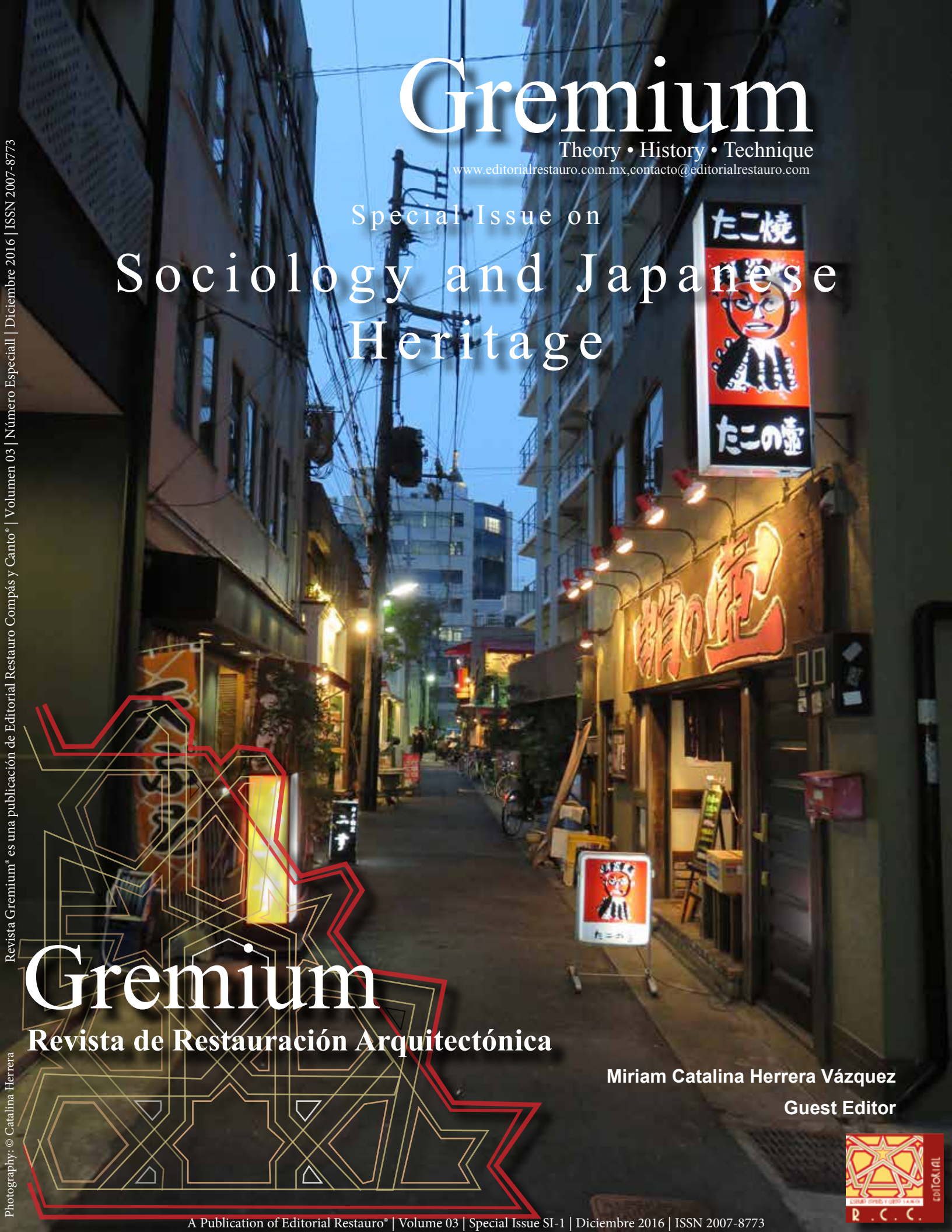


Gremium

Theory • History • Technique

www.editorialrestauro.com.mx,contacto@editorialrestauro.com

Special Issue on

Sociology and Japanese Heritage

Revista Gremium® es una publicación de Editorial Restauro Compás y Canto® | Volumen 03 | Número Especiall | Diciembre 2016 | ISSN 2007-8773

Gremium

Revista de Restauración Arquitectónica

Miriam Catalina Herrera Vázquez

Guest Editor

A Publication of Editorial Restauro® | Volume 03 | Special Issue SI-1 | Diciembre 2016 | ISSN 2007-8773

Gremium

Revista incluida en:

Bases de datos **Directorios** **Catalogos** **Indice**

Fotografía de portada y contraportada
Miriam Catalina Herrera Vázquez

Gremium®, año 3, Número especial SI1, diciembre, 2016, revista de Restauración Arquitectónica, es una Publicación semestral editada por Editorial Restauro Compás y Canto A. C. Eje central Lázaro Cárdenas # 13, piso 11 despacho 1107, Colonia Centro, Delegación Cuauhtémoc, C.P. 06700, Ciudad de México, México. Tel. (55) 186182, www.editorialrestauro.com.mx, contacto@editorialrestauro.com.mx. Editores responsables: Héctor César Escudero Castro, Tarsicio Pastrana Salcedo. Reserva de Derechos al Uso Exclusivo: 04-2014-032011580300-102, ISSN: 2007-8773, ambos otorgados por el Instituto Nacional del Derecho de Autor. Responsable de la última actualización de este Número, (Área Técnica, Carlos Iván Gómez Calderón, Eje central Lázaro Cárdenas No.13 Despacho 1107, México D.F., Delegación Cuauhtémoc, C.P. 06700,Tel. (55) 186182, fecha de última modificación, 30 de noviembre de 2016. Las opiniones expresadas por los autores no necesasriamente reflejan la postura del editor de la publicación.

http://editorialrestauro.com.mx/gremium/

Comité científico

Autores de los artículos en este número

Miriam Catalina Herrera Vázquez
Yunuen Ysela Mandujano-Salazar
Tatsuma Fujioka
Alvaro David Hernández Hernández
Miguel Ángel Vite Pérez
Fermin Ernesto Flores Quiroz

Revisión Técnica en este número

Abril López Villeda
Salvador Urrieta García
Ikuo Kusuhara
Milton Montejano Castillo
Kinuyo Esparza Yamamoto
Gracia Martínez
Olivia Domínguez Prieto

Gremium® es una revista de publicación semestral, enfocada a la investigación científica de la restauración y conservación del patrimonio urbano arquitectónico. Está dirigida a estudiantes, arquitectos e investigadores de la restauración arquitectónica. Los artículos pueden estar enfocados al análisis del objeto patrimonial desde lo histórico, teórico o técnico.

Índice

Table of Contents

Índice 5
Table of Contents

Editorial 7
Editorial Comment

Tarsicio Pastrana Salcedo

Sociology and Japanese Heritage 9
Editorial Comment

Miriam Catalina Herrera Vázquez

Tokyo Tower and Tokyo Skytree: History and Symbolism in Contemporary Japan 11
Yunuen Ysela Mandujano-Salazar

The Japanese Amateur Textual Production Scene: Activities and Participation in Dōjin Cultures 23
Álvaro David Hernández Hernández

Transition of Japanese commercial space: What has been lost from the commercial space? 33
Tatsuma Fujioka

Reseña | Review 43
Sacchi, Livio (2004). Tokyo: City and Architecture. 249 p. ISBN: 0-7893-1212-3. Nueva York: Universe Publishing.

Fermin Ernesto Flores Quiroz

Lineamientos de publicación 45
Comite Editorial, Revista Gremium

Guidelines for autors 47
Gremium Editorial Committee

Editorial

Editorial Comment

Tarsicio Pastrana Salcedo

Editor in Chift

Percepción es realidad, iniciar con esta frase esta editorial expone un punto fundamental, la manera de interpretar lo que vemos es única, individual y en la mayoría de las veces incomprensible para otro individuo, este es el mayor reto de la humanidad, entender diferencias y conciliarlas, quizás no desde el punto de la falsa razón más bien desde un entendimiento de la realidad más allá de nuestra percepción. El estudio de las realidades externas nos proporciona elementos para la convivencia.

La relación entre individuo y espacio circundante determina gran parte de la percepción de realidad de las personas, esa interacción confluye en impulsos, sensaciones, emociones y memoria, más aún el ser humano se relaciona con el entorno de diversas maneras y si consideramos que percepción es realidad, encontramos que la relación con el espacio es en esencia personal, en la mayoría de los casos estas percepciones están relacionadas con grupos culturales con tendencias históricas similares, varias individualidades formaran un grupo que se identifica por compartir visiones particulares de la realidad.

Cuando era niño mi padre me llevaba a los desfiles militares, la gente se arremolinaba para tratar de ver el festejo, yo en la parte baja de un mar de piernas me sentía asfixiado y en peligro, mi único medio para sentir un poco de seguridad era la mano de mi papa a la que me sujetaba con fuerza, demás está decir que no veía el desfile, me sentía sin aire y apretado observando solo una variedad gris de pantalones. En el mismo punto mi padre observaba embelesado, entre muchas cabezas observando en la misma dirección y evocando su niñez en la que desde su vivienda en el centro histórico caminaba pocas calles y observaba el desfile. ¿Cuál era la realidad? ¿La mía o la de mi papa?

Con este ejemplo quiero mostrar como ante el mismo hecho las diferencias pueden ser diametralmente opuestas, ¿Cómo vivimos y percibimos el espacio? ¿Cómo lo interpretamos? Muchos años de “percepciones” pueden generar cambios culturales que después serán constantes, estos son multifactoriales, pero pueden llegar a definir grupos sociales y otorgarles elementos de identidad.

Las marcadas diferencias entre oriente y occidente se viven esencialmente desde el punto de vista cultural, sin embargo realizar análisis específicos sobre como las diferentes zonas perciben la realidad nos permite hacer planteamientos y encontrar diferencias que proporcionan elementos de estudio, no es lo mismo la percepción de espacio en oriente que en occidente, la proxémica por poner solo un ejemplo es diferente, la cercanía de occidente es una lejanía en oriente.

El oriente siempre fascinó y fascina a occidente, es común encontrar personas en este lado del hemisferio que se sienten atraídos por esa cultura tan diferente y que a partir del estudio de sus realidades entramos a un mundo diverso y enigmático, una de esas personas es Catalina Herrera, cuya fascinación por el país del sol naciente la llevó a realizar una estancia de investigación en ese país, aficionada y conocedora de su cultura nos permite ahora invitarla a que desarrolle parte de sus inquietudes coordinando un número especial dedicado al espacio, particularmente en Japón lugar donde Catalina quiere realizar su doctorado.

Bienvenida a las paginas virtuales de Gremium, que tu fascinación nos muestre luz sobre las realidades y percepciones de una cultura al otro lado de nuestro mundo.

Sociology and Japanese Heritage

Editorial Comment

Miriam Catalina Herrera Vázquez

Guest editor

Miriam Catalina Herrera Vázquez is a graduate architect of the Master of Science in Architecture and Urbanism from the National Polytechnic Institute, Mexico. Research Topics: Territory, Migrations and Japanese Architecture. Email: arq.catiherrera@hotmail.com.

Los espacios donde habita el ser humano son representaciones materiales de una serie de ideas que se comparten colectivamente. El hombre es capaz de transformar el espacio, pero es importante destacar que dichas modificaciones influyen en la conformación de la cotidianidad y la identidad de los individuos.

Japón se vuelve un ejemplo paradigmático frente a la visión latinoamericana, debido al contraste que existe entre las tradiciones, imaginarios y ritmos de vida de estos dos grupos y por ende, de sus espacios. El número de la revista busca crear un acercamiento a la perspectiva japonesa, país que presenta un desarrollo urbano vertiginoso acompañado de la construcción de espacios de colectividad y de consumo en una de las economías más ricas del mundo.

La creación de espacios arquitecticos con la intención de conformarlos como símbolos colectivos es el tema desarrollado por la autora Yunuen Ysela Mandujano-Salazar, quien lo ejemplifica mediante el análisis de dos hitos urbanos creados en la etapa moderna de la ciudad de Tokio. La autora nos explica que dichos hitos, la Torre de Tokio y la Tokyo Skytree, son tomados como símbolos colectivos de resiliencia ante periodos de crisis, a pesar de que son producidos por la iniciativa privada.

Desde otra perspectiva, Alvaro David Hernández Hernández analiza la cultura japonesa del manga y anime de carácter amateur y la forma en la que sus miembros se relacionan tanto entre ellos como con los medios textuales. El autor enfatiza la capacidad productora, consumidora y organizadora de dicha subcultura, así como la creación de espacios de encuentro para dichos grupos. Por último, es importante recalcar que el manga, anime y videojuegos son elementos de gran popularidad en dicho país y por ello, el análisis de la producción amateur resulta pertinente para la comprensión de la sociedad japonesa.

Para el autor Tatsuma Fujioka, desde el consumo es posible la creación colectiva de espacios y su

The human's spaces of habitat are material representations of a series of ideas that are collectively shared. The human being is capable of transforming the space, but is important to highlight that these spaces have an influence in the conformation of the identities and daily life of individuals.

Japan becomes a prime example against the Latin American vision, because of the contrast that exists between imaginary, traditions and rhythms of life between these two groups, and thus, of its spaces. The number of the magazine seeks to create an approach to the Japanese perspective, a country that presents a vertiginous urban development accompanied with the construction of collectivity and consumption spaces in one of the richest economies of the world.

The creation of architectonic spaces with the intention of shaping them as collective symbols is the theme developed by the author Yunuen Ysela Mandujano-Salazar, who exemplifies this through the analysis of two urban landmarks created during the modern period of Tokyo City. The author explains that such landmarks, the Tokyo Tower and the Tokyo Skytree, are taken as collective symbols of resilience during periods of crisis, despite being produced from the private initiative.

From another perspective, Alvaro David Hernandez Hernandez analyzes the Japanese culture of manga and anime of amateur nature and the way in which its members relate both among them and with the textual media. The author emphasizes the capacity of production, consumption and organization of this subculture, as well as the creation of meeting spaces for such groups. Finally, it is important to highlight that manga, anime and video games are elements of great popularity in that country and therefore, the amateur production analysis is pertinent to understand Japanese society.

For the author Tatsuma Fujioka, from consumption is possible the collective creation of spaces and

valorización dentro de la tradición urbana. El autor explica brevemente a través de su contexto histórico, dos tipos de espacios de comercialización en Japón: la calle comercial y los centros comerciales; espacios donde la generación del anonimato y la familiaridad suelen contrastar entre sí. Posteriormente analiza las calles comerciales consideradas dentro del modelo "tradicional" de espacio de consumo en Japón y lo contrasta con los centros comerciales para explicar la transición entre ambos y finalmente definir lo "perdido" durante el proceso de cambio.

Por último, Fermín Ernesto Flores Quiroz realiza una reseña del libro "Tokyo: City and Architecture". Dicho texto elabora un análisis histórico morfológico de la ciudad de Tokio que luego contrasta con la perspectiva occidental urbana.

Se espera que esta colección de trabajos sea de gran interés para los lectores y que exprese el deseo de ampliar el abanico de temáticas y así enriquecer el foro de divulgación que es esta revista.

appreciation within the urban tradition. The author briefly explains through its historical context, two types of consumption spaces in Japan: the shopping street and the shopping malls; spaces where the generation of the anonymity and the familiarity often contrast with each other. He then, analyzes the shopping street considered within the "traditional" model of consumption space in Japan and contrast it with the shopping mall to explain the transition between the two and finally define the "lost" element during the change process.

Finally, Fermin Ernesto Flores Quiroz carries out a review of the book called "Tokyo: City and Architecture". The text elaborates a historical-morphological analysis of Tokyo City and then compares it to the urban western perspective.

It is expected that this collection of articles will be of great interest to the readers and embodies the desire to expand the range of themes to positively enrich the divulgation forum that is this magazine.

Tokyo Tower and Tokyo Skytree: History and Symbolism in Contemporary Japan

Received: March, 11th 2016
Accepted: September, 26th 2016
Available online: December, 1th 2016

Yunuen Ysela Mandujano-Salazar

Doctor in Social Sciences and holds a Master in Studies of Asia and Africa Specialty Japan. She is member of the National System of Researchers of Mexico and currently works as a postdoctoral fellow in the Master Program of Social Sciences at the University of Guadalajara. She specializes in the study of Japanese media discourses, particularly those related to national identity and gender. She has written articles in English and Spanish for specialized scientific journals and chapters of books focused on Japanese Culture and Social Sciences.

Abstract

The Tokyo Tower and the Tokyo Skytree are the two most recognizable landmarks on the skyline of Japan's capital. By means of a documental revision, a textual interpretative analysis of media contents, participant observation and unstructured interviews, the objective of this article is to identify the development of these towers as symbols of Tokyo and Japan. It is found that, with more than half a century of existence, the Tokyo Tower represents the successful post-war Japanese society, while in just five years the Tokyo Skytree has become a symbol of Japanese national spirit and resilience in an era of multiple crises. Both broadcasting towers are regularly portrayed in Japanese media linked to narratives of romance, dreams, family and community. Also, enhanced by their special lightening at night, they stand as attractive poles for locals and visitors to choose them as background in relevant events in their lives.

Keywords

Tokyo Tower, Tokyo Skytree landmarks, symbolism.

Introduction

In 1953, after seven years of occupation by the Allied forces led by the United States of America, Japan was trying to leave war and defeat behind, aiming to become a modern, peaceful and powerful nation and part of the world's economic elite. One of the key elements in the construction of this renewed Japanese society was going to be the spreading of mass media, starting with television. In February of that year, regular television broadcasting in Japan began through the public corporation Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai (NHK); the following months, commercial television corporations acquired licenses and launched more channels for the region of Kantō (NHK Japan Broadcasting Corporation, 2002) – which contains the Japanese capital and other cities like Yokohama, Kawasaki, Saitama and Chiba. As the number of companies increased, each having its own transmission tower, voices at the government suggested the need to build one large broadcasting tower capable of serving the whole region (Gilhooly, 2002).

In 1957, Hisakichi Maeda, at that time a member of the Japanese Diet, founded Nippon Television City Corporation (NTCC) in order to execute the project of building such tower with private resources. However, he did not want to build a mere giant broadcasting pole; he and Tachū Naitō, the architect in charge of the design, wanted to seize the chance to create a new landmark for the capital, a symbol of the growing Japan (Takenaka Corporation, 2008a).

By the end of 1958, the Tokyo Tower was finished and opened to the public as the world´s tallest freestanding tower at the time (Tokyo Tower, 2013). During the same period, the nation was experiencing a rapid economic growth that would be the beginning of the Japanese economic miracle. Hence, the tower soon became a symbol of the post-war recovery, representing a renewed and ambitious Japan.

Half a century later, the historic moment of the nation was very different. At the first decade of the 21st century, Japan had more than a decade of economic underperformance and a demographic crisis. On the technological side, the broadcasters were aiming to fully convert its television system to a digital one, but the Tokyo Tower was not able to support it due to the increasing number of tall buildings around the city. Thus, in 2008, the construction of a new and taller broadcasting tower named Tokyo Skytree began at

another side of the city. In 2011, when it reached its full height just a few days after the Tōhoku Earthquake, it became a symbol of the national spirit and resilience.

In contemporary Japan, both towers are common scenarios of relevant events in people's lives; they are also commonly portrayed in media; they have become part not only of popular culture, but also of folklore. In the following pages, the objective is to discuss the symbolism these landmarks have, how are they portrayed in national media, and what are some of their social functions.

Method

In order to fulfil the objectives stated, diverse methodological tools of the cultural studies were used. A careful and deep revision of diverse Japanese documental and electronic sources provided the material to recreate the relevant points in the history of both towers and contextualize them against the historical moment of the nation. With the purpose of identifying the symbolism that the towers have according to media and to Japanese people, three methods were employed: a textual interpretative analysis of a sample of media contents produced in Japan for the national audience between the years of 1990 and 2015; participant observation performed in Tokyo in three fieldwork stages between 2012 and 2015; and, unstructured interviews with Japanese people found around different points in Tokyo observing and photographing the towers during fieldwork.

Tokyo Tower: a landmark of Japan's post-war modernization, the symbol of romance, affluence and dreams

During the 1950s, after suffering a devastating defeat in the Pacific War resultant of an ultranationalist military movement, Japan was trying to move forward emulating the victorious Western powerhouses in many aspects. In this context, it was no surprise that the design of the first broadcasting tower for the capital had been inspired in the iconic Eiffel Tower.

According to information from the Takenaka Corporation – the main contractor in charge of the construction and maintenance of the Tokyo Tower – when the project began in the spring of 1957, Maeda, the president of the owner company, wanted to build a tower similar to the Eiffel Tower, but that surpassed it in height, which is 312 meters. On the other hand, the chief architect for the design, Naitō – from the design and planning firm Nikken Sekkei – is remembered saying:

> *It is not interesting to just build a pole that emits electricity. To build a tall tower in the city can become a source of tourism. We should create something that contributes to beautify the city and, at the same time, by building a viewing platform, entertains the eyes of people.1 (Takenaka Corporation, 2008c, para. 3)*

Maeda and Naitō's aspirations were in synchrony. They would build a landmark for Tokyo that, at the same time, became a world's number one. The first height proposed was 380 meters, but building materials were still scarce after the reconstruction period that was just ending across the country, so it was calculated according to the needs of the television companies'

Figure 1. The Tokyo Tower. Photo taken by the author.

1 All the translations from Japanese sources to English were done by the author.

signals to reach the entire region of Kantō and was set at 333 meters (Tokyo Tower, 2013).

On June 23, 1957, the construction of the Tokyo Tower began in the Minato ward, a municipality of Tokyo located in the southwest of the city, nearby the Imperial Palace. Minato did not only comprise the buildings of the main commercial television networks, but also many embassies and headquarters of national powerful corporations; in other words, it was a wealthy and cosmopolitan zone. About 220,000 workers from all the country were mobilized to have ready, in 543 days, the landmark that would symbolize the new and modern Japan (Takenaka Corporation, 2008a).

On December 23, 1958, having two observatories – a main one at 150 meters and a special one at 250 meters – the Tokyo Tower was opened to the public being the world's tallest freestanding tower, surpassing the famous Parisian landmark in which it was inspired.[2] Its color, white and international orange, was not chosen by the designers and did not have another meaning than to observe air safety regulations (Tokyo Tower, 2013) (View Figure 1).

During its first years of existence, the illumination of the tower at night was rare and extremely simple. Only Saturday nights or the nights before a holiday, the four corner poles of the tower were illuminated by 250 light bulbs, slightly drawing the shape of the tower in the night landscape of the city. In 1964, during the Tokyo Olympics, this illumination was turned on for a number of consecutive nights, which was well received by the citizens. Since then, slowly, more light bulbs along the four poles and more nights a year were added to the illumination schedule (Takenaka Corporation, 2008b).

In 1989, aiming to attract more visitors, to symbolize the change of the Japanese era from Shōwa to Heisei, and to celebrate the 30th anniversary of the tower, a new lightening designed by Matoko Ishii was inaugurated with two distinctive patterns: one in white tone for the summer and one in orange for the rest of the year. This new illumination called Landmark Light, with the use of 180 powerful lamps, made the Tokyo Tower shine fully and distinctively in the city's landscape from sunset to midnight every day of the year (Takenaka Corporation, 2008b; Tokyo Tower, 2013) (View Figure 2).

The Tokyo Tower's bright silhouette became a

2 There is also a 5-story building at the base of the tower, named Foot Town, in which the elevators to the observatories are located. Along the years, museums, shops, restaurants and exhibitions have been added to its attractions.

Figure 2. Tokyo Tower's Landmark Light in orange tone, view from Roppongi Hills. Photo by the author.

popular element in Tokyoites' lives, promoted also by media. Thus, in 2008, as a celebration for its 50th anniversary, a new and more spectacular illumination was launched – the Diamond Veil. Using 276 LED lamps distributed over the four sides of the body of the tower, the Diamond Veil is able to dress the Tokyo Tower in seven different colors (Kotake, 2008). This illumination pattern is turned on only between the 20:00 and 22:00 hours on Saturdays or on dates that commemorate something for Japan (Tokyo Tower, 2013). The colors for each occasion are chosen according to the celebration, and symbols, numbers or letters can be added on the surface of the main observatory to strengthen the message (View Figure 3).

In its first 50 years, the Tokyo Tower received 150 million visitors to the main observatory (Tokyo Tower, 2013). Although it has had its detractors – mostly due to its undeniable inspiration in a foreign landmark – there is no doubt that it has become an almost obligated stop for any national and foreigner visitor to the Japanese capital, a typical destination for school trips, and a regular landscape to look for by Tokyoites on special occasions.

As a broadcasting tower, it has not only been a "behind the scenes" element of the prosperous Japanese media culture; it has also had a leading role in many media contents since its first years of existence. Films, *manga*, *anime,* television, magazines and newspapers, all Japanese media have portrayed the landmark at some point.

In a first period, the Tokyo Tower was a favourite victim in the movies of giant monsters, a genre known as *kaiju*ū. This genre had its origin in the 1954, with the first Godzilla movie, and its boom roughly between 1956 and 1967; it was focused on mutant creatures born from nuclear experiments or accidents, which attacked and destroyed Japanese cities, frequently also portraying armed forces of the United States and the Soviet Union at some point in the story (Tsusui & Ito, 2006). In many of these films, the Tokyo Tower was emblematically destroyed by monsters like Mothra, King Ghidorah, Gamera and Godzilla (Takenaka Corporation, 2008d).

If these monsters represented the resentful nature, the tower symbolized the modernization – and Westernization – of Japan. Its destruction denoted the memories, fears and conflictive feelings of the Japanese society after the nation's recent past as victim of the atomic bombings and loser in the war, its rapid modernization, and its ascendance to the world's elite as ally of its previous enemy.

Nonetheless, as the decades passed and new generations of Japanese people grew in a flourishing and peaceful country, the narratives around the Tokyo Tower in media also changed. This transformation had to do, additionally, with the launching of the Landmark Light, which gave it a romantic and luxurious presence. An urban myth appeared saying that those couples that see together the lightening gone off at midnight

Figure 3. Tokyo Tower's Diamond Veil. Above: Pink Diamond Veil for the awareness campaign for breast cancer, view from Odaiba (October 1, 2012). Below left: White Diamond Veil and a hearth in celebration of the tower's 54th anniversary, view from Roppongi Hills along special Christmas illuminations on the street (December 23, 2012). Below right: Four color Diamond Veil and special message "2020" celebrating that Tokyo was awarded to be host of the 2020 Olympic Games, view from Shiba Park (December 23, 2013). Photos by the author.

will be forever happy together (Takenaka Corporation, 2008a).

Consequently, since the 1990s, the Tokyo Tower has been generally portrayed as a place of prosperity, fantasy and romanticism. Many popular stories of *shōjo manga* (girl-oriented comics) – some of which have later been adapted to *anime,* live-action series and films – have relied on the Tokyo Tower to be the place where the magic and love happen.[3] In the same way, written novels, films and serial television dramas – some of which even have the name of the tower in their titles – have appeared with their narratives built around the tower as an emblematic place in the characters' lives: where they meet, fall in love or get apart.

Because the Tokyo Tower is located in an affluent and cosmopolitan area in the city, it also is used as a symbol of wealth and aspiration in the narratives. If someone has a view of the tower from his or her apartment, it is understood that such person is wealthy; if someone has an office with view of the tower, it is understood that works for an important corporation; if someone goes to a restaurant or hotel with view of the tower, it is understood that it is in an expensive place.

Supported by these media narratives, the Tokyo Tower, particularly at night with its opulent illuminations, has become a favorite landscape for Japanese people. There are some points around the city with a full view of the tower that, at the same time, show an outstanding composition with other landmarks, attracting tens of people every night – especially when the Diamond Veil is scheduled – to have dates, take pictures or just enjoy the view.

The Shiba Park is a preferred location for older generations to relax day and night while taking pictures and admiring the tower by itself or together with the Zōjōji, an ancient Buddhist temple. On the other hand, Roppongi and Odaiba are the preferred spots of younger people and couples. These have been turned in the last couple of decades in shopping and entertainment districts with their own foreign-inspired landmarks or illuminations inspired by foreign and recently adopted celebrations – like Christmas, Valentine's Day or Halloween – that enhance the tower's presence.

Thus, from a reference to Tokyo's rapid industrialization to an allusion of its cosmopolitan, affluent and romantic essence, the Tokyo Tower has been portrayed constantly by domestic media and has become a symbol of the identity of post-war Japan and a part of Japanese people's lives.

3 Some notable examples of these series, also popular in Western countries, are *Sailor Moon, Sakura Card captor* and *Magic Knight Rayearth*.

Figure 4. Above: Tokyo Tower in summer Landmark Light, view from the Zōjō-ji. Below: Night landscape view from Odaiba, including three foreign-inspired landmarks: The Tokyo Tower in Diamond Veil, the Rainbow Bride in summer illumination and a replica of the Statue of Liberty. Photos by the author.

Tokyo Skytree: the symbol of Japan's spirit and strength, past and future

In December, 2003, Japan had a decade suffering the effects of an economic crisis. Nevertheless, even amid the rapid development of other Asian nations, it had remained as one of the strongest economies in the world. After almost five decades of showing its recovery power, Japan was no longer looking at the exterior for inspiration; on the contrary, it had regained its national pride and identity, and was trying to use its very distinctive culture as part of its economic assets towards both the domestic and foreign markets (Mandujano, 2013; Mandujano Salazar, 2016).

In this context, digital television broadcasting began to be offered in the area of Kantō. However, this technology required a strong signal in the city, which was already packed with tall buildings that interfered with the electrical waves produced by the Tokyo Tower. Thus, the six large TV broadcaster corporations[4] in Tokyo considered it necessary to have a new tower of at least 600 meters and began promoting the project; in February, 2005, the proprietary rights to develop the new tower were awarded to Tobu Railway Corporation – hereafter TRC (Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. & Tobu Tower Skytree Co. Ltd., 2015a). TRC left the design and administration of the project in hands of Nikken Sekkei, the same firm that had been in charge of the design of the Tokyo Tower (Nikken Sekkei Ltd., 2012).

The location for the new tower was decided to be at the Sumida/Taito area, in the northeastern part of the city (Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. & Tobu Tower Skytree Co. Ltd., 2015c). Contrary to the Minato Ward, where the Tokyo Tower is located, this zone comprises mostly middleclass households, small factories and craft workshops, many of them with ancestry linked to the area. Sumida and Taito Wards are also famous for its downtown atmosphere and its traditional landmarks, like the Asakusa district and the Sumida River, part of the imagery of the Edo period.[5]

TRC and Nikken Sekkei wanted to regain for Japan the title of the "tallest free-standing tower" that had been taken away from the Tokyo Tower many years before. After researching for potential rivals around the world, it was decided that the new tower had to have at least a height of 610 meters (Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. & Tobu Tower Skytree Co. Ltd., 2013). As Japanese society has historically been prone to look for second meanings in numbers and names, the height was established in 634, which in Japanese can also be read as *musashi* (Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. & Tobu Tower Skytree Co. Ltd., 2015d). Musashi was the name of the main province in the Kantō area before being dissolved into prefectures during the administrative makeover after the Meiji Restoration in 1868; Edo – today's Tokyo – belonged to that province.

Another goal of the developers was to create a colossal tourist attraction. However, contrary to the case of the Tokyo Tower, this time the objective was that the new tower became a symbol of Japan's essence, its beauty sense and its technological innovation, harmonizing with the traditional surroundings and becoming a monument that connected Japan's past and future.

Tadao Kamei, the architect coordinating the project, was moved by the image of a gigantic tree that faced at the sky while having its roots firmly set in the ground (Nikken Sekkei Ltd., 2011; Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. & Tobu Tower Skytree Co. Ltd., 2015b). The new tower's neo-futuristic design was inspired, as well, in the aesthetic and architectonic techniques found behind the traditional tall buildings that, despite the centuries and natural phenomena, had survived: the five-story pagodas of Buddhist temples (Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. & Tobu Tower Skytree Co. Ltd., 2015d).

TRC wanted to involve the society in the project. Hence, the corporation asked the public to suggest names for the new tower. Among 18,606 keywords submitted, six names were selected; then, on June 10, 2008, after two months and 110,419 votes from Japanese people, *Tokyo Skytree* was selected by 29.8% of the votes, only one percent over *Tokyo EDO Tower* (Tobu Railway Co. Ltd., 2008). The next month, the construction of the Tokyo Skytree began.

On March 1st, 2011, by reaching 601 meters, the tower became the tallest in the world (Fukui Shimbun, 2011). Ten days later, Japan experienced the most powerful earthquake in its modern history, with an epicenter near the northeastern coast of Honshu, the main Japanese island and where Tokyo is located. Commonly referred by Japanese media as the Tōhoku Earthquake, it did not only heavily shake Honshu, but also triggered a massive tsunami that destroyed numerous towns in the north of the island, caused the meltdown of nuclear plants and more than 15 thousand deaths (National Police Agency of Japan, 2016; Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, 2011). The Tokyo Skytree resisted without damages and was able to

4 The public NHK and the five commercial: Tokyo Broadcasting System (TBS), Nippon Television Corporation (NTV), Fuji Television Corporation (Fuji TV), TV Tokyo Corporation (TV Tokyo) and TV Asahi Corporation (TV Asahi).

5 From 1603 to 1868. Edo was the name of Tokyo during that period and was the capital of the Tokugawa samurai government. Culturally, it is characterized by the dominance of Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism ideologies and the flourishing of large cities, commerce, art and entertainment.

reach its full height a week after the disaster (Nikkei Inc., 2011).[6]

At the end of February, 2012, with a delay of two months from the scheduled date due to a shortage in materials after the earthquake, the construction of the Tokyo Skytree was finalized (Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. & Tobu Tower Skytree Co. Ltd., 2013). On May 22, 2012, it opened to the public and the expectative had been such that in just two months the main observatory had more than one million visitors (Tobu Group, 2012) (View Figure 5).[7]

Since the beginning of the project, the tower's color and illumination were also relevant elements in the design to reinforce the symbolism of its Japanese essence and originality. It was decided that its structure had "an original color based on 'aijiro', the lightest shade of Japanese traditional indigo blue" (Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. & Tobu Tower Skytree Co. Ltd., 2013,

6 On November 17, 2011, it was recognized as the world's tallest tower by the Guinness World Records.

7 As part of the Skytree complex, called Tokyo Skytree Town, a subway and train terminal and a massive commercial and cultural center were built. The commercial complex was named Tokyo Solamachi (in Japanese Tokyo Soramachi, meaning "Tokyo's skytown").

Figure 5. The Tokyo Skytree along with the Asahi Beer Hall and the Asahi Flamme d'Or, view from the Sumida River. Photo by the author.

para. 2). This shade, named "Skytree white", was said to represent the traditional artisan culture of Edo still present in the Sumida/Taito area with a twist to indicate the advancement into the future (Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. & Tobu Tower Skytree Co. Ltd., 2015b).

On the other hand, its illumination was decided to have two basic patterns. Miyavi, an Edo-purple and gold combination, that was said to symbolize Edo's traditional aesthetic sense; and, Iki, a blue and silver arrangement, representing the strong spirit and disposition of Edo's commoners (Nikken Sekkei Ltd., 2011; Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. & Tobu Tower Skytree Co. Ltd., 2015b).

From the very start, the owners, designers, architects and engineers behind this project intended to create a bond between the tower and the people of Tokyo and Japan. They aimed for the common Japanese citizen to feel close to and represented by the new landmark and they have been considerably successful.

Tokyoites were very interested in following the evolution of the tower since the beginning. Numerous people, in an amateur fashion, took pictures of the process of construction from diverse points in the city. A demographic group particularly active in this practice was that of over 60 year-old men. Many of them retirees or owners of small businesses, they took as their hobby to document by photograph the progress of the Skytree. According to the most common comments during interviews, they considered the construction of such massive tower to reflect the national creativity, work culture and community. They felt close to the thousands of workers that everyday put their lives on the edge; they said they felt the passion they were putting in their work aiming for a national goal.

Hence, when the Tōhoku earthquake happened and the Skytree showed its resistance, it was only expected that it were promptly assumed as the ultimate symbol of the national identity and spirit.

This was further supported by Japanese media. In realistic contents, the narratives in news and documentaries usually intertwined the coverage of the rescue and rebuilding actions after the disaster of March 11th with the story behind the construction of the Skytree and the people working there, highlighting Japanese people's resilience and ability to face unexpected circumstances.

In fictional contents, a prominent example is the television family drama, *Inu wo Kau to iu koto, Sky to wagaya no 180 nichi (Raising a dog, my family's 180 days with Sky),* produced by TV Asahi and broadcast nationwide between April 15 and June 10, 2011, during the final stages of construction of the Tokyo's Skytree and after the earthquake. The story focused on a young couple with two small children living nearby the construction site, in one of the working-class apartment buildings of the area, and how a dog changed their lives for the best. The name given to the dog was "Skytree" in honor of the tower that the father and daughter admired and eagerly expected to be finished. The narrative made use of the Skytree and its building process, as well as the temperament and spirit of Skytree the dog, to refer to the hardships and setbacks in life and how a strong spirit can turn those adversities into opportunities to become a better self.

Through such narratives and after its public opening, the Tokyo Skytree has become a landmark broadly loved by Tokyoites and Japanese in general. Not only the Skytree itself, but also those locations like the Sumida River or Asakusa, from where its silhouette stands out, have become favorite places for Japanese to visit and admire.

Regardless of the burden for the noise and traffic detours during construction and for the sudden increment in people and traffic during the first months since its inauguration (Aoki, 2012), for locals the tower's symbolism remains positive. They feel it not only represents the resourcefulness, group work and spirit of Japanese people, but also a bright future tied to past struggles and knowledge.

Conclusion

The Tokyo Tower and the Tokyo Skytree complement each other to embody, on the skyline of Japan's capital, two different stages in Japan's history, symbolizing diverse elements of the national identity.

Built just after the ending of the Allied Occupation and the reconstruction after the war, in the middle of an industrialization and modernization period emulating the elite Western nations led by the United States, and at the beginning of an economic prosperous era, the Tokyo Tower represents the successful and wealthy post-war Japanese society. It symbolizes the aspirations of Japan and its determination in regaining a place as a powerful and recognized nation. Since the 1990s, with the launch of diverse illumination patterns, it has also become a symbol of romance and dreams, particularly favored by younger generations.

On the other hand, erected during a less prosperous era, surviving and showing its strength amid one of the most difficult crises that the nation has faced in decades, the Tokyo Skytree represents the comeback of Japan to its roots and its essence. It has become a symbol of Japanese community, of people's national spirit and resilience, of their pride in their past

Figure 6. Illuminations of the Tokyo Skytree, view from the Sumida River. Above: The Tokyo Skytree in Miyavi illumination. Below: The Tokyo Skytree in Iki illumination. Photos by the author.

Figure 7. A night view of the Tokyo Skytree from Asakusa. Photo by the author.

and confidence in their future.

Although the Tokyo Tower has left its place as main broadcasting tower in the country to the Skytree, there is no doubt that both landmarks will continue to be part of Tokyo's landscape, regularly portrayed in Japanese media and cherished by Japanese people as emblems of their history and identity.

Bibliography

Aoki, M. (2012, June 22). *Skytree a mixed blessing for locals*. Retrieved February 26, 2016, from The Japan Times: http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2012/06/22/news/skytree-a-mixed-blessing-for-locals

Fukui Shimbun. (2011, March 1). *Skytree, sekaiichi no takasa ni 600 m koesu [The Skytree surpasses the 600 meters to be the world's number one]*. Retrieved March 5, 2016, from Fukuishimbun Online: http://www.fukuishimbun.co.jp/nationalnews/CO/main/417301.html

Gilhooly, R. (2002, March 17). *The tower and the history*. Retrieved January 25, 2016, from The Japan Times: http://www.japantimes.co.jp/community/2002/03/17/general/the-tower-and-the-story

Kotake, T. (2008, November 13). *Shōene taisaku mo bacchiri! Tokyo Tower kaigyō 50 shūnen Diamond Veil kaishi [Perfect also with the strategies for saving energy! The Diamond Veil starts for Tokyo Tower´s 50th anniversary*. Retrieved March 5, 2016, from Nikkei Trendy: http://trendy.nikkeibp.co.jp/article/pickup/20081107/1020684

Mandujano Salazar, Y. Y. (2016). El camino hacia una política de promoción cultural en el Japón contemporáneo y los inicios de una campaña de fortalecimiento de la identidad nacional. *Estudios de Asia y África, LI*(1), 77-104.

Mandujano, Y. (2013). The Politics of Selling Culture and Branding the National in Contemporary Japan: Economic Goals, Soft-Power and Reinforcement of the National Pride. *The Scientific Journal of Humanistic Studies, 5*(9), 31-41.

National Police Agency of Japan. (10 de February de 2016). *Damage Situation and Police Countermeasures associated with 2011 Tohoku district - off the Pacific Ocean Earthquake*. Recuperado el 8 de March de 2016, de National Police Agency of Japan: http://www.npa.go.jp/archive/keibi/biki/higaijokyo_e.pdf

NHK Japan Broadcasting Corporation. (2002). *The Evolution of TV. A Brief History of TV Technology in Japan*. Retrieved January 28, 2016, from http://www.nhk.or.jp/strl/aboutstrl/evolution-of-tv-en/index-e.html

Nikkei Inc. (2011, March 18). *Skytree, kanseiji no takasa ni tōtatsu 634 meter [The Skytree reaches its height of 634 meters]*. Retrieved March 8, 2016, from Nikkei: http://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXNASDG1802N_Y1A310C1000000/

Nikken Sekkei Ltd. (2011). *Design concept*. Retrieved March 3, 2016, from Nikken Sekkei: http://www.nikken.co.jp/ensk/skytree/concept/index.php

Nikken Sekkei Ltd. (2011). *Designers and Engineers*. Retrieved March 3, 2016, from Nikken Sekkei: http://www.nikken.co.jp/ensk/skytree/face/face01_a.php

Nikken Sekkei Ltd. (2012, May). *Tokyo Sky Tree*. Retrieved March 3, 2016, from Nikken Sekkei: http://www.nikken.co.jp/ja/skytree/index.php

Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet. (2011, March 11). *Statement by Prime Minister Naoto Kan on Tohoku district - off the Pacific Ocean Earthquake*. Retrieved March 8, 2016, from Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet: http://japan.kantei.go.jp/kan/statement/201103/11kishahappyo_e.html

Takenaka Corporation. (2008a). *Ai no Tokyo Tower [The Tokyo Tower of Love]*. Retrieved March 2, 2016, from Takenaka Kōmuten: http://www.takenaka.co.jp/corp/archive/tokyotower/index.html

Takenaka Corporation. (2008b). *Ai, kōkō to [Love and sparkle]*. Retrieved March 4, 2016, from Takenaka Kōmuten: http://www.takenaka.co.jp/corp/archive/tokyotower/koukou/katati/index.html

Takenaka Corporation. (2008c). *Eiffel Tower wo koeru [Surpassing the Eiffel Tower]*. Retrieved March 2, 2016, from Takenaka Kōmuten: http://www.takenaka.co.jp/corp/archive/tokyotower/hope/pro2/index.html

Takenaka Corporation. (2008d). *Shinboru ha takasa dake wo hokoranai [The pride of the symbol is not just its height]*. Retrieved March 2, 2016, from Takenaka Kōmuten: http://www.takenaka.co.jp/corp/archive/tokyotower/symbol/index.html

Tobu Group. (2012, August 1). *Tokyo Skytree goraijōsha kazu 100 mannin wo tassei! [Reaching 1 million visitors to the Tokyo Skytree]*. Retrieved from Tokyo Skytree: http://www.tokyo-skytree.jp/press/upload/20120801.pdf

Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. & Tobu Tower Skytree Co. Ltd. (2013). *About the TOKYO SKYTREE*. Retrieved February 26, 2016, from http://www.tokyo-skytree.jp/archive/

Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. & Tobu Tower Skytree Co. Ltd. (2015a). *Denpatō to shite no yakuwari [Rol as broadcasting tower]*. Recuperado el 7 de March de 2016, de Tokyo Skytree: http://www.tokyo-skytree.jp/archive/tower/index.html

Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. & Tobu Tower Skytree Co. Ltd. (2015b). *Design*. Recuperado el 7 de March de 2016, de Tokyo Skytree: http://www.tokyo-skytree.jp/archive/design/

Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. & Tobu Tower Skytree Co. Ltd. (2015c). *Outline*. Recuperado el 7 de March de 2016, de Tokyo Skytree: http://www.tokyo-skytree.jp/archive/about/

Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. & Tobu Tower Skytree Co. Ltd. (2015d). *Spec*. Retrieved March 7, 2016, from Tokyo Skytree: http://www.tokyo-skytree.jp/archive/spec/

Tobu Railway Co. Ltd. (2008, June 10). *Shin Tawā no meisho ga ketteishimashita [The name for the new tower has been decided]*. Retrieved March 1, 2016, from Tokyo Skytree: http://www.tokyo-skytree.jp/press/pdf/080610.pdf

Tokyo Tower. (2013). *Tokyo Tower no himitsu [Secrets of the Tokyo Tower]*. Retrieved February 26, 2016, from Tokyo Tower: http://www.tokyo-tower.co.jp/secret/index.html

Tsusui, W., & Ito, M. (Eds.). (2006). *In Godzilla's Footsteps. Japanese Pop Culture Icons on the Global Stage.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

The Japanese Amateur Textual Production Scene: Activities and Participation in Dōjin Cultures

Received: July, 28th 2016
Accepted: November, 28th 2016
Available online: December, 1st 2016

Álvaro David Hernández Hernández

Kobe University (Foreign Researcher)

Affiliated to the department of Sociology at the Graduate School of Humanities, Kobe University. His research interests include: comparative studies of Japanese animation fan communities in East Asia; consumption and appropriation of Japanese animation and the related cultural texts and products. Currently he is also researching on popular culture and its relation to media and cultural industries. Major subject: Studies on Popular Culture, Media Studies, Cultural Industries and Cultural Sociology. Email: alvaro.d.hdz@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper focuses on Japanese amateur text producers–often addressed as *dōjin*–who have been frequently described in contrasting terms: either as isolated, insular individuals who lack social skills or interest in intersubjective interaction, or as communities built on shared mutual interest and emotive bonds. In this paper I argue that a focus on the different orientations of *dōjin* cultures towards the value of media texts allows us to build a bridge between both of these stances. Along with analysis of texts and appropriative practices, this perspective advocates for the analysis of institutions as a different empirical field in the study of contemporary popular culture. In this paper my goal is to propose a distinction within *dōjin* cultures between *activities* and *participation*, described as two different forms of social action shaped by different orientations towards the value of texts. Both orientations share however an acknowledgment of a certain value in specific texts, which becomes the driving force behind textual production. As I will suggest, the word *activities* is useful to represent a vertical orientation towards value. This is a kind of orientation that lies at the foundation of individualistic attitudes within the practices of *dōjin* cultures. In contrast, the word *participation* helps to characterize a horizontal orientation towards value. This is a kind of orientation that supports collective participation and links individuals into wider groups and networks. Activities and participation are constitutive elements of amateur *dōjin* culture.

Keywords

media texts, amateur, subculture, activities, participation, otaku, doujin culture.

1. Introduction

The Japanese culture of amateur manga (Japanese comic books), Japanese animation or other derivative texts is often called *dōjin* culture. This is a culture closely related to the anime fan culture, the otaku—a social category that emerged in the 1980s from discourses on the tension between different groups immersed in cultural consumption[1]—and to the field of cultural consumption addressed in Japan as *subculture*. *Dōjin* cultures, as in the case of the otaku, have been depicted as either insular or individualistic, or in sharp contrast, as deeply relying on intersubjective ties, collective participation, or communality. Yet, it is possible to regard these contrasting features as different orientations that shape the same social institution. Previous research and my own observation of *dōjin* cultures[2] reveal two different orientations towards action within *dōjin* culture: one that centers on individual activities, and another that is oriented towards collective participation. These orientations shape the empirical ground that informs the common discourses that regard amateur *dōjin* and otaku culture as individualistic or, in contrast, as rooted in commonality.

However, individual drive and commonality are both constitutive elements of *dōjin* amateur cultures, which are institutions of textual appropriation.

Thus, through a focus on institutions, my aim is to draw attention to how individual motivations and commonality within such institutions shape two different orientations towards value. The former, built on a subjective base, is the foundation for what is usually described as *activities (katsudō)*. The latter, based on social interaction, provides the starting point of what is usually described as *participation (sanka)*. To regard *dōjin* cultures as institutions shaped by activities and participation is to draw attention to how different approaches to value can link individuals into larger meaningful social structures.

2. *Dōjin* Culture

The word *dōjin* is widely used in Japan to refer to amateur and derivative works such as fanzines, amateur manga or amateur music. It can be traced back to the Meiji period (1868-1912), a period of significant transformation in Japan and of great stimulus for its literary world. At its origin, *dōjin* referred to a group of peers with similar literary interests, and *dōjinshi* (or *dōjin* magazines) referred to the material published by that group. Nowadays, in the context of Japanese contemporary popular and media culture, *dōjinshi* refers mainly to comic books created and published by fans. As the format is in its essence free for the creator, there is a great diversity of types of *dōjinshi*, such as criticism, novels, travel guides and research (although these categories are minor in quantity compared to the comic book format).

Thus, *dōjin* cultures in this contemporary context can be mostly characterised by the amateur production of different kinds of texts. Besides *dōjinshi*, there are several other associated activities, including amateur music and software production. In most cases, a particular work or genre is borrowed from mainstream popular culture, and is then used as a framework for the new text or as raw material to produce new texts. As such, most of the fan work produced in correspondence with these activities is considered a secondary or derivative creation (*niji sōsaku*).

From Science Fiction Fan Clubs to Contemporary Dōjin Cultures

For Yoshimoto Taimatsu, the large variety of activities and hobbies included in the category of otaku culture can be encompassed by what he calls the 'otaku genre' and a 'particular way of enjoying' hobbies (2009)[3]. Yoshimoto focuses on science fiction (SF) fan groups and their initial activities in the mid-1950s as the departure point for his approach to the origins of the otaku. For example, the Japan Flying Saucer Research Association (JFSA) was founded in 1956 by Arai Kinichi, an enthusiast of UFOs and mysterious beings, space development and science fiction. Mishima Yukio and Mayuzumi Toshiro were among the members of this association. In 1957, JFSA published the magazine *Cosmic Dust*, which is considered the first SF fan magazine or *dōjinshi* in Japan. JFSA held regular meetings, and, with the help of *Cosmic Dust*, it created many circles of fans. In 1961, the 'Meg-Con' was held in Meguro, Tokyo; it was the first SF convention in Japan. Thereafter, by 1965, there were fan circles from Kyushu to Hokkaido, and the Japan SF Fan Groups Confederation Congress was created to connect the many fan groups spread all over the country (Yoshimoto, 2009). Within the broad genre of science fiction, there were many groups interested in different topics, like detective and mystery novels, or fans of manga artists like Tezuka Osamu or Ishinomori Shōtarō. In this context, as Yoshimoto remarks, *dōjin* events developed into local and national large-scale gatherings for the SF community, replacing small informal meetings. Actual *dōjin* events, such as the Comic Market initiated in 1972, have their origin in these SF gatherings.

What does *dōjin* culture look like today? Besides amateur textual production, organisation of and participation in *dōjin* events are some of the essential practices that shape *dōjin* cultures in Japan. These events, usually called *dōjinshi sokubaikai* and frequently referred to as 'places for play' (*asobiba*) or 'festivals' by their participants, are a major structural force in *dōjin* institutions. Indeed Tamagawa Hiroaki (2007) describes Comic Market and the staff that make the event possible as the infrastructure that supports this Japanese fan culture. This particular event, held twice a year in Tokyo, is the biggest *dōjin* gathering in Japan and participant numbers are increasing (for Comic Market 88 in the summer of 2015, there were approximately 550,000 participants across the span of three days).

The main purpose of these events is to buy and sell *dōjin* magazines. Most of these magazines are focused on anime, manga or games, but, as the results of the Comic Market 66 30th anniversary questionnaire show, there is a large number of genres that mix particular works, topics or genre orientations (Sugiyama, 2008)[4]. For example, Sugiyama's research provides a list that categorizes the magazines sold at the event into 43 different genres like science fiction, animation, amateur music, or derivative works of popular manga or anime titles.

The participants in *dōjin* events are usually

classified into three basic categories. General participants (*ippan*) comprise one category; for example people who assist with buying or that do not trade or have a particular role at the venue. Circles comprise the second category, and these can be an individual (a one-person circle) or a collective. The word circle is the 'easiest way' (ibid: 15-8), as Sugiyama stresses, to classify the individuals or groups who register for the event in order to have a space to trade a *dōjin* work. Cosplayers, participants who assist dressed in most cases as animation characters, also usually register for the event as circles. The third category consists of staff, that is, volunteers who help with organisation, and they may have experience as circle participants.

3. Fans' Textual Appropriation, Pleasure, Productivity, and Commonality

Dōjin cultures can be understood by focusing on what John Fiske (1992) called productivity in the context of the popular appropriation of mass culture. The focal point here is the use of media texts as raw materials to engage in some activity, where the amateur production of derivative texts can be regarded as textual productivity. The texts at the base of these activities are significant in an emotive way for the practitioner and are regarded as valuable by the delimited collectivity in which the practices are carried out. Following the widely cited observations of Fiske and Henry Jenkins in the field of fan studies (Fiske, 1992, 1989/2011; Jenkins, 1992a, 1992b), these activities can be understood as the main constitutive element of both fan textual appropriation and the groups that engage in such activities as fan communities.

Fiske, and in a broader sense, many approaches close to the Cultural Studies frame, are indebted to Roland Barthes' semiology and his analysis of texts. For instance, Barthes acknowledges the reader rather than the author as the center that unifies the 'multi-dimensional space' (Barthes 1977: 146) of the text, which allows a shift in focus to the role of the audience in the construction of meanings. Closer to Fiske's agenda–that is, to understand the appeal of popular culture in its creativity and resistance–is the work of Michel de Certeau (1980/2000), which centers on appropriation and the negotiation of meanings in everyday life. De Certeau's understanding of appropriation is a perspective that goes from a focus on readings to a focus on practices. Fiske also observes concrete practices, and with an emphasis on 'parole' rather than on the abstract system of 'language'—in reference to the distinction established by Ferdinand de Saussure—finds two kinds of pleasure in popular culture: the pleasure of avoiding social discipline and the pleasure of producing meaning (Fiske 1989/2011: 39). The former, similar to Barthes' *jouissance* (Barthes 1975), produces energy rooted in the body.

In Fiske's model, the pleasure in the act of reading popular culture empowers the pleasure of producing meanings and textual productivity. Roughly, an emphasis on reading and production as practices that shape the 'text-reader interaction' (Fiske 1989/2011: 37) lies at the base of popular culture. This is a category of consumption (Jenkins 2011: xxvii) where subjective discrimination, appropriation and resistance leads to a productive process that transforms the raw material provided by consumer society into new meanings and experiences.

Through his characterisation of textual production as based on pleasure, Fiske links the character of fan cultures—usually criticized as subjective, 'irrational' and 'excessive' (Jenson 1992)[5]—to a productive orientation which can be regarded in a positive light as 'rational' (ibid). In the dialectic of evasive and productive pleasures, Fiske finds agency and resistance to power structures in popular culture. Moreover, the subjective drive behind 'fan discrimination' (Fiske 1992: 34) in popular culture becomes, when discrimination is carried out by groups, an intersubjective element important for asserting a community-like nature, as in the case of fan collectivities.

Early criticism—for example Theodor W. Adorno's criticism of the culture industry (1972/2005), or Dwight Macdonald's writings on 'masscult' and 'midcult' (1962/1983)—saw in mass society and mass culture the destruction of the individual as a member of a community, and the substitution of culture for impersonal and standardized products in the market. Criticism of consumer culture usually focuses on individualism, consumerism, narcissism, irrationality, and lack of authenticity (in the commodification of art or in the mediatisation of social relationships). And, as Jenson (1992) points out, narratives about fans as obsessed crowds or alienated individuals are part of the modern nostalgic and romantic discourse on the loss of community. Against this backdrop, authors like Jenkins viewed fan communities as opposite to the negative image of mass culture. Through a focus on the derivative works or secondary creations (or Fiske's productivity) that fans produce, Jenkins argues that fan groups are 'interpretative' communities, and regards fandom as 'a specific institution of interpretation' (1992b: 211). He also gives special attention to issues concerning the management of texts and meaning as resources.

When *dōjin* cultures are framed as built upon

amateur practices, it is common for a similar argument on the relation between textual productivity and commonality to appear. However, as Matt Hills has pointed out (2002), this emphasis on production provides too rational a picture of fans. We will see how a similar issue concerning the opposition of irrationality and rationality has appeared in the Japanese discourse regarding consumer culture, although with a different emphasis. These two contrasting features, which are regarded as lying behind the characterization of social ties, highlight what in a broad sense can be seen as a contrast between open and closed orientations towards the value of cultural texts.

4. Subculture and the Otaku: Two Orientations towards Value

Subculture and otaku are two words that commonly arise in Japan when discussing the scene of cultural production and consumption that encompasses media texts like anime, manga or videogames, as well as the development of various media franchises based on popular anime-like fictional characters or their narrative worlds.

Both words, subculture and otaku, are highly evaluative categories that depend on the social dynamics of classification and the social differentiation upon which consumer culture rests. The term subculture entails the struggle for achieving cultural capital and the associated cultural dynamics of distinction as described by Pierre Bourdieu (1984), and the notion of strategic resistance to mainstream culture that Fiske refers to with the term 'popular' cultural capital (1992). In the case of otaku, the word may be understood as referring to a similar social category to that of anime, manga or videogame fan. In many cases, this word has a pejorative connotation, and may be used in a broader sense to refer to someone who uses an excessive amount of time and resources to pursue a hobby which may be considered unworthy of such attention and use of resources.

Based on the perspectives of some Japanese researchers, I will examine in the following two sections the ways in which subculture and otaku culture are shaped by two different orientations towards value—in this case the value of cultural texts. As we will see, from some perspectives the category of subculture represents a 'horizontal' orientation towards relative values in Japan, while the otaku represents a 'vertical' orientation towards absolute values. Both orientations share a sceptical stance towards social ties that reflects a cynical view on mass culture. Thus, for them authenticity can only be sought through personal values and hobbies. These different orientations frame my distinction between activities and participation in *dōjin* cultures and also guide my approach to analysis of the ways in which these cultures use media texts as cultural resources.

5. Oppositions between Otaku, *Sabukaru*, and *Shinjinrui*

As Kanose and Barubora (2005) detail, the distinction between subculture and otaku appeared in the scene of Japanese consumption, in particular around the 1990s when the contraction *sabukaru* emerges (ibid: 95). In a broad sense, the word subculture in Japan can be understood as fundamentally equivalent to the term low culture, but from the 1960s it developed additional nuances, based on its connection to counterculture and the search for new values in opposition to the established main culture. Then, in the 1990s the word *sabukaru* was increasingly used in Japan to address different or eccentric 'cool' people who like equally different or eccentric 'cool' things. The 1990s saw a game of distinction and differentiation in cultural consumption—of magazines, videogames, fashion, and so on—played out between the people whose hobbies where perceived as *sabukaru* and those perceived as otaku. The word otaku, popularized in the late 1980s, referred to the 'un-cool' side, built around the figure of the obsessed fan of anime, idol singers or figurines. However, regardless of the differences, there were many points of connection between *sabukaru* and the otaku. In the case of cultural consumption, the television anime series *Neon Genesis Evangelion* (1995) and the anime film *Ghost in the Shell* (1995) are some famous examples of media texts where the hobbies of *sabukaru* and otaku mixed (ibid).

The word otaku was also formerly differentiated against what was popularized as the *shinjinrui* (lit. new humanity) in the 1980s. The sociologist Miyadai Shinji, in his famous book with Ishihara Hideki and Ōtsuka Meiko, *The Dismantling of the Myth of Subculture* (2007)[6], introduces a model to understand post-war Japanese media culture, focusing on the transformation of media communication. This model is divided into four stages, and of the last two stages, the first (commencing in 1973) frames the birth of *shinjinrui*, and the second (commencing in 1983), the birth of the otaku. *Shinjinrui* is the generation after those involved in the student movements, and reflects a shift from a focus on 'we', to a focus on 'I' and the rise of a cynical gaze towards the beliefs of earlier generations, including countercultures. Miyadai asserts that young people's search for a unique 'me' was reflected in media culture like manga, illustrated by a shift from the depiction of protagonists who struggle against the world to protagonists who search for their true selves

(ibid: 31-2).

For Miyadai, this generation is also characterized by an increasingly complex model of social relationships. In contrast, the otaku represents the response of those left behind by the *shinjinrui*. Accordingly, for otaku the focus on social relationships is substituted by a focus on narratives or what Miyadai describes as circular temporalities (ibid: 34-7). For him, what both *shinjinrui* and otaku have in common is an anxiety generated by a loss of normativity that leaves the relationship between the self and society up to the individual.

The connection between the consumption of narratives and the anxiety of the individual about his or her relationship with society is also the focus of studies by other influential authors on otaku and Japanese subculture. For instance, like Miyadai, Ōtsuka Eiji focuses on the cocooning and protective role of narratives for youths that he sees as 'half modern' (2004). Azuma Hiroki stresses, in contrast, the transformation of narratives into databases (that is, information lacking any transcendental meaning) and defines the otaku as 'postmodern animals' who pursue pleasure in consumption and disregard intersubjective connections with others (2001). Furthermore, Ōsawa Masachi (2008) redefines Azuma's database as a metanarrative which has lost its narrative linkages (ibid: 98), but still represents a desire for a repository of universal narratives (ibid: 99).

6. Embedded Totality and Radical Relativism

Ōsawa finds in the otaku—as part of contemporary consumer culture—a desire for finding universality in the particular, mixed with a relativistic and ironical gaze over the world. He avers that the contemporary world is increasingly defined by the desire to 'escape to reality' (ibid: 3), or the search for something more real than reality. This is a desire for extremely violent and intense experiences, which are at the same time framed by the anxiety and uncertainty that defines today's risk society. This contemporary world is for Ōsawa preceded by an 'era of fiction' (1975-1990), characterized by the presentation of reality as fragmented into symbols and language. Here, as reality is side by side with fiction, its value is determined as relative to these other fictions. What is of interest to us here is Ōsawa's characterization of otaku through a focus on the disproportion between the 'low meanings' of their hobbies and the high amount of information they recover from them (ibid: 87-8). For Ōsawa, 'low meaning' refers to the lack of reference of a particular topic to a broader context. He describes, in other words, a self-enclosed world with no external references, which is therefore continuously tied to the particular. The metaphor of a closed room is useful as well as descriptive here[7].

However, Ōsawa suggests that this narrow interest in the particular is an attempt to recover the totality of a fragmented reality. For example, an interest in railroads or trains constitutes a miniature-sized image of the totality of the train's network and therefore, a tangible picture of the totality of the national territory. Thus, a focus on the concrete and particular (the train) is here a way to grasp an abstract totality—in this case, the nation itself. Something similar may be said about the relation between otaku and the internet networks that allow us to reach the rest of the world without leaving our closed rooms.

Therefore, for Ōsawa the otaku is characterized by a search for a totality embedded in the particular. This search for the totality is closely related to radical relativism and the weight that otaku give to fiction. Ōsawa, following Slavoj Žižek's metaphor on decaffeinated coffee, argues that fiction enables a search for pleasure excluding risk. That is, as in the case of coffee without caffeine and cigarettes without nicotine, the focus on pornography or eroticized fictional characters in otaku media signals a search for 'sex without sex' (ibid: 82). Similarly, social interaction through internet networks can be characterized as a relationship with the 'other without the other'. Ōsawa applies this stance towards fiction in his analysis of the contemporary period—which, as mentioned above, he characterizes as an 'escape to reality'—where he focuses on the ironical notion of faith without faith. The escape from fantasy to reality signifies the desire to escape from radical relativism, and at the same time, to elude the risks that reality entails. That is why Ōsawa regards this search for reality as the 'greatest fiction' or the 'greatest concealment of reality' (ibid: 163-4).

7. Relativistic Values and Absolute Values

The perspectives on subculture and otaku briefly outlined above provide a means to illustrate the dynamic between two different orientations that exist in the consumer cultures defined as otaku and as *sabukaru* in Japan. Barubora (2005) synthesizes the opposing images of otaku and *sabukaru* as two different ways of approaching cultural consumption: the '*sabukaru* way', defined as based on finding value in something different, and the 'otaku way', defined as gathering information about something and going deeper than anybody else (ibid: 10). Of interest to my discussion here is the way in which Barubora regards the stereotypes of the *sabukaru* and the otaku as opposed to each other; that is, he understands the

'*sabukaru* way' as a 'horizontal' way to approach media and hobbies, in contrast to the 'otaku way', which he characterises as 'vertical' (ibid: 14). Within this context, it is also worth noting Barubora's references, although rather sporadic, to the value of media texts. He argues that the *sabukaru* horizontal approach looks for value in new things; that is, the goal is eccentric cultural consumption. However the otaku vertical approach, rather than expanding horizontally in the search for something new, goes deep into a particular hobby or media text.

With relation to *sabukaru* and otaku culture orientations towards cultural texts, we can find in the former a horizontal orientation that is based on a relativistic understanding of values. This orientation is committed to a logic of distinction as the basis for finding value in difference. It is close to what Miyadai regards as the orientation of *shinjinrui* and the way in which this generation conceptualises social relationships. It is broad and in principle has an open nature. A second orientation towards cultural texts can be found in otaku culture, an orientation that can be characterized as vertical, and based on the search for absolute and total value embedded in concrete. This is a narrower orientation with a relatively closed nature.

8. *Dōjin* Cultures: Individual Activities and Collective Participation

The distinction in *dōjin* cultures between activities and participation is connected to the two different approaches to value summarized above; activities can be considered to involve a vertical orientation towards the value of the appropriative activity, while participation entails a horizontal orientation, because it enables access to networks.

However, in contrast to otaku and *sabukaru*, *dōjin* as a set of practices of amateur production has a focus on action. Thus, in *dōjin* cultures this distinction renders two different understandings of social interaction. The use of common spaces, management of common resources, regulation of activities, and above all, the construction and management of standards for evaluating activities as well as the primary or secondary texts, are main elements that entail a horizontal network of interaction on the basis of values made relative. Hamano's analysis of the architecture of the video sharing website niconico (Hamano 2008) is a good example of how standards are built and negotiated.

However, *dōjin* cultures are built on the premise of a vertical orientation to values, which is rendered as an individualistic and narcissistic drive. The expression in Japanese '*katte ni suru*' (lit. do [something] in a self-serving way), often used by the participants of *dōjin* cultures to describe their motivations[8], is symptomatic of this. What interests me here is that while a vertical orientation to values may be understood as the basis of authenticity (for example, going your own way), a horizontal orientation towards social interaction built upon individualistic motivations can be a way to naturalize relative values, that is, to see them as authentic, and therefore, to regard the network as a kind of community.

The following sections present some examples of the way in which *dōjin* cultures emphasise communality while acknowledging individual motivations. Then, based on an interview with a *dōjin* writer, we will see an example of the way in which the meaning of community can become ambiguous.

9. The Stress on Community in Networks of Participation

Tamagawa's study of Comic Market staff emphasises the role of fandom in shaping a community focused on the same genre of a hobby (2007). The noticeable popularity of derivative works in contrast to the relatively small number of original works at Comic Market illustrates this point. For example, as Tamagawa notes, the genre of original works (*sōsaku*) represented only 10% of the total amount of productions registered for Comic Market 71 (December 2006), which demonstrates the limited popularity of this genre. Moreover, the proliferation of derivative works based on a particular commercial manga, anime, or character, emphasises the existence of a shared interest in the same media text. Therefore for Tamagawa, as for a large amount of studies that consider *dōjin* culture from the perspective of fan studies, the focus on derivative works indicates that events like Comic Market are a place where people with similar interests can meet and socialise (2007).

Likewise Natō Takako (2007) examines the ways in which networks shaped by *dōjin* activities around secondary creations like *dōjin* magazines are constituted by a community with shared hobbies (ibid: 89). Using studies on fan cultures as a reference, she focuses particularly on female producers of *dōjin* magazines, emphasizing networks of social interaction, communication and connections between, for example, *dōjin* magazine creators and buyers. Elements like the existence of a special shared language and specialized symbols only understandable to the group are examples she provides to illustrate her point that the *dōjin* world is a world supported by human connections (ibid: 91). She also highlights that emphasis on the importance of *hobbies* rather

than *work* in *dōjin* cultures reflects a world—the *dōjin* world—where values are inverted, and signals new values connected with a rejection of capitalism (ibid: 98-9). Her focus on anti-commercialism leads her to also analyze examples such as YouTube, where the distance between producers and consumers stretches.

Perspectives like Natō's, which stress community and communication, can be regarded as a reaction against a widespread stereotype that regards the otaku and *dōjin* worlds as composed of individuals lacking communication skills. This is a view that, as we have seen, is also shared by some of the academic discourse on subculture and otaku in Japan, although with several important nuances. For instance, Hichibe Nobushige (2005) accepts this stance in part but also stresses that the group dynamic in 'otaku phenomena' can build a 'shared culture' (Hichibe 2005) even when there is an individualistic orientation. He focuses on what he describes as groups that create culture, and emphasizes how even when there is an individualistic drive and the lack of a shared culture, the need for acceptance and belonging, or self-categorization as a member of a group, can lead to the formation of groups which can later develop a 'shared culture' (ibid).

As in the case of Tamagawa and Natō, Hichibe focuses on *dōjin* events—with specific reference to Sugiyama's questionnaire research—and their networks of interaction. These perspectives, which stress the formation of groups or communities in *dōjin* cultures, regard the media texts as shared elements that make social interaction possible. Through these kinds of studies we can thus understand how media texts become shared common resources that take on the central role of enabling the practices of *dōjin* cultures.

The different ways in which media texts are perceived as valuable cultural resources within the *dōjin* networks of interaction reflects the horizontal orientation towards participation suggested earlier. Accordingly, we can characterize *dōjin* events as networks where small groups or individuals interact. However, it is worth noting that this is a highly mediated form of interaction between participants. The mediation of texts is a fundamental premise for this interaction. Here, the example of the category of circle—the smallest unit within *dōjin* culture—is helpful. A circle is an impersonal category that allows participants to address each other in an indirect way. Likewise, the widespread use of handle names, and the strong tendency to avoid talking about personal issues or to share information that may lead to the disclosure of personal identity, are characteristic among the participants of *dōjin* culture in Japan, revealing strong individualistic motivations.

10. The Ambiguous Meaning of Commonality and Individuality in *D*ōjin Cultures

As we saw at the beginning of this paper, analysis from various perspectives—including scholarship focusing on Japan—has noted the rejection of commonality or community among participants in consumer culture. In the case of *dōjin* culture, we can find that many of its participants in Japan hold a similar stance. There is a strong tendency to neglect or reject commonality based on what can be read as a widespread mistrust of the nature of social ties (for example, ties to family, friends, community or nation). I have already examined some examples of the characterization of fans or otaku as individualistic. Here, before moving toward my conclusions, I will present excerpts from an interview undertaken in June 2010 as part of my fieldwork at a *dōjin* event, the 80th Comic City, in order to give an example of one way in which commonality is seen within *dōjin* cultures.

Ms. 'A', a 25-year-old female *dōjin* magazine writer, answered several questions by email in correspondence that continued until August of 2011. Her opinions on the nature of her activities provide a good example of a stance that I have found several times in my research on *dōjin* activities.

In the interview, she noted that the 'content' of the hobby and the nature of *dōjin* activities are so vastly different from each other that they should not be 'tied up in the same collectivity'. In her view, the expressions 'collective action' and 'fandom' or 'fan community' are very inappropriate descriptions of *dōjin* cultures. For instance, after I explained to her the aim of my research for the first time, her answer was as follows:

I think you are using the expression 'anime fandom', but I would prefer for you to use [the expression] '*dōjin* activities' as in the Japanese style, because we do not have the concept of doing activities in a 'group' […][9]

Ms. A also commented, 'We only engage in activities that pertain to the things we like and that please us personally.' She then stated that 'the consciousness of a crowd or the forming of groups is weak […] rather, there is a tendency to hate to be regarded as "a gathering of something" or as a group, as the current mass media usually portrays us'. However she also added, 'in any case, if there is a consciousness of a community, I think that it would be an awareness of being a minority.' Then she

went on to comment about how a former generation of *dōjin* circles was the target of discrimination and criticism, and how such a situation can become in some cases the basis for a strong feeling of solidarity when, 'despite not knowing his or her name or face, a fellow participant (*dōshi*) engaged in *dōjin* activities, a colleague (*nakama*) who has been oppressed as a minority, is in trouble.' She then stressed, 'the truth is, that perhaps is the only thing we have in common.'

Then, she shared the following comments when I asked about the atmosphere at dōjin events.

I don't have the consciousness of belonging to a big group (collectivity) that includes anime and manga fans, but I think I feel a consciousness of a group in relation to the people in front of me (if it is an event, in relation to all its participants).

She added that 'each time I leave the event hall, if anyone were to ask me, I think there is a sad feeling somewhere inside me'.

Then, when commenting on her internet activities and the way she makes friends online based on her hobbies or *dōjin* activities, she stressed that

> *[...] it is not that we don't have any interest in establishing relationships with other people. However, if you ask me if the ties of those communities are strong, [I would say that] they are fragile to the extent that they are completely forgotten when the genre of activity changes.*

She then added the following:

> *I feel that it is about people coming together only when they want to and when they can focus only on what they like. Basically, I feel that this is a world of horizontal, weak ties. As a result, even if a community is formed, there is a strong feeling that the people included are only acting as individuals.*

There are two[10] major types of commonality that Ms. A identifies in the excerpts quoted above: 1) communality through concrete interaction, and 2) commonality through a feeling of stigmatisation. Besides these two points, Ms. A regards the social ties produced between the participants in *dōjin* activities as weak, or even as hostile (for example, the tensions amongst different interpretations of the coupling of male characters in female *dōjin*).

In reference to the first type of commonality, Ms. A emphasises the different activities and orientations within the groups and a tendency towards differentiation. However, she acknowledges a feeling of being in a group in terms of face-to-face interaction at *dōjin* events. Similarly, with relation to her internet activities, she acknowledges social interaction and the shaping of ties from a focus on a similar hobby, but she emphasises the weakness of such ties and the ephemeral nature of the groups shaped. This kind of commonality based on interaction can be understood as a means for enabling action focused on individual motivations. The expression 'as one pleases' (*katte ni*) stresses this individual orientation in activities. However, it is important to note that the strong differentiation she points out within the group is only possible through the mutual understanding of the meaning of such differentiation.

The commonality and solidarity built from a feeling of oppression are interesting elements associated not with interaction between concrete subjects but within an imagined, abstract group of peers. This characteristic creates a borderline not between particular groups but between abstract categories: the '*dōjin* world' and the 'others'. Here it is interesting to note Ms. A's use of the words 'fellow participant' (*dōshi*) and 'colleague' (*nakama*) in the context of an oppressed minority[11], while in general she rejects this kind of identification of other participants. The category of subculture may be understood within this same logic of distinction from what is regarded as the outside world.

11. Conclusions: Institutions of Textual Appropriation, Activities, and Participation

At the beginning of this paper we saw how in representative studies on popular and fan cultures, commonality is regarded as the basis of practices of appropriation. Here, fans' subjectivity is the basis for their productivity, building an image of fans as, at best, subjects whose agency and discrimination in the field of cultural consumption sit in contrast to mass culture, regarded as alienating and exploitative of subjective, irrational motivations. In this perspective, the image of community as a romantic utopia is preserved, built in this case upon the management of shared symbolic resources poached from mass culture.

In Japan's consumer culture, however, a sceptical stance towards such a romantic image of commonality can be observed. The question concerning irrationality and rationality in cultural consumption can instead be considered in terms of a tension between an insular, individualistic attitude and an open attitude towards shaping social relationships through cultural consumption. While the former attitude is related to a sense of authenticity rooted in subjective standards, the

latter entails standards of evaluation relative to the logic of distinction and discrimination in social interaction. When we consider the notion of a community built from shared tastes, cultural discrimination, and mutual engagement in symbolic production in Japan's *dōjin* cultures, both orientations blend.

Furthermore, the interview with Ms. A illustrates a strong individualism shaping the networks that constitute *dōjin* activities, while revealing an elusive and fragile feeling of commonality that is expressed in one case towards concrete groups in face-to-face interaction, and in another, towards an abstract collectivity of peers who are targets of discrimination or criticism. The first type of group consciousness derives from the practices of *dōjin* culture, while the second one is external to it. The topic of how the idea of community is perceived in *dōjin* cultures must be discussed in detail in another place, but it is enough for now to identify the importance of asserting individualistic motivations within *dōjin* practices. That is, insular orientations form the main drive in social interaction.

In conclusion, the colloquial use of the words activities (*katsudō*) and participation (*sanka*) shows in empirical terms the coexistence in the same institution of two different stances towards cultural consumption, usually understood in opposing terms—that is, individualistic or community-oriented. My suggestion is to reformulate these seemingly opposed stances in order to consider them as two different orientations towards the value of the cultural texts that are at the core of *dōjin* institutions. Individuality and commonality here are not in opposition or contradiction, but rather, are shaped through the interaction of different orientations towards value, giving rise to abstract social structures shaped by concrete individual motivations.

Notes

1. The word otaku as a social category was first used by the columnist Nakamori Akio in 1983 in the lolicon magazine 'Manga Burikko' to mock the assistants at the dōjin event Comic Market, among others. A contextualized account on the origin of this 'subculture within the subculture' can be found in Kinsella (1992).

2. The author has conducted research in Japan about dōjin cultures and similar activities since 2010.

3. All quotations and sources originally in Japanese have been translated by the author.

4. This research, headed by Sugiyama Akashi, was carried out between 27 December 2003 and 10 February 2004 among all the participants registered as circles in Comic Market 66 (37,620 persons from 52,000 [72.3%] recovery percentage) (Sugiyama, 2008).

5. See for example Jenson's analysis on the discourses of fandom as pathology (1992: 9-29).

6. Ishihara, Ōtsuka, and Miyadai's research was first published between 1991 and 1993.

7. Morikawa offers an analogy between the opacity of Akihabara (a city representative of the otaku) and private space, in contrast to the cosmopolitan tendency towards transparency in Shibuya (2003).

8. This observation is based on fieldwork carried out by the author.

9. Interview conducted originally in Japanese and translated by the author. Due to space limitations, only a few representative fragments of the interview are reproduced here, maintaining as much as possible the original intention of Ms. A's words. I would like to extend my deepest gratitude to Ms. A for patiently sharing her thoughts with me.

10. Ms. A also commented in the interview on the role of fictional characters. Despite the relevance of this topic, I have omitted this part of the analysis from this paper because it exceeds the scope of the present argument.

11. In her words, "hakugai saretekita nakama ".

References

Azuma, H. (2001). Dōbutsu-ka suru posutomodan otaku kara mita Nihon shakai. Tokyo: Kōdan-sha.

Adorno, T. W., & Bernstein, J. M. (2001). *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*. Routledge.

Barthes, R. (1977). *Image-Music-Text*, ed. and trans. S. Heath, London: Fontana

Barthes, R. (1975). *The Pleasure of the Text.* Macmillan.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Certeau, M. de. (1980/2000). *La invención de lo cotidiano: artes de hacer. I.* Universidad

Iberoamericana.

Fiske, J. (1992). “The cultural economy of fandom”. In Lewis, L. (ed.), *The Adoring Audience.* Fan Culture and Popular Media. London: Routledge.

Fiske, J. (1989/2011). *Understanding Popular Culture*, 2nd ed. London and New York: Routledge.

Hamano, S. (2008) *The Ecosystem of Architecture (*Ākitekucha *no seitaikei: Jōhō kankyō wa ikani sekkei saretekita ka)*. Tokyo: NTT shuppan.

Hichibe, N. (2005). Bunka o umidasu ‘shūdan’: otaku genshō no shūdan-ron-teki bunseki kara. In *The Journal of Studies in Contemporary Social Theory* (15), 394-405.

Jenkins, H. (2011). “Why Fiske still matters”. In John Fiske: *Understanding Popular Culture*, 2nd ed. London and New York: Routledge, xii–xxxviii.

Jenkins, H. (1992a). *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture,* New York and London: Routledge.

Jenkins, H. (1992b). “‘Strangers no more, we sing’: Filking and the social construction of the science fiction fan community”. In Lewis, L. (ed.), *The Adoring Audience. Fan Culture and Popular Media.* London: Routledge.

Kanose, M., and Barubora. (2005) “Sō tokushū otaku vs sabukaru!: 1991 - 2005 Poppukaruchā zenshi”. In *Eureka* 37(9), 90-122: Seidosha.

Kinsella, S. (2000). *Adult Manga: Culture and Power in Contemporary Japanese Society.* University of Hawaii Press.

Macdonald, D. (1962/1983) *Against the American Grain.* A Da Capo Paperback.

Miyadai, S., Hishihara, H., and Otsuka, M. (2007). *Sabukaruchā shinwa kaitai: Shōjo ongaku manga-sei no hen’yō to genzai (zōho).* Tokyo: Chikuma shobō.

Natō, T. (2007) “Nijisōsaku katsudō to sono net-towāku ni tsuite”. In Azuma, S. et al., (ed) *Sorezore no fan kenkyū: I am a fan.* Tokyo: Fūjin-sha.

Ōtsuka, E. (2004) *Monogatari shōmetsu-ron: Kyarakutā-ka suru ‘watashi’, ideorogī-ka suru ‘monogatari’*. Tokyo: Kadokawa-shoten.

Ōsawa, M. (2008). *Fukanōsei no jidai.* Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

Sugiyama, A. (2008). *Komikku dōjinshisokubaikai ‘komikku māketto’ no bunka shakai-gaku-teki kenkyū.* Kyūshū: Kyūshū daigaku daigakuin hikaku shakai bunka kenkyū-in.

Tamagawa, H. (2007) “Fandamu no ba wo tsukuru to iu koto: komikkumāketto no sutaffu katsudō”. In Azuma, S. et al., (ed) *Sorezore no fan kenkyū: I am a fan.* Tokyo: Fūjin-sha.

Yoshimoto, T. (2009). *Otaku no kigen.* Tokyo: NTT shuppan.

Transition of Japanese commercial space: What has been lost from the commercial space?

Received: October, 10th 2016
Accepted: November, 29th 2016
Available online: December, 1st 2016

Tatsuma Fujioka

Kobe University, Graduate School of Humanities, Post-Doc. Studies Sociology, Chinese, and Social Sciences.

Abstract

This paper compares two types commercial spaces in modern Japan, which are shopping mall and "traditional" shopping district called "ShoTenGai", from the viewpoint of commercial space as the third space in the city. Particularly, the ''shopping street'' has been portrayed as nostalgia in the discourse about commercial spaces in Japan. Therefore, the transition of commercial space is always accompanied the description of the "Lost". However, there is no unanimous opinion in what actually lost in the process of this transition. In this paper, we extract the category of commercial spaces by considering focus on discourse for both places. The research papers and journal articles that with different main argument and specific data are targeted for my analysis. After extracting the social category, through the comparison of the two discourses, I reveal the nature of "Lost" that take place in the commercial spaces as the third place in the city. I also discuss how this transition relates the changes in Japanese social relationship and community.

Keywords

Commercial spaces, Modern Japan, Shopping district.

Introduction

This paper aims to compare two types of commercial space in modern Japan which are shopping mall and shopping street (ShoTenGai), from the viewpoint of commercial space as a third space in the city under the framework of new urban sociology. Especially the ''shopping street'' has been portrayed as nostalgia in the discourse about commercial spaces in Japan. Therefore, the transition of commercial space is described as occurrence of "something lost".

However, there is no unanimous opinion in what actually lost in the process of this transition. Hence, this paper focuses on discourse from the study of for both extracted categories. Also, I clarify the nature of the "lost things", and the relationship between the changes of Japanese society and "lost thing".

Method

In this paper, we attempt to compare shopping street and the shopping mall from the point of view of the third space. Eiichi Isomura (1959, p.83) studied the essence of the city in the development of the third space. Third space is defined as the space that is independent from the first space (re-production domain, like family) and the second space (production domain, like offfice). The third space exists between the production area and the re-production area, such as the resort area and entertainment district. This space is high anonymity urban space with each other. The characteristic of this space, Akihiro Kitada suggested that in the third space, people are unable to presuppose ties with others by objective economic rationality in the public area (colleagues), also by intimate ties in the private area. Hence, the possibility of connection with others to coexistence is contingent on the third space (Kitada, 2004). Furthermore, this contingency enables for people to encounter with others. For example, Angela McRobbie picks commercial space in London as it is the most diverse human gathering (Mcrobbie, 1994). Similarly, Rem Koolhaas pointed out that only one public activity that still remains today is shopping (Koolhas, 2001). This paper regards the commercial space as a kind of open coexistence space where different people can meet. And I focus on contact with a variety of cultures in a third space.

In Japan, the conversion of commercial space has occurred since the late 1990s. The decline of a "traditional" commercial space (the shopping street)

was revealed. At the same time, development of large shopping mall focusing on the suburbs was advanced. What we want to investigate in this paper is that whether the nature of the encounter with diversity has changed by the transition. In order to understand more about the issue, we collect data from books and papers relating to two commercial spaces that have been published since 1990. We analyze the changes of the configuration logic of the third space from the transition of commercial space through comparing two materials.

Result

In this section, I focus on the features from the typical discourse about the shopping street and shopping center by comparison. After summarizing the characteristics of each of them, I also pick up criticism of each type.

1. Features of the "shopping street": the definition of shopping street

In this section, we review the major discourse about the shopping street. We can summarize the fours features of shopping street as follow: 1.propelling the retailer into the middle class, 2.the store was based on modern family and regionality as accumulation of families, 3. Commercial accumulation can function as a "town", 4. Cooperativeness emerges due to share of common lands by arising from the livability.

First of all, I would like to clarify the definition of the shopping street. A shopping street can be defined in several ways. First, by the Small Business Administration defines that there is shopping street organizations such as a cooperative business association, a shopping street promotion organization. Besides, in the studies about shopping street, regardless of the presence or absence of the shopping street organizations, there is also an example to discuss about the company accumulation as the shopping street. The former is to focus on the institutional side and the latter one focus on the spatial aspects. However, these both of viewpoints are lacking of attention to the "shopping street" that formed by the recognition of people. Since we are trying to analyze the shopping street as a social space, we adopt a definition that "Store accumulation is present time continuously, through the perception of the customer to this presence, both of the shops and consumer to obtain a gain" (Yosano, Hashimoto, 2009).

Such a shopping street is supported by the presence of continued cooperation behavior of shops.

Figure 1. Kita-Senju Nishiguchi Shopping Street (Tokyo)

Shopping street has been expected a social function in the community rather than a mere commercial accumulation, whether if scholar evaluate it positively or not. In a sense, shopping street has been recognized as the place where collaboration can be seen the most plainly in the region. Therefore, the decline of the shopping street has been captured to symbolize the decline of the local community (Miura, 2004).

However, from viewpoint that focus on the establishment of the shopping street as institution and organization, the establishment of a systematic concept had begun by the establishment of the "Commercial Union Law" in 1932. Before the enforcement of this law, even though the same trade union was recognized, union between retailers of different industries were not seen. The shopping street as a spontaneous commercial space, according to the case in traditional shopping street , they claim it was established in the Heian period, but shopping street with the bothof institutional and the spatial aspects is a new one that has been formed in the 20th century. According to the Arata Masashi, a shopping street is an artifact that was born in order to respond to the need for public order of modern Japan's urbanization and fluidization at the time (Arata, 2012). In other words, the majority of the shopping street with a few exceptions was formed as a response to the urbanization of Japanese society after World War I, so it can be recognized as product of the modernization of commercial space. The shopping street represents an invented tradition in the modernity rather than a tradition. From what have been stated above, we capture the space of shopping street as one type of responses to social change associated with the modernization of Japan.

From here while keeping in mind that such modern character of shopping street, I will make

reference to the way of the discussion of the shopping street in previous the study later on part a - d**.**

a. Propelling the retailer into the middle class

Shopping street was organized as to achieve specialty and efficiency and entertainment and the public by accumulating shops at regional level. (horizontal department store). In order to understand this feature of the shopping street, it is necessary to understand the relationship among cooperative association, public markets, department stores in the 1930s.

First, in order to have an overview of the situation in Japan at the time, I compare the distribution of the industry population census conducted in 1920 and 1930 (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications Bureau of Statistics).

1920 primary industry 54.9% secondary industry 20.9% tertiary industry 24.2% (Wholesale and retail 9.8%) 1930 primary industry 49.7% secondary industry 20.5% tertiary industry 29.8% (Wholesale and retail 14.0%)

Within a decade from 1920 to 1930, the agricultural population has decreased by about 5 percent, the industrial population is flat, and the population of the service industry has increased about 5%. Among them, the population that engaged in wholesale and retail trade has increased 4%. It can be seen that this section had been absorbing the majority of the population of abandon farming. The migration of population from rural areas in Japan during this period had been to create a large amount of small-scale self-employed persons in the service industry, particularly wholesale and retail trade, rather than create jobs in the manufacturing industry. A low threshold of entering to retailers as compared to other industries was responsible for the increase of such small retailers. An increase in small-scale retailers that lack the expertise affected the continuity of their business. In other words, many of the shops were difficult to survive, because of the problem of unemployment of migrants in the city occurred. For this problem, system of the shopping street was formed as the form of synthesis of the best of three-advanced system at that time.

Concentration of population in the city had progressed in the 1920s affected the system of logistics and consumption, it resulted in volatility of price and distribution of shoddy goods. Such a problem for the general public was attributed the cause to retailers increased visibly. Since then, a part of the city inhabitants take a self-defense measure by organizing cooperatives. A correspondence (measure) was the establishment of collaborative commerce system by consumer. Similarly, for price stability it seemed necessary to stabilize the logistics by government intervention, so that public market is installed in many places. This aimed to establish the consumption space with the public (Hattori, 1939). In addition to the (1) Cooperative Association and (2) public market, the most significant impact on the formation of the shopping street was (3) department store. Hatsuta points out, department stores were the “space of excursion” contained such as display sales method, show window, event venue, restaurant (Hatsuta, 1999). In other words, it was a commercial space equipped with entertaining rather than the location of the simple business. These three preceding commercial institutions and urban small-scale retailers were in opposite relationship. As a countermeasure to the decrease of commercial quality and their unemployment problems in the city, shopping street was planned as a space that combines three elements of publicity (public market), cooperativity (Cooperative Association), and entertainment (department store). The intention of this plan was to transform urban micro retailers who were poor into a stable middle class.

b. The store is based on modern family and regionality as integrations of families

Shopping street was established as result of modernization, its members were also equipped with a modern nature. This type of store has been assumed that the modern family member as workers of store. It is different from the idea of the “house” of the pre-modern merchant. According to the Takashi Nakano, the most important thing for the merchant at the pre-modern period is the inheritance of family business. When the management body is in crisis, it was not rare that an outsider of family succeeded the management (Nakano, 1978). On the other hand, the modern retailer is based on a modern family as its parent body. The nature of this modern family such as decline the “sociality” and elimination of non-relatives (Ochiai, 1989) led to the significant constraint on the continuity of the business of each stores.

This management based on the family prevents shopping street from fully commercializing. Employees of shopping street regards as one family that has been living in the region, they have a sense of solidarity with the customer as well as the same members rather than mere commercial relationship. Therefore, it is expected that the shopping street has been function to maintain security in the region, such as friendly-greeting campaign. It also can be cited as an example that in the recovery process of the Great East Japan Earthquake, religions centering on the shopping street

such as HamaYuri restaurant street (Iwate Prefecture, Kamaishi City), Ishinomaki Machinaka reconstruction Marche (Ishinomaki City, Miyagi Prefecture), the Ofunato dream Shopping street (Ofunato City, Iwate Prefecture) is successfully back to the right track compared to the suburban commercial area. In such a case, by the shopping street based on the family, it can be seen that shopping street has the side of the actors of the re-production of community.

c. Commercial accumulation that can function as a "town"

Shopping street has been discussed actively associated with town planning so far. For example, Takemasa Ishihara named the retail industry as a "community-type retail business", which has been facing the daily life of the region such as represented by the shopping street. Ishihara points out that commercial theory regarded as the essential functions of commerce is the efficient cross-linking of the gap between the production and consumption, yet the viewpoint of evaluation as a function of the retail business to contribute to the local community is almost falling off (Ishihara, 1997, pp 38-39). From this point, shopping street is not just a shopping space but also the merchant is a member of community as well as he is a seller of the product. Similarly Atsushi Fukuda points out that the retail industry represented by the shopping street produces the space with vitality and locality of the city (Fukuda, 2008). In this aspect, shopping street is not only supporting the day-to-day shopping for people of the region, but also served as a place to mediate interaction of the people. The function of shopping street cannot be only measured by amount of sales and of number of visitors since it has also played a function to support the local community through events and festivals.

d. Cooperativeness by arising from the livability due to share common lands

Shopping street has been discussed as space provided with collaboration arising from the common property of the land and location. This point can be understood from the fact that shopping street is functioning as window for the community, also the volunteers coming from outside as cases mentioned in Section b. According to Masanori Ito, for Self-employed persons, it is important that the location of the life and the place for work are likely to be the same. Storeowners can stubbornly resist to elements for what security deterioration and living environment deterioration, because they have lived (Ito, 2004).

Moreover, Arata points out in the following manner about the delay of the reconstruction in bypass area in Tagajo City, while shopping street in the Ishinomaki was revived for four months after the Great East Japan Earthquake.

> *Perhaps reconstruction of the bypass area in Tagajo, rather than a volunteer, only relies on the power of the AEONs and the McDonald's corporate employees. As compared with it, the shopping street in the Ishinomaki, there is a room to attract external people. Shopping street is not just a commercial accumulation district. Even after the tsunami, there are people who continue to live in the shopping street, there are people who try to return there even though their house is no longer exist due to the tsunami, and there are people who are hoping to resume the business (Arata, 2012, pp8-9).*

In this way, the shopping street shares the interest for members and customers by daily living on the space of same area. In addition, it has been considered that emotional relationship which is ambiguous separation of public and private is occurred by arising from the fact sharing the interests.

Criticism towards the shopping street is to concentrate on non-purity as a commercial space. First, since the shopping street hold the function of protection for regional retail, Shopping street continued to prevent the trader entry from the outside by the management of grants for store openings permit and license. In addition, because retailers were family-run business, rights and interests for such license have been inherited among relatives. As a result, the shopping street was becoming conservatism. It was prevented an innovation of the store. For the contact with the diversity, first of all, local retail store accept others without a security check, it can be said that there are only customers well known. In other words, because they have been living in the space in a certain range, an accumulation of relationship has been created, and they share the mutual interests about the regional. Therefore, shopping street is a space that can welcome others.

Thus we can say that shopping street as the third space that is a space to accept others of the interior of a certain area by ensuring that you are living in there. Also, it is a space that constitutes the consciousness that is ambiguous the distinction between public and private by the meeting in this place.

2. Features of "SM"

In this section, we discuss about the characteristics of the shopping mall. It is necessary to clarify the definition of a shopping mall first. Japan Council of Shopping Centers defines a shopping center in the following manner.

A SC is an aggregate of business and service facilities planned, developed, owned and managed as a single entity and in many cases provided with a parking area. It has a role as an urban function being a community facility satisfying the needs of the residents by providing a variety of choices, conveniences, amenities and entertainment in accordance with its location, scale and composition.(JCSC HP)

And as JCSC's Standards for Shopping Centers, 1.The retail space covered by retail businesses should not be less than 1,500sq m. 2.Shopping centers tenants should include, apart from anchor tenants, at least 10 tenants. 3. As for anchor tenants, their area should not exceed 80% of the shopping center area. 4. However, this restriction does not apply if the retail space of the retail businesses among the other tenants occupies 1,500 sq m or more. 5. An association such as a Tenant Board (Store Association) etc. exists in order to conduct activities of common interest such as advertising and jointly held special events.

According to the association, there are 3,195 of facilities in Japan by the end of 2015. However, this definition also included what we do not consider the sensuously shopping centers and shopping malls. The category of shopping center that I would like to particularly discuss this time is the one refer to the mall-type shopping center among them. Especially large commercial facilities are increased after the "Large-Scale Retail Stores Location Law" in 2000 in the suburbs.

Hence, I particularly describe the features of such shopping mall in the following.

a. Homogeneous diversity

SM is generally pointed out that it has homogeneity. For example, George Ritzer, who is famous for McDonaldization, points out that the goods and services that a retail store in the United States is providing is homogenized. Surely even in San Francisco or New York, clothing that is sold in the GAP is very similar. And importantly, it does not mean that consumer cannot purchase a variety of products, this means that basically the same abundance is prevailing in society (Ritzer, 2005).

Experience in SM also has homogeneity as well as products. The component of a certain number of SM, has a supermarket as the anchor store, cinema complex, beauty salon, game room, food court are often included. Such a similar store is deployed in the same structure like the three-layer Galleria type or dumbbell-shaped which is connecting the both of anchor store at ends at the mall. Mikio Wakabayashi points out that because the SM not only has an objective overlapping portions but also it is arranged in the space as similar tenants and brands, it becomes a space for many of us to bring sense of well-known place while the SM to provide a variety of goods and services (Wakabayashi, 2013, pp200-201). In addition to support such a feeling, the format for the planning and development of the SM has been prepared. The conditions as a variable, such kind of the site of the area, the location, the total floor area, and construction total cost, by adapting it to the database with the each developer, SM is a semi-automatically planning and development (Nango, 2013). Among SMs, in other words there is a quantitative difference based on the specs, they are formed in accordance with the principle in the same format . It is ensured diversity by flexible accumulation of capital among a single container. In this sense, the SM has a feature that homogeneous diversity.

b.The opened enclosed space

The appearance of the SM can be characterized in the huge billboard of tenants with a large wall of the plain. Since the tenants are lined up on both sides of the Mall of the interior space, it unlike put a window by facing outside. Paco Underhill mentioned that because of such appearance is SM itself has no awareness that it is stores (Underhill, 2004). It is cut off from the outside, and it is in the closed structure inside. The more the scale of the shopping mall is expanded, the more the interior of the space is becoming independent. For example, Rem Koolhaas has pointed out the disconnection of the project of the interior of the building and the

Figure 2. An appearance of SM (Yashio, Saitama Prefecture)

outside of the building in the SM (Koolhaas, 2011). In other words, SM has high internal completeness from the point of view of space, the unification of themed are also made from the view of meaning. The most typical example of this disconnect is a Disney resort. This internal completeness constituted by the blocking of the external, shopping malls in this sense is a quite closed space.

On the other hand, however, this shopping mall is also a place that can lead to "anywhere no here". For example, Wakabayashi describe that in the following manner by using the passage of in the novel by Mitsuyo Kakuta, *Hanging Gardens*. For young people who live in the suburb with a SM,

> *Discovery Center is a Tokyo of this town, is a Disneyland of this town, is an airport of this town, is a foreign of this town, is a welfare facility, and is an employment office (Kakuta, 2002, 31).*

In Wakabayashi's interpretation of this sentence, the shopping center in this suburb is called Tokyo, because there is a place that can fulfill consumer daily life similar to living in Tokyo and also is a place where you can experience the stores and brands and such as, those contained in fashion building in Tokyo. This shopping center is a sample of the digest version of the downtown area of Tokyo. In fact, this shopping mall contains the store, like Starbucks, Uniqlo, Kinokuniya, etc., that opened in department stores and fashion buildings at downtown such as Ginza and Shinjuku and Shibuya. "Homogeneous diversity" which is closed from the surrounding areas, is a huge opened space that is connected to the Tokyo and to the global beyond this town. Shopping center, it can be said that it has been closed at the level of the region. It is an open space at the global level.

Figure 3. An interior of SM

c. SM as the middle of the rural/urban, ordinary/ extraordinary (semi-daily)

Up to this stage, the characteristics of the SM have been discussed by comparing with the local community. Here, we should consider about the comparison with the urban space. Jean Baudrillard describes in the '*The consumer society': myths and structures* the differences between the department store and the SM as follow. Department store is a place to sell the modern consumer goods. There is a space that customers can be walking around with a purpose. On the other hand, the mall is a space to achieve a comprehension of various consumption activities. (Baudrillard, 1998). It can be confirmed, complete progression of 'Theming[1]' described by Alan Bryman is hard in the SM. The reason of this is related to the fact that SM is "the store for displaying stores", developers playing a principal role for the development, similar to the real estate industry. As a result, SM as a meta-store, management for each individual store tends to be loose management in comparison with the department stores and theme parks. In addition, the tenants are likely to be the chain stores and franchise stores. These shops are mentioned in Section 2, shall be tend to be configured with products that you can buy even there, not with product that you can buy only here.

These trends of incomplete theming, if we look at the issue from the glance of the enlightenment typified by department stores and exposition, there is likely to be felt unsatisfactory. Space of enlightenment presents newer and higher parts of high culture in accordance with the cultural value system. SM is a half-finished space lacking a thorough in this sense. However, on the one hand, a complete themed space to eliminate an other value system (McDonald's is not opened in Disneyland), on the other hand SM loosely subsumes a variety of value system by its ambiguity. Hiroki Azuma evaluates the space of this gradual inclusion from a half-finished nature.

> *If the town has been designed there is a Disneyland. On the other hand, if the town that has not been designed, Akihabara is the most interesting. ... (Snip)... But there are things what are overlooked in the framework of such seemingly radical discourse. It is a kind of "half-finished" thing. I think the shopping mall exactly like that (Azuma, 2011, pp.85-86).*

Azuma expresses that how to evaluate the SM is how to evaluate the nature of "half-finished." And stated as follows.

> *There is a designer; also there is a user. SM is a thing vaguely constructed in the compromise of both of them. Do you see it as a unique, or truncate it as a lax (Azuma, 2011, pp.88)*

While thus SM is oriented to space separated from the region, but it cannot be completed as choreographed space. It is not a daily space like supermarket, and it is not also a non-daily space like a department store. It can be said that SM is the space of a semi-daily.

Criticisms towards SM are often carried out with particular reference to the gentrification and globalization (Cf. Miura, 2004; Ritzer, 2005). Advocates of this position questioned the point of destroying the individuality of the surrounding area by SM. Jane Jacobs who take a little different position but also in *The death and life of great American cities*, stressed on the destruction of the street function by motorization and personalization. Certainly the third space called SM is based on an assumption of the elimination of people who cannot come here by a car. Because of location that is separate from the space residence, SM allows people to get there with a condition that you have private transportation. Therefore, there is no possibility to meet the poor people, such as homeless in there. In addition, there is also a possibility that the huge size is unfavorable to human beings faced difficulties in physical strength, such as the elderly (Morimoto, 2005)

But this commercial space is a space that can allow the most diverse people, for example in comparison with the local shopping street. Ergonomically correct universal design is the most widely acceptable for people with disabilities, children, and foreigners as long as they have a consumption capacity. However, most of diversity to expand in this space often do not relate to accumulation of the culture, history and relationships in surrounding place of SM[2]. Rather, apart from the own residence, this space has a relation to the location that you know by the mass media[3].

The SM as a third space releases the people from the constraints of the physical proximity. Through a common activity of shopping, people constitute a consciousness of linkages with others via the mediated by the information. It means that the third space of the SM is based on common knowledge and information. And SM is a space to confirm to coexist with the virtual others, through realization of information in the material space.

Analysis

As mentioned above, it was offered the type of discourse of the two commercial spaces. This section aims to compare the category of these two discourses.

Shopping street is a space in which tie up the relationship with others by the basis of the residence to the region. There is characterized by the association for the emotional feelings that distinction of public and private is ambiguous. SM is a space to confirm the coexistence of the virtual others by the based on mediation of the mass media. At that time, shopping realizes the relationship between the virtual others by the same physical relationship for the same material.

In transition of commercial space form shopping street to SM, how it has changed the function as a third space. We are going to look at the common feature, then discuss about the difference in this section.

The common feature is that both spaces include the diversity by ambiguity. As shopping street, there is room to accept diversity by ambiguous boundary for public and private. SM plays a function as a space for synthesis of variety cultural activities by nature of half-finished coming from universal design and inconclusive theming.

Yet, we can conclude a difference between them as follows. The meaning of spatial proximity of each is definitively different. Residence within a certain range that is for shopping street has a great meaning. While spatial proximity for SM does not have meaning, ubiquitous spatially by homogenization and standardization has the big meaning. For SM, connection between others is constructed by exposed the common information and sharing the experience through relationship with the common material and the body. In this case, social interactions change from performing on the socialized space to performing on the abstract space by the media. This was greatly changing the nature of others and the range of others appearing on consciousness in the third space.

Conclusion

”Traditional” shopping street was a product of modern times. It means that SM and shopping street show two approaches to how to form the urban ordering of modern Japan. In the influx of immigrants, on the basis of the residence in a certain area, by the foundation of shared location and land, shopping street was constructed as the third space. In other words, the shopping street tries to deal with others by reterritorialization of the region. The construction of relationships with others by reterritorialization is a feature of this space.

Corresponding to the urbanization of the SM is to reduce the environmental difference as much as possible by the synthesis of objects which likely are everywhere. The universal design has the most possibility to accept the others generously, because it refused to link the individual properties. Relationship in the third space is non-binding, high anonymity, and temporary. Thus the space is easy to entry and release, there makes it possible for the people who have never been in other place to participate in the same activities in the same place[4]. Furthermore, the third space of the SM type is functioning as a confirmation place about the connection to abstract others of non-co-resident at the same time. They are building a relationship with the others by feeling to be positioned in a network expanding the world by the media. SM deals with the otherness problem by security of placelessness.

What does the transition from the shopping street to SM mean? What does the change of the third space from type of shopping street to type of SM? It means that relationships with others change from by coexistence in the space to by the mediated by the mass media. Considering from this trend, it is assumed that the third space has more association with information technology, and more moving toward to connect both the information aspects and spatial aspects.

Finally, I will mention about the future challenges and limitation of this paper. This paper relies its major material in the commercial space research in Japan. Whether researchers' achievements are able to understand the feeling of the user, it must be revealed by the accumulation of future research. In addition, future challenge after awareness of the issues of this paper, it can be considered following thing. The space of SM type to form by logic of "anywhere no here" has no attachment to the place. If the relationship of SM type is going to become the center of social relations, there is a concern about the sustainability of the society. A simple specific example can be applied about this point. Strangers who meet in the shopping street, developing the relationship, and forming a family are possible. However in SM type space, the possibility of occurrence of a new relationship would be comparatively lower. If it is, when the SM type is going to drive off the shopping street type, where will we have the opportunity to begin the relationship with others?

Bibliography

Arata Masafumi. (2012). 商店街はなぜ滅びるのか：社会・政治・経済史から探る再生の道. Tokyo, 光文社.

Azuma Hiroki. Ed. (2011). Shopping/patterns, 思想地図β, vol. 1. Tokyo, コンテクチュアズ

Baudrillard, Jean.(1998). *The consumer society : myths and structures,* London, SAGE

Bryman, Aran. (2004). *The Disneyization of society.* London. SAGE

Fukuda Atsushi.(2008). A change of the local community, and functional innovation of a shopping center: The strategic perspective of a shopping center and the role of an intermediary agency in some precedent cases. in経済系(234), pp. 74-96. 関東学院大学経済研究所

Hattori Bunshirou. (1939). 公私小賣市場の研究. Tokyo, 同文館.

Hatsuta Touru. 1999, 百貨店の誕生, *Tokyo,* 筑摩書房

Isomura Eiichi. (1959). 都市社会学研究. Tokyo, 有斐閣.

Ito Shoken. (2004). On the Revitalization of Tarumi shopping district. 現代社会研究 (7), pp. 201-211, 京都女子大学現代社会学部

Ishihara Takemasa. (1997). The Roles of Retailing in the Changing Communities. in経済地理学年報, *43(1), pp37-47,* The Japan Association of Economic Geographers

Jacobs, Jane. (1961). *The death and life of great American cities,* New York, Random House

Kakuta Mitsuyo. (2002). 空中庭園. Tokyo, 文藝春秋

Kitada Akihiro. (2004). 引用学：リファーする／されることの社会学. ユリイカ. 2004年３月号 Tokyo, 青土社

Koolhaas, Rem., Chuihua Judy Chung, Inaba, Jeffrey., Sze Tsung Leong (2001). Harvard design school guide to shopping. Köln, Taschen GmbH.

Ochiai Emiko. (1989). 近代家族とフェミニズム. Tokyo, 勁草書房.

Ritzer, George. (2005). *Enchanting a disenchanted world-Revolutionizing the mean of consumption, 2nd ed*. Thousand Oaks, Calif. Pine Forge Press

McRobbie, Angela. (1994). SECOND-HAND DERESS

AND ROLE OF THE RAGMARKET. in *POSTMODERNISM AND POPULAR CULUTURE.* London, Routledge.

Miura Atsushi. (2004).ファスト風土化する日本：郊外化とその病理. Tokyo, 洋泉社

Morimoto Taizou. (2006). The Large-Scale Expansion of Retail Stores and Daily Shopping: A case study of Senboku New Town, Osaka. 人間社会学研究集録(1), pp.149-170. 大阪府立大学

Nakano Takashi. 1978-1981, 商家同族団の研究：暖簾をめぐる家と家連合の研究(上下), Tokyo, 未來社

Nango Yoshikazu. (2013). 建築空間/情報空間としてのショッピングモール. Mikio, Wakabayashi., Emi, Kusuda., Daisuke, Tanaka, Yoshikazu, Nango., Yuka, Nakamura. モール化する都市と社会 : 巨大商業施設論. Tokyo, NTT出版

Yosano Arinori, Hashimoto Satoru. (2009). 'Dynamic Maintenance' in a Shopping Area: Cooperation and Social Cohesion. Bulletin of Sociology Kansai University, 40(02), pp.129-160.

Wakabayashi Mikio. (2013). 多様性・均質性・巨大性・透過性 : ショッピングセンターという場所と、それが生み出す空間. Mikio, Wakabayashi., Emi, Kusuda., Daisuke, Tanaka, Yoshikazu, Nango., Yuka, Nakamura. モール化する都市と社会：巨大商業施設論. Tokyo, NTT出版

Endnotes

1 Alan Bryman points to the fact that the Disney theme park elements can be seen remarkably in the consumption of modern society was referred to as "Disneyzation"(2004).

2 On the other hand, as Disneyland, there may be a method of reconstructing the spatial wrapped in nostalgia by using simulacrum. We must be the most considered is whether to assess how such a simulacrum today.

3 . Occurring desire to the place there is no continuity to own residence is because it is possible to know about the location through the mass media.

4 The power of environmental management type is operating by invisible way in the backside

Notes of Picture 3

1 The difficulty of continuity of the business is known as the "successor problem" in Japan. If the store is not finding the desired successor in the family members, it is not a few cases where the will to stop the business itself. In this regard, Arata points out problem of the shopping street store is to expand the business only within a limited range of family (Arata, 2012, p.30)

2 Mango Yoshikazu expresses this point that "Shopping mall is growing in copy and paste". He also depicts a shopping mall in the concept of "Instant City" in another place (Nango, 2013).

Reseña | Review

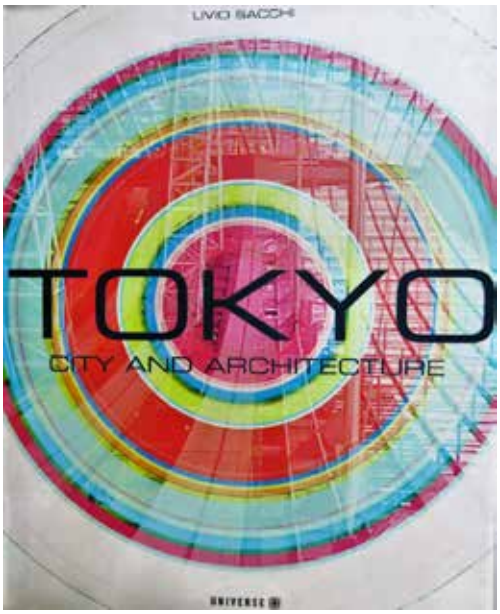
Sacchi, Livio (2004). Tokyo: City and Architecture. 249 p. ISBN: 0-7893-1212-3. Nueva York: Universe Publishing.

Recibido: 24 de noviembre de 2016
Aceptado: 28 de noviembre de 2016
Disponible en línea: 01 de diciembre de 2016

Fermin Ernesto Flores Quiroz

Egresado de la Licenciatura en Arquitectura, impartida por la Facultad de Arquitectura de la Universidad Autónoma de Yucatán. Cuenta con maestría en Ciencias en Arquitectura y Urbanismo de la Escuela Superior en Ingeniería y Arquitectura Unidad Tecamachalco, del Instituto Politécnico Nacional. Participó en programas de intercambio académico con la Universidad de Zaragoza en España y la Universidad de Kobe en Japón.

Correo electrónico: arq.ferminflores@hotmail.com



Resumen

El libro del autor italiano Livio Sacchi centra su análisis en el desarrollo espacial de la ciudad de Tokio y la manera en cómo los procesos socioeconómicos de los siglos XIX y XX influenciaron la conformación de la estructura urbana sobre la cual millones de tokiotas desarrollan su vida diaria. Durante el texto, el autor subraya el impacto del movimiento arquitectónico moderno en la configuración del paisaje urbano de Tokio. Además, es importante mencionar que este trabajo funge como traductor para los lectores occidentales, al descifrar las características sociales y espaciales que constituyen la traza de la ciudad más poblada del mundo.

Abstract

The book by the Italian author Livio Sacchi, focuses on the analysis on the spatial development of the city of Tokyo and the way in which the socioeconomic processes of the 19th and 20th centuries influenced the conformation of the urban structure on which millions of Tokyo citizens develop their daily life. During the text, the author underlines the impact of the modern architectural movement on the urban landscape of Tokyo. Furthermore, it is important to mention that this work serves as a translator for the western readers, because it deciphers the social and spatial characteristics that constitute the most populous city in the world.

El área metropolitana de Tokio es considerada la megalópolis más poblada y extensa en la superficie del planeta tierra; por tal motivo, cualquier acercamiento sobre su funcionamiento y desarrollo histórico, se convierte en pieza clave para el análisis de las ciudades contemporáneas y el desarrollo de proyectos urbanos en cualquier región del mundo.

El autor de origen italiano crea una obra que parte desde su perspectiva, hecho esencial durante el desarrollo del texto, pues busca funcionar como traductor de los elementos históricos y sociales de Japón, con el fin de explicar la forma y estructura común de las ciudades a los lectores con visión occidentalizada. Al mismo tiempo, el trabajo funciona como una pieza base para la construcción de una estructura de análisis de las ciudades japonesas.

El libro centra su objeto de estudio en la ciudad de Tokio, específicamente en los procesos históricos del siglo XIX y XX que tuvieron mayor influencia en la conformación de la morfología y el paisaje urbano de la ciudad. El hecho de estudiar la estructura de una de las ciudades más representativas el desarrollo urbano en Asia y una de las mayores influencias de planificación de corte occidental en su esquema, sirve como puerta de entrada para el lector occidental y como punto de referencia para comparar con otras ciudades asiáticas.

La estructura del libro se puede clasificar en tres bloques; el primer bloque sirve como introducción a la problemática de la urbe, el segundo bloque engloba la descripción del desarrollo histórico-morfológico de esta y el último bloque analiza la influencia de la arquitectura occidental en el paisaje urbano de Tokio.

El primer bloque parte del análisis de que, para el caso de Japón, existe una similitud entre el concepto de mercado y el concepto de ciudad, debido a que Tokio parece dar prioridad a la movilidad y al intercambio mediante una moderna red de transporte que sortea las múltiples corrientes de agua natural y accidentes topográficos que corren en la superficie de la ciudad. Sin embargo, desde una perspectiva occidental parece existir un nulo proceso de planificación urbana, lo cual debería impedir que una ciudad como Tokio funcionara de manera eficiente. Debido a lo anterior, el autor da a entender que dentro del caos aparente, existe un orden que se encuentra oculto al observador extranjero.

La segunda sección de esta obra describe el desarrollo histórico de la ciudad de Tokio y el impacto en su estructura urbana actual. Desde su fundación dentro del modelo de desarrollo urbano japonés conocido como ciudad-castillo y la influencia del periodo Meiji -considerado como el proceso de modernización y apertura económica de Japón-, hasta los efectos de la Segunda Guerra Mundial y el Gran Terremoto de Kanto -donde gran parte de la ciudad fue destruida-. En dicho bloque, el autor centra su análisis en los proceso de planificación y reconstrucción que tuvieron lugar en la segunda mitad del siglo XX durante el boom económico de Japón y su crisis económica a finales del mismo siglo.

Para Sacchi, dentro de la perspectiva occidental existe una clara diferencia entre la ciudad y la naturaleza que le rodea, mientras que la perspectiva japonesa busca integrar la naturaleza en sus asentamientos. De esta manera, el autor establece que dicha perspectiva es la que permite que la ciudad de Tokio no presente una traza racionalizada como las que se pueden observar en las grandes urbes contemporáneas de países desarrollados.

En la última sección del libro se hace referencia a la relación sinérgica que existe entre la traza tradicional y los modernos planes de desarrollo de Tokio. Dichos contrastes también son observables en la sociedad japonesa, en la cual existe un constate debate entre lo contemporáneo y lo tradicional o lo nacional y lo extranjero; también son visibles en el leguaje, en la religión e incluso en la vestimenta de los tokiotas. Por ello, para el autor, entender la estructura de la ciudad es posible mediante el análisis de los procesos diarios de la vida de sus habitantes.

La última sección del libro también abarca el análisis de la influencia de los proyectos urbanos y arquitectónicos de tres arquitectos occidentales en Japón; en 1990 con Frank Lloyd Wright, en 1930 con Bruno Taut y en 1950 con Le Corbusier. La presencia de sus proyectos influenció a varias generaciones de arquitectos japoneses que terminaron por transformar el paisaje urbano de Tokio a finales de siglo XX.

Por último, cabe destacar que Franco Purini realiza la introducción de esta obra y desde su perspectiva el libro parece incompleto al confrontalo con la realidad urbana de Tokio. Sin embargo, esta falta de actualidad sirve como marco de entrada para lograr una compresión sobre la influencia de los aspectos históricos y sociales en la morfología de la ciudad, permitiendo que el lector obtenga las primeras pautas que le servirán para descifrar el orden detrás la masa caótica de edificios que parece ser Tokio.

Lineamientos de publicación

Comite Editorial, Revista Gremium

Gremium® es una revista de publicación semestral, enfocada a la investigación científica de la restauración y conservación del patrimonio urbano arquitectónico. Invita públicamente a investigadores a participar en la revista, enviando artículos que contribuyan al campo de estudio en la disciplina de la conservación. Los artículos pueden estar enfocados al análisis del objeto patrimonial desde lo histórico, teórico o técnico.

La revista Gremium® tiene como objetivo incluirse en índices internacionales de revistas científicas, como: LatIndex, Redalyc, SciELO, Bibliat –CLASE UNAM, Thomson Reuters y CONACYT. Por esta razón, Gremium® adoptó el conjunto de instrucciones para autores de los índices mencionados, como lineamientos de publicación. Estos se presentan a continuación.

1. Estructura y contenido

Los artículos enviados deberán cumplir con los siguientes lineamientos:

Los artículos que se envíen para ser publicados, deben tener contenido inédito y haberse escrito en menos de un año. Para esto el autor del artículo debe confirmar que su obra no ha sido enviada a otro medio de publicación y se compromete a no enviarla simultaneamente a otras revistas o si es aceptada por Gremium. Por la naturaleza de la revista no se admiten memorias de foros ó artículos periodísticos.

Los artículos de investigación deberán contener al menos las siguientes partes: resumen, introducción, método, resultados, conclusiones y bibliografía. El resumen, la introducción, las conclusiones y la bibliografía deberán ir indicados textualmente con un subtítulo. Los nombres de otros subtítulos que puedan contener los artículos, quedan a consideración del autor.

Se recomienda que el título no exceda de 12 palabras. Evitar en el título el uso de abreviaturas y palabra como “método”, “resultados” ó “estudio”.

El título del artículo, las palabras clave, y resumen en el idioma original del artículo y en inglés.

Incluir los datos generales del o los autores. Indicar el nombre completo del autor o los autores del artículo sin abreviatura. Los artículos no podrán tener más de tres autores. Indicar si el autor tiene alguna adscripción institucional o es independiente. El país de origen de la institución. El correo electrónico de al menos uno de los autores y si es posible direcciones web. El resumen puede tener una extensión de 150 a 250 palabras y será escrito en un solo párrafo.

El resumen debe contener: el planteamiento del problema de investigación, características del método de estudio, descubrimientos básicos, replicabilidad e implicaciones de los resultados.

Escribir tres palabras clave al final del resumen.

Se recomienda de 2,000 a 5,000 palabras de extensión para el contenido principal del artículo (se excluye del contenido principal el resumen y la bibliografía). Entre quince (15) cuartillas mínimas y veinticinco (25) cuartillas máximas, incluyendo fíguras, tablas, notas y bibliografía.

El contenido del artículo se recibirá en idioma español, inglés, italiano, francés ó alemán. Si está escrito en uno de los tres últimos idiomas mencionados, deberá ir acompañado con su traducción en inglés.

Las ilustraciones serán tituladas como: figura (fotografías, gráficas, esquemas, dibujos, planos, diagramas ó cualquier ilustración no textual) y como tablas (los cuadros o ilustraciones compuestas por filas y columnas). La numeración de las figuras y tablas será en números arábigos. Ejemplo: Figura 1 ó Tabla1.

Se deberá incluir el significado de las siglas y abreviaturas la primera vez que se indiquen en el texto.

La bibliografía incluida será sólo la referenciada en el artículo. El sistema de citación utilizado en la revista Gremium® es el estilo American Psychology Association (APA).

Los artículos enviados deben estar finalizados por el autor. No se admiten cambios en el contenidos por parte del autor una vez que estén en proceso de arbitraje, con excepción a los indicados por los árbitros.

El sistema de arbitraje realizado por Gremium es revisión por pares y doble ciego. Todos los artículos enviados son sometidos a un arbitraje de pares expertos para evaluar la calidad del contenido y pertinencia. Los árbitros forman el comité científico de la revista, que está compuesto por investigadores nacionales e internacionales externos al comité editorial. Ellos son expertos que cubren las diversas

áreas temáticas que trata la revista: Restauración urbano arquitectónica del patrimonio.

Gremium entrega un los árbitros un formato de evaluación uniforme, que considera los siguientes aspectos: (a)Relevancia temática, (b)originalidad, (c) contribución al avance de la disciplina, (d) coherencia de la estructura interna, (e) exposición de objetivos, resultados y conclusiones del tema investigado, (f) claridad inicial del planteamiento de investigación, (g)orientación de la línea de argumentación, (h) empleo de fuentes documentales o de consulta, (i) correspondencia de la metódica con los objetivos, desarrollo en relación al planteamiento del problema, (j)al tratarse de artículos en que predominen rasgos de interpretación, evalúe la aportación y pertinencia de ésta en el ámbito de la investigación contemporánea.

El formato de evaluación contiene un apartado donde el evaluador puede incluir sus sugerencias correspondientes para la optimización del contenido del artículo.

El proceso doble ciego consiste en que los autores desconocen quien es el árbitro específico de su artículo y los árbitros desconocen quién es el autor de cada artículo.

Los artículos que traten sobre proyectos profesionales no serán incluidos como artículos de difusión para la revista Gremium. Estos podrán ser publicados en la sección de divulgación de la web de editorial Restauro.

2. Formato

El tipo de letra establecido es Arial. Los títulos irán en Arial tamaño 14, para el contenido del artículo Arial 12 con interlineado 1.5, espaciado entre párrafos de 6 puntos. Las citas textuales y pie de gráfico en formato Arial 10. Las notas serán en Arial 10.

La extensión del formato del archivo de textos puede ser DOC, DOCX, RTF y ODT. Los archivos de las fotografías pueden estar en formato JPG ó PNG. La planimetría puede estar en formato fotográfico o vectorial. Será preferible el formato vectorial (EPS, SVG, DWG, y DXF), ordenado por capas según el grosor de línea. En caso de estar en ACAD incluir archivo CTB. La resolución mínima de las fotografías podrá ser 1280×720, preferiblemente 1600×1200.

La cantidad de fotografías por artículo es libre, según lo que considere necesarios el autor, pero se recomienda que no exceda el 30% de las cuartillas del total del artículo.

3. Perfil del autor

Añadir el resumen profesional del autor en 100 palabras que contenga: Nombre del autor sin abreviatura, Adscripción institucional y actividad laboral, Área de investigación, Correo electrónico, Grado máximo de estudios alcanzado y estudios en curso, experiencia, Teléfono. Añadir la autorización para proporcionar algunos datos personales a quien los solicite.

4. Derechos

Los autores deberán ceder los derechos patrimoniales a Gremium®. El autor o autores recibirán un formato de cesión de derechos patrimoniales que deberá ser firmada por los mismos. Los autores conservan los derechos morales. Gremium® se reserva el derecho de hacer los cambios editoriales necesarios para la publicación.

Se debe ceder el permiso de publicación del material de forma libre por parte de la revista Gremium®, bajo la licencia Creative Commons (CC-BY-NC-CD), que consiste en conservar algunos derechos reservados, con la siguiente característica:

Atribución (BY): Debe reconocer la autoría de la obra de la manera especificada por el autor de cada artículo y de la edición por parte de la revista.

No comercial (NC): Esta obra no puede ser utilizada con finalidades comerciales, a menos que se obtenga el permiso del licenciador.

Sin derivar (ND): El licenciador permite copiar, distribuir y comunicar públicamente solamente copias inalteradas de la obra, sea en formatos digitales ó impresos en caso que sea necesario. No se permiten derivadas basadas en ella.

5. Contactos

Los artículos se podrán enviar al correo electrónico contacto@editorialrestauro.com.mx ó bien a Restauro Compás y Canto S.A. de C.V., Eje Central Lázaro Cárdenas No.13, Despacho 1107, México D.F., Delegación Cuauhtémoc, C.P. 06700, Tel. (55) 186182.

Guidelines for autors

Gremium Editorial Committee

Gremium® is a biannual journal on conservation and restoration of urban -architectural heritage. It is an open journal with free download and it seeks to be included into national and international scientific journal indexes like Thomson Reuters, Scientific Electronic Library Online (SciELO), Mexican National Council for Science and Technology (CONACYT), Latindex, National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) and Redalyc. For this reason, Gremium ® follows the group of instructions for authors of the mentioned indexes. The following guidelines are provided to assist authors in submitting manuscripts.

1. Structure and content

Gremium® does not charge for article submission.

Gremium® publishes original and peer-reviewed articles related to scientific and applied aspects of Urban and Building Conservation. Gremium only accepts unpublished papers. The papers cannot be sent to other journals simultaneously. Newspaper articles and conference proceedings are not accepted.

The manuscript must contain at least the following parts: abstract, introduction, method, results, conclusions and references. The abstract, introduction, conclusions and references must be specified textually with a title. The names of other subtitles that might contain the article are left to the decision of the author.

The title paper should be preferably brief, and it should not exceed 12 words. Avoid the use of abbreviations in the title and words such as “method”, “results” or “study.” The article title, keywords, and abstract must be written in the original language and in English.

Include the general data of the authors. Provide the full name of the authors of the article without abbreviation. The maximum number of authors in each article is three. You have to indicate whether the author has any institutional affiliation or is independent. The country of origin of the institution and email address of at least one of the authors and web addresses must be indicated too.

The abstract must be no longer than 150 – 250 words.

The recommended length of the main content of the article is 2,000 to 5,000 words (excluding abstract and bibliography). The total length of the article should be fifteen (15) pages minimum and twenty-five (25) pages maximum, including figures, tables, footnotes and references.

The content of the article can be written in Spanish or English. If the article is written in Italian, French or German, you must attach an English translation.

The illustrations will be titled as figures (photographs, graphs, diagrams, drawings, plans, diagrams or any non-textual illustration) and as tables (tables or illustrations consist of rows and columns). The numbering of figures and tables will be in Arabic numerals. Example: Figure 1 or Table 1.

The article must include the meaning of acronyms and abbreviations the first time they are indicated in the text.

Only the referenced bibliography in the article may be included. The citation reference used by Gremium ® journal is the APA style.

Review articles must provide a comprehensive review on a scientific topic.

Authors should submit only papers that have been carefully proof read and polished.

The research articles should be complete. Changes are not allowed in the content by the author once they are in process of peer-review, except those indicated by the scientific committee. The process for publication articles is double-blind.

2. Format

The font type must be Arial. Arial size 14 for titles. Arial 12 for the main content of the article with 1.5 line spacing, paragraph spacing of 6 points. Quotations and footer graphic format will be in Arial 11 size and the notes will be in Arial 10.

The extension of the file format can be DOC, DOCX, RTF and ODT. The picture files can be in JPG or PNG format. The mapping may be photographic or vector format. Vector format (EPS, SVG, DWG, and DXF), ordered according to layer thickness line is preferable. ACAD files should include CTB file. The minimum resolution of the photographs is 300 dpi.

The amount of pictures per article is free according to the author´s needs. It is recommended not exceeding 30% of the total pages of the article.

3. Author´s Profile

It is necessary to add the author’s professional summary in a text no longer than 100 words containing:

Author's name without abbreviation, institutional affiliation and work activity, research Area, email, professional degree and current studies, experience, and telephone. Authorization to provide some personal data upon request must be included.

4. Copyright

Gremium® is a free and open access journal for everyone. Authors must give in property rights to Gremium ®. The author will receive a copyright form that must be signed, with the understanding that the rest of the authors have given their agreement. The patrimonial rights of the research article are transferred to Gremium. Authors retain moral rights. Gremium ® reserves the right to make editorial changes required for publication.

Permission to publish freely the material by Gremium ® journal must be given, under the Creative Commons license (CC-BY-NC-CD), which consists in preserving some reserved rights with the following property license:

Attribution (BY): You must attribute the authorship of the work in the manner specified by the author of each article and the publication by the journal.

Non-Commercial (NC): This work cannot be used for commercial purposes unless permission is obtained from the licensor.

No derivatives (ND): The licensor may copy, distribute and transmit only unaltered copies of the work, either in digital or printed formats if necessary. Do not allow the derived based on it.

5. Contact

The manuscripts can be sent to email: contacto@editorialrestauro.com.mx or Restauro Compás y Canto S.A. de C.V., Eje Central Lázaro Cárdenas No.13, Despacho 1107, México D.F., Delegación Cuauhtémoc, C.P. 06700.

Tel. +00 52 (55) 186182

Gremium

Revista de Restauración Arquitectónica