paths walked by the family to reach different areas of the house, but there are also paths of

436 Ibid.
437 Ibid.
438 Norberg-Schulz, p.59.

light and shadow, which Kito emphasises interact with the wood to create a certain atmosphere[439]. This ability for the material to generate feeling is explored in Tanizaki Junichiro's influential text *In Praise of Shadows*. He cites wood specifically as a revealer of light beams and shadows, a union which he believes generates a feeling of "immutable tranquillity"[440]. In *House for Four Generations*, there does appear to be something tranquil about a wooden spatial field which brings together light, shadow, young and old.

The final project to display this exterior-interior pattern is *Small House*, designed by Unemori Architects in 2010[441]. The house, located in south western Tōkyō, is built on a 34.27m2 plot with an incredibly small built area of 17.47m2. Architect Unemori Hiroyuki relayed to me that the plot itself was considered very unstable and of bad quality when the owners purchased it - meaning they engaged the studio for a practical purpose, to provide a liveable solution[442]. Due to this instability, Unemori relays how wood and steel were the only materials light enough to function successfully on the land - resulting in a vertical design with a steel exterior and a wooden interior. As shown in the drawing done by Unemori in the interview (figure 32), each level of the house is separated by floors made from thin sheets of wood (70mm width).

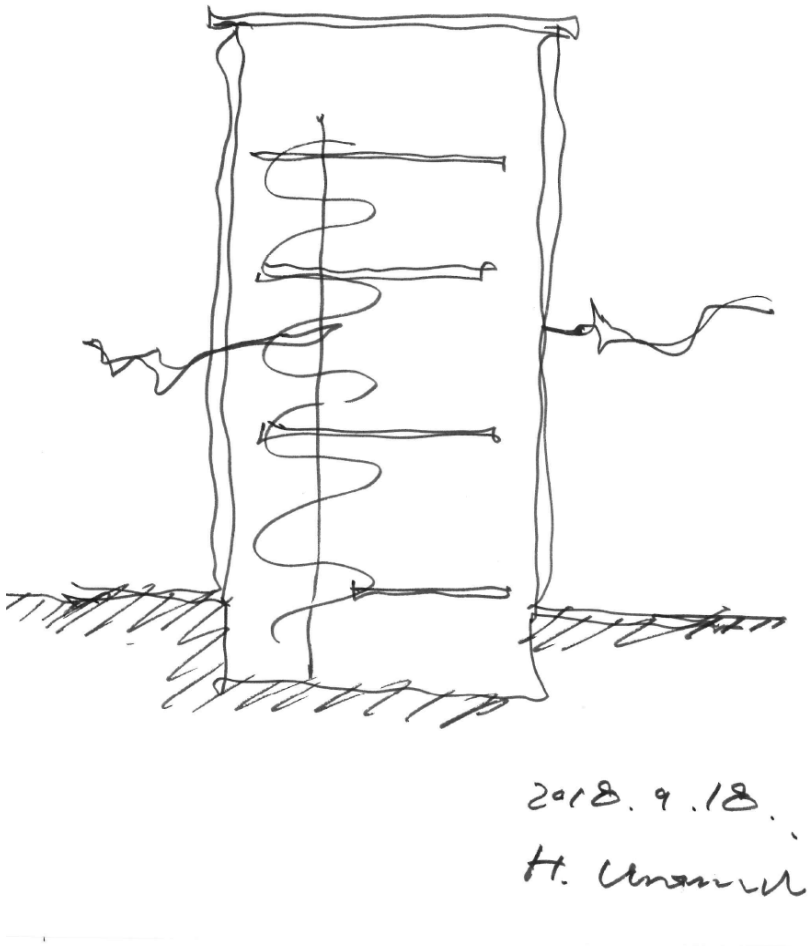


figure 32. Drawing of *Small House* by Unemori Hiroyuki.

439 Kito, 2018.
440 Tanizaki, p. 32-33.
441 Further information about this *kyōshō jūtaku* project can be found here "Small House", 2020 <http://unemori-archico-m/?works=small-house-2010> [Accessed 22 March 2019].
442 Unemori, 2018.

I asked Unemori as to why he designed the floor in such a way.

*So, there are two reasons why the floors are like they are: the first is to try get the most advantage out of the space given the height. The second harks back to traditional Japanese housing where it was very easy to go between the different floors. I wanted to re-interpret that* [443].

The first reason frames wood as possessing a narrative of practical harmony. In 1966 modernist architect Tange Kenzō, in conversation with his contemporary Shinohara Kazuo, stated that spatial experience becomes expandable when an architect skilfully lays a concept from the top to the bottom, in effect harmonizing the space[444]. Bearing this in mind when considering Unemori's drawing, each sheet of wood is laid in alignment to the one below and above. The spiral staircase functions as a unifying form which allows each floor of the house to feel continuously connected rather than fragmented. The materiality of the wood is simultaneously practical in its lightness, but harmonious in its character which in turns reflect Tange's thinking, as the whole spatial experience of verticality is expanded.

The second reason shows parallels with both *Near House* and *House for Four Generations* as it interacts with both tradition and intimacy. Unemori cites flexibility of movement as characteristic of Japanese traditional housing, something he expands on in relation to *Small House* specifically:

*In the winter, everyone goes up the fifth floor (the top floor) and sleeps on the futon together and when it's summer they come down to the second floor. So, they are kind of like animals, adjusting to the seasons. This harks back to traditional living where there is just one big room, and everyone sleeps on tatami together* [445].

The use of the wood floor as a space for the whole family to sleep, as a reinterpretation of traditional *tatami*, echoes a historical embodied action whereby there is a sense of continuity from past to present. Sleeping together as one is intimate in nature, there is not only a physical closeness between bodies but there is also a spatial closeness between the human and the non-human, the sleeper and the house. Isozaki Arata in his essay *Floors and Internal Spaces in Japanese Vernacular Architecture: Phenomenology of Floors*, argues that,

*Such ambiguity in meaning is part of the unique quality of Japanese architectural space. Making the whole floor a place on which it is possible both to walk and to sit brought architecture and furniture together* [446].

This collapsing of structure and furniture is practical when living in such a small space, when the feeling of openness and expansion is difficult to foster. Interestingly, historian Ann Waswo, cites the transition from the floor to furniture as a significant cultural shift in modern Japan, a process which falls in line with the increase in housing area per household[447]. In many cases, notably the majority of urban residents who live in apartment buildings or nDLK detached houses, this is shown to be true; however, fourth generation *kyōshō jūtaku* design undermines this generalisation. In this case, while there has been a shift from tatami to wood, the floor is still used as a place for co-sleeping; *Small House* therefore demonstrates that the

443 Ibid.
444 Tange Kenzō, "Kenzo Tange on Residential Design, Interviewed by Kazuo Shinohara", originally printed in the 1966 issue of *Shikenchiku*, reprinted in *Japan Architect*, 101: Spring (2016), p26-32 (p.28).
445 Unemori, 2018.
446 Isozaki Arata, "Floors and Internal Spaces in Japanese Vernacular Architecture: Phenomenology of Floors", *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 11 Spring (1986), 54-77 (p.66).
447 Ann Waswo, "Housing Culture", in *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Japanese Culture*, ed. by Yoshio Sugimoto (Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp.281-299 (p.285).

wooden floor continues to be a critical component in establishing intimate social bonding, cultural tradition and practical space-saving.

*Concrete*

Urban Japan saw an explosion of concrete use within architecture during the fast-paced economic period of 1955-1973[448]. In 1965, the Japan Concrete Institute was established, with the first seminar on concrete technology held in 1968 across eight cities throughout the country[449]. One residential result of this concrete boom was *danchi* public housing blocks, which are, according to historian Peter Tillack, "four or five-story structures built of reinforced concrete, comprising of five hundred to one thousand individual dwellings"[450]. Tillack argues that the design of *danchi*, with their standardised and mass-produced spatial divisions and fittings, promoted a lifestyle of *seisansei* or productivity, which was underpinned by Le Corbusier's image of a "machine for living in"[451]. *Danchi* were containers for the nuclear family to develop, a societal structure that architectural theorist Suzuki Akira argues has continued to be the central organisational unit of urban residential architecture in Japan[452]. While *danchi* have since been developed into newer structures called *manshon*, their legacy remains ingrained into the material narrative of concrete, deepened by the continuing urbanisation of contemporary life. However, it is important to note that in recent years concrete has begun to be reconstructed and explored in relation to concepts such as simplicity and purity, as well as ways it can be used to create new urban communities – all of which have complicated its once rigid identity[453]. Two *kyōshō jūtaku* projects in this research are made entirely out of concrete and demonstrate a coming together of these two narratives, a blurring of technological simplicity.

*House in Tokyo (figure 33) is nestled deep in the heart of Nippori, a transportation hub and a place of constant hustle and bustle. The neighbourhood surrounding the house is filled with construction, high rise buildings and love hotels which shine their neon signs brightly down onto the endless stream of people on the streets. I arrive just as the sun is setting and people are heading home from work. The tiny alleyway leading to the house is calm compared to the adjacent main road. There is noise from both the construction site opposite and the constant rattle of trains coming in and out of the station. The tracks are less than 100m away. The grey concrete form fits perfectly with the sounds. The plot is tiny and extremely close to the other houses which surround it in the little cul-de-sac. It is awkward, as if it is not really supposed to be sitting there. There is a large apartment block opposite it and the contrast between their sizes is noticeable. As I walk close, the outdoor light from the neighbour's porch switches on, alerting my presence. Nothing stirs. House in Tokyo feels truly part of the city with its dense concrete form, but also somehow light and transient - you get the feeling that if you were to return to the same spot at the same time tomorrow, it might not be there.*

Notes from Site Visit Diary, October 2018.

448 Tillack, p.231.
449 Information found at "Japan Concrete Institute", 2020 from< http://www.jci-net.or.jp/e/jci/history.html> [Accessed 23 March 2019].
450 Tillack, p.236.
451 Ibid, p.236-237.
452 Suzuki Akira, *Do Android Crows Fly Over the Skies of an Electronic Tokyo? – The Interactive Urban Landscape of Japan* (Architectural Association, 2001), p.42.
453 Examples include *Hiyoshi Dormitory* by 16A architects, Yokohama (2018); *Tranquil House* by FORM, Shiga (2019); *Boltun Office* by Atelier Tekuto, Warabi City, (2018). There is also the work of Ando Tadao who has made a significant contribution to the innovation of concrete.



figure 33. *House in Tokyo*. Image by author.

Designed by MiCo in collaboration with Nagao Ako, *House in Tokyo* was built in 2015 and has a plot size of 88.93 m2[454]. In a conversation with architect Imamura Mizuki, one founding half of the firm, I asked why concrete was chosen as the sole design material:

*The plot is very narrow, it's right on the corner of a small collection of houses. We had to think about soundproofing as both the owners are composers, so they needed a music room and somewhere to record, which is why we went with concrete, it's a heavy material. It's also downtown or in the lowlands, so they are many fire regulations - if you use steel or wood you have to comply with lots of different rules, so concrete was the easiest* [455] .

In this instance, concrete embeds a narrative of practicality, not only suiting the lifestyle of the owners (something which is discussed later in this chapter) but also the plot's urban situatedness. Architect Ewa Kido describes the lowlands, or *shitamachi*, as "crowded areas of chaotic neighborhoods with small residences, shops and places for entertainment forming the most symbolic urban landscape in Tōkyō"[456]. Bearing this in mind, I asked Imamura why the house is named after the city itself:

454 Further information about this *kyōshō jūtaku* project can be found here "House in Tokyo", 2020 <http://micomico.co.jp/?p=153> [Accessed 25 March 2019].
455 Interview with Imamura Mizuki, co-founder of MiCo, 28th September 2018. Translated from Japanese.
456 Kido, p.79. To note, *shitamachi* were the areas majorly affected by both the Great Meireki Fire and the Great Tokyo Fire.

*We named it House in Tokyo because we think it embeds a lot of themes and issues which are related to Tōkyō - in some ways it is unique, but it also exemplifies Tōkyō. It's situated in the heart of Edo, or what Edo was. It is situated in a very narrow area where there are a lot of things going on, it is a complex area - the trains are coming and going, big houses, small houses, an old sweet shop - all of that complexity is typical to Tōkyō* [457].

Imamura's thinking supports Jinnai Hidenobu's emphasis that Edo is the design upon which present-day Tōkyō rests[458]. Atelier Bow-Wow have theorised the concept of void metabolism, a process of architectural integration which practically and purposefully re-situates architecture to fit the specificities of their urban surroundings, thus creating a "reciprocal relationship"[459]. They argue that by engaging with this unification, a new form of architectural intelligence will form, inciting a new architectural culture and allowing the city to excel[460]. *House in Tokyo* is a direct example of void metabolism at work: its use of concrete fuses with the surrounding urban infrastructure; its small-scale form, paying homage to Edo, squeezes into a narrow space reflecting many of the older shops and houses in the area. Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift in their text *Reimagining the Urban* frame the city as "an amalgam of often disjointed processes and social heterogeneity" which creates new directions and rhythms[461]. This is an ideology which void metabolism and *House in Tokyo* actively questions, as in this case there is a unity created through conjoined processes between form and ecology, a mirroring of past and present. Rhythms of Edo have been recycled and it is precisely because the structure reflects its former urban processes that it creates something innovative, particularly in a city context where contemporary houses typically are "highly individual and lack any sense of unity"[462]. Therefore, re-imaging the urban in the context of fourth generation architects in Tōkyō, may be more focused on reclaiming the processes of the past, or what Okada Shin'ichi deems structural traces[463] , in order to culturally situate the new.

Aside from the practicality of concrete in regard to its environment, Imamura also revealed that the house speaks to a certain conceptual thought process:

*We wanted to explore the idea that projections of space could come out of concrete, particularly when playing with the contrast in thickness [……] Exposing the interior, this kind of cave space, to light and lightness was interesting to us* [464].

The owners of *House in Tokyo*, Yuri and Yoshiaki[465] were told about my interest in their home and they kindly reached out to invite me to see the interior. During my initial site visit conducted prior to the home visit, I had noted the ways in which the light, both natural and artificial, interacted with the exterior concrete shell, creating an impression that the material has a simpler, softer side. The interior visit allowed me to get a first-hand view of how light creates spaces of warmth within, working to undo the material's singular narrative associations to cold and hard (figure 34).

Imamura's description of the house as a cave proves adapt - it functions as a series of small spaces without a firm centre point, perhaps more as a collection of caves. The windows and light fixtures are placed in such a way that the light bounces off the concrete walls and fills dark corners. This, combined with the warmth of the inside, not only creates an atmospheric

457 Imamura, 2018.
458 Hidenobu, p.5.
459 Tsukamoto and Kaijima, "Tokyo in Practice", p.64.
460 Ibid.
461 Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift, *Reimagining the Urban* (Polity Press, 2002), p.8.
462 Tsukamoto, "Escaping the Spiral", p.33.
463 Okada Shin'ichi, "In the Pursuit of Time / The Eternity of Space", *Japan Architect*, 25 Spring (1997), 152-163 (p.160).
464 Imamura, 2018.
465 Note to reader: These names are pseudonyms to protect the privacy of the owners.



figure 34. Interior of *House in Tokyo*. Images by author.

intimacy, but also creates a feeling of protection. The concrete projections of space are found in small secret pockets which jut out at angles - for example, the small recording studio on the ground floor is completely hidden from view without careful observation. Considering this, and the images taken of the interior, the house is interesting to consider in relation to the concept of *oku*, used in a variety of ways to refer to physical or psychological depth. Maki Fumihiko believes that the concept is used to speak to the "philosophy of inner space" and seeks to recognise "what is hidden, invisible, or secret"[466]. In this instance, the vivid contrast between the light and shadows captured in the photographs, are representative of *oku-dokoro* (inner place). These relationships are only found with the secrecy of the interior, hidden behind the solid structure of the exterior. Concrete in this instance has therefore two intertwining personalities: a hard-protective outer shell and a soft conductor of interior depth.

The second house made entirely from concrete is *Cut Slide House*, designed by architect Yamada Tomohiko in 2014[467]. This house, which has a built construction size of 38.06 m2, was designed by Yamada for himself and his family. It is therefore important to note that Yamada's thoughts are from a blurred perspective of occupier and architect. Our interview took place inside the house itself which allowed me to feel the ridges of the concrete form while asking Yamada's thinking behind his choice of material.

*I wanted concrete for design reasons. I liked how I could make each block from concrete - the simplicity of block design. I also liked the texture and the lines that could be etched in. It's a good style. Wood and steel structures can't create this (figure 35, figure 36)*[468].

Unlike its smooth use in *House in Tokyo*, the concrete used in *Cut Slide House* is rough and exposes the textured capability of the material. The lines create not only a certain aesthetic style as Yamada notes, but also a sense of unique character within the neighbourhood. As the diagram shows (figure 37), the structure is made from nine concrete blocks which are structured in such a way that slits of open space are imbedded between each block, allowing heat and cooling air flow (dependent on the season) to circulate the entire house. Alongside these larger structural gaps, there are smaller slits between floors and rooms to allow people to hear each other through the density of the concrete.

What is particularly interesting about this design, is that despite Yamada employing the technological and practical capabilities of concrete, the block system is actually inspired by traditional temple design.

*CK: To me the simplicity of the system resonates with temple design. Were you inspired by this?*

*YT: Yes, I was definitely inspired by it. In Europe and America, I think concrete houses typically have a very strict boundary between the inside and the outside. In this house, I didn't want to mirror that. Instead I wanted to interpret the simplicity of Japanese wooden structures throughout history which have had flexible boundaries*[469].

466 Maki Fumihiko, "The Japanese City and Inner Space", in *City with a Hidden Past*, by Maki Fumihiko, Wakatsuki Yukitoshi, Ohno Hidetoshi, Takatani Tokihiko and Naomi Pollock (Kajima Institute Publishing Co.Ltd, 2018), pp.153-170 (p.154).
467 Further information about this *kyōshō jūtaku* project can be found here: "Cut Slide House", 2020 <http://studio-battery.main.jp/03.html> [Accessed 26 March 2019]. There is also a time-lapse video which shows the house's construction which can be found here: "Cut Slide Time-lapse", 2013 < https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k5X3tf0anPE&feature=youtu.be> [Accessed 26 March 2019].
468 Yamada, 2018.
469 Yamada, 2018.



figure 35. Exterior Concrete Ridges of *Cut Slide House.* Image by author.

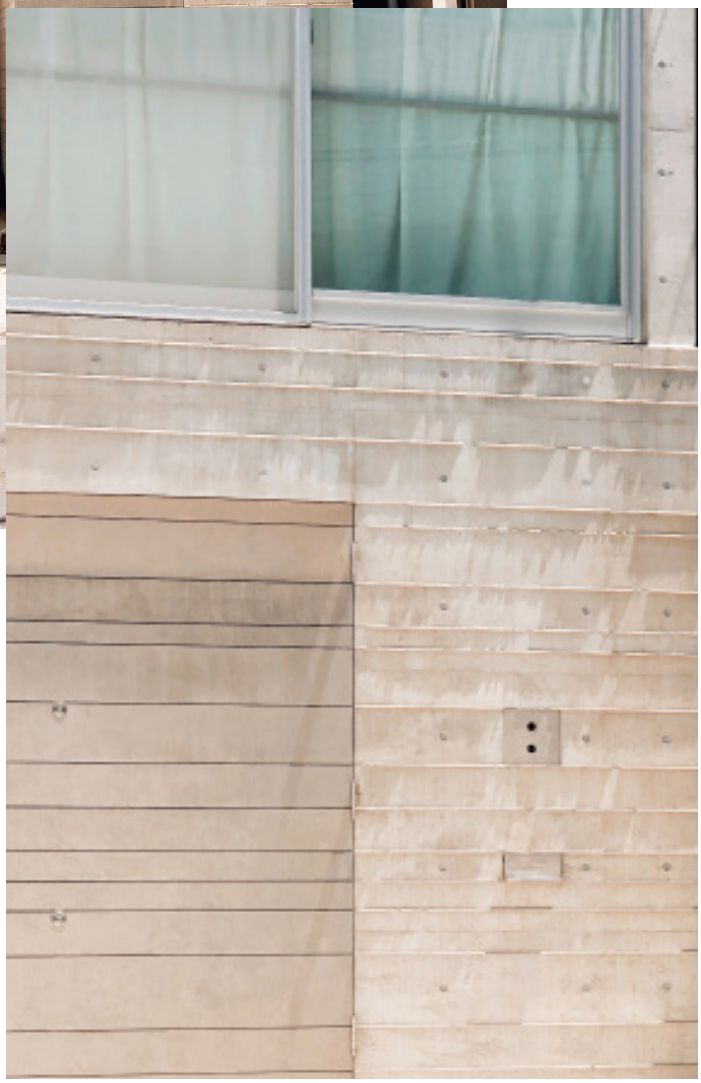

figure 36. Zoomed in view of the ridges. Image by author.

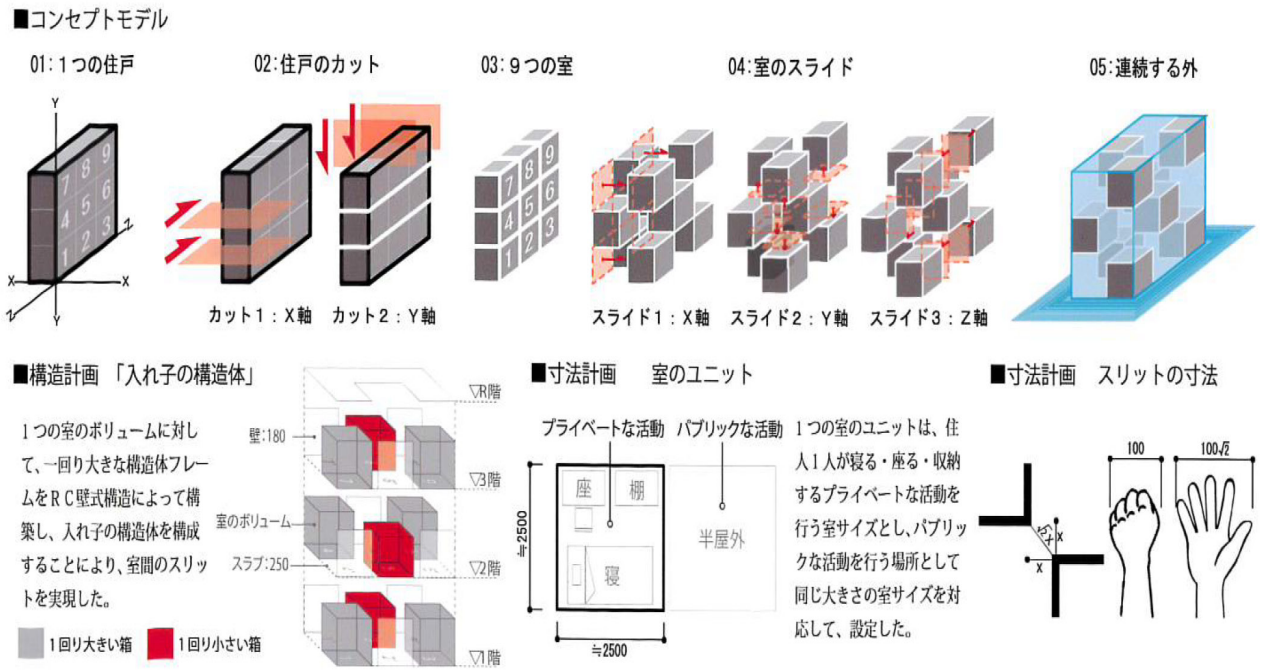


figure 37. Diagram provided by Yamada.

An example of such a flexible wooden structure would be the main hall at *Kiyomizu-dera*, a Buddhist temple in Kyōtō (figure 38). The structure, which was built in 1633 and remains intact, is constructed using a traditional scaffolding approach, made from 18 pillars of wood which have rails interlocked through them[470]. This joint technique gives a visual impression of stacked blocks. The drawing below shows how the blocks continue from the exposed *gejin/raido* (outside sanctuary) and into the inside of the *naijin* (inner sanctuary) and *nainaijin* (innermost sanctuary)[471]. The blocks are thus spatially flexible in the sense that they exist simultaneously inside and out.

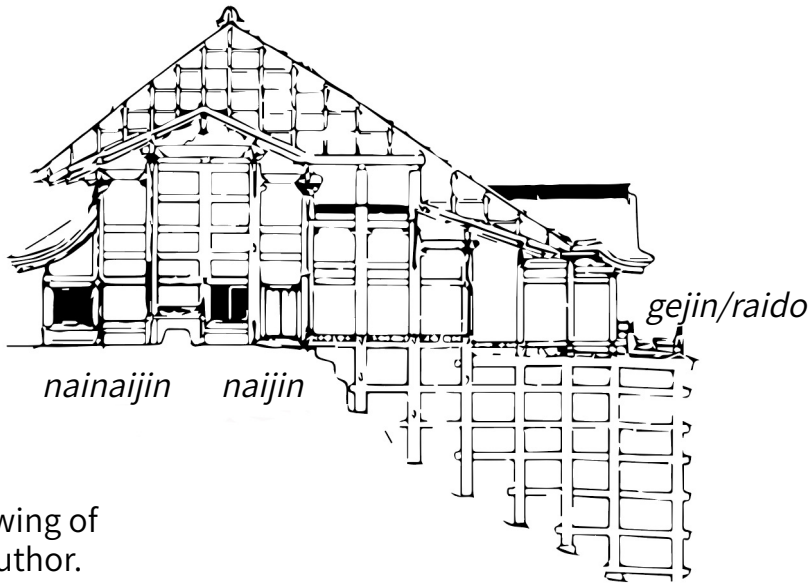


figure 38. Digital drawing of *Kiyomizu-dera* by author.

470 Factual information regarding the structure of the temple was found on the temple's own website: "kiyomizudera", 2020 [online] <https://www.kiyomizudera.or.jp/en/learn/> [Accessed 27 March 2019].
471 Ibid.

When this example is viewed alongside Yamada's drawing which he drew during our interview (figure 39), the inside-outside block inspiration taken from temple design is exposed. Similarly, to the wooden block formation of the temple, whereby the blocks structure the inside of the temple and its outside foundations, here the concrete blocks follow a similar pattern. The blocks labelled 'in' are interior rooms and those labelled out form part of the house's slit structure – allowing air and light to circulate. Instead of following the horizontal structure of the temple's main hall, *Cut Slide House* reinterprets the framework vertically, a necessity due to the small plot size.

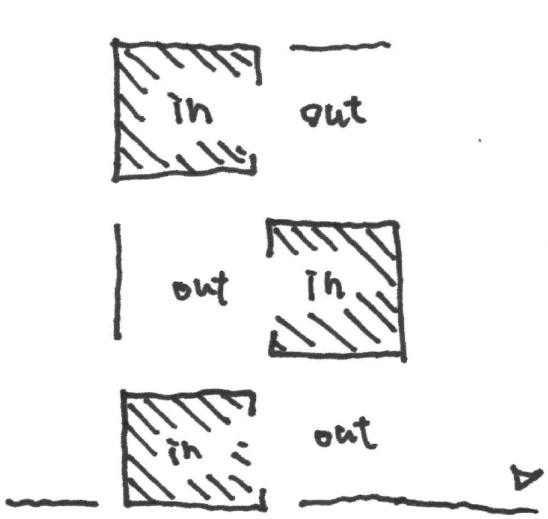


figure 39. Drawing of the block structure by Yamada Tomohiko.

In this instance, the concrete of Cut Slide House embodies what appears to be two opposing narratives: that of contemporary technology (through the system of heating, cooling and acoustics) and that of tradition and religious simplicity. In reality, the house demonstrates a continuous trajectory of innovation; the wooden joints used to create the blocks in *Kiyomizu-dera* were highly innovative at the time and to extent remain so as the structure has outlived centuries of earthquakes. Whereas concrete has replaced wood in Yamada's design, its material influence is still present having informed the house's structural reality. Kengo Kuma argued in his essay *Relativity of Materials*, that materials are transient, and their true attributes only emerge when broken down into particles[472]. By this, I believe he is speaking to the material's character rather than its physicality. *Cut Slide House* shows that the particles of one material's character, in this instance wood, can be found integrated within the experience of another.

472 Kuma Kengo, "Relativity of Materials", *Japan Architect*, Summer 38 (2000), 86 (p.86).

*Wood and Concrete: Identifying the public(s) network*

At the beginning of this section on material narratives, it was noted that the literature had stressed the ability for materials to possess an inner logic. However, after analysing these *kyōshō jūtaku* designs, I propose that materials within the context of architectural Japan do not possess a singular logic - rather, they contain and express a myriad of logics. As shown through *Near House*, *House for Four Generations* and *Small House*, wood contains interconnecting logics of history, tradition and social and cultural intimacy. In *House in Tokyo* and *Cut Slide House*, the logics of concrete that exist under the dominant narrative of technological urbanism, are simplicity, softness, hardness, lightness, protection.

Connectedly, these multiple material logics mirror the multiple public(s) present within Tokyo's network. These logics flow within the public(s) network via interconnecting nodes, enhancing the value of the network itself[473]. Similarly, these material logics interconnect and communicate to enhance the innovative capabilities of the material. The fourth generation are exposing these logics and are finding new ways for them to communicate with each other in space.

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## Designing with Time in Mind

*Many are the names that have been preserved for us in poetry from ancient times, but mountains crumble and rivers disappear, new roads replace the old, stones are buried and vanish in the earth, trees grow old and give way to saplings. Time passes and the world changes. The remains of the past are shrouded in uncertainty. And yet, here, before my eyes, was a monument that none would deny had lasted a thousand years. I felt as if I were looking into the minds of the men of old. "This," I thought, "is one of the pleasures of travel and living to be old". I forgot the weariness of the journey and was moved to tears of joy.*
~ Bashō Matsuo[474].

In 2016, American architectural professor Karen A. Franck wrote an essay titled *Designing with Time in Mind*. Within it she proposes that as buildings are unavoidably subject to the passing of time - be it through decay, intentional intervention or effects of everyday use. As a result, architects and designers must pursue their craft with time in mind[475]. She writes:

*A building can be considered mutable and changing: an open and unstable system composed of flows of energy and matter; a series of layers subject to change (site, structure, skin, services and space plan), or a dynamic and adaptable system intended to accommodate change. It has lives as well as a death - an ending that can also be designed in advance [476].*

Seven out of the 14 studios interviewed referenced time in relation to their design practice. All seven recognised that their projects, individually and collectively, are situated within a constantly changing urban place; not only do the houses themselves have lives and deaths, but Tōkyō's layers are subject to a certain lifespan. Time spans in a multi-directional, multi-spatial way across Tōkyō's public(s) network. It collectively binds together the architects and their designs through their timely experience of their generation.

473 Castells, p.180.
474 Poem by Bashō Matsuo cited in Donald Keene, *Travelers of a Hundred Ages* (Columbia University Press, 1999), p.316-317.
475 Karen A. Franck, "Designing with Time in Mind", in *Architecture Timed: Designing with Time in Mind*, ed. by Karen A. Franck, (John Wiley & Sons, 2016), pp.8-18 (p.8).
476 Ibid, p.17.

The following section demonstrates how time is conceived by fourth generation architects and how it informs, affects and shifts their present and future practice.

All architects emphasised the short lifecycle of Tōkyō houses. While chapter one detailed third generation architectural viewpoints which cited the positive aspects of the short lifecycle, such as Tsukamoto Yoshiharu's framing of it as exciting and kinetic[477], fourth generation architect Sugawara Daisuke problematises this common narrative by discussing difficulties in regard to change.

*SD: In Japanese architecture we say that every 30 years a typical house will be destroyed and then rebuilt. I have four neighbours for each four surfaces of the house, which means that every eight years, one of them will change.*

*CK: Has that happened since you have lived in the house?*

*SD: yes, this house is brand new (points to a house at south side of building). I don't think this building cycle is a good way to have continuity with the townscape - it's hard to make relationships with not only people, but the land too, when the micro-climate of the site is always changing [478].*

Here Sugawara frames change, and time as a stimulus of this change, negatively. By collapsing the boundary between the townscape and the house, place is constructed as a territory which defines space[479], establishing blurred meanings and understandings which function to create Sugawara's experience of environment. He links time to social and ecological life, emulating geographer Doreen Massey's belief that places are conceptualised through social interactions. According to Massey, these interactions cannot stay motionless or "frozen in time", which frames place as a series of processes in progress[480]. For Sugawara, these processes restrict a sense of continuity, which in turn constructs place as unstable. In contrast, the house is portrayed as intact, whole and unchangeable, as he views himself a stable presence within the space. However, at a later point in the interview he speaks to the necessity of change in regard to the spatial layout of the house.

*SD: The house is divided into three living spaces, so there are three keys. The first space I designed for myself, over there (points behind) is a space for my parents and the one downstairs I will rent out to student perhaps. Hence, why there are three keys. In a few years maybe I will get married and have children, so the spaces will be reconfigured.*

*CK: So, the interior also operates as a lifecycle?*

*SD: yes exactly. This is why I called it Transustainable House (laughter). It's sustainable in the sense that it changes in relation to the needs of the residents, but also the ways in which rooms can be open to the outside - like being rented or using as a small gallery space [481].*

Here, change and the time frame it operates within, are considered productive and flexible. The relationship between the first of Sugawara's comments on time and this is one of tension: the changes of place are constructed as detrimental to the design, while those of

477 Tsukamoto, "Escaping the Cycle", p.29.
478 Sugawara, 2018.
479 Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place* (University of Minnesota Press, 1977), p.17.
480 Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Polity Press, 1994), p.155.
481 Sugawara, 2018.

space are seen to sustainably enhance it. The latter, unlike the first, places the architect as having the capacity to exert control over time influenced changes within the house, something Julienne Hanson coins "a domain of control"[482]. Sugawara actively dislikes the culture of rebuilding and the short life of Tōkyō houses and therefore seeks to counter that process by establishing spatial flexibility. The house will thus change with his lifestyle and sustainably break the lifecycle pattern of place; something which actively manifests the scholarly argument that the home can function as a site of resistance against normative structures of territory[483].

The example also suggests that the fourth generation have some level of resistance to Tōkyō's housing cycle, rejecting the dominant ideology present within the second and third generations, for whom it represents a playground for experimentation. There is an acknowledgment that this 30-year time frame not only restricts sustainable design practice from the perspective of the architect but also that is hinders occupants developing long-lasting and meaningful relationships with the various components of the ecological network. The spatial layout of *Transustainable House* hereby demonstrates that houses can have multiple lives within a continuous structure, rather than a singular life and death.

Yet, there is also evidence which demonstrates that some members of the fourth generation, such as Ikeda Yukie, currently feel positive about processes of rebuilding.

*I used to think negatively about rebuilding - particularly taking into account how western countries build buildings to last for a long time - but after the 2011 tsunami and earthquake, I realised that it's actually not a bad thing about Japanese culture - to not have permanence - I realised it was something that I don't think we should criticise*[484].

Ikeda makes explicit reference to the philosophical role of impermanence in Japanese culture in relation to disaster, framing it as a positive symbol of national strength. The literary critic Kobayashi Hideo, in his essay *Mujō to iu koto* (on impermanence), argues that permanence, as an impossible victory over death, can only be understood through experiences of impermanence[485]. This mysterious dichotomy, he argues, has led to the entrenchment of a national need to understand it, in order to make sense of the instability of a constantly changing life[486]. Ikeda makes sense of impermanence by embedding it within her design process, acknowledging its ability to incite evolution within the Tōkyō landscape. For example, as mentioned previously, she relays how *Shakujiidai Y* was originally (upon completion) isolated from other houses as it had a garden adjacent to it rather than a neighbour[487]. However, Ikeda and Ohno knew that it would be likely that the garden land would be bought and built on at a later time, meaning they designed the project with both the present and future in mind.

Harada Masato of Mount Fuji Architects also stresses the need to engage with impermanence by operating within the in-between of these two times.

*In the case of Near House, the building in front of it is a one storey structure, so right now there is a really good view but that might not be the case forever. In Tōkyō there are all these different moments where you might have a really great environment and then it suddenly changes. You have to design with that in mind - the change, the temporality. That is very*

482 Julienne Hanson, *Decoding Homes and Houses* (Cambridge University Press, 1998), p.6.
483 J. Macgregor Wise, "Home: Territory and Identity", *Cultural Studies*, 14:2 (2010), 295-310 (p.301).
484 Ikeda and Ono, 2018.
485 Kobayashi Hideo, *Mujō to iu koto* [on impermanence] (Kadokawa Shoten, 1954), 55-113.
486 Ibid.
487 Ikeda and Ono, 2018.

*interesting*[488].

In 1941, Japanese philosopher Nishida Kitarō explored the relationship between art and impermanence through the concept of *zettai genzai* or absolute present. This ideology rejects the idea of linear time and instead proposes that in each present moment, the past and future are co-present[489]. The state of absolute present is one which cannot stop as it continuously disappears and reforms. For Nishida, the essence of art lies in grasping the world in the instant of the absolute present[490]. Similarly, the more recent work of American philosopher Timothy Morton echoes Nishida's thinking by coining the term "nowness" as a "weird relative motion between past and future", emphasising the contemporary transferability of Nishida's theory[491].

Imamura Mizuki of MiCo, further eluded to this idea of multiple times.

*Japanese architects consider the previous and future contexts of the space - thinking about what could be put up nearby or what has been there before - we think about transitory-ness*[492].

Through constructing realities of the present and imaginaries of the future, Ikeda, Harada and Imamura emphasise the importance of establishing absolute present or nowness within their practice. Arguably, Sugawara also does this through his spatial layout which can mould to possibilities of the future. The houses which are a result of this practice and thus function as designs of the absolute present, can be considered philosophical bodies which contain multiple times and spaces.

As a continuation of this idea, Harada spoke about Kamo no Chōmei's metaphor of houses as bubbles, as found in his thirteenth century text *Hōjōki*, which was briefly mentioned in chapter one[493]. He extended his thoughts on the text:

*I think that something that lives forever feels very far away from us but something that dies quickly or fades away – we feel much closer to*[494].

This statement, when considered in relation to rebuilding and the lifecycle of houses, embeds a notion of aliveness within houses as they are viewed to have the ability to die, something which links back to Franck's conception of a building. Interestingly in one of her earlier texts, *Architecture from the Inside Out*, she references animism in relation to the built form, a concept which has cultural and religious significance within the context of Japan. It is, however, important to make clear that the idea of animism holding intrinsic value in Japan has

488 Harada, 2018.
489 Enrico Fongaro, "Bodily Present Activity in History: An Artistic Streak in Nishida Kitarō's Thought", in *The Bloomsbury Research Handbook of Contemporary Japanese Philosophy*, ed.by Michiko Yusa (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017), pp.167-186 (p.179).
490 Nishida Kitarō, "Rekishiteki keiseisayō to shite no geijutsuteki sōsaku [Artistic creation as an act of history formation]", *NKZN*, 9 (1941), 233-300 (p.271).
491 Timothy Morton, "Weird Embodiment", in *Sentient Performativities of Embodiment: Thinking Alongside the Human*, ed. by Lynette Hunter, Elisabeth Krimmer and Peter Lichtenfels (Lexington Books, 2016), pp.19-34 (p.24).
492 Imamura, 2018.
493 Kamo no Chōmei, p. 197, 211.
494 Harada, 2018.

come to be disputed and questioned[495].

Animism, referring to the capacity for non-human forms to possess spirits, originally emerged in Japan from Shinto mythological traditions[496]. Early Shintoism focused on the spiritual existence of natural life, but later, according to historian Yoshida Mitsukuni, Japanese culture extended the idea of anima by applying the concept to artificial objects such as houses[497]. This relationship between houses and Shintoism continues today through the common practice of *jichinsai* or groundbreaking, whereby a priest purifies and blesses the site before a house is built[498].

If animism is understood to be a system of beliefs whereby the boundaries between the spiritual and material are somewhat dissolved[499], then the potential for architecture to contain and animistic interior is possible. This relates back to the previous section on material narratives, where it was demonstrated that materials possess characters and logics that go beyond specific time periods. Relatedly, R. Bianca Lepori's text on the *Animism of Architecture* notes that material characters allow architectural forms to speak and express themselves[500]. Thus, if houses can speak, feel, and relay an internal spirit, then they have the capacity to both live and die which establishes their lifecycle as natural. According to design theorist Betti Marenko, as an extension of animism, neo-animism works to establish the material agency of objects "as if they were intelligent, autonomous and alive" which generates a closeness between human and non-human[501]. This construction provides theoretical support for Harada's notion that we can feel close to houses, particularly those which are alive for a short period of time. He summarises his comments on *Hōjōki*, with a simple statement.

*We live and then we die, the building lives and we die, the building lives and dies and the city lives and dies - it's a cycle [502].*

Perhaps cultivating a relationship of emotional ownership which centres on an animistic sense of closeness, could be another way of extending the short lifecycle of housing in Tōkyō. Some of the architects interviewed indicated that design can generate closeness through mechanisms like flexible spatial layouts which can accommodate for changes in family or lifestyle; such as that of *Transustainable House*. Yamada Tomohiko who designs and lives in *Cut Slide House* relayed how he will live in his house for the rest of his lifetime because it can accommodate for inevitable changes[503]. If a house can grow and change alongside its owners,

495 Karen A. Franck, "Inside, Outside and Inside Out", in *Architecture from the Inside Out*, ed. by Karen A. Franck and R. Bianca Lepori (Wiley Academy, 2007), pp.18-45 (p.35). In critical Shinto scholarship there is discussion around how intrinsic and valuable animism is within Japan. Jolyon Baraka Thomas has argued that is in an "invented tradition" which he supports through the fact that there is no word for animism within *hiragana*, only in *katakana* (alphabet used for foreign words). See Jolyon Baraka Thomas, "Spirit/Medium Critically Examining the Relationship between Animism and Animation", in *Spirits and Animism in Contemporary Japan: The Invisible Empire*, ed.by Fabio Rambelli (Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019) [ebook]. Further, animism has also been used to reinforce nationalism, with some believing that Shintoism is the true religion of Japan and therefore only Japanese people can comprehend animism. Thus, work has been done to deconstruct this idea. See John Clammer, "The Politics of Animism", in *Figured Worlds: Ontological Obstacles in Intercultural Relations*, ed. by John Clammer et.al (University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp.83-110.
496 Clammer, "The Politics of Animism", p.90-95.
497 Yoshida Mitsukuni, Tanaka Ikko and Sesoko Tsune (eds), *The Culture of Anima: Supernature in Japanese Life* (Mazda Motor Corporation, 1985), p.90.
498 *Jichinsai* is discussed in a number of academic works including: Yamakage Motohisa, *The Essence of Shinto: Japan's Spritual Heart [Shinto no Shinpi]* (Kodansha International, 2006); Ian Reader, Esben Andreasen and Finn Stefánsson, *Japanese Religions: Past and Present* (University of Hawaii Press, 1993); Mira Locher, *Traditional Japanese Architecture: An Exploration of Elements and Forms* (Tuttle Publishing, 2009). Acknowledgement of its contemporary continuation can be found in: Wakatsuki Yukitoshi, "Microtopography and Placeness", in *City with a Hidden Past* by Maki Fumihiko, Wakatsuki Yukitoshi, Ohno Hidetoshi, Takatani Tokihiko and Naomi Pollock, trans. by Watanabe Hiroshi (Kajima Institute Publishing Co. Ltd, 2018), pp.69-101 (p.76).
499 Clammer, "The Politics of Animism", p.85.
500 R Bianca Lepori, "The Animism of Architecture", in *Architecture from the Inside Out*, ed. by Karen A. Franck and R. Bianca Lepori, (Wiley Academy, 2007), pp.74-99 (p.76-77, 91).
501 Betti Marenko, "Neo-Animism and Design: A New Paradigm of Object-Theory", *Design and Culture*, 6:2 (2014), 219-242 (p.235).
502 Harada, 2018.
503 Yamada, 2018.

human and non-human are unified through the same lifecycle. Viewing the house's ability to be flexible as a manifestation of being alive could result in a decrease of houses being demolished within a 30-year period, something which will make a significant contribution to the continuity of the urban landscape and the rate of sustainable living.

Time was also shown to have influenced a shift within fourth generation commissions. Unemori Hiroyuki of Unemori Architects discussed how a 10-year period has shaped a new course for his firm.

*UH: I think there are lots of different possibilities for change, more so now than previously. Because of this, architects have to design with time in mind.*

*CK: Why so now?*

*UH: When I started the firm ten years ago (2009) a lot of the projects we were getting were kyōshō jūtaku, but now there are a lot more renovations than there were then […] our focus now feels slightly beyond kyōshō jūtaku, it's a different situation* [504].

Kito Tomomi, whose project *House for Four Generations* in an example of the current move towards renovations, acknowledged why this recent shift may have occurred.

*Right now, in Japan, there is not a lot of available urban land. There is also a decreasing population which has created an increase in homes that are empty. So, renovation has become a better option - this trend is very reasonable and makes sense within the current context* [505].

Kito frames housing renovation as a reasonable response to social conditions, which embeds Henri Lefebvre's belief that social space is a social product[506]. The practice of renovation is an act of time itself as it seeks to reinterpret the past into the present. Again, Lefebvre offers some theoretical insight in this process by arguing that space that is already produced has ingrained codes, "established at specific historical periods and varying in their effects". To reinterpret this existing space is to decode the cultural processes which formed its existence[507]. *House for Four Generations* is one such renovation example whereby past, present and future have been decoded to produce a successful space for a diverse family. The immediate past is retained through the 1970s structure, while the distant past which showed the extended family sharing a single roof is brought into the present. Kito simultaneously engaged in the process of decoding and the process of writing new code – these new codes manifested as ways of future-proofing the house to extend beyond the current family lifecycle. Young architects entering the generation are now required to be spatial decoders, as Unemori argues that renovation is now their framework of reference for how to begin a career in architecture[508] .

While Unemori and Kito make clear that renovation, as a consequence of the social life, is shaping architectural practice, others such as Suemitsu Hirokazu of studio SUEP, question how much influence it will have.

*SH: Now that the number of people in Tōkyō is decreasing, we have too much housing stock. Some people are saying that the percentage of newly built houses is getting lower.*

*CK: So, if the second hand market grows, it's good for sustainability?*

504 Unemori, 2018.
505 Kito, 2018.
506 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Blackwell Publishing, 1991), p.26.
507 Ibid, p.17.
508 Unemori, 2018.

*SH: Yes, true and as a result interior renovation is becoming popular. However, I don't think that the percentage of people who want their own private house designed will go down because there is such a premium placed on that*[509].

Here, Suemitsu highlights the asymmetrical gap which exists between social reality and social desire. If we apply to Suemitsu's argument philosopher Graham Oddie's belief that desires are experiences of value[510], then a design owned detached house such as *kyōshō jūtaku* is constructed as holding significant value within the mindset of certain Tōkyōites. It is for this reason why Fujii Yuri, Associate Professor of Architecture at Waseda University similarly believes that the changing circumstances will not shift attention away from *kyōshō jūtaku*.

*Although I don't think kyōshō jūtaku will disappear, as the population decreases, there will be unused houses and that will change the landscape* [511].

Fujii's words encapsulates Unemori's acknowledgement that "different possibilities of change" exist within this current context[512]. The fourth generation are grappling with a social transformation which is and will continue to alter Tōkyō's urban landscape and the houses that occupy it. Only time will tell if this coupling of renovation and population decrease will signify the demise of the *kyōshō jūtaku* or whether it will serve to revitalise its possibilities.

*Time: Identifying the public(s) network*

Analysing time, a vital structure which influences the stability of the entire public(s) network, has revealed the fourth generation housing landscape to be in a state of flux. Responding to both old and new systems of change have required the role of the fourth generation architect to expand; moving from spatial coder, to decoder, to synthesized (de)coder. This reconfiguration has both influenced conceptual and practical design processes as well as having laid new paths of public(s) expansion within the network.

The noted examples revealed that *kyōshō jūtaku* have the spatial capacity to exist in multiple times, which in turn can work towards establishing a more sustainable practice of dwelling. Similarly, they revealed that a shift from new designs of single structured housing to renovations are currently taking place. On the one hand, this could symbolise the death of the *kyōshō jūtaku*, while on the other it could represent a new way to tackle the difficulties that exist as a result of the short lifecycle. In reality, it seems likely that flexible approaches to both housing forms will ensure that they can co-exist as critical nodes within Tōkyō's public(s) network.

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## Lifestyle

This final section of the chapter unpacks the role of lifestyle within fourth generation *kyōshō jūtaku*. As explained in the introduction, the second and third generations of *kyōshō jūtaku* architects primarily designed for the nuclear family, responding to a specific lifestyle which centred on a certain set of family-based ideals which coincided with the rise of the salaryman. Anthropologist Inge Daniels argues in her book *The Japanese House – Material*

509 Suemitsu and Suemitsu, 2018.
510 Graham Oddie, *Value, Reality and Desire* (Oxford University Press, 2005), p.63.
511 Fujii, 2018.
512 Unemori, 2018.

*Culture in the Modern Home,* that this mainstream identity took hold in the 1960s and has remained hegemonic for four decades[513].

*the ideal life of a 'mainstream' citizen would probably unfold as follows. As a child she or he would grow up in a nuclear family and enrol at the age of seven for twelve years in compulsory, high quality state education. In the case of male children this schooling would automatically lead to lifetime employment as a white-collar worker (sarariimen) in a large cooperation. As sole providers, men would work long hours, while women would have a complimentary domestic role as full-time housewives with sole responsibility for the home. The 'mainstream' married woman would be 100 percent devoted to housework, the education of children and the care of elderly relatives. By the time the first child was born the couple should be able to buy a detached house (ikkodate) with a garden and a garage, preferably located in a newly developed suburb. Once their children were grown up, parents might build a new house on the same spot, but they would generally be expected to remain in the same locality until one of them passed away [514].*

While Daniels emphasises the hegemonic capacities of this narrative, it is important to note that there has been significant scholarship which has shown that the role of the salaryman and the housewife have developed, expanded and shifted significantly from the 1960s to the early 2000s. For example, Romit Dasgupta, in *Recrafting the Salaryman in Japan*, draws on the work of Taga Futoshi, and argues that what a salaryman is in practice is significantly different to what it may have meant twenty, thirty of fifty years ago[515]. Similarly, Charlebois's recent research into white-collar working women, has shown how the nuclear image of the Japanese housewife can easily be deconstructed in contemporary Japanese society[516]. While this scholarship demonstrates the practical transformation that these roles have undergone, there is still a degree of acknowledgement that traces of the traditional ideology may still linger in the national imaginary. Unsurprisingly, this practical transformation has been shown to have influenced the architectural industry.

In 2017, architect Fujiwara Teppei articulated that within the fourth generation the traditional image of the "mainstream citizen" or nuclear family has ended; instead, he suggests that the reality of family and the lifestyles mobilised by it have diversified, leading to an architectural "reinterpretation of smallness, reinterpretation of the normal, reinterpretation of the chaotic urban landscape, reinterpretation of urban life"[517]. The following section thereby serves to identity whether fourth generation *kyōshō jūtaku* are representative of this reinterpretation or whether traces of the past generations' hegemonic identity continue to exist within these spaces. Building off from the argument put forward by lifestyle historians Berzano and Genova who posit that a lifestyle is both a result of social organization and a defining aspect of the structure itself[518], this section explores the lifestyles of those clients living within fourth generation *kyōshō jūtaku*. It does this in order to develop an understanding of how contemporary social structures are reflected in space. Further, it takes this idea of structure into the realm of the physical by considering whether these lifestyles serve as a defining aspect of the architectural design and thus significantly influence the practice of

513 Daniels, *The Japanese House*, p.16.
514 Ibid, p.17.
515 Romit Dasgupta, *Recrafting the Salaryman in Japan* (Routledge, 2012). Further examples of Salaryman scholarship include Hidaka Tomoko, *Salaryman Masculinity – The Continuity of and Change in the Hegemonic Masculinity in Japan* (Brill Publishing, 2010); James E. Robertson and Suzuki Nobue, *Men and Masculinities in Contemporary Japan* (Routledge, 2002).
516 Justin Charlebois, "The Shifting Gender Landscape of Japanese Society", in *Intercultural Communication in Japan*, ed. by Toyosaki Satoshi and Eguchi Shinsuke (Routledge, 2017) [ebook]. Further work on the role of Japanese housewife include Suzanne Hall Vogel and Steven K. Vogel, T*he Japanese Family in Transition: From the Professional Housewife Ideal to the Dilemmas of Choice* (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013); Ana Micaela Araújo Nocedo, "The "good wife and wise mother" pattern: gender differences in today's Japanese society", *Crítica Contemporánea*, 2:1 (2012), 156-169.
517 Fujiwara, p.8.
518 Berzano and Genova, p.27.

architecture.

Relatedly, a notable aspect of the interviews with fourth generation architects was the frequent recognition that their relationships with *kyōshō jūtaku* clients functioned informally, with many being considered friends. Some had relationships prior to the projects, which in turn led to their commission, while others became close during the design process. Mada Akira of MAMM Design referenced an interesting metaphor which he stated has common usage in the context of Japanese business; either you conduct business in a "dry" (*dorai*) fashion, meaning you are more formal and closed off or you conduct it "wet" (*uetto*) symbolising a more emotional, open approach[519]. Out of the fourteen studios interviewed, twelve performed a "wet" approach – many knew intimate details about their clients having spent time with them during and post project. For this thesis, this proved fundamental in order to generate data on client lifestyles.

While a Marxist perspective on lifestyle is rooted in European notions of class formation, which as previously noted in the introduction does not hold sufficient weight as an ideology within the context of Japan, sociologist Max Weber's framing proposes that lifestyles are formed through the way they are produced by material conditions[520]. These conditions function as marks or symbols which represent the lifestyle, such as the home, apparel, consumption, occupation, matrimony/cohabitation, and so forth. Therefore, as the following section is looking to draw connections between the physical structure of the home and the lifestyles contained within it, a Weberian foundation for lifestyle creation is useful[521]. Beginning with looking at the demographic markers which contribute to lifestyle, the fourteen houses included within this research can be categorised as follows:

Four houses were designed for married couples without children;
Three houses were designed for married couples with two young children;
Two houses were designed for married couples with one young child;
One house was designed for a single mother with two older children;
One house was designed for a single man;
One house was designed for a married couple with two older children;
One house was designed for an extended family containing two young children, mother and father, maternal grandmother and maternal great-grandmother;
One house was designed for a single man and his elderly parents.

It is clear that from these demographics alone, manifestations of family within the fourth generation houses are varied. While six out of the fourteen manifest the image of the nuclear family (consisting of husband, wife and child/ren), eight do not, which ultimately reflects Fujiwara's diversification argument. Importantly, the two houses which were designed for the lone single man and the single mother were framed within interviews as unusual or not normal. It does not appear coincidental that these two divert the furthest away from the nuclear family image, indicating that there is still a degree of expectation within the mindset of the architects' as to what a normal or usual family consists of. Sociologist Katō Akihiko has argued that while values that originate in foreign cultures, such as divorce or single parenthood[522], are accepted within mainstream Japanese society, they still tend to be in conflict with the customs and practices embedded in people's minds throughout history –

519 Interview with Mada Akira and Mada Maya, co-founders of Mamm Design, 12th October 2018. Translated from Japanese. The *katakana* readings are ドライand ウエット.
520 Berzano and Genova, p.7-8.
521 This includes those scholars working at the same time as Weber and who align with his thinking including Georg Simmel. Similarly, it includes those who have since built on Weber's foundation including Giuseppe Colasanti, Thomas Abel and William Cockerham.
522 For further references in regard to singlehood the author recommends Laura Dale, "Ohitorisama, Singlehood and Agency in Japan", *Asian Studies Review*, 388:2 (2014), 224-242; Ono Hiroshi, "Divorce in Japan – why it happens, why it doesn't", in *Institutional Change in Japan*, ed. by Magnus Blomström and others (Routledge, 2006), pp.221-236.

resulting in a gap between ideals and practices[523]. However, this argument is factually ahistorical as divorce was common in Japan prior to the turn of the twentieth century and importantly prior to Japan's engagement with the west, notably among the lower classes in the Edo period[524]. Therefore, it is rather that rigid family ideas stemming from the upper warrior class established by the state during the Meiji period cemented certain ideas that undermined previous common practices[525].

In regard to occupation, another contributing marker of lifestyle, a number of architects stated that their clients had creative jobs, referencing musicians, artists and designers. Some, such as Ikeda Yukie, drew comparisons between the creative lifestyle and the rise of individualism.

*I think it's typical that these people could afford to buy a much bigger apartment in a large mansion building, but they would rather have their own house on a small plot. They want to be able to express their own unique identity through that building and space. These people are often at odds with the regular salaryman lifestyle - it could be that they are at odds in a positive way or in negative way - but they want to use that difference to creative a positive design. Japan has become a place where hierarchy is expressed through your house - for example, what floor you live on in a high rise determines your income. People who live in kyōshō jūtaku tend to want to actively remove themselves from that hierarchy and build in their own way. They want the house to allow them to live a free existence[526].*

Here, Ikeda posits that *kyōshō jūtaku* are symbols of creative and individual lifestyles. Lifestyle is framed as a reason as to why people choose to live in *kyōshō jūtaku* rather than something which emerges as a result of living within the model. It is because of pre-existing lifestyles that this model of housing is sought out, which ultimately structures lifestyle as a significant force in the *kyōshō jūtaku*'s continued development. Ikeda also connects creativity and individualism with the rejection of social normativity, a radical measure which is believed to result in existential freedom.

In a similar way to urban theorist Richard Florida, who considered the rise of the American creative class[527], Japanese sociologist Miyanaga Kuniko, in her text *The Creative Edge – Emerging Individualism in Japan*, explores how Japanese individualism has harnessed new social, cultural and economic power through creative occupations[528]. She argues that creative individualism has always been present in Japan, despite the singular narrative of group collectivity and nationalism which was perpetuated by anglophone thought. Further, she argues that due to this dominant notion, creative individualism in Japan has traditionally been contained and concealed to the periphery of mainstream society, forming a "creative edge". The book further suggests that a shift has occurred which has now placed the creative edge within the mainstream, as people have begun to recognise its power. Significantly, she argues that this shift is contributing to the destabilisation of gendered labour, as many women are at the forefront of creative industries. Although the text could be considered outdated from an empirical perspective, from a theoretical foundational perspective it still appears relevant and applicable, as creativity was cited by the architects as a growing presence in their client base. In other words, the edge has become mainstreamed within the context of *kyōshō jūtaku* design. Miyanaga's argument is useful as it demonstrates that creativity and individualism are now prominent lifestyles which counter the fixed rigidity of the nuclear family occupational

523 Katō, p.51.
524 To note, only a man could initiate divorce at this time. For a detailed account of divorce in Japan see: Harald Fuess, *Divorce in Japan: Family, Gender and the State, 1600-2000* (Stanford University Press, 2004).
525 See White, 2002.
526 Ikeda and Ono, 2018.
527 Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (Basic Books, 2002). Subsequent editions have been published in 2012 and 2014.
528 Miyanaga Kuniko, *The Creative Edge: Emerging Individualism in Japan* (Transaction Publishers, 1991).

lifestyle found within the likes of the housewife or salaryman. In the context of the empirical data, when it came to those six houses which fit the nuclear family makeup, women of those households were shown to have similar creative careers to those of men. This indicates that while the image of the nuclear family may remain demographically intact, diversification is shown to have permeated the model through occupation.

The data further offers some insight into the relationship between creativity, individualism and collectivism. While there has been attempts to consider creative occupations in light of collectivism[529], typically individualism has been constructed as a supporting aspect of creativity, as it fosters a desired quality of uniqueness[530]. This individualism is thus framed as a rejection of the philosophies and realities which underpin collectivism, the image of the nuclear family being one traditional example. With this foundation, it becomes clear why Ikeda views creativity and individualism, as symbolised through the *kyōshō jūtaku*, as a subversion of scripted identities and a transgression of boundaries.

Yet, the data also suggests that creative individualism is not necessarily a rejection of collectivism. Rather it points towards the possibility that the *kyōshō jūtaku* is a creative agent mobilised to represent a collective unique lifestyle. Firstly, Berzano and Genova state that "identity, distinction, identification, and recognition are the stakes being played for" in lifestyle creation[531], which is made real by those contributing markers and symbols being made visible. Without visibility, the lifestyle remains concealed and thus cannot function as cultural or social capital. As mentioned in the introduction, lifestyle magazines such as *Casa Brutus* are operating as forums for *kyōshō jūtaku* owners to document their lives as well as for those wanting to commission an architect to get a feel for the lifestyle. Mada Akira, Imamura Mizuki, Tomomi Sano and Nanashima Yukinobu all mention other forums which support the magazine, including Pinterest and Instagram. These are spaces to gain recognition for lifestyle – allowing one to distinguish oneself as a member of the small house community and subsequently foster a sense of identity. This process is one which incites collectivism, distinguishing those who are within the *kyōshō jūtaku* lifestyle as separate and unique to those that aren't; something which emulates Heinz Ansbacher's argument that Weber uses collectivism as an underlying foundation of lifestyle[532]. With this in mind, the data suggests that while foundations for a creative lifestyle, through an established occupation for example, may have been conceived prior to *kyōshō jūtaku* living, the lifestyle is developed and extended through using the *kyōshō jūtaku* as mechanism for collective visibility.

A final note in regard to occupation, out of the fourteen houses, not a single man or woman was referred to as a salaryman or a housewife. Significantly, all of the women worked in various occupations outside of the home and six out of the fourteen female clients worked within creative industries. While three of the male clients had jobs where they worked in an office, these were referred to specifically in regard to their industry i.e. advertising agent rather than through the description of salaryman. The data thus supports Fujiwara's suggestion that the traditionally gendered "mainstream" citizen based on nuclear family ideology, is decaying.

Turning to the houses themselves, several architects noted how the lifestyles of the clients proved to be an integral aspect of the design they produced. All architects made some degree of reference to the importance of asking intimate questions to get to know the clients well, another thing which sparks a "wet" communication approach. Atelier Hako

529 Examples include Xiang Yao and others, "The Role of Individualism – Collectivism in the Individual Creative Process", *Creativity Research Journal*, 24:4 (2012), 296-303; Vlad Glăveanu, "Thinking Outside the Box of Individualism: Creativity in Light of a Socio-Cultural Approach", *Europe's Journal of Psychology*, 4:4 (2008), [online].
530 Jack A. Goncalo and Barry M. Staw, "Individualism – Collectivism and Group Creativity", *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 100:1 (2006), 96-109 (p.96).
531 Berzano and Genova, p.1-2
532 Heinz L. Ansbacher, "Life Style: A Historical and Systematic Review", *Journal of Individual Psychology*, 23:2 (1967), 191-212 (p.196).

believe that it is inevitable that closeness is generated because there is a need to understand everyday details in order to create a successful design[533]. Hosaka Takeshi provided some insight into his process:

*When we meet clients for the first time, we ask them questions like what time do you get up in the morning? where did you go on your honeymoon? Questions like that. We want to get to know them. I think we've become really close to the people who live in Balcony House - recently they even asked us what we think they should name their new baby!* [534]

In some instances, these intimacies formed the basis for the design. Ashida Masato relayed his experience of designing *HP Roof House* (figure 40).

*The clients love to host parties, both husband and wife really like cooking - so they invite lots of people around, nearly every weekend. Because of that I suggested having many connecting floors, so people can be on different floors but still be able to talk. People can sit in different spaces including the stairs which I designed as a floor. The living room can also be seen from the rooftop, so communication can occur between inside and outside. I think this was actually the most important thing when I designed the house* [535].

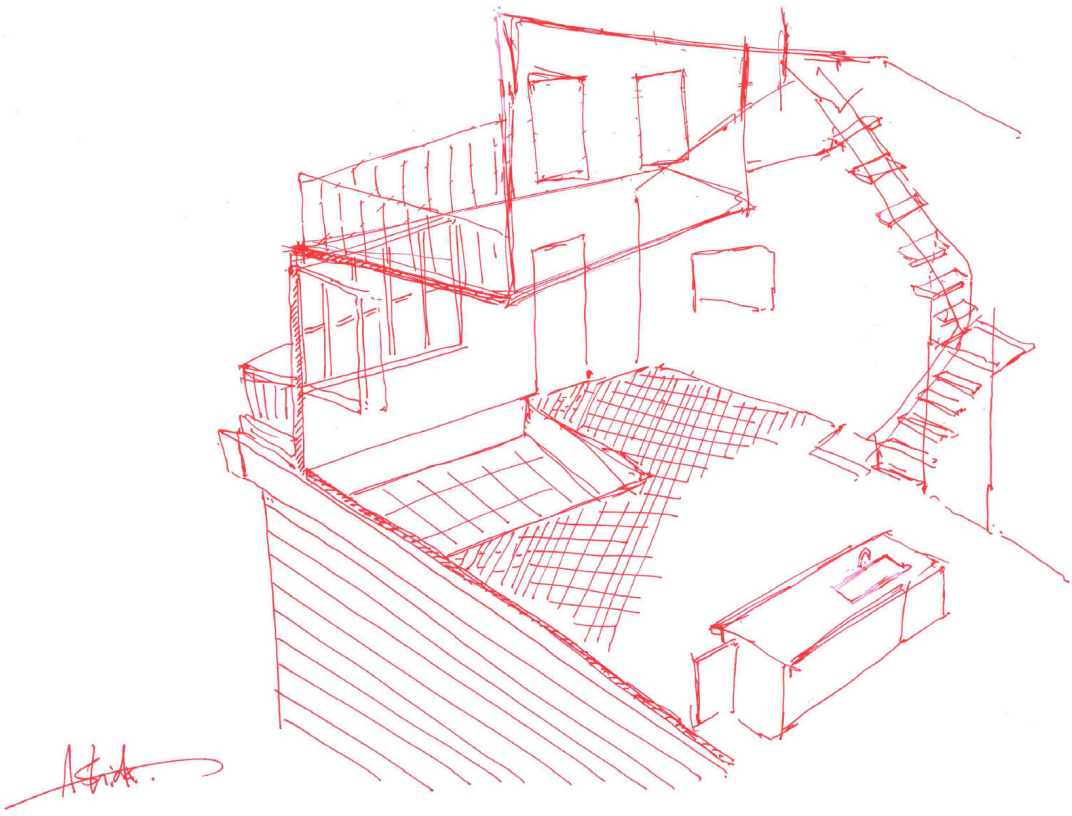

figure 40. Drawing of *HP Roof House* by Ashida Masato.

533 Nanashima and Sano, 2018.
534 Interview with Hosaka Takeshi, founder of Takeshi Hosaka Architects, 4th October 2018. Translated from Japanese.
535 Ashida, 2018.

Here the lifestyle of the clients, as party hosts, dictated the open and connective spatial layout. Ashida mentions that he has since attended a number of these parties demonstrating a continuation of the “wet” approach.

Similarly, Fukushima Katsuya and Tominaga Hiroko explained how their design for *E-House* was influenced by their client’s lifestyle.

*Our client was pretty unique in many ways. She’s a costume designer for movie stars and musicians so she’s often away from Japan, sometimes for up to half a year. She is social and has lots of friends who come around to the house. She was also really explicit that she wanted a space in the house to take her photos, so we designed the ground floor specifically for that. In our first meetings with her she brought many architectural books and it was clear she had studied the design trends. She was clear that she wanted something very different to other houses, she was quite critical saying that all Tōkyō housing looks the same!* [536].

In this instance, both the social aspect and the occupational dimension of the client’s lifestyle influenced the design. Further, the architects reveal that the client wanted an individual design which was different to anything else, which evidences the relationship between individualism, creativity and uniqueness.

Also for Imamura Mizuki, her approach to *House in Tokyo* proved to be structured around lifestyle. In a similar way to the previous example, the occupational and social elements of lifestyle are shown to merge.



figure 41. Recording Studio in *House in Tokyo*.
Image by author.

536 Fukushima and Tominaga, 2018.

*CK: In relation to lifestyle - you mentioned the clients wanted the house to be completely soundproof - Do you think their lifestyle dictated your design?*

*MI: I do think the design is definitely connected to their lifestyle. They are composers and musicians and needed a soundproof environment to record (figure 41). They also really like having people over and having parties so the soundproofing would help to contain any noise created from that. At the same time, they like having their own space within the house. So, they wanted both open and closed spaces. The whole building is connected, but the most private spot to get to is the bedroom and we designed it that way intentionally*[537].

These three examples show the critical importance of lifestyle within the process of fourth generation *kyōshō jūtaku* design. Lifestyle is converted from an imagined construct supported by numerous markers and symbols that exist within the social and cultural realm, to the realm of the physical. In other words, rather than the house solely functioning as one out of the many markers used to symbolise a lifestyle, the lifestyle becomes physically contained within architecture – through spatial layouts and material choices. This expands the understanding of structure in regard to lifestyle creation, demonstrating that it is a combination of social, cultural and physical structures which sustain any given lifestyle.

*Lifestyle: Identifying the public(s) network*

Through this section, lifestyle was shown to be a way housing owners perform their urban identities; it is through lifestyle that they are defined as actors within the urban public(s) network. On the one hand, lifestyles were shown to be constructed on an individual basis, but on the other there was correlation and micro indications of a shared sense of community among those living within *kyōshō jūtaku*. This is similar to how the lifestyles of the individual cells operate – they are built autonomously but also share overlapping experiences dictated by the whole public(s) network of the foam structure.

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## Making new public(s) foams: building resilience

Architects Doina Petrescu and Constantin Petcou of atelier d'architecture autogérée (aaa) have argued that our cities need to become more resilient and more organised in order to "adjust and thrive in rapidly changing circumstances"[538]. As a way of offering a solution to this need, they emphasise the value in constructing an urban network made up of actors and agents who can work together to co-produce organised resilience. Petrescu and Petcou's framing of building resilience as a way of developing and strengthening our urban public(s) network is useful when thinking through the findings of this chapter.

The previous sections document how urban public(s) nodes in the network (ecology, materiality, time, lifestyle) flow through the individual cells of *kyōshō jūtaku*, influencing their physical and philosophical existence. As a result, fourth generation architects function as agents of resilience within Tōkyō's public(s) network. Through their designs, they work to reduce Tōkyō's short lifecycle of housing, establish greater connections between micro and macro structures, encourage public-private interaction, and expand material logics – all

537 Imamura, 2018.
538 Doina Petrescu and Constantin Petcou, "R-Urban or how to co-produce a resilient city" *ephemera – theory & politics in organization*, 15:1 (2015), 249-262 (p.250).

necessary for Tōkyō's architecture to thrive in the city's rapidly changing circumstances[539].

The final section exploring the lifestyles of residents, specifically in regard to collectivism, hints at the potential for urban collective action that can generate resilience. Petrescu and Petcou stress that architects can take up roles as "initiators, facilitators, mediators and consultants" in various civic centred projects; while their work looks from the perspective of regeneration, in this case, there is the possibility for fourth generation architects to, through their "wet" communicative approach, develop ways for the *kyōshō jūtaku* model to move further away from individual lifestyles and further towards collective sustainability.
For example, bearing in mind the rise of collective housing endeavours in Tōkyō as a sustainable response, the model could be used to develop a community led housing project which draws on the creativity that the residents already possess. This could potentially work towards addressing the social isolation challenges that the city is currently facing. This initiative would, through engaging with the multi-times present within Tōkyō's public(s) network, connect back to past Edo community initiatives, such as the aforementioned food growing, whereby "the relationship between the urban and the rural" was more intimate[540]. Petrescu and Petcou emphasise the transformative capability of resilience, in this sense, old systems can be rethought for this ecological age and made tangible by this current generation of architects[541]. As mentioned in this chapter, technology can be used to mobilise collective engagement and encourage more varied participation beyond the binary of architect-client. Expanding the *kyōshō jūtaku* to mobilise as an agent of resilience is one prospective way architects could secure the model's existence within Tōkyō's urban future.

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539 Ibid.
540 Ibid, p.254.
541 Ibid, p.255.

# Chapter Three: Cells

This chapter, as an analytical discussion into the private lives of *kyōshō jūtaku*, is informed by and conjoined to the arguments presented in chapter two. To reiterate, this research frames public and private as intertwining entities, rejecting the notion that they are isolated and autonomous experiences. However, in line with anthropologist Mary Douglas's belief that binary distinctions are useful as an analytical procedure[542], the data has been divided into public and private through organising urban activity into micro and macro scales. Doing this allows the data to be presented in a clear and logical fashion for the purpose of academic writing, even if in actuality public and private operate as an entangled web of experience(s).

Whereas the previous chapter explored the structure of Tōkyō's public(s) foam network, comprised of numerous ecological, cultural and social urban centres, this chapter zooms into the individual cells or sub-nodes which are situated within the centres. It examines the spatial relationships which structure the lived worlds of the *kyōshō jūtaku* (cells);relationships which influence the lived experiences of the micro private realm. The private realm is thus constructed as made up of individual micro spaces.

Emulating the format of chapter two, it is critical to begin by make making visible the intricacies of how the private is being theoretically conceived through the metaphor of the cell, as well as how each cell contributes to the whole foam network. Sloterdijk postulates that,

*Via the concept of foam, I describe agglomerations of bubbles in the sense of my earlier microspherical investigations. The term stands for systems or aggregates of sphereic neighbourhoods in which each individual "cell" constitutes a self-augmenting context (more colloquially: a world, a place), an intimate space of meaning whose tension is maintained by dyadic and pluripolar resonances, or a "household" that vibrates with its own individual animation, which can only be experienced by itself and within itself [543].*

To relate this to the context, each cell within a neighbourhood system represents an individual *kyōshō jūtaku* which is constituted and maintained by the tension created out of the relationship with the foam structure, which in this case represents the public(s) network. Importantly, Sloterdijk emphasises how each cell or household has its own life experience, stressing both autonomy and intimate insularity; it is this latter focus which embodies the state of privacy. Relatedly, within *Foams*, Sloterdijk further argues that however much each cell "might purport to be connected with each other and outside things, they initially round themselves off purely in their respective selves […] operatively, they usually have virtually nothing to do with one another"[544]. This structural existence mirrors how fourth generation *kyōshō jūtaku* do exist as a network of small houses within the urban foam, yet in everyday reality they do not interact. Rather, each cell or house operates as its own microsphere. Consequently, Sloterdijk supports the reading of public-private as an interconnected experience, as despite him acknowledging the private nature of the interior cells, he also makes clear how they cannot be constructed as abstract individuals but should be seen instead as vital components of a foamy dyadic structure.

The use of the cell as a metaphor for *kyōshō jūtaku* is useful as it allows the private to complicate. To explain further, cells are simultaneously open and closed, connected and removed to the foam; a fluctuating state which, as previously noted, led Sloterdijk to

542 Mary Douglas, "Judgements on James Frazier", *Daedalus*, 107:4 (1978), 151-164 (p.161).
543 Sloterdijk, *Foams – Spheres III*, p.52.
544 Ibid, p.56-57.

develop the term co-isolation. As the *kyōshō jūtaku* examples in this chapter exemplify, privacy, in regard to space, can no longer be narrated and analysed as a singular closed experience. Instead, there needs to be not only an acknowledgment of co-isolation but an embrace of it. Therefore, this chapter serves to uncover the ways in which fourth generation *kyōshō jūtaku* have willingly embraced the complex identity of the private through engaging with boundaries and layers of openness and publicness.

The data generated with fourth generation architects repeatedly highlighted three spatial relationships: scale, *uchi-soto* (inside-outside) and *ma-en* (in-between). As they proved to be dominant design considerations, this chapter focuses on how these three experiences of space can be traced through specific housing projects. Further, the chapter also discusses the ways in which the fourth-generation aligns and departs away from past framings of these notions, as located in the literature. Doing this helps us to identify how their architectural approaches and subsequent designs are expanding and innovating private spatial encounters.

Out of the three spatial relationships, the chapter first discusses scale, which primarily presented itself as a negotiation between the conceptualisation and practicality of smallness. As smallness is a defining quality of what makes a house *kyōshō jūtaku*, it is an unavoidable deliberation. Small space is a stimulus for intimacy, a foundational component of privacy – thus, it is through this connection that it situates itself within this interrogation into the role of the private. Architects unanimously proposed that if a *kyōshō jūtaku* design is considered to be successful, it must positively interact with smallness and find ways to showcase its potential. The chapter hereby reveals built examples of how the fourth generation expand meanings and realities of smallness through practically implementing spatial imagination.

One hugely influential conceptualisation within the trajectory of Japanese architecture among the generations is the *uchi-soto* binary[545]. Typically conceived in opposition to the European and North American formation of inside-outside, which is commonly modelled on a distinct "dialectic division"[546], manifestations of *uchi-soto* tend to reconfigure the formalised boundary into a fluid spectrum. This spectrum allows inside-outside to foster a mutually supporting relationship which celebrates the transitional zone produced through their interaction. This in-between zone was explained by the architects through two spatial concepts, *ma* and *en* [547].

Epistemologically complex, both *ma* and *en* have undergone meaning transformations during different time periods[548]. Architect Isozaki Arata has completed significant study into *ma* and categorises it as an interval in time and space, created by the void between objects[549]. *Ma* is theorised to be a pause or gap of emptiness or nothingness, an energy led experience of the time -space continuum[550]. *En*, stems from the word *engawa* [551], and according to architect Shinohara Masatake, it subsequently has two meanings: a) an action which creates an unexpected effect and b) edges or boundaries which create connections/relationships[552]. Whereas *ma* is thought to be deliberately instigated within a space by an actor or agent, *en* is conceived as an uncontrolled spatial by-product, produced as a by-product of human

545 Ozaki and Rees Lewis, p.91-104.
546 Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. by Maria Jolas, 2nd edition, (Penguin Books, 2014), p.227.
547 The kanji for *ma* is: 間the kanji for *en* is: 縁.
548 Gunter Nitschke, "MA: Place, Space, Void", *Kyoto Journal*, (2018) [online].
549 Isozaki Arata and Thomas Daniell, "Arata Isozaki in conversation with Thomas Daniell", *AA Files*, 68 (2014), 22-42 (p.40).
550 Nitschke, 2018.
551 An *Engawa* is a traditional feature of a Japanese house. It is an open porch area, which traditionally marked the distinction between inside and outside. For more information regarding the connection between *engawa* and *en* see Yamana Yoshiyuki, "Biennale Architettura 2016-Japan", 2016 < https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=33&v=Vt6cPbS5nhg> [Accessed 2 July 2019].
552 Shinohara Masatake, "The En Spatial Theory", in *En: The Art of Nexus*, ed. by Yamana Yoshiyuki, Hishikawa Seichi and Uchino Masaki (TOTO, 2016), pp.9-15 (p.9).

activity[553]. The following chapter brings these two spatial binaries, *uchi-soto* and *ma-en,* into a conversation and considers how the fourth generation have utilised them to create nuanced ways of complicating encounters of the private domain.

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## Scale

Smallness, as a component of scale, has often been historically and contemporarily explored as a critical element of Tōkyō's cityscape from a multiplicity of disciplinary perspectives. In reference to anglophone scholarship in particular, while many have attempted to engage with both the realities and theories present within smallness, there has been a failure to interrogate what small actually means within Japan's cultural setting. For example, urban theorist Paul Waley has stated in his preface to the anthology *Small Tokyo* that the city,

*is replete with small things, small gaps between buildings, small thoroughfares in narrow townscapes, small distances between different districts. Despite its vast size Tokyo appears strikingly small; its houses are small; it's streets are narrow; its spaces are cramped. The residents of Tokyo move from one small space to another[554].*

In this description of the city, small is framed as a universal value; the text presumes that everyone reading will have a shared understanding of its physical and ideological form. On the one hand, it could be argued from the perspective of practical adequacy, that this foundation of presumption allows for the reader to interpret their own understanding, enabling the term to transcend geographical boundaries. However, on the other hand, it lacks cultural specificity which in turn produces misinformed knowledge which then travels into anglophone discourse. Therefore to generate more precise knowledge, the work of architectural scholar Nishat Awan proves particularly useful here. She argues that,

*If scale and value are no longer static, then the idea of measurement itself is transformed. Rather than referring to an external or fixed metric, measure becomes a relational activity that is inscribed in the ways in which environments and territories are produced [555].*

While Awan applies this thinking to her work on mapping, the concept of situated measuring proves itself equally relevant to the context of this research. During the initial weeks of my fieldwork, it became clear that my outside perspective of small needed to be deconstructed in order to build a situated understanding developed out of inside perspectives. For example, plot sizes which I considered "small" were not viewed that way by architects. If my conception of small had not been reframed, it would have led this thesis to be inaccurate in its presentation of scale. This deconstruction process speaks to Awan's notion that a territory led understanding of scale becomes a "relational activity"[556] – it is an active process by which meanings are devised out of each spatial context. I raise this to demonstrate that this section has applied Awan's idea – thus meaning that any applications of smallness have been informed by the understandings of the architects themselves. Note that it is understandings, as opposed to the singular, as there was no singular unified inside perspective on the Japanese architectural meaning of small. As mentioned previously in the introduction, some architects considered the physicality of smallness whereas others concentrated on its metaphorical

553 Imamura Mizuki and Shinohara Isao, "Interview with Imamura Mizuki + Shinohara Isao", in *En: The Art of Nexus* (TOTO, 2016),pp.73-74 (p.73).
554 Paul Waley, "Preface", in *Small Tokyo*, ed. by Darko Radovic and Davisi Boontharm (IKI (International Keio Institute) and Flick Studio Ltd, 2012), pp. 004-008 (p.006).
555 Nishat Awan, *Diasporic Agencies – Mapping the City Otherwise* (Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2016), p.115.
556 Ibid.

dimension. Some focused on plot size, others on the built area or narrow-ness of the structure, others on minute details of materials. During interviews I encountered both rigid and flexible definitions of smallness, variations and perspectives all of which have contributed to this section's use of the term.

Smallness was discussed by all architects through the lens of value and interestingly, not one architect cited smallness as a negative aspect of design. Sugawara Daisuke even stated that, from an interior perspective, "there are no downsides to small architecture"[557]. Instead smallness, as an intrinsic quality of *kyōshō jūtaku*, was considered valuable for three key reasons: a) it connects to tradition b) it generates intimacy and community and c) it encourages architects to implement a diversity of space through detail. As all three values were discussed interconnectedly, the section correspondingly discusses them in conjunction with each other in order to accentuate this connection.

Smallness as a quality of *kyōshō jūtaku* design was frequently linked back to past traditions of space making by architects. Hosaka Takeshi, founder of Takeshi Hosaka Architects used an image of traditional Edo as a way of situating smallness within a wider historical trajectory.

*In downtown Edo, people lived in these small long houses that were only 9sqm. People, often a family of four, would lay out the futon at night and put it away and use the space as a living space during the day. Smallness was countered through flexibility – for example, people used the rōji (alleyway) as a kind of terrace, they could have these small openings and be a part of the neighbourhood. I think that is continuing, it is part of Japan*[558].

Here Hosaka presents the notion that flexibility as a way of being within small space, is a timeless quality of Japanese living. Contemporary evidence for this can be found in his own *kyōshō jūtaku* design *Balcony House*, which was built in 2016 for a family of four[559]. The house, as the name suggests, contains a series of interior and exterior micro balconies which function as spatial dividers for the open single roomed house. (Figure 42), drawn by Hosaka within the interview, indicates how the balconies function; they have dual interior functions (both dividing the room and providing seating) which in turn produces a flexible living environment which can accommodate multiple activities and people. Despite the small perimeter of the single room, a diversity of spaces has been established which allows smallness to accommodate the differing aspects of contemporary family life.

To relate this image back to Hosaka's vision of Edo, the balconies (in a similar way to the *roji*) serve as community connectors. To explain further, Hosaka notes how he drew on the traditions of the neighbourhood when constructing the balconies in the design.

*In this area there are three characteristics incorporated into the housing – doma (threshold), grate balconies and small balconies. In this context, it is those three things which support this community, so I wanted to really build and focus on these things in my design. A lot of the people in the area know each other well, it's a community, people are friends. They can use the balconies to sit out and wave to each other and the doma (threshold) area to communicate with people around* [560].

There is a similarity between the way Edo occupants used the *roji* and how the *Balcony House*

557 Sugawara, 2018.
558 Hosaka, 2018.
559 More information about this *kyōshō jūtaku* project can be found here "Balcony House", 2020 < http://www.hosakatakeshi.com/english/works-projects_en/juriethouse_en.html> [Accessed 5 April 2019].
560 Hosaka, 2018.

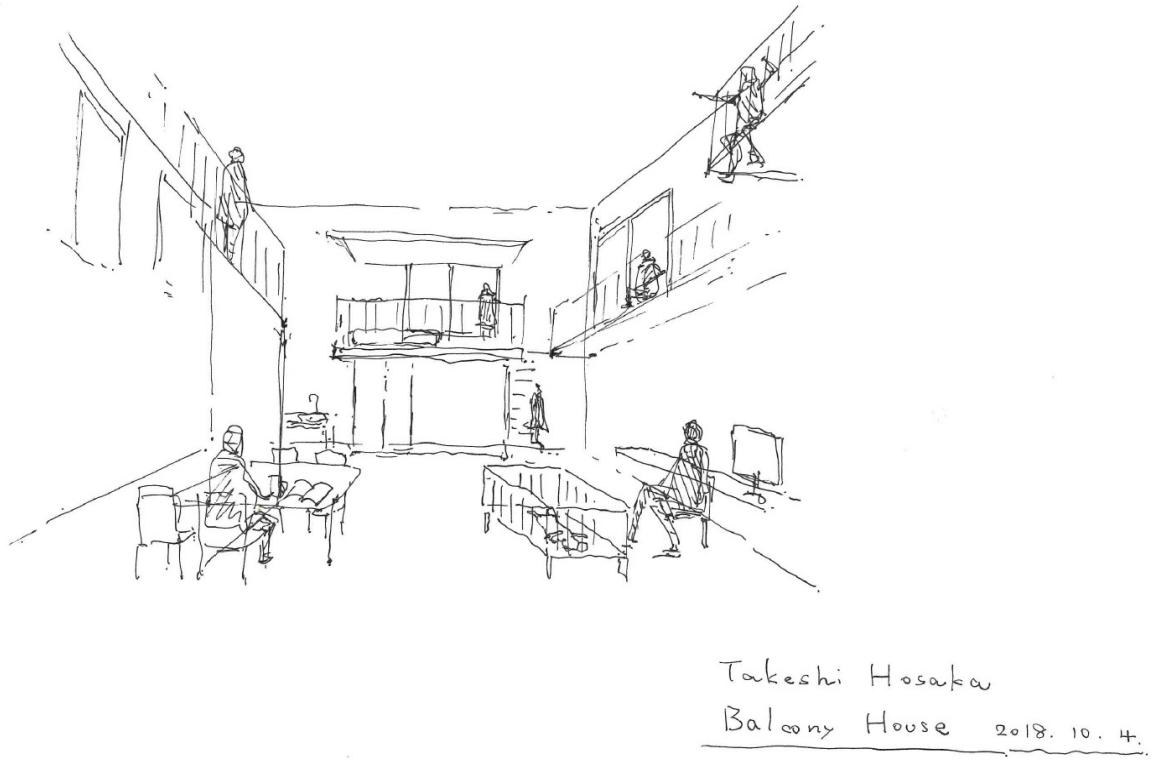


figure 42. Drawing of interior balconies by Hosaka Takeshi.

family can use the balconies – both spaces seek to extend the smallness of private space into the realm of the public, subsequently establishing communication with neighbourhood residents. However, there is also a difference: Edo residents would step over the threshold of the small private interior in order to enter the narrow outside *roji*, smallness thus operated within an inside-outside framework, however blurred it may have felt due to a mirroring of scale. In contrast, the residents of *Balcony House*, when stepping onto the external balconies are simultaneously inside and out, the binary is deconstructed. In this case, smallness is not manifesting as a closed experience, but rather as an open negotiation which occupies the in-between. One reason for this shift is likely caused by a change in the scale of smallness; as architects made clear, the majority of Tōkyō plots now do not occupy or have the ability to interact within a *roji* due to urban land size restrictions. Consequently, Tominaga Hiroko of FT Architects stated that she believes these restrictions result in "young architects struggling to design rich and diverse spaces for a really small site"[561]. Thus, the current generation is designing within a more size restrictive context than any previous generations as common space has depleted over time. As a result, fourth generation *kyōshō jūtaku* design has had to innovate practical experiences of smallness by complicating the inside-outside framework, something which is discussed later in this chapter.

Another important idea in Hosaka's description alludes to is the way the design purposefully emulates the surrounding buildings. This is particularly important as it became evident during the site visits to *Balcony House* that the neighbourhood it is situated within is not only old from an urban planning perspective but also in relation to residential demographics.

561 Fukushima and Tominaga, 2018.

During an early morning site visit, two elderly men on two separate occasions stopped to ask me why I wanted to draw this 'new' house when there were plenty of older historical buildings in the area. These brief interactions cemented how the contemporary white box of *Balcony House*, occupied by a young family, starkly contrasts its environment. However, I also noticed that the surrounding aging buildings also had both grate and small balconies; a detail which I later mentioned to Hosaka during the interview. He relayed how actively embedding neighbourhood motifs into the architectural design, such as the balconies, was one way of using design to allow the house to mould to its territory. He also spoke about a further way the residents have sought to culturally and spatially cement the house within the area: by allowing their *doma* to function as a *mikoshi* (shrine) meeting point during the summer *matsuri* (festival). As a result, members of the neighbourhood gather in the space for cultural and religious activity. During this time, the contemporary house functions as a space of commons, a traditional coming together of celebration which signifies a unification of differences.

Historian Richard Ronald defines *doma* as transitional "liminal spaces" which are neither inside nor out, private nor public[562]. He argues that "*doma* are no longer found in contemporary housing" which, as this case shows, is inaccurate[563]. Perhaps by this he is attempting to emphasise that the *doma*, as it was once used as working space in rural farmhouses, is no longer in function. However, to say it does not exist in contemporary reality is to erase its urban transformation. Imai Heide notes how *roji* were often associated with the term *afuredashi*, literally translated as 'overflow' – representing the excess of domestic objects which gathered in the space[564]. Interestingly, during site visits to *Balcony House*, the contemporary *doma*, as a *roji* like space, emulated this overflow, having been filled with bicycles, potted plants and children's toys. This in itself demonstrates the blurred boundary of public-private – the objects of a private domestic life occupy a technically private space which functions publicly. Further, the *doma* also serves another practical urban purpose; it is used as a space to park a car, seeing as cars are not permitted to be parked on public streets according to city regulations. The multi-purpose capacity of the urban *doma* is a symbol of its situated place and time – the restricted amount of space in Tōkyō today demands adaptation and innovation. *Balcony House* demonstrates that through a reimagined *doma*, the smallness of the house is extended by a blurring of practical, social and cultural layers of public and private.

Continuing with this project, I asked Hosaka about whether the house as a structural monospace (an inevitable consequence of its smallness) places a restriction on privacy.

*HT: Before the house was built, the family lived in the husband's family home. They lived in one room on the third floor; when I first started designing for them, I went to see them in their house, and they seemed to really enjoy living in that kind of one room space. So, these clients didn't really have privacy to begin with. We sat and constructed perimeters and I asked them if they needed rooms and they said they didn't feel like they needed them, small private areas were not necessary.*

*CK: Interesting...do you think that this need may change as their children get older? Or do you think that if they have grown up in that space perhaps they will never think to want or need privacy?*

*HT: I think that growing up in a house like this means that perhaps privacy is not seen as a necessity. However, I am looking forward to seeing what will happen and whether things*

562 Richard Ronald, "Homes and Houses, Senses and Spaces", in *Home and Family in Japan: Continuity and Transformation*, ed. by Richard Ronald and Allison Alexy (Routledge, 2017), pp.174-199 (p.177).
563 Ibid.
564 Imai, p.121

*change. For example, right now, the older sister sleeps here (shows on model) and then you go down these stairs to the guest balcony, and I'm guessing that the baby is using that space right now - let's say the children get older and want a study space - that could be in the living room or one of the balcony areas could be used for that purpose. Overall, I think the space can adjust to their needs*[565].

In order for smallness to function successfully within the future, Hosaka has had to employ a design imagination which creates multiple spatial possibilities for the family to utilise. By doing this, smallness concurrently occupies both present and future spatial narratives which undermines any singular existence. This timelessness connects back to Harada Masato's belief, as detailed in the introduction, that a Japanese sense of scale is fuelled by an imagination which hurtles towards scale-ness – i.e. something very small can be conceived as something very big[566]. In other words, if time and scale are multiple, the concept of small becomes infinite and dependable on the imaginer. German philosopher Immanuel Kant theorises the notion of the concept as a shaper of experience; in other words, concepts grasp, shape and make experiences intelligible[567]. This posits the concept and the experience as inseparable - bound together much like the cell and the foam. To apply this to *kyōshō jūtaku* design, architects (as imaginers) have the ability to take a concept, such as smallness, and grasp and shape it in such a way that the experience of it becomes driven by that process. While occupants may mould the spatial framework of the house to an extent, they are doing that within the confines of the architect's expression and imagination of the concept.

Alongside Hosaka, other architects mentioned the role of the neighbourhood community in their *kyōshō jūtaku* design. Before exploring them further, it is critical to note that in a similar way to the variety of definitions of smallness, the concept of the neighbourhood is equally diverse in meaning, understanding and image. However, what is often emphasised in literature on neighbourhood studies, is that they are not static entities but instead fluxed places of macro and micro change[568]. Within processes of change, there can also be traces of the past, something Imamura Mizuki of MiCo refers to when establishing a connection between Edo, modern community and physical proximity.

*IM: Edo came about differently than other cities. There was this general idea when Edo was emerging that everyone is a good person and you can make communities and shared-ness of space. Edo flourished during a long time of peace. Because of that foundation, we now all live side by side in harmony despite that fact that these houses can be broken into easily. I think people want to be in close connection.*

*CK: Ok, so there is still an invisible close sense of shared community?*

*IM: Yes, invisible in the sense that it's not like people are really close emotionally, more that they are physically close and that creates a community atmosphere*[569].

In this case, albeit through an imagined rather than factual approach to history[570], Imamura refers to a neighbourly sense of community, which she believes has remained intact despite the vast changes Edo has undergone to manifest as contemporary Tōkyō. This is in part down

565 Hosaka, 2018.
566 Harada, 2018.
567 Kant's idea of the concept is discussed concretely within Cazeaux, p.52-73.
568 Maarten van Ham and others, *Understanding Neighbourhood Dynamics: New Insights for Neighbourhood Effects Research* (Springer, 2013), p.4.
569 Imamura, 2018.
570 This idea that Edo was a haven of peace and prosperity is an ahistorical notion. Nicolas Fieve and Paul Waley in their book *Japanese Capitals in Historical perspective: Place, Power and Memory in Kyoto, Edo and Tokyo* (Routledge, 2003) emphasise that political forces, social status and economic pursuits dictated Edo's physical layout (p.19), countering the idea that everyone was considered good and equal. They give the example of how during The Great Meireki Fire, those residents who seen as more important were moved away from fire first.

to the continuation of close physical proximity which, as previously noted, has increased due to the reduction of public commons and subdivision of lots[571]. However, Imamura does refer to a significant change in the effects of this proximity; Edo residents living in *nagaya* (row-houses), which was 70-80% of the population of the city, were not physically closed off from their communities[572]. The houses remained open for community members to enter, in a similar way to how rural (non-elite) *minka* farmhouses operated[573]. Today, despite the increase in proximity to neighbours, the majority of free-standing houses have become closed due to the private realm being reserved solely for the family. This closing makes it difficult for community to be identified, as Imamura states, it is now manifesting as an invisible feeling of closeness rather than as a tangible physical experience. The data from Wissink and Hazelzet's research into Tōkyō neighbourhood social networking supports this theory of invisibility, as they conclude that is difficult to identify consistent social communities within neighbourhoods[574]. I would add to their argument by suggesting that this invisibility is likely further reinforced through the changing nature of residents due to the housing lifecycle, as noted in chapter two, making it difficult for a consistent neighbourhood community to materially stabilise if people struggle to establish ongoing relationships. In a similar way to Hosaka's *Balcony House*, MiCo's *House in Tokyo* also incorporates balconies; each opening offers a counter to this invisibility by actively reinstating physical interaction.

Suemitsu Hirokazu of studio SUEP also refers to community by stating that "Tōkyō is more like a gathering of villages than a metropolis which establishes a unique sense of community […] this mentality definitely impacts *kyōshō jūtaku*"[575]. Yet, there has been debate within the field of Japanese Studies as to whether this portrayal of Tōkyō as a set of villages is an accurate representation. Theodore Bestor in his book *Neighbourhood Tokyo* critiques the image as grounded in cliché and argues that urban neighbourhoods do not exist as lingering remnants of moribund social forms that was once found in rural villages[576]. However, Suemitsu's perspective slightly undermines Bestor's argument as he stresses that a vast amount of people who currently live in Tōkyō originally hail from rural areas, highlighting that this rural-urban movement is not a recent phenomenon but one which began in the post war years. He emphasises that in the 1960s and 70s many people wanted to escape the closeness of village community and therefore came to settle in cities such as Tōkyō as it offered a sense of freedom. However, while the megacity as a whole generated a rejection of rural community, the city structures of *cho* (neighbourhood) and *ku* (ward) generated micro communities, each which have their own understandings, meanings and formations of village mentality resulting in a unique set of contemporary behavioural patterns[577]. Therefore, it is viable to argue that these original rural social forms are not moribund or redundant, but rather reborn into new and multiple social urban networks.

It appears that fourth-generation architects are looking for ways to counter this invisibility and re-establish a sense of physical community that once played an important social role in past urban life. In a discussion with Yamada Tomohiko of Studio Battery, he brought this physical openness to community into conversation with private family space.

*Community in Japan is important, both family and in the wider neighbourhood. I put in eight big windows into Cut Slide House, because if we want, we can have them open and expose ourselves to the community - we can see and interact with our neighbours. But we can also close the curtains and enjoy our private time together. I think having the option for both is*

571 Tsukamoto and Kaijima, "Tokyo in Practice", p.61.
572 Ronald, p.179.
573 Ibid.
574 Bart Wissink and Arjan Hazelzet, "Social networks in 'Neighbourhood Tokyo'", *Urban Studies*, 49:7 (2012), 1527-1549.
575 Suemitsu and Suemitsu, 2018.
576 Bestor, C. Theodore, *Neighborhood Tokyo* (Stanford University Press, 1990), p.9.
577 This argument is supported by Hans Kiib and Gitte Marling, *Catalyst Architecture* (Aalborg University Press, 2015); Imai, 2009.

*important for our family. I think it is nice that we are not separated* [578].

*Cut Slide House* is an example of how smallness and privacy can contain both physical neighbourhood community and familial intimacy. The capability of the windows, to open and close, to reveal and conceal, not only offers occupants the element of choice but also presents opportunity for spatial diversity. This can also be seen within Unemori Architect's *Small House* which features steel panels that can be entirely open or entirely closed. For architect Unemori Hiroyuki, exposing the house in such an extreme way in an opportunity for people to see what kind of life is being led[579].

Sugawara Daisuke of SugawaraDaisuke Architects provided some further insight into how spatial diversity can be achieved through smallness.

*I believe that realising the diversity of place is important. In kyōshō jūtaku design there are subtle ways which can diversify scale. I try to invite the effect of the landscape and nature with the lighting. For example, having a reflecting roof to invite colours, or a certain type of glass in the windows to capture the movement of the trees. You can also change the ceiling height, depth or width. I think intimacy can be created by choosing how you want to be in place - customising space allows for intimacy* [580].

In the interview setting, the word intimacy proved difficult to translate, as often Japanese linguistic uses of the term, notably *shinmitsu* or *najimi* are typically used specifically to refer to human relationships rather than spatial atmospheres. However, *shinmitsu* was often used by architects to refer to closeness of space, so, to note, the two terms (intimacy and closeness) were used interchangeably. One project which seeks to explore how intimacy and closeness can manifest through subtle exchanges such as those cited by Sugawara, is ICADA'S *House in Tsukishima*, a renovation project completed in 2015 by architect Nariaki Chigusa[581].

*I designed both furniture and lighting to contribute to the different levels of intimacy in the house and compliment my concept. For example, I deliberately tapered the windows inwards at a certain angle to emphasis the feeling of closeness and to draw attention to the small details of the design (figure 43, figure 44,)* [582].

The drawing by Nariaki (figure 45) shows tiny ants trapped within the frame of the windows with a person stood observing them. Architectural critic Takahashi Ken argues in his essay *The Genealogy of Details* that while large architectural gestures are made towards the outside, small physical details contained with the margin are more complex and force us to turn to the inside[583]. Nariaki's drawing emulates this idea: the ants exist within the margin of the window frame, encouraging the viewer to consider their purpose and relationship to the inside. The first of the photographs (figure 43) is the ants in actuality, minute LED lights run around the tapered edge of the frame; when the house is lit by these small-scale lights, the surrounding glow is designed to foster an intimate atmosphere. The second photograph (figure 44) demonstrates another of Nariaki's lighting concepts which is installed within the stairwell which leads up to the rooftop. Due to the house's smallness, it functions as a vertical monospace – it is therefore the function of the lights to decentre this singular pathway and establish spatial diversity. In this case, the light beams reflect off of the

578 Yamada, 2018.
579 Unemori, 2018.
580 Sugawara, 2018.
581 More information about this *kyōshō jūtaku* project can be found here "House in Tsukishima", 2020 < http://icada.asia/wp/houseintsukishi-ma/> [Accessed 12 April 2019].
582 Nariaki, 2018.
583 Takahashi Ken, "The Genealogy of Details", *Japan Architect*, 107: Autumn (2017), 60 (p.60).



figure 43. Tapered lighting in *House in Tsukishima*. Image by author.



figure 44. Interior lighting in House in Tsukishima. Image by author.

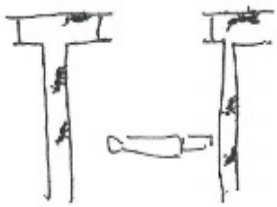

figure 45.
Drawing by
Nariaki
Chigusa.

purposefully placed mirrored surfaces, set at angles around the space which makes the space seem larger than it is in reality. Again, reflecting Harada's concept of deconstructing scale, here smallness is shown to have the capacity for design creativity which can work towards expanding how the scale of the space is perceived. Gaston Bachelard summarises this concept within *The Poetics of Space* by promoting the idea that in order to understand miniature thinking, "one must go beyond logic in order to experience what is large in what is small"[584].

Nariaki carries this interest of mobilising intimacy through physical space into his deconstructive use of architectural photography. Normative uses typically emulate pristine images which highlight the design, devoid of human activity or natural kinesthesis. The photographs presented of *House in Tsukishima* engages with a starkly different narrative, showcasing how an occupant can build a relationship with smallness (figure 46, figure 47, figure 48).

*NC: You mentioned in our email conversations that you found the architectural photographs of the house on the website surprising and strange in a good way. I found that interesting as creating those was an experiment, I had this strong urge to make a new kind of architectural photograph. I started being an architect and then I went back to art school and then returned back to architecture. So maybe my outlook and feeling towards architecture is informed by my relationship to art practice. For me, the photos are not only about exploring privacy or smallness, but it is also a way of focusing on an individual experience of the space. This is why I chose to zoom in on one person*[585].

584 Bachelard, p.169.
585 Nariaki, 2018.



figure 46. Experimental architectural photograph.
Image courtesy and copyright of ICADA and Kanagawa Shingo.



figure 47. Experimental architectural photograph.
Image courtesy and copyright of ICADA and Kanagawa Shingo.



figure 48. Experimental architectural photograph. Image courtesy and copyright of ICADA.

The images, while providing snapshots into the private relationship the individual has with the space, also generates a layer of openness. The role of the window is prominent within each photograph and functions as a connecting mechanism to the outside world. A conversation between Tsukamoto Yoshiharu and Nishizawa Ryue in *Japan Architect* show them citing the window as a detailed phenomenon which forces the individual to have a relationship with the outside, allowing for small places to extend continuously into the open[586]. When the window is opened, the small private space is filled with the sounds, smells and natural energy of the urban exterior; this contact with the sensory leaks into and invades any experience of closed off privacy.

This idea takes us back to the relational experience of cells and foam. Sloterdijk discusses the "film like walls" which separate each cell from the foam chamber. The thin membranes interact with the foam as they push against it establishing a tension. Relatedly, if activity occurs within the foam structure (usually via the movement of air), the cells shift in accordance with it. Thus, each cell's experience of the inside is highly dependable on the conditions of the outside. Similarly, open windows of the house establish the conditions of the inside atmosphere, something which can change the effect of both privacy and smallness. For example, in the first photograph in particular (figure 46), the light from the outside which enters through the window plays a significant role in generating an intimate atmosphere. The beam of light frames the room and draws the viewers eyeline to the figure laying on the bed, a pathway which appears to emphasise the smallness of the space. The image of the sleeping figure is such an intimate experience of privacy that the photograph emulates the feeling that as viewers we are spying and trespassing on her privacy. Alternatively, it could be read that the viewer is permitted to share the private realm, creating a sort of publicness to her privacy.

586 Tsukamoto Yoshiharu and Nishizawa Ryue, "Discussing the Contemporary Urban Landscape with Yoshiharu Tsukamoto and Ryūe Nishizawa", *Japan Architect*, 65: Spring (2007), 10-13 (p.11).

This kind of photographic intimacy can also be seen in one out of the 13 photographs Unemori Architects have documented on their website of *Small House*. (Figure 49) shows a mother watching her young child use the central spiral steps; a moment of the everyday which we, as the viewer, are looking in on. The steel panel is slightly ajar producing a sliver of light into the room. Similarly, the open panel on the floor below lights the staircase which draws our line of sight to it. The contrast between this light and the soft darkness produced by the wood, coupled with the scene of motherhood, creates a feeling of intimacy.



figure 49. Motherhood in *Small House*. Image courtesy and copyright of Unemori Architects.

Another project which speaks to the importance of light in establishing intimacy is Atelier Hako's House in Hommachi, completed in 2015.

*In our projects, we really want to make sure we find intimate value in smallness. Blending the light with the inherent intimacy of the small plot is something we take advantage of. In kyōshō jūtaku, because of their small scale, its usually hard to light the back of the houses. In House in Hommachi, we had to wanted to make sure these back rooms were well lit, so we placed a skylight (figure 50) and cut very specific angles, this allowed these spaces to retain an intimate atmosphere as light hits specific points. It was complicated to achieve because of all the regulations we had to follow* [587].

The images taken within *House at Hommachi* (figure 51), show how the light beams which travel from the third-floor skylight generate their own intimate expression of smallness. The structure of the house becomes a container for this intimate light which layers and multiplies on various surfaces. Here, the spatial imagination of the architects was highly refined to manifest at specific points throughout the house, which suggests that designing successful smallness is dependent on very specific analytical procedure. To turn again to Bachelard's writing on the miniature dwelling, he reinforces this notion by arguing that,

*The house, then, really is an instrument of topoanalysis […] it is first and foremost a geometrical object, one which we are tempted to analyze rationally. Its prime reality is visible*

587 Nanashima and Sano, 2018.

*and tangible, made of well hewn solids and well fitted framework. It is dominated by straight lines, the plumbline having marked it with its discipline and balance. A geometrical object of this kind ought to resist metaphors that welcome to human body and the human soul. But transposition to the human plane takes place immediately whenever a house is considered as space for cheer and intimacy, space that is supposed to condense and defend intimacy*[588].



figure 50. Exterior Skylight. Image courtesy and copyright of Atelier Hako, URBAN Arts and Kera Shinsuke.



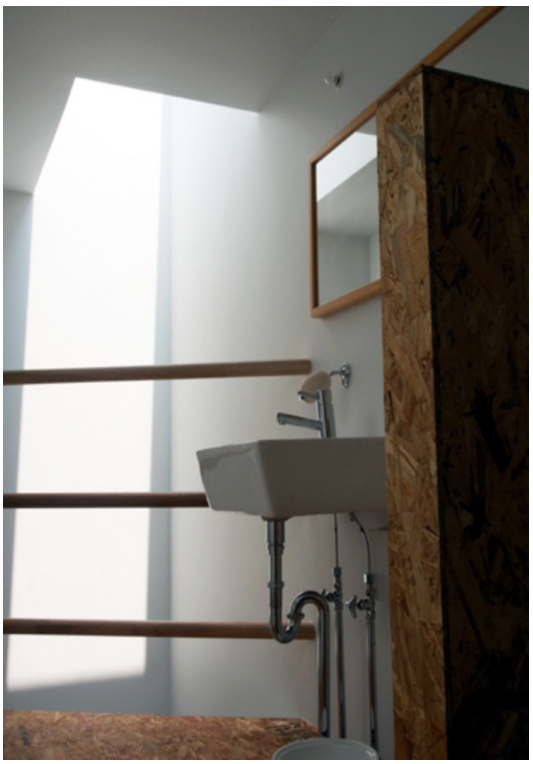

figure 51. Skylight interior light images. Image courtesy and copyright of Atelier Hako, URBAN Arts and Kera Shinsuke.

588 Bachelard, p.68

This suggests that foundationally, smallness must be conceived through rational analysis. It is only by constructing its geometrical conditions that the human element of intimacy can then take shape within. In the case of *House at Hommachi*, the skylight is a result of careful architectural analysis which mobilised to locate which areas of the house would remain without light if it was not put in place. It was subsequently erected as a necessary lighting solution which, due to its verticality, did not breach the allotted built construction perimeters (60% of the total plot). Intimacy, generated from human interaction, is a positive by-product of this disciplinary plight. Further, in regard to Tōkyō more widely as an urban environment, the land and building regulations made by the Tōkyō Metropolitan Government serve as analytical measures which can at times curb spatial imagination. While imagination in regard to *kyōshō jūtaku* scale can on the surface appear bountiful and unrestrained, in reality, fourth generation architects are working within a precise and rigid system which consequently makes their innovative interpretations of smallness all the more skilful.

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## *Uchi-Soto-Ma-En*

To instigate this section on the interconnecting relationship between *uchi-soto-ma-en*, it is first necessary to introduce their general conception.

*Uchi – soto*, meaning inside – outside, is a foundational architectural dichotomy, that has long been explored in relation to numerous other binary formations including nature -culture, man-woman, sex-gender[589]. From the field of anglophone architectural scholarship, the work of phenomenologist Christian Norberg-Schulz is particularly thorough in regard to the emotional meaning of the inside-outside construct.

Norberg-Schulz draws on the work of German psychologist Jürg Zutt, who studied the concept of home and dwelling. Zutt straightforwardly argued that the inside of the home is representative of maximum spatial security and in order for this representation to hold true, a place needs a pronounced limit or border [590]. Therefore, it is through the contrast of place as a site of safety and that which is external to it, by which inside-outside is established. Norberg-Schulz expands on this by considering how place allows for personality and identity building, which again reinforces this feeling of security[591]. Further, he writes about the directionality of the binary, and how a geometrically straight line unites the two, allowing the inside to become permeated by openings to the outside. Aware of the messy area between the two, he argues that "place as such is also influenced by the direction; it is 'stretched' towards the outside, at the same time as the outside penetrates the border, creating an area of transition"[592].

In the context of Japan, *uchi-soto* has been prominent within architectural scholarship, most notably in regard to built processes and structures[593]. However, alongside this there does exist a body of literature which engages with the cultural, social and emotional histories

589 Examples include Teresa Gómez Reus and Aránzazu Usandizaga (eds), *Inside Out – Women Negotiating, Subverting, Appropriating Public and Private Space* (Rodopi, 2008); Elizabeth Grosz, *Architecture from the Outside – Essays on Virtual and Real Space* (MIT Press, 2001); Katarina Bonnevier, *Behind Straight Curtains: Towards a Queer Feminist Theory of Architecture* (Axl Books, 2007).
590 The work of Jürg Zutt is explored concisely within Norberg-Schulz, p.20.
591 Ibid, p.25.
592 Ibid.
593 Examples include Kitagawa Keisuke and Shibata Hiroki, "Keitai to seishitsu o kōryo shita Nihon jūtaku no naigai kyōiki [Internal and External Boundaries of Japanese Housing Considering Form and Nature]", *Proceedings of the Architectural Institute of Japan*, 74:646 (2009), 2595-2604; Kamata Yuki, Kitagawa Keisuke and Ito Yuki, "Keitai to seishitsu o kōryo shita Ajia no dentō jūtaku heimen no naigai kyōiki [Interior / Exterior of Traditional Houses in Asia in Consideration of Form and Property]", *J. Archit. Plann*, 76:661 (2011), 559-568; Edward Sylvester Morse, Ueda Atsushi, Kato Hiroki and Yanagi Miyoko, Nihon no sumai —-nai to soto [Japan's Experience: Inside-Outside] (Kashima Publishing Association, 1982).

associated with *uchi-soto* manifestations. Significantly, the work of Ozaki Ritsuko and John Rees Lewis, as well as anthropologist Inge Daniels, emphasise how it has been instrumental in developing psycho-cultural values which, via everyday acts and practices, establish a sense of self[594]. All three scholars establish a cross-over with Norberg-Schulz by noting the importance of *uchi-soto* blurring or stretching, a process which results in the emergence of transitional space.

In close proximity to *uchi-soto,* is another form of Japanese transitional space, *Ma* and *en*. According to Maki Fumihiko, architects across the generations have acknowledged the need to confront "the membrane at the boundary of space"[595] as it is through these boundaries, that "an enormous amount of information flows"[596]. Simply put, both *ma* and *en* are spatial energies which serve to imbue gaps, voids and edges with meaning.

When engaging in the literature of *ma*, I became aware that its construction is often framed as comprehensible only to Japanese insiders. For example, Isozaki states,

*All Japanese people intuitively understand the concept of ma - an interval in space or time (…) people who are not immersed in Japanese culture have no comprehension of ma. None of my foreign architect friends could understand the concept even when it was explained to them [597].*

Isozaki's words can be read as embodying *Nihonjinron* in the way he equates cultural understanding to race and ethnicity, thus promoting nationalist thinking. While this kind of expression is important to acknowledge and challenge (to make clear, I do not believe outsiders are unable to comprehend the term due to them not being Japanese), there does exist a significant lack of anglophone knowledge on *ma*. In part, I believe this stems from an absence of practical imagery which serves to tangibly demonstrate its spatial capacity. Original explorations into *ma* have been typically discussed within the realm of textual theory[598], offering few concrete examples of how it manifests in reality. In regard to *en*, there is even less of an outside understanding as there is no formal Japanese or anglophone writing on its theoretical basis. Only recently has the term begun to be explored as a spatial construct, a key example being through the collaborative 2016 Venice biennale exhibition in which the Japanese contribution was titled *en: art of nexus[599]*. Interestingly the linguistic origin of *en*, which as previously mentioned stems from *engawa* (veranda/porch), is physical in nature – it literally marks edges, borders and territories. *Ma* on the other hand, has a phenomenological foundation which mobilises to mark the empty pause between objects. Thus, one resembles the practical in-between while the other manifests as phenomenological.

*Uchi-soto-ma-en* all influence how privacy is designed, constructed and experienced in the everyday. Implementing them supports the creation of a sense of place (*ma-dori o tsukuru*) or atmosphere; by layering them in connection with each other, there holds a potential to unlock new spatial components and intimate connections which heighten our sensory experiences of privacy. This chapter provides built architectural examples of *ma* and *en*, as well as blurred and stretched uses of *uchi-soto*, in the hope that anglophone understanding of the four concepts can develop. As an outsider, my analytical readings of the ways in which *uchi-soto-ma-en* manifest in *kyōshō jūtaku* spaces are primarily built out of the perspectives of insider

594 See Ozaki and Rees Lewis, p. 91-104; Inge Daniels, "Japanese Homes Inside Out", *Home Cultures*, 5:2 (2015), 115-139.
595 Maki, "Space, Image and Materiality", p.12.
596 Hasegawa, p.184.
597 Isozaki and Daniell, p.40.
598 For example, within his text *Japan-ness in Architecture* , Isozaki discusses the logical, visual and performative in complex theoretical terms. See p.93-100. Other examples include Kodama, Mitsuru, "The Five Types of Ma Thinking and Five Architect Capabilities: Theoretical Concepts", in *Ma Theory and the Creative Management of Innovation*, ed. by Kodama Mitsuru (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp.23-42; Nitschke, p.33-39; Okuno Takeo, *ma no Kozo [the structure of ma]* (Shueisha, 1983); Kenmochi Takehiko, *ma no nihon bunka [the Japanese culture of ma]* (Kodansha, 1981).
599 See exhibition catalogue Yamana, Yoshiyuki and others, *En: The Art of Nexus* (TOTO, 2016)

architects, although they are also informed my own observations of them during site visits. The arguments presented are therefore assembled from both insider and outsider experiences, a dynamic which I hope encourages new cross-cultural conversations of these intricate spatial ideologies. Important to stress is that the emergence of *ma* in particular is centred on the experience of the individual – in other words, what may be considered *ma* for one person may not for another. Thus, these readings of *ma* are interpretations built out of the data and supported by existing literature; all of them can be questioned or reframed by different ways of looking.

*Creating a Cushion: Grey Space*

*I pay a visit to Near House on a cool October morning. Despite having been given a detailed map from the architects, I still find myself lost, weaving through the endless alleyways which make up the old neighbourhood of Minami-Asagaya. I circle a large graveyard where incense smoke rises in narrow lines above the fence, ducking left into the next alley. Two elderly ladies wish me good morning, I reply with the same and ask them if they know the address to the house. They discuss among themselves and include me by nodding and telling me to follow them. After a short walk with a number of turns, they point me down a narrow street. I thank them and continue walking. Near House sits on the right side of the street; there is nowhere to sit so I lean against a wall on the opposite side of street which gives me a good view. The house is built from two separate structures - the smaller at the front and the slightly larger at the back. The back structure is completely hidden from a forward-facing street view. The smaller structure which sits almost directly on the street is tiny. Made of light grey steel panels it is window-less – the only design features which stand out is the small buzzer and the circular lock attached to the door. Green shrubs line the front, marking the edge of the plot from the road. The green continues down the left-hand gap quite chaotically, with ivy creeping up the side of the structure. In contrast, the right-hand side is manicured to form a stone narrow path leading towards the second structure. Peering down the path, I can just make out an old chair leaning against the second structure. Despite being situated directly on the street in a busy area, the whole house feels very spatially contained and as a result, very private.*

(figure 52, figure 53, figure 54, figure 55)
Amended notes from Site Visit Diary, October 2018.




figure 52.  Walking past the smoke-filled graveyard. Image by author.



figure 53. Digital sketch made from the jotting I made directly after following the elderly women to *Near House.* Image by author.



figure 54. Views from the street of *Near House.* Images by author.



figure 55. Right side path of *Near House*. Image by author.

As mentioned in chapter two, *Near House* was designed by Harada Masato and Harada Mao in 2010. In conversation with Harada Masato , I asked how *uchi-soto* functions between the two structures:

*HM: In this plot, we were working under very strict rules as to the amount we could build on - it was only 50% - so we had to create some kind of outdoor space within that. We knew immediately that navigating the balance between uchi and soto would be interesting. I think there's a sense that the space in-between the two structures operates as a grey space, or as some sort of cushion to create a gradient between the outside and the house. It can't be considered purely soto because otherwise people would just wander in off the street into that space. It has to be a valid part of the house*[600].

600 Harada, 2018.

This statement speaks to the binary idea that pure *soto* operates as public, in the sense that anyone could have access to it, while pure *uchi* is private and therefore restricted to individual ownership. The grey gradient or cushion between these two purities is complex in that it must retain a sense of ownership despite its open-ness. This where the spatial energy of *en* can prove useful as it inserts privacy into the cushion. To explain let us consider *Near House*'s stone path. It leads directly from the street, past the first structure, and ends at the doorstep of the second, thus showcasing a gradual gradient between public and private (figure 55). To give a concrete example of how *en* mobilises here, I can draw from a site visit experience; I saw a delivery man press the buzzer on the facade of the first structure to inform the owners he had a parcel for them. There was no answer. He peered down the path towards the second structure, clearly aware of its existence. However, rather than walk down the path he chose to leave the parcel with a note next to the door of the first structure. The parcel was therefore left right on the edge of public and private. From the perspective of visible space alone, there would be no reason as why he did not walk down the path – the structures are clearly connected. However, if we consider that *en* has taken shape as a spatial by-product, then for the delivery man, entering the path would be infringing on the ownership and privacy of the owners. Thus, the path physically encompasses *en* by establishing meaning – it psychologically communicates to public actors that it is private space. Arguably, the aesthetic design of the path, as a maintained space, further claims it as private; if it is cared for, it is owned. The other side however, with its overgrown greenery, does not emulate the same level of ownership – despite them being of equal width and length, and the fact that they reflect the same public-private gradient. This raises the question of whether *en* requires the control of space in order to establish meaning.

According to Imamura Mizuki and Shinohara Isao, co-founders of MiCo, *en*, as a form of connection, can include areas that cannot be completed or controlled[601]. For example, in Imamura's sketch she drew in our interview, she sketches what *en* and *ma* mean to her through showing the different relations which can occur between objects (figure 56). In one of the *en* sketches she shows a connection between a window (*uchi*) and an object (*soto*). The window is functioning as the edge or boundary marking the two experiences of space. If *en* is established by making a connection between, for example, a window and a tree (as shown in the adjacent sketch), *en* is produced as a result of the window placement aligning with the tree. There is a grey spatial cushion between the two objects which generates a level of energy; *uchi* and *soto* are stretched between them. However, as previously mentioned, Tōkyō's urban form is inherently unstable, making the landscape always subject to change. For example, if the tree was to be removed and replaced with another window, *en* could not be controlled or considered complete. Rather, if it were re-produced, it would be a result of a chance encounter between these objects.

*Ma* on the other hand only occurs through control, the space between objects cannot be subject to change. A historical example of *ma* can be found in the *Ryōan-ji zen* temple in Kyōtō (figure 57). Each of the small stones and the large rock formations are placed in a precise location in order to facilitate a meditative state, making it a deliberate composition. A *kyōshō jūtaku* example of this same *ma* composure can be found in the bathroom of *E House*. FT Architect's Tominaga and Fukushima, lead architects on the project, relayed to me in their interview that the owner of the house had expressed her love of bathing in their first meeting, emphasising that the bathroom would need to be an important space in the house[602]. It therefore became a space that was highly deliberated and perfected during the design phase.

601 Imamura and Shinohara, p.73.
602 Fukushima and Tominaga, 2018.

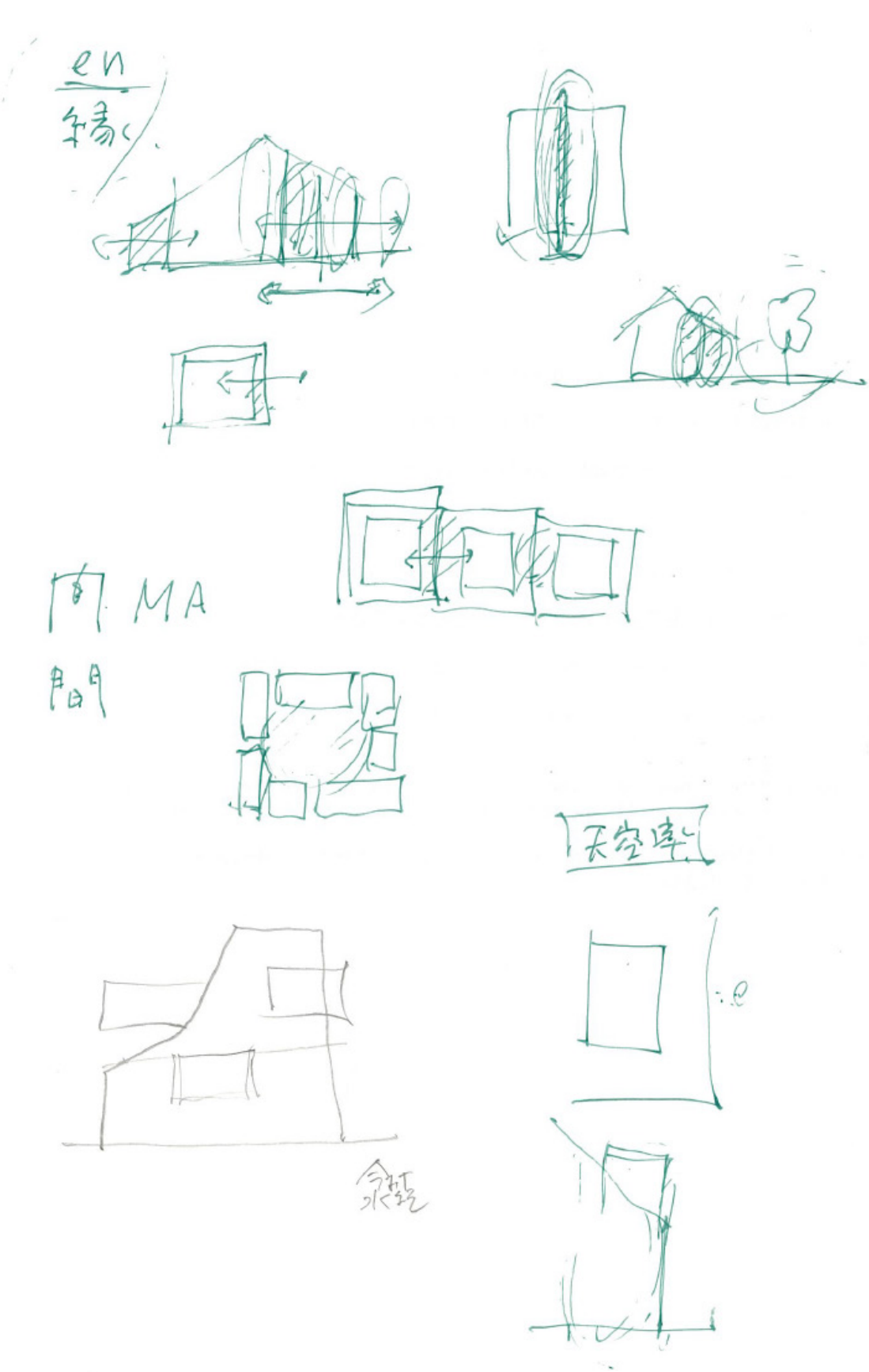


figure 56. Image of *en* and *ma* drawn by Imamura Mizuki.



figure 57. *Ryōan-ji zen* temple. Image by author.

The drawing done by Tominaga (figure 58) indicates the grey cushion, which was established to generate a gradual *ma* energy. While drawing she speaks about the necessity for *kyōshō jūtaku*, as small spaces, to implement mental or psychological partitions to counter the fact that there is not enough room to make them physical[603]. For example, as a photograph of Tominaga's drawing, (figure 59) shows that the wooden blocked stairs are positioned to create a gap between the last step and the door frame. This gap is designed as a mental partition, it symbolises an opening to a shift in space-time dynamics. To expand further, the character for *ma* (間) actually consists of two characters. The first ( 門 ) signifies a gate or an opening while the second (日) can be interpreted to mean, depending on the context, the sun or the day. Thus, as Kodama Mitsuru notes, "the combination of these two characters expresses the moment in which sunlight or moonlight passes through the gap in the gate"[604]. This meaning can be applied to the gap between the stairs and the bathroom; by stepping up into the bathroom, the atmosphere shifts, both physically through the change in light and shadow, and mentally, as the bathroom becomes a sanctuary like space for the owner, something which the rest of the house does not represent. Without the gap, the stairs would enable a continuous space and time.

The bathroom itself (figure 60) continues this *ma* composition. The awkward shape of the plot results in a complicated angular field which includes a portion of dead space. Dead space, according to a number of the architects, is leftover space which cannot serve a function – a frequent occurrence on *kyōshō jūtaku* plots. However, Tominaga and Fukushima reclaim this portion of dead space through establishing *ma* energy. The cushion is created through the reinterpretation of the traditional sliding door (*shōji*) – its ability to slide fully open blurs the division of *uchi-soto*, thus constructing a gradient. *Ma* is established by the in-between gap between the two white walls. They are positioned perfectly so that only greenery can be seen through the gap, and only the picturesque traditional roof of a neighbouring house frames the boundary. The walls and the roof form a flow of harmonious communication, speaking to each

603 Ibid.
604 Kodama, p.36.

other through the void. The green gap establishes a separate time-space experience to that created within the walls of the bathroom.

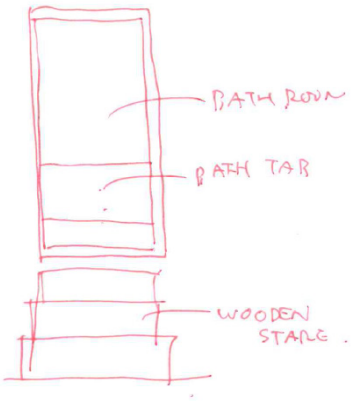


figure 58. Drawing of bathroom enterance by Tominaga Hiroko.



figure 59. *E House* stairs. Image copyright and courtesy of FT Architects.



figure 60. *E House* bathroom. Image copyright and courtesy of FT Architects.

Further, the photograph itself also intensifies the *ma* energy by the way the camera captures an alignment between the interior plant and the exterior gap – by doing this, the three objects are drawn into a conversation which transgresses the *uchi-soto* division. Through the spatial energy of *ma*, the atmosphere of privacy is heightened; it creates its own time-space autonomous world mirroring the work of the cell within foam.

Relatedly, during our interview, Kito Tomomi described the atmosphere incited by spatial in-betweeness as "an interface for connection"[605]. By definition, an interface is a connection between two things which affect each other; for example, public(s)-private, *uchi-soto*, cell-foam, node-network. Linking this concept back to the previous chapter's consideration of materiality, bears the question as to whether *ma* can be produced as a result of a controlled material interface. In another words can *ma* (as a controlled affect) be generated by material connection as opposed to object connection?

For architectural scholar Urabe Tomoyoshi, *ma* in architecture creates a space of "slight tension"[606] – something which suggests the presence of diverse, non-homogenous relations. Relatedly, and as noted in the previous chapter, there is a material trend among the selected

605 Kito, 2018.
606 Urabe, Tomoyoshi, "Ma Thinking in Architectural Space, Mentality and Action: The impact of Ma thinking on Lifestyle Design", in *Ma Theory and the Creative Management of Innovation*, ed.by Kodama Mitsuru (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp.215-228 (p.215).

*kyōshō jūtaku* projects, in that a number of them had traditional material interiors (such as wood) accompanied by contemporary urban exteriors (such as steel or concrete). Kito's *House for 4 Generations* project is particularly interesting in light of this; the outer façade is in the style of a mass produced 70s American import and the interior is dominated by wood. However, as the previous chapter took the wood at its focus, it therefore did not consider the role steel is also playing within the interior.

Kito uses steel in very particular ways, mobilising its strength for key spatial markers (i.e. the staircase). (Figure 61) shows a discordance created within the in-between of the wooden beam and the steel panel; it is not the two objects which appear to be creating the tension but the two contrasting materials. Through this deliberate composition, *ma* spatial energy is created – the two materials are on the one hand unified through the space-time continuum, but on the other they are at odds with one another. Arguably, a steel panel such as this is not often associated with the interior, used more frequently within the external. This makes the relationship between the wood and the steel also a challenge to the *uchi-soto* boundary; they become blurred and interactive as the *soto* makes room for itself among the *uchi*. This may have some effect on how successful the house is in establishing an intimate private atmosphere as the inclusion of *soto* materiality and the subsequent *ma* tension, destabilises the idea of private intimacy as harmonious.



figure 61. Steel vs. Wood in *House for Four Generations.*
Image copyright and courtesy of Tomomi Kito Architects.

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## Neighbourhood connections: New Directions

A number of the architects interviewed engage with in-between space and the blurring of *uchi-soto* as a way of designing with the neighbourhood in mind. In this regard, the spatial expression of domestic individual privacy was revealed to adhere to certain rules and regulations dictated by the locale. In Tōkyō, and throughout the whole of Japan, the management and maintenance of the neighbourhood as a socio-political space, is considered a critical responsibility of the collective community. Scholars Pekkanen, Tsujinaka and Yamamoto, in *Neighborhood Associations and Local Governance in Japan*, reveal how 91% of all modern urban local neighbourhood association units in Japan manage individual neighbourhood cleaning and beautification[607]. This also involves other everyday processes such as garbage disposal, water and sewage management and recycling. As Tōkyō's civic regulations demand that all plots have a 50cm gap between each other (to account for fire control, as well as wind and light), endless numbers of voids have been created throughout the city. Rather than functioning as dead spaces, these gaps have been commonly used as practical spaces – typically storing certain items which are not considered sightly by neighbourhood associations – including air conditioning units, septic tanks and gas meters. Further, individual items of people's private lives, such as bicycles and sports equipment, also have a tendency to leak out into the in-between (figure 62). Therefore, these gaps as *en* spaces retain their original *engawa* roots; as urban space has depleted, the traditional open-porch area has been reduced to this void space. While it is no longer a space for social communication in the sense of physical interaction between neighbours, it does, in a micro capacity, socially communicate a respect for the neighbourhood's image. This shift in meaning and use reflects Shinohara's argument that "en does not happen by itself. The process by which humans live and do things stimulates and gives rise to en"[608].

Neighbourhood beautification also speaks to another use of *en*, namely individual nature. Rather than the varieties of public nature discussed in the previous chapter, micro private nature speaks to the objects people use within the *en* space as a way of making the neighbourhood aesthetically pleasing. These include potted plants, flowers, vegetables pots, and small trees. As these photographs taken during site visits relay, some of these natural objects sit on the edge of the plot (figure 63), marking the public-private territory, while others transgress the plot and form their own en space (figure 64). This in turn engages with the *uchi-soto* boundary in a different way to interior-exterior; it instead functions as an *uchi-soto* boundary within the realm of *soto* – inside the plot and outside the plot. This reveals that the *uchi-soto* boundary within the realm of private space is not one dimensional – it is a layered experience.

Imamura suggests that the effect of this type of micro private use of nature is the creation of green network, one which operates to connect neighbourhoods together[609]. This argument mirrors Shinohara's belief that *en* can incite actions which create unexpected effects[610]. In short, the *en* boundaries made out of the aesthetic choices of individuals have the capacity to positively affect a collective spatial experience. Interestingly, Koh Kitayama, Tsukamoto Yoshiharu and Nishizawa Ryue, in their text *Tokyo Metabolizing*, also stress the network capacity for the in-between.

607 Robert J. Pekkanen, Tsujinaka Yutaka and Yamamoto Hidehiro, trans.by Leslie Tkach-Kawasaki, *Neighborhood Associations and Local Governance in Japan* (Routledge, 2014), p.111-112.
608 Shinohara Masatake, "The En Spatial Theory", p.15.
609 Imamura, 2018.
610 Shinohara Masatake, "The En Spatial Theory", p.15.



figure 62.  Bicycle parked in a gap. Image by author.





figure 63. Plant pots sitting on the edge of the plots at *House at Tsukishima* and *Cut Slide House*. Images by author.





figure 64. Transgressing the plot lines at *House in Tokyo* and *Balcony House*. Images by author.

Tsukamoto deems “redefining the gaps” as a necessary condition of fourth generation houses, while Koh argues for gaps to function as a continuous porous green network[611] which will work to bring unity rather than isolated individualism. During each interview I mentioned this networked idea to get a sense of how well it would be received in practice as well as theory. Approximately half of all architects interviewed demonstrated an interest in the idea and noted that in the future they wanted to consider new sharing prospects for gaps and in-between space. The other half felt that the idea was well intentioned but slightly “romantic” in the sense that it lacked a practical perspective (i.e. where would the objects which currently occupy the gaps be relocated to?). In a sense these contrasting perspectives showed that while there is an interest in redefining these spaces, the fourth generation still have to collectively brainstorm as to how these emerging theories can transpire into reality.

If we combine Sugawara Daisuke’s comments about the lack of neighbourhood relationships with the concept of urban resilience considered in the previous chapter, this gap network could physically manifest as a neighbourhood owned and maintained garden. Each gap could be designated to grow certain things; rather than having individual vegetable pots outside plots, the neighbourhood association as a pre-established managing body could help to assign individual responsibilities for growing, caring for and harvesting the garden. Everything grown would be co-owned by the whole neighbourhood, a shared experience which has the potential to incite new social relationships[612]. Technology, such as that explored by studio SUEP, can be directed to provide the necessary conditions needed to ensure the garden’s survival and ability to thrive. In this sense, *en* would be repurposed yet again which would ensure its continued use in the future. Further, it may also contribute towards extending the unsustainable 26-year housing lifecycle.

This is just one idea which could continue the work of the fourth generation in developing and expanding *kyōshō jūtaku* experience of the private realm. The discussions within this chapter have sought to reiterate what was stated at the beginning of the chapter, namely that privacy is no longer a closed experience. Instead, the fourth generation are working to reveal how experiences of the private can be opened up in order to form new spatial, material, ecological and social connections. This ties directly back to Sloterdijk’s conception of co-isolation; previous generations of houses have been keen to design for an isolated experience of privacy as opposed to the connective – this generation are now considering micro ways in which they can change this. Spatial diversity, the blurring and stretching of *uchi-soto* and imaginative uses of grey space are just some of the current ways in which domestic privacy is shown to be complicated and multiple in its expression.

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611 Koh Kitayama, “Changes in Urban Areas of Tokyo at the Beginning of the 21st Century”, in *Tokyo Metabolizing*, by Koh Kitayama, Yoshiharu Tsukamoto and Ryue Nishizawa, 3rd Edition (TOTO, 2018), pp.14-27 (p.21).
612 For an example of this working in a different but overlapping way see aaa’s “Passage 56 project”, 2020 < http://www.urbantactics.org/projets/passage56/> [Accessed 29 July].

# Chapter Four: Situating Japan-ness

## Introducing Japan-ness

So far, this thesis has used Sloterdijk's concept of foam as a theoretical metaphor for the public(s) cultural, social, ecological and urban network in which individual private cells, or *kyōshō jūtaku*, belong to and are created by. This chapter extends chapter three's exploration into the micro aesthetic conditions of each cell by considering how the aesthetic condition impacts and influences the cell ontologically. In other words, it explores the ways in which possessing a so called 'Japanese' aesthetic image, an image perpetuated through representations of Japan-ness, affects how the *kyōshō jūtaku* model exists within global, local and national imaginaries. Through this work, the cells, or houses, are brought together as co-isolated forms – united through a perception of a collective aesthetic identity.

Interrogating the concept of Japan-ness is therefore a way of *zooming* out of both individual *kyōshō jūtaku* and the urban environment of Tōkyō. This takes the the methodology of the thesis to another level in that the foam network is expanded through a zoomed-out perspective, going beyond Tōkyō as a geographical, lingustic, cultural and social locality, and emerging within anglophone representations primarily found with Europe and North America. Interrogating this globalised anglophone identity helps to present more overarching knowledge as to how the *kyōshō jūtaku* model is perceived both within Japan and outside of it – a necessary requirement for this research to situate itself within international conversations on urban housing.

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In 2003 architect Isozaki Arata published a book titled *Kenchiku ni okeru "Nihon-teki na mono"* (Japan-ness in Architecture) which functioned as a series of essays he wrote over a twenty-year period (1980-2000)[613]. Each essay in the book takes an in-depth look at a different work of architecture of a different century in Japan – stemming from, to use Isozaki's western framework of architectural time, antiquity to modernity. While Isozaki deems any 'origins' of Japan-ness definitively inconclusive, he does suggest that the term was conceptually created in line with modernity[614] - a starting point which is undoubtably intertwined with the birth of architecture as a named discipline and profession within Japan[615].

Importantly throughout the book, Isozaki rejects the notion that buildings are objects. Instead he deems them events or living artefacts which encompass historical, social, cultural, ecological narratives; a foundation which leads to him to term architecture as 'textual spaces'[616]. This vantage point is a critical legacy for this thesis in particular, as it theoretically supports my aim of revealing *kyōshō jūtaku* as living entities made up of public(s) private networked connections.

Before delving into the book's content, I want to first interrogate the relationship between the Japanese phrase *Nihon-teki na mono* (日本的なもの) and Japan-ness as the translated term.

613 This title replicates an essay written by architectural historian Horiguchi Sutemi in 1934.
614 Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, p.xiv.
615 This modernist birthing point was a fundamental component of the exhibition "Kenchiku no Nihon-ten: Sono idenshi no motarasu mono [Japan in Architecture: Genealogies of its Transformation]" which was held at the Mori Art Museum in Tōkyo from April-September 2018. For more details see: < https://www.mori.art.museum/jp/exhibitions/japaninarchitecture/index.html> (Accessed 4 January 2019).
616 Ibid p.viiii.

Firstly, as one can see from the *kanji* structure, there is no dash (-) between the characters of *Nihon* (日本), meaning Japan, and *teki* ( 的) which in this context means typical of or in the style of. According to translator Kohso Sabu, the inclusion of the (-) within Japan-ness is due to a desire to cement links with other words which conjur an imagined prefix i.e.Japan-ese, Japan-esque, Japon-ica[617]. This has led to the circulation of two *rōmaji* versions *Nihon-teki* and *Nihonteki* with no indication of which is correct. This deliberately curated (-) has been deemed lingustically awkward by some critics[618], and its inclusion is something which the chapter will later return to as I argue that it is critical to engage with the imagery which this (-) produces. Secondly the inclusion of *mono* (もの) in the Japanese phrasing is missed out entirely within Japan-ness, despite its importance in relaying meaning. *Mono* has numerous uses but in this instance it refers to things or features, resulting in the whole phrase manifesting as 'things Japanese in character'[619]. This reference to multiplicity, unlike the term Japan-ness, destabilises both the notion of both a singular imaginary of Japan and a singular imaginary of the things which embody it (the 'ness'). Again, this is something essential to return to later in the chapter as it proves to be critical to the theory's contemporary use.

Turning back to the book itself, while the majority of the chapters engage in different framings of architectural qualities which have been significant in Japan (i.e. performativity, in-between space, rebuilding) one essay in particular defines and reflects on how Isozaki arrived at the term *Nihon-teki* [620]. For Isozaki, Japan-ness is a theoretical concept which refers to architecture which is considered by foreigners to have a "Japanese aesthetic" and by default a Japanese identity. Isozaki is somewhat cautious about claiming an origin of Japan-ness but he does make clear that the concept was generated in conjunction with modernity[621]. In particular German architect Bruno Taut 's first visit to Japan in 1933 is framed as a turning point[622], in so much that the foreign gaze began to categorise Japan's architecture as encompassing certain 'Japanese' qualities – such as simplicity, harmony, and lightness[623]. This is not to say that Isozaki dismisses earlier examples of foreign engagement with Japan; notably he instigates a discussion into the way in which mid-nineteenth century foreign travellers engaged in Japonaiserie or *wayō-ka* (cultural Japanization) which shaped their tastes and desires for 'authentic' Japanese objects[624].

Japan-ness for Isozaki, is therefore an amalgamation of previous terms with the modernist framing of what is "considered abroad as emblematic of the Japanese aesthetic"[625]. This entangled process of meaning making is something Isozaki terms 'Japanesquization'[626]; a sophisticated and styled undertaking which makes his construction of Japan-ness somewhat harder to grasp and pinpoint compared to historical tangible incidents of object extraction. For Isozaki, Japan-ness intensifies and dulls during certain periods of time; for example, he cites the 1950s and the American occupation as a time of intensity (Japonica)[627], and the 1990s (post-bubble) as a time of decomposure[628]. Japan-ness is, therefore, not a concept tied to a specific time and space, but one which travels and flows between past, present and future.

617 Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, p.xvii. To note, it is not the case that the Japanese term was merely mistranslated, Isozaki agreed to the inclusion of the (-).
618 Ōshima, p.235.
619 Ibid.
620 To reiterate, this is different term to *Nihonjinron* (domestic born nationalism) a difference which was made clear in the introduction.
621 Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, p.xiv.
622 Ibid.
623 For more information about Bruno Taut's architectural engagement with Japan see his own writing: Bruno Taut, *Fundamentals of Japanese architecture* (Kosusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1936); Bruno Taut and Manfred Speidel, *Ich Liebe Die Japanische Kultur: Kleine Schriften Uber Japan*, 2nd edition, (Gebruder Mann Verlag, 2003). Also see: Sandra Kaji-O'Grady, "Authentic Japanese Architecture after Bruno Taut: the problem of eclecticism", *Fabrications*, 11:2 (2001), 1-12.
624 Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, p.3.
625 Ibid, p.xv.
626 Ibid.
627 Ibid, p.31, 50.
628 Ibid, p.57.

Isozaki wrote his essay 'Japan-ness in Architecture' as a way of theorising how Japan-ness has affected his own architectural generation[629] . In the conclusion to the book's preface he writes,

*In Japan since the turn of the present century, it has become harder to create architecture with any real constructive force. Japan has shrunk and once more closed its ports, this time owing to recession. The absence of any cultural pressure that might provoke a certain critical awareness makes the situation more extreme[630].*

On the one hand this is a rather a dismissive argument, in the sense that it suggests that the current fourth generation do not have to contend with the foreign gaze as a cultural pressure. This is an argument which architect Hino Naohiko has notably critiqued him for[631]. However, it also creates a window through which to interrogate his theorisation. Despite the book demonstrating that Japan-ness is not tied to a specific time or place, through this statement Isozaki is countering his own argument, by rousing a time-centred logic via the idea that the current generation of Japanese architects do not have to engage with Japan-ness, as modernity has now come and gone. As a way of interrogating this notion, this chapter considers to what extent this logic is true by speaking to fourth generation architects about their understanding and relationship with Japan-ness. If Isozaki's construction of Japan-ness as flexible and transformative holds true, then surely there is potential for it to manifest in new ways within this current generation?

As was mentioned within the introduction, explorations into Japan-ness were largely absent from *kyōshō jūtaku* literature. This is despite its appearance within both of the large-scale European exhibitions (*The Japanese House – Architecture and Life After 1945*, *Japan-ness. Architecture et urbanisme au Japon depuis 1945*). A number of architects during interviews were therefore quick to entertain the idea that perhaps the foreign gaze has taken the *kyōshō jūtaku* as this generation's architectural symbol of Japan-ness. One just has to look back at the introduction's discussions of foreign literature for evidence into how this housing model is interpreted as stereotypically 'Japanese' fuelled by its foundation of smallness. It is evident that Japan-ness, from an outsider perspective, is still perpetuated and readily consumed. What is not clear however, is how Japanese architects feel about this and how they interpret this 21st century representation of Japan-ness. This chapter explores these inside opinions in relation to both the *kyōshō jūtaku* model and other scholarly work. Overarchingly, the chapter examines whether Japan-ness holds any contemporary meaning to the fourth generation. The chapter argues that Japan-ness does not manifest as a singular image of architectural uniqueness and provides evidence which destabilises any illusions of conceptual singularity.

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## Fourth Generation Perspectives: Expanding Japan-ness

Two questions pertinent to this chapter were asked in all interviews with fourth-generation architects:

How do you think *kyōshō jūtaku* are perceived outside of Japan?
日本の狭小住宅は海外ではどう見られていると思いますか？

629 Ibid, p.xiv.
630 Ibid, p.xv.
631 Hino Naohiko, "Isozaki Arata ni okeru 'Nihon-teki no mono' [Things that are Japanese in Arata Isozaki]", *10+1*, 38 (2005), 118-121.

What is your opinion of *Japan-ness* - how do you define it?
磯崎新氏は「日本的なもの」と建築について書きましたが、日本的に関する意見はなんですか？「日本的なもの」はなんですか？

From a surface level perspective, the majority of architects were eager to offer answers to the first question. The second question, however, was termed *muzukashi* or difficult to answer. Over the course of the interviews, answers started to slip and slide between, suggesting that they intersect in certain ways. The architects' reluctance towards the second question seemed to stem from the fact that they had read Isozaki a long time ago (with all but one making clear they had indeed read the text in the course of their career). They were therefore not 100% certain or knowledgeable as to his main thesis or conceptualisation. Given that the interview questions were sent via email in advance to the interviews, three architects emailed me back to ask for prior clarification as to what kind of answer I was looking for to the second question. This is interesting from a number of angles.

As previously mentioned, every architect interviewed mentioned that they had read Isozaki at some point. This suggests that his writing has played a role in Japanese fourth generation architectural education. However, while not being unfamiliar, it also wasn't writing that the majority felt comfortable evaluating or discussing. I propose that there are two central reasons for this; firstly, Japan-ness as a concept is difficult to vocally express and secondly, the question was not considered a 'normal' or usual interview question. To expand on the latter, five architects revealed that my questions, which didn't take a sole focus on the design or construction of their projects but rather leaned towards the conceptual ideas behind them, were different from the usual questions they were asked in interviews. Thus, by asking a question about Japan-ness, I was asking each architect to enter into a theoretical discussion, something which they initially perceived as taking them away from the familiar realm of practice. Further, receiving emails asking how I would like the question answered was particularly eye-opening; on the one hand it suggests that there is a 'correct' answer as to what Japan-ness is and how it should be viewed, and on the other, by asking what I wanted the answer to be, the concept was placed back into the hands of the outsider. Alternatively, perhaps at play was the underlying belief that the 'correct' answer was the one which matched my interpretation, as after all, Japan-ness only came into existence as a result of the foreign gaze.

Despite this context and process that surrounded the questions, the chapter reveals insightful and thoughtful answers. Before analysing these answers, it is worth pointing out another recurring trend which took shape among discussions. When I initially asked the second question, and if an architect responded by telling me it was a difficult question, I would purposefully direct them elsewhere, telling them that we could return back to it later. When talking through the other questions, Japan-ness would consistently re-emerge through their answers. In short, their answers to the other questions helped them to establish a tangible foundation with which to build an answer to the second question on Japan-ness. By situating Japan-ness within their architectural practice, it held more of a conceptual meaning. For clarity, this section is structured around the answers provided by individual architects to the two questions. As is demonstrated, these answers provoke further theoretical discussions which draw on ideas found within literature. While an individual architect is used as the focus of each sub-section (as indicated through the sub-titles), other opinions are also included in order to demonstrate a level of intercontextuality among the architects.

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## Ikeda Yukie ~ Ikeda Yukie Ono Toshiharu Architects:
### *Japan-ness as a set of active processes*

In 1938, philosopher Nishida Kitarō gave a lecture at the University of Kyōtō titled '*Nihon bunka no mondai*' (the problem of Japanese culture). During his lecture he stated,

*As I see it, the Japanese culture constantly takes in other cultures and in this process it undergoes change. This is the characteristic of the Japanese culture, which excels in synthetizing different cultures and creating a culture of its own*[632].

In short, he argued that in order for Japan to situate itself as a global player, it created "a new expansive assimilative culture" which was built out of the strength of flexibility[633]. Jump forward 80 years and during an interview with Ikeda Yukie Ono Toshiharu Architects, Ikeda Yukie in her answer to the second question, stated,

*In Japan, architectural objects and ideas have come from Asia (China/Korea). The Japanese began to use those ideas and think of ways to make them more sophisticated, polished. I think that is some essence of Japan-ness, I think that is in part what it is. When I was studying abroad and talking with other students, they asked me what Japanese architecture is - what continues from tradition to now - and I said something along the lines of that - that's it's the Japanese way to polish outside influences. If you look at Seijima's (Kazuyo) buildings for example, she's influenced by modernism, but then she makes things flatter, thinner and more transparent. So, in a way, she refines it. It's that flexible ability that is Japan-ness*[634].

Whereas Nishida framed this ability for Japan to flexibly respond and repackage outside cultural influences as a 'problem', arguing that "Japanese culture has no fixed "shape" of its own"[635], Ikeda counter-frames this as positive. She contends that through the processes of polishing and sophistication, these outside ideas or elements become fundamental components of a Japanese aesthetic. They are no longer representative of outside, having been transformed into a specifically Japanese "shape". For Ikeda, Japan-ness is therefore not a static objectual or tangible aesthetics, but rather active and moving processes which produce stylized aesthetic by-products. To draw on the words of anthropologist Takie Sugiyama Lebra, cultural identity is reinforced by two opposite pressures – globalisation and localisation – both which stimulate each other[636]. In the case of Japan-ness, for Ikeda, globalisation allows for the movement of things while localisation allows for the transformation of things. This localised Japanesequization process thus works to continuously affirm and reaffirm an internalised Japanese aesthetic identity which exists both on individual and national levels[637].

However, one cannot look away from the problematic undertones plaguing this idea that Japan polishes or makes an outside concept or object sophisticated. Not only does it rest on the notion that outside ideas or objects are inferior, but it also suggests that there is a uniform transformative process and a singular shared Japanese architectural aesthetic in existence. Thus, it appears that the danger of Japan-ness (as an internal aesthetic process) blurring with nationalistic ideas of aesthetic *Nihonjinron* (the fact that Japan is framed as a transformative and creative saviour) demonstrates that Japan-ness can function as a process of internal essentialisation. By this, I mean to say that whereas the foreign gaze structures Japan-ness as a form of (false) uniqueness, this same imagined ideology can be

632 As quoted in Yusa Michiko, "Introduction", in *The Bloomsbury Research Handbook of Contemporary Japanese Philosophy*, ed.by Yusa Michiko (Bloomsbury Academic Publishing, 2017), 1-20 (p.15).
633 Ibid.
634 Ikeda and Ono, 2018.
635 As quoted in Yusa, p.15.
636 Lebra, p.xi.
637 Yoshino, Kosaku, *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan – An Anthropological Enquiry* (Routledge, 1992), p.11.

internalised and perpetuated by Japanese architects. For example, many of the architects were keen to attribute smallness as a unique property of *kyōshō jūtaku*. Yet, as Imamura Mizuki mentioned, her involvement in the Japanese Pavilion of the Venice Biennale in 2016 showed her that many European architects were also grappling with how to create value out of smallness in urban housing design – making clear that the reduction of space is a global concern[638]. This internal essentialism from the fourth generation architects I interviewed is perhaps something inherited from Isozaki – while he attempts to challenge and devalue foreign constructed ideals of Japanese architecture, he ends up also reinforcing them by cementing a Japan vs the west binary and framing certain architectural qualities as Japanese (for example performativity (Japanese), spatiality (western))[639].

In regard to this idea of performativity, Isozaki discusses the performative aspects of Japanese architecture in his book, specifically exploring *Ise* shrine as an example of Japanese performative spatiality. However, he fails to consider the possibility of performativity being contained within the concept of Japan-ness itself. To aid this exploration, we can return to the identity work of Judith Butler which was discussed in chapter one.

Butler argues that to successfully perform a constructed identity, there must be an audience which "come[s] to believe and to perform in the mode of belief"[640]. Now, while Butler was applying this to human gender identity, the same logic applies to Japan-ness as an architectural identity. For instance, the global and local incite two different performances of Japan-ness because they adhere to two different audiences. The participation of both audiences allows each of the performances to remain intact. Two performances are necessary as both audiences have different agendas; to expand, the internal performance of polishing and sophistication which Ikeda mentions, would not necessarily be palatable for an outside audience as it posits external culture as inferior and in need of transformation. Similarly, the outside performance of Japan-ness which manifests through stereotypes is not consciously appealing to insiders. Hence, two performances of Japan-ness are in existence, both of which are, to use Butler's words, performances of "cultural fiction"[641]. These performances are structured and maintained by not only the belief of these two audiences, but also through the collective sharing of repeated"acts"[642].

Later in my discussion with Ikeda, we came to the foundational crux of the global outside performance; stereotypes.

*CK: I feel that the European audience tend to see the kyōshō jūtaku as a symbol for Japanese design or aesthetics…. which is something I think is risky because it means we end up having misconceptions and stereotypes. I've been visiting exhibitions in London and in Paris about the small house, and the way the text is written, is quite uncomfortable because there are a lot of assumptions and essentialism in regard to the "Japanese identity". I wondered what you thought about this?*

*IY: I really agree with what you are saying. I think identity stereotypes is a key way in which the west looks at Japanese architecture. But it's also true that this is a way in which Japanese architects' market and share their work with the west, it's a lens which allows them to do that[643].*

The first part of her answer, that stereotypes inform how the west views Japanese architecture,

638 Imamura, 2018.
639 Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, p.26-27.
640 Butler, "Performative Acts", p.520.
641 Ibid, p.522.
642 Ibid, p.525.
643 Ikeda and Ono, 2018.

is not particularly surprising – Isozaki's conceptualisation rests on this foundation and other more recent scholarship reinforces this[644]. Ikeda's second comment however, regarding the western market, is illuminating – particularly if we discuss it in relation to Isozaki's theorisation. While on the one hand Ikeda acknowledges how the foreign gaze uses the aesthetic of Japan-ness as a way of constructing stereotyped narratives of a Japanese identity, she also argues that this is a way in which architects can market their work to an international audience. This is a concept which was supported by other architects, many of whom gave Kuma Kengo as a prime example of the marketisation of Japan-ness. For example, Nanashima Yukinobu of Atelier Hako stated in his response,

*Right now, Kengo Kuma has been written about a lot and he has a lot of buildings in the west. They very obviously take advantage of Japanese motifs, and I suspect he does on purpose to appeal to foreigners[645].*

While Mada Akira of Mamm Design suggested,

*MA: I think Kengo Kuma is very preoccupied with Japan-ness…*

*CK: I think he knows how to market himself to an international audience and he knows that Europeans want to see their own image of Japan-ness reflected back at them, which is why he is very successful in the European context.*

*MA: Yes, I think your understanding is totally right[646].*

Interestingly, none of the fourth generation architects interviewed showed any indication that they align with, or find value in, Kuma's marketisation approach to Japan-ness. A surface level reading of this could indicate a simple generational shift, as Kuma is representative of the third generation. On the other hand, this may also point towards the age of the architects and the fact that all the studios interviewed are relatively small and primarily focus on domestic projects, meaning that they do not currently relate to or practice in a similar way to Kuma. A more speculative reading could be that the fourth generation reject Kuma's ability to hone his performance of Japan-ness to fulfil, what Butler would call, "strategic aims"[647]. Aside from the figure of Kuma himself, the insight found here is that in order for Japanese architects to gain an international audience there is perhaps a need to mobilise Japan-ness as a marketing technique; a conclusion which was not discussed or envisioned by Isozaki.

In his dismissal of the capacity for Japan-ness to function as an outside cultural pressure for the fourth generation, Isozaki unknowingly withdrew the possibility for Japan-ness to reconfigure into a marketing technique. While Isozaki did acknowledge in his text that Japan-ness is extracted and then used as a way for foreign architects to secure commissions (i.e. Bruno Taut's *Hyuga Villa*) he never contended with the notion that Japanese architects could do the same. As a result, his book ends with the question, "[could]Japan-ness, physically and in formal terms, be exported beyond the border?[648]

The answer appears to be affirmative. One just has to view Kuma's international portfolio to see how these so-called Japanese motifs have been relocated around the globe; moving as, to

644 See for example Nikolovski, 2015.
645 Nanashima and Sano, 2018.
646 Mada and Mada, 2018.
647 Butler, "Performative Acts", p.526.
648 Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, p.106.

use Iwabuchi Koichi's phrase, cultural flows[649]. Japan-ness has practical, economic consequences and is shown to be manifesting as a tension between globalisation and localisation. This may be another reason why Kuma's approach felt rejected by fourth generation architects; perhaps they view him as more in favour of the global over the local which in turn structures him as a figure who is actively de-valuing the local aesthetic by exporting it for a global gaze. In essence, Kuma is trying to take on the role of both audiences. From the perspective of the fourth generation, Kuma is not challenging the foreign stereotyped construction of Japan-ness, he is merely profiting off of it. Kuma's process is not one which affirms localised understandings of Japanese cultural identities but rather one which affirms, what Sugiyama Lebra terms, a "display culture". As such, Kuma's architecture then becomes readily consumed in accordance with the socio-historical context of each outside audience's locality[650].

In regard to the capitalist global market within which this outside performance of Japan-ness operates, Katja Valaskivi's exploration into Japan's social imaginary is pertinent. Valaskivi argues that through certain processes of circulation a "particular social imaginary gets formulated, represented, and reproduced" - be it objects, images, people, representations, meanings etc - all of which subsequently reformulate to produce a "shared understanding of identity in the social imaginary"[651]. This has been seen in the context of Japan, arguably since the boom of 'Cool Japan' in 2005[652].

In the case of Kuma, he uses Japan-ness as a process of perpetuating the foreign social imaginary of Japan. He successfully performs the role of a cultural ambassador by living up to the brand[653] - a move which consequently grants him access to the market. Isozaki argues that, "the crux of Japan-ness is not this or that particular image, symbol, or sign, but rather the very mechanism of constructing a fiction around the zero sign, thus producing an ahistorical non-place"[654]. This social imaginary of the outsider audience is representative of this fiction; it takes Japan as its subject, but it is not birthed from nor situated within. Similarly, it does not exist in a specific outside place. The fact that it continues to contribute to the present-day social imaginary of the global market allows it to retain its a-historical manifestation.

Ikeda Yukie's answers reveal that Japan-ness in the fourth generation cannot only be considered a cultural process, but also a capitalist one; a process informed by the relationship between global and local and one which relies on non-place social imaginaries which can be both exported and internalised. To apply this to the *kyōshō jūtaku* specifically, the introduction to this thesis made clear that economics was the driving force in the birth of the model; it was a reactionary product of a developing system and has thus always played and will continue to play a role in a much wider capitalist process. In light of this, and along with the analysis of the media literature, I would argue that the model's engagement with global audiences has intensified with the advancement of the internet. On the one hand this has brought attention to Japanese architectural design and, as Ikeda noted, allowed studios to build their portfolios and acquire clients and projects both domestically and abroad through marketisation.

649 Iwabuchi Koichi, "Cultural Flows: Japan and East Asia", in *The Routledge Handbook of Japanese Culture and Society*, ed. by Victoria Bestor, Theodore C. Bestor and Yamagata Akiko (Routledge, 2011), pp.262-272.
650 Ibid, p.264.
651 Katja Valaskivi, "A Brand New Future? Cool Japan and the Social Imaginary of the Branded Nation", *Japan Forum*, 25:4 (2013), 485-504 (p.486).
652 The term 'Cool Japan' is attributed to a 2002 article by Douglas McGray titled "Japan's Gross National Cool", *Foreign Policy*, 130 (2002), 44-54. It broadly refers to the global belief that Japan possesses an inherent 'coolness' that can be located within certain cultural acts, content and national qualities. From 2005 onwards, the term was forumlated as a soft power by the Japanese government as a marketing strategy to attract tourists and new business opportunities. For more detailed discussions see: Mark McLelland (eds)., T*he End of Cool Japan - Ethical, Legal and Cultural Challenges to Japanese Popular Culture* (Routledge, 2017); Laura Miller, "'Cool Masquerade and the Pimping of Japan", *International Journal of Japanese Sociology*, 20 (2011), 18-29; Iwabuchi Koichi, "Pop-Culture Diplomacy in Japan: Soft Power, National Branding and the Question of 'International Cultural Exchange", *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 4:21 (2015), 419-432.
653 Iwabuchi, "Pop-Culture", p.427.
654 Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, p.77.

However, it has also birthed a plethora of narratives built out of stereotypes and imaginaries which inaccurately relay themselves as factual and situated. Isozaki's argument that "the crux of Japan-ness is not this or that particular image, symbol, or sign"[655] can perhaps be challenged through the *kyōshō jūtaku* – in fact through its accidental role as a symbol of Japan-ness, the small house has generated a-historical cultural fictions which move between global and local audiences. Consequently, Ikeda's idea of polishing takes on a new meaning – Japan-ness is unconsciously mobilised to polish away individuality and the social and cultural differences which are present among these houses. Instead their imagined existences become streamlined into an aesthetic uniformity which ultimately rests on essentialised understandings of Japan.

## Mada Akira and Mada Maya ~ Mamm Design
### *Japan-ness as conscious, unconsciousness and in-between*

The topic of Japan-ness for Mamm Design's husband and wife architectural team instigated a debate among them:

*CK: I'm interested in what you think it is (Japan-ness), your understanding?*

*MA: I think fundamentally Japan-ness exists in the minds of foreigners but not in Japanese minds.*

*MM: hmm I'm not so sure. When we were doing a renovation project in Amsterdam, it was a very contemporary global design and we didn't think people would know or think of it as Japanese. But then we had people coming up and saying how different it is was, how 'Japanese'. Perhaps this related to our sense of scale, of the way we created space.*

*MA: Ok, but we weren't thinking of that when we were designing.*

*MM: Yes, but maybe there is something in our subconscious, something inside us which makes it different. Like when I think about room divisions, unlike in Amsterdam where there was a division of rooms, big designated spaces, ours are always mixed. I don't necessarily think about that specifically when I design, it just takes form. Maybe that is Japan-ness.*

*MA: hmm, but I think Japan-ness is more an intentional thing. I am not conscious of Japan-ness, it is totally outside of my mind* [656].

In this instance, Mada Akira was keen to frame Japan-ness in oppositional terms – i.e. if it is an outsider condition it therefore cannot be an insider one – something which again reinforces the previous notion of heterogeneous global and local audiences and Isozaki's binary approach. This way of thinking was not unique to Mada Akira, in fact it arose in two other interviews, one with Sugawara Daisuke and another with Kito Tomomi:

*Sugawara Daisuke: I don't understand Isozaki-san's 'Japan-ness'.*

*CK: I find this quite interesting -because most people I have interviewed has said a similar thing - either that they thought it was difficult or they didn't relate to what he was saying. Which seems to contradict the fact that the text is considered very important in understanding Japanese architecture.*

655 Ibid.
656 Mada and Mada, 2018.

*SD: it's because we are Japanese. We don't understand the concept of Japan-ness, but we feel it. We live inside it.*

*CK: aha ok, so it's hard to define it when it is just your way of being and seeing?*

*SD: hmm hmm yes*[657].

*Kito Tomomi: So, I guess Japan is an island and is separated from the continent, so it is possible that there were always Japanese things or a Japanese attitude – but I don't think it ever occurred to us. But putting that aside, at this point, I don't particularly think about Japan-ness or Japanese things when I design, I just design. It is possible that somewhere in my subconscious there is some type of Japanese way of designing which I follow but I'm not particularly sure of that. I think it is something foreigners are occupied with*[658].

Relatedly, Fujita Yuiko, Professor of Sociology at Meiji University, conducted a study in 2011 with young Japanese designers and artists with an aim of accessing whether imaginaries pertaining to an aesthetic Japanese identity was an influence in their work. The study showed that while aesthetic "Japanese-ness" continues to be emphasised by anglophone media, "the designers and artists do not intend to produce identity-based works and are not satisfied with the label "Japanese"[659]. However, Japanese-ness is not definitively defined in the study, meaning that while a Japanese identity is rejected, we do not know exactly how this identity is initially being constructed. In a similar way, the opinions expressed by Mada, Sugawara and Kito reflect this rejection in the sense that they also have had no intentions of producing architectural manifestations of Japan-ness – in fact they do not believe it actively possible as Japanese people - but they also fail to express what Japan-ness actually is beyond this insider-outsider dictomy. This brings us back to my earlier suggestion that Japan-ness is perhaps difficult to clearly define, which results in definitions resting on simplistic and imagined notions of self.

To discuss further, on the surface, this insider-outsider binary framing of Japan-ness dismisses the possibility of complexity and the earlier suggestion of Japan-ness as a process of internalisation. However, the reference to consciousness perhaps opens the door to a more nuanced understanding. Mada Akira suggests that Japan-ness lays outside his consciousness, with both Mada Maya and Kito Tomomi placing it within realm of the subconscious. For Mada Maya, my question allowed the concept of Japan-ness to travel from the subconscious to the conscious, with her being able pinpoint this movement through the example of the house in Amsterdam. This also then represents a move from local subconsciousness to global consciousness as she relayed her experience of interacting with an outside audience; an audience which presented her with their own understanding of what Japanese architecture is, something which then in turn could have influenced her own comprehension of her subconscious imagination. This communication between consciousness and unconsciousness emulates a theory held by Japanese pyschoanalysist Kawai Hayao who wrote extensively on the "Japanese pysche"[660]. He constructs the relationship between the two as undivided and connected; interestingly describing it in spatial terms by metaphorising images of the *fusama* (sliding door divider) and the *shōji* (paper screen).This intertwined layering speaks to what Fukushima Katsuya has termed the "ambivalence of mind". In our discussion he introduced how he arrived at this image:

657 Sugawara, 2018.
658 Kito, 2018.
659 Fujita, 2011.
660 Kawai Hayao, *The Japanese Psyche: Major Motifs in the Fairy Tales of Japan* (Spring Publications, 1996), p.103.

*FK: Japan has a long history – Edo, Meiji – there have always been big changes. In the Edo period, Japan was closed off from outside influences. There was no Japanese style because everything was Japanese! But when foreigners began to enter Japan, Japanese people for the first time had to start thinking about what a Japanese style or Japan-ness actually is. Now Japan-ness is something fortified – it has become something that politicians and academics think about which has led to this established package image of Japan-ness: calm, tender, small, minimalist. So, I think that the architectural community in Japan is still thinking about Japan-ness – but there is a need to go back to the structure of it, step away from this fake image. At this moment, my image of Japan-ness is the ambivalence of mind*[661].

The image of the ambivalent mind fits this blurring of consciousness and unconsciousness – it points to the fact that Japan-ness can not be easily categorised or wholly understood. It represents a lack of clarity; a refusal to manifest within a certain space or time – having the capacity to be both within, as Sugawara states, and outside. For Fukushima the fake image of Japan-ness which relies on stereotypes such as calmness, tenderness etc was constructed outside but has now fortified inside – not only does this notion of the ambivalent mind reinstate the earlier argument of internalisation but it also shows that binary either or thinking reduces the complexity of how the concept is currently understood and expressed by the fourth generation. This supports Isozaki's belief that Japan-ness does have the capacity to "construct an internal stance within"[662].

As demonstrated through her attention to room divisions, Mada Maya understands Japan-ness as a spatial process. Similarly, Suemitsu Yoko of studio SUEP, also made of a point of mentioning that having a lack of room divisions is an aesthetic property of Japan, something which was understood as being in stark contrast to the static spatial system of the West[663]. Tominaga Hiroko of FT Architects extends this idea of the spatiality of Japan-ness by suggesting that the concept is best understood as a feeling within space:

*HT: Japan-ness is a very difficult concept to think about. But I think it has two aesthetic faces. One being simplicity and the other being ornate, and both design elements are present in space. For example, when you look at traditional Japanese housing, you can see many simple spaces like the living room or kitchen alongside sophisticated spaces like the tatami room. Japanese houses, I think have this contrast, which I find beautiful. Light space and dark space. Through these faces we may experience Japan-ness as a feeling.*

*CK: So, in that sense it is similar to ma? An aesthetic experience that can't be expressed in words but translates to a feeling of being in space.*

*HT: hmm yes, I think so.*

*Fukushima: hmm yes, I agree, it is like an atmosphere*[664].

For these two architects, aesthetic properties such as simplicity or ornateness are by products of Japan-ness as a feeling of being. In this sense Japan-ness, similary to how it is for Ikeda, is a transformative process but one that cannot necessarily be materially understood. This suggests that Japan-ness, in their understanding, exists prior to the structural rendering of the architecture – aesthetic design merely works to illuminate its existence. This acceptance in regard to the inability to understand Japan-ness ties us back to Butler's concept of identity construction, in that the belief of an audience is necessary for a cultural fiction to remain

661 Fukushima and Tominaga, 2018.
662 Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, p.25.
663 Suemitsu and Suemitsu, 2018.
664 Fukushima and Tominaga, 2018.

intact. In this case, the belief that Japan-ness exists, despite the fact that spatial contrasts (light/dark, simplicity/ornateness), as the only material symbols offered, are not unique to Japan, demonstrates a will for a Japanese architectural identity, a desire for this cultural fiction. This desire may be both conscious and subconscious simultaneously, fragments of this fictional narrative moving between the two states. Despite its origins lying in the ignorance of the foreign gaze, there is a possibility that Japan-ness may have been co-opted as a flexible mechanism of cultural belonging by some members of the fourth generation.

## Ashida Masato ~ Ashida Architects & Associates

***Japan-ness as mono***

*AM: In my opinion Japan-ness relates to the characteristics of the climate, situations of the land, locality of natural disasters and the need to understand material. While Isozaki looks more at culture, history and style – I think differently. Japan-ness arises from the circumstances of architecture - particularly the environment. For example, you might have wooden structures in Europe but the Japanese way of making wooden buildings is very different – we have to think of the ways in which the humidity makes the wood shrink, how the earthquakes will change its structure. Therefore, we must understand the Japanese characteristics of materials – I think this practice is Japan-ness*[665].

For Ashida Masato, Japan-ness does not emerge as a complex web of conscious and subconscious cultural fiction, rather it functions as a practical and tangible expression. As Ashida highlights, Isozaki's theorisation remains tied to the intellectual realm, something which may indicate why the relevance of his writing is questioned by fourth generation practicing architects. Despite having his own firm (Arata Isozaki & Associates), the book and subsequently the theory fails to engage with his own architectural experience, which is one reason it may fail to resonate beyond scholarship. In the essay on Japan-ness specifically, there was a missed opportunity to challenge and counter foreign-produced ideology through situated and grounded experience of practice rather than solely concentrating on the concept's historical trajectory. Despite Isozaki's lack of engagement with the context of practice, Ashida's answer demonstrates an ability to locate a tangible resonance within the theory, revealing a ductile quality to its foundation despite its appearance of rigidity.

Both Ikeda Yukie and Ono Toshiharu in their interview supported Ashida's thinking:

*IY: So of course, there is Isozaki's idea that Japan-ness only came about from foreign influence, but also, I do think that there is a Japan-ness which comes about due to climate - the architecture adapts to that.*

*OT: The summers in Japan are very hot and the winters are very cold, which is obviously the case in other countries too...but then there is also the humidity and the earthquakes. Designing for this situation is Japan-ness* [666].

In both Ashida's case and Ikeda/Ono's, Japan-ness is again an active practice, whereby design responses are cultivated in response to Japan's climatic environment. Within these two discussions, unlike the previous notion that Japan-ness constructs itself as a feeling of being in space, the concept does not pre-exist practice – it is in fact constituted by it. In understanding Japan-ness this way, the globalised fictions of the foreign gaze are undermined through the localised centring of climate experiences. Subsequently, Japan-ness becomes detached from its origins and claimed as an internal design process – a move which indicates a

665 Ashida, 2018.
666 Ikeda and Ono, 2018.

transformation in its theoretical trajectory.

To probe this design process, we can consider the *kyōshō jūtaku* projects presented in the previous two chapters. To give some examples, Sugawara Daisuke's *Transustainable House* is purposefully designed to record environmental effects, incorporating the transitory materiality of rust as a medium in which to do so. Ikeda Yukie and Ono Toshiharu's *Shakujiidai Y* uses aesthetic design to enhance the natural light paths of the site, while Yamada Tomohiko of Studio Battery uses the internal cooling capacity of concrete to structure vents into his block design of *Cut Slide House*. Unemori Hiroyuki of Unemori Architects developed the use of steel and wood for *Small House* as a direct response to the unstable environmental conditions of the site. These projects, via their individual aesthetic processes, indicate that perhaps fourth generation *kyōshō jūtaku* do function as symbols of this practical Japan-ness, in that they embody active design responses to their environments.

Tessa Morris-Suzuki has argued in her book *Re-inventing Japan – Time, Space, Nation*, that

*Traditions carry a burden of history - the language in which they are embodied is resonant with memories of past debates and dreams. They are therefore not wholly malleable. Yet within limits they are open to a range of interpretations and acquire new nuances as they come into contact with fresh ideas and changed social circumstances*[667].

This statement can be applied not only to traditions but also to theories; Japan-ness is a theory which has travelled to the fourth generation accompanied by historical narratives of outsider engagement with Japan. However, as the data shows, it is showing a capacity to generate new insider interpretations. While I agree with Morris-Suzuki in that Japan-ness is not malleable to the point of reinvention, particularly as foreign-led interpretations of Japan-ness continue to circulate, it is open to the arrival of new meanings and understandings. With this scope for new perceptions in mind, I argue that Isozaki's belief that Japan-ness can only be viewed from the outside is not only reductive but also conceptually outdated. His belief that Japan-ness only occupied the minds of his generation and of those before him, fails to account for the ways in which Japan-ness has been practically moulded and revaluated by those currently designing.

This new interpretation of Japan-ness as an environmental design process can be applied to the *kyōshō jūtaku* model. To expand, there is potential for this environmental narrative to undermine some of the stereotypical and superficial beliefs surrounding the model's existence. For example, Japan-ness could be used as a way to highlight to the global architectural audience the ways in which the Japanese architectural industry is responding to the steady stream of localised natural disasters. In 2018, Japan was hit with flooding in the western regions of the country, earthquakes and landslides in the north, as well as dangerously high temperatures throughout – culminating in the general public voting *wazawai* or disaster as the defining *kanji* character of the year[668]. Fourth generation *kyosho jūtaku* designers are spatially and materially responding to this context, developing environmental practices which work to ensure the continuity of the model. Rather than applications of Japan-ness persisting in producing historical identity-centred discourse, the theory has the capability to expand into the realm of climate solutions on a local situated level. This move would posit Japan-ness as possessing contemporary practical value as opposed to historical and intellectual weight – hereby reflecting fourth generation engagement.

667 Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-inventing Japan – Time, Space, Nation* (M.E. Sharpe. Inc, 1998), p.38
668 "Kanji of the year, meaning 'disaster', symbolizes 2018 amid natural and human calamities", *Japan Times,* 2018 < https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2018/12/12/national/kanji-year-meaning-disaster-symbolizes-2018-amid-natural-human-calamities/#.XeZJRC2cbfY> [Accessed 20 November 2019].

## Imamura Mizuki – MiCo
***Japan-ness as spatial***

*IM: I don't know that much about Isozaki Arata - I've read some of his interviews, but not the whole book on Japan-ness. In terms of what Japan-ness is, I think of ma, spatial boundaries and the space in-between object and object which is an important space to think about. It's a weak boundary and there are different moments of separation, its complex in that way. Often in Japan, we create boundaries through distance and there is graduation. Engaging with these spaces and boundaries is Japan-ness to me*[669].

In *Japan-ness in Architecture*, Isozaki speaks about the notion of boundaries through his use of the word border[670]. From a linguistic perspective he argues that,

*Japan-ness – [and] all those terms with the prefix Jap - have always had an external origin. Whether a one-way or mutual gaze, their locus is always the border* [671].

To return back to the issue of language which was mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, this attention to the ingrained role of the dash (-) seems at odds with the fact that (日本的) when written in Japanese does not have a dash embedded into it. The dash is therefore something added, which in turn, shifts the meaning in order to enforce a border which separates Japan from its foreign produced 'ness'. Seemingly ignoring the fact that *Nihonteki* lingustically manifests so as to collapse any boundary between the nation and the things which encompass it, Isozaki goes on to question the notion of borders throughout the essay, considering Japan's island geographical status and the ocean as a natural border, as well as drawing attention to specific historical moments which he believes have decomposed the border between Japan and the outside. For Isozaki, borders of Japan-ness operate only on a national vs. global scale, he does not attempt to complicate or challenge this scope. Rather he reinforces this use of scale in the culmination of his essay, whereby, as previously discussed, he raises the question: Could Japan-ness, physically and in formal terms, be exported beyond the border?[672] A question this section will go on to further interrogate.

Before doing so however, Imamura Mizuki's statement above indicates that there is first a need to examine how Isozaki constructs his understanding of the border. Imamura's belief that Japan-ness is visible through micro spatial boundaries destabilises his singular macro scale theory. As revealed in chapter three, intimate and complex spatial relationships constituted by *ma* and *en* produce micro boundaries which impact experiences of the private. For Imamura, Japan-ness manifests as a result of these boundaries, it is contained within these phenomenological and practical expressions. The expressions of *ma* and *en* themselves do not have an inherent aesthetics; aesthetic manifestations are by-products of their existence – something which links back to the opinions of Fukushima and Tominaga. The sole requirement of *ma* is a connection between two objects in time and space – how that takes visual form is theoretically unspecific. *Ma* may have a history of being theorised through visual imagery of simplicity and harmony (i.e. chapter three's example of Kyoto's *Ryōan-ji*) but to understand it solely through this history is to limit both its aesthetic and spatial capacity.

Harada Masahiro of Mount Fuji Architects relayed in his interview his belief that *ma* is capable of functioning on multiple scales:

669 Imamura, 2018.
670 The linguistic use of *sakai* (境) in the Japanese version of the text is a word used to mean both border and boundary. Isozaki, Arata, *Kenchiku ni okeru "Nihon-teki na mono" [Japan-ness in Architecture]* (Shinchsha, 2003) [Ebook].
671 Isozaki, *Japan-ness*, p.114.
672 Ibid, p.106.

*I think it's a very Japanese thing - and it doesn't just relate to architecture, it also relates to the space between two beams, two houses, two cities – it's on a size scale. I think very carefully about space and ma and space without outlines. I think other architects do in the same way and I think that connects to tradition and Japan-ness*[673].

Not only does Harada's perspective undermine Isozaki's sole framing of the global-local macro scale border, but it also offers us a new way of considering *ma* in relation to the *kyōshō jūtaku*, which takes us back to the cell-foam metaphor.

As previously noted, the only requirement of *ma* is that objects are connected through a time- space continuum; the scale of this continuum is often presumed to be micro but there is no theoretical expression which dictates this. The spatial possibility of *ma* increases when we understand it to operate on a larger scale. In regard to the *kyōshō jūtaku*, this means that individual houses can connect as objects in the time and space of Tōkyō as an urban environment as opposed to only having connected objects contained within them. In fact, one could extend that to connect all the *kyōshō jūtaku* which exist throughout the whole of Japan. In other words, a zoomed-out approach to *ma* is theoretically possible, something which sees Sloterdijk's theory of co-isolation remerge, as the cell and foam also connect through a large-scale understanding of space and time. Unlike Isozaki's zoomed out notion of the global-local border, mobilising a zoomed-out perspective of *ma* is about understanding the interconnected urban public(s) borders which flow among the network of private cells (houses); for it is these borders which provide structure to the feeling of being in space. These boundaries generate in-between spaces among the houses, or moments of separation to use Imamura's words. It is in these spaces that the potential for Japan-ness is present.

I suggest that what this potential large-scale Japan-ness looks like is found in the ways architects can employ design tactics to increase connection. This returns to Kito Tomomi's suggestion, as discussed in chapter three's exploration into *ma*, that spatial in-betweenness can function as "an interface for connection"[674]. By creating this interface on an urban scale, Japan-ness can become a valid element in the quest towards city resilience. For example, mobilising a green network through gaps, arguably a particularly unique aspect of Tōkyō's makeup, could be categorised as tangible and technological Japan-ness which responds to the local climate and the needs of individual neighbourhoods. While this idea does not speak specifically to the *kyōshō jūtaku*, as small but recognised components of the city which come into contact with individual design in a way prefabricated houses do not, they have the potential to be at the forefront of this reinvention of Japan-ness. In short, the fourth generation perspective of Japan-ness is about locating and unlocking the potential that exists within both micro and macro layers of spatial connections, which can in turn produce aesthetic innovation. Previously in the introduction to this chapter, I posited that co-isolation occurs through the "perception of an aesthetic identity", however through this new perspective on the role of borders and boundaries, it appears that co-isolation is present among the multiple realities contained within spatial identities.

As a result of this formulation of the concept, there is perhaps a need to question how representative the dash (-) is; perhaps an anglophone collapse into Japanness is linguistically necessary, in order to reflect the erosion of the overarching global-local border which the Japanese written form emulates. By doing this the word itself becomes more inclusive of insider engagement with Japanness, visually acknowledging that 'local' architects of the current generation are instrumental in shaping and developing new possibilities for the 'ness'. To return to Isozaki's question: Could Japan-ness, physically and in formal terms, be

673 Harada, 2018.
674 Kito, 2018.

exported beyond the border? While previously, the simple answer was affirmative (in regard to the marketisation of the concept through figures like Kuma), in light of the previous discussion, the question itself seems redundant. Perhaps a more relevant question for the fourth generation would be: Can Japan-ness, physically and in formal terms, be re-envisioned within Japan? This can incorporate Ikeda Yukie's previous notion of Japan-ness as a set of active transformative processes, in that outsider essentialist narratives can be polished to reflect the everyday connections present within lived experiences.

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## Re-Coding Japan-ness

At the beginning of the chapter I contended that discussing Japan-ness through the lens of architectural practice unlocked new conceptual meanings for the fourth generation. These meanings not only exist outside of Isozaki's initial theorisation, but they also reveal how the concept is being led in new tangible directions by fourth generation *kyōshō jūtaku* architects. This includes engaging with Japan-ness as transformative active processes, as climate, as a capitalist export, as boundaries, as spatial scales, as subconscious, as the ambivalent mind.

In the foreword to Isozaki's text, architect and Professor of Architecture at Harvard University Mori Toshiko argued that "Isozaki demolishes our stereotypes by the elaboration and force of his argument, calling into question all unexamined assumptions about Japan-ness"[675]; in my opinion this is both true and false. At the time of writing, the text offered a concrete exploration into the formation of the Japanese aesthetic and architectural identity, something which does work to challenge uninformed foreign engagement through historical and cultural evidence. However, Isozaki also reinforces and promotes a firm us vs them binary, which in turn fosters the notion that architecture in Japan does indeed manifest in unique ways which are mysterious and unfathomable to outsiders. This line of thinking relies on assumptions, a foundation which is not particularly helpful when it comes to challenging instances of essentialism which often breach the line and is found within both inside and outside expressions.

Further, Isozaki's binary approach has functioned as a foundation for further conversations on Japan-ness, with Nikolovski arguing in his PhD thesis that Japan-ness is 'everything the West is not'[676]. In reality, as this chapter has demonstrated, Japan-ness is much more complex and nuanced than any simplified (-) can encompass. This is in part due to the relationship between the global and the national having intensified through advancements in technology and capitalism. I do not believe that when examining Japan-ness now, it becomes a question of fixating on the differences between Japan and the outside, which from a foreign perspective often results in exoticization and from a Japanese perspective can fall back on essentialist tropes. Rather the focus should be on accurately engaging with and representing the ways that architects are forging new paths of spatial and aesthetic enquiry which respond to local conditions. It is for this reason why I title this chapter 'Situating Japan-ness' because I believe that the term must be theoretically localised in line with the practices of situated positions and perspectives in order to hold any future relevance.

In light of this, I title this concluding sub-section 're-coding Japan-ness' as a way of responding to Isozaki's original belief that Japan-ness operates as a code. Whereas Isozaki's approach to coding was binary, my proposition of a re-code places multiplicity at its core; reflecting the

675 Mori Toshiko, "foreword", in *Japan-ness in Architecture* by Isozaki Arata (MIT Press, 2011), p.vii.
676 Nikolovski, p.214.

variety of representations and understandings of Japanness which the current generation are both consciously and subconsciously engaging with. By re-code, I am not suggesting that the existing code, Japan(-)ness, (which relies on stereotypes and inaccuracies) should be or can be erased. Rather, the nodes which currently operate on a local level need to be included within the pre-existing global network which the theory has established. Doing this will begin to shift the global narrative of Japan-ness towards a collapsed Japanness which focuses on the realities which are present on the ground, as opposed to continuing and replicating problematic histories.

The process of recoding and building these fourth generation nodes into the global network raises the question of whether Japan-ness would need to be consciously reclaimed by architects in Japan. Through speaking to those involved in this research, there is no indication that it will be or that there is a desire to do so – likely because there does appear to be a dominant underlying belief that Japan-ness is owned and controlled by the outsider. As a result, there is a need to consider the role of responsibility – who is responsible for ensuring that narratives of Japan-ness go beyond the surface level?

In regard to this thesis specifically, the notion of responsibility was the reason I felt that Japan-ness needed to be explored in relation to the *kyōshō jūtaku*; the reason for embarking on this research was to challenge and provide new informed perspectives on the *kyōshō jūtaku* - ones that derive from and represent the views of those creating them, voices that are often ignored in favour of stereotypes. Consequently, this chapter has presented alternative visions of Japanness and placed them in direct communication with the *kyōshō jūtaku*. Doing this has made me responsible, as an outside researcher, to represent differently by focusing our attention to current materialisations which defy traditional understandings. In this way, this chapter embodies the methodological approach of *zooming*, as it challenges the zoomed out approach of the global by accessing and engaging with the zoomed in processes found at the local level. At the beginning of the chapter, I suggested that a zoomed out approach to the *kyōshō jūtaku* was necessary in order to contribute to global discussions regarding the role of small houses within our cityscapes. In actuality, the chapter has revealed that a zoomed in approach to localised perspectives is a way of shifting and changing the path we take when *zooming* out. In other words, both *zooming* in and *zooming* out are necessary processes to locate and make visible new interpretations of Japan(-)ness which destabilise existing perceptions.

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# Re-Imagining, Re-Representing

Please now turn to the creative insert which accompanies this thesis. While this thesis and the insert do function independently, they also communicate and re-enforce each other. Therefore, this point in the thesis is the most logical time to engage with the insert.

While citations are documented within the insert, as it is an independent form, academic practice requires that these be reiterated here:

footnote [677]
footnote [678]
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footnote [681]
footnote [682]
footnote [683]

677 Mcleod and Holdridge, p.2.
678 Jane Rendell, “Site-Writing: Enigma and Embellishment”, in *Critical Architecture*, ed. by Jane Rendell, and others (Routledge, 2007), pp.150-162 (p.151).
679 John Collier, *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method* (Jr. Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc, 1967), p.3
680 Pink, "Sensory", p.6.
681 Kitayama, "Changes", p.23; Kitayama, Tsukamoto, Nishizawa.
682 Goddard, p.118.
683 Sullivan, p.50.

# Re-imagining re-representing

## a creative exploration

I exist both within the thesis and outside of it. My capacity to slip out, to be dro p ped, carried, stained physically reflects the autonomy that my works possess.

At the same time, each work documented here embodies the scholarly discussions found within the thesis; they are fundamental to their conception.

Am I insider or outsider?

As discussed in chapter two, the thesis methodologically engages creative practice as not only a way of forging avenues for experiments with transdisciplinary theory but also in order to reveal the value in material social science representation, particularly as a platform for cross-cultural knowledge exchange. The thesis has made clear why creative practice is suitable for this particular research project, how it supports the feminist and sensory components of the methodology and the benefits of blurring the institutionally fixed line between scholarship and art making. Building from those discussions, and the theoretical explorations had in chapter four, this insert expands on the creative methods mobilised during fieldwork (i.e. site drawing, soundscape production, sensory photography) by revealing a set of multi-medium art works.

Each work directly responds to the ideas, imaginings and understandings of fourth generation Japan-ness, explicitly reflecting the notion that it is an active spatial practice as opposed to a static aesthetic theory. This is important, as overarchingly, each work reinforces the capacity that architectural theory is alive and as a result can be represented in tangible forms as a way of furthering its reach and diversifying its audience. Further, as Katy Mcleod and Lin Holdridge argue, art is not only open to limitless interpretations, but when it enters the research arena it also becomes open to being theorised in and of itself.[677] As such, these art works are my own creative interpretations of the architects' perceptions and understandings of the theory of Japan-ness. Each work is open to new theorisations; they can respond to alternative ideas and they can subsequently change in light of new information and meanings.

677. Mcleod and Holdridge, p.2.

Importantly and fundamentally, each material construction relates to and is inspired by one or more of the kyōshō jūtaku projects included in this research. However, as a way of emulating zooming as an act of situating, the collective body of work draws not on the physical designs of the houses, but on the components of the public(s)-private foam network in which the kyōshō jūtaku operates. While elements of design do influence each piece, they are not essential to their manifestation; rather their connections to the urban environment, scale, spatial boundaries, the natural world, and materiality are the key markers informing artistic production. As such they represent a move away from representing houses as objects, instead framing them as subjects in process.

These alternative narratives are important for not only working to produce visual representations of Japanness as opposed to the misinformed stereotypes of Japan-ness, but also for providing a greater cultural and material context for our global understanding of the kyōshō jūtaku. Further, as is evidenced within the insert, all of the works take the methodological act of zooming as an artistic approach. This was one intentional way of cementing the connection between the formal thesis and this creative response.

The structure of this insert aims to create a dialogue. To explain, each work is first introduced visually via photographic means. This is then followed by a spatial writing as an extension of the work itself, and then comes a scholarly analysis which situates the work within the wider thesis. Each element talks to each other and creates a more holistic knowledge context.

The process of creating the spatial writings takes lead from Jane Rendell's approach to constructing writing "in relation to and in dialogue with" artwork as a creative site.[678] Consequently, the writing process itself took place in parallel with the making of the works, both informed and influenced each other. Experiences of fieldwork are found embedded within the content of the writings, but they are not soley produced by them. To be transparent, they were also not produced during the site visits themselves, so they do not represent a specific time-space dynamic. Rather they function as reflections; reflections on not just the experience of being in the field but also the process of constructing scholarly analysis, of making connections, of getting to know the data.

678. Rendell, "Site-Writing: Enigma and Embellishment", in Critical Architecture, ed. by Jane Rendell, and others (Routledge, 2007), pp.150-162 (p.151)

Each writing incorporates a range of voices which stem from my own sensory memories, stories and feelings had during site visits, as well as from my own critical imagination. To build on a previous discussion had in chapter one regarding how non-human voices speak, I use this imagination to play with the potential ways each work can speak using text as a spatial form.

Similar to the ways in which the works are open to new ideas and challenges, these imagined voices are open to reinterpretation and alternative configurations. As a result, an explanation of the meanings behind their construction is not offered to the reader, as this would serve to undermine their ability to generate limitless meanings. If one is told how to understand an art form their ability to imagine otherwise is restricted.  As a way of lingustically  reflecting the fact that there is no singular way to intepret these writings, they are all written using both English and Japanese.

Ultimately, if the reader cannot read both languages, they do not have full access to the writing. On the one hand this deliberately raises the feminist ethical issue of who has access to knowledge when text is the mode of communication. To expand, while much of feminist theory demands equal access to knowledge, in reality, when produced through the anglophone institution, written knowledge becomes a mechanism of power, serving some and not others. If decolonising the academy is to have any tangible meaning at all, scholars need to aspire to produce multi-lingual writing in a range of formats, in order to reach those who exist outside of these lingustic and spatial geographies.

On the other hand, using a bilingual structure promotes the role of the critical imagination, in that it requires readers who cannot read both, to feel their way in order to produce meaning. From both perspectives, the five spatial writings function as provocative interventions. They not only physically disrupt the academic written form but they disrupt academic convention by forcing us to consider which voices and forms we consider legitimate to disseminate and represent research.

These five works represent starting points to produce more cross-cultural and transdisciplinary conversations; they are always in progress, as they can perpetually develop through new contributions. This is also something designed deliberately as a way of confronting the assumption that academic research is final, whole and unflexible. Relatedly, I have been working on a number of other works alongside these five but they are currently not at a stage to show or discuss; further, their connection to the thesis itself is looser than the five included here. Therefore it is not the case that either five works in particular have been constructed or the number five is random, rather, these five are currently representative of the research process, employ a range of medium and have reached a stage to enable discussion.

In light of this, this creative insert represents the beginnings of a bilingual book project which documents this process of making alongside fieldwork experiments, soundscape maps, site produced essays, poems and drawings. In collaboration with this, I am also aiming to develop these five works and others further in order to showcase them through an exhibition format. This would be a way of responding to the critiques made in the thesis around the two major exhibitions which have represented the kyōshō jūtaku and also a way of increasing public engagement with the public(s) and private network which Tōkyō produces. Importantly, in both projects I am looking to work with Japanese graphic designers, artists, curators and the architectural studios who were interviewed for this research in order to centre those voices who work in and contribute to this network everyday.

# gaps

# 隙間




gaps


名代








んじゃ
スタンプためて、
ドリンクGET!
ためる!
もらう!


34-7

餃 丸正


cucina


名門

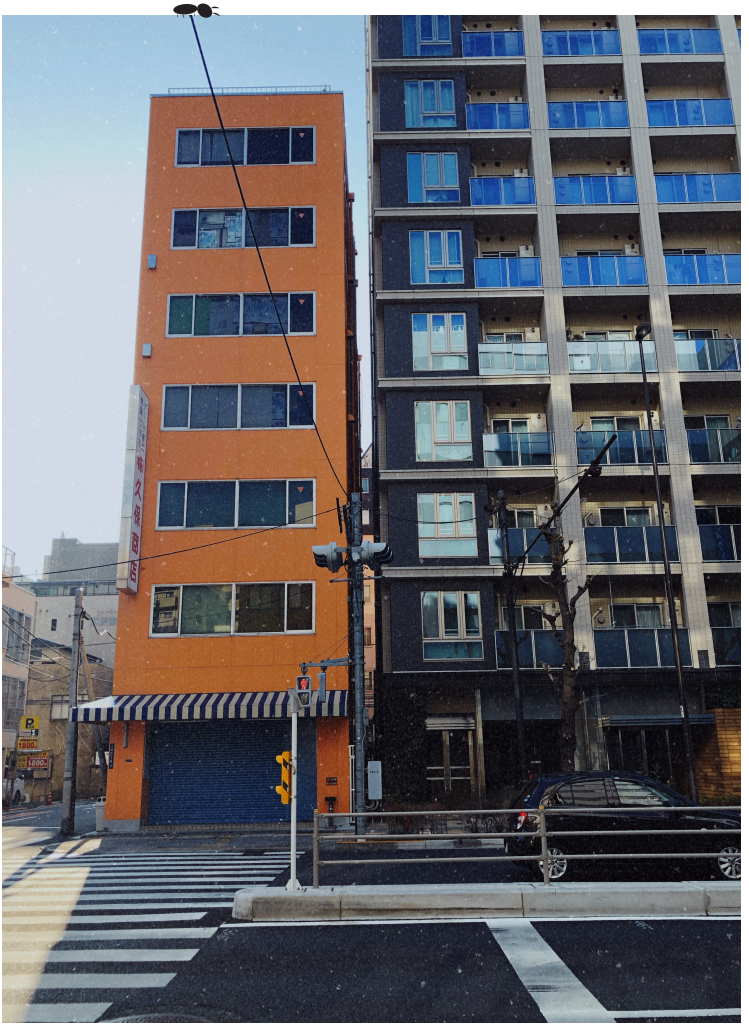




324


カシオ秋葉原ビル
送水口
180


中華食堂




回転
寿司



9pm
and the
frogs
have
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jump-
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I am
their
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babies
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which
run in
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ブーンブーン

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ワイ
ワイ

リンリン

ザー
ザー

ゴボ
ゴボ

ガタン
ガトン

サワ
サワ

the oldest gap
in asagaya.
older than the
vending
machine
which flickers
annoyingly all
night. older
than the drain
pipe which
noisly carries
tiny
traces of うど
ん, おしっこ,
ビール,
笑い声
from the
izakaya next
door. older
than the guy
who each day
sweeps the
leaves out of
me. Not older
than the
sound of the
temple gong
which shakes
the old bicycle
which
someone left
here and
never came
back for.

G a p s 隙間 is a photo exploration into the gaps which make up Tōkyō's urban core. All of the images featured in the photobook were taken in a single day, as a way of documenting the diversity contained within a specific time period. They capture a range of locations, representing both public(s) and private spaces. Although they cannot escape manifesting as extensions of my own impartial perception, the images are not highly styled or edited in order to give a true a representation as possible of the different shapes, sizes, colours that gaps can take.[679]

The human and non-human (the orange taxi) bodies which occasionally find themselves caught between the gap and the lens of the camera, are always in movement, something which attempts to reflect my own 'shooting while walking' process. This was inspired by Suzanne Mooney's ability to capture the city in movement, something which allows the images to become products of and participants in environments which are produced and consumed in movement. Including the bodies was a deliberate way of countering the difficulty of capturing movement when the subject of enquiry is static.[680]

679. John Collier, Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method (Jr. Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc., 1967), p.3
680. Pink, "Sensory", p.6.

Gaps are fundamental to how the city has spatially developed; as chapter three relays, they are both practical (in terms of storage and light-air infiltration) and imaginative. Both chapter three and chapter four's exploration into spatial Japan-ness, posit the potential for gaps to be transformative. Kitayama Koh has argued that gaps have the potential to create new spatial components, with Atelier Bow-Wow extending this by suggesting that gaps can unite to form a singular network of green urban space. In other words, there has been suggestion that gaps have the capacity to contribute to the revitalisation of the city via their ability to generate resilience and sustainable structures.

681

681. Kitayama, "Changes", p.23;
Kitayama, Tsukamoto, Nishizawa.

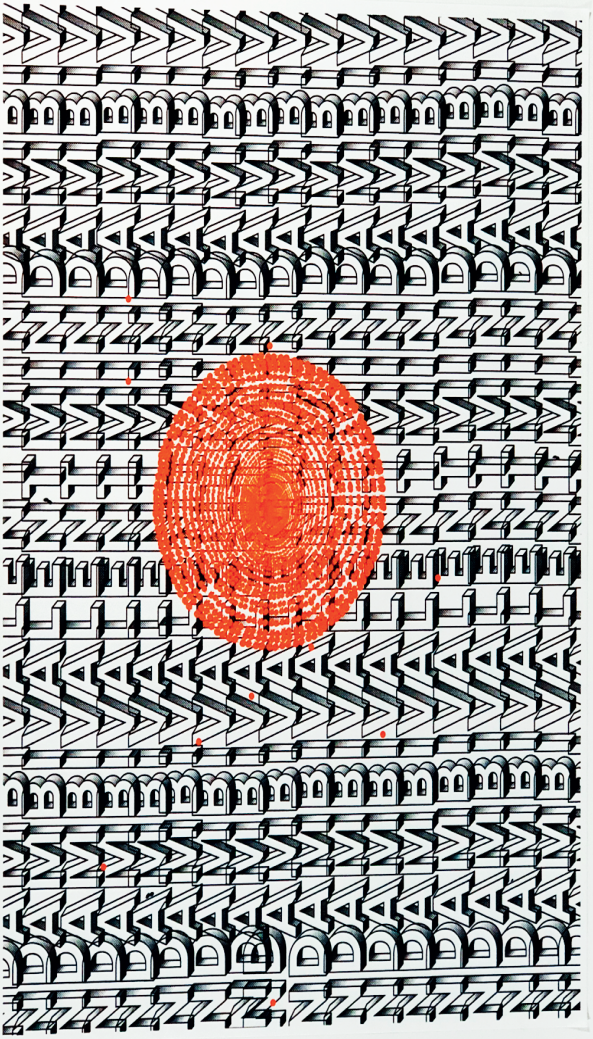
However, these proposals for the future perhaps overlook the lived realities of these gaps – making assumptions that they have the desire and tangible capacity to transform. When spending time with these gaps, their multi-purpose and busy lives become apparent. They are already working to accomodate the needs of the city; they are homes for animals, neccessary storage for excess material objects, spaces for children to play, spaces where plants and flowers grow, spaces to house essential air conditioners and ventilation systems.

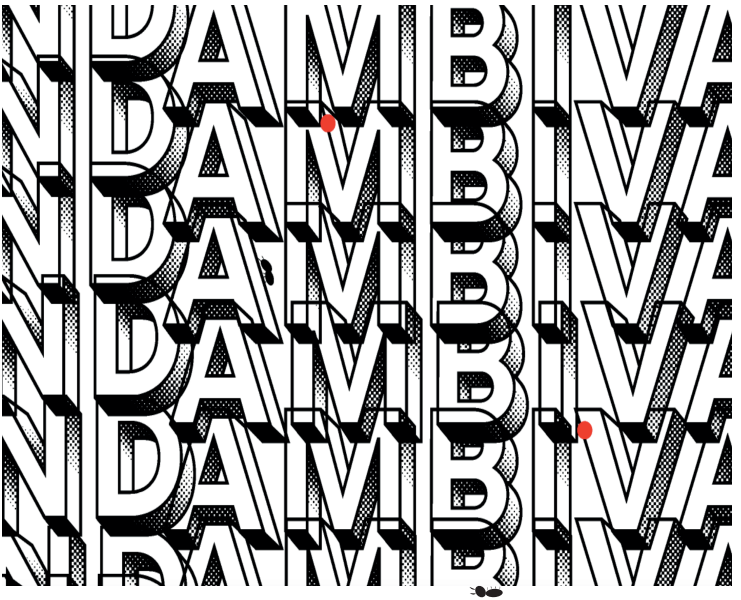
Some architects who I interviewed were sceptical about how these ideas could be implemented, yet many were keen to think through any obstacles and questions. Part of this process is to develop an in-depth understanding of how the gaps currently operate in order to design future interventions which have the ability to succeed and generate positive urban change. This collection of photographic images responds to this idea of the everyday lived realities of these gaps by photographing them in their natural state, a choice supported by the fscp approach which advocates for the observation of the mundane.

The images present a range of zoomed in and zoomed out perspectives – some zooming in to the complex mesh of materials which occupy the gaps, some zooming out to their situated spatial location in the city. Doing this allowed me to capture a sense of how gaps operate on both micro and macro scales. If the images were exhibited, they would be vertically hung in a row, one behind the other. Each of the gaps would be cut out, allowing the viewer to see through each of the gaps, creating a continuous line of sight. This would also require the viewer to move and walk around the hung works in order to see them from different angles, something which emulates my own photographic process. Further, zoomed in and zoomed out would be connected as a singular viewing experience, reinforcing the need for the observer to actively engage with both in order to cultivate an in-depth understanding. The continuous gap reflects the reality of many gaps on the ground, in such that they often vertically span across multiple blocks and boundaries.

Gaps are a key foundational aspect of Tōkyō kyōshō jūtaku design and living; not only do gaps need to be factored into designing for small plots of land, but they also, in some cases, house extremely narrow kyōshō jūtaku. Representing gaps is a way of representing kyōshō jūtaku reality; a way of documenting their urban context. In the introduction to the thesis I talked about how Japanese media representations tend to focus on the practical aspects of living in kyōshō jūtaku, whereas anglophone commentary tends to favour representations which are less grounded in reality. These images, the spatial writing and this explanation hope to bring a more situated approach to anglophone knowledge production on the kyōshō jūtaku. It is critical to continue to showcase spatial realities such as gaps as these will have an important role to play in future design conversations in Tōkyō, both on a foam and cell level.

# Ants
# アリ

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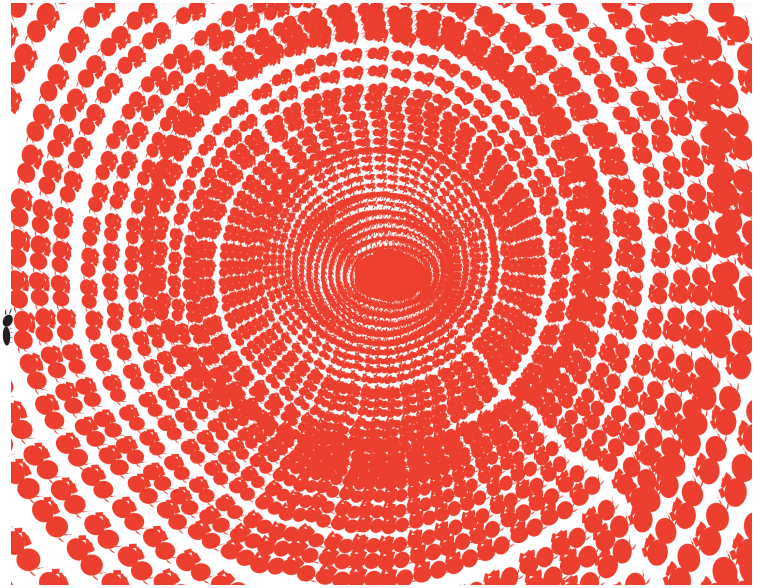


from a to b, and sideways to i, □□□□□□□body twitching from the data.
the central hive requires maintenance. □□□□□□□stop. collect. extract. two red nodes have amassed a critical information loads. requires attention. must move quickly. □□□□□□□joining sharp edges and harsh borders. 1 of 792 workers, building. □□□□□□□□leaking threads leaving traces□□□□□□□□ of activity. hum of energy. quickly quickly
pass through spaces, ****** always efficient. parameters. materials pass flows, swarm. a micro body as messenger, as cell. 243 acknowledged. light vibrations limitless paths, 14 sites. follow, mark, leave trace. chirp chirp. node return to the centre, then produce new avenues to increase performance. always recognising grip chrup. linking strong threads between paths, follow.body, rebody, reform, regrow. how many bodies does it take to make a worn path, a trusted path? chirupchriupchirp.
touch. smell. recalculate. feel. antennae. touch. vvvv

Ants アリ is a response to Fukushima's (FT Architects) construction of the 'ambivalent mind' – a image which, as chapter four reveals, embodies the complexities around stereotyping, the marketisation of identity, and the relationship between consciousness and unconsciousness. The ambivalent mind was something I wanted to explore because it seemed to be a metaphor which manifested in different forms throughout all the opinions of the fourth generation who were interviewed. I began by taking the image of the Japanese flag as a starting point because not only is it a visual symbol of nationalism which operates globally, it also, with its red singular circle, denotes an image of homogenous unity. It is this false claim of uniformity that has helped produce pervasive stereotypes which have influenced how kyōshō jūtaku are understood and represented. I therefore thought that producing a representation which challenges this ideology would be a way of making clear that a singular understanding of Japan and subsequently Japanness is non existent.

Employing the words ‘ambivalent mind’ to the flag as a structural framework was a way of deconstructing its previous form in order to rebuild it; to start from a place of ambivalence is to not place limits on thought. It is a position of openness, a willingness to acknowledge multiple perspectives – a necessary position to take when reimagining Japanness. Ambivalent mind was written in English because Fukushima said these words in English, despite the interview being conducted in Japanese. He stated that in Japanese, ambivalent has a variety of different meanings and contextual uses so he thought the English word was more clear in its intension.

Once the textual form was solidified, I began considering the flag's central red circle. To deconstruct the notion that there is a singular Japan, and thus a single Japanness, I chose to include 14 other red circles in the work – all of which spread out from the central circle. The number (14) and the position is not random, rather each of the small circles represents one of the houses visited for this research and each map their rescaled position in Tōkyō onto the flag.

This is a way of not only indicating that each house represents its own manifestation of Japanness, as all the stakeholders in its production (the architect/s, the clients) will have different interpretations of the term, but also a way of visualising the role of the individual cells in the wider foam network theory. As argued in chapter four, in order to recode Japan-ness into Japanness, spatiality must be present in equal measure to aesthetics.

When it came to revisualising the central circle, I chose to combine the act of zooming with Nariaki Chigusa's drawing of the ants moving through the window frame of A House in Tsukishima (figure 45). If one zooms in on the large circle, it is clear that it is made up of hundreds of red ants. Ants, as micro-organisms, move and operate as a networked entity – they do invisible work connecting with larger life forms. To tie to the role of the sensory in the project, ants are also acute sensory beings, communicating through sounds, touch and pheromones. I wanted to emphasise in this piece that micro components, such as kyōshō jūtaku, play a valuable role in the macro urban ecology. In a similar way, the spatial work of fourth generation architects is contributing to our global collective knowledge of Japanness. If one zooms further into the work, black ants crawl among the textual structure; one could view them as disrupters, yet they are also potentially repairers and communicators, securing the flag's structure and carrying information to and from the circles.

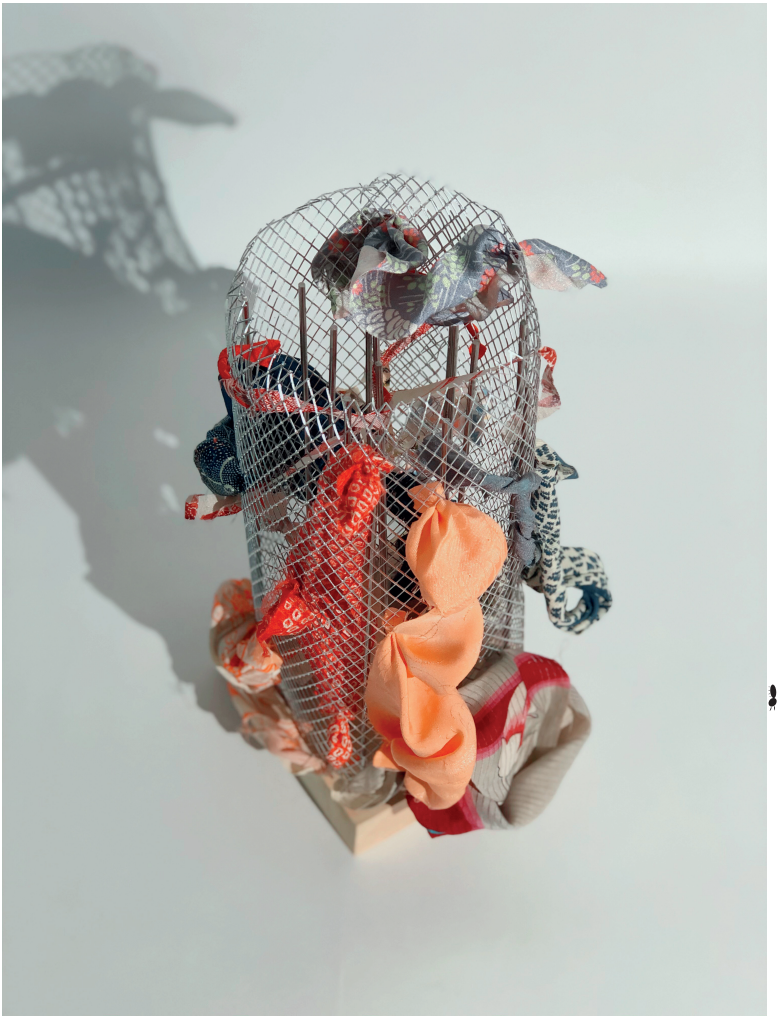
As you may have noticed, black ants also move throughout the pages of this insert - this is way of reenforcing the critical role of the network in this research process - it is a visual symbol of connectivity as these works and writings are not made in isolation of each other.



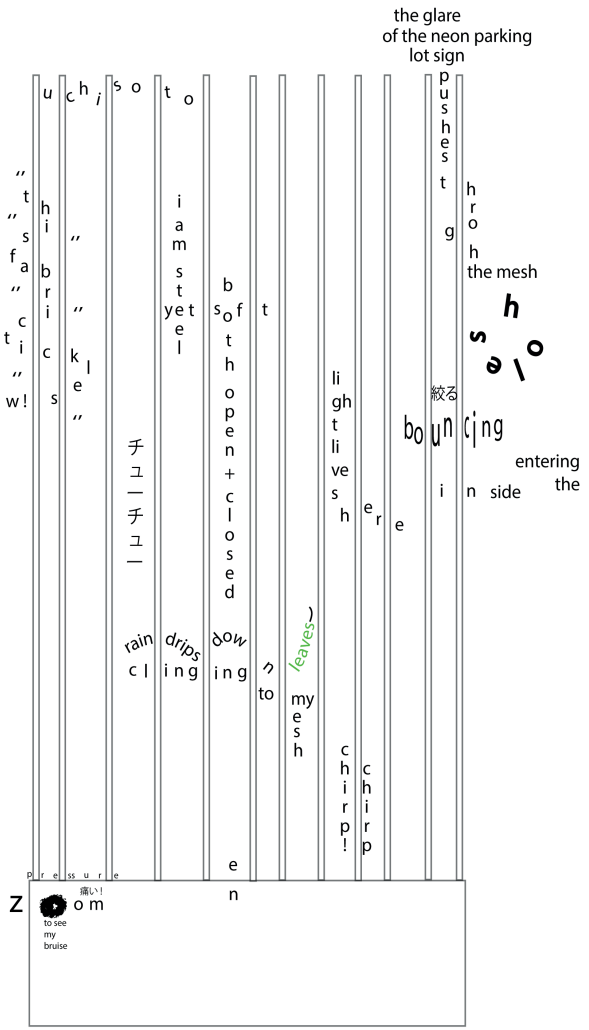

Soto
外











the glare
of the neon parking
lot sign

pushest g

hroh the mesh

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bouncing

entering the side

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"tsfa"ci"w!

iam stye tel

bsoth open + closed

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light lives h

chirp!

er

chirp

e

絞る

チューチュー

rain cl

drips ing

pressure

Z om

痛い!

to see
my
bruise

Uchi - Soto - 内 - 外 is a sculptural response to my discussion with FT Architects and their kyōshō jūtaku project E-House. Uchi-Soto has become a reccuring concept throughout the thesis, not just in terms of the close reading of the relationship found in chapter three, but also in others ways; the inside cells and the outside foam, the inside of Japan and the outside of the ness.  As a result, I wanted to engage with the concept creatively in order to try and capture some of the ways in which they merge and inform each other. In the introduction to the thesis I agreed with Vera Mackie's argument that inside-outside must be considered through practice; something I extend through this art-based process.

I chose E-House and my conversation with Fukushima and Tominaga as a starting point as they, more than any other studio/project, explictly noted how uchi-soto was fundamental to their design process.

Materially speaking, I began constructing the piece from a block of hinoki wood, inspired by E-House's wooden block stairs which, as previously discussed in chapter three, is a potential site for ma and an example of an interior en boundary. As argued in the previous chapter, both en and ma are examples of spatial Japanness and are fundamentally intertwined with uchi-soto. As noted, uchi-soto is found within Isozaki's theory through the conceptual separation of Japan and the ness; this piece, however, challenges this separation and presents an alternative configuration, where the line between the two is blurred and the space in-between is dynamic and full of potential.

15 steel rods were then set within the wood block, representing the 15 lines architect Fukushima Katsuya drew during our interview to explain the critical role that a flexible approach to inside outside (uchi-soto) played in the studio's conceptualisation of the house. In the drawing (figure 65), the lines intersect, demonstrating the way that the house collapses inside-outside into one another through various spatial moments. The steel mesh which encases the rods within the wood's borders reflects E-House's steel outer mesh wall which functions as a privacy barrier – protecting the privacy of the occupants while simultaneously allowing them visual access to the neighbourhood. Kimono fabric weaves through both the rods and the mesh, folding in on itself, in a constant state of uchi-soto. It emulates the intersecting lines of Fukushima's drawing, but challenges the rigidity of the linear form through producing malleable shapes. Kimono fabric as a flexible material was chosen as Fukushima Katsuya and Tominaga Hiroko noted within our interview that the structure of E-House was inspired by fabric used in women's fashion as the owner of the house is a costume designer.

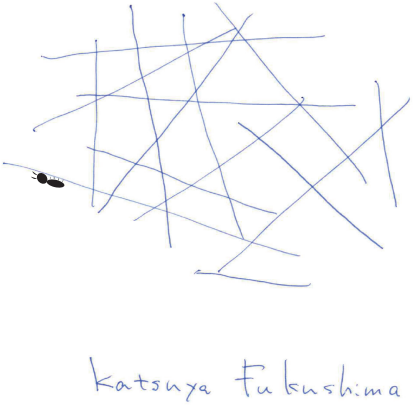



figure 65. Uchi-Soto lines drawn by Fukushima Katsuya.

I mobilised zooming as an artistic approach through examining the micro relationship created by the three materials. The wood, the steel and the fabric each offers contrasting narratives which when brought together produces a tangible tension. I noted this same material tension during site visits to E-House – particularly between the house and the mesh wall. While the two forms were static, natural foliage weaved among them, actively blurring their inside-outside designations. In this sculpture, I have mirrored this blurring with the kimono fabric; as a result, uchi-soto is no longer binary but rather continually manifesting as a unified form.


Kagami
鏡

Shibuya River

渋谷川

# Shinobazu Pond

不忍池

Meguro River

目黒川

Zōjō-ji temple

三縁山増上寺



Azuma-bashi bridge

吾妻橋

Seibu Ikebukuro

西武池袋

# Shinjuku Rurikoin Byakurengedo

# 新宿瑠璃光院 白蓮華堂

# Shinjuku Gyoen National Garden

# 新宿御苑



# Nihonbashi River

日本橋川



# Imperial Palace

皇居

kagami kagami kagami kagami kagami kagami kagami kagami kagami kagami kagami kagami kagami kagami kagami kagami kagami kagami kagami kagami

river
bridge
swan
building
tree
train
blossom
tower

鏡鏡鏡

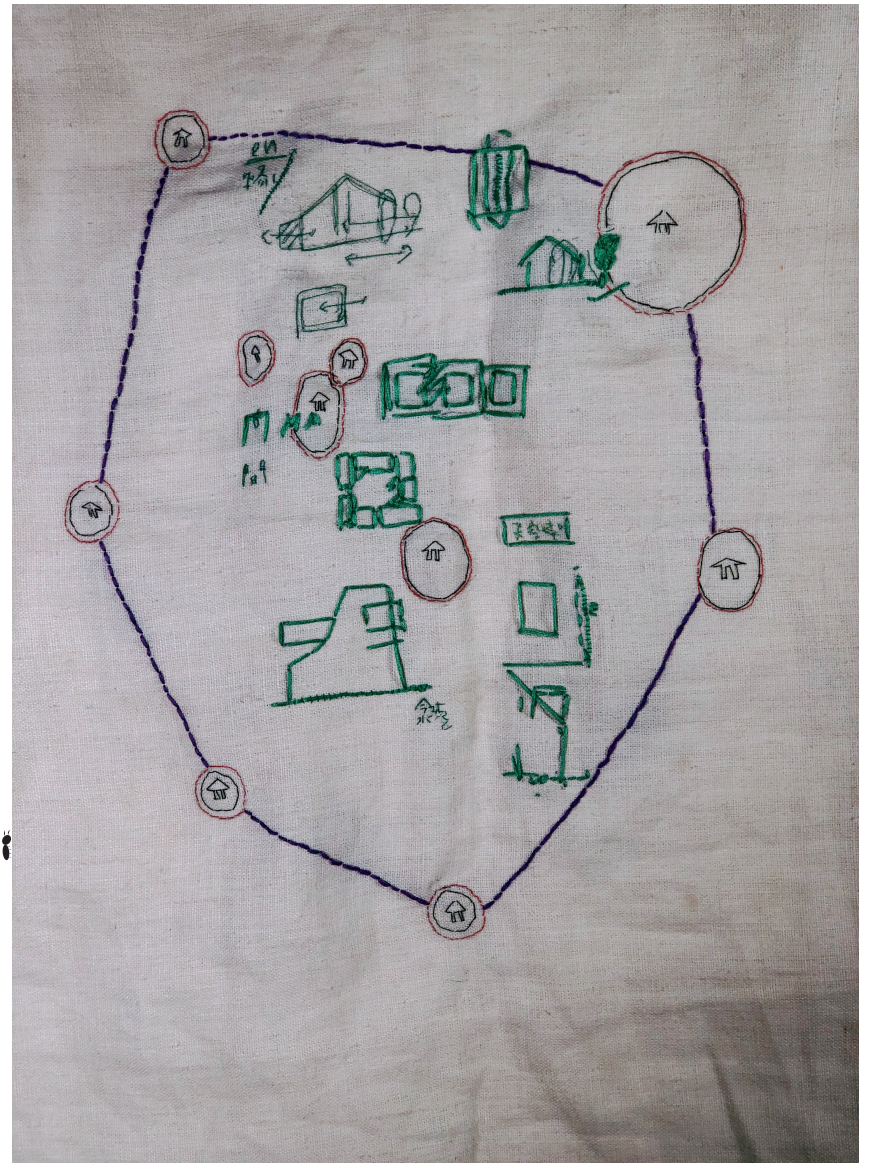
Kagami 鏡 is a fourteen minute film which was shot in Tōkyō over a month long period in 2018. For the intention of documentation, the set of images show 10 sites where the filming took place, with each site comprising of four stills arranged together so to create a single image. The purpose of this composition is to emphasise the role zooming played in the making of the piece; each shot is focused on a mirror – the scene begins with a close up of what is contained within the mirror, with each following shot zooming out to reveal the mirror's urban situated positioning. The stills deliberately appear in movement, to try to capture the alive subject matter and the endlessly changing city – something inspired by Suzanne Mooney's urban series which was discussed in chapter one. Although Mooney works with photography as a medium, I chose to work with film in this instance because it felt more capable of tracing the movement of the zoom, allowing the viewer to feel immersed in the act itself as opposed to viewing a static image after the process. It also allowed sound to play a role in the piece, something which again helps to situate the experience and extends my creative engagement with the critical sensory imagination.

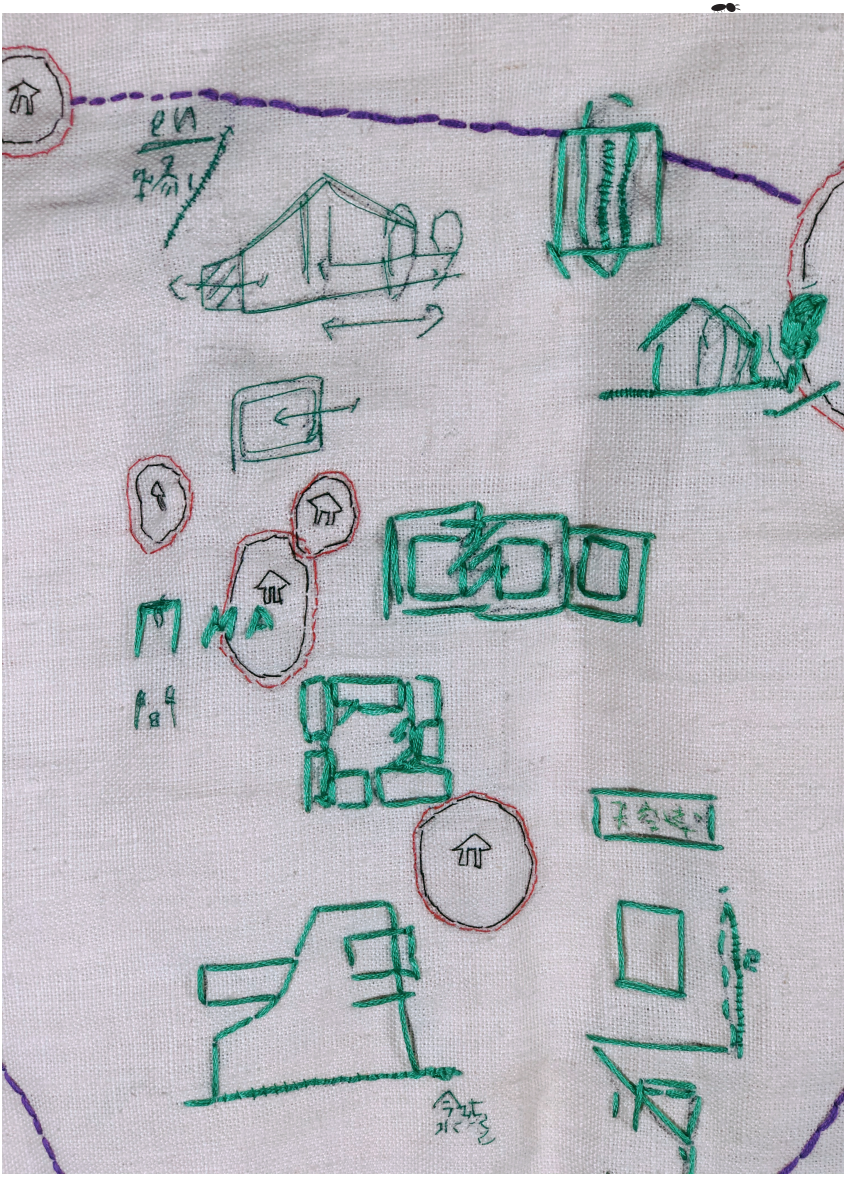
The film takes inspiration from a conversation with Sugawara Daisuke where he used the metaphor of the Shinto shrine mirror, which is said to be housed in the closed off Ise Shrine, to consider how Japan-ness manifests as an ability to reflect nature back to us, particularly in urban architecture. In Shintoism, the role of this mirror which is called Yata no Kagami (hence the name of the piece) is representative of honesty, as it always reflects the truth - forcing us to confront our realities.

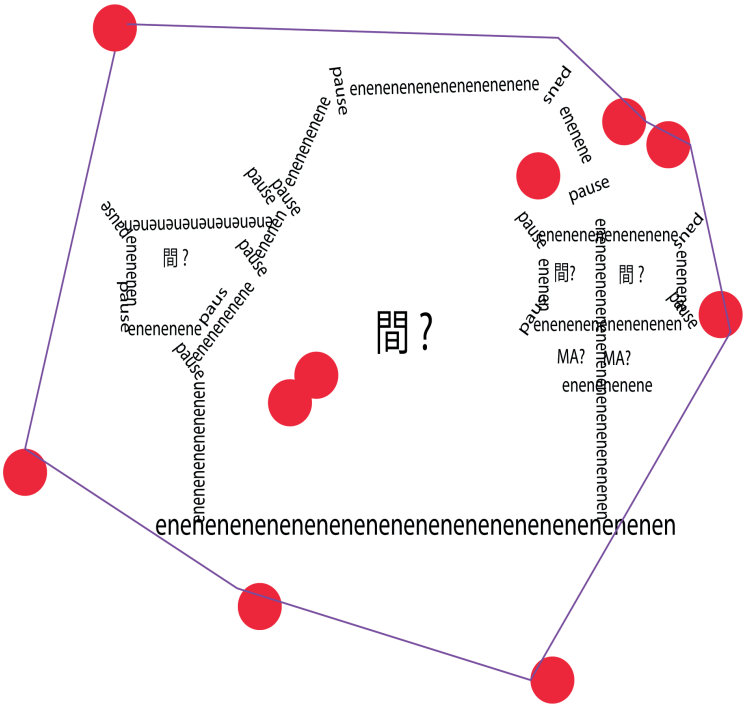
This idea of natural reflection is shown through Sugawara's own kyōshō jūtaku project, Transustainable House, which uses rust as a way to reflect the site's climatic environment. This piece explicitly responds to this notion of reflection by positioning a mirror in conversation with both nature and urban infrastructure as a way of showing how they operate in conjunction with one another. Examples of nature seen in the stills stemmed from the examples fourth generation architects gave in interviews (as seen in chapter two) and a focus was taken on everyday natural life as opposed to monumental or ideological understandings of nature as a way of zooming into city activity. Similar to Mooney's use of an iPhone to capture shots in movement, I also used an iPhone to film each sequence. This basic technical approach was deliberate as it not only allowed me to move quickly in space when making, but it also is a way of demonstrating that creative practice is an accessible way of creating knowledge; high-tech equipment is not necessary to cultivate alternative creative approaches to research.

# Ma
# 間





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間？
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MA?
MA?
pause
pause
pause

Ma 間 reinterprets a drawing done by Imamura Mizuki (figure 56) which documents the spatiality of en and the in-between spaces which lend themselves to manifestations of ma. As made clear in chapter four, both ma and en have the spatial capacity to manifest as Japanness, on both zoomed in and zoomed out scales. As a result of this proposition, I wanted to materially bring together both the phenomenology and the spatiality of ma and en as a way of representing Japanness.

I chose to engage explictly with Imamura's drawing because not only does it depit one of the kyōshō jūtaku projects involved in this research (House in Tokyo) but she also explictly shows tangible practical ways in which the two concepts can manifest, something which I think addresses the gap in the literature which fails to go beyond theory. Imamura stated in her interview, that architects need to actively contemplate these concepts in order to locate new ways for them to influence domestic space.

Building off from this idea of contemplation, for Ma 間 I chose to find a medium which would also allow me to take a slowed down approach to both spatial concepts, as a way of reflecting my own fieldwork process whereby I slowed down my approach to zooming in order to record the micro activites of the houses and their situated place within the urban environment. Textiles was chosen as it was a particularly sensory mode of creative practice, the time dedicated to hand stitching was a process of feeling the work, building a relationship with it. Further, hand stitching was a vital aspect of reflection, as unlike on a machine which produces stitches continuously, each creation of a new stitch marks a pause from the last, a pause, which similar to ma, functioned as a space of exchange. Stitching was also a way of physically replicating the connection between uchi-soto, the needle repeatedly moving inside and out. The final form of the work was only possible due a collaboration of the two – thus reinforcing the frequent collapse of this binary within kyōshō jūtaku design.

Alongside hand stitching Imamura's image, I also stitched a spatial field onto the material. The boundary of the field marks a scaled down perimeter of the kyōshō jūtaku projects involved in this research, taken from my map that I used to walk the city when locating the houses. Including it within the piece was a way of drawing attention to the possibility to a zoomed out spatial approach to Japanness, a way of emphaising that the micro boundaries of ma and en which Imamura refers to, actually sit in a macro network of boundaries and borders. When it comes to future contemplation, I think considering how these micro borders can communicate on a larger scale will be a way of continuing to expand these theories into spatial practice.

# answering the research question

In the introduction to the thesis, I put forward the research question which these art works aim to answer; **can situated creative practice be used to expand the representation of both Japan-ness and Tōkyō's kyōshō jūtaku?** To begin to unpack this, the term 'situated creative practice' must be first be defined; by this I mean that the artist-researcher must produce creative practice out of a situated position. In the case of this research, I situated myself in Tōkyō, which allowed me to exist in close proximity to the houses and initiate conversations with fourth generation architects. This positioning produced the final art works and allowed them to embody localised perspectives and experiences – without this position, the works would fail to be rooted to the spaces, places and voices which sparked their creation. Further, many of the materials used within the pieces, including the kimono fabric and the wood, were sourced in Tōkyō – materials which saw me get lost trying to find one of the oldest kimono fabric shops still in existence and discuss marks and mould with a wood specialist. In other words, situated creative practice was a journey which was made on the ground, in amongst the everyday – a journey which each work reflects both materially and conceptually.

To address the research question, the answer put simply is yes. In regard to the expansion of Japan-ness (Japanness), I posit that these five works and their subsequent spatial texts represent Japan-ness (Japanness) as not only a flexible and transformative theory but one that it is both spatial and material, a perspective that goes beyond its aesthetical foundation. To reiterate, the art works themselves do not expand the theory, rather they expand the representation of the theory; the expansion itself stems from the spatial and material practices of the architects. Furthermore, with respect to kyōshō jūtaku representation, each piece actively goes beyond a narrow lens of architectural design and considers how design operates in, and is influenced by, a wider public-private network. These works, and the thesis as a whole, argues that it is critical to look beyond the individual houses in order to understand how cultural, social, and urban factors shape not only their aesthetic, but also, ontological existence.

In order to access the significance of this and to advocate for the use of creative practice within transdisciplinary knowledge production, there is value in collapsing this research question into one more capable of transforming into other research projects and enquiries. In other words, this: **can situated creative practice be used to expand the representation of both Japan-ness and Tōkyō's kyōshō jūtaku(?)**, moves to: **can situated creative practice be used to originally represent and disseminate theory and complex existences (?)**. Deconstructing the question in this way gives it the capability to move across and potentially disrupt disciplinary borders, as well as the ability to adapt to a variety of situated positions and geographies. The implications of this is the creation of multi-vocal research which not only unlocks new epistemological understandings and critical imaginings but also produces new cross-cultural dialogues and knowledge building that go beyond language-centred outcomes. These works and their writings have sought to make clear that creative practice and research can productively function as "complementary corresponding practices", stimulating experiences and processes which are lived and felt and are subsequently open to reconstructions and reinterpretations .[682][683]

682. Goddard, p.118.
683. Sullivan, p.50.

# Conclusion

I would like to end by reinforcing the reason which fuelled me to do this work in the first place; to respond to and interrogate the anglophone representational image of the *kyōshō jūtaku* as a static design object. To do this, the thesis has demonstrated how *kyōshō jūtaku* design is produced by constantly evolving network(s) of social, cultural, material, philosophical and ecological relations. I have sought to make clear that these relations interact, intertwine and support each other through two connected structures -the macro foamy public sphere and the micro co-isolated private. By filling this gap in anglophone discourse, I have coded an open-access path into the network(s), one which future representations can build on by adding further situated, ethical and informed knowledges on this subject.

In regard to how this thesis fits into broader architectural research, I wish to re-emphasise that by using a transdisciplinary framework, this source of architectural knowledge takes us beyond the architectural object and into the meshwork in which it is situated. This generates fresh epistemological pathways which offer new spatial, material, cultural and social directions. In this case, transdisciplinary manifests as multi-praxis, with the thesis adopting complementary creative strategies to represent and re-represent theory.

Alongside this, I have made a case for the value present within a slowed-down approach to research; advocating for "feeling with the field"[684] as a way of building relationships and knowledges with the multiplicity of non-human and human voices present within any given context. Giving time to production is not something which the research process is often generous with; as a result, working with time has to be a deliberate and cultivated activity, something that is built into the very fabric of our methodological choices. Consequently, this thesis established an original methodology, feminist sensory creative practice, that allowed me to zoom in on 14 *kyōshō jūtaku* sites and the opinions of 17 fourth generation architects as a way of working with time. This allowed for intimate experiences to be both had and witnessed. Ultimately, more time can always be spent, more paths can be explored, more questions can be asked.

The following conclusion begins by addressing the four areas of knowledge expansion which were detailed within the introduction. I will then reiterate the research findings which were generated out of the research questions and the themes which answer those questions. Finally, I discuss some areas which the thesis could expand on, generating ideas around future work for a future time.

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## Expanding Knowledge and Addressing the Research Questions

As previously emphasised, within this thesis I have worked towards expanding four key areas of knowledge in order to further our collective understanding of Tōkyō's *kyōshō jūtaku* : the concepts of *zooming* and *behaviorology*, a subject-focus on the fourth generation of architects in Japan, the theory of Japan-ness, and the public-private as a theoretical framework for architectural research. As a result of identifying these four areas of expansion through a critical survey of the literature, the thesis developed a set of research questions with accompanying

684 This phrase is borrowed from Antoni and Cook, 2019.

themes which were designed in direct correlation to these areas. To reiterate, themes in this research are not isolated words but rather organisational concepts which simultaneously capture meaningful patterns in the raw data while also answering the research question[685]. As such, the research questions for this project were as follows:

**Can a feminist sensory creative practice approach extend both the methodological act of *zooming* and the theoretical framework of *behaviorology*?**

**Do fourth generation Japanese architects engage with Japan-ness (in the conception of *kyōshō jūtaku*)?**

**Can situated creative practice be used to expand the representation of both Japan-ness and Tōkyō's *kyōshō jūtaku*?**

**How does the application of a public-private framework in the research of *kyōshō jūtaku* generate new perspectives on the subject?**

While the insert directly addresses the question pertaining to situated creative practice, this section reflects back on the arguments put forward in other chapters and offers answers, via the structure of the themes, to the other three questions.

*Zooming and Behaviorology*

As I wanted to produce research which looked beyond the design of the *kyōshō jūtaku* model, I began searching for literature which not only framed architectures as living organisms which house flows of activity, but also which took a focus on Tōkyō as a situated environment. This led me to Atelier Bow-Wow's concept of *behaviorology* which posits that the behaviours of humans, the behaviours of the natural elements and the behaviours of buildings themselves intertwine to create an "ecosystem of behaviour" which in turn transforms architectures into spaces of relationships[686] . This was a critical framework for this project as looking through this lens was a way of countering anglophone reductive narratives of *kyōshō jutaku* which perpetuate images of static design, narratives which are often reliant on stereotypes and whimsical notions of Japan as 'weird' and 'wonderful'. Through *behaviorology*, *kyōshō jūtaku* could be represented as living containers which are situated within and are produced by specific environments. Having identified this approach, I then located a methodological way of documenting these behaviours; *zooming*, as explored in the Atelier Bow-Wow's guidebook *Made in Tokyo*[687], was a situated action which allowed me to consider both the macro and micro scales of behaviours and locate ways different behaviours interact in space.

As a way of testing the extendability of both *behaviorology* and *zooming*, I curated the fscp approach, a methodology structured around my ethical and situated position as a researcher, the sensory experiences of the everyday and creative practice as both method and a valid knowledge output. This process led to the development of the research question: **can an fscp approach extend both the methodological act of *zooming* and the theoretical framework of *behaviorology* (?)** A question which was answered in the theme: fscp extends both *zooming* and *behaviorology* through outsider situated practices.

The theme was explored in the analysis and explanations put forward in chapter one, the fieldwork data relayed in chapters two and three, the engagement of theory in chapter four,

685 Braun and Clarke, *Successful Qualitative Research.*
686 Tsukamoto and Kaijima, *Behaviorology*, p.8-9.
687 Kaijima, Kuroda and Tsukamoto, p.19

and the artistic approaches found in the insert; as such, the multiple extensions of these concepts function as threads which bind the whole thesis together.

To explicate, chapter one relays that an fscp approach not only provides a number of methods and tools which can be implemented to zoom, but it also demands that the feminist researcher questions which bodies are able to zoom and the ethical considerations one must make when *zooming*. By doing this, *zooming* becomes capable of embodying transformation, care, and multivocality – all things produced out of the contextual situatedness of the researcher in their chosen environment. Regarding the sensory application of this project specifically, choosing to zoom into the three sensory aspects of the site (the researcher, the environment, the house), was a way of paying attention to the polysensory nature of these intertwined behaviours – all of which function as living components which contribute towards our understanding of *behaviorology*. Importantly, an fscp extension of *zooming* allowed for *zooming* in as well as *zooming* out, something Atelier Bow-Wow have not outwardly explored. As discussed, Atelier Bow-Wow emphasised a need for a zoomed out approach which encompasses the whole urban ecology, something I continued within chapter two, developing it a step further in chapter four to consider the global and national contexts of *kyōshō jūtaku*. While they structured a zoomed in vantage point as being design focused and thus reductive, I reinterpreted the zoomed in lens through fscp to be one whereby micro moments pertaining to material, cultural and social lives could be experienced and creatively recorded. The result of this is evidently found in chapter three's close readings of the houses and the art and writings documented in the insert – yet, arguably traces of these micro interactions are littered throughout.

The significance of extending these approaches via fscp is that it takes two approaches that were not primarily designed for academic research but for architectural practice and reveals them to be capable of generating original scholarship through new paths of enquiry and situated practices. As such, the theme manifests as the essence of the research question in that this PhD project shows how fscp develops both *zooming* and *behaviorology* through the position and practices of the outsider. Further, through my feminist politics, the methodologies are also visibly claimed as non-neutral practices, something I believe is necessary to do in order to make clear that it is not possible to be practice neutrally when situated within any space.

Along with mobilising the knowledges related to *zooming* and *behaviorology*, the fscp approach also employed adaptable and complementary methods which emerged across different sites and incorporated various mediums. While this project used interviewing, site visits, photography, drawing, and soundscape making, other future fscp projects could use a completely different set of methods as a way of exploring *zooming* and *behaviorology* (or other methodologies/theories). This inherent flexibility is a critical aspect of its value; it can be applied to limitless contexts as a way of producing new methodological and theoretical perspectives on trandisciplinary subjects. As a result of this, I believe that the next step is to test its methodological relevance in different contexts. This would see it situated elsewhere, outside of Tōkyō (and Japan) and outside of the urban. If it was again used within the realm of architectural research, doing this would allow for alternative experiences, records and understandings of the behaviours of architectures. Further, developing the capacity to zoom collectively, something which could for example be done through a feminist collective, would enable both researchers and practitioners to test the suitability of both *zooming* and *behaviorology* when they are directed through multiple positions and environments.

*Japan-ness*

My subject focus on the current fourth generation of architects was deliberate, as the literature revealed not only a lack of anglophone knowledge around their practices but also a multiplicity of texts on the second and third generation. Further, the theory of Japan-ness that had recently re-emerged in different anglophone media platforms, had not been discussed in relation to the *kyōshō jūtaku*, despite the small house often being framed within these representations as symbolic of the global fiction pertaining to the 'Japanese architectural identity'. As a result, I chose to interrogate the theory of Japan-ness through the opinions of the fourth generation to see if held any contemporary relevance to architects working in Tōkyō. Doing this was a way of centring their voices, as opposed to my own, something which was critical to do in order to move away from replicating yet another outsider interpretation of Japan-ness. This decision produced the research question: **Do fourth generation Japanese architects engage with Japan-ness (in the conception of *kyōshō jūtaku*)(?)** which in turn produced two interconnecting themes: fourth generation architects engage with Japan-ness through spatial practice and Japan-ness is practical, material, and takes multiple forms.

In chapter four I argue that the fourth generation does engage with Japan-ness in practical, spatial and material ways – something Isozaki did not envision, in part due to his focus on aesthetics, but also due to his inability to see the foreign gaze as a relevant aspect of future practice. However, in the chapter I also complicate the research question by emphasising that this fourth generation engagement is, for the most part, not something consciously claimed by architects as Japan-ness. Consequently, this leads to the question of whether unconscious manifestations can be considered valid contributions to the theory. As a result of this, I suggest that the anglophone term of Japan-ness linguistically restructures to Japanness, removing the (-) in order to replicate the original Japanese word *Nihonteki* (日本的). This would not only deconstruct the entrenched Japan vs West border which Isozaki relied so heavily on, but also creates more opportunity to develop the term in line with the practical, spatial and material ways the architects' *kyōshō jūtaku* practices embody. This may in turn lead to more Japanese architects being open to viewing their work from the lens of Japanness, which may in turn allow them to better influence the anglophone representational narratives of their *kyōshō jūtaku* projects.

To re-emphasise, bringing the fourth generation into conversation with Japan-ness was a significant way of testing the contemporary validity of the theory by assessing whether the fourth generation believe a Japanese architectural identity is in existence. Relatedly and something that further entangles their engagement with its existence, is the fact that the fourth generation were revealed to simultaneously refer to identities which exist as fictions and those that take tangible forms, some of which often blurred between. In actuality, the research question highlighted that Japan-ness as an architectural identity is multiple, in the sense that it is not a singular or solid whole but more a series of fragments that create limitless meanings and manifestations of identity.

*Public-Private*

A public-private framework was chosen as a way of looking at and categorising the data because it aligned with the macro and micro perspectives encompassed by *behaviorology* and *zooming*. This choice incited the research question: **How does the application of a public-private framework in the research of *kyōshō jūtaku* generate new perspectives on the subject(?)** This was answered via the theme: macro (foam) and micro (cells) structures influence *kyōshō jūtaku* existence.

The premise of this theme lies in the thesis's use of Sloterdijk's philosophical and material construction of the foam-cell, was a way of understanding the networked relationship between the macro public(s) and the micro private realms. Using this visual and flexible theory was a way responding to the thesis's overall aim of making clear that the *kyōshō jūtaku* have both public and private lives, a simple fact that the majority of representations have failed to adequately address.

Using the foam-cell image was a useful way of not only organising the data into comprehensible categories, but also as a way of making clear that the public and private reinforce each other – they are not separate. Rather, they function as combined autonomous entities, influencing each other's behaviours and processes much like the co-isolated cells within the foam structure. Thus, to address the question directly, this foam-cell public-private framing has generated informed historical, cultural, social and ecological perspectives which contribute to our overall understanding of *kyōshō jūtaku* design. These perspectives are fundamentally multi-layered due to them encompassing both zoomed in and zoomed out vantage points. Consequently, the thesis has presented a more situated and accurate reading of this housing model in direct relation to its context of origin - a reading which ultimately challenges and develops our contemporary global knowledge on Tōkyō's small houses.

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## Areas for Further Development

This section presents two areas, soundscape production and further sensory engagement, as subjects which while present within the thesis, could be further interrogated. Along with these, I also argue that my experience during fieldwork holds another topic, the feminist politics of interpreting, within its mesh; a subject which could mobilise to further develop the feminist component of fscp. Finally, I present an idea for another transdisciplinary project which could be produced in correlation with this research as a way of affirming the *kyōshō jūtaku*'s reach and relevance in our continued conversations around housing.

*Soundscapes*

The thesis's use of soundscapes could be developed further. Soundscapes were used solely as tools to construct the theoretical arguments found in chapters two and three and were thus not visually represented or acknowledged in their own right as site-specific knowledges. If the insert's works are to be exhibited, I envision that the soundscapes, in the form of an assemblage (as theorised in chapter one) would be played as a component of the viewing experience. Doing this would incite a more sensory art-based experience which reflects my own experience on the ground, which in turn would employ a new dimension of the viewers' critical sensory imagination. In terms of written research, future work can consider how sonic voices manifest in relation to other sensory realms and what are the ways the sonic and the textual can combine in a research/publishable capacity. This would build a stronger connection between soundscape making and research outputs, which would ultimately foster narratives of legitimacy around sound as a valid and tangible research method. Relatedly, I mentioned in chapter one that soundscapes hold a capacity for collective *zooming* – in that multiple sites can sonically combine. To expand this idea further, multiple listeners have the potential to collectively combine their soundscapes, thus representing multiple situated positions. In terms of theory, this would contribute to a sonic expansion of network theory which could in turn give us new perspectives on how spaces intersect and interact, or how they differ, through auditory means. This is an important way of making sure that the networks we are representing are depicted as alive rather than as static linear forms.

*The Sensory*

The second aspect which the project hoped to engage in, was the expansion of the sensory into less documented sensory manifestations, such as chronoception, thermoception and kinaesthesia (see chapter one). I posit that to fully pay attention to these experiences would demand that researchers from parts of the world where the five senses dominant our everyday, decolonise both the mind and the body as a way of stepping outside of normative sensory expression. As this project was reliant on fieldnotes, photographs, and drawings to document the sensory happenings of site visits, my own sensory biases as a researcher were present in this lens of looking. Despite these sensory experiences occurring, both within myself, the environment and the houses themselves, my ability to document them was not consciously developed. Thus, future work should pay attention to these experiences by locating methods which would allow them to take shape, as this would not only extend our global understanding of the sensory, but it would also contribute to our decolonial research practices in that the bodily experiences of the 'western' researcher would not be the assumed starting point.

*Feminist politics of interpreting*

The final topic which the thesis holds the capacity to unpack, is the feminist politics of interpreting. This relates back to chapter one's feminist outsider research performance, and in particular, the role of multi-voices.

It was mentioned within chapter one, that I worked with an interpreter during the qualitive interviews, as a way of attempting to minimise miscommunication. The person who I worked with is a white American woman who, having grown up in Japan, has native level fluency. She is a PhD candidate in Japanese literature and was thus an appropriate choice as she is knowledgeable on research approaches and the necessary ethical procedures which the university required. However, her presence further complicated the lines between insider-outsider, as often the architects made clear their surprise at her fluency as it was unexpected from someone they deemed to be foreign. As a mediator, her use of interpretation also stemmed from this layered position meaning that the words she chose and the body language she adopted, was a result of being categorised as neither insider nor outsider. Subsequently, her *You* voice encompassed Merriam et al's use of "slippage"; an act which often occurs when one occupies the in-between of insider and outsider[688]. As such, this was another example of the *You* voice negotiating between voices.

Further, our *You* voices also had to negotiate between each other. For example, we often entered into personal conversations regarding marriage and children, as architects often asked us about this topic by way of an introduction. It was sometimes assumed that we had married Japanese men, a reason considered valid to be able to speak Japanese. As queer women, this was at times uncomfortable, yet something we were forced to collectively combat as "subjects in process"[689]. We were both aware that to reveal our full selves may be to the detriment of the research, as well as a way of destabilising our culturally responsive voices that were fundamental to our feminist application of ethics. This nuanced negotiation and relationship we built over time holds a lot of experiences which I believe could contribute to feminist methodologies, particularly when engaging in cross-cultural research. One possible option for future knowledge building would be to collaboratively write about this experience[690].

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688 Merriam and others, 2001.
689 Braidotti and Regan, p.176.
690 This could be done through a merged bilingual format to linguistically represent this insider-outsider negotiation.

## Where to go from here?

From a methodological standpoint, I hope that others will see the potential that fscp holds. Fscp'ing' a context or subject can enable the production of new knowledges, the development of situated, accountable and ethical research positions, and project-specific creative outcomes. I believe fscp also holds the capacity to be developed as a pedagogical approach, as it can be mobilised either individually or collectively. Continuing this flexibility, it allows students to curate their own approaches to the terms in ways which suits their positions, interests and experiences.

Theoretically speaking, I hope that future anglophone research on the *kyōshō jūtaku* will continue to centre insider voices, as well as produce culturally informed knowledges that work to counter stereotypes, exoticisation and narratives which frame Japan as Other. In order to produce this type of work, I believe there is a need for further transdisciplinary approaches to theory and more situated engagement. Relatedly, taking a networked approach to theory-making and representation helps to situate any subject within a wider framework of activity. This means that the network itself aids researchers in making connections across categories, disciplines, geographies and so forth.

Reflecting on this research has allowed me to begin to conceive of another transdisciplinary project which could further architects' capabilities of increasing the sustainable lifecycle of the *kyōshō jūtaku* while also addressing the pertinent issue of an aging Japanese society. In order for *kyōshō jūtaku* to go beyond their current 30-year existence, there is a need for them to be attractive living environments for the large elderly population living in Japan. While flexible spatial arrangements, as noted in chapter two, is an important aspect of extending their lifecycle, there is also the question of how accessible their use of design is for older people. Relatedly, the work of scholars such as Anne Allison has revealed that older people in Japan are struggling to locate a sense of community within technological urban structures, particularly those who live alone and do not have family[691]. It therefore appears that a project made up of *kyōshō jūtaku* designed explicitly for single older people in Japanese cities could help to not only ensure the longevity of the housing model but also help to implement a strategy for the creation of urban resilience, community building and an engaged public-private network for the elderly. In terms of research, the project could work with fourth generation architects, particularly those working on community house projects, and single elderly people currently living in Japanese cities to come up with relational designs which reflect and support their everyday use of space. This would also be a way of extending the methodologies of *zooming* and *behaviorology* through gaining situated understandings of how elderly people in Japan interact with domestic architectures and how social and cultural structures inform their practices. By applying fscp to this project, the researcher (led by feminist ethics) could centre the sensory experiences of the elderly participants and co-produce creative outcomes, for example a community map to aid interaction and the development of relationships. This project would be another way of generating knowledge pertaining to Fujii Yuri's theory that the small house continues to hold future potential and possibilities within the fabric of Japan.

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691 Anne Allison, Professor in Anthropology at Duke University, gave a talk at The University of Sheffield on the 5th November 2017 where she spoke about her latest research about the automate grave industry in Japan. It was here that she spoke about her research experiences with single elderly people where they expressed a crisis of identity fuelled by a loss of community and family.

Within the living urban organism of Tōkyō, *kyōshō jūtaku* can be found nestled in the |gaps| of old neighbourhoods; hidden among networks of *roji*; obscured behind office blocks, restaurants, museums, parks; settled in suburban streets. They are easily missed, not looking to be noticed; they are easily found, not trying to hide. They have open windows, closed blinds, skylights, unseen doors and sliding *fusama*. Made up of limitless shapes made of concrete, wood, steel, glass, they contain beds and bicycles and Doraemon figurines; washing up liquid, left over rice, books and rainboots.

Through the pages of this thesis I have demonstrated that if we take the time to zoom in and out of *kyōshō jūtaku,* they reveal multiple existences. They are sensorial, performative and aesthetic; social, cultural and philosophical. *Kyōshō jūtaku* house a variety of lives, made up of spaces embedded with meanings, beliefs and memories. They are in no way static, rather they hold numerous opportunities and unexamined potential for the future of housing. We would therefore benefit from moving away from seeing them as mere design objects and begin interrogating their potential more productively.



Figure 66. Sensory overlay image of Balcony House. Image taken by author.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A
*List of houses*

▶Light Well House by SUEP
Year of completion: 2013
Size of lot: 102.9 m2
Size of construction area: 57.83 m2

▶ HP Roof House by Ashida Architect + Associates
Year of completion: 2016
Size of lot: 89.17 m2
Size of construction area: 49.04 m2

▶Cut Slide House by Studio Battery
Year of completion: 2014
Size of lot: 63.48 m2
Size of construction area: 38.06 m2

▶ Transustainable House by SugawaraDaisuke Architects
Year of completion: 2014
Size of lot: 74.8 m2
Size of construction area: 38m2

▶ A House in Tsukishima by ICADA
Year of completion: 2015
Size of lot: N/A (interior rennovation only)
Size of construction area: N/A (interior rennovation only)

▶ Small House by Unemori Architects
Year of completion: 2010
Size of lot: 34.27 m2
Size of construction area: 17.47m2

▶House for 4 Generations by Tomomi Kito Architect & Associates
Year of completion: 2016
Size of lot:N/A (interior rennovation only)
Size of construction area: N/A (interior rennovation only)

▶ E-House by FT Architects
Year of completion: 2006
Size of lot:100.8 m2
Size of construction area: 79.85 m2

▶ Shakujiidai Y by Ikeda Yukie Ono Toshiharu Architects
Year of completion:
Size of lot:100.95
Size of construction area: 91m2

▶ House in Tokyo by MiCo
Year of completion: 2015
Size of lot: 99.23 m2
Size of construction area: 88.93 m2

▶ Balcony House by Takeshi Hosaka Architects
Year of completion: 2016
Size of lot: 99.25 m2
Size of construction area: 73 m2

▶House in Hommachi by Atelier Hako Architects
Year of completion: 2015
Size of lot:43.42 m2
Size of construction area:25.94 m2

▶ Near House by Mount Fujii Architects
Year of completion: 2010
Size of lot: 66.42 m2
Size of construction area: 37.65

▶ Minna-no-ie by Mamm Design
Year of completion: 2010
Size of lot: 67.79 m2
Size of construction area: 35.96 m2

## Appendix B
*List of interview questions*

### Questions asked to all participants:

▶How do you think *kyōshō jūtaku* are perceived outside of Japan?
日本の狭小住宅は海外ではどう見られていると思いますか？

▶What is your opinion of Japan-ness - how do you define it?
磯崎新氏は「日本的なもの」と建築について書きましたが、日本的に関する意見はなんですか？「日本的なもの」はなんですか？

▶Do you think that the *kyōshō jūtaku* is a symbol of Japan?
狭小住宅は日本の一つのシンボルですか？

▶Do *kyōshō jūtaku* connect to Isozaki's concept of 'Japan-ness'?
磯崎の「日本的なもの」の発想と関係はしていますか？

▶How do you consider the boundary of public / private in your work?
作品では内と外、あるいはパブリックとプライベート、をどう考えますか？

▶How do your projects in Tōkyō connect to their urban environment?
プロジェクトはどうやって東京の街と関係しますか？

▶Is Tokyo a supportive city for *kyōshō jūtaku* structures?
東京のような街はこの用は建物を支えますか？

▶Can you tell me about your clients who want to live in *kyōshō jūtaku*? Are they different from each other or are there similarities ie/ young families, creative people etc.
どのようなクライエント様が狭小住宅に住みたいですか？似ているような方が多いいですか？それとも様々な方がいますか？

▶What is your relationship like with your clients?
クライアントとの関係は親しいですか？どのような関係ですか？

▶How do you think fluidity and intimacy function in your designs?
プロジェクトでは柔軟性とintimacy（馴染み、親密、親）はどうプロジェクトと関係しますか？

▶Do you think fluidity and intimacy have links to uchi / soto?
柔軟性とintimacy（馴染み、親密、親）は内と外と関係しますか？

▶How do you think about and design ‘in-between’ space?
隙間はどうやってデザインをしますか？

## Studio specific questions:

## SUEP

▶Can you tell me about the client’s of Light Well House?
Light Well Houseのクライアントについて教えてください。

▶I read your design philosophy which stresses the importance of nature in your work. Can you explain this further?
SUEPのデザインフィロソフィーを読みましたが、自然の重要性についてたくさん書いておりました。そのことについてもうちょっと説明してください。

▶ I am interested in the process of drawing and how we use it to memorise things. So, finally,can you draw a quick sketch from memory of Light Well House - you can annotate it if you would like.
私はスケッチと記憶について興味を持っております。最後には記憶から Light Well Houseのスケッチを書いてください。

## Ashida Architect + Associates

▶Can you tell me about the clients of HP Roof House?
HP Roof House のクライアントについて教えてください。

▶On your website description of HP Roof House, you talk about the role of lifestyle as a design consideration. How do you think lifestyle functions in HP Roof House?
会社のホームページのHP Roof Houseの説明ではデザインをする時ライフスタイルについて考えるのは重要だと書いています。ライフスタイルとHP Roof Houseの関係は何ですか？

▶HP Roof House looks very different from all the other houses in the neighbourhood - do you think that makes it harder to connect with its environment?
HP Roof Houseは周りにある家と見た目は違うですがこのおかげでHP Roof Houseは近 所と関係するのは難しいですか？

▶I am interested in the process of drawing and how we use it to memorise things. So, finally, can you draw a quick sketch of HP Roof House - you can annotate it if you would like.
私はスケッチと記憶について興味を持っております。最後には記憶から HP Roof House の スケッチを書いてください。

## Studio Battery

▶Did you build Cut Slide House for your own family? Can you tell me about your family and how this house suits their needs.
Cut Slide Houseは自分の家族のために作りましたか？自分の家族とCut Slide Houseはどう合いますか？

▶Can you tell me about your neighbourhood – do you think your house fits with your Community?
あなたの近所のことについて聞かせてください。家は周りのコミュニティと良く合いますか？

I am interested in the process of drawing and how we use it to memorise things. So, finally, can you draw a quick sketch of Cut Slide House - you can annotate it if you would like.
私はスケッチと記憶について興味を持っております。最後には記憶から Cut Slide House のスケッチを書いてください。

## SugawaraDaisuke Architects

▶Did you build Transustainable House for your own family? Can you tell me about your family and how this house suits their needs.
Transustainable Houseは自分の家族のために作りましたか？自分の家族のこととTransustainable Houseはどう合いますか？

▶What are the upsides and downsides of building on a small plot?
小さい敷地でデザインするプラスとマイナスは何ですか？

▶On your website you say that ‘The interior responds to the transitions of the residents’ lifestyles’ - can you explain this?
ホームページでは‘The interior responds to the transitions of the residents’ lifestyles’（インテリアは住人のライフスタイルの違いに応じる）と書いてありますが、これを説明していただけますか？

▶I am interested in the process of drawing and how we use it to memorise things. So, finally, can you draw a quick sketch of Transustainable House - you can annotate it if you would like.
私はスケッチと記憶について興味を持っております。最後には記憶から Transustainable House のスケッチを書いてください。

## ICADA

▶Can you tell me about the clients of House in Tsukishima?
House in Tsukishima のクライアントについて教えてください。

▶I am in interested in the connection between the old exterior and the contemporary interior of the house. What was it like negotiating this?
私は建物の古い外面と新しいインテリアの関係に興味を持っています。どうやって
この関係をネゴシエートしましたか？

▶I really like the photos you have on your website of the house. It is the first architectural photographs I have seen which feature a person - it feels like a very private view into the house. Why did you decide to do this?
ホームページの写真はすごく気に入りました。私が見た範囲では人を使う建築写真
は珍しいです。プライベートな見方の気がします。なぜこんな写真を使いましたか？

▶I am interested in the process of drawing and how we use it to memorise things. So, finally, can you draw a quick sketch of House in Tsukishima - you can annotate it if you would like.
私はスケッチと記憶について興味を持っております。最後には記憶から House in
Tsukishima のスケッチを書いてください。

## Unemori Architects

▶Can you tell me about the clients of Small House?
Small House のクライアントについて教えてください。

▶What are both the good and difficult aspects of designing for such a small plot?
小さい敷地でデザインするプラスとマイナスは何ですか？

▶Can Small House be adapted for changing relations in the family - for example if the child grows older and requires privacy?
Small Houseは家族な関係が変わって行くと作り替えますか？例えばお子様が歳って
きてプライバシーが必要になった場合など。

▶Why did you design the house to be open and closed to the outside world? - the shutters are very large, so the whole house has the potential to be exposed?
家は外とオープンになったり、閉まったりできあすが、なぜこうやってデザインし
ましたか？シャッターは大きいので家全体が開けるようにデザインされているので
はないでしょうか？

▶I am interested in the process of drawing and how we use it to memorise things. So, finally, can you draw a quick sketch of Small House - you can annotate it if you would like.
私はスケッチと記憶について興味を持っております。最後には記憶から Small House のス
ケッチを書いてください。

## Tomomi Kito Architect & Associates

▶Can you tell me about the clients of House For 4 Generations?
House For 4 Generations のクライアントについて教えてください。

▶Was it difficult to design for multiple family perspectives and needs?
家をデザインした時、様々な家族のニーズを考えるのは難しかったですか？

▶Why did you choose to incorporate a lot of wood into the design?
なぜデザインは木材を沢山用いますか？

▶How do you feel the interior design connects with the outside?
インテリアはどうやって外と関係しますか？

▶I am interested in the process of drawing and how we use it to memorise things. So, finally, can you draw a quick sketch of House for 4 Generations - you can annotate it if you would like.
私はスケッチと記憶について興味を持っております。最後には記憶から House for 4 Generations のスケッチを書いてください。

## FT Architects

▶Can you tell me about the clients of E-House?
E-House のクライアントについて教えてください。

▶You describe the site of e-house as highly restrictive - Can you explain this a little more?
e-houseの敷地はかなり制限的だったと会社のホームページで書いてありましたが、
ちょっと説明してもらえますか？

▶Is the unique shape of the house a way of creating a more intimate and private space?
珍しい家の形はもっとプライバシーを作るためですか？

▶You have a section on your website dedicated to drawing - why do you think drawing is important?
会社のホームページでは絵がたくさん載っていますが、絵は重要だと思いますか？

▶I am interested in the process of drawing and how we use it to memorise things. So, finally, can you draw a quick sketch of E-House - you can annotate it if you would like.
私はスケッチと記憶について興味を持っております。最後には記憶から E-House のスケッチを書いてください。

## MiCo

▶Can you tell me about the clients of House in Tokyo?
House in Tokyo のクライアントについて教えてください？

▶The house has a very unusual shape - how did you decide on its final form?
この家の形は珍しいですが、どうやって形を決めましたか？

▶To what extent did the lifestyle of the family dictate your design?
この家のデザインは家族のライフスタイルからどう影響されましたか？

▶Do you think it is possible for each family member to get privacy in the house?
この家では住んでいる家族はプライバシーはありますか？

▶I am interested in the process of drawing and how we use it to memorise things. So, finally, can you draw a quick sketch of House in Tokyo - you can annotate it if you would like.
私はスケッチと記憶について興味を持っております。最後には記憶から House in Tokyo のスケッチを書いてください。

## Takeshi Hosaka Architects

▶Can you tell me about the clients of Balcony House?
Balcony House のクライアントについて教えてください。

▶What is the purpose of having many balconies - inside and out?
何個も中と外のバルコニーの目的（使い道）は何ですか？

▶The house is very open on the inside - how can the family achieve privacy?
この家の中は空いています。どうやって住んでいる家族はプライバシーを作れますか？

▶Do you think this house can adapt for the future - when the children grow?
この家は未来と変わっていけますか？例えば子供が大きくなって来た時。

▶I am interested in the process of drawing and how we use it to memorise things. So, finally, can you draw a quick sketch of Balcony House - you can annotate it if you would like.
私はスケッチと記憶について興味を持っております。最後には記憶から Balcony House のスケッチを書いてください。

## Ikeda Yukie Ono Toshiharu Architects

▶You say on your website that light was a big design inspiration and feature of the house. Can you expand on this further?
ホームページでは光(light)が家のインスピレーションだと書いてありますが、このことについて説明してください。

▶Why did you design with wood?
なぜ木材を使って建物を設計しましたか？

▶Do you think the rooftop acts as a mechanism of engaging with the city?
屋根は周りの町と関係できる場所ですか？

▶I am interested in the process of drawing and how we use it to memorise things. So, finally, can you draw a quick sketch of Shakujiidai Y - you can annotate it if you would like.
私はスケッチと記憶について興味を持っております。最後には記憶から Shakujiidai Y のスケッチを書いてください。

## Mamm Design

▶You mention void space on your website description of Minna-no-ie - how can void space become useful and extend the plot?
ホームページでは隣地との建物同士の間は広めの抜けがあったと書きましたが、設計ではどうやって隙間、間を用いますか？

▶How does the interior central tree help to bring people together and develop relationships?
家の中心の木はどうやって人と人の関係を深みますか？

▶How can people have their own private space in this house? Or is this not necessary?
この建物では人はプライベートの空間はありますか？それとも必要ではないですか？

▶I am interested in the process of drawing and how we use it to memorise things. So, finally, can you draw a quick sketch of Minna-no-ie - you can annotate it if you would like.
私はスケッチと記憶について興味を持っております。最後には記憶から Minna-no-ie の
スケッチを書いてください。

## Atelier Hako

▶On your website description of House in Hommachi, it says that you aimed to bring a kind of rhythm to the life of the household - can you explain what you mean by this?
ホームページではこの建物は住んでいる家族にリズムを作りたいと書いてありますが、これを説明してください。

▶What were the main restrictions of designing for such a small plot?
こんな小さな土地を使って家を作るのはどのような工夫が必要ですか？

▶Light appears to be an important design consideration - especially for allowing the outside to come in and to generate a feeling of more space. Can you explain this?
この建物では光は重要な気がします。小さい空間だから外から光が入り、もっと大きく見えるかもしれません。光の重要さを説明してください。

▶I am interested in the process of drawing and how we use it to memorise things. So, finally, can you draw a quick sketch of House in Hommachi - you can annotate it if you would like.
私はスケッチと記憶について興味を持っております。最後には記憶から House in Hommachi の
スケッチを書いてください。

## Mount Fuji Architects

▶I noticed that the gate house is not connected to the main house. Is that because of the shape of the plot? Does the in-between terrace space act as a connective environment?
マインの家とゲイトハウス（gate house）は別です。なぜですか？家とゲイトハウスの間のテラスはどのような空間ですか？

▶How do you think the house interacts with its environment and its neighbours?
この建物はどうやって周りの環境と近所と関係しますか？

▶Why did you to design with wood?
なぜ木材を使って建物を設計しましたか？

▶You say that in this project ‘smallness’ equals ‘closeness’ - can you explain this further?
このプロジェクトでは　‘smallness’ と ‘closeness’は同じだと書いてありましたが、どのように同じですか？

▶I am interested in the process of drawing and how we use it to memorise things. So, finally, can you draw a quick sketch of Near House - you can annotate it if you would like.
私はスケッチと記憶について興味を持っております。最後には記憶から Near House のスケッチを書いてください。

## Questions asked to Associate Professor Fujii Yuri:

▶How do you think *kyōshō jūtaku* are perceived outside of Japan?
日本の狭小住宅は海外ではどう見られていると思いますか？

▶What is your opinion of Japan-ness - how do you define it?
磯崎新氏は「日本的なもの」と建築について書きましたが、日本的に関する意見はなんですか？「日本的なもの」はなんですか？

▶ In my interviews, some architects have cited nature as being a symbol of Japan-ness. Do you think nature is a way to connect to tradition and retain a sense of culture in design?
私のインタビューでは建築家の何人かは自然は「日本的なもの」のシンボルだと言いました。自然を設計の中に用いて伝統と文化と関係できますか

▶Do you think Tokyo as a city is a supportive urban environment for *kyōshō jūtaku*?
東京のような街はこの用は建物を支えますか？

▶What do you think the future of small housing in Japan looks like?
日本の狭小住宅の未来はなんですか？

▶Do you think living in small houses encourages new family dynamics and relationships?
狭小住宅に住む家族は新しい関係を作りますか？

▶Could you see *kyōshō jūtaku* being built in other cities outside of Japan or do you think they are too spatially, socially and nationally rooted?
狭小住宅は別の国の街に作られると思いますか？それとも日本の文化、環境、社会に関係しすぎていますか？

## Questions asked to Suzanne Mooney:

▶Do you think the city of Tokyo influences your work / Do you think you have an artistic relationship with Tokyo?

▶What is different about being an artist in Tokyo compared to elsewhere, like Ireland for example? Do you think Tokyo supports your process?

▶Do you think it is hard to artistically represent Tokyo? Or do you feel you’re not trying/attempting to do that?

▶Do you use walking or other transport means within your process?

▶I have been drawing -both as a process of looking and also a methodological tool to use in interviews. You mentioned that you also draw - what does drawing mean to you?

▶Why do you use to situate yourself in your work? Is it related to creating an embodied experience of making?

▶When you did your thesis - did you find it easy to put text alongside your work?

## Questions asked to Naomi Pollock:

▶How do you think *kyōshō jūtaku* are perceived outside of Japan in relation to how they are seen in Japan?

▶ What is your opinion of Japan-ness - how do you define it?

▶In my interviews, some architects have cited nature as being a symbol of Japan-ness. Do you think nature is a way to connect to tradition and retain a sense of culture in design?

▶ Do you think designing ways for nature to occupy void space and gaps is one way for small houses which do not have space for a garden to reclaim a relationship with nature?

▶ Do you think Tokyo as a city is a supportive urban environment for *kyōshō jūtaku*?

▶What do you think the future of small housing in Japan looks like?

▶ I really enjoyed your introduction to the newly translated 'City with a Hidden Past' - you mention the national desire to have a plot of one's own, an idea which has come up multiple times in my interviews with architects. Can you expand on this? Do you think this desire will continue?

▶Do you think living in small houses encourages new family dynamics and relationships?

▶Could you see *kyōshō jūtaku* being built in other cities outside of Japan or do you think they are too spatially, socially and nationally rooted?

## **Appendix C**

*English and Japanese information sheet, consent form, confidentiality agreement*

To note, some non-ethical information has since changed including the name of the researcher and the title of the thesis. Further, each participant was sent both English and Japanese versions.

University of Sheffield, School of Architecture
Approved by the University of Sheffield Ethics Committee

**Participant Information Sheet**

**Dates of Research Collection:** 01.07.18 - 01.01.19
**Lead Researcher:** Cathryn Ladd
**Contact Details:** cladd1@sheffield.ac.uk / +447792492416

**Title of Research:** *'The Japanese Kyōshō Jūtaku: A Feminist Sensory Approach to Site Specific Space, Urban Place Making and Architectural Identity'.*

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and ask any questions that you may have. You can ask these questions via email (prior to the interview date) or in person (on the date of the interview). Take time to decide if you would like to take part. You have every right to not want to take part and if you do choose to take part, but later change your mind, you can withdraw at anytime. All data collected during this interview will be kept strictly confidential and will be securely and solely handled by the lead researcher.

**Purpose of the project:** This research project is considering the architectural development of the *kyōshō jūtaku* or micro house, within contemporary Tokyo. The central focus is to move away from the dominant western narrative that is perpetuated by popular architectural culture, that of the *kyōshō jūtaku* as an exoticised design object. Instead this project aims to reveal the *kyōshō jūtaku* as a housing model that has a complex and intricate spatial, social, and national identity. The research uses Isozaki Arata's concept of Japan-ness to test the extent to which the *kyōshō jūtaku* is a product and symbol of Japan. This will initiate a discussion around the *kyōshō jūtaku's* ability to transcend place and time in order to re-emerge in other urban territories.

**Why you are being asked to take part:** In order to enrich the quality of the research, I am wanting to conduct interviews with Japanese architects who established their Tokyo-based firm from 2001 onwards. I am looking to document the opinions of architects building 4th generation housing. Similarly, I am looking to interview scholars with particular knowledge and expertise in housing design in Japan. The interview will be an informal conversation about your experiences designing and constructing small houses in Tokyo and your opinion on the model and its future in Japan. For architects, I will ask specific questions about one of your works in your portfolio (as detailed in the initial email sent). I will also share with you my thoughts on this project. The interview will take no longer than one hour. You will also have the opportunity to ask me any questions on my research.

**Data processing, handling and dissemination::** If permission is given to record the interview, I want to make clear that all recordings will be used for analysis only. No other use, outside of the written thesis (including publications) will be made of them without seeking your written approval. Further, no one, other than the Lead Researcher, will have access to the original recording. The recording will be kept on a university regulated and data protected Google Drive and copies will be kept on an external hard drive. After 6 months of thesis submission the recording and its copies will be destroyed. Due to the nature of this research it is very likely that other researchers may find the data collected to be useful in answering future research questions. We will ask for your explicit consent for your data to be shared in this way. The University of Sheffield will act as the Data Controller

for this study. This means that the University is responsible for looking after your information and using it properly.

According to data protection legislation, I am required to inform you that the legal basis I am applying in order to process your personal data is that 'processing is necessary for the performance of a task carried out in the public interest' (Article 6(1)(e)). Further information can be found in the University's Privacy Notice:
https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/govern/data-protection/privacy/general

**Funding:** This project is financially supported by The Great British Sasakawa Foundation and The Japan Foundation Endowment Committee.

**Benefits / Disadvantages of taking part:** Whilst there are no immediate benefits to taking part in this research, I hope that you will see the benefit of developing architectural knowledge on Japanese architectural practice and the *kyōshō jūtaku*. There are no foreseen disadvantages for taking part in the project.

**Ethical Approval**: This research project has been given approval by the University of Sheffield Ethics and Integrity Committee, administered by The School of Architecture. For access to the full ethics policy of the university please visit:
https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.755691!/file/Ethics_Policy_Senate_Approved.pdf

**Anonymity:** If you wish to give your consent to be identified within the capacity of the research project please sign the appropriate box on the consent form. If you wish for your identity to remain anonymous please sign on the line below:

**Further contacts:**

If you would like to submit a complaint regarding this research project please contact the lead supervisor in the first instance and then the Head of School if you are unsatisfied with how it has been handled.

Lead Supervisor: Doina Petrescu: d.petrescu@sheffield.ac.uk

Head of School (if wanting to submit a complaint): Karim Hadjri: k.hadjri@sheffield.ac.uk

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Thank you very much for taking the time to read this information sheet. If you have any questions please do contact me via email.

You will be emailed a copy of this information sheet.

**研究協力者への情報提供用紙**

**Participant Information Sheet**

**研究実施期間**: 2018 年 6 月 1 日～2019 年 1 月 1 日

**研究代表者**: キャスリン・ラッド

**連絡先**: cladd1@sheffield.ac.uk / ＋447792492416 (LINE)

**研究題目**: 日本における狭小住宅: サイトスペシフィック・スペース、都市空間構築、および建築的アイデンティティへのフェミニズム理論に基づく知覚論的アプローチ

'The Japanese Kyōshō Jūtaku: A Feminist Sensory Approach to Site Specific Space, Urban Place Making and Architectural Identity'.

あなた様に本研究のインタビューを依頼させていただきたく思っております。お手数ですが、本研究の趣旨と遂行理由につきまして、事前にご理解いただきたいと存じます。以下の情報を熟読の上、ご不明な点がございましたら、インタビュー当日以前にメールで、あるいは当日直接、本研究者にご質問をお寄せください。あなた様が本研究プロジェクトのインタビューに参加が可能であるかいなか、お時間を頂戴し誠に恐縮ですが、お決めいただければ幸いです。本インタビューへの協力を拒否することができますし、一度、協力の意志を表明された後でも心変わりがあればいつでも辞退できます。このインタビューで収集されたデータは厳正に保護され、他所からのアクセスを遮断した状態で研究代表者によって安全に処理されます。

**本研究の目的**: 本研究プロジェクトは、現代東京における狭小住宅の建築的発展について考察するものです。本研究が中心的に取り組むのは、大衆建築文化の領域で未だに継続している西洋的・支配的語り――狭小住宅を、異国情緒を醸成するデザインの対象と位置づける語り――から距離を置くことであり、狭小住宅が複雑で入り組んだ空間的・社会的・国家的アイデンティティを内在した建築モデルであることを明らかにしようとするものです。狭小住宅がどの程度まで日本の産物であり象徴であるかを検証するために、磯崎新氏の日本性という概念を取り上げます。本研究は、東京以外の都市空間に狭小住宅が再現前するために時空間を超えていく可能性についての議論を切り拓いていこうとするものです。

**あなた様にインタビューを依頼させていただく理由**: 本研究の質を向上するために、私は 2001 年から現在に至るまで東京で建築事務所を設立した建築家たちにインタビューを実施したいと考えております。インタビューを通して、日本建築の歴史区分において 4 世代目(2001 年以降)に相当する建築家たちの意見を文書化しようとしています。インタビューでは、東京で狭小住宅をデザインし建設したあなた様のご経験、さらにその住宅のモデルや狭

小住宅の日本における将来についてのご意見を、インフォーマルな会話を通して伺いたく存じます。また、あなた様のポートフォリオに記載されている仕事の一つについてお尋ね致します(詳細は最初にお送りしたメールをご参照ください)。インタビューでは、あなた様の建築プロジェクトについての私の考えを共有させていただけたら幸いです。インタビューの時間としましては、1 時間以内を見込んでおります。本研究についてご質問がありましたら、ぜひお尋ねください。

**データの処理・保存・頒布**: インタビューの録音を許可していただいた場合には、録音されたすべての情報は本研究の分析のみに使用されます。博士論文(その出版を含む)を除き、録音データは、あなた様の文書による承認なしに利用されることはありません。さらに、本研究代表者を除きいかなる人物も録音データ音源にアクセスすることはありません。録音の音源ファイルはシェフィールド大学において Google Drive のかたちで保護されます。また、複製された録音データファイルは、外付けハードドライブに保存されます。そして、録音音源ファイルとそのコピーは博士論文提出の 6 か月後に破棄されます。

**参加の利益と不利益**: 本研究への参加は即座にあなた様に利益をもたらすものではございませんが、日本建築の実践および狭小住宅についての知識の発展に共に貢献していただけることを期待しています。また、本研究に協力していただくにあたって、あなた様に不利益が生じることはございません。

**倫理的承認**: 本研究プロジェクトは、シェフィールド大学倫理規範委員会(The University of Sheffield Ethics and Integrity Committee)に承認されました。大学の倫理ポリシーをご覧になりたい場合は、以下のファイルを開いてください。
https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.755691!/file/Ethics_Policy_Senate_Approved.pdf

**匿名性**: この「研究協力者への情報提供用紙」に同意され、本研究に許されるかぎりにおいてあなたのお名前を本博士論文で言及してもよろしければ、「研究協力者同意書」(Participant Consent Form)の当該箇所にご署名ください。匿名のままでの言及をご希望の場合は、以下の線上にご署名ください。

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本用紙をお読みいただき、誠にありがとうございました。ご質問がございましたら、どうぞ私のメールアドレスまでご連絡ください。

University of Sheffield, School of Architecture
Approved by the University of Sheffield Ethics Committee

SSoA Sheffield School of Architecture

**Participant Consent Form**

**Title of Research:** *'The Japanese Kyōshō Jūtaku: A Feminist Sensory Approach to Site Specific Space, Urban Place Making and Architectural Identity'.*

**Name of Researcher:** Cathryn Ladd

**Participant Identification for this project:**
**Please Initial Box**

**1.** I confirm that I have read and understood the Information sheet dated 01/07/2018 -01/01/2019 which fully explains the research project. ☐

**2.** I confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research. ☐

**3.** I agree to take part in the project. I understand that taking part in the project will include being interviewed (which will be audio recorded) ☐

**4.** I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. ☐

**5.** I understand my personal details such as phone number, address and email address will not be revealed in any capacity ☐

**6.** I understand and agree that the Lead researcher may use the data generated in publications, web pages, and other research outputs. ☐

**7.** I give permission for my identity to be named within the research. (If permission is not given, I have clearly stated this to the researcher and have signed the information sheet stating my need for anonymity). ☐

☐

University of Sheffield, School of Architecture
Approved by the University of Sheffield Ethics Committee

**8.** In order for this data to be used legally by the lead researcher, I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials generated as part of this project to The University of Sheffield.

**9**. I give permission for the interview to be audio recorded. ☐

**10**. I give permission for the researcher to take notes. ☐

**11**. I agree to take part in the research project ☐

**Name of Participant** ----------

**Date** ----------

**Signature** ----------

You will be emailed a copy of this consent form and a copy of the information sheet. Please provide an email address:

**Name of Researcher** ----------

**Date** ---------- **Signature**----------

**Contact details:**

Lead Researcher: Cathryn Ladd : cladd1@sheffield.ac.uk

Lead Supervisor: Doina Petrescu: d.petrescu@sheffield.ac.uk

Head of School (if wanting to submit a complaint): Karim Hadjri: k.hadjri@sheffield.ac.uk

**研究協力者同意書**

**Participant Consent Form**

**研究題目:** 日本における狭小住宅: サイトスペシフィック・スペース、都市空間構築、および建築的アイデンティティへのフェミニズム理論に基づく知覚論的アプローチ
'The Japanese Kyōshō Jūtaku: A Feminist Sensory Approach to Site Specific Space, Urban Place Making and Architectural Identity'.

**研究者氏名**: キャスリン・ラッド

**参加者同意項目: 同意する場合には右欄にあなた様のイニシャルを記入してください。**

1. 私は、本研究計画を説明した「研究協力者への情報提供用紙」(Participant Information Sheet)を読み、その内容を理解しています。 ☐
2. 私は、本研究について、研究者に質問する機会が設けられていたことを証明します。 ☐
3. 私は、本研究に自発的に協力するものであり、一切の理由を説明することなく、またいかなる不利益を被ることなく、いつでも協力を取りやめることが可能であることを理解しています。さらに、本研究者による特定の質問に応えたくない場合は、その質問への応答を拒否できることを承知しています。 ☐
4. 私は、誰がデータを統御し、それがどのように利用されるかを理解しています。さらに、データの保存と安全性に関して異議申し立てを行う権利があることを理解しています。(詳細は「研究協力者への情報提供用紙」をご参照ください。) ☐
5. 私は、本研究において自らの名前に言及されることを許可します。
(もし許可しない場合は、私はその旨を研究者に明確に伝え、匿名を要求する旨を「研究協力者への情報提供用紙」に署名の上、示しました。) ☐
6. 私は、インタビューの録音を許可します。 ☐
7. 私は、研究者がメモを取ることを許可します。 ☐
8. 私は、本研究プロジェクトに協力することに同意します。 ☐

後日、本同意書と「研究協力者への情報提供用紙」のコピーを送付いたしますので、こちらにあなた様の email アドレスをご記入ください。:

**研究協力者氏名** ----------

**日付** ----------

**ご署名**----------

**本同意書受取人氏名** ----------

**日付** ---------- **署名**----------

Approved by the University of Sheffield Ethics Committee

SSoA Sheffield School of Architecture

**Ethical Compliance Agreement**

I, Cathryn Ladd, the lead researcher of the research project agree to keep the precise geographical locations of any *Kyōshō Jūtaku* sites strictly confidential. This information will not be written into the thesis and will not be published in any other written or aural format. This information will not be shared with any individual or company.

Upon visiting an architectural site, the researcher will not enter the property parameters and will only view the site from a distance. The researcher will not actively engage with occupants or members of the community in an attempt to cause as little disruption to daily life as possible.

The aim of each site visit is to collect additional supporting data, including drawings, photographs and soundscapes which will be used within the thesis.

I am very willing to sign any ethical and confidential agreement in regards to this matter if architecture firms wish me to do so.

**Name of researcher**: Cathryn Ladd

**Signature** ----------

**Date** 25.06.2018 ----------

**倫理コンプライアンス同意書**

**Ethical Compliance Agreement**

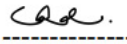
私、キャスリン・ラッドは、本研究の代表研究者として、訪れたいかなる狭小住宅の所在を厳格に秘匿することを誓います。その所在を博士論文で書くことはなく、また他のいかなる書記・音声の様式においても公刊することはございません。この情報を、いかなる個人・団体に共有することも致しません。

当該住宅の場所を訪れたら、本研究者は私有地内に立ち入ることなく、そこから距離をとって観察するのみに留めます。日常生活への混乱を可能な限り避けるために、本研究者は居住者あるいはコミュニティの方々に積極的に関与することはありません。

当該建築の場所を訪問する目的は、本博士論文で用いられるスケッチ・写真・音景を含む追加的な論証データを収集することにあります。

当該建築事務所が私に希望する場合には、私は、本件に関するいかなる倫理・情報秘匿に関する同意書に署名する意志があります。

**研究者氏名**: キャスリン・ラッド

**署名**  ----------

**日付** 25.06.2018 ----------

# Appendix D
*University of Sheffield Ethics Approval*

The University Of Sheffield.

Downloaded: 20/03/2020
Approved: 15/06/2018

Cathryn Klasto
Registration number: 160257292
School of Architecture
Programme: PhD in Architecture

Dear Cathryn

**PROJECT TITLE:** The Japanese Kysh Jtaku: A Feminist Sensory Approach to Site Specific Space, Urban Place Making and Architectural Identity.
**APPLICATION:** Reference Number 019380

On behalf of the University ethics reviewers who reviewed your project, I am pleased to inform you that on 15/06/2018 the above-named project was **approved** on ethics grounds, on the basis that you will adhere to the following documentation that you submitted for ethics review:

- University research ethics application form 019380 (form submission date: 14/06/2018); (expected project end date: 20/12/2018).
- Participant information sheet 1043603 version 3 (14/06/2018).
- Participant consent form 1043604 version 2 (14/06/2018).

The following optional amendments were suggested:

*Please check your latest version of the Consent Form - format it correctly for highest readability.*

If during the course of the project you need to deviate significantly from the above-approved documentation please inform me since written approval will be required.

Your responsibilities in delivering this research project are set out at the end of this letter.

Yours sincerely

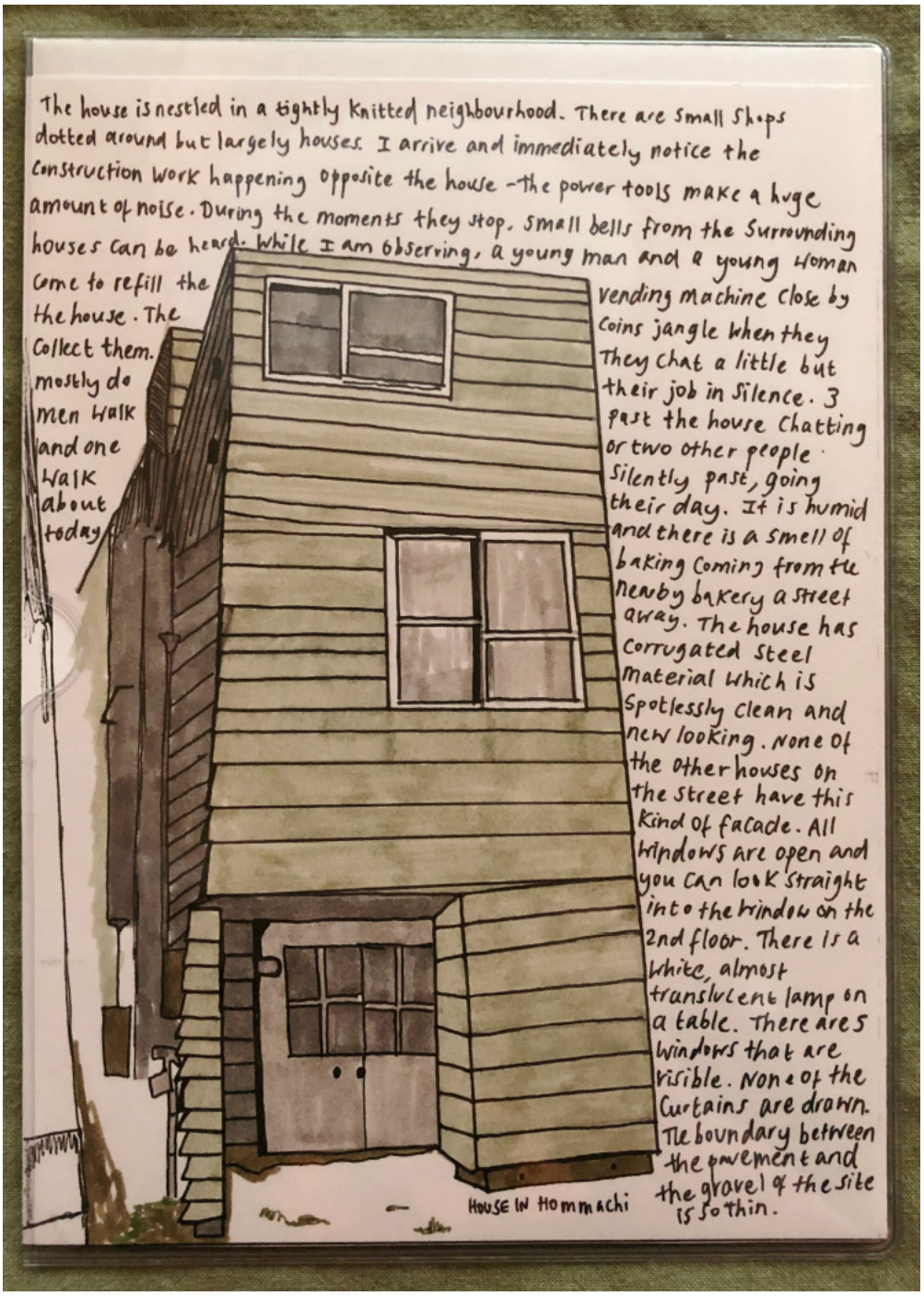
Chengzhi Peng
Ethics Administrator
School of Architecture

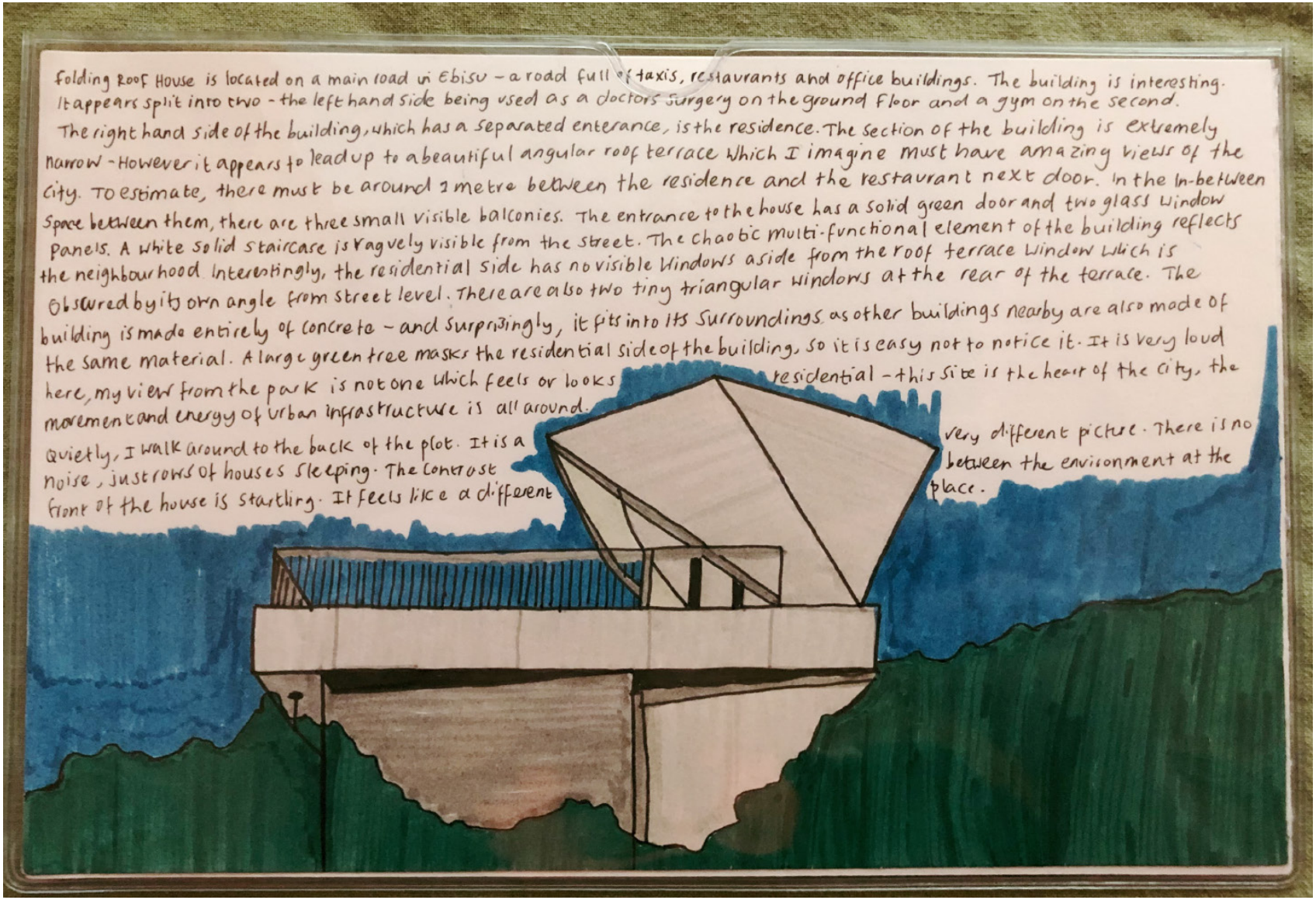
Please note the following responsibilities of the researcher in delivering the research project:

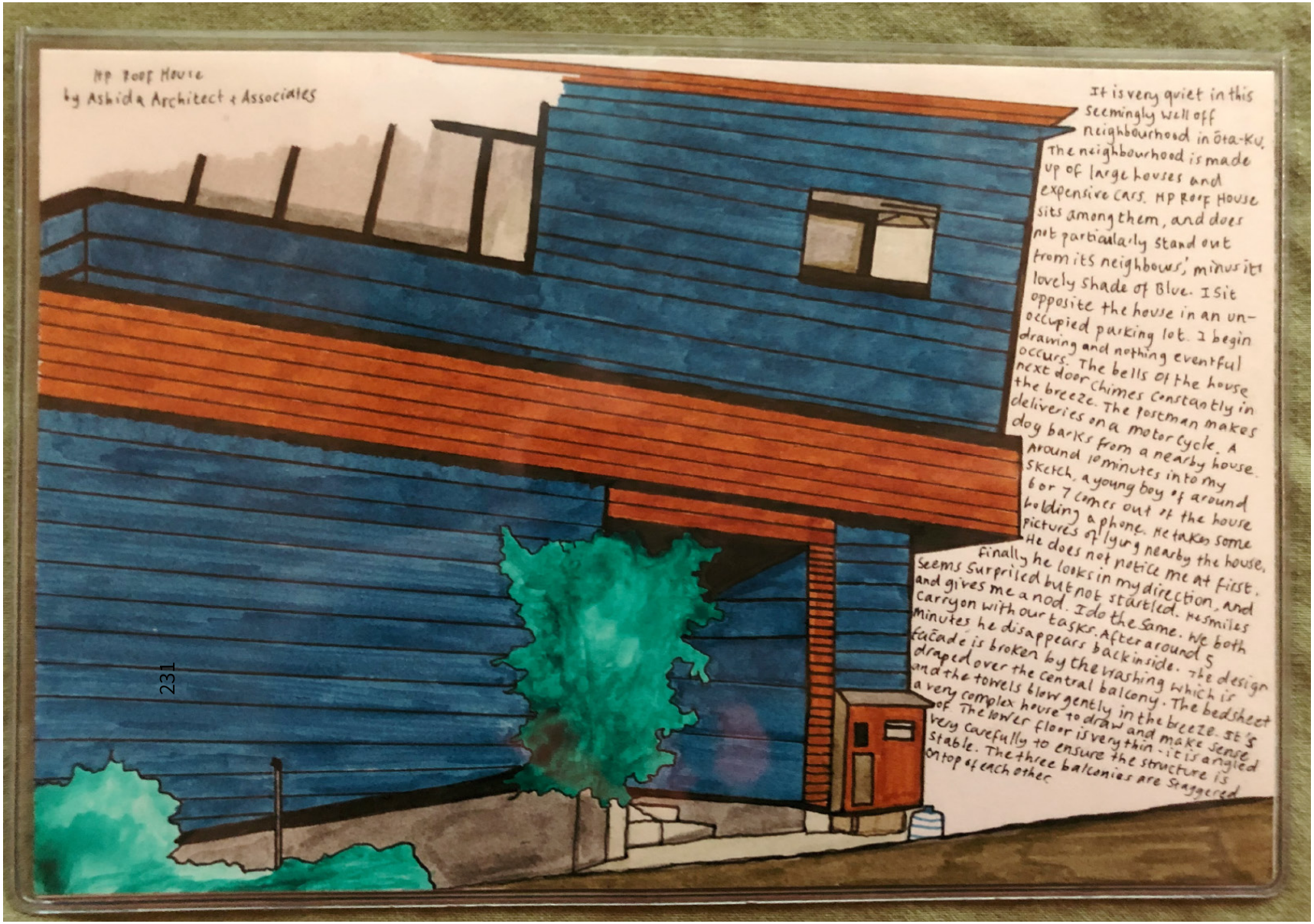
- The project must abide by the University's Research Ethics Policy: https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/rs/ethicsandintegrity/ethicspolicy/approval-procedure
- The project must abide by the University's Good Research & Innovation Practices Policy: https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/polopoly_fs/1.671066!/file/GRIPPolicy.pdf
- The researcher must inform their supervisor (in the case of a student) or Ethics Administrator (in the case of a member of staff) of any significant changes to the project or the approved documentation.
- The researcher must comply with the requirements of the law and relevant guidelines relating to security and confidentiality of personal data.
- The researcher is responsible for effectively managing the data collected both during and after the end of the project in line with best practice, and any relevant legislative, regulatory or contractual requirements.

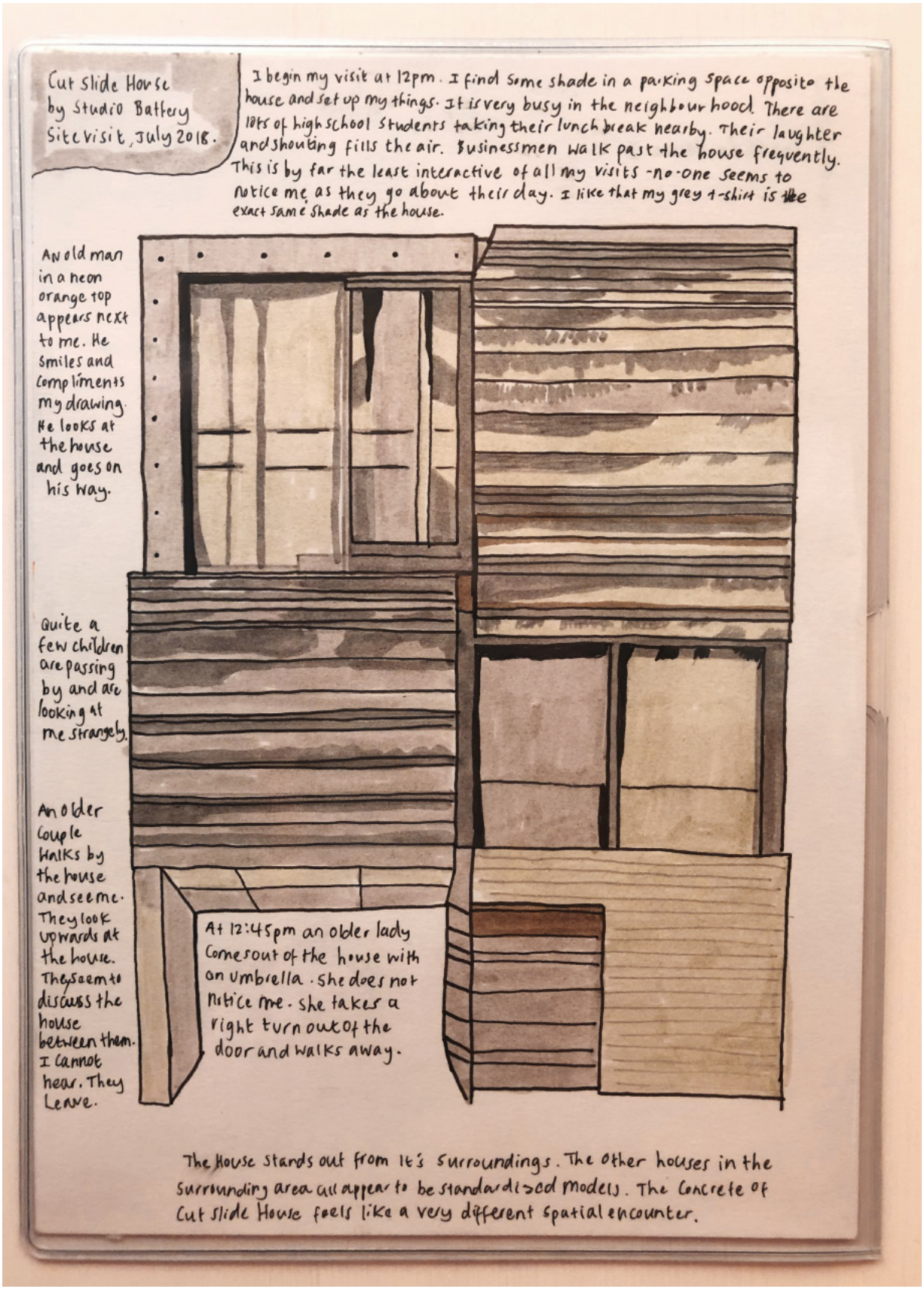
# Appendix E

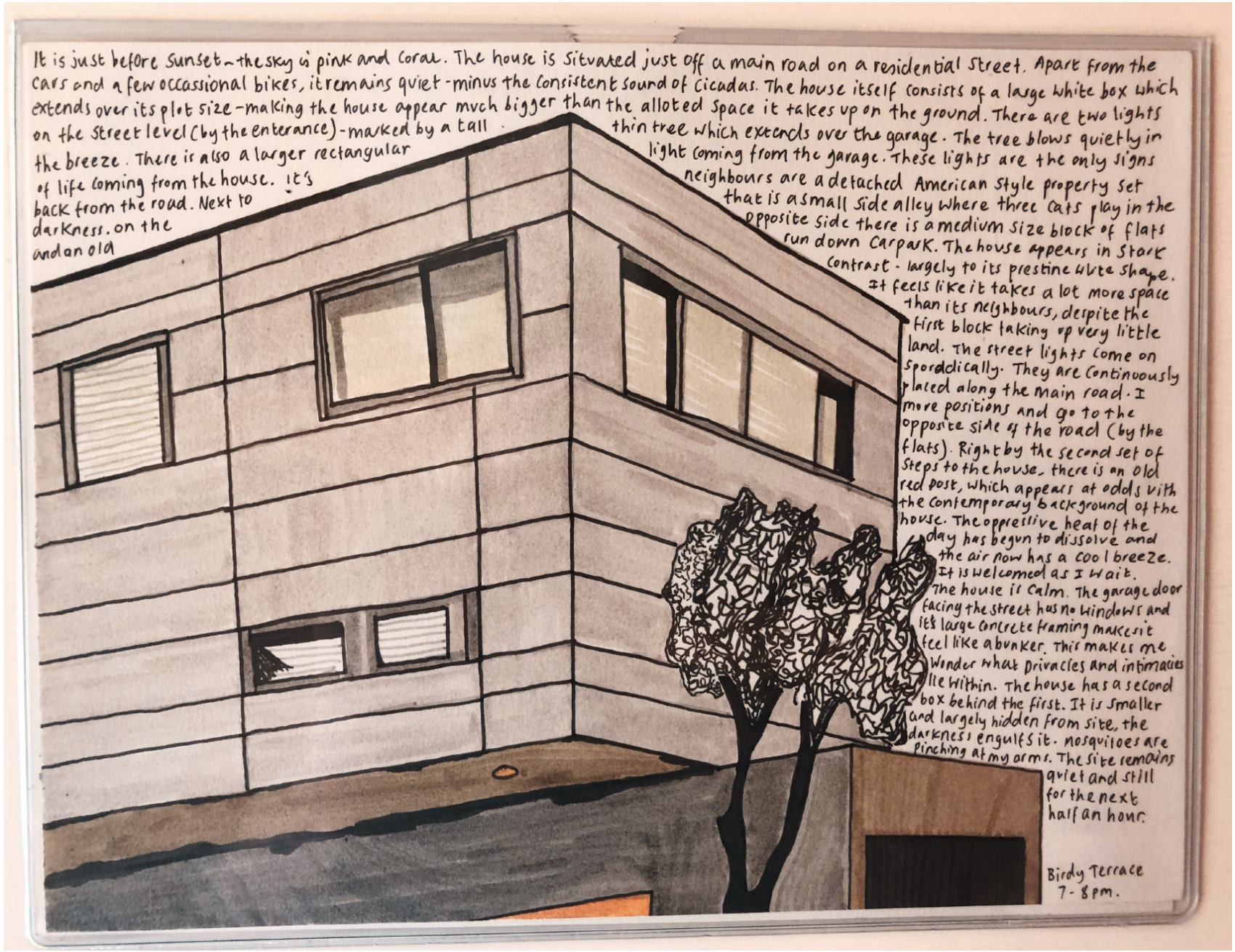
*Fieldnotes and Drawings Samples*




Folding Roof House is located on a main road in Ebisu - a road full of taxis, restaurants and office buildings. The building is interesting. It appears split into two - the left hand side being used as a doctors surgery on the ground floor and a gym on the second. The right hand side of the building, which has a separated enterance, is the residence. The section of the building is extremely narrow - However it appears to lead up to a beautiful angular roof terrace which I imagine must have amazing views of the city. To estimate, there must be around 1 metre between the residence and the restaurant next door. In the in-between space between them, there are three small visible balconies. The entrance to the house has a solid green door and two glass window panels. A white solid staircase is vagvely visible from the street. The chaotic multi-functional element of the building reflects the neighbourhood. Interestingly, the residential side has no visible windows aside from the roof terrace window which is obscured by its own angle from street level. There are also two tiny triangular windows at the rear of the terrace. The building is made entirely of concrete - and surprisingly, it fits into its surroundings as other buildings nearby are also made of the same material. A large green tree masks the residential side of the building, so it is easy not to notice it. It is very loud here, my view from the park is not one which feels or looks residential - this site is the heart of the city, the movement and energy of urban infrastructure is all around. Quietly, I walk around to the back of the plot. It is a very different picture. There is no noise, just rows of houses sleeping. The contrast between the environment at the front of the house is startling. It feels like a different place.


HP Roof House
by Ashida Architect + Associates
231
It is very quiet in this seemingly well off neighbourhood in Ōta-Ku. The neighbourhood is made up of large houses and expensive cars. HP Roof House sits among them, and does not particularly stand out from its neighbours, minus its lovely shade of Blue. I sit opposite the house in an un-occupied parking lot. I begin drawing and nothing eventful occurs. The bells of the house next door chimes constantly in the breeze. The postman makes deliveries on a motorcycle. A dog barks from a nearby house. Around 10 minutes in to my sketch, a young boy of around 6 or 7 comes out of the house holding a phone. He takes some pictures of Iyurg nearby the house. He does not notice me at first. Finally he looks in my direction, and seems surprised but not startled. He smiles and gives me a nod. I do the same. We both carry on with our tasks. After around 5 minutes he disappears back inside. The design of the façade is broken by the washing which is draped over the central balcony. The bedsheet and the towels blow gently in the breeze. It's a very complex house to draw and make sense of. The lower floor is very thin - it is angled very carefully to ensure the structure is stable. The three balconies are staggered on top of each other.


Cut Slide House
by Studio Bartlett
Site visit, July 2018.
I begin my visit at 12pm. I find some shade in a parking space opposite the house and set up my things. It is very busy in the neighbourhood. There are lots of high school students taking their lunch break nearby. Their laughter and shouting fills the air. Businessmen walk past the house frequently. This is by far the least interactive of all my visits - no-one seems to notice me as they go about their day. I like that my grey t-shirt is the exact same shade as the house.
An old man in a neon orange top appears next to me. He smiles and compliments my drawing. He looks at the house and goes on his way.
Quite a few children are passing by and are looking at me strangely.
An older couple walks by the house and see me. They look upwards at the house. They seem to discuss the house between them. I cannot hear. They Leave.
At 12:45pm an older lady comes out of the house with an umbrella. She does not notice me. She takes a right turn out of the door and walks away.
The House stands out from it's surroundings. The other houses in the surrounding area all appear to be standardised models. The Concrete of Cut Slide House feels like a very different spatial encounter.


It is just before sunset - the sky is pink and coral. The house is situated just off a main road on a residential street. Apart from the cars and a few occassional bikes, it remains quiet - minus the consistent sound of cicadas. The house itself consists of a large white box which extends over its plot size - making the house appear much bigger than the alloted space it takes up on the ground. There are two lights on the street level (by the enterance) - marked by a tall thin tree which extends over the garage. The tree blows quietly in the breeze. There is also a larger rectangular light coming from the garage. These lights are the only signs of life coming from the house. Its neighbours are a detached American style property set back from the road. Next to that is a small side alley where three cats play in the darkness. on the opposite side there is a medium size block of flats and an old run down carpark. The house appears in stark contrast - largely to its prestine white shape. It feels like it takes a lot more space than its neighbours, despite the first block taking up very little land. The street lights come on sporadically. They are continuously placed along the main road. I more positions and go to the opposite side of the road (by the flats). Right by the second set of steps to the house, there is an old red post, which appears at odds with the contemporary background of the house. The oppressive heat of the day has begun to dissolve and the air now has a cool breeze. It is welcomed as I wait. The house is calm. The garage door facing the street has no windows and its large concrete framing makes it feel like a bunker. This makes me wonder what privacies and intimacies lie within. The house has a second box behind the first. It is smaller and largely hidden from site, the darkness engulfs it. mosquitoes are pinching at my arms. The site remains quiet and still for the next half an hour.
Birdy Terrace
7 - 8pm.