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'Travelling' between *Sakaribas* in Contemporary Tokyo

Abstract

The origins of tourism in Japan, claim Japanese scholars such as Araki Hiroyuki or Yoshimi Shunya, are intrinsic to pilgrimages to various sacred places, shrines and temples, practiced on a broad scale in Japan during the Edo period (1603–1868). Given this, an infrastructure developed around centers of religious cults, where the faithful could take a rest and relax after a long trip. Along with the city sprawl, these so-called funfairs, defined in this paper with an emic concept of *sakariba*, were quickly incorporated as a part of an urban structure where they used to play a role of an entertainment district (Asakusa or Ryōgoku in Tokyo). Today most traditional *sakaribas* have disappeared or have been replaced by their modern form, represented for instance by big railway stations (Tokyo-eki, Shinjuku-eki or Shibuya-eki in Tokyo).

This paper will focus on the question of 'travelling (in)-to *sakariba*' in contemporary Tokyo, regarded first of all as a substitute of tourism, practices observed within the space of large *sakariba*-like railway stations (travelling in the present time), as a nostalgic return to one's home town (recalling the time of idyllic past) in such districts of Tokyo as Asakusa or Shinjuku of the sixties. Finally, 'touristic' visits at *sakariba*, as it will be suggested, resemble an imaginative trip into the realm of individual and/or group dreams or plans, which might become true one day (Ginza, Roppongi).

Introduction

A tradition of travel in Japanese culture, or *tabi* in Japanese, a term which denotes an act of leaving one's home and moving to some other, distant place to stay there for a limited period of time[1], can be traced back to the Edo period (1603–1868) when religious visits to shrines and temples were practiced in a particularly vivid mode. Japanese scholar Kanzaki Noritake explains that the boost of pilgrimages in this era should be related to severe restrictions regarding freedom of travel – and generally speaking these didn't apply to travels of religious purposes – imposed by the *bakufu* government on common people.[2] Travellers, gathering in a sacred place to offer donation and prayers, became a good marketing target for smaller merchants, who offered visitors a manifold goods and services. In this way a simple pilgrimage, enriched with an element of play, could satisfy not only the need of broadening one's knowledge about the world outside home, but it also provided travellers with entertainment and thrilling experience.

[1] Shinmura Izumi (ed.), *Kōjien* (Wide Garden of Words), 6th edition, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2008.

[2] Noritake Kanzaki, *Sakariba no minzokushi* (The Anthropology of Sakariba), Tokyo: Iwanami Shinsho, 1993, p. 196.

The infrastructure, developed within areas adjacent to popular centers of religious cult[3] along with its festive atmosphere, which was created and then sustained by the hustle and bustle of assembling masses, spontaneously formed something described in Japanese humanities with an emic term of *sakariba*. The phenomenon of *sakariba* was constituted then by two elements, accordingly to the semantic composition of the word itself. Namely, in the first instance these were people swarming in a joyful atmosphere, which can be linked to the meaning of the adjective *sakan na* (vivid, prosperous, vigorous, active). The second prerequisite condition of *sakariba* was the noun *ba* indicating (place) and its infrastructural organization: stalls, street artists, tea rooms. Today these are also pachinko parlours, drinking bars, gambling places and the like.[4] Given this, we may presume that *sakaribas* were to be found mainly in large urban agglomerations and that they designated the busiest parts of the city, such as amusement districts or entertainment quarters. On the one hand, according to the dictionary of Japanese language *Kōjien*, *sakaribas* in big towns in the Edo period were coming into existence impromptu in open spaces either initially intended for refuge in case of a fire (*hirokōji*), or next to the large Edo – predecessor of Tokyo – bridges, which served as a transshipment of merchandise and where also naturally were formed kinds of markets, for example around Ryōgoku bridge, on the Sumida river side (*kawara*).[5] On the other hand my Japanese interlocutors when inquired about *sakariba*, associate it mostly with *hankagai*, small and narrow shopping streets radiating from the station, a sub-centre of the city.

Most of the traditional *sakaribas* of modernizing Tokyo disappeared like the one in the Ryōgoku district. *Sakaribas* in Shinjuku or Ueno were transformed and in addition to that, modern types of *sakaribas* emerged for instance between Shibuya and Harajuku, but also around major Tokyo railway stations such as Tokyo Station, Shinagawa Station or Ikebukuro Station. However, what has not changed since Edo is the habit of travelling to *sakariba* in order to celebrate the time for relaxation and entertainment, even though the practice itself has evolved substantially.

This paper discusses concepts of travel and tourism so to speak, in contemporary Japan from the perspective of travelling around the city and more specifically around *sakaribas* of Tokyo. I shall argue that legal restrictions controlling the flow of people in the Edo period have been replaced today by a specific socio-economic context of existence in large urban agglomeration, originating principally from rapid economic growth, this country noted in the second half of the last century. Among key features which create this context we can distinguish – for the purpose of this paper – stress related to instability of employment, raising social inequalities and hence enforced longer and more intense working

[3] Along with the process of Edo – predecessor of Tokyo – sprawl some temples were absorbed into the urban areas, such as Asakusa for example, thus becoming a part of the city.

[4] Yoshimi mentions: *yose* (comic show, vaudeville), *misemonokōya* (provisory stage for small spectacles, shows sometimes with the uncanny of human physiognomy as the main attraction, like midgets for instance), stalls with medicines and other goods or tea houses some of which also functioned as geisha house and the like. Shunya Yoshimi, *Toshi no doramaturgī. Tōkyō sakariba no shakaishi* (Dramaturgy of the City. The Social History of Tokyo's Sakariba), Tokyo: Kawade Bunko, 2008, p. 163.

[5] Shinmura (ed.), *Kōjien*…

hours, including time sacrificed for maintaining proper relations with company colleagues and management, plus commuting considerable distances. These socioeconomic conditions significantly delimit the choices in the form of leisure, especially when considering such time-consuming entertainment as travel, be it abroad or at home.

The system has solved this problem developing easy-accessible entertainment districts and leisure facilities, substitutes of touristic resorts within the city and in particular on the way from work to home, that is nearby important transfer points. Scholars analyze these places in terms of modern *sakariba*.[6] Besides, Paul Waley notices that some academics go as far as to apply the term of *sakariba* to the entire structure of the Japanese capital city.[7] Indeed, Tokyo with its own Statue of Liberty and Tokyo Tower recalling Eiffel Tower, is comparable to a world condensed in a nutshell. "All these districts produce different races, distinct bodies, a familiarity new each time. To cross the city (or to penetrate its depth, for underground there are the whole networks of bars, shops to which you sometimes gain access by a simple entryway, so that once through this narrow door, you discover, dense and sumptuous, the black India of commerce and pleasure) is to travel (…)" claimed Barthes fascinated by cultural diversity of this organism.[8]

This essay pays attention to three types of *sakariba*'s tourism, practiced in Tokyo. By the so-called *sakariba*'s tourism I understand here not only an act of wandering around different *sakariba*-like parts of the city in quest for impressions, attractions and experiences which are usually referred to as a leisure travel, providing travellers with "the pleasure of immersing oneself in another environment, and the fascination with little differences in the materiality of the world", to use John Urry's words.[9] Here, touristic activities are also considered to be intrinsic to the mundane universe of everyday life[10], overlapping in particular with commuting or travelling across the city. In this perspective 'tourism' and 'travelling' are presumed to be metaphors of life conducted in liquid modernity[11], being at the same time involved into trajectory of life.

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[6] Refer to: Kanzaki, *Sakariba no minzokushi*…; Sepp Linhart, "Zone of 'evaporation' between work and home?", in: Joy Hendry (ed.), *Interpreting Japanese Society. Anthropological Approaches*, London and New York: Routledge, 1998, p. 231–243; Kōei Terui, *Sakariba no toshi shakaigaku* (Urban Sociology of Sakariba), Tokyo: Hekitensha, 2005; Yoshimi, *Toshi no doramaturgī*...

[7] Paul Waley, "Re-scripting the City: Tokyo from Ugly Duckling to Cool Cat", in: *Japan Forum* Vol. 18, No. 3, 2006, p. 371.

[8] Roland Barthes, *Empire of Signs*, English Edition, translated from French by Richard Howard, New York: City Hill and Wang, 1982, p. 39–40.

[9] According to World Tourism Organization *travel/tourism*: "refers to the activity of travelers. A traveler is someone who moves between different geographic locations, for any purpose and any duration. The visitor is a particular type of traveler and consequently tourism is a subset of travel." *Tourism* "is a social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes." World Tourism Organization, www.Media.untwo.org/ja/node/28110 (accessed 15.11. 2011). John Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies. Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*, New York, Oxon: Routledge, 2005, p. 1.

[10] Ibid., p. 5–6.

[11] Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid modernity*, Oxford, Cambridge and Malden: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2000.

In spite of the stated preponderance of space over time in a globalizing world[12], my analysis of *sakariba*'s tourism is organized upon three main time categories: past, future and present. For travelling to *sakariba* denotes a trip to a place which is a manifestation of time, a stop within time and remembrance of time.[13] If roaming across *sakariba* may be compared to a time travel, it is because its specific infrastructure and atmosphere stimulates human senses, opening a possibility for an imaginary 'touristic escape' from the present. Thus some *sakariba's* travellers seek there after nostalgia for home and an idealized past, enclosed in buildings, objects, people and nature. For others a trip to *sakariba* can mean peeking at the future of their dreams and social aspirations. Ultimately, what draws masses to *sakariba* is likewise a sheer need to relax in an environment different from work or home. Actually, the primal function of *sakariba* was once channeling social tensions and conflicts into a frenzy of festive play celebrated by a community consisting of actors who during this time shared an equal status of both a traveller and a believer, regardless of the existing social hierarchy.

Travelling alone

Sakariba does not exist without a community of people. On the one hand *sakariba* is created by this community and on the other *sakariba*'s characteristics predispose it to exert an important role in sustaining communities and strengthening social bonds or social networks. Araki Hiroyuki reminds his readers that traditionally travelling in Japan was practiced as an event concerning the entire community even though in fact only one person was leaving for a trip.[14] The custom of offering souvenirs brought from a trip dates back to the period of pilgrimages, continues Araki and this gesture had two meanings.[15] With a small present, a traveller could pay back his debt to the community and express his gratefulness for help with the preparation and for symbolic amount of money (*warajisen*) he received from his relatives and neighbors in order to purchase straw sandals.[16] Furthermore, in addition to material gifts, a traveller was also bringing knowledge and news from the outer world, contributing to the community's social capital in a way as though in exchange for the skills he had been equipped during his childhood.

Japanese, living in the area of contemporary Tokyo, spend their long commuting hours alone on a crowded train. Diluted ties with one's vicinity and most probably also with one's family push everyday travellers toward pint-sized, ephemeral communities formed over a couple of drinks in one of the *sakariba*'s bar.[17] Repetitiveness of visiting a place on a regular basis to meet there the same faces generates a feeling of stability and safety,

[12] New technologies and modern means of transport debilitate presupposed relation between time and space and hence people can manipulate with the time required to cover a certain distance. Moreover, it can be said that time-space compression stems from increased mobility as notices John Urry. Mimi Sheller, John Urry, *Tourism Mobilities. Places to Play, Places in Play*, London: Routledge, 2004, p. 3–4.

[13] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Przestrzeń i miejsce* (Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience), Polish Edition, Warszawa: PIW, 1987, p. 224.

[14] Hiroyuki Araki, *Nihonjin no kōdō yōshiki* (Japanese Patterns of Behaviors), Tokyo: Kodansha Gendaishinsho, 1973, p. 46.

[15] Ibid., p. 48.

[16] Ibid., p. 48–49.

[17] It is symptomatic that such small drinking communities, so to say, composed in bars are not amorphous gatherings, but hierarchically organized structures where guests are ranked upon the

undermined by the fact that actors are in a constant multifaceted move not only in terms of endless travels and places change, but viewed also as instability of continuously (re)defined identity.[18] The need of repetitiveness comprised in almost compulsory behaviors such as shopping, playing pachinko or visiting bars observed at *sakariba* may be interpreted by the same token as what Giddens calls an "inability to escape from the past".[19] Regular coming backs to the reality of *sakariba* sustain regular contacts with tradition, for "there are ordinarily deep emotional investments in tradition (…); they come from the mechanisms of anxiety-control that traditional mode of action and belief provide".[20]

Hence the salience of travelling to *sakariba* located in districts of Asakusa, Ueno Hirokōji or Shinjuku's Kabuki-chō, where actors (re)discover traditional order through a partially stylized arrangement of streets, old-type cafés or bars, served food, snacks, music and leisure. Rituals evoking tradition, such as eating traditional food, karaoke-singing of old Japanese songs or participating in *matsuri* [festivals] held in local shrine, are practiced together with other travellers, which confirms participants' affiliation with the community through sharing similar habits and culture. A trip to *sakariba* enables an individual to reunify him-/herself with the society based on shared values, customs, mode of life similarly as it used to be in historical, long-established villages. Research conducted by Kanzaki Noritake demonstrates that the phenomenon of people gathering at Asakusa and Shinjuku particularly originates in the industrialization era of pre-war Japan. Newly coming inhabitants of Tokyo would travel to aforementioned districts in order to find company of their peers from the countryside, who seemed to be the only ones capable of understanding this feeling of profound longing for home.[21] These very fertile assemblies of people who could find hardly any appropriate place in the social structure in the capital city, alleges other Japanese scholar Yoshimi Shunya, contributed to a formation of an original avant-garde or *angura* (underground) culture in the late sixties, represented by Hijikata Tatsumi, Kara Jurō, Terayama Shūji, Nagisa Ōshima, Moriyama Daidō to name only a few artists.[22] Traces of this art still attract public today, when Kara Jurō puts up his enormous red marquee *Aka Tento* next to Hanazo-no temple for instance. Besides, one can also come upon 'refugees' in one of the minuscule jazz bars (*jāzu kissa*) crammed in Kabuki-chō district.

Finally, significant encounters with the past in Tokyo take place when crossing Tokyo Station (*Tokyo-eki*), currently being renovated. Commuters, who cross the station on a daily basis, have most probably 'incorporated the place' to the extent that the legibility of the symbolic image of the building's red-brick part in particular, which faces the imperial palace, occurs unconsciously. Everyone realizes its historical value, albeit only few are

inner code. Eyal Ben-Ari, "At the Interstices", in: *Japan at Play. The Ludic and the Logic of Power*, Joy Hendry and Massiomo Raveri (eds.), London and New York: Nissan Institute/ Routledge Japanese Studies Series, 2002, p. 129–152.

[18] Refer to: Bauman, *Liquid modernity*…; Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1991.

[19] Anthony Giddens, "Living in a Post-Traditional Society", in: Urlich Beck, Anthony Giddens and Scott Lash, *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1997, p. 56–110.

[20] Ibid., p. 66.

[21] Kanzaki, *Sakariba no minzokushi*…, p. 320.

[22] Yoshimi, *Toshi no doramaturgī*..., p. 277–281.

able to fully explain the reason underlying this common conviction. Furthermore, crowded as the station may be in general, its historical site remains unusually empty, since it is somehow impractical to get out of the station and perceive oneself to be on the road leading straight to the imperial palace. Therefore the whole life concentrates in the underground part of the station or on the opposite, modern Yaesu side, which thrives with shops, restaurants and other business-leisure facilities.

Travelling to or through Tokyo Station, recalls a trip into the history of modern Japan, interwoven of two aspects. The first one could be described as a quiet red-brick construction from the Meiji era (1886–1912) tightly bound with the palace or imperial past of Japan. The second feature would be modernization almost equal to westernization embodied in a busy contemporary glass and metal part of the station. *Sakariba* sprawling wildly inside and outside of the Tokyo Station is comparable to time vehicle, where the bridge between remote past and undetermined future runs through underground passages and alleys high up to the top of Sapia Towers or GranTokyo Towers. Nevertheless, the future aspect of *sakariba's* tourism may be looked at also from a different angle.

Dream about the Future

According to scholars who studied a formation process of Tokyo, Ginza owes its present posh look in large measure to foreigners who in the Meiji era used to cross this district, when going home from Shimbashi station toward Tsukiji, where most Westerners dwellings were located.[23] Poor wooden constructions were bringing discredit onto the honor of a modernizing country and therefore the Meiji government spared no effort to transform the main streets of Ginza into more representative passages. First two or three storey brick buildings with cafés and department stores shining with glass windows appeared after the Tsukiji area burnt to the ground in 1872, upon which a great part of old wooden housing was destructed. Refreshed Ginza resembled a world exhibition with its unusual architecture, Western products exposed in the shops' windows and new type of Japanese, manifested in Western-style dressing as well as behavior of *mobo* (modern boy) and *moga* (modern girl)[24], who would devote themselves to *flânerie* along new, fashionable alleys. Visits at Ginza meant for Tokyoites of Meiji and Taishō era (1912–1926) a trip to a Western world or a 'gaze' into the future of modern Japan, compares Yoshimi.[25] All Japanese supposedly dreamt one dream about their country, where art of life in all its socio-cultural and economical aspects would be perfected to such extent so as the final results would prevail the initial target of mere adjustment to Western standards.

A unified vision of the country's future dispersed into millions of individual yearnings, hopes and ambitions once Japan became one of the world largest economies. This turn towards the private dimension of existence occurred within the last two decades of the 20th century. It concerned a generation of baby-boomers, who wanted their children to profit from their parents' hard work and to more freely create a trajectory of their life. According to Japanese sociologists, this kind of liberalization of *seken*, which I understand here as a

[23] Jinnai Hidenobu, *Tokyo. A Spatial Anthropology*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995, p. 150–151.

[24] The term was coined on the basis of Tanizaki Jun'ichirō 's 1924 novel entitled *Chijin no ai* (Naomi).

[25] Yoshimi, *Toshi no doramaturgī*...

system of commonly shared values and opinions, should be implicated into a set of features which prompted in consequence an enlargement of a group of youths somehow excluded from the main flow of social coexistence.[26] Some of them stay at home (*hikikomori*) travelling via internet, larger part practice ‘tourism’ around Tokyo desperately seeking for their chance of lifetime, deluding oneself that almost any destination may be easily reached, if only the will to do it is strong enough.

Chase for mirages recalls travels into the future, which is a world constituted by dreams, wishful thinking and the unknown. This ‘tourism’ is comprised of actions such as visiting fortune tellers, who offer their services in ‘classical style’, like old stylized women with cards or glass ball in Ginza or Shinjuku district, but also in modern style as it is in case of young men wearing a suit and tie and conjuring up images of one’s future using a laptop. Modern, ‘professional’ fortune tellers wait for clients sitting in their boxes located at the staircases of popular department stores of Shibuya or Harajuku for instance. However, there are also other methods of unraveling the mystery of one’s fate.

Another form of future travel which would similarly be related to attempts at dissipating the opaque curtain of the future may be represented by visits in temples and shrines, Tokyo abounds with, in order to pray and to purchase *omikuji* (written oracle) or *omamori* (charms or amulets). These practices are to help people to determine the direction of possible changes which might influence their fate.[27] This uncertainty of one’s fortune can be observed while travelling around the capital of Japan, where scenes from the ‘plight’ of homeless roaming around large nodal centers of transport (Ikebukuro Station, Tokyo Station, Shimbashi Station etc.) to frantic consumption of the upper class, which ensures well-being of such infrastructures as Roppongi Hills, Tokyo Midtown or network of major department stores (Takashimaya, Matsuya, Matsuzakaya, Seibu etc.), debunk ultimately the myth of Japanese classless capitalism.[28]

Given the unstable condition of one’s social position in the era of liquid, mobile modernity it is symptomatic that the notion of the future or a trip into the future gains in importance in a culture which has attached hardly any significance to ‘what will come’. Japanese intellectual Katō Shūichi in his study about time and space in Japanese culture highlights that the society which had been deprived of hope for any shifts in social order did not feel the necessity to speak about the unknown. Hence it did not develop linguistic forms to express the future tense. Nor was it interested in creating artistic visions which would depict the ideal of the future or utopias.[29] The situation differed significantly in the Meiji

[26] Here I refer to various social phenomena named with terms such as: *NEETs*, *freeters* or *parasite singles* which indicate groups of young people whose difficult economic situation blocks their attempts at starting independent life or having a family.

[27] It would be interesting to verify whether the ratio of visitors of temples and shrines is correlated with their age, gender and social position and also how this ratio fluctuated over the last two decades to answer the question about possible interrelation between higher level of religiousness and particular events such as the economic crisis of 2008 or earthquake disaster from March 2011.

[28] David H. Slater, “Social Class and Identity in Postwar Japan”, in: *Routledge Handbook of Japanese Culture and Society*, Victoria Lyon Bestor, Theodore C. Bestor and Akiko Yamagata (eds.), New York and Oxon: Routledge, 2011, p. 103–116.

[29] Shuichi Katō, *Nihon bunka ni okeru kūkan to jikan* (Time and Space in Japanese Culture), Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2007.

era and further waves of change came right after the war or in the time of bubble economy, when as aforementioned youths encouraged by their parents believed that dreams may shape one's trajectory of life.

If trips into the future, into the realm of dream feel unreal, they nevertheless still mobilize travellers in sensuous encounters with the physical world and places as destination of one's travel are not only intersected then, but are performed through embodied play. An example of a place performance in the universe of Tokyo would be cultural phenomenon of youth *cosplay* (costume play) observable on the Jingū Bridge, a trespass between the park surrounding Meiji temple and colorful, garish Harajuku district. This bridge, or a mere piece of pavement, would remain indiscernible if it weren't for dressed-up in the most awkward way young people who use to gather there in order to share with others the experience of expression of the 'self', which on a daily basis have to be submitted to a dress-code and a set of manners. On the one hand, these people become tourists who chasing their dreams arrive at Harajuku where they can put into play such cultural distinctions as gender, age, social role and *seken* or national habitus, materializing through costume potential future image of their 'self'. Yet on the other hand, with their outlook and behavior they transform this space of few square meters into a tourist attraction, an object of tourism which is enlisted in Tokyo's guidebooks as one of the must-see.

Through the case of Harajuku's Jingū Bridge we can examine the process of (re)creation of the place, emerging as a result of travels to a certain destination and interdependent character of relation between the place and its visitors. Harajuku highlight, such as depicted above, embodies an imaginative travel concerning dreams about the self, yet constant spatial transformation is provoked likewise by a simple everyday vivid mobility of population inhabiting the area of Tokyo. Admittedly, a fickle flow of daily tourism shapes the space, but it is also shaped by the changing space. In the next part of this paper I would like to focus on how the notion of mobility is worked and reworked through everyday travels around Tokyo and its *sakaribas*.

Towards society of nomads

As I have already argued inhabitants of the Japanese capital city spend an overwhelming part of their time travelling, changing trains, platforms or stations. For people commuting from suburbs, getting to work, school or university means often two hours both ways.[30] Long working time, scarcely any holiday and hours spent on trains, these factors influence disposition of leisure time of an average citizen of Tokyo area.[31] Sepp Linhart in his essay about "Popular leisure" quoting the data from a comparative research conducted by *Rengō Sōken*, the research institute of Japanese trade unions' association, concludes that "While Germans enjoyed 4:15 free hours in an average working day, the Japanese had to cope with only 2:28 hours, or nearly two hours less".[32] Two or three hours of freedom between work

[30] Refer to: Tōkyō Toshiken Kōtsū Keikaku Kyōgikai (Tokyo Prefectural Public Transport Council), www.tokyo-pt.jp/press/h1111_04.html (accessed 12.11.2011).

[31] The same conclusion is most probably applicable to Japanese living in other large Japanese cities, however in this paper I would like to concentrate the discussion particularly on Tokyo.

[32] Sepp Linhart, "Popular Leisure", in: *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Japanese Culture*, Yoshio Sugimoto (ed.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 221.

and family life is not sufficient to take up sophisticated and time consuming hobby or to set out on a journey. However, these precious minutes may as well be enjoyed at the station while waiting for the train. Increasing clientele of the station entails an accelerated process of transformation of railway stations and especially big Tokyo terminals into *sakaribas*, an environment which owing to its extensive infrastructure and festive atmosphere substitutes touristic resort and appeals to travellers practically by the same token as other urban destinations of touristic journeys.

That is the case of *Tokyo-eki* (Tokyo Station), which after reconstruction has been transformed into a miniature of a city what is suggested even in the very name of the new complex that is Tokyo Station City. Yet, if the area of Tokyo Station City is to remain attractive for everyday 'tourists' then its life should pulsate incessantly, driven by constant changes such as regularly organized seasonal events (ex.: Christmas lighting on the Marunouchi site, art expositions in the Daimaru museum or seasonal sales etc.). The impression of visiting a city is intensified by the fact that corridors, passages and alleys located under the station have been designed in conscious emulation with real streets, some of them in Japanese style (ex.: Kitamachi Horoyoi, Kurobei Yokochō) others recalling foreign alleys (ex.: Keiō Street, Kitchen Street) and both integrating traces of the past with present achievements.

Such place can provide different affordances. Those who roam throughout the *sakariba* of Tokyo Station City are set in motion by "mobilized gaze".[33] In other words, rather than following a certain deliberately designated itinerary these commuter-*flâneurs* sway to the enticing effects of the atmosphere of this kind of *sakariba* and let themselves be choked or consumed by every subsequent shop, stall, event. They are subject of consumption and simultaneously its object likewise. The situation of the everyday-tourist in Tokyo seems akin to the standard touristic condition in terms of consumption and also the use and the flow of one's time. Both factors are interrelated in a way that on the one side consumption sets the commuter apart from its actual status of a commuter struggling with problems such as rush-hours, crowded trains, business matters, work etc. Yet on the other side, an idle time spent on consumption runs in a certain opposition to the counted-down time of Taylorism, production or work process.[34] That is just like in the case of tourist who thrown into an exotic environment and liberated from mundane matters, disposes of 'all the time in the world' to get the balance of her/his mind and body right and to be able to take up everyday effort again after the trip ends.

Another element contributing to touristic landscape of Tokyo Station City, this large terminal station but also the Japanese capital city as a whole, is hotel or I should rather say motel. Why motel? Well, there is nothing special about urban space abounding with hotels as long as some of them, namely capsule hotels, are intended by principle for those who did not make the *shūden* (last train). Incidentally, it seems curious though that one of the largest cities in the world, where life never dies out, hasn't developed a 24-hour public transport, forcing late-working *sarariman* (white collars) and all the others, who lost the sense of time in a vast space of the capital, either to take a taxi or to stay in a hotel. That is

[33] Ewa Rewers (ed.), *Miasto w sztuce – sztuka miasta* (City in Art – Art of the City), Kraków: Universitas, 2010, p. 677.

[34] Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies*…

why I tend to call them motel, for in spite of their urban location, they serve as a pause for the people who are actually *On the Road*. I purposely recall the title of Jack Kerouac's novel since the condition of inhabitants of Tokyo's suburbs resembles in a way that of characters created by American writer. Both parts may be depicted as nomads, moving incessantly from one destination to another without longer stop in any of the crossed places.

Furthermore, mobility of nomads circulating around Tokyo can also be related to deleuzian term of *deterritorialization*, denoting extirpation or debilitation of ties with a place, a process which is not followed by *reterritorialization* as it is in case of migrants for example.[35] Consequently, despite the fact that these people are registered in a specific place for temporary or permanent residency, in reality they spend hardly any time at what is called their official home. In this respect, it can be said that major part of Tokyo population falls into category of 'dweller-in-transit'[36], victims of the vicious circle of mobility. The world, 'mobile people' exist in, is depicted from the perspective of a constant movement and in such a world, claims Tuan, people are prevented from developing a sense of place, for the place represents an ordered universe of signs and essentially should be regarded as a static notion.[37] Shall Tokyo[38], a city under incessant construction, be nonetheless considered as a static place?

Instability, an inherent feature of the cityscape and city order, enables denizens of the Tokyo area to (re)discover streets and districts of Japanese capital anew, each time they visit it. With cramped, tightly packed into narrow streets housing, Tokyo cannot be considered friendly for those who wish to dwell in its central parts, stresses Yoshimi.[39] Therefore Tokyo is being continuously (re)transformed in order to drag its citizens out of their "rabbit hutches"[40] and invite them for a trip throughout its vast space. According to Foucault such place or space which possesses the "power of juxtaposing in a single real place different spaces and locations that are incompatible with each other" may be analyzed as *heterotopia*.[41] The Japanese capital city is equipped with many of such places with Tokyo Station (City) as a flagship example. The

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[35] Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Capitalisme et Schizophrénie 2. Milles plateaux* (Capitalism and Schizophrenia 2, A Thousand Plateaus), Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1980.

[36] Even though admittedly Japanese workers devote themselves almost entirely to work, this environment cannot be perceived anymore as a stable element of their nomadic lifestyle, especially after deregulation of labour law and progressive disappearance of life-employment (*shūshinkoyō*) practices after the end of bubble economy. Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies*…, p. 63.

[37] Tuan, *Space and Place*…, p. 224.

[38] It is needless to say, that advanced transport network and global business relation intertwine large urban agglomeration such as New York, London, Paris, Moscow or Beijing with ties of relational mobilization of ideas, human and material objects, as shows Saskia Sassen in her researches (Refer to: Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991; Saskia Sassen, *Cities in a World Economy*, California: Pine Forge Press, 2000). However, here I would like to focus rather on literal mobility or instability of Tokyo's architecture for instance, which may be transformed overnight, also due to the fact that the city is constantly affected by earthquakes.

[39] Yoshimi, *Toshi no doramaturgī*...

[40] Ann Waswo, "Housing culture", in: *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Japanese Culture*, Yoshio Sugimoto (ed.), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 285.

[41] Michel Foucault, *Des Espace Autres* (Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias), translated from the French by Jay Miskowiec1967, http://foucault.info/documents/heteroTopia/foucault.heteroTopia.en.html (accessed 21.08. 2011).

latter used to be a splendid railway station and its past can be admired and meditated through the form of the red-brick building facing imperial palace on the Marunouchi side. Nowadays, Tokyo Station is still a major node on the country's transport map, however this function has been encased with such a manifold attractions that the meaning of the main purpose of this construction has changed significantly. Hence the station is not only a mere point of neither departure nor arrival but 'touristic pause', implying possibility of all the activities a tourist normally abandons herself/himself to when being on tour.

Heterotopias in Tokyo intertwine with *sakaribas* composed very often in areas adjacent to popular transport station or temples (Sensōji temple in Asakusa). With a wide array of infrastructure serving leisure, such 'heterotopical' places are subject to constant (re)transformation and this process may occur on the sensuous level of the passer-by, who on the way from work to home, enters in a role of tourist who travels away or escapes from the daily rhythm – at the station it is facilitated by the presence of real tourists – to shake off the stress of the day. The station or any other Tokyo's *sakariba* becomes in this case a materialization of the 'urge' to be elsewhere with the whole context it implies. On the other hand Tokyo's *heteroptopias* change physically as regards buildings and their ephemeral urban purposes and thereby sustaining touristic dimension of everyday travels – be it on foot, on bicycle, by metro, train or bus – throughout the city.

Conclusion

Tourism seems, at least here, to be inextricable from everyday life in Tokyo, where it takes a form of travel as an act of covering vast distances between home and work, school, hospital and other urban facilities, but also as a pure joy derived from giving oneself to touristic leisure such as shopping, visiting museums, discovering places while idle walking across *sakariba*, especially those sprawling inside and outside of major railway stations. This approach aims at delineating a frame of a relatively recent phenomenon in Japanese society, which I would define as 'tourisation' of everyday life. This would be a process whereby citizens of large urban agglomeration such as Tokyo, or rather its suburbs, are being progressively disembedded from local groups – family, neighborhood, friends etc. – they belong to, since home and hometown become a mere stop in their daily travels around the city and thus they start playing a role of a visitor or tourist in their local communities.

Transformation into a tourist in a city one is acquainted with, is enabled by potential of change contained in this supposedly well-known space, by mimetic operations of recreating some of its districts in emulation with popular touristic destinations (New York, Berlin, Paris, Rome etc.) and by re-adjusting the form and highlighting the significance of transport nodes, which orchestrate Tokyo's map. Railway stations, owing to extensively developed infrastructure, largely substitute the city itself and this emphasizes the impression of touristic journey, evoked by the travel between these 'rail-district-universes'. Another factor that stresses the feeling of being a tourist, which ordinary commuters might have, is the presence of real tourists in the space of the station – analyzed here in terms of the emic concept of modern *sakariba* – and in particular at the Tokyo Station (City).

If this paper is largely focused on the case of the station as *sakariba* and thus as a main element in 'Tokyo's tourism', it is because located-on-the-way-from-work, school-to-home stations are easily and quickly accessed places, providing commuters sometimes with the only chance to separate themselves from mundane matters for a moment and partake in

touristic pleasures with actual tourists. In this sense so-called stations' tourism helps to channel destructive emotions such as stress, anger, loneliness or despair. Namely, the station-machine abounds in stimuli which stimulate senses and thus allow mental mobility or escape from the real present into imaginative present. However such imaginative travels may also take a direction of the future or the past and then are meditated through dreams, hopes about the ideal 'self' as well as 'bright future' on the one hand, or through memories about the past on both levels individual and national one on the other hand. Here we are suggested another curious conclusion that even though this essay has been organized around time axe, time may actually be subdued to space, when considering travelling around Tokyo. Predominance of place over time is closely related to some features of physical organization of a certain place, which presupposes potential skewing of the direction and the form of one's time course.

What we think conventionally of as 'tourism' and 'travel' is by and large connected with an act of crossing boundaries of one's homeland in search of the unknown, fresh incentives, new experiences and encounters.[42] Nevertheless, a discourse, proposing to modify this perspective by redirecting tourism into the community of the traveller, may illuminate some of the social and cultural issues, which have to do with the question about how a constant fickle flow of commuters-tourists reconfigure the city itself and more importantly how it reshapes and undermines endogenous social structures as well as processes of their reproduction. In this essay the notion of *sakariba*, presented as a form of place performance or a materialization of people 'urges' to find themselves in different space but also different time, is employed as a key opening modern urban sphere of Tokyo for new 'touristic' possibilities. Clearly, this idiographic[43] description has its limits as regards drawing conclusions concerning the object discussed hereby, yet it can be considered as an introductory stage to a further research around emerging phenomenon of urban 'nomadic' communities in the paradigm of sociology of mobilities.[44]

[42] Refer to definition created by World Tourism Organization quoted hereby in note 9.

[43] Earl Babbie, *Badania społeczne w praktyce* (The Practice of Social Research), Polish Edition, Warszawa: PWN, 2003.

[44] Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies*…

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