Touring the urban quotidian

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Abstract

If indeed footsteps weave places together and intertwined paths give their shape to spaces, then the urban landscape and its architectural value does not exist as such, they are essentially constructed through observation which transforms the way the contemporary city is perceived. Three generations of Tokyo urban nomads, building on the creative documentation of such informal tourism and their own “endless everyday”, observed domesticated space and its immediate environment appreciating it as found element rather than attempting to modify it. In other words, they enabled a rapport with the city through observational permeability, which highlighted their quotidian, almost infra-ordinary, urban mobility. This paper attempts to dissect the creative aspect of everyday urban tourism through two scopes: the counter-intuitive exploitation as well as adaptive re-use of the existing urbanscape; and the elevation of as-found urban spatial by-products to unquestionable acceptance of validity worthy of documentation.

Keywords: urbanscape, documentation, mobility, domestication, ordinary

Observing inhabited dispersal

The navigational map of Tokyo comprises of overlapping information layers: consumption, production and analysis of phenomena. Tokyo is a data universe dispersed, material and inhabited. Should one choose this city to live in, they would be faced with its extreme density and paradoxically appropriated spatial scarcity. The urbanscape attains the role of ad hoc spread domesticity and becomes a prosthetic habitat. A fluid group without distinct ideology inhabits this kaleidoscopic urban field. Not quite a consistent community and defying networks limited to specific regions, their activities are connected unwittingly through small infrastructure relevant to basic everyday needs. Vending machines, convenience stores, cramped and cheap urban restaurants, even bike sheds or a spontaneously placed road-sign can establish a mutual interrelation between people roaming the urbanscape. Indeed, it is through the gradual growth of contextual relationships, nurtured by urban mobility in the process of modernisation, that the non-strategic occupancy of the city occurs.

This sort of informal everyday tourism has often been deployed as an architectural tool. Urban wandering has been used in Japan as early as the 1920s to study public behaviour and the street-scapes of a rapidly changing Tokyo during the first modernisation period of Japan. Wajiro Kon and Kenkichi Yoshida invented the term modernology (kogenkaku) to describe the documentation of their on-site observations from the constant shift in everyday urban life habits of Tokyoites. Much later, towards the mid-1980s, an informal group comprised of artists, architects and historians that referred to themselves as Architecture Detective Unit (kenchiku tanteidan), would engage in street observation science. Roaming the streets of Tokyo in search of quotidian and often bizarre findings they sought to unveil the humorous side of the elastic metropolis. More recently, Yoshiharu Tsukamoto and Momoyo Kaijima of Atelier Bow-Wow, assisted by their students, have used cataloguing and diagramming to capture the essence of urban accidents, namely hybrid structures, bad but uncannily functional or miniature scaled architecture in Tokyo. This kind of infra-ordinary architecture, which could not be acceptable anywhere else in the world but interestingly enough suits this particular context perfectly,
has been selected through a similar process of stumbling upon and through its documentation elevated to almost iconic status. Indeed, a set of spatial occurrences embedded in Tokyo’s fabric with such proliferating consistence that, given the city’s constantly shifting image, could be perceived as Japan’s quotidian monuments.

Erase and rewind

Were we to poise a paradigm of accelerating modernisation and rapid urbanisation, particularly during the years following the devastating aftermath of World War II, Japan would serve the role perfectly. Tokyo, as the hub of the country’s catapult to global economic superpower status, has gradually developed into a system of overlapping historic urban layers unable to accommodate this out of scale and largely unexpected expansion. Edo, a feudal town based on agrarian economy, has been renamed Tokyo and replaced Kyoto as Japan’s capital city after centuries of voluntary cultural isolation that were terminated with the Meiji restoration of 1867. The latter, in turn, signaled Japan’s introduction to Western notions of modernity.

In its short history as the Imperial Capital thus far, Tokyo has more than once been met with catastrophe, from the devastating Kanto earthquake of 1923 to the bombing raids of World War II, as well as numerous financial tumbles, from the oil crisis during the 1970s to the burst of the bubble economy towards the end of the 1980s. Much like Europe, modernity in Japan was paired with catastrophe and thus infused with a degree of healing quality, emphasizing on architecture as an optimistic force that holds the tools to rebuild the city and furthermore the ability to visualize a new urban condition altogether. In preparation of the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, global tendencies in modern architecture and city dwelling were adopted as a means to reconstitute the collective lost. This has been a fruitful albeit also contradictory evolution because, though seemingly fitting to the overarching situation, Western prevalent principles of rationalization and standardization were largely foreign to Japanese culture. This resulted in diverse conceptions of modernity and a cultural schism between appropriation or negation of the vernacular.

Figure 1. Gaien-nishi dori between Shibuya and Minato Wards, Tokyo

The 1980s were met with the peak of the economic bubble and an interest in post-modernist discourse, a tendency that was never fully embraced. The reason is that it was not associated with progress per se, but rather the historicist reconsideration of aesthetics with which Japan lacked a cultural bond. As such, rendered naked of its accompanying ideology, seemed more like a stylistic approach without semantics and thus of no relevance to the concurrent Japanese urban condition, which in the midst of its aggressive growth had no time for nostalgia. In 1995 the Kobe earthquake hit the country followed by the crash of the stock-market two years later, though this did little to prevent the catapult of land prices, hyper-fragmentation of buildable sites and constant expansion of the infrastructure network. Tokyo emerged from the crisis as the organic city par excellence in constant mutation and Japan as a continuous urban fabric (Brayer, 2006), simultaneously specific enough to be inhabited but also equally abstract to be observed as - artificial even - nature.
City on the move

Tokyo constitutes a unique case-study due to the very way its urbanisation has developed. Contrary to the majority of European capital cities, whose density is accompanied by urban plans based on clearly defined axes and perspectival vistas, or the American cities with their interdependent suburban context that encourages commuting, the driving force behind Tokyo’s immense urban body has been the combination of mobility and consumption. Indeed, not only that but the form the city has taken and the environment it has developed into - in other words, “what the grid is for Manhattan, the landscape of (terminal department store) shopping is for Tokyo” (Hosoya and Schaefer, 2001; p. 752).

This occurrence is relevant to the fact that the city’s residential suburbs have gradually melted into the continuously sprawling metropolitan area but without shedding their garden-city characteristics. Whether infested with low wooden houses or tower-like buildings of small salary-man apartments, they essentially remain isolated from one another due to the lack of interconnecting transportation infrastructure that make the bridging of large distances impossible. Besides, this sort of connection would be of little use; all areas bears excellent connections to the city’s main train stations which have fairly early obtained the same role that traditional business and financial urban cores have held in both Europe and America. Already from 1927 the private company Hankyu, providing railway services primarily to the Kansai region and thus connecting Kyoto and Osaka with Tokyo, combined the space of its train terminals with department stores for the busy travellers. A purely Japanese novelty, urban mobility has been combined with the social exchange factor that everyday consumption needs prescribed.

Indeed, the years that followed areas connected with important transportation links have created for themselves an urban utautology whereby Tokyo would no longer be perceived as a city, but rather an assembly of urban villages flowing into each other. Unlike the American cities, who have been subject to a radio-centric doughnut urbanism, Tokyo’s chaotic vastness preserved domesticity tactics that drew from settlements of considerably smaller scale and encouraged organic revival through constant reconfiguration. One could both re-invent oneself as a shinjinrui1 while maintaining a peripatetic sense of the most central parts of a hyper-dense global city. Toyo Ito (1991) describes this unique urban condition as an artificial forest where people wander, spending more time in transition than performing any sort of domestic activity, the street no longer just a passage but a dispersed domesticated environment.

Modernology

It is no peculiarity that such a condition of flow should be relevant to Japan in general and Tokyo in particular. Inoue Mitsuo (1995) argues that contrary to the West, where architecture seems to be characterized by geometrical space, in Japan it is organized as movement space and thus enables re-appropriation through habitation2. The concept of space as container of flow resembles an osmotic process. Rather than remaining intact and self-contained, the two conditions organized on either side of a permeable boundary intertwine and hybridize, rendering the threshold obsolete and creating a state of immersion. In the case of Tokyo, this gradually dissolving intermediate space represents both urban and cultural in-betweens subject to the establishment of new relationships, significantly intensified through the arrival of imported modernity.

Interestingly enough, the practice of on-site observation and surveying was a by-product of the intertwinement of the Western academy and the Japanese vernacular. Josiah Conder was a British expatriate in Japan who became one of the first professors in the then-newly founded Imperial College of Engineering. Conder applied to his teaching the educational methods he had studied under himself in Europe, and surveying was one of these. However, he combined it with practical matters and themes

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1 Japanese for new breed, essentially a modern - often workaholic - urban inhabitant

2 Mitsuo Inoue first presents this idea in the untranslated text of 1969 “From Geometric Space to Space in Movement: The World as Flow”. The latter constitutes the base of his writings, fragments of which can be traced in the collective edition Space in Japanese Architecture.
that responded to Japanese architecture and vernacular building context, such as the observation of traditional village settlements post-earthquake. His students, such as structural engineering scholar Toshikata Sano and architectural historian Chuta Ito, continued such surveys by joining forces of expertise (Fujimori, 2008). Observation and architectural surveys already from the first years of the Meiji restoration and the country’s modernization era - Conder moved to Japan in 1877 - bore the seal of academic validity.

Wajiro Kon was trained as an architect and engaged in similar surveying activities from 1917. Alongside folklorist Kunio Yanagida and his group of disciples but later also on his own, he would observe Japanese folklore housing, the so-called minka. Kon surveyed both well-built homes but also temporary settlements and sheds, ordinary constructions emanating from need rather than design-consciousness per se and yet, perhaps exactly for this reason, sophisticated in a touchingly naive way that generates admiration through instant recognition and familiarity. These findings Kon published in his book of 1992 Folklore Houses of Japan (Nihon no Minka), and continue his surveys focusing on ornament and subsequently Tokyo urban life. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s Wajiro Kon, either alone or a group of associate and disciples, acted as quotidian ethnographers observing and recording the changing face of Japan in the process of rapid modernization. Indeed, Kon and his team were more interested in social practices rather than the image of spaces alone, foremost recognizing the value and effect of the former on the latter. As he points out in his New Guide to Tokyo (Shinpan no Tokyo annai), it is the opening of Tokyo Station in 1915 rather the devastating Kanto earthquake of 1923 that introduced more radical changes and thus altered the city more dramatically (Kon, 1929; p. 12 cited in Freedman, 2011; p. 140). This is precisely because the introduction of rapid railway and commuting for work in Tokyo practically created new social and professional classes in Japan, groups of people that would meet and interact in the vast public spaces train stations in Tokyo constitute.

The title New Guide to Tokyo for the book is no random choice. Modernization and reshuffling in social classification were recognized by other disciplines as well, particularly when these held potential for commercial profit. Accompanied by the explosive industrialization of print, as well as pretty much everything else in Japan, hundreds of new magazines appeared in the market. Besides all-round publications there were several others which would set a particular target group: businessmen, working women, modern housewives, young schoolgirls. Along with industrialization came mass urbanization and the migrating country population that settled in Tokyo. For all these social groups Tokyo was an incomprehensible maze, a city like nothing they had known. How is then one to navigate in such a chaos? Practical guides made their appearance in the market, small books that contained practical information such statistical data, historical information, descriptions of landmarks, even restaurant suggestions. Kon’s book adopted that very same format.

The New Guide to Tokyo celebrated a new activity with rising, though unwitting, popularity in the new modern city: wandering. This had become a theme of interest for literary figures as well. Ryutanji3 made his debut in the field with the book The Age of Wandering, for which he won the Kaizo Magazine Prize in 1928, a success comparable to today’s Akutagawa or Naoki prizes, the highest honours in Japanese contemporary literature (Freedman, 2010). The book unfolded stories relevant to the shifting image of the city and the new activities that pertained - in other words, as Wajiro Kon’s work, focused on modernology. The most significant differentiation between these books and Kon’s project was the fact that the latter did not seek to create a literary narrative, in other words a paradigm, but rather document objectively, and also somewhat humorously, a real and concurrent condition. For this reason Kon worked with Kenchiki Yoshida, who filled the book with simple and engaging illustrations of everyday ordinary occurrences, such as sketches and diagrams of the wrinkles in the cotton stockings of Tokyo women riding the trains or walking on the street. These wrinkles, an unassuming detail on an object used by a person everyday, distilled the essence of changes in quotidian life and its effect on urban behaviour. The transition from surveying domestic space to objects and then urban phenomena is a clear indication of Kon’s understanding regarding the role of architecture and its relationship with people and material things. The observation and documentation of such a relationship in constant flux is a simultaneously informal and accurate method of dissecting the very essence of architecture.

3 pen-name of the doctor-turned-writer Yu Hashizuma
After the Tokyo Olympics in 1964 and throughout the 1970s, with the exception of a brief lull instigated by the oil crisis of 1974, the Japanese economy was met with rapid and surprising growth. Developments in technology and the trade market established Japan as a superpower in global economy with a high and growing gross-product and a practically non-existent income gap among its citizens. Towards the end of the 1970s the country had transformed into a fierce consumerist economy with a dense cities populated by a vast middle-class, a paradigm of a globalised world. Indeed, this is exactly how the former Tokyo governor Sunichi Suzuki pioneered the city during his appointment between 1979 and 1995: World City Tokyo (Sand, 2006). But that also took its toll on the urbanscape, which through continuous transformation within a very short period of time had eventually lost all traces of its past. It was a chaotic yet somehow canonical city, lacking homogeneity but still rich lustrous and soulless contemporaneity.

During this time a wave of nostalgia for Tokyo’s *originary landscape* (genfukei) represented by lively narrow alleys and ordinary everyday life appeared in the country’s iconography. Cultural preservationism became a concern in Japan for the first time, propagating the rediscovery of Edo-Tokyo values, a culture whose loss had resulted in lack of identity. This approach found fertile ground in the city’s universities and architecture schools, where scholars like Hidenobu Jinnai focused on the documentation and reclaiming of pre-modern urban and cultural characteristics. However, these were primarily scholarly approaches that did not reach out to people outside the discipline. In the peak of the speculative bubble in Japan’s economy, towards the mid-1980s, the consumerist society seemed to have become dominant over culture, architecture and the city - but this also signalled the fact that it had come full-circle. This is also when the *Roadway Observation Society* came together.
The Road Observation Society, simply referred to as Rojo⁴, was a group of artists and historians interested in ephemera and marginalia produced unwittingly in the course of everyday life. Though they held a very formal inaugural event to celebrate the founding of the group in 1985, this was only an ironic action, as they would continue their street observation activities in full informality, sometimes individually rather than a group and encouraged other people who became interested in Rojo to participate by doing the same. The core team and permanent members of Rojo were artist and novelist Genpei Akasegawa, architectural historian Terunobu Fujimori, illustrator Shinbo Minami, editor Tsudo Matsuda, writer and Meiji-era researcher Joji Hayashi and the late cartoonist and Edo-era researcher Hinoko Sugiura.

The Rojo team members started their society in 1986, but had actually all been engaging in urban wandering and observation of the urban quotidian on their own for over a decade before that. Akasegawa was a well-known artist already from the 1960s, when his was involved in avant-garde collaborative artists groups such as Neo-dada Organizers and Hi Red Centre (Fujimori, Matsuda et al, 2006). But soon he became disillusioned with this sort of artistic activities and the aggression of the consumerist culture in Japan and sought an other sort of expression that would be more in touch with a productive and critical resistance. He found that in observation, venturing the streets of informal urban monuments. His initiation into this type of activity was a random incident when one day in 1972, taking a lunch break with Matsuda and Minami, they came across a bizarre find: a useless staircase which, though in mint condition, did not lead to a door but rather a window. This infra-ordinary spatial condition, without obvious use yet carefully preserved as an act of absolute necessity, instigated their interest in similar occurrences and the potential in roadway observation. Soon after they started wandering the streets of Tokyo and, with the aid of Akasegawa’s students, documented their findings which they called Hyper-art or Tomasons. Thomasson was the name of an American baseball player who had been acquired by a local team. Though perfectly athletic and considered a valuable addition to the team, Thomasson failed to perform up to those standards and was soon released among bitter disappointment. Equally, the Hyper-art team collected visual specimens of perfectly un-functional yet lovingly maintained objects and spatial ecologies from the streets of Tokyo.

During the same time, Joji Hayashi had made a habit of collecting images of manhole covers around Japan and the world. Wandering the streets in search of such objects, he also came across strange and funny things like the body of an old television set that was transformed into a hen pantry outside an urban house of Tokyo. Fujimori had also started his own Tokyo Architecture Detective Agency from 1974, walking the streets of Tokyo alone or with his students to survey for old Western-style buildings with Japanese ornamental elements. After the official foundation of Rojo, they all concentrated on everyday and seemingly un-important urban occurrences which they collected and documented through a process of stumbling-upon. Modest buildings, wasteful architectural parts and ornaments such as fences or staircases, trees or flowerpots lining roads and alleys, road signs and patterns drawn on the road, even shadows and stains were considered observation material with “expressive excess”

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⁴ short for rojo kansatsugaku, Japanese for road observative study or else “on-the-road”
which they called *bukken*\(^5\) (Sand, 2008). On the contrary, “perishable goods” such as commercial products, trends and fashion or people were excluded. They primarily used photography and their surveys, then categorized their findings giving them clever and humorous titles, which they eventually collectively published in the book *Primer in Street Observation Studies*.

**Figure 4. Rojo, Small Tokyo Garden**

The publication was immediately embraced and gained interest not only among the architecture community but also from popular culture. Rojo were invited to present their work in universities, newspapers and television alike, unveiling their discovered “material palimpsest of minute acts of construction” (Sand, 2008, p. 385). Like Wajiro Kon’s and Kenchiku Yoshida’s *modernological* practices, Rojo roamed their city in search of its everyday events that go beyond our radar. They employed street empiricism and witty critical skills but interestingly enough, enriched their Tokyo nostalgia with new technology - photography. Building on Kon’s work they did not only become his successors in street observation but introduced a new dimension into it and thus infused it with a touch of the contemporary, it was an evolutionary step.

### Urban hybrids

The speculative turn that the Japanese economy had taken in the 1980s resulted in the burst of the bubble and the subsequent financial recession. Tokyo, after decades of shameless use of technology in the most consumerist of ways had transformed into a vast accumulation of bizarre spatial by-products and functional compositions. The period that followed the collapse of the bubble economy, Japan’s construction industry was greatly shaken and, consequently, Japanese architecture met with a combination of financial and conceptual crisis. The period of introspection that followed nurtured new ideas and approaches, engagement in observation of the urban quotidian and re-appropriation of the domestic ordinary. But surprisingly enough, this proved a blessing in disguise encouraging young architects to engage in a counter-intuitive exploitation of the existing landscape. This was far from a choice of plain artistic experimentation; rather, some degree of adaptive re-use became inevitable when faced with the harsh reality of recession and a confusing and characterless urbanscape.

Atelier Bow Wow, a collaborative between Yoshiharu Tsukamoto and Momoyo Kaijima, renewed the interest in Tokyo’s chaotic taxonomy and its potential. Like Rojo they roamed the streets in search of bizarre spatial by-products that exerted a humorous character through their shameless appropriation of disparate and unrelated characteristics. And like Wajiro Kon they recognised in these urban hybrids the potential as landmarks of the times that were a-changing, fragments that fell in line with the milieu but were ignored and their value as valid representations thereof disregarded. After first coming across a strange and interesting combination of a noodle shop with a baseball batting field in 1991, Tsukamoto and Kaijima set out to discover other such nameless and shameless constructions in Tokyo. They called this sort of architecture *da-me*\(^6\), though with the most appreciative and humorous

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\(^5\) Japanese for property

\(^6\) Japanese for no good
connotation. Though they invested in the pleasure of urban wandering and the sudden discovery, they did not put emphasis on nostalgia or change, but rather investigated the behaviour of the functional and spatial combinations that they found, building that did not respond to context or history but rather to are economically efficient answers guided by minimum effort (Kaijima et al, 2001). It is precisely this sort of interdependence that unveils further practical and cultural issues.

Understanding specimens of da-me architecture as “environmental units” comprising of three on-off factors, namely category, structure and use, Atelier Bow Wow claimed all three ons, as represented by “Architecture of Architects” is only one possibility of design, whereas a combination of ons and offs would increase the potential exponentially; indeed, only two ons and an off co-existing within a single “environmental unit” would offer $2 \times 2 \times 2 = 8$ possible combinations. Through these observations and the survey undertaken, Yoshiharu and Kaijima hoped to gain clarity and simultaneously draw inspiration that could utilize in design, vice-versa interactive process. “Our architectural adventure can only start from here” they wrote (Kaijima et al, 2001; p. 15). Later, they would enrich this adventure with observations on a new category of Tokyo architectural by-products, very small buildings inserted in miniscule sites throughout the city. They called these pet architecture due to their size and their functional efficiency, which made them seem like parts of a parallel reality much like that of humans and their pets.

Figure 5. Atelier Bow Wow, Pet Architecture #5: Ginza Do Antique Shop

The same mode of observation and documentation was used for both cases. Indeed, it was precisely the nature of the observation that developed into the representation method. The samples were collected randomly through urban wandering and everyday life experience, then distributed in categories of convincing examples so as to distinguish common features. This sort of urban curation (Kaijima et al, 2001; p. 18) was essentially a zoom in/out process, as the observation required the simultaneous placement of the specimen within its context and the understanding of the full urban panorama in order to unveil its behaviour. Photographs were taken to document the building’s presence and subsequently single line isometric drawings to dissect and present its special functional identity. Diagrammatic maps were drawn to position in scale and contrast it with its urban
environment. And brief texts to describe or clarify the urban episode. Then all the samples were placed together in a big drawing, a collected ukiyoe\(^7\) map. Collecting photos from 1991, Atelier Bow Wow had many chances to develop their research and they certainly made the most out them. In 1996 they enriched it diagrams and texts to turn it into an exhibition, first in Japan and then Switzerland. Then catalogued their findings into a more consistent and accessible manner through website that contained all the information, in 1998. Made in Tokyo was published in 2001 and Pet Architecture Guidebook in 2002, over a decade after the first da-me architecture discovery. In this decade, these young architects continued to wander the street of Tokyo, observe its hybrid constructions and increase the content of their collection. Going back and forth in scale, changing representational media they tested their skills and the spectrum through which they perceived their city and architecture.

Generations of observation, genres of representation

Observation does not only unveil border conditions, it also registers them as the very interfaces for the recognition of an elastic differentiation between collective publicness and miniaturized domesticity, thus also the validation of everyday life, within the emergent metropolitan condition. From Wajiro Kon’s modernology to Rojo’s humorous society of city observationists and to Atelier Bow Wow’s methodical dissection and cataloguing of functional spatial curiosities, a line can be drawn that connects urban wandering with the quotidian practice of life in the city. These architects, three generations of urban wanderers and city observers, seem to be moving upon an invisible axis - that of discovering the city anew by dissecting its cultural behaviour as manifested in infra-ordinary occurrences.

Direct references and continuations can be traced in each generation’s work. Wajiro Kon, until his death in the early 1970s, used to rework his text and sketches, modify, make changes or update parts that were confusing, not well argued or contradictory; thus he hoped to make his project more accessible and interesting to contemporary readers (Kuroishi and Frascari, 1998). Both Terunobu Fujimori, architectural historian and scholar, as well as Noboru Kawazoe, spokesperson of the Metabolists and former editor of Shin-kenchiku\(^8\), wrote books on Kon’s work. This indicates that his work was appreciated and widely read around the time Rojo appeared. Indeed, it was perceived as both architectural history material but primarily understood as analysis that bridged the gap between the Japanese architectural context and the broader social sphere developing in the city. Rojo built on that analysis enriching it with up-to-date representational methods such as photography, but no longer focusing on the fleeting present of modernity but rather the nostalgic past that the post-modernist era that they lived in prescribed. Atelier Bow Wow pick up from there, they revive the diagrammatic dissection of Kon and Kenchiki to enrich Rojo’s artistic simplifications and redeploy the guidebook as a medium.

Street observation remains a game but it is now a productive tool, a device to unveil fragments of potentiality. The more playful and rich the representational method, the more accessible and celebrated outside the narrow confines of the discipline. Documenting the city’s disorder is not necessarily celebrating it, it is not making it iconic. Rather, it is observing it with an ultimate intention of understanding it, unlocking its secrets with a critical but non-judgemental method. Searching, collecting, documenting and even aestheticizing are all parts of the same process of asking “is this a chaos whose order we have not yet perceived?” (Scott-Brown and Venturi, 2008; p. 39). Tokyo has served as a productive field of innumerable contradictions and three generations of Japanese architects have managed to take advantage of this particular urban trait. Touring their city they have been reacquainted with its urban fabric and introduced anew its social and cultural construction - in other words, they have ostensibly - though almost unwittingly - constructed an urban theory for the everyday.

\(^7\) literally “floating world”, Japanese artistic genre hailing from the 17th Century

\(^8\) the oldest Japanese architecture journal, the title translates as New Architecture
References


Image references and credit

1. Image courtesy of the author.