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Toward “Anthropology of the Street” Street Phenomena in the Era of Reflexive Modernization

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Introduction: Locating “Anthropology of the Street”

The Role of Contemporaneous Anthropology

For some years now I have been studying “Anthropology of the Street” (I use the term “Street Anthropology” interchangeably). An important feature of this term is that it encompasses both object and method, simultaneously reflecting the researcher’s problem consciousness as well as his methodology. It is crucial to bear this in mind when we deal with the contemporary, untrodden and challenging theme of Street Anthropology.

The problem consciousness of Street Anthropology is naturally built on the premise of the present spread of neo-liberalism. Currently globalization is on the rampage, and the whole world is caught up in the flow of economic liberalization toward the opening of markets and the spectacle of consumer capitalism, creating a society of disparity. We cannot overlook the presence of an underclass at the feet of spectacularly prospering societies, sometimes referred to as the “Fourth World.” Consequently, the Anthropology of the Street proposes an anthropology from the bottom which will counter this social situation of neo-liberalism. When I write like this, it is natural that I keep in mind the classic works of Jane Jacobs (Jacobs 1961, 1969).

There can be no doubt that the present neo-liberal society finds itself positioned at an extension of Marx’s capital theory analysis. In Japan in the 1960s the Student Movement, engulfed by a sense of crisis regarding the capitalist regime, cried out against the problem, but at the time

idealism won out over complex analyses of actual reality. Eventually the movement ended in failure, but that is no reason to abandon its original goal of questioning the mechanisms of capitalism, for the problem is showing no signs of resolution, but rather is only deepening in complexity as time goes by. Despite the fact that this question is only gaining in urgency, scholarly supporters of neoliberal theory have only strengthened their foothold, and economic analysts do nothing more than make predictions about shallow short-term economic trends. Contemporary society must now once again strongly make ourselves conscious of the fundamental problem that we must face.

Here, I believe we should recall the work of the anthropologist Jiro Kawakita, famous for the Method of Abduction (which means abduction, one of inference in Charles S. Peirce's sense, that is, a way of creative thinking [Peirce and Peirce Edition Project 1982~2009]). Kawakita categorized scholasticism into the three categories of Armchair Science, Field Science and Experimental Science, and argued that anthropological fieldwork under the category of Field Science is a core praxis in the process of generating hypotheses. Kawakita clearly positioned Field Science in contrast to Experimental Science which conducts experiments in order to verify, based on hypotheses that can somehow or other be supposed. Field Science, which uses abduction as a theoretical support, is an effective method when faced with the unknown and untrodden world, in cases in which hypotheses cannot be generated first of all from existing knowledge or concepts (Kawakita 1968, 1982). Thus, it comprises a type of scholasticism which will work all the better in an untrodden era like the present, in which we are running astray, an era never before experienced by human society. Now is the time for anthropology, which unearths pertinent problems by facing reality omnidirectionally through fieldwork, to exert its strengths. In this sense, I feel confident in proclaiming anthropology as a form of praxis needed by society.

The Perspective of Street Anthropology

In the larger field of anthropology in general, turning one's gaze to those who have been rejected and forced into the margins by mainstream society or mainstream ideology is an important focus, and in this sense the subject of the Street is a classical anthropological one. More precisely, there can be no doubt of the importance of focusing particularly on

those who live on the fringes of the Street. This is because those who have been forced to live in a place occupied by the dominant other have to improvise their living there. "A place occupied by the dominant other" signifies a locus in which one's living space has been almost completely monopolized by mainstream society, in which, controlled by the dynamics of the dominant other, one has been stripped of agency. In this manner, those who have been cast aside by the trends of mainstream society are existing on the fringes of the street. The fringes of the street signify the most liminal locus which already bears the stigma of alterity or marginalization from mainstream "Home Ideology." In other words, it is at the fringes of the margins. Since the margin is created by the central force, it naturally reflects what the center is. For that reason, to examine the fringe is simultaneously to clarify the structure of the system—what exactly mainstream society is—and this is why it also constitutes an examination of society as a whole.

Needless to say, plenty of books and articles addressing street studies directly or indirectly as core aspects of contemporary urban studies have been published, mainly in the disciplines of New Geography, Urban Sociology, Urban Anthropology and some fields of Economics, Political Sciences, Psychology, Architecture and Planning. They naturally reflect post-modern and neo-liberalist circumstances and focus upon the increasing number of unstable poor people, members of the so-called "underclass", living close to or around city streets and of course including homeless studies, which have been conducted especially by anthropologists and sociologists. Writing an inclusive review of those studies on streets is not the central aim of this chapter. Therefore, I will just mention some of the important works relating mainly to the street, the city margins, et cetera, in note form.¹

The View from the Tokyo Street: Challenges to the Home-Oriented Ideology

When I have a morning walk and pass by a small park these days, I often notice the presence of certain type of bench. I am caught with an unpleasant and uneasy feeling, because that is when I am forced to recognize that here is yet another park that has been equipped with



Fig. 2-1 A “malicious bench.”

“malicious benches.” I give this name to benches that are designed to make it impossible for a person to lie down on it (see Fig. 2-1).

I am not sure when the authorities started to take such measures. At any rate these malicious benches have spread all over Japan during these 10 years. From the famous great parks of Tokyo, to the smallest parks in residential suburbs, each bench is fitted with a hand rest in the middle that prevents homeless people from sleeping there.²

In a different light, however, the bench could reveal to us the reality of the society we belong to. It reminds us that home dwellers, sometimes referred to by pleasant-sounding terms such as “citizens,” are silent “accomplices” in the system of “discrimination in a triangular relationship” resulting from the social power-structure (see Fig. 2-2).

In “the triangular structure” here, the first “discriminators” are the promoters of home-oriented ideology, the administrative authorities planning and controlling public spaces such as parks by presupposing their use by home dwelling “normal” citizens; the second “accomplices”

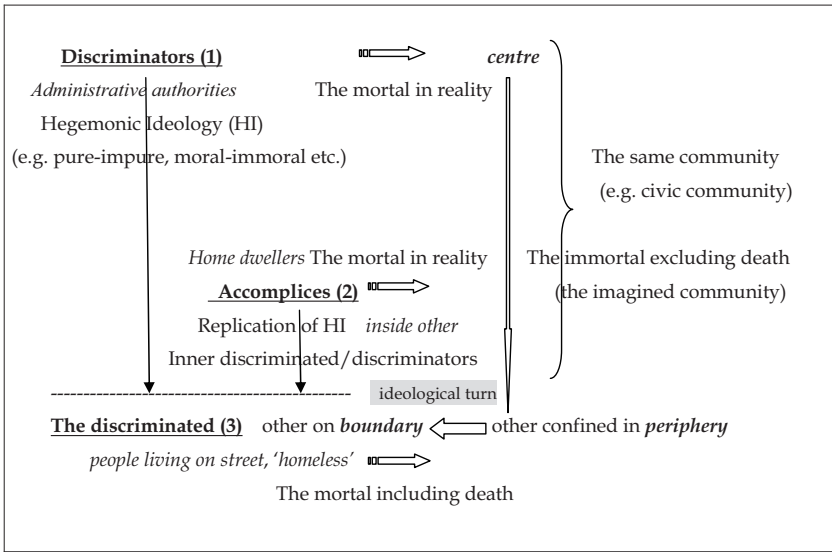


Fig. 2-2 The Triangular Structure of Discrimination.

Commentary Notes on Fig. 2-2

1. The black vertical arrows indicate the top-down dominant ideology subsuming the oppressed people in society. Thus, the shared dominant ideology among Discriminators and Accomplices becomes the backbone ideology of an imagined community comparable to a civic community. This worldly and human-oriented dominant ideology leads the imagined community based on a one-sidedly optimistic premise as if citizens are immortal-death is excluded or hidden from the picture.
2. The white vertical arrow indicates the centripetal viewpoint from the center toward the periphery, corresponding to the dominant ideology.
3. The horizontal arrows \rightleftarrows indicate that humans, being mortal, share the fate of dying regardless of social status and class difference; that is, no-one can escape from the pollution associated with living and dying. This sort of pollution has to be accepted by all humans in some way so that this accepting attitude forms the dimension of “pollution” in my sense (Sekine 2011[1995]). The other horizontal arrow \leftleftarrows indicates the ideological turn from “other confined in periphery” (off-boundary viewpoint) to “other on boundary” (on-boundary viewpoint), corresponding to the turn from negatively defined pollution described by words like “impurity” to “pollution” having a positive and creative connotation.

are we, the home dwellers as supposed proper users of public space who are usually taken in by the home-oriented ideology; and the third, “discriminated ones,” are homeless people, who are expelled from the home-oriented community composed of the former two and are regarded as exceptional or abnormal.³ This is what I call the triangular structure of discrimination.⁴

I believe that facing up to a malicious bench is an opportunity to realize that we participate in such discriminative social relationships.

I often come across homeless people in Tokyo. As an example, I remember one particular man—he was walking slowly, wheeling a handcart with the minimum luggage. He was walking, but where was he going without a home to go back to? When I imagined myself in his place, I was overwhelmed with a dizzying and choking feeling. Before completing the question “where is he going?,” my thought jumped to the conclusion of “to death”—and then a defensive function stopped me from thinking any further. This is why it is not easy to step into the shoes of street dwellers. In short, I am terrified by the street. This terror of the street runs through the instability of everyday life and reaches our restless way of living, associated as it is with the terror of death. The terror is partly confirmed by the short poems of one of the “homeless poets,” Yasuzumi Tachibana.⁵ Only two very short poems are shown here.

“Walking in winter: feels like looking for a place to die.”

“Uneasy sleeping, as usual.”

His poems, for instance, expressing the fear of sleeping in the open air, also narrate that homeless people are not exceptional any more than we are, although they are located in the locus thought of as the “state of exception.” They show the point of view actually found among the people called homeless (see Fig. 2-3).

Looking at the matter from the opposite point of view, I am convinced that home has become like a street and the home-oriented ideology has been challenged. If home only means a sleeping shelter for each family member, it could be said it still exists. However, the home with the ideology of modern family household has been turning out to be an illusion. In fact, there are not a few children or young people, in spite of having their own home, who are in the habit of gathering on the street



Fig. 2-3 Blue vinyl tents of homeless in Shinjuku Nishiguchi Park, Tokyo.

without returning home. In that sense the boundary between street and home has become obscure. Now I want to ascertain this clearly and I feel such work is demanded.

The Street as a Suitable Site to Consider the Limits of Modernity

Very well—what exactly is being questioned and challenged? It is the home-oriented ideology based on modernity. To be more precise, contemporary society seems to have almost reached the limit of the western pattern of modernization based on capitalism. Of course I am aware that the concept of modernity itself has been considered and reconsidered in several ways, as mentioned in the Introduction of this book. There I made clear my standpoint on modernity. I repeat here only the essential point:

My answer for this question of modernity tries to dislocate it from such a way of superficial manner of query. My answer adopts a sort of structuralist standpoint. In other words, we have to change how we ask the question from a functionalist approach with a particularity-generality axis, to a structuralist method with a singularity-universality axis, in which the perspective of plural modernity truly makes sense. We have to avoid the unwitting Orientalist viewpoint, which consistently reveals even in responsible Western scholars who conduct their self-examination of Western-centric universalism that has insisted on a single modernity led by the West. This self-reflection tends to produce a reversed idea of multiple modernities based on cultural relativism. This approach, however, does not change the standpoint of the query. Thus, we rather adopt “plural modernity” in the sense of entangled dialogue (contestation) between modernity from above and from below—that is, the hierarchical dialogue between the center and the periphery of the social space. This structuralist standpoint obviously equates with “focusing on movements that symmetrize socio-cultural power imbalances,” as is the aim of glocal studies outlined by Professor Tomiyuki Uesugi in his Foreword for this book. Thus, we can compare different societies at the deeper levels of the common form of contestation. On the common basis, different cities provide concrete examples of contested reality as a living and generative locality under globalism and transnationalism.

My standpoint, that is, the structuralist point of view of comparison against the functionalist point of view of comparison has already been set forth elsewhere (Sekine 2010). I believe that the present transnational trend of neo-liberalism, i.e., “reflexive modernization” (Beck, Giddens and Lash 1994) has lifted the dimension of “structure” up onto the stage and has strengthened its controlling power over local varieties. This recognition is the premise of the present description and argument.

Although the most essential feature of modern society is the modern category system, which has been structured on the basis of unambiguous categories which are exclusive of each other, it, nowadays, has started to lose its organizing structure and melt away here and there. For instance, the generalizing process of forming the nuclear family in the course of modernization is ending in the internal dissolution of family. The division of gender roles inside and outside the household has become fluid owing to the gender equalization movement. As soon as modern society discovered the “child” to be brought up with loving care, it started

producing parents who could not bear the burden of nursing. As a result of reckless development, we are facing the risk of a counter attack from nature. In this way, further modernization named "reflexive modernization" is going on after the initial "simple modernization," and this process is leading our society into an opaque future. In this contemporary society, which is also called the "risk society" (Beck 1992), an increasing feeling of instability could drive people into backsliding toward modern conservatism.⁶

On the one hand, the modern norm of the category system is crumbling away in the present era; on the other, unjust social class gaps have widened and the distinction between two social groups, the upper and the lower, has been strengthened; the former is the emerging upper stratum who defend only themselves by utilizing any available capital power, and the other is the lower stratum, neglected even by the social welfare system, which has been whittled away in the name of small government suitable for the current of economic liberalization. The latter is now often called "the underclass" This social change producing two vertically separated societies is illuminated by Gilles Deleuze as the shift from Foucaultian disciplinary societies (Foucault 1977) to societies of control (Deleuze 1992, 1998).

"Anthropology of the Street" is a modest but ambitious research project dealing with this cruelly warped situation of the present, i.e., the limits of modernity. It is a search for the destination of our soaring modernization with its opaque future. At this point, the street must be carefully considered, because it is here on the margin of the hegemonic discursive space that we find the last place left for the lives of neglected underclass people. In this sense, our field of the street overlaps with Manuel Castells' concept of "the fourth world" (Castells 1998).⁷

The "Anthropology of the Street," which focuses on the margin of the social space, is not a minor sub-topic in the discipline of anthropology, but is rather a core part of contemporary anthropology, partly because it aims at meeting the urgent needs of contemporary society, but more importantly because it ironically but exactly reflects the "privilege" of anthropology in which the social periphery has been represented as "primitive," and therefore focused upon as the main field of anthropology. There is no doubt that anthropology has wittingly or unwittingly explored the de-centripetal viewpoint. Therefore, we are more

wittingly searching for a methodological perspective which emphasizes a panoramic view of society from the standpoint of its margin. This might verify that the bottom-up approach will never be partial but will inevitably be holistic.

Switch of Viewpoints on the Margin: “Boundary” as Another Reading of “Periphery”

Our earnest desire in this project is to learn sincerely from practices on the street. To do this, we must seriously consider how to change our home-oriented viewpoint.

It is necessary to liberate ourselves from the illusory home-centric feeling that comes from helping the poor out on the street. This requires a switch of our perceptions from those of the home to those of the street. That is to say, the street must be seen as a place for generating a “boundary,” where we vividly notice that the central reality of our lives lies in the inevitable “confrontation and dialogue with otherness,” that is, “the process of digesting otherness and nourishing the self.”

Let us have another look at Fig. 2-2 and pay attention to the horizontal arrows shared by all three parties. As long as we adopt the dominant ideological (vertical) axis of “center – periphery,” the street people, such as the homeless, will only be seen as discriminated people separated from the home-world or, at most, as negative heroes of bohemian resistance. However, if we can see them as indicators of the “boundary,” they will manifest themselves as living beings just like ourselves who are figuring out some way to handle their given situation of living on the boundary or to cope with “dialogue with otherness.” Then, due to this sharing of fundamental understanding, the street and home will be grasped as inseparable or as relative differences on the “common-ground.” As is shown here, it should be confirmed that the “common-ground” is to be defined not in the perceptions of home but in those of the street.

This shift from the social hierarchical (vertical) axis to the shared egalitarian (horizontal) axis of mortal human beings is, in other words, the switch from a this-worldly viewpoint excluding death to an other-worldly one including death. The switch to the latter makes the difference between the homeless and the home dwellers only relative, as was already more

completely and more radically argued by the works of Deleuze and Guattari (Deleuze and Guattari 1972, 1980), in which death is located as a differential in the great flow of life penetrating into everything. In fact, they did not see death as outside otherness but as a scene of excessive life process or of othering of overflowing inside.

Without this switch of viewpoints, the reality of lives on the street is only too terrible to be seen by eyes accustomed to the dominant illusion of home-utopia. At this point, we should change our illusionary popular viewpoint based on the home-oriented view by adopting a different reading of the street, changing its meaning from "periphery" to "boundary." This switch is the only possible way to change the quality of the terror of the street, from fear of alienation and exclusion to awe as the motivation and energy for self-reformation.

Seen in this new light, the terror mentioned earlier, which smolders in my mind as something that cannot be easily either accepted or expelled, starts to be understood properly. It is now clarified that I was deeply perplexed because the homeless person I saw, silently walking along and pushing his luggage cart, looked just like myself. I found the true reality of myself in him: we were both specimens of human nature that inevitably has to live through candid dialogue with otherness.

I am now awakened from my mediocre mental condition and reach beyond the illusionary utopia that dreams of complete taming of otherness. This is the place of the "boundary" where I am brought back to the real feeling of living in heterotopic (other-worldly) reality in a Foucaultian sense,⁸ where otherness remains itself and keeps confronting us. It is this kind of mental transformation that Walter Benjamin investigated through his concepts of the "intoxicated flaneur" and "unfamiliarization of everyday space."

Thus, the street is a most desirable place for anthropological fieldwork exploring the nature of "boundary" phenomena. None the less, the attitude and viewpoint of the investigator is severely tested there, because the street calls for an anthropological attitude and methodology which consists of both a heuristic approach associated with "the viewpoint from the bottom" and a holistic approach. Therefore, the field experience of the street provides us with an opportunity for converting an everyday viewpoint that is colonized by the hegemonic ideology. This change will disclose our position as "accomplices" in the ruling power structure, and

make us, even a little, free from it. Further, we hope that society might change when this switch of viewpoints at the marginal place is experienced and shared with many people.

Street Phenomena in India Now: Being Lively Under Less Control

My pilot study of street anthropology started from Chennai, one of the largest cities in India (Sekine 2006a).

Footpaths in Chennai city are very busy and lively. They brim with all sorts of behavior, ranging from domestic (food, clothing and shelter) to social (economic, political and religious) activities (see Figs. 2-4 ~ 2-9).



Fig. 2-4 Selling fried vegetables on the sidewalk.



Fig. 2-5 Vendors selling vegetables.



Fig. 2-6 A family dwelling on the sidewalk.



Fig. 2-7 Sleeping on the sidewalk (taken at around 6 am).



Fig. 2-8 A shoe maker and polisher on the sidewalk.



Fig. 2-9 A pavement shrine on the sidewalk.

The socially lower sections of the population play the leading role in the theater of footpath space. A bus-stop shelter on a footpath will sometimes be occupied by petty shop-keepers. A public toilet on a footpath may be transformed into a cow-shed, and so on. Likewise, one often comes across "pavement shrines" of different sizes built for the veneration of several Hindu deities at the edge of the wider roads across the city. One day you may find that a Hindu popular deity like Lord Ganesha or a local goddess Amman is suddenly enshrined at the root of a big tree, such as a banyan or bo tree standing on the footpath, with people starting to worship there (Fig. 2-10).

This tiny shrine for a god or goddess, consisting of a brick, a photo or a small idol, will gradually develop and in some cases reach the size of a mid-size regular shrine (with its own authorized compound), and will then fully occupy the footpath (see Figs. 2-11 ~ 2-14).



Fig. 2-10 The early stage of a pavement shrine.

The phenomenon of constructing “pavement shrines (temples)” gave me the first clue in my search for “Anthropology of the Street.” They have been rapidly increasing in these two decades or so along pavements of the broad roads in Chennai. I have done fieldwork on pavement shrine construction and its socio-cultural conditions. The results were quite interesting and led me to the idea of Street Anthropology. I do not have space to introduce its details here (they may be found in Sekine 2004a, 2004b, 2006a, 2006b, 2009a, 2009b).

Over one decade I have watched people’s various activities and their survival struggles at the margins of streets in Chennai. What has happened there now? I judge that street phenomena in Chennai have just begun to change from the visible to the invisible toward the controlled state of the street seen in the first world. One example is found in the harsh experience of various vendors who have worked on the pavement of the broad road (Fig. 2-15). They are chased out and have to relocate their working places to smaller roads to ensure their survival (see Figs. 2-16 ~ 2-20).



Fig. 2-11 Sakti Muniswarar Shrine.



Fig. 2-12 Yoga Muniswarar Shrine (taken in 2000).



Fig. 2-13 Yoga Muniswarar Shrine (taken in 2008).



Fig. 2-14 Navasakti Vinayagar Shrine.



Fig. 2-15 A woman taking a nap after selling lunches on the narrow pavement left by the widening of the road.



Fig. 2-16 A shoe polisher working at the narrow pavement left by the widening of the road.



Fig. 2-17 A shoe polisher chased out from the widened road.



Fig. 2-18 The resisting power of the pavement shrine against the widening of the road.



Fig. 2-19 The sidewalk was removed due to the widening of the road (taken in 2000).



Fig. 2-20 The re-installed sidewalk after the widening of the road, which is more controlled (taken in 2008).

Street Phenomena in Japan Now: Being Lively Under Full Control

As already shown by the case of “malicious benches,” the concerned authority almost perfectly controls public spaces including streets.

The present state of urban streets in Japan is well illuminated by surveying the change of phases of streets from the visible to the invisible through comparing them with the previous state of streets in the 1960s and 1970s, and by looking at the activities of street musicians today.

In recent years, a growing number of musicians are to be seen performing on urban streets, appearing to enhance the liveliness of such areas. How should we interpret this phenomenon? I was asked to write an article on this topic for a cultural column in a newspaper. I would like to cite my article here.



Fig. 2-21 The edge space of the street that is designed like a Japanese garden pretends to be beautifying the street but the real intention of the design is in order to prevent homeless people from building dwellings there (taken at Yokohama, guided by Professor Tom Gill).



Fig. 2-22 An alarm bell on the walls of a pedestrian walkway at a railway station is also carefully prevented from undesirable use by lining them with plant pots.



Fig. 2-23 The authorities of Shinjuku ward, Tokyo, paste posters with the slogan “Keep Shinjuku Clean” over the obstinate graffiti alongside a railway line (the Yamanote line), but the graffiti comes back soon again. It is a war of attrition.

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Following the collapse of the Cold War structure, streets were discontinued as the venue for the ideological dichotomy of authority versus anti-authority (capitalism versus socialism) and were turned into “spaces of control” by the overwhelming power of capitalism.

Chronologically, the days when people voiced resistance to industrial capitalism through the socialist movements that reached their peak in 1968 came to a complete end after the late 1970s. During this age of rapid economic growth, Japanese society was in a stage of “simple modernization,” aiming at an industrial society. Accordingly, construction of motorways was promoted at an accelerated pace. For this reason, the act of blocking traffic or building barricades in the streets, steadfastly took on the meaning of “resistance,” as indicated by the demonstration marches organized by members of labor unions and the National Federation of Students, as well as by the street conflicts between radical students participating in the All-Campus Joint Struggle movement and the police force mobilized to subdue them. Socially speaking, streets were still full of energy in those days. Looking back, however, we can now understand that the resistance movements of those days were underpinned by a collective illusion of society or a certain sense of sharing one society.

Such resistance fell short of achieving tangible results, and eventually, its failure became apparent to everyone by the late 1970s. After the failure, the whole mood of society turned sour and around this time, free-yet-controlled space known as a “pedestrian paradise” was presented in the usually car-ridden streets, where street performers, including a group of young dancers called the Takenoko-zoku or “Bamboo Tribe,” expressed something similar to resistance in their uniquely non-ideological, unaggressive way.

After the 1980s, the spread of global capitalism (economic liberalization) began to accelerate, as an inevitable consequence of the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. This situation gave rise to a surging tide of neo-liberalism, which destroyed the collective illusion of society and quickly resulted in the arrival of a divided society, generally known as the “gap-widening society” and eventually the emergence of two societies vertically separated. Hence, streets have been placed under stricter control and grown increasingly exclusive, while they have drawn the attention of underclass people who could become homeless at any time. Therefore, those who have no choice but to live close to the streets (such as those staying in internet cafes) have become objects of control and supervision as residents of another “society” separated from the mainstream society.

Obviously, street musicians and other performers who dare to give performances on streets that are controlled in such an exclusive manner can in no way take the stance of being resistant to society. In fact, street

musicians who have succeeded in gaining popularity among audiences are given a chance to make a "major debut," and thus, are reinstated into the mainstream social system. This is made possible by the reinstatement mechanism held by constituents of the social system, such as companies and governments. In fact, some street musicians give performances with the approval of the government, e.g., by participating in the Tokyo Metropolitan Government's "Heaven Artists" program, which allows selected artists to give performances in public spaces, while some entertainment production companies use the streets as part of a means to discover talented musicians.

Certain self-aware street performers, such as the famous street dancer Gylyak Amagasaki, rebel against such a reinstatement mechanism and pursue street performance in a true sense. However, these street performers are inevitably exposed to the risk of being arrested.

In this way, streets serve as a venue to sensitively reflect changes in the social system. As is indicated by the installation of an increasing number of surveillance cameras, streets now are internal partial spaces confined in "societies of control" and can no more carry an externality of the social system. This means that they are already deprived of the potentiality for liberation that originated from their externality as a privilege being characteristic of periphery.

Accordingly, I interpret the apparent thriving of the streets we see today as paradoxically representing the excessively systematized aspects and the divided and cooped-up nature of the present neo-liberal society.

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This present refracted and complicated state of the streets can be expressed as a "defeated" place that is hidden twice, as is theoretically explained in the next and final section, because not only has the liberating potentiality of the street been repressed, that is, "defeated" by surveillance and control of the society, but also the repression itself has been hidden by "victorious" activity, that tends to be "packaged," such as the apparent liveliness of the street promoted by the administrating authority(e.g. "Heaven Artists,"program).



Fig. 2-24 Street stalls of Hakata-ramen (Hakata style of Chinese noodles) in downtown Fukuoka. These stalls are allowed to be on the street as an attraction of Fukuoka city and are strictly controlled by city authorities. This is also a good example of the street hidden twice.



Fig. 2-25 The minimum properties of homeless are packed and covered by blue sheets on the sidewalk near Shinjuku Gyoen. The neat packing reflects the strict control of the ward authorities.



Fig. 2-26 The surface of the sidewalk was changed from paving stones to asphalt at the time of the All-Campus Joint Struggle movement in the 1960s and early 1970s. Recently asphalt has been again replaced by flagstones, but they are strongly fixed. This replacement may be regarded as an act of double hiding by which the historical memory of having repressed the street struggles after the 1960s would be deleted.

The Direction of “Anthropology of the Street”: Genealogy of the “Defeated” Place that is Hidden Twice

The important and painful characteristics of the marginal street world are its passivity, contradiction and disruption. The street is negatively represented as the “periphery” of the home world-centric discursive space, and through that negativity, the relationship between the two is constructed. The person living there remains passive in being branded with the stigma of the “periphery,” but even then he is not cut off from the home-world. He has to continue negotiating with the power “center”

which influences and controls him all the time, and he/she is, therefore, ceaselessly located in a passive and torn situation under the tension between his/her excluded and subordinated position in the “periphery” and the controlling power from “center.” This may be read as a sort of “double-bind” situation.

However, the torn situation is so painful that he is likely to respond one way or the other; subordination by replicating home ideology and reproducing a down-sized version of it, or violent rebellion by turning to the value of deviation or the code of violence. Both responses are similarly trapped in the “politics of identity” though they seem to be contrasting and lead to fighting a losing battle. Thus, the awakened soul dwelling in the reality of the street still remains torn, because it can see through such simplifying deception with no future even though it is placed between these two opposite responses.

In a spirit of solidarity with such awakened souls bearing torment like that, by taking “periphery” as “boundary,” we aim to discover and reclaim the possibility of taking a delicate position close to the stance of the defeated that never shares the historical victor’s stance of “identity politics.”⁹ According to Benjamin, such a subtle and delicate stance has been hidden by “the history of progress” (Benjamin 1995[1940]). I strongly agree with him and I learnt and took terms like “the victorious” and “the defeated” from his writings.

In order to expand the present discussion appropriately, we should understand correctly what the essential feature found in such a “defeated” place is. In conclusion, a “defeated” place is hidden twice, as shown in the above-mentioned Japanese street case. It is the complex features of the “defeated” place that make us confuse our perceptions of such a marginal place. The recognition of the feature requires adopting a genealogical approach to street phenomena in the present reflexive modernization.

A “defeated” place means a locus hidden twice under the name of “periphery,” because it has not only been swept away and marginalized by the permeation of modernization, but also has been further hidden in the shade of the bright aspect of “victorious” activities as a part of “the history of progress,” that is, of the periphery that is reevaluated and modified (often packaged) by the central power in the process of reflexive modernization or in the spread of global capitalism. The street in Japan now provides one typical example in that street performing activities are



Fig. 2-27 The Passage des Princes in Paris: it has been beautifully renovated and it has become a mall entirely dedicated to toys, the “village of toys.”

controlled and appropriated by the authorities for town development and to increase tourism.

Let me take another example, which is about passages in line with Benjamin’s work. As Benjamin has pointed out, the rapture of the flaneur enjoying intoxication in a passage had been defeated and hidden behind the phantasmagoria of the space of modern consumptive capitalism, like the appearance of a department store. However, in the present stage of higher consumptive capitalism, passages are further taken away. As a matter of fact, passages are being revived as tourism resources on a global scale or as attractive spaces for consumption with a new meaning (see Fig. 2-27). Through this process, the passage is hidden twice. The past, defeated at the beginning of modern consumptive capitalism, is again hidden in the brightness of its apparent revival under postmodern global capitalism, and the darkness of the history of “the defeated” could be said to have become darker and more obscure.

In sum, if I used a more direct anecdotal example, the point would be

to know the difference between a beggar facing passers-by and a homeless person turning his/her back on walkers. Though the former has a visible marginal existence as a part of the society, the latter is almost deleted from society. In other words, the beggar resides at the marginal area of society and overtly embodies a boundary nature between in (this world/secular) and out (other world/sacred) that had been inherited from the pre-modern age and he/she, therefore, still holds the other-worldly potentiality of the switch from periphery to boundary. However, the homeless is put in a “state of exception” of the society (Agamben 1998). This means that, although he/she is actually on the boundary of society, the fact is hidden and he/she is treated as if unseen under the name of homeless. The tendency of such a shift from a visible beggar to an invisible homeless person has been strengthened by the social change of reflexive modernization. The trigger motivating the shift from periphery to boundary is difficult to find in the case of the deeply covert homeless.

I have attempted to sketch the torn situation of passive space at the stage of reflexive modernization. Focusing on such deep dark places, or the twice-hidden places of the defeated, as a core phenomenon on the street, I want to delve deep into that phenomenon with a genealogical approach by which one has to discover twice. Using a “defeated” place as a leading concept, I wish to find out another potentially possible view by disclosing worlds which have been twice hidden. Marginal phenomena today require these kinds of painstaking, time-consuming efforts by which you might reach a different reading of the “periphery”—reading it as the “boundary.”

This is the direction of the present project of “Anthropology of the Street” under control societies or in the era of reflexive modernization.

I quickly add the following note here. After these considerations, we insist that the street dwelled in by the homeless is not the only street, but the present condition of local places that have been swept away to the margins by the radical introduction and permeation of a global standard. It is quite possible to see street phenomena there, because they are also places for the passive and torn (See details in Sekine (ed.) 2009b).

Concluding Remarks: The Goal of "Anthropology of the Street"

I have already completed a four-year joint research project on "Anthropology of the Street" supported by the National Museum of Ethnology (2004~2007). The result was published in 2009 as two volumes in SER series, i.e., Vol.80 and Vol.81 (Sekine (ed.) 2009a, 2009b). The abstracts of chapters of the above-mentioned project report are shown after Conclusion as an Appendix, which might to some extent help the readers to understand and imagine what the intention of Street Anthropology is.

I also have been organizing a four-year oversea-fieldwork project titled "An Anthropological Study on Transnationalism and 'Street' Phenomena" since 2006, helped by Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science ("An Anthropological Study on Transnationalism and 'Street' Phenomena" Homepage URL: <http://www.transnationalstreet.jp/en/utline/aassignment/>)

I am now planning my next project toward reaching the goal of an accomplished Anthropology of the Street. The goal has two steps: first, to accumulate detailed ethnographies of the wisdom and practices for survival on the streets where the ideology and conducts of the mainstream part of society are of no use; and second, to present on the bases of those ethnographies an idea of how we can create a "place where we can live a life of our own" in the midst of the one-sided torrent of neo-liberalism. That is to say, as people living in contemporary society, we should investigate and highlight a "newly emerging place of communality," which might be supported by a new sense of "commonality" (the concept Monika Salzbrunn used in her paper presented at our conference at Seijo University) rather than "community" in a conventional sense. Such a place is expected to give us a solid sense of living a life of our own. There is no doubt that at the onset of such a discussion, the day-to-day struggle of precariats or underclass people for survival teaches us many things.

Notes

1. My own studies on streets and social peripheries is indebted to numerous works, some of which are listed here, except references written in Japanese; [Allen et al. 1999; Anderson 1990,1999; Appadurai 1996; Axel 2004; Benjamin 1939, 1969; Benko and Stohmayer 1997; Bernal 2006; Bogard 1996; Borden et al. 1999; Boyer 1996; Bradford and Kucinsky 1995; Breman 1992; Bridge and Watson 2002; Caldeira 1996; Campbell 1993; Casey 1997; Castells 1996, 1997, 1998; Charlesworth 2005; Clifford 1988; Cole 1999; Cooke 1989; Cooper 1987; Corner and Harvey 1991; Crang 1997; Crinson 2005; Cross and Keith 1993; Daniels 2006; Davis 1992; de Certeau 1984; Delandy 2003; Devine and Wright 1993; Donzelot 1977; Duneier 1999; Dunn 1994; Evans 2002; Fraser 1996; Fyfe 1998; Fyfe and Bannister 1996; Garreau 1991; Giddens 1991; Gill 2001; Gmelch and Walter 2001; Gold 1997; Gowan 2010; Harvey 1989, 2000, Held and McGrew 2002; 2006; Holston 2005; Holtzman 2004; Horst 2006; Jencks 1993; Jewson and MacGregor 1997; Judge and Wolman 1995; Karp et al. 1991; Kearns and Philo 1993; Keith and Pile 1993; Krishna 2010; Lash 2002; Lefebvre 1991; LeGates and Stout 2007; Li 1998; Liebow 1967; Liechty 2005; Logan and Molotch 1987; Lyon 1994; MacGregor and Lipow 1995; Massey et al. 1999; Massey and Jess 1995; Micallef 2010; Miller 2004, 2008; Mills 2003; Miyazaki 2006; Mollenkopf and Castells 1992; Mukhopadhyay 2005; Myhre 2006; Naga 1997; Nandy 1990, 1991; Newman 1972; Nixon 1994; Oncu and Weyland 1997; Orum and Chen 2003; Perlman 1976; Pile et al. 1999; Power 1997; Radin 1996; Rajagopal 1994; Robins 1991; Rose 1996; Sandercock 1998; Sassen 2001, 2006; Schwenkel 2006; Sekine 2006c; Sennett 1970, 1990, 1994; Setha 2005; Shah 2006; Shukla 2001; Sibley 1995; Skipworth 1997; Smith 1996; Soja 1989, 1998, 2000; Sperber and Wilson 1995; Stark 1996; Steger 2005; Strathern 2000; Subbiah 2006; Taussig 1980, 1987, 1992; UN Millennium Project 2005; van der Veer 1995; Velayutham and Wise 2005; Wacquant 2008; Watson and Gibson 1995; Westwood and Williams 1997; Wilson 1987; Winegar 2006; Zukin 1995]. The aim of these lists making is to share my study materials and at the same time to offer references to those who may start to study in this field.
2. Professor Tom Gill kindly informed me of another fascinating example of malicious benches in China found in the web news of Mizozo (<http://www.mizozo.com/weird/08/2010/16/pain-in-the-butt-new-coin-operated-benches-with-st....html>). An article titled 'PAIN IN THE BUTT: NEW COIN OPERATED BENCHES WITH STEEL SPIKES' describes benches at Yantai Park in Shandong province, eastern China, where the user has to put coins in a meter. If one lingers too long without feeding the meter, dozens of sharp spikes shoot through the seat. The spikes are too short to cause serious harm, but long enough to prevent people from sitting on them comfortably. This was a case of life imitating art: "park bosses got the idea from an art installation in Germany where sculptor Fabian Brunsing created a similar bench as a protest against the commercialization of modern life." I am not sure this sort of malicious bench in the park in China is consciously targeted at homeless people, but it certainly reflects the civic ideology of mainstream society – the "societies of control" in Deleuze's sense.

3. The home-oriented ideology means the conventional modernist standpoint of looking upon the person as a citizen who satisfies such conditions as owning one's own individual house and observing the norm of modern family, starting from the end of 19th century England as a Victorian family norm. They are, therefore, strong believers in dichotomous thinking such as home and street, home and office, husband/male and wife/female, adult and child, literate and non-literate, private and public, etc.
4. I emphasize the structural interdependence between the Discriminated and the civic community consisting of Discriminators and Accomplices, which is not simply a matter of relative and hierarchical class difference. I underline this point because the usual social reformers' perception of the weaker section of people in the city is wittingly or unwittingly confined within modernization theory. The conscientious reformists who try to empower such weaker sections of the community verify this. For example, such a confined viewpoint is found in the following statement written by influential researchers of planning, development and social policy: "Slum dwellers are excluded from many of the attributes of urban life that are critical to full citizenship but that remain a monopoly of a privileged minority ... " [UN Millennium Project 2005:1]. Nobody would deny the truth of this statement, but its lack of analytical power is problematic and undermines the good intentions of the authors.
5. The poems are recorded in the special issue on "Homelessness" in *Gendai Shiso* (*Contemporary Thought*, the most popular intellectual journal in Japan), in the issue of August, 2006.
6. "Reflexive modernization" is a concept used by Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens to grasp precisely the reality of modern society. In the prior stage, "simple modernization," modernized the social system of the pre-modern period, and the process was also called de-magicalization. The process of modernization transformed the regional community, family unit and society of feudalistic strata, respectively into civil society, the nuclear family and the class-conscious democratic nation. However, around the 1970s, the modernization process had completed modernizing the pre-modern world and started to reflexively modernize the modern systems that used to be produced by modernization itself. As a result, fusalional phenomena of modern systems of various dimensions started to occur. The dissolution of the nuclear family, the disappearance of gender difference, flexibility in corporate organizations and qualitative change in the democratic nation et cetera, are all examples of the phenomena caused by "reflexive modernization."
7. The fourth world is also expressed as a "black hole in information capitalism." This is socially excluded space, which is originating universally. It cannot be grasped with the old political jargon in the binary mode of thought such as the north-south issue. The fourth world emerges at the very foot of the first world.
8. According to Foucault, heterotopias are real, existing but split and contradicted spaces hidden by the hegemonic ideology (of utopia). In heterotopias like graveyards, one feels the existence of non-existence (=death), and confronts otherness.

9. My present standpoint adopts a genealogical approach in the Foucaultian sense. The theoretical viewpoint of genealogy tends to focus on routes (how has the truth been constructed in each particular age?) rather than origin (what is the objective truth?).

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