**INTRODUCTION**

**Introduction**

'Why are Japanese people so orderly?'

Since arriving in Australia, I, the author, being a Japanese national, have received this question countless times. Many people expect an easy answer, that is, 'because they are Japanese'. However, the more one tries to provide a nuanced response to this question, the more complex the issue becomes. Is there an alternative way to respond to this question without relying on the lumpen category of the "Japanese"? This essentialist category downplays the differences and diversities enclosed within it and exaggerates a fixed cultural disposition ignoring its shifting potentials.

The primary aim of this thesis is to investigate the mechanisms of modulation that intervene into, engineer, manipulate and cultivate railway passengers' bodies and their comportments as they mediate and channel affective intensities in a certain manner. In doing so, it deconstructs the myth of "Japanese-ness" and constructs a more sociologically sound elucidation in response to the question. However, at the same time, the question itself also needs to be rephrased to critique its underlying assumption. The rephrased question then asks, 'How are the individuals in Japan conditioned to develop orderliness?'[1] The thesis is most interested in the process of becoming rather than that of being.

To explore this question about becoming orderly subjects, this thesis explores urban railway spaces where individuals with a range of socio-economic backgrounds intersect. The railway is one of the most frequented public spaces, which brings together individuals with different

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[1] Some critics may point out that the assumption that underlies this question does not mirror the reality at all. While this is correct to some extent, the purpose of this thesis is to critically engage with the assumption. Hence, the thesis provides a way to better understand why individuals in Japan behave in the way they do.

occupations, age, class, gender, ethnicity, religion and so on. Once people enter into a railway station, they share the same space for the duration of their railway travel. In other words, they move with others (Adey, 2010, p. 23). An experience of moving with others may induce stress, discomfort and exhaustion but also provide comfortable, sheltered and swift travel. By way of better understanding the experience of moving with others, I spent many hours travelling around Tokyo on the railway during a ten-month period of fieldwork in 2013, which allowed me to gain a number of insights into the world of urban railway travel. This thesis is based primarily on auto-ethnographic accounts and secondarily on interviews and discursive analyses of publications made available by urban railway operators and government agencies.

The main objective of this opening chapter is to identify the key research questions, and most significantly, introduce the aim of this thesis. To begin, however, it is necessary to outline the contextual background. Therefore, the first part introduces the historical context of the Japanese urban railway system and its recent development, in order to initiate the discussion. The second part then identifies the scope of discussion and sets out the research questions. Importantly, this part underscores the vantage point of this thesis. Significantly, this demonstrates that the thesis takes a discipline-based approach rather than an area-based approach. Put differently, while this thesis looks into Japanese society, its analysis is pertinent not only to the Japanese context, as its findings have relevance across a broader geographical scale. The third part then moves on to outline the process by which this thesis addresses the research questions. It offers a chapter-by-chapter overview of the thesis and explicates how the thesis as a whole approaches the subject of control and security.

**Railways in Japan**

In the Greater Tokyo Area (which includes Tokyo metropolis and three adjacent prefectures: Chiba, Saitama and Kanagawa), there are sixteen private railway operators serving approximately

700 railway stations, connecting almost every corner of the area from 5:00am to 1:00am today.[2]

One of the most efficient railway systems is also one of the busiest systems in the world. For

example, Shinjuku station, with more than 200 exit gates and accommodates an average of 3.64

million passengers per day is known to be the busiest terminal station in the world (Guinness

World Records, 2011). Similarly, other terminal stations such as Ikebukuro, Shibuya, Shinagawa

and Tokyo also deal with more than one million passengers a day, as the majority of residents in

Tokyo frequently use the railway service to move across the city (Ministry of Internal Affairs and
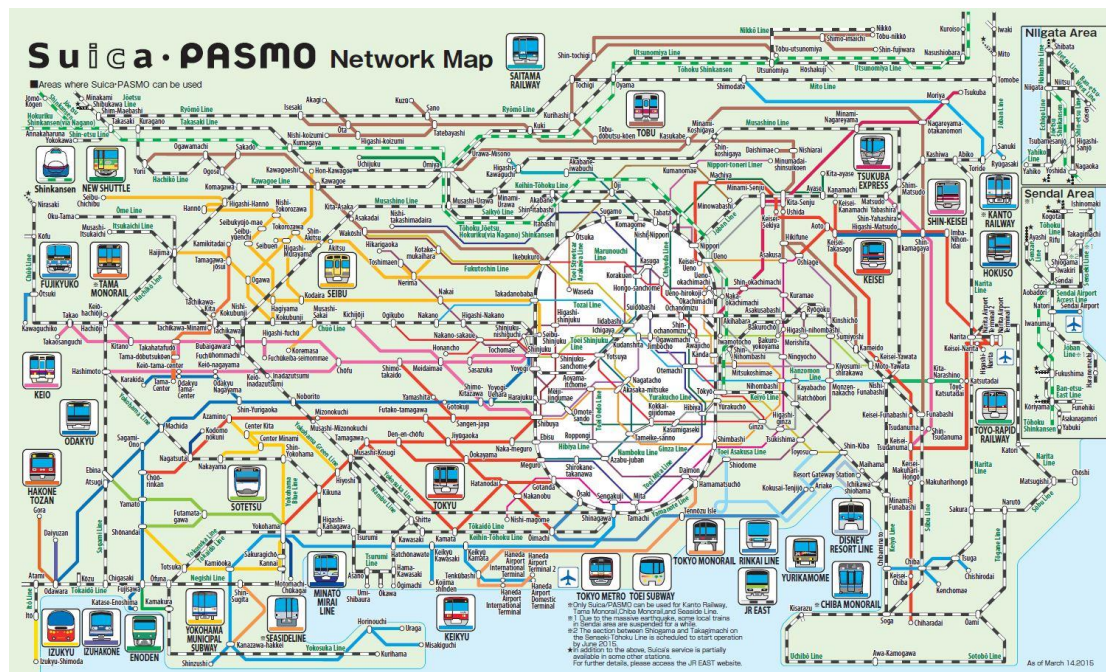
Communications, 2012).



Figure 1. Tokyo Metropolitan area railway and subway route map (2016).

According to the 2010 census data from the Statistic Bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs

and Communication (2012), the railway is the preferred method of commuting from home to

work, to school or other destinations. In Tokyo, it is one of the vital logistical modes of transport,

connecting the centre and the peripheries, or central business districts and suburbs. In fact, railway

travel is almost an everyday obligation for most inhabitants of Tokyo as they commute from home

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[2] City buses also play an instrumental role in serving the city's elderly population and providing access to some areas without railway stations.

to work or home to school. The latest data from the 2010 National Census suggests that the

population over the age of 15 years old spends an average of 66.75 minutes a day commuting

(The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication, 2012).[3] While this may appear to be a

small amount of time, it adds up to 5 hours and 34 minutes (333.75 minutes) a week, and 22 hours

and 15 minutes (1,335 minutes) a month. In effect, an average passenger in Tokyo is spending

almost an entire day in railway transit in the course of a month.[4] Due to the central role that

railway transport plays in Japan, the country is today dubbed 'the railway capital of the world'

(Said-Moorhouse, Ines, & Knight, 2012).

At this point, a brief history is required to provide some contextual information. The railway

system was first introduced to Japan from England in the 1860s. Prior to this, it was most common

to travel by horse (Traganou, 2004, p. 78). In 1867, an American businessperson, C. L. Westwood,

who resided in the Yokohama foreign settlement, submitted a petition to the court for the right to

construct a railway between Edo (today's Tokyo) and Yokohama (Nakamura, 1998, p. 20).

Subsequently, foreign settlers addressed a number of proposals for railway construction to the

Japanese government, mostly for the purpose of stimulating trade activities by connecting ports

and large cities, and of accumulation of capital through railway operation (Nakamura, 1998, p.

21).

The Japanese government was initially approached by the U.S. envoy A. L. C. Portman regarding

the construction of a railway in December, 1868 (Nakamura, 1998, p. 21). However, the

government was considering building the railway by itself in order to retain a certain degree of

sovereignty as it feared that it might lose large portions of land rights (Nakamura, 1998, pp. 21–

22). The government favoured another proposal and its terms and conditions put forward by a

British government advisor, Richard Henry Brunton, promoted by the country's envoy, Harry C.

Parkes. Later, the British government and its advisors in Japan took an initiative to build railways

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[3] Nonetheless, this number is still a conservative estimate because it is extracted from an entire population over the age of 15, which includes elderly individuals who tend not to commute as much as others.
[4] The cost of housing in inner-Tokyo and the generous commuting allowances provided by employer give enough reasons for many to endure the burden of a long-distance commute (Ohmori & Harata, 2009, p. 549).

and operate them in the incipient stages. The first railway was completed by May 1872, connecting Yokohama with Shinagawa, and later in September the same year, it was extended to Shimbashi (Nakamura, 1998, p. 44). The number of passengers was only 495 in the first year of operation but increased to 5,977 by 1882 as railways began operating in the western parts of Japan near Osaka and Kyoto (Nakamura, 1998, p. 44). Construction of inter-city railways started as early as the 1890s with the development of a logistical network across different regions of the country and railways being operated by the government and the private sectors (Sugiyama, 2012, pp. 218–219). Furthermore, the Railway Construction Act, which was passed by parliament on the 21st of June 1892, solidified the development plan for expansion of the inter-city railway network across Japan (Nakamura, 1998, pp. 199, 212–213).

In the 1900s, a large proportion of the population began to settle in urban areas, and cities started to grow as the inner-city rail was built to accommodate the growing need of transportation in urban areas. Demonstrating this growth in urbanization, whereas 21% of the whole population of Japan lived in cities in 1903, the number increased to 32% in 1920 and 41% by 1930 (Kitazawa & Nakanishi, 2013, p. 223). Due to the rapid rate of urban sprawl and the population growth, these cities required public infrastructures that included inner-city transportation. As a large population flowed into cities such as Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya, Kyoto Yokohama and Kobe, it started to spread out. The resulting urban sprawl saw an increase in the number of residents in suburbs. Tokyo was certainly the largest city in Japan by 1903 with a population of approximately 1,819,000. The city reached a population of approximately 6,779,000 in 1940 (Kitazawa & Nakanishi, 2013, p. 223). If we turn to the system of transportation in Tokyo, hub stations such as Shinjuku, Tokyo and Ueno were developed to connect inter-city rail and inner-city rail during the 1930s (Freedman, 2011, pp. 141–142). When the inner-city rail network expanded, a number of railway lines were built in suburban areas to accommodate the growing population (Freedman, 2011, pp. 141–142).

From the early days of inner-city rail, however, overcrowding has troubled passengers of the urban railways. Famously, the Japanese physicist and essayist Terada Torahiko wrote about

congestion of railway compartments in 1920.[5] In this short essay, he observed that residents in Tokyo were often confronted with an unbearable level of congestion on a daily basis. Terada, who briefly studied in Europe, was struck by the unpleasant look of passengers' faces in contrast to the relaxed faces of the people commonly found in most communal bathhouses across the city. Terada figured that the congested crowded trains put an excessive amount of stress on the city dwellers, making them unhappy; therefore, he proposed an increase in the number of trains or abandoning the railway system altogether to brighten the faces of urban dwellers across the city. As we can gather from this, the issue of congestion is not new, but in fact has been persistent at least since the 1920s.

Even today, urban railway spaces in Tokyo remain plagued by the same old problem. According to a 2015 report published by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism of Japan (n.d.a), the congestion rate of commuter trains on any weekday can reach up to between 180% and 200% on fifteen sections of the major commuter railway lines in the Greater Tokyo Area. Particularly in the morning rush hours between 7 a.m. and 9 a.m. on weekdays, railway compartments bound to the city's central business districts are jam-packed with commuters. During the most crowded time period from 8:15 a.m. to 8:45 a.m., entering a train carriage without pushing other passengers with full force becomes extremely difficult. Some railway operators deploy an extra number of workers known as the 'pusher', to push overflowing passengers into the compartment and close the doors. Inside the compartment, passengers' bodies are often glued onto each other, leaving little space to move as the unavoidable physical proximity between them makes railway travel one of the most potentially exhausting and agitating parts of urban life.

Confronted with the challenge of ameliorating congestion, urban railway operators have taken a number of steps to make sure that passengers find railway travel less uncomfortable and nerve-racking. For example, railway operators have increased the frequency of train departures/arrivals and provided express railway services on some of the most congested lines. Meanwhile, they have

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[5] Terada is known as a student of the prominent Japanese writer, Natsume Sōseki.

modified the station architecture using computerized pedestrian flow models and simulation systems to facilitate passenger traffic in station corridors and platforms (Kato, Sato, & Sakamoto, 2012, p. 48). Moreover, they have fitted the railway compartments with air-conditioning and cushioned seats to increase the comfort of passengers. They have also installed information technologies including an electronic railway timetable and the timely notice of train delays on a screen panel to provide passengers with an up-to-date operating schedule. In addition, they have increasingly equipped railway spaces with surveillance cameras and warning signs about ongoing surveillance or imminent threats in the hope that these assure passengers of their security.

These initiatives to ameliorate passengers' discomfort are labelled as "service innovations" in railway operators' annual reports, promotional materials and corporate websites (see for example, Tokyo Metro's website). This reveals that railway operators are increasingly treating passengers as customers. Although this might sound like semantics, it is indicative of a change that has been happening to the Japanese economy over the past few decades. This may be understood as a result of a larger structural shift that occurred in the post property-bubble Japanese economy. Prior to this economic downturn, the country was well known for its manufacturing sector, importing natural resources and exporting durable yet relatively inexpensive products including automobiles and electronics. However, the bubble burst in the wake of the 1990s had put the economy into a long-term recession, which is often regarded as the 'lost decades'. It was during this time that manufacturing industries shrank their domestic outputs and employment numbers as they built and relocated production to factories overseas. The weakening of this employment sector coincided with a strong growth of service and information communication technology (ICT) industries. The economy has since experienced a transition in its industrial structure wherein the service industries have usurped the manufacturing industries as the leading employers and producers.

The emergence of the 'service-oriented economy' has led corporations to promote certain ideas, designs and images to stimulate customers' desires for consumption while flexibly accommodating their demands. As a consequence of the prevailing mode of production and the

changing industrial structure, many urban railway operators are now manoeuvring into the retail business and making a substantial investment to develop shopping complexes in railway stations. In their attempt to invigorate what used to be merely a transit point, railway operators are transforming the railway station into a dwelling space. Hence, such development reveals that the main trade of railway operators is no longer limited to transport but has today also been extended to a range of other services, most notably retail operation. This thesis asserts that the convergence between transport and services has been provoked not only by economic imperatives but also passengers' impulsive desires for ease and convenience.

Against this background, this thesis analyses the interplay between the four key junctures of railway travel: technology, space, time and imagination. By making a novel intervention into literatures on mobilities, surveillance and the body, this thesis investigates how passengers subject themselves to the organization of railway spaces by which their thoughts, actions and movements become manipulated, circumscribed and re-shaped. It explores how in railway spaces, individual passengers are prompted to modify their behaviours so that they can travel more comfortably, conveniently, swiftly and effortlessly through railway spaces. In the following, I further articulate the aim and the scope of this thesis.

**Aim and Scope**

This thesis analyses a link between desire and control that delimits passengers' behaviours in urban railway spaces. The key rationale for illuminating the urban railway is its common use among urban residents in Japan. Most major cities in Japan maintain well-developed railway infrastructures while the railway provides one of the most popular modes of urban travel. Residents of these cities rely on the railway to facilitate their mobilities from home to work, school and entertainment venues for instance. By situating the railway spaces as the sites where individuals embody certain comportments, this thesis endeavours to grapple with how urban railway travel shapes individuals in the course of their movement and in doing so examines how

they are brought into the network of control and themselves become active participants in the operations of security.

Even though travel destinations have long been spotlighted and studied extensively, the process of travelling itself was often sidelined until recently. However, the field of mobilities studies (Sheller & Urry, 2006) has emerged and developed in the last decade to address questions surrounding this issue. With the emergence of a 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller and Urry, 2006), scholars in the fields of human geography, sociology and anthropology have developed a growing interest in understanding what it means to be on the move and how passengers experience a range of phenomena in transit spaces. If we take for granted the conventional understanding, mobility can be understood as 'brute fact' or concrete empirical reality (Cresswell, 2006, p. 3). As transport and urban planners map out pedestrian movements using computer simulations, mobility becomes configured as observable facts. Elsewhere, mobility has been appreciated in a series of fetishized representational depictions in photography, film, art, philosophy and literature, (re)producing a set of ideologically charged meanings (Cresswell, 2006, p. 3). The field of mobilities studies takes a different approach to observe mobility as 'practiced', 'experienced' and 'embodied' ways of *becoming* in interactions and encounters with other mobilities and landscapes (Cresswell, 2006, p. 3; Adey, 2010, pp. 17–19). The new mobilities paradigm thus depicts the figure of passenger as a vibrant actor and their (in)actions have become a key site of enquiry.

While building on this platform, this thesis takes up the mobilities studies approach to explore how the railway travellers' bodies in interactions with each other, with railway workers and with the surrounding environment become an interface that shapes and is shaped by the production and consumption of technological, spatial, temporal and imaginative interfaces. This thesis is most interested in how passengers become integrated into a flow of movement as they travel through the urban railway spaces. To uncover this process, it explores the micro rather than the macro dimensions of passenger mobilities. The micro dimension of integration entails powerful techniques of control in most cases, however, due to their obscurity and banality. Therefore, revealing the workings of these techniques using traditional social sciences methods poses a

challenge. In response to this challenge, I develop generative methodologies based on extensive auto-ethnographic fieldwork on the Tokyo railway system. By closely attending to what passengers do and experience during their railway travel, this thesis draws on my extensive ten-month fieldwork, in 2013 during which I travelled as a passenger and closely observed urban railway spaces in Tokyo. Walking around on railway platforms, in the compartment carriages and the station concourses every weekday, I took part in these spaces as a participant rather than a bystander in an attempt to become attuned to how passengers move and communicate with each other.

In urban railway spaces, passengers are far from being a free-floating agent. Rather they are enfolded in and modulated by a range of forces. This thesis is most interested in what these forces do to passengers. I argue that these forces are what brings passengers together and organizes themselves to be in synchronicity, in other words, 'choreograph' (Symes 2013, p. 544) their movements through implicit negotiation and coordination that manoeuvres underneath the realm of cognitive judgement. As such it critically engages with the view that patterns of social interaction can be observed through 'the study of ordinary human traffic and the patterning of ordinary social contacts' (Goffman, 1963, p. 4). While a set of shared rules may govern the behaviours of passengers in some situations, their bodies are often unruly, affective and excessive with a tendency to overpower these configurations (Seigworth & Gregg, 2010, p. 9). Rather than attempting to find out about the pattern of passengers' movements, the thesis examines what railway travel does to passengers' bodies and how these bodies respond to experiences of being mobile with fellow passengers along the way. Passengers' interactions are mediated by what may be understood as 'excessive' intensities that leak out from their bodies in different shapes such as comfort, desire, pleasure, relaxation, frustration, anger, irritation and insecurity to name only a few (Massumi, 2002). This thesis examines how these affective intensities play out in choreographing passengers into a mobile flow.

By raising key questions about the development of the intersections between desire and control in urban railway spaces, this thesis provides a conduit for understanding the production and

maintenance of certain comportments that are often associated with "Japanese people" to offer a critical response. How might the senses of insecurity, anxiety, irritation and frustration arising from the act of being with fellow passengers be contained and channelled as their mobilities are being enhanced and directed? How 'successful' are these technologies in instilling particular rhythms and/or suppressing others to generate a flow of movement? The overall objective of this thesis is to examine some of the ways in which passengers on urban railways are conditioned, manipulated and turned into active agents to acquire, police and reinforce particular comportments. To guide through this investigation, I have set out the following research questions:

1. How are different forms of 'soft' control tied into customer service provision to (re)shape passenger mobilities?

2. How does customer service provision intervene in, and take hold of, passengers' bodies in urban railway spaces?

3. How pervasive is this form of securitization and is there any possibility for escape from the networked circuits of control?

These research questions are intended to identify what techniques are being deployed to maintain and fulfil passengers' desire for orderliness while forcing 'disruptive' passengers to regulate their behaviour. What is most intriguing about this governing structure is how passengers permit interventions and control in return for the provision of comfort, security and convenience. This thesis looks at some of the ways in which particular configurations of time and space are cultivated to implement control to grapple with the cooperative relation between passengers and railway operators in urban railway spaces. Significantly here, control is enforced not just by discipline but also by modulation, effectively inducing passengers to facilitate and reinforce security operations. Through the modulative approaches of control, passengers are not physically punished or urged but rather, psychologically swayed to undertake a particular set of actions or movements.

This thesis suggests that the recent emergence of the modulative approaches of control corresponds with the growing prominence of the 'risk discourse' (Furedi, 1997) which prompts authorities and individuals to be always on alert. This sense of constantly being under threat has led authorities to develop the principle of 'anticipatory intervention' which aims to pre-empt potential harms that *may* materialize in the future and offer 'the appearance and assurance of protection' (Zedner, 2007, p. 265). Pre-emptive action thus 'transforms [one's] generalized alertness into a real mobilizing force' (Cooper, 2008, 89) where the corporeal surface and the numerical figure become the principal devices of verification, substantiating the realness of insecurity.

While critiquing how the discourse is often being mobilized as the justification to implement extensive control and surveillance, this thesis points out that scholars have almost always stressed that the risk discourse has resulted in authority's disciplinary responses to potential risk factors in the form of interventions through "hard" technologies of control. However, I argue that it is equally crucial to turn our attention to authority' responses in the form of modulative interventions through "soft" techniques, moulding pleasure, desire and corporeal experiences to govern passengers' bodies.

It is significantly important to underscore the role of the customer service regime which is becoming a key vector through which interventions take place today. Rather than just carrying passengers from one place to another, railway operators in Japan are treating passengers as customers, selling experiences of railway travel and placing more emphasis than ever on the value of immaterialities such as affect, emotion and feeling. However, at the same time, they are not only branding and marketing their image as service-oriented corporations capable of making passengers feel 'valued' and 'cared for'. But they are also increasingly mobilizing a sense of security to control passengers' behaviours. This thesis thus suggests that contemporary securitisation is the product of cooperation between railway operator and passenger-customer and emphasises the importance of contextualising the phenomenon in the service-oriented economy.

This thesis examines the extent to which the figure of the passenger-customer has become an emerging force with the potential to radically change the railway industry. The current literatures have not been able to fully grapple with this emerging trend, and they do not discuss the prevailing culture of customer service in railway operations and its significant implications for contemporary society. Attempting to grasp how various service implementations in urban railway spaces facilitate smooth mobility, the majority of research has focused on the technological and infrastructural mechanisms of control such as the railway timetable and railway traffic control centre. The existing research has thus often neglected the softer mechanisms of control that organise railway spaces in Japan, including the affective labour of railway workers and peer-to-peer surveillance by passengers.

This thesis proposes that the current literature requires a new framework which enables us to make a radical departure from the orthodox understanding of power. The existing literature has discussed the ubiquity of these "hard" technologies and the prevalence of power relations between the gazer and the gazed-at in railway spaces at length (e.g. Muller & Boos, 2004). Scholars in the field of surveillance studies have critically engaged with the growing spread of policing, surveillance operations, in transit spaces. (e.g. Adey, 2004, Lippert & O'Connor, 2003; Lyon, 2006; Duijnhoven, 2006; Loukaitou-Sideris, Taylor, & Fink, 2006). Some of these scholars have emphasised the shifting dynamic of surveillance, illustrating an emergence of new forms of surveillance. Nonetheless, the dominant trend in the existing literature on control continues to focus on the prevalence of 'hard' technologies such as CCTV and the operation of security guards which are intended to enhance authority's capacities to govern spaces of transit through personal data collection and identity profiling, claiming that these are still central to the making of an ever-intensifying security regime to date. In this thesis, I supplement this literature by suggesting that we are increasingly witnessing the emergence of "softer" modulative approaches of securitisation which are conducted through encouragement and promotion and rather than discipline and punishment. This development adds a new layer to the current literature, spotlighting an alternative understanding of control by exploring how softer, modulative approaches of control encapsulate, manipulate and collectivize the bodies of passengers in urban railway spaces.

To get to grips with the centrality of modulative approaches in today's security operations, we need to examine what kinds of configurations of time and space are being created to make passengers feel assured of protection from disorder and in turn, prompt them to regulate those who appear to be 'disruptive' and 'undesirable'.[6] In this view, certain infrastructures could potentially be read as intending not just to monitor passengers' behaviours but also to provide passengers with an assurance of security, making them feel safer and protected. For example, by running trains in a punctual manner, railway operators embody passengers with a particular rhythm. The rhythm is often so cogitative that passengers' bodies are brought together to form a collective. When the rhythm is stuck onto passengers' bodies, the practice of being on time could bring seductive pleasure and joy for passengers. These 'affective intensities' potentially lead passengers to attach themselves to the notion of punctuality to organize railway spaces in a way that enables passengers to move through urban railway spaces without disruption.

In addition to this mechanism of control, this thesis shows how the modulative mechanism of control collectivizes passengers' bodies. This mechanism of control exploits the nature of the body which is inscribed with social and cultural meanings but at the same time, formed through situational encounters. In line with this conceptualisation of the body, this thesis considers the body as an entity that is in the state of constant becoming rather than that of being. In other words, it conceives the body as undergoing a never-ending cycle of de-construction and re-construction in relation with other bodies. The body flows in a web of relations and is almost never singular in itself (Manning, 2010, pp. 118–119). As such, the body can be thought as a 'relay point' that affects and is affected by adjacent bodies (Braidotti, 2002, p. 21). The body is thus abetted with a capacity to partially detach itself from the fixed effect of subject-position and instead, enter a 'shared ground from which subjective states and their attendant feelings and emotions emerge' (Anderson, 2009, p. 78).

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[6] Due to this ambiguous character, it poses a challenge to grasp their unfoldings through the traditional methods of the social sciences.

While seeing the body in this light, this thesis puts forward that the body's capacity to form a 'shared ground' often becomes subject to modulation. For instance, a 'shared ground' could be cultivated to amplify a sense of fear among passengers and turn them from the target of surveillance into the agent of surveillance. Once the contagious intensity installs a particular atmosphere in the railway space, it prompts passengers to watch each other, effectively transforming them from the gazed subjects into the gazing subjects and from the passive recipients into the active agents of surveillance. This mechanism of enrolment operates as the principal device of collectivization to smooth out differences and multiplicities between passengers and ensures that all passengers follow the same set of rules. While demonizing those who deviate from it, the mechanism forcefully preempt any potential for disorder in urban railway spaces.

In the face of the seemingly all-encompassing networked circuits of control, it appears almost impossible to envisage an escape. However, this thesis asks if there is really no opening in the governing apparatuses at all. Even though the hard and the soft forms of control could discipline and incite particular responses from passengers' bodies, these forces do not necessarily promise to bring about intended effects. This thesis argues that we need to closely look into the uncontainable nature of affective intensities which often refuse to be fully manipulated and engineered (Manning, 2009), and inevitably create 'by-products'. Such unruliness of affective intensities could potentially open up fissures in the seemingly all-encompassing circuits of control. Passengers may then be able to further open up these fissures to envision a world outside the limit of what they are experiencing in reality. Passengers' imaginative capacities to dwell in their own world and to practice virtual autonomy could, in this sense, augment their mobilities and provide them with a temporal asylum within the web of control.

Ultimately, this thesis is intended to reveal the contemporary operation of power in the context of Japanese urban railway spaces. It focuses on the construction of service-oriented economy with emphasis on the important role of the passenger-customer and looks into the often neglected

mechanism of "soft control". It is, despite their subtlety, extremely powerful and has become one of the most commanding mechanisms of control in Japanese urban railway spaces today. By exploring this under-researched mechanism of control, this thesis aims to better understand the shaping of a "Japanese" railway passenger.

**Overview**

The following part of this chapter provides a chapter-by-chapter overview of this thesis to explicate how this thesis addresses these three questions. This thesis is structured in two parts where the first three chapters lay out the background of this thesis upon which the latter four chapters develop discussions around empirical observation focusing on how the soft techniques of control operate in urban railway spaces against the backdrop of the service-oriented economy.

*Chapter 1: Social Theory*

This chapter pinpoints the focus and the scope of this thesis through reviewing the existing literature around three key themes of this thesis: security, mobilities and the body, which constitute the fundamental basis for understanding contemporary urban railway spaces. This thesis makes a contribution to these three bodies of literature. Firstly, the chapter looks into the emergence of the "new mobilities paradigm", which has been advocated by a number of sociologists and human geographers. The new paradigm attempts to break away from the traditional understanding of travel as a banal activity, unworthy of serious consideration (Sheller & Urry, 2006, pp. 208–209). The new paradigm calls on researchers to study transit spaces in new ways by underscoring the significance of movements and mobilities in shaping individual subjects and social structures.

Secondly the chapter reviews literature around surveillance and security studies to consider the prevailing logic of security that produces, monitors and regulates spatial and temporal boundaries in public spaces today. The contemporary regime of security pivots around risk management and

the presumption of potential threats (Lyon, 2007a). Accordingly, every single person now becomes subject to surveillance and configured into either the morally accountable subject or the one who requires intervention. However, the literature indicates that surveillance operations are now becoming less coercive and conducted through new channels and techniques to encourage the subjects' voluntary cooperation with the regime. Furthermore, this section makes an important contribution by pointing out that security operation is targeting the surface of the body.

Thirdly, the chapter looks into the literature on the body and its capacities for affecting and being affected by its surroundings. It closely attends to the recent turn to affect that endeavours to grasp the body in a different manner from most of the predecessors that observed it as a product of social structure. The literature on affect re-examines the body as a medium encompassing more complexities than the culmination of master variables such as class, gender and ethnicity. Spotlighting the ontological process of 'becoming', the literature attends to the significance of situational encounters and the realm of the 'non-cognitive', which is often irreducible to linguistic representation. The literature contends that the 'more-than-representational' micro-events are constantly shaping and reshaping the human body beneath the level of consciousness.

Following this discussion, some scholars have suggested that authorities are now trying to micro-manage affective intensities in order to take control of public spaces (Adey, 2008). They often point out that this kind of intervention has emerged against the background of the service-oriented economy where immaterial labour has become a hegemonic form of production (Hardt & Negri, 2004, pp. 108–109). However, such endeavours to take control of public spaces can almost never be comprehensive since affective intensities unpredictably generate excess or 'by-products' (Hynes & Sharpe, 2015). This complex working of the body makes the urban railway space a contested site where authority cannot always take control of the orderly operation of the railway.

*Chapter 2: Method and Fieldwork*
This chapter explores key questions around method and fieldwork that inform the epistemological and ontological foundation of this thesis. In social science literature, the researcher's body and

their feelings have been excluded from the text until recently. However, this chapter argues that researchers can never escape from these (im)material mediators. I posit that the way we interact with and make sense of the world is almost always conditioned by the environment in which we are embedded. This chapter reviews the existing social science literature, identifies a gap and considers how we can better grapple with the mechanism of control. This is to challenge the illusion of a stand-alone autonomous individual self, which has long been the central trope in positivist social sciences. The celebrated trope of the autonomous individual has often blinded social sciences from seeing the creative qualities of affective intensities that emerge 'in the midst of in-between-ness: in the capacities to act and be acted upon' (Seigworth & Gregg, 2010, p. 1).

Being with and moving with others through space provides a primary site of encounter with the messy world of reality. The constant presence of complexities, contingencies and indeterminacies of the world reveal that these are all important building blocks of reality. Instead of trying to 'figure out' how to classify, explain or represent, I seek ways to *describe* the process of becoming a travelling body that unfolds in urban railway spaces. This chapter thus emphasizes that the primary purpose of my methodological approach is not to reveal the subjective reception of passengers or users of urban railway spaces. Rather, it is to theorize experiences of subject formation through immaterial encounters with technologies, devices and face-to-face interactions with fellow passengers and railway workers in becoming mobile with (and through) them. For this reason, this thesis makes heavy use of auto-ethnographic accounts and focused interviews with key stakeholders in an effort to explore and make sense of urban railway spaces. This chapter outlines my field research as I put myself in the role of everyday passengers in Tokyo for the duration of ten months in 2013. This chapter also underscores the discursive construction of railway spaces manifested in urban railway-related publications and other promotional materials. These fieldwork observations generate empirical knowledge of the shaping of passenger mobilities.

The primary aim of this chapter is to clarify and justify the rationale of the 'speculative' mode of enquiry, describing how a researcher's body can be used as a research tool to grapple with the

workings of technologies, devices and materials. By focusing on and situating the researcher's body as the foundational medium of data collection, this chapter examines how we can make sense of encounters with these constituents of the railway spaces. The purpose of this is to invigorate affective intensities experienced by the researcher's body that had been erased from previous studies whose methods are bound by the traditional epistemological framework of the social sciences. This chapter lays foundation to render many micro-events of everyday life meaningful and reconceive the body as much more than the incarnation of social structure (Savage, 2009, p. 157).

*Chapter 3: Political Economy*

This chapter investigates the currently ongoing reconfiguration of the trope of the passenger in urban railway spaces amidst the shifting macro-economic structure of the Japanese economy where the decline of industrial manufacturing became acutely observable with the shrinkage of productive outputs and employment figures. With the economy rapidly expanding its services sector for some time since the 1980s, a large percentage of manual labour is now performed by machines or outsourced to "developing" economies where production costs can be reduced (Sugiyama, 2012, pp. 498–499). As a result, workers in the service-oriented economy are assigned to provide a bridge between management and the customer, and are expected to develop a skillset that enables them to become a better communicator who can most effectively converse with customers and convey a caring image (du Gay, 1996, 77–79). This trait of interactive attractiveness becomes significantly valuable in designing, branding and marketing new products and creating new trends (du Gay, 1996, 77–79). In effect, workers' performances are increasingly assessed 'on the basis of their attitudes, motivation, and behaviour' (Weeks, 2011, p. 71). In the eyes of management, a worker with the commitment to work is no longer good enough; s/he needs to have flexibility, adaptability and a willingness to keep reinventing her/himself in an ever-shifting consumer-oriented market (Weeks, 2011, p. 71).

This chapter also demonstrates that this structural shift has had a substantial implication on the railway industry. Even though the main function of the railway operation remains as being the

carrier of passengers from one place to another in a safe and timely manner, a growing number of urban railway operators are rebranding themselves as much more than just a transport provider. They now see themselves as service providers. This chapter considers this development through the case of East Japan Railway (JR East), the corporation established in 1987 to succeed the railway operations previously run by the state-owned Japan National Railways (JNR). Privatization fragmented the JNR into seven regionally-based, self-financed corporations, one of which became JR East. JR East is currently the largest and most profitable railway operator with an expansive railway network across the eastern part of Japan. Since its establishment in April 1987, the corporation has worked on its customer service practices to change the negative image of the JNR.

The main function of services provided by railway operators such as JR East is not only to accommodate but also to manipulate passengers' desires and impose economic governance over their bodies. The chapter suggests that railway operators are today marketing their image as service-oriented corporations capable of making passengers feel "valued" and "cared for" when passengers are actually brought into the mechanism of economic governance. As such the chapter contends that hidden behind the pristine image of customer service is the mechanism of 'soft control' that exploits the shrinkage of social bonds and hopes for the future in the increasingly 'relation-less' Japanese society (Allison, 2012; Stevens, 2014). This point sets the background for the following empirical chapters to investigate these soft forms of control.

*Chapter 4: Technological Containment*

This chapter examines the event of smiling in the context of urban railway spaces in a service-oriented economy. With the growing significance of service workers in contemporary late capitalist societies, corporations are putting more emphasis on their workers to act more *affectively* towards their customers. One of the techniques that these corporations are promoting is provision of a 'soft' image through smiling. This chapter looks into a Japanese railway operator that deployed a smile-measuring device called the Smile Scan. This technology measures a worker's "smile degree" and attempts to make their smile more "natural" and augment its

affective efficacy. This chapter draws on this technology to argue that railway workers cultivate a particular smiling face in order to animate the corporeal capacities of the passengers in a way that dissipates the potential for particular undesirable flows of affective intensities to take hold of their bodies. Through the cultivation of "affective smiling", railway workers are able to exert soft control over passengers and transform their bodies, effectively governing their behaviours. Contrary to the substantial amount of literature that has analysed the service-oriented economy with reference to the (bio)politics of exclusion, this chapter emphasises the politics of inclusion that this "technology of self" potentially brings forth. This underlines the production of affective intensity, which is capable of re-forming and connecting passengers' bodies to shape a collective.

In relation to this point, this chapter examines the mechanism in which workers become subject to performance management in the contemporary service economy. It builds upon the literature on emotional labour, which investigated workers' engagement with role acting in interactive service work. Hochschild's (1983) study of flight attendants investigated an ever-intensifying commodification of emotions in service industries by drawing upon Goffman's (1963) conceptualization of emotion work to emphasize the significance of the consciously orchestrated nature of performance that separates the 'managed heart' from the 'unmanaged heart'. According to Hochschild, this separation is vital for workers to stay mentally sound. In the service-oriented economy, however, the distinction between these two domains is increasingly crumbling. Workers are encouraged to put themselves in the shoes of customers through the implementation of 'technologies of interpersonal management' which endeavour to obfuscate the distinction between the inner-essence and the outer-face (du Gay, 1996, p. 79). This requires no longer employing the deep-acting technique that most experienced workers deploy to prevent them from suffering a mental breakdown (Hochschild, 1983, p. 188). Since the clear separation between off-stage selfhood and on-stage performance is progressively relinquished, this chapter points out that the reverse of Hochschild's argument is gaining momentum in today's service-oriented economy. As the categorical boundary between inner-essence and outer-face rapidly breaks down, management encourages workers to approach customers on a case-by-case basis and attend to their individual desires.

*Chapter 5: Spatial Containment*

This chapter draws out a shifting landscape of the operation of security in urban railway spaces. To consider the rise of 'soft' forms of control this chapter first considers how the idea of security is becoming a vital part of customer service provision in the context of urban railway spaces. From the mid-1990s through to the 2000s, a wave of bomb attacks and indiscriminate killings occurred in urban railway spaces across the world. In Japan, there was the Sarin Gas Attack in the morning hours of March 20, 1995 in the subway, which claimed the lives of 13 individuals and left more than 6000 injured and severely traumatized when the members of *Aum Shinrikyō* deliberately spilled sarin gas to target commuting passengers in railway compartments. Later, a series of bomb attacks in Europe – Madrid in 2004 and London in 2005, killing hundreds of passengers – generated a collective feeling of insecurity among passengers. Most of the victims in these attacks were those who happened to be travelling or the railway personnel on duty on the particular day and time. These events prompted calls for railway operators' customer service to be extended and offer passengers a far-reaching assurance of security in urban railway spaces.

The issue of security has since become one of the most important themes of customer service provision for urban railway operators. This chapter illustrates the process whereby the operators have since attempted to maintain spaces in ways that engender an assurance of security in an effort to present a customer-oriented image. These include an increasing number of Closed-Circuit Television (CCTV) cameras and police guards in railway spaces. Most noticeably, railway operators have made surveillance operations more visible and overt and called on passengers to become aware of their security. At the same time, the display of signs and posters warning about surveillance in operation and the patrolling police guards who are intended to provide passengers with a sense of security often lead them to distrust fellow passengers. This has created a divide between passengers while railway operators enjoy growing support for intensifying surveillance and intervention.

This chapter shows that the face becomes an important site of surveillance in contemporary security operations. Being one of the most affective surfaces of the body, the face is targeted by CCTV, which is increasingly equipped with face recognition technology. The technology dissects the face into parts where each is reduced to an empty sign, rendering it digitally recognizable and configurable. However, this chapter puts forward the argument that it is in the face-to-face encounter that the mechanisms of contemporary securitization transform passengers' faces from surveillant text to surveilling device and turn them into the site of contestation for circulating affective intensities. This chapter draws upon my face-to-face encounter with policing guards where the relation between the gazer and the gazed was inverted to counteract the reproduction of insecurity in railway spaces, which demonstrated the affective capacity of the bare face.

*Chapter 6: Temporal Containment*

Following on from the previous chapter, which dealt with the spatial dimension of containment, this chapter investigates the temporal dimension of containment. The modern system of railway operations is underpinned by the securitization of temporality where the notion of punctuality becomes the operational order. This chapter explores soft control that revolves around temporal governance. Passengers in railway spaces are put on the train to be moved to a destination in a highly regulated environment. Railway operators are obsessive about preventing any temporality outside of clock time from upsetting the order of operation. This is intended to keep the railway operations on time as they are forced to respond to passengers' demand to follow the timetable. However, passengers are individually embedded in their own network of distinct rhythms, which are more 'complex', 'dissonant' and 'multiple' than clock time (Edensor & Holloway, 2008, p. 484). The railway spaces are contested sites where passengers with distinctive rhythms are confronted with a system that constantly seeks to eradicate potential disruptions.

To unpack the discourse of punctuality, this chapter traces the historical development of the idea. The development of the concept of punctuality parallels the advancement of railways in Japan. Interestingly though, it was only in the 1920s, with the growth of the railway network and the spread of a standard time, that punctuality as we know it today became a powerful discourse. This

investigation of the taken-for-grantedness of punctuality assumes the orderly operation of railway services that engenders the appeal of security among passengers. Railway operators exploit the pleasurable dimension of clock time to provide a standard around which passengers can routinize their bodies to autopilot their movements. Passengers are woven into the clock time as it helps them suspend the reality of perpetual uncertainty, precariousness or 'liquid life' (Bauman, 2005). Clock time gives these individuals something of a rigid collective rhythm to hold onto in contemporary urban society.

The promise that the railway brings them to a destination on time is commonly held today as implicit between passengers and the railway operator and, as such, passengers often suffer from anxiety about being late or slowing down (Rosa, 2013, pp. 152–153). The feeling of slowness is inherently 'autotelic' and 'relational' (Vannini, 2012, p. 252). As Duffy (2009) writes, '[w]ith speed came a new phase in the history of impatience. Only as speed became conventional could slowness become perceptible' (p. 66). The more entrusted clock time becomes, the more it exposes passengers to vulnerability. This chapter revisits the Amagasaki Rail Crash of April 2005 to illuminate what an obsessive pursuit of punctuality can bring about. Through analysis of a subsequent accident report and media coverage on this, the most fatal accident in the Japanese railway history, this chapter considers how the desire for punctuality became so profound in contemporary Japanese society.

*Chapter 7: Imaginative Mobilities*

This final empirical chapter spotlights the power of imaginative mobilities in an attempt to explore a potential fissure in the interplay of impulsive desire and soft control in urban railway spaces. While the previous two empirical chapters have indicated a strong dependent relationship between impulsive desire and soft control in sustaining the network of control, the site of imagination becomes an asylum to which passengers can resort and realize their voluntary mobility. In their daydreams, passengers can imagine and create what they cannot in reality. The virtuality of the dream world frees them from constraints and allows them to creatively travel anywhere they wish,

as they gather references from what they see, hear, smell and feel through their corporeal registers. In this way, imagination is a situational process that materializes through passengers' encounters with a range of sensory stimuli in railway spaces.

Embroiled in market-based consumer capitalism, urban railway spaces are today filled with commercial advertisements to the extent that these shape a large part of the everyday landscape for urban railway travellers. These promotional materials target passengers who are trapped in a compulsory 'dwell time' in transit. As these advertisements saturate railway spaces, passengers have little room to escape and may develop a desire to consume products or services on display. However, such an understanding provides only a fractional account of what is unfolding in these spaces of commodification. This chapter points out that it is crucial to shed light on an alternative dimension. To do this, it is necessary to reframe the question. Rather than asking what these advertisements do, the chapter investigates what passengers do with these advertisements, while suggesting that they are an active agent rather than a passive dope in the commodified space. Faced with advertisements, passengers become creative agents who collect fragments of promotional materials in fabricating a collage-like imagination.

This chapter argues that imaginative travel allows the passenger to become an autonomously mobile subject capable of subverting normative rules, ethical obligations and all that governs their behaviours in the world of reality. Even temporarily, such imaginative mobilities enable them to travel across any kind of border to subvert structuring forces that would otherwise modulate their bearings and shape the way they move, act and think. This suggests the potentiality of imaginative travel in destabilizing the desire-control nexus and bringing passengers a large degree of self-autonomy to realize their desire to experience themselves as a fulfilled whole across time and space (Laing, 1969, p. 43). This chapter indicates that the little discussed yet significantly powerful imaginative mobilities become an impetus for individual passengers to revitalize their self and gain a sense of autonomy to counteract interventions that modulate their behaviours and movements in the world of reality. Even though passengers' bodies are conditioned, these interfaces of railway spaces are not complete and inevitably leave a space for imagination that

offers a potential for resistance against total governance. Rather, it productively creates an outside that the network of control cannot reach.

**Conclusion**

This opening chapter has articulated a brief outline of the current thesis. This thesis as a whole sheds a light on the banal dimensions of railway travel by drawing upon accounts from auto-ethnographic accounts, interviews, railway operators' promotional materials, newspapers and other published documents. This thesis describes some of the processes through which affective intensities are mediated and channelled in a particular manner in urban railway spaces. Urban railway travel and the figure of the passenger have long been characteristic features of an urban landscape. However, very little has been written about the subject formation of passengers in relation to the contemporary service-oriented economy. This thesis intends to fill this gap and open discussions about the potential implications and the impact of the economy on passenger mobilities and the shaping of a "Japanese" railway passenger.

The thesis endeavours to provide a critical response to the question 'why are Japanese people so orderly?' Instead of taking the question at face value, the objective of this thesis is to reroute the question in an alternative way to untangle the mechanism of control that brings them to act in such manner. With the emergence of the service-oriented economy, urban railway spaces are increasingly shaped into a site of soft control, modulating passengers to participate in maintaining their own and fellow passengers' orderly behaviours. The thesis turns to the operations of "soft control", situating these as the vital key to better grasp the growing prevalence of the economy in relation to the ever-intensifying securitization of urban railway spaces. In other words, the thesis aims to grasp the mechanism that levels and organizes passengers' behaviours in the railway spaces. This framing presents a more nuanced rejoinder to the question and helps us examine the social structures at work in a critical and analytical manner.

*PART I: CONTEXT*

# CHAPTER ONE: SOCIAL THEORY

## Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a literature review of the recent theoretical developments in the fields of mobility, security, and the body, which constitute the fundamental basis for our understanding of urban railway spaces. By critically engaging with the existing literature around these areas, this chapter provides the main framework of this thesis and identifies its main focus and analytical vantage point. As the current literature in these fields pivots around the discussions on the "new mobilities paradigm", "biopolitics", "affect" and "immaterial labour" in particular, this chapter intervenes in these discussions to set a scene for the later empirical chapters (Chapters 4–7). This chapter intends to grapple with how the figure of the passenger is constructed and reconstructed through exploring the existing literature on how spatial and temporal boundaries are produced and consumed in railway spaces. This exploration reveals that the passenger is not an autonomous individual but rather her/his mobilities are enabled and reinforced by particular configurations of technological, spatial, temporal and imaginative forces.

Moreover, this chapter provides a review of current literature on how passengers' experiences of urban railway spaces are mediated and facilitated while at the same time circumscribed. In urban railway spaces, a range of forces are intricately woven together to control passengers' bodies as a way to modulate their mobilities. These forces monitor and denounce "bad" behaviours and encourage "good" behaviours while maintaining rhythmic repetitions of events to spatially and temporarily circumscribe passengers' mobilities. The contemporary mode of control is however focused on inducing and provoking, instead of disciplining and suppressing individual bodies to act in a certain manner. This prevailing mode of control requires strategies that are subtle and obscure so that these do not necessarily make passengers aware of their being under control. This point distinguishes the strategies of control from the strategies of discipline and allows authorities to intervene into passengers' bodies in a less coercive manner. Even so, these bodies are

governable only to a partial extent and this inevitably leaves open incipient potentialities of disruption.

To explicate these points further in relation to the existing bodies of literature, this chapter is divided into three parts. The first part looks at the literature around the "new mobilities paradigm" to point to what it means to be on the move or in stillness. Having clarified the intricacies of passenger mobilities, the second part pivots around the writings on everyday security in attempt to unravel the intensifying securitization in urban spaces and the rise of "biopower". It points to the growing divergence and ubiquity of contemporary security apparatuses. The third part then looks into the emerging field of affect theory, to observe how scholars have conceptualized the relational shaping of the body through social relations. Taken together, the literature provides us with a way to grasp the construction of the figure of passenger and how it relates to emerging techniques of soft control in contemporary society. While the areas of mobilities, security and affect have tended to be discussed separately, this thesis endeavours to close fissures between these to examine the soft approaches of contemporary control and their multi-faceted complexity.

**Passenger Mobilities**

In the past decade, a new field of sociological enquiry has explored movements and mobilities of human and non-human actors. Prior to this development, however, discussions in the social sciences had long been dominated by the *sedentarist* perspective, which took for granted 'bounded and authentic places or regions or nations as the fundamental basis of human identity and experience and as the basic unit of social research' (Sheller & Urry, 2006, pp. 208–209). In consequence, the process of travelling has until recently been demoted as a trivial activity, unworthy of serious investigation (Sheller & Urry, 2006, pp. 208–209). However, a growing number of scholars have intervened into this reductionist attitude of the social sciences to emphasize the significance of movements and mobilities in (re)shaping individual subjects, subjectivities and social relations. In the course of this development, the 'new mobilities paradigm'

(Sheller and Urry, 2006, pp. 208–209) has emerged. This part of the chapter describes the socio-political landscape of transport mobilities, specifically focusing on urban railway mobilities as an important but overlooked interstitial space. After reviewing the current lines of debate in mobilities research, I move on to identify a key gap in the literature that this thesis seeks to address.

The availability of transportation plays a significant role in enabling and disabling passengers moving from one place to another for the purposes ranging from asylum and migration, to commuting and holidaying (Cresswell, 2006). Today, various modes of transportations have been made available, including airplanes, cars, buses and trains, and these bestow individuals with ever-greater mobilities to travel further at speeds that would have been unimaginable in the past. Furthermore, it is not just humans that are mobile. Manufactured products, industrial machinery, weaponry, minerals and other raw materials, foodstuffs, animals and even viruses are also on the move (Urry, 2007, p. 5). The scale and the speed of movement, and the distance travelled by humans and non-humans have changed dramatically with technological innovations. For instance, the development of the railway dramatically reduced the travel time of those who used to travel on the horse-drawn carriage, shrinking their sense of space but also accelerating the pace of their life (Schivelbusch, 1986, p. 37). In this light, Harvey (1990) posits that this phenomenon of 'time-space compression' demands that we 'learn how to cope with an overwhelming sense of *compression* of our spatial and temporal worlds' (p. 240, original emphasis). Even before the nineteenth century, the representational technology of mapping allowed people to 'see the globe as a knowable totality' (Harvey, 1990, p. 246). However, it was only in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that individuals began to tangibly 'feel' the actual compression of spatial and temporal scales.

The fact that technological innovations intensified time-space compression does not necessarily mean that every individual has gained equal open access to all modes of mobilities to travel anywhere at any time. In reality, mobilities are almost never distributed evenly, as '[t]he construction of spaces of mobility and flow for some … always involves the construction of barriers for others' (Graham & Marvin, 2001, p. 11). Evidence shows that urban infrastructure

networks often connect valued parts of the metropolis and bypass the rest (Graham & Marvin, 2001, 201–202). While this '"warping" of time and space barriers' (Graham & Marvin, 2001, 201–202) might help some people accumulate their wealth, it severely hinders others' ability to participate in social activities (Adey, 2010, p. 93). As such we can observe the strong presence of 'power geometries' in the contemporary world that remind us that time-space compression is almost always experienced differently between high-flying elites and those who cannot afford such privileged lifestyles (Massey, 1994, 148–149). Consequently, the latter group of individuals is often spatially and temporarily incarcerated, or given only limited means of mobility. For example, in places where public transportation is unavailable, those who cannot afford the luxury of the alternatives are prevented from finding work far from home. To get to grips with this social landscape, we must critically engage with the popular assumption that movement is 'evidence of mobility' (Salter, 2013, p. 9). To grasp the involuntary nature of stasis, we must therefore look beyond facilitation of mobility and incarceration and pay closer attention to 'non-cases' of mobility: the ones that did not even materialize to start with (Salter, 2013, p. 10).

Differential access to mobilities affects how individuals travel to work. While cosmopolitan elites drive their own private vehicles, board bullet trains, or even airplanes and helicopters (Cwerner, 2006) to commute on a daily basis, many others have to put up with slower modes of transport such as passenger trains or buses that are usually jam packed in peak hours (Urry, 2007, p. 191). Significantly, available modes of mobilities condition the lifestyle of individuals to a large extent (Jiron, 2010). Where power geometries create spatial barriers, they also structure people's travel time. For those who travel by slower modes of transport, waiting time can be quantitatively substantial. In Tokyo for example, some people spend two hours each way travelling between suburban homes and workplaces every weekday so as to live in affordable housing at the city's peripheries.[7] While the waiting time is almost always interpreted as a 'wasteful time' in the

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[7] This is made possible also by law that requires businesses to part with the cost of transportation for employees. Meanwhile, commuters with little time in hand, seek to find the least time-consuming route to their destination and some of them even pay an extra fee for an express service

productivist discourse, transport planners strive to design a seamless mobility to minimize any 'void' (Ohmori & Harata, 2008, pp. 554–557).

A number of studies in transport geography have explored how passengers use their travel time to partake in a series of work- and leisure-related activities on board the railway (Lyons et al., 2007). Passengers might read books, newspapers or work documents, study, send messages to friends or check social networking sites on their mobile phone, listen to music on their headphones, take a nap, daydream, meditate and talk to or observe other passengers. Some passengers schedule various activities during their travel time, as Jain and Lyons (2008) have asserted:

> [T]ravel time is enacted and experienced in multiple ways and is context driven; [and] therefore, not easily reducible to an economic value. It is also clear that travel time is a desirable time for many people in many instances and is actively incorporated into the organization of everyday activities and work-related tasks. (p. 88)

Meanwhile, various activities conducted during travel time are almost always subject to a series of conditions of travel (Lyons et al., 2007). In fact, passengers are least likely to perform work-related tasks in a disruptive travel environment such as short-distance standing travel in a crowded train carriage during rush hour (Ohmori & Harata, 2008 pp. 554–557). Moreover, passengers' mental and physical conditions and their close proximity to other passengers circumscribe the choice of travel time activities. While seated in the railway compartment, one might be more inclined to take a nap than to read a newspaper as fatigue plagues one's body (Bissell, 2009a, p. 439). Some activities are circumscribed while others are impelled in such a travel environment. Passengers are not independent agents with the freedom to do whatever they like but rather, their activities are almost always shaped in interaction with, and circumscribed by, other passengers and rules of interaction and movement that govern their social relations in railway spaces.

In the field of transport geography, most studies have conceived travelling as a 'means' rather than a 'desired end' (Mokhtarian, 2005). Following the tradition of transport geography, Augé

(1995) asserts that railway stations and airports simply function as 'transit points' or 'non-places' (p. 93), which passengers mundanely pass through. According to Augé, these sites are governed by 'ordeals of solitude' where one's engagement is 'no more than what he [sic] does or experiences in the role of passenger' (p. 93, p. 103). In Augé's view, these spaces represent a super-modern emptying of gaze, plays of imagery and above all, the consciousness (p. 93). While Augé provides a more nuanced account of railway travel in his subsequent work, *In the Metro* (2002), his view on the temporality of the super-modern relations forged in non-places has nonetheless become subject to a series of criticisms in the past decade by a group of human geographers (Merriman, 2004; Urry, 2007).

Scholars working in the field of mobilities studies have sought to unpack the black-box of travelling time-space to challenge Augé's diagnosis of transit space, contending that the non-place rests on the "sedentarist" framework. These scholars have put forward the argument that a range of unique features constituting airports or railway stations as 'transit spaces' are largely discounted. They attempt to investigate how passengers actually experience a range of complex and often intense phenomena while on the move, including the powerful desires provoked by material and immaterial organizations and the intensities and frictions arising between passengers, passengers and railway workers and passengers and railway infrastructures. For instance, the time of stillness in waiting could potentially shape passengers' experiences of railway travel to a greater degree than we might imagine (Bissell, 2007). Passengers' excessive (or irrepressible) feelings, emotions and affective intensities sensed while being still could well up to entrap their bodies throughout the travel time and leave a lasting impression.

In railway spaces passengers encounter a variety of events that play a considerable role in shaping their behaviours. Commuting for instance, entails much more than just moving between home and work or home and school. If we engage with the act of commuting we can appreciate that it actually 'involves knowing how to "be", and embody being a commuter' (Symes, 2013, p. 543). Knowing how to read directional signage and maps also becomes an essential skill to orient one's body in railway spaces (Fewings, 2001; Cresswell, 2006). The passenger flow of movement

demands individual passengers keep pace with others, form lines with fellow passengers and make way for them. The implicit knowledge of wayfinding allows individuals to orchestrate their movements and move along with others. In the course of 'being mobile with' fellow passengers, passengers face a range of complex and intense feelings (Adey, 2010, p. 18). These tense, visceral sensations that suddenly erupt and arrest one's body are often irrepressible by conscious will and may endure long after the trip itself (Morris, 2004; Bissell, 2010a). In part, this is what makes everyday railway travel an extremely agitating and stressful event for passengers. For example, walking through passageways and cooperating with others to form lines towards ticketing machines or waiting for a delayed train in order to be jam-packed into the overcrowded carriage with others in the same queue, may elicit considerable exasperation but at the same time techniques of negotiation to dwell in the environment may develop. For example, keeping a book open in front of one's face or wearing headphones may be read as an attempt to set a shield between self and others, and block out the gazes of fellow passengers (Jain & Lyons, 2008, p. 85).

Scholars writing in the new mobilities paradigm have emphasized the messy unfolding of events while passengers are on the move (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Merriman (2011) writes, '[m]obility is not secondary to the events of spacing and timing; rather the unfolding of events is characterized by a prepositioning and turbulence, and by material, experimental and relational effects of spacing, timing, movement, sensation, energy, affect, rhythm and force' (p. 21). These events are contingent upon a range of factors and unforeseeable in most cases. For authorities, however, unknowability poses a serious threat to security. Therefore, they implement technologies to monitor passenger mobilities (Franko Aas 2007, p. 292). This invites us to think about a 'containerized subjectivity' that emerges from being 'cocooned' both within material infrastructures and systems of governance and control in which individuals are embedded (Bissell, Adey, & Laurier, 2011, p. 1008). It is equally crucial to investigate the systems of coercion, discipline and normalization installed to induce pleasure, shape desires and frame kinetic experiences and bodily movements (Jensen, 2011, p. 266). In this regard, Moran and Piacentini and Pallot (2012) bluntly state:

[I]nsufficient attention has been paid to the differences between movements, and … the neglect of coercion in mobility is a symptom of this oversight. … Mobility, although commonly posited as an expression of autonomy and freedom, is always disciplined; even in circumstances where mobility *can* be described as the exercise of autonomy, the choice to move occurs '*within a realm of possibilities* defined by discursive practices'. (p. 457, original emphasis)

Despite their seeming autonomy, passengers are not only spatially but also conceptually restricted from moving freely and are coerced to keep pace with others. These coerced mobilities materialize into a 'flow'. The significance of rhythmic flow also lies in shaping of (im)mobilities. This point invites us to investigate the making and breakdown of the flow in order to dissect its construction, as Edensor (2010) puts:

Patterns of mobile flow … contribute to the spatio-temporal character of place, whether dynamic or placid, fast or slow, and this is best ascertained at a still point from which mobile flows of varying tempo, pace and regularity are apparent. There is a regulatory dimension through which the braiding of multiple mobile rhythms is organised, with traffic lights and other apparatus, speed limits, highway codes, laws, road layout, and the dissemination of good habits reproduce familiar disciplinary conventions. As with other habitual, everyday enactions, such rhythmic systems are rarely apparent except when they break down or are violated, or where they no longer pertain. (p. 5)

When the conscious practice of moving with others becomes embodied and routinized, passengers are incorporated into a rhythmic flow. This process of 'naturalization' habituates conscious practice to the level of the 'beyond-conscious', which enables individuals to undertake such practices without even consciously thinking of them (Wilk, 2009, p. 150). This embodiment enables individuals to perform tasks without even considering what, why and how they engage in them, helping the passengers to 'retain continuity' (Frykman & Löfgren, 1996, p. 10) and 'minimize unnecessary reflection every time a decision is required' (Edensor, 2003, p. 155). Once

embodied, routines 'both liberate [individuals] from constant worry, and keep us in constant bondage' (Wilk, 2009, p. 152). They shape the body to resist vicissitudes while the patterns generated by these routines become naturalized and fade into the realm outside cognition until the body disengages with them and brings individuals back to the level of consciousness.

This mechanism of naturalization has been increasingly capitalized upon by railway operators as a way to create and modulate a flow of movement in railway spaces. This may be regarded as a 'soft' form of control through which authorities approach and imperceptibly incorporate passengers' bodies into a mobile collective in railway spaces. Despite its seeming banality, maintaining a smooth flow and functionality of transport infrastructures is crucial in stabilizing order in urban railway spaces. These soft dimensions of control are an increasingly vital strategy that railway operators deploy to incorporate passengers' bodies into a mobile collective and shut down possibilities for disruption. The next part looks into the ways in which the naturalization of conscious practice becomes a trigger to restrain passengers' movements. It does this by reviewing the current literature on surveillance to observe recent discussions on security operations in relation to 'biopolitics' and the rise of security operations that pivot around the modulation of individual passengers' bodies.

**Everyday Security**

This part reviews a body of literature around everyday security in public spaces. It looks into how the literature treats the prevailing notion of 'security' in the context of a late capitalist economy. These notions are often discussed in line with a remark by Foucault (2003, p. 243) on 'biopolitics', which designates the structure of intervention. In a society that encompasses the logic of biopolitics, the mortality and preservation of the population become the priorities at large, where individual lives are subsumed into quantifiable entities to be deployed for the enhancement of population health and wellbeing. This part outlines current writings that observe some of the ways through which biopolitics is put into practice. In particular, it focuses on surveillance literature to

grapple with the actual operations of biopolitics. The existing literature on surveillance has given plentiful attention to 'hard' dimensions of control and the growing ubiquity of policing, monitoring and CCTV operations, in the context of airport spaces (Adey, 2004, 2008; Klauser, 2009; Lippert & O'Connor, 2003; Lyon, 2006; Schouten, 2014; Parks, 2007; Salter, 2007) and railway spaces (Duijnhoven, 2006; Kroener, 2013; Loukaitou-Sideris, Taylor, & Fink, 2006; Muller & Boos, 2004; Norris & McCahill, 2006). However, scholars writing in this field have attended to not only the 'hard' but also 'softer' forms of control to describe the changing dynamic of surveillance in recent years. The hard form of surveillance refers to policing and monitoring in a visible manner while the soft form refers to those that are conducted in a less evident manner. To analyse the popular notion of risk, this part of the chapter considers the role of risk in defining the slippery terrain of recognition over who is regarded as (im)moral under the 'neoliberal' regime of security. It looks at the emergence of 'soft surveillance' and its relevant literature in relation to the role of surveillance in promoting the idea of biolegitimacy to classify individuals into particular configurations between the lives that are worthy of improvement and those that are not. Apprehending the literature on these developments is vital in contextualizing the material in Chapter 5 on infrastructures of security.

The proliferation of a discourse on security has prompted a desire for stricter law and order among subjects of late capitalist economies (Lentzos & Rose, 2009). Consequently, it is common today to find calls for and manifestations of spatial control, regulation and inspection in public spaces across the world including Japan. Since the early 2000s, 'risk' has risen to become one of the most important keywords in the global context. Both individuals and authorities seek ways to avert a wide range of risk factors in everyday life, as '[t]housands of consultants provide advice on "risk analysis", "risk management" and "risk communications"' (Furedi, 1997, p. 4). Their expert knowledge almost always starts from the assumption that we are all facing risk as Furedi (1997) puts:

> [W]e must all be at risk in one way or another. Being at risk is treated as if it has become
> a permanent condition that exists separately from any particular problem. Risks hover

over human beings. They seem to have an independent existence. That is why we can talk
in such sweeping terms about the risk of being in school or at work or at home. By turning
risk into an autonomous, omnipresent force in this way, we transform every human
experience into a safety situation. (p. 5)

The discourse of risk urges individuals to treat others with suspicion as distrust and intolerance
sprout in the form of reactionary politics against 'the breakdown of family, the relaxation of
institutional disciplines, and the collapse of informal norms and restraints' (Garland, 2001, p. 195).
These events have often been represented as 'moral decline' and have led to a renewed call for
the imposition of extensive control to regain orderliness (Garland, 2001, p. 195). Despite the
implementation of extensive control, the fundamental principle of the free market system has been
preserved in that the imposition of control is organized through segregating the responsible moral
subjects from the irresponsible amoral subjects by their capacity to self-manage and self-reflect
on their own behaviours (Rose, 1999). Under this sorting rubric, the former is equated with
"deserving" and the latter with "undeserving" of the right to protection. This approach envisages
a criminal subject as someone who 'lacks a strong moral compass or any effective internal
controls, aside from a capacity for rational calculation and a healthy will to pleasure' (Garland,
2001, p. 129). In effect, it makes the state no longer accountable for correcting the misfit subject
who requires assistance. Instead, it accuses the subject of failing to fulfil her or his personal
responsibilities.

In this climate of securitization, the principle of 'anticipatory intervention' has become a powerful
discourse for guiding various aspects of social life in late capitalist societies. The main objective
of anticipatory intervention is to pre-empt potential harms that *may* materialize in the future and
most importantly, provide 'the appearance and assurance of protection' (Zedner, 2007, p. 265).
Due to their complexities, it is impossible to entirely predict future events and bring them into the
present. However, this unpredictability is considered governable 'by knowing a range of possible
futures that may happen, including those that are improbable' (Anderson, 2010a, p. 782). In the
pursuit of far-reaching security, authorities try to envisage the future in the present. This 'pre-

emptive' approach is almost exclusively focused on early intervention such as deploying probabilistic and correlative assessments to anticipate future risks and threat, and using the knowledge to *pre-emptively* act in ways that control and manipulate expected futures (Elmer & Opel, 2006). Signature attacks are often subject to public consensus because it is in 'times of high insecurity that the myths of crime and punishment are most effective, that the most punitive responses are evoked' (Freiberg, 2001, p. 269). In effect, pre-emptive action 'transforms [one's] generalized alertness into a real mobilizing force' (Cooper, 2008, 89). The numerical figure and the body's surface are the two main devices of verification that envisage the state of insecurity as real to substantiate the truthfulness of risk factors.

Among these two, the numerical figure has come to be seen as the most reliable predicator of the future. Insurance practice advocates for the 'managementization' of uncertainty (Ericson, Doyle, & Barry, 2003, p. 49) where actuaries calculate a client's future risk of injury, disease and accident using a range of numerical codes and statistical models, and configure the person according to a set of probable risk factors. This can be considered a form of simulation that 'creates images of the world not as it really is, or even as it apparently is, but as it (really) will have been' (Bogard, 1996, p. 35). This approach to security envisages a future through figures, numbers and metrics to provide an 'empirically' fertile ground for pre-emptive intervention. Visualization of future events in a seemingly 'objective' manner helps security regimes to gain support for intervening into not only those who are already conducting undesirable activities but also those who are *statistically inclined* to do so.

To assemble 'accurate' information on individuals and segregate the 'good' from the 'bad', authorities collect traces of the body's surface as another important site of verification in addition to the numerical figure. To improve on their preparedness, authorities consider biometrical information including fingerprints, facial images and retinal prints to be the most truthful form of evidence in contemporary society (Lyon, 2007b, pp. 112–113). Collection of these pieces of information is justified in return for the assurance of a positive outcome, that is, 'to combat crime and terrorism, to protect health or to improve productivity' (Lyon, 2007b, p. 105). These

biometrical pieces of information are considered to offer 'an objective and verifiable truth …
capable of "securing" or "fixing" identity' in a way that makes fraudulent or multiple identities
much more difficult' (Martin & Whitley, 2013, p. 52). This border between the 'good' and the
'bad' becomes a contested site of legitimation.

For the purpose of determining the identity of passengers, their behaviours and bodies are
increasingly objectified as biological beings subject to biosecurity. For example, the
informationalized language concerning such matters as making a joke about a bomb and the
objectified body detected by the whole body scanners at airport checkpoints, now register as
evidence of affective states to 'render passengers' internal, hidden intentions and desires as visual
information' (Martin, 2010, pp. 26, 30). These provide the rationale for the protection and
elimination of individuals. This boundary-setting work is designed to determine targets and bar
them from entering into a space. In other words, security strategies are intended to reduce danger
'not by reforming individuals who are threatening but by predicting who might be dangerous and
either preventing and neutralizing that danger or spreading it evenly among the populations'
(Merry, 2001, p. 23). Hence, these constitute the foundation for assessment of 'biolegitimacy',
which has pervaded contemporary moral economies by providing a common rationale for
governing the lives of individuals (Fassin, 2009, p. 50).

Biolegitimacy bestows individuals with the right to live while at the same time, it eliminates those
who are deemed 'undeserving' (Fassin, 2009, p. 50). The right to live is not evenly distributed,
but rather, operates as a machine under the scale of biolegitimacy, othering some individuals and
putting them to death (Fassin, 2009, pp. 52–53). This strategy of segregation bears many
similarities to the notion of 'racialization' where the biopolitical mechanism of racialization that
segregates and configures individuals into schematic 'races' establishes, 1) 'the sovereign right
to kill is not subject to any rule' and; 2) 'sovereignty means the capacity to define who matters
and who does not, who is *disposable* and who is not' (Mbembe, 2003, pp. 25, 27). In the moral
economy of the control regime, the biopolitical strategy of segregation serves as the governmental

machine to classify the population into those who are worthy of protection and those who may pose threats to sovereign power and thus require intervention.

Hence, biopolitics is not just about the normalizing of people's lives but also about 'deciding the sort of life people may or may not live' (Fassin, 2009, p. 49). Multiplicities are somewhat accepted in a neoliberal economy but only in the form of orderly differences so that they can be kept under surveillance, trained, deployed and punished if necessary (Foucault, 2003, p. 242). Accordingly, multiplicities of living vitalities such as bodies, souls, thoughts, conducts and ways of being are governed to 'attain certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality' (Foucault, 1988, p. 16).

As the discourse of risk flourishes, the work of sorting out the self-managing individuals comes to be shared among state agencies and the individuals themselves (Garland, 2001, p. 129). For these authorities to incorporate individuals into the risk, it is crucial to effectively manage individuals in public spaces. Since it is costly and time-consuming to intervene at the level of individual subjects, authorities are increasingly outsourcing policing activities to individuals using the rhetoric of 'responsibilization'. As the discourse of risk cultivates fear and anxiety in public spaces, researchers have shown how anti-terrorism campaigns attempt to institutionalize 'a mechanism of *inclusion*, where any and all eyes are asked to see and say' (Sylvia, 2014, p. 456, emphasis added). For example, the US Department of Homeland Security organized the 'If You See Something, Say Something' campaign in the face of the 9/11 attack in 2001 (Reeves, 2012). This initiative emerged against a background where 'citizens are being called on more and more to fill surveillance duties once reserved for the police' (Reeves, 2012, p. 236). Through the production of a self-vigilant subject and the sharing of the security burden with the public, authorities are able to impose an endless sequence of training against which they set a scale of morality.

The approach of responsibilization holds individuals accountable for their own action on a moral ground (O'Malley, 1992). However, the moral ground is often translated into a 'hygienic' reason

to illuminate a further rationale where '[m]olding by such means aims at making socially desirable behaviour automatic, a matter of self-control, causing it to appear in the consciousness of the individual as the result of his [*sic*] own free will, and in the interests of his [*sic*] own health or human dignity' (Elias 1994, p. 123). Consequently, subjects are not only diagnosed as moral or amoral but also hygienic or unhygienic entities. In this process, they become subject to 'biopower', which organizes the individual as 'species-being' to regulate the mortality of population (Foucault, 1988) and which 'promotes the security and well-being of individual and collective life' (Grove, 2014, p. 198).

Instead of discretely profiling, individuating and searching for particular targets, the contemporary regime of security scans the entire population as a whole and identifies irregularities that are either to be reconfigured or used to verify the criminality of individuals against biopower. Deleuze (1992) has put forward a suggestion that societies of control can be characterized as having 'short-term and of rapid rates of turnover, but also [as] continuous and without limit, while discipline was of long duration, infinite and discontinuous' (p. 6). Where strategies of discipline focused on 'curing' or 'correction' through institutionalizing individuals, strategies of control are aimed at the regulation of social life (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 21). In other words, the latter's emphasis is to eradicate seeds of malaise and destroy every minute potential of hazardous acts. This requires a 'constant and coordinated application of violence' (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 21) rather than sporadic disciplinary punishment as a consequence of particular misconducts. This shift suggests that authorities proactively search for potential unknowns in anticipation of what comes next in the immediate future. This form of governance is conducted in a systemic manner to 'regulate' rather than punish individual subjects for the preservation of the general population's wellbeing.

Where strategies of discipline are more concerned about retribution over past incidents, strategies of control are addressed to the deterrence of future risks. Under the future-oriented strategies of control, 'preparedness' becomes an important concept. Lakoff (2006) defines preparedness as 'both an ethos and a set of techniques for reflecting about and intervening in an uncertain

potentially catastrophic future' and presents some examples of "techniques of preparedness", including: "detection and early warning systems, simulation exercises, coordinated response plans, and metrics for the assessment of the current state of readiness" (para. 14). These techniques of preparedness are intended to accumulate knowledge about risks and manage existing and future vulnerabilities to minimize their consequences (Lakoff, 2006). Although preparation for future contingencies is not an easy task, it is believed that it becomes at least feasible by creating a scenario and simulation. However scenario planning and simulation exercises are only made possible through gathering personally identifiable information, including date of birth, signature and geographical location for example.

The literature on surveillance stresses that authorities are deploying a wide range of strategies to gather personal information so that they can begin to strategically pinpoint, watch or attack suspicious targets when the future unknowns are visualized and made present using the collected information (Anderson, 2010a, p. 783). However a new trend is emerging. Marx (2006, pp. 37–38) has observed that authorities are increasingly deploying indirect measures to collect personal information. This information gathering activity takes many forms, some more palpable and obvious, and others more obscure and indirect. According to Marx, authorities are now adopting 'soft' techniques, including deceitful communication and calls for voluntary participation, to gain compliance with less coercion and intimidation (pp. 37–38). He calls this 'soft surveillance', as surveillance activities are increasingly interwoven into practices of our everyday life. Such modes of soft surveillance can take many forms (Marx, 2006, pp. 37–38). For instance, the 'loyalty card' automates the process of collecting personal information (Zurawski, 2011, pp. 523–524). Surveillance strategies are now woven into routine practices of shopping and consumption as institutional interventions are legitimatized through, and integrated into, these social processes (Zurawski, 2011, pp. 523–524). Moreover, there is a rise in 'playful' surveillance technologies. Photo tagging, which is a popular practice on social media outlets, has become the site where automated face recognition plugs in to collect personal information (Ellerbrok, 2011, p. 538). The entertaining nature of tagging provides users with a pleasurable pastime and provides a momentary reprieve from the more serious obligations of their everyday life. This kind of

approach de-masculinizes the operation of mining personal information and makes it look less threatening (Ellerbrok, 2011, p. 539). And importantly, it silences public critique directed at the collection of users' biometric information (Ellerbrok, 2011, p. 539). It diverts the subjects' attention away from the original 'hard' orientation of surveillance while the collected information could be used for unforeseen purposes outside their knowledge and without consent (Ellerbrok, 2011, p. 539).[8]

Consequently, this 'soft' form of control could potentially suspend subjects' critical judgement on surveillance itself while 'placing questions of "why" and "for whom" on the back burner to the more enjoyable question of "how"' (Ellerbrok, 2011, p. 541). This changing nature of information-gathering practices de-capacitates direct confrontation and prevents critical consciousness from developing. It can be described as domestication, if not uncritical compromise, in the making of a space for less contestation. Garsten and Jacobsson's (2011) study of transnational regulation practices draws upon Mouffe's notion of the 'post-political' (1993) to demonstrate how the recent move towards the framework of regulation with a direct link to liberal market ideology disguises the political nature of regulatory activities and the differential power relations of actors. The softening of the governing mechanism is designed to annul an individual's active involvement and critical agonistic politics and prioritizes a seemingly 'voluntary' consensus-making through rhetorical persuasion, shutting down the individual's capacity for claim-making (Mouffe, 1993). The discourse of risk is deployed here to justify authorities' interventions into the lives of individuals where surveillance becomes 'not simply a security practice but also a practice that blurs the boundaries between security and the everyday' (Andersen & Moller, 2013, p. 208).

Despite the extensive volume of literature on the securitization of time and space, scholars have not given equally sufficient attention to the role of authorities in creating a sense of insecurity, which prompts passengers' participation in security operations. Here, the body serves as an

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[8] This is widely known as the 'control creep' or 'function creep' (Innes, 2001; Monahan, 2007; Backman, 2012).

important medium through which passengers become modulated to invoke a strong desire for security. The next part of this literature review examines the existing literature focusing on the body. The sociology of the body has traditionally situated the body as the product of socialization. However, the recent rise of affect theory has reconceptualised the body as an open-ended dynamic entity of becoming with the capacities for affecting and being affected. By reviewing these discussions, it seeks to instigate the discussion about how railway operators approach passengers' bodies and transform them into active participants in security operations.

**The Body**

In order to evaluate the contemporary operation of power in railway stations on passengers, it is necessary to reflect on how bodies are being theorized in studies of everyday security and mobilities. Indeed, the question of what constitutes a body has become a central theme of contemporary sociological theory. In the following, I describe two contrasting conceptualizations of how we might understand bodies: one is premised on identity, and the other on corporeal relationality. The former regards the body and its comportment as the product of socialization while the latter stresses the role of the 'pre-personal' dimension in an event of encounter. The latter pivots around the notion of 'affect', which has been theorized in relation to the 'pre-personal' composition of the body (Massumi, 2002, p. 15). Whereas the former emphasizes the significance of biography, the latter claims that biology has an important part to play in pre-forming the body. Sometimes referred to as the 'ontological turn', and of direct relevance to thinking about passengers, this new strand of sociological theory highlights how situational encounters and infrastructural milieus (re)shape the human body. In the remaining part of this chapter, I describe the development of these theories that endeavour to offer understandings of what constitutes the passenger body.

Traditional sociological theory underscores the identity-based construction of the body and focuses on the socially constructed subject. For instance, Falk (1996) writes:

The irreversible reshaping of the body and its permanent marking manifests the stable and static character of relations in society … The body is an unfinished piece of art to be completed. It must be transformed from nature to culture. This transformation is realized by inscribing membership of the community in the flesh. (p. 99)

Being irreversible yet constantly updated through inscriptions, the body is here conceptualized as the product of social construction, which in turn provides the body with a social membership (Falk, 1996, p. 99). This view is shared by many social constructionists who emphasize the vital role of socialization as formative of the body. For example, in *Outline of a theory of practice*, Bourdieu (1977) conceives the notion of 'habitus' to show that objective meanings are produced and reproduced by social class to bring into being a subject position. The notion of 'habitus' shapes the subject's social manner, logic of thinking, perception and preference, establishing 'a common-sense world endowed with the *objectivity* secured by consensus on meaning (*sens*) of practices and the world' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 79). Accordingly, the bodies occupying a similar social position are 'objectively harmonized without any intentional calculation or conscious reference to a norm and mutually adjusted *in the absence of any direct interaction*' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 80, original emphasis). While the theorization of habitus accentuates the significance of class, gendered bodies shape and demarcate corporeal capacities to materialize specific bodily comportments. Observing how boys and girls throw a ball, Young (1990) observes how one's body becomes demarcated by gender. When performing a physical task, boys develop more latitude to put their whole bodies into engagement, whereas girls are inclined to focus on their particular body parts (Young, 1990, p. 145). The lived gendered body provides a key to understanding differences in their corporeal capacities (Young, 1990, pp. 149, 147). These analyses consider the body as a text on which society and culture inscribe meanings. However, this common assumption only tells us what the body *is* while leaving open the question of what it *does* and what it *can do*, understating its vitality.

From another standpoint, some scholars have emphasized that individual behaviour is shaped by, and in turn shapes, *situational* encounters. For instance, Latham and McCormack (2004) encourage us to turn to the significant role of visceral intensities that emanate from 'more than personal' relations in affecting the body 'before the reflective event of thought kicks in' (p. 706). As much as the social and the cultural inscribe meaning onto the body, the body is 'inherently dynamic with potential for self-organizing at various thresholds of energy flow' (Clough, 2003, p. 363). In this theorizing of the body, the underpinning trope is the 'more-than-personal', which precedes cognition and is incomprehensible in language. This property is referred to as 'affect' and defined by 'the body's capacity to enter into relations of movement and rest … the power to affect and be affected' (Massumi, 2002, p. 14). Affect is distinctly formed, de-formed and reformed through flows and mutations in spaces that are neither formed nor structured for they remain abstract and escape from signification by language (Massumi, 2002, p. 14). This 'pre-subjective', 'unstructured' intensity transcends beyond corporeal boundaries and the parameter of the individual will or meaning (Thrift, 2004).

As such, the body may be understood as being in the constant state of 'becoming', going through a constant de- and re-composition in relation with other bodies. (Ruddick, 2010, p. 28). The body continually undergoes changes in a web of interactions and is thus almost never singular in itself (Manning, 2010, pp. 118–119). The body can be thought of as a 'relay point' that modulates and synchronizes with adjacent bodies, rather than being closed off from them (Braidotti, 2002, p. 21). Hence, the body is *situational* (Massumi, 2002, p. 217) and *effecting* of the events in which it takes part (Thrift, 2004, p. 60), with a potential to break away from the fixed effect of subject-position such as class and gender. This inter-corporeal nature of the body generates 'affective resonance' (Blackman & Venn, 2010, p. 21) and brings bodies together to form a 'shared ground from which subjective states and their attendant feelings and emotions emerge' (Anderson, 2009, p. 78).

This line of argument posits that the synchronicity is facilitated by the intrinsic capacity of the mimetic body; as Gibbs (2010) puts it, 'at the heart of mimesis is the immediacy of what passes

between bodies and which subtends cognitively mediated representation, which it does not ever entirely replace or supersede' (p. 191). In the event of a protest rally, for instance, the bodies of participants develop affective resonance through their communicative faculty (Juris, 2008, p. 62). Proximity of the bodies leads each body to tune into a particular intensity of atmosphere to join a collective. Affective transfer is the essential condition for this kind of collectivization (Brennan, 2004, p. 49). Nonetheless, this transfer between the bodies is 'felt' rather than 'seen' (Blackman & Venn, 2010, p. 24), as the bodies come into a chorus to generate an 'open system' (Massumi, 2002, p. 18; Clough, 2007, p. 18). Wrought by non-deterministic, non-linear metamorphoses, this open system embraces the bodies' capacities for affecting and being affected by each other. Therefore, affective resonance is almost never fixed but impinged on a volatile foundation, which repeatedly degenerates and regenerates itself. This view posits that affective intensities as an in-built quality provide the platform for seeing the body as more than just a text.

However, this point raises an important question about the universality of the body in that the body can almost never be detached from cultural contexts. Critics point out that the corporeal capacities to affect and be affected are almost never neutral but are constructed if not manipulated *a priori* (Tolia-Kelly, 2006, p. 215). The world can be phenomenologically understood as an 'already-effect' of the impressed feelings through which the body constructs a hierarchical order where differentiated subjects discursively self-impose disciplinary regulations on their bodies where boundary, fixity and surface are produced (Butler, 1993, p. 9). One's experience of an encounter can thus be overshadowed by the impressions that subjects attach to their encounter, and is worked through from within discourse (Gill & Pratt, 2008, p. 19). Feelings and impressions attached to objects and landscapes normalize some bodies and mark the rest as 'out of place' (Nayak, 2010).

Moreover, affect theory has been criticized for its heavy emphasis on the 'pre-personal' 'anti-intentionalist' construction of the body that could firstly, separate emotions from cognitive reasoning and secondly, undermine the continuing importance of meaning, signification and representation (Leys, 2011, p. 443). In parallel with this contention, Martin (2013) asserts:

Removing any interest in intentionality—conceived as a social process, as affect theory does—removes socially produced contexts of use as a necessary and sufficient basis for what actions and words mean to people. … Affects are a social effect rather than the result of human biology. Intentions in this regard are conceived as the remainder—the material brain and those neurological interactions that are necessary to reproduce it. (pp. 155–156)

This line of critique argues that the theorization of affect overlooks the contextual dimension of the social while overemphasizing the biological and pre-personal dimension of an event. An additional point of critique stresses that we must attend to the persistent bearing of social construction to better understand the power relations enclosed within interactions (Thien, 2005). The elusive aspect of lived experience is certainly important in the construction of the human body; however, it is almost always situated in history of encounters with other bodies as a 'cumulative … historical process' (Kobayashi, Preston, & Murnaghan, 2011, p. 873). This means that the biographical construction of the human body is vital in determining orientations of the body. Some bodies are perceived as hateful or loving, giving more pain or pleasure than other bodies based on previous impressions in particular social and cultural contexts (Ahmed, 2004). Above all, these criticisms point out that some bodies are differentiated with negative markers and connotations such as disgust and hatred, even before they enter into any relation.

Furthermore, some scholars from a different ontological standpoint have argued that affective intensities are not always pre-personal and are in fact generated and engineered in a service-oriented economy that capitalizes on the stickiness of im*press*ive feelings that leave their mark or trace (Ahmed, 2004, p. 6). This body of literature focuses on the rise of 'immaterial labour' (Hardt & Negri, 2004, pp. 107–108), which has emerged in the context where the 'hegemonic' mode of production has shifted from the 'material' to the 'immaterial' (Hardt & Negri, 2004, pp. 107–108).

Immaterial labour demonstrates that the new stage of capitalist production is hinged upon the engineering, manipulating and modulating of affect intensities. Some scholars have empirically documented the labour first-hand to help us better understand variations and commonalities in different contexts and elevate analytical clarity. For instance, Dowling's ethnographic work (2012), elaborates on her experience of waitressing and takes readers through her role of 'affective reconnaissance', which is intended to 'provok[e] a state beyond what can be cognitively communicated' (p. 111, p. 113). Wissinger (2007) investigates the labour of fashion modelling; through her interviews with models, she reveals that they are 'valued for their ability to unleash a wide range of responses, responses that might shift or be modulated faster than they can be subjectively recognized as emotions' (p. 260). Despite the primary focus of these studies being on the labour process of producing particular affective intensities, these scholars have provided little account of how products and by-products of immaterial labour play out. To grapple with the potent dynamics of immaterial labour to affectively modulate the body, nevertheless, it is equally necessary to empirically attend to its products including the senses of comfort and security - the 'positive' intensities that impel individuals to behave in a certain manner and its by-products, which disrupt the modulative forces of these intensities.

In the contemporary service-oriented economy, immaterial labour plays a fundamental role in engineering, mediating, intervening and dismantling social relations. A high premium has been attached to workers who are capable of engineering and cultivating 'positive' intensities such as joy, comfort, pleasure, care and intimacy at the shopfront, and 'negative' intensities such as fear, anxiety and nervousness for the purpose of securitization. These affective intensities serve as the lure to modulate passengers' bodies to take hold of railway spaces. In the context of transit spaces, Bissell, Hynes and Sharpe (2012) look into the air safety procedure video of Air New Zealand to examine how it attracts the attention of air travellers. Emphasizing the production of desire, they point out that the video draws attention through inducing 'positive affects' such as happiness, comfort and pleasure (Bissell, Hynes & Sharpe, 2012). In a similar vein, Lin (2015) studies Singapore Airline's engineering of affective environment through in-flight services in relation to the modulation of travellers' bodies.

On the other hand, the body itself and the perception of the body can be rendered as an 'effect' of social construction, rejecting any possible manipulability through engineering of affective atmosphere or affective modulation. Along this line of thought, Pile (2010) writes:

> A strong argument for thinking about affect in non-representational theory is that it is being 'engineered' by the powerful. It is suggested that this may be happening, in new forms, through (for example) consumerism, management techniques and skills training, and media representations. It is not clear, since affect is supposedly non-cognitive, how it is that the powerful – and non-representational theory – can actually have this ability to know the unknowable, let alone to engineer that which cannot be grasped. If, on the other hand, it is argued that the powerful are actually manipulating the pre-cognitive or cognitive, then what role is affect playing? Maybe, instead, affects resist the powerful. We simply do not know. (p. 15)

Indeed, designing and controlling affective intensities is extremely difficult and is not always as effective as projected (Hynes & Sharpe, 2015). This is due to the 'uncontainable' nature of affective intensities where they often 'leak out' (Blackman, 2008, p. 110). It is crucial to acknowledge that the work of affective modulation performed by immaterial labour almost never serves the intended purpose. It generates much more than that. The result of affective modulation inevitably encloses margins for unintended reverberations. In other words, affective modulation creates both products (calculated effects) and by-products (accidental effects). Due to the unruly and unforeseeable character of affective intensities (Blackman, 2008, p. 110), it becomes almost impossible to fully take hold of them and aim at a single target. Inevitably, therefore, affective modulation almost always creates an 'opening' in the mechanism of control that encompasses potentialities for dislocation. It suffices to say at this stage that affective intensities are far from fully controllable or containable in spite of the amount of money or effort railway operators invest to engineer and cultivate affects to modulate passengers' bodies and govern urban spaces of mobilities.

Affective excesses are certainly one of the most important targets for authorities endeavouring to take hold of urban railway spaces. However, the existing literature does not sufficiently attend to the strategies with which authorities intend to eradicate potentialities for disruption. To supplement the literature, this thesis empirically investigates how the excess of affective intensities is being managed by authorities in contemporary urban railway spaces. This will help us unveil how authorities subtly and yet forcibly implement the network of control counter to the productive enabling force of passengers' bodies.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has reviewed the existing literatures on passenger mobilities, everyday security, and the body in an effort to contextualize the following empirical examinations (Chapters 4-7). While the respective literatures have so far tended to discuss their subjects in separate settings, this chapter has asserted that we can enrich the analysis of the emerging forms of control by creatively drawing on from these large repositories. The empirical chapters expand on the literature reviewed in this chapter to examine how everyday security, passenger mobilities and the body interface with each other to constitute urban railway spaces. These chapters document unfolding of experiences and events by which the body comes to be modulated when passengers move through the railway spaces.

The chapter put forward the importance of capturing the spaces of mobilities in relation to securitization and the body in order to fully appreciate the complexity of the four sites of control – technology, space, time and imagination – that this thesis later explores. Instead of simply branding railway spaces as 'non-places' (Augé, 1995), the chapter proposed that it is crucial to situate these spaces of mobilities as an interface between bodies on the move, authorities of securitization and the power that normalizes control. Attending to these faces of the interface enables us to grapple with this unique mechanism of control that is increasingly dominant in

service-oriented economies today and presents an opportunity to observe how soft control is being organized and put to practice in urban railway spaces. To further set the context of the later empirical chapters, I move on to a discussion about the method of ethnographic observation in the next chapter, as I will incorporate detailed descriptions of my fieldwork in Tokyo in this thesis.

**CHAPTER TWO: METHOD AND FIELDWORK**

**Introduction**

This thesis makes observations through a 'speculative' mode of enquiry, assembling together field research observations, text and documentary analyses, and existing literature. The purpose of this thesis is not to reveal the subjective reception of passengers or users of urban railway spaces, but to speculatively theorize the experience of subject formation through immaterial encounters with technological, spatial, temporal and imaginative devices of mobilities and face-to-face interaction with fellow passengers. The thesis makes heavy use of the auto-ethnographic method and focused interviews with a number of key stakeholders to explore railway spaces through the body of a researcher. This chapter clarifies and justifies the rationale of the methodological framework that I deploy throughout the thesis, describing how a researcher's body can be used as a research tool to grapple with the workings of the technologies, devices and materials in urban railway spaces.

To challenge the dominant paradigm of knowledge production that prioritizes the search for the 'truth' of reality, this approach seeks alternative ways to think with and through the intricately woven fabric of the world in which individuals are entrenched. Instead of accepting the methodologies of closure to explain and configure reality in the pursuit of the ultimate truth, this chapter advocates for the methodologies of opening to acknowledge the existence of multiple realities felt through the individual body. While it seldom receives adequate attention in policy-oriented fields of study, examining the perceptive and sensate role of the researcher's body is particularly helpful in grasping the world in a more nuanced manner. To counteract the taken-for-granted notion of the body as an unmarked transparent filter, this chapter explores ways to appreciate the intricacy of the world through articulating explicitly about the vitality of this 'black box'. The primary task of this chapter is to stress that the body needs to be re-conceptualized as the central medium through which we gather information, observe a rationale and make sense of reality. This agenda is of particular significance in the light of the main concern of this thesis, that is, ultimately, to explore operations of soft control in urban railway spaces. This chapter showcases how the dynamic capacities of the researcher's body becomes an important medium of data collection and analysis.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part critically looks into the performative structure of a truth-making process in social science literature and the 'scientific' production of the 'truthful reality'. It examines the literature, which seeks to understand what 'empirical' actually means. The second part then asks the question about how we can conceive the researcher's body as a research tool through which we develop an understanding of the social world. This question provides a conduit into thinking about how we can challenge the world as configured, represented or mapped out, and leaves open possibilities of encounters with unanticipated realities. The third part moves on to consider how we can document events that the researcher's body encounters. The often intangible and ephemeral nature of these events of becoming makes it difficult for researchers to document them in writing. This part outlines some of the techniques that can be used to overcome this difficulty, which hinders many researchers from taking the role of their body seriously.

**Against the Grain**

This chapter critically examines the common methodology of positivist social sciences to search for the most truthful singular reality, arguing that this is, as Law (2002) puts, 'the dream of modernism in its search for foundational (or not postfoundational) grounds' (p. 5). In the 'modern' form of knowledge production, data is sorted into pre-configured categories to offer references and frameworks to maintain a strong command in explaining the world. This form of knowledge production labels some methodological pathways as being more valid, credible, neutral and truthful than others. In effect, it enables observers to excavate evidence that is more truthful to, and representative of, the reality as the foundation for the validity and credibility of their claim. It establishes and reinforces a hierarchy to measure the data on the spectrums between objective and subjective, science and social, fact and opinion, universality and specificity, and formal evidence and casual inference. When presenting research results or findings in a public policy arena, for instance, it is usually the 'quantitative' scale that is assumed to offer a more truthful, disinterested account that authenticates the phenomenon being identified, as opposed to the more descriptive and qualitative information. In consequence, the scientific objectivity of quantitative data has long been perceived as

the only way to reach the 'truth' while descriptive methods are often dismissed as biased and subjective. Scientific objectivity strictly prevents other measures from examining its self-assured 'empiricism' as the dichotomous model between science and society provides each a mould that protects their respective fields (Latour, 2000, p. 112).

When knowledge production relies solely on a narrow range of audiences for performance evaluation, it reinforces the degree of authority in defining what 'truth' means. Attempts to seek and depict the one and only truth thus 'become performances that are stabilized via circulating networks of symbolic exchange, or "information" for recognition' (Hagstrom, 1965, as cited in Reed & Alexander, 2009, p. 34). Such (re)production of *the only* truth is often reinforced by the fact that the audiences are limited to institutionalized authorities including governmental organizations, funding agencies and universities, professional colleagues and peers and the researcher's own creativity itself (Reed & Alexander, 2009, 39). In such an institutionalized enclave, authorities become audiences, producers become critics and critics become producers without any external referent.[9] The prevailing system of knowledge production in the arena of expertise has thus tended to place high premiums 'on transportability, on naming, on clarity, on formulating and rendering explicit what it is that we know' (Law, 1999, p. 9). In this arena, social effects have conventionally been understood in the form of enclosure through the use of a methodological formula that is intended to stabilize observed phenomena to offer 'objectivity'.

One of the consequences of this system of thought is that it so often leads us to '"forget" about the complex' to the extent that it surprises us and makes us feel uneasy and alarming when it suddenly resurfaces (Mol & Law, 2002, p. 3). The complexity of reality is often reduced into numbers and categories such as population, birth rate, life expectancy, income distribution, employment rate, crime rate, human development index and Gross Domestic Product. The world 'full of technical and scientific simplifications', mapped out by these classificatory indicators, certainly enables effortless comprehension (Mol & Law, 2002, p. 3). At the same time, these indicators invent, legitimize and reify the truthful and rule out all the rest, producing an all-encompassing singular reality (Ruppert,

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[9] However, as Reed and Alexander (2009, p. 35) suggest, for sociologists, researched subjects become their obligatory external referent that provide them with a distinctive reference point outside the institutionalized milieu. This external referent plays a significant role in preventing sociologists from being trapped in the field of symbolic exchange.

2012, p. 45). Hence, the perceived validity and credibility of these indicators develop the 'performative' force to invent and reinforce the singular world of reality as though it is *the only* truth.

Within the independent circuit of knowledge exchange in which audiences are often limited to their professional peers and students, social sciences with epistemological vantage points have tended to reduce complex realities into simple schemes of explanation (Reed & Alexander, 2009). In the course of the truth-seeking project, writing and speaking within the social sciences becomes a performative gesture to 'create, present and mould *a* social world whose reality makes the data seem likely, probable, or perhaps even necessary' (Reed & Alexander, 2009, p. 34, emphasis added). In this "performative" structure of knowledge production for justifying their explanations, expert knowledge censors the information available to the public and promulgates moral standards where authoritative figures impose a classificatory system with which bureaucrats, politicians, judges, teachers and doctors must work and to which the general public must refer (Brubaker & Cooper, 2000, p. 16). In the process of visualizing particular social phenomena and bringing them into being as they are being interpreted and explicated, the performative practice of representation can potentially homogenize a diversity of voices and simplify the intricately interweaved relational nature of the social world (Urry, 2000). The observers hand-pick and re-order the data derived from the observer-observed interactions to fit into their logical lines of argument and re-present it in the form of a particular language for a narrow readership.

In policy-making domains and various kinds of performance, evaluation and assessment including urban planning, numerical and categorical explanations simplify the complexity and generate a singular truth that is then 'used as a basis for action' (Mol & Law, 2002, p. 3). The panoramic vision that is often associated with French urbanist Le Corbusier today, has long been the main driving force of urban planning in Europe in the early to mid-20th century and the most prioritized way of seeing urban spaces. (Saeter, 2011, p. 188–189). This 'vision from above' popularized by policy makers, urban planners and military strategists, seeks to render every bit of space representable (Highmore, 2005, p. 3). It reduces the spaces into measurement and category to simplify a varying experience that unfolds in the space. Take the map for example. In the map, spaces are measured, divided up and laid out by the bird's eye or panoramic view to annihilate the feelings, atmospheres, moods and movements

that emanate from human interactions. The modernist practice of mapping conceals a 'thickly allusive and illusive reality' and gives a totalizing view of the world to privilege instrumental rationality over the complexly-interwoven nature of actual reality (Highmore, 2005, p. 5). The map embodies the mechanism of signification, making messy spaces appear flat, exemplifying that '[t]he map is, in effect a homogenization and reification of the rich diversity of spatial itineraries and spatial stories' (Harvey, 1990, p. 253).

This point raises a question concerning the possible gap between seeing from above and being on the ground. The presence of the complex world often falls outside the well-calculated 'scientific' and 'strategic' explanations when there is a cleavage between what one knows in "universally objective" truth exemplified in numerical values and categories, and what one knows by virtue of one's everyday encounters at the local micro level (Law & Mol, 2001). Since any knowledge is produced in a specific location and can be understood as 'regional' (Law & Mol, 2001, p. 610), we need to be cautious about making such generalizable claims. The process of demarcating what reality is, is itself generative of a reality (Law, 2000); hence, claiming something to be true is made possible by a constant reiteration of its truthfulness (Butler, 1990). This point resonates with Clifford (1986) when he argues that 'all constructed truths are made possible by powerful "lies" of exclusion and rhetoric. Even the best ethnographic texts–serious, true fictions–are systems, or economies, of truth' (p. 6). Contrary to what can be gathered from an extracted form of truth, actuality is imbued with mess, complexities, surprises, contingencies and indeterminacies. The social world in practice is almost always intertwined, chaotic, fluid and most importantly, multi-faceted so it can hardly be grasped in a singular extracted form (Mol, 2002). It may be deemed unsubstantiated on formal grounds; nonetheless, 'unfixing' the unsubstantiated is essential for the task of unleashing messy immaterialities of urban spaces.

The affective dimensions of face-to-face interaction and spatiality are exactly the part of the messy realities that traditional methods of social sciences are least capable of excavating in an adequate way. These "soft" dimensions of the social world are often delicate and elusive, deterring researchers from "scientifically" pinpointing their presence and unfolding. This is problematic precisely because 'much of expressive behavior disappears from mind as soon as it is observed, and only a randomly scheduled use of recording equipment is likely to be fully successful in sampling it' (Goffman, 1971, p. xvi). A

majority of feelings, emotions and affects that emerge from face-to-face interactions or surrounding atmospheres are nonetheless hardly reducible and almost impossible to be fixed into some kind of equation or numerical formula. These intangible qualities are volatile, contingent, and unruly, refusing to be caged in a 'single and conformable' system of classification (Mol & Law, 2002, p. 14).

Despite their obscure nature, the immaterial features of the world play a considerable role in structuring the lives of urban dwellers (Goffman, 1971, p. xvi). Hence, we must equip ourselves with alternative methods to grasp these qualities that are so often ambiguous and thus unobserved. The next part draws upon existing literature to think through the potentialities of auto-ethnographic methods that hinge on the power of affective description.

To return to the research questions in this light, this thesis aims to examine how different forms of 'soft' control are tied into customer service provision to (re)shape passenger mobilities. The methods described below provide a way of understanding how customer service provision intervenes in, and takes hold of, passengers' bodies in urban railway spaces and evaluating how pervasive this form of securitization is. Generative methodologies provide us with helpful means to spot even the minutest phenomena unfolding in urban railway spaces.

**Description and Auto-Ethnography**

The modernist construction of the social world is often premised on the assumption that there is '*a reality that is out there* beyond ourselves', separate from one's actions and perceptions. (Law, 2004, p. 24, original emphasis). Nonetheless, this 'reality' is experienced, perceived, gathered, interpreted and above all invented through our actions and perceptions and thus can be seen as a relational construction (Law, 2004, p. 24). In other words, "the reality" is highly dependent on one's relation to it. Since any action and perception inevitably involves an encounter at the level of the body, "the reality out there" may be considered as the product of corporeal mediation. This is to say, the body is a technique for constructing "the reality out there". The body is, however, neither singular nor independent (Manning, 2010, pp. 118–119). Rather, it constantly manoeuvres itself into a circuit of

communication by acting and being acted upon by other bodies or objects with which it comes into contact. The skin is neither an interface between the inside and the outside of the body, nor contains or forecloses the self (Blackman, 2008, p. 110). Given its permeability, the body does not signify the organic physiological on one side, and its components such as organs, limbs, cells, neurons on the other (Blackman, 2008, p. 110). Rather, it becomes the volatile body-multiple in transition, entrenched in a convoluted web of relationality with other bodies and objects where 'meaning is created and identity is formed' through engaging in the act of 'doing' (Spinney, 2006, p. 712).

This part of the chapter sets out to demonstrate the capacities of the researcher's body to be in touch with the world of immaterial complexities. The literature has recently sought to understand the researcher's body as the research tool and its vital role for making sense of these messy realities. They have advanced ontologically-informed affective methods in an attempt to destabilize schematized knowledge production, which too often simplifies, reduces and configures what may be observed. What we see, hear, smell, taste, touch, and think at the sites of immaterial encounter is filled with contingencies and indeterminacies for which we can 'perceive not an object-as-such but how the object merges with experience ... the object is its experiential function' (Manning, 2006, para. 36). While many social scientists tend to take for granted the 'obdurateness of the empirical world, or the independence of the empirical world from interpretation' (Clough, 2009, p. 46), affective methods offer us pathways to re-examine other possibilities. This methodological approach for researching urban railway spaces is primarily concerned with how to consider my corporeal registers in urban railway spaces. In this regard, Büscher and Urry (2009) propose that:

> By immersing themselves in the fleeting, multi-sensory, distributed, mobile and multiple, yet local, practical and ordered making of social and material realities, researchers gain an understanding of movement not as governed by rules but as methodically generative. This makes it less interesting to find and define "underlying" grammars, orders, rules or structures but rewarding and challenging to describing the methods that people (but also material agencies, e.g. through design) use to achieve and coordinate grammatical orientations and the making of orders. … Especially significant is observing how people effect face-to-face relationships with other people, with places, and with events. (pp. 103–104)

Responding to this call for researchers to develop a 'powerful new kind of social science', this thesis methodologically engages with auto-ethnography in an effort to make sense of the way passengers navigate through, negotiate with and are mobilized by and in turn, mobilize infrastructures, discourses and aesthetics of urban railway spaces. Auto-ethnography, a methodology most famously adopted by Goffman, approaches the subjects of observation by mirroring their movements, activities and conducts and immersing the researcher's body in the world they are witnessing, facing and feeling (Büscher & Urry, 2009, p. 104). It is vital to break down the dialectical boundary between the observer and the observed through putting oneself in the shoes of the observed since our knowledge of the social world 'gets constructed by interaction between the questioner and the world' (Takacs, 2003, p. 31). Tracing and replicating the experiences of railway passengers helps us not only directly observe how these individuals act, but also 'how they understand and experience those acts … [which] enables us to juxtapose what [they] say they are up to against what they actually do' (Burawoy, 1991, p. 2). In this thesis, I attempt to embody passengers' corporeality with a particular emphasis on dwelling in space, in an attempt to examine what constitutes, circumscribes and manipulates passengers' mobility and affectivity in urban railway spaces. This is an endeavour to become a practitioner who can grasp 'the thicks and thins of an urban "text" [the ordinary practitioners of the city] write without being able to read it' (de Certeau, 1984, p. 93). These "practitioners" live '"down below," below the thresholds at which visibility begins' (de Certeau, 1984, p. 93).

I contend that auto-ethnography can reveal some of the complexities, contingencies and indeterminacies of affective intensities in railway spaces to challenge preconceived explanations and fixed imaginations of 'the world out there' (Trigger, Forsey, & Meurk, 2012, p. 516). In the context of urban railway spaces, 'the thicks and thins of an urban text' (de Certeau, 1984, p. 93) may be understood through passing moments of affective intensities engendered between passengers' bodies. These are often so minute, obscure, ephemeral, and above all, contextual that traditional methods of the social sciences would have been unable to grasp them. Inhabiting railway spaces, engaging with fellow passengers and experiencing time together through my corporeal registers unleashed my body to 'emerge in ways that could not have been planned with precision' (Trigger et al., 2012, p. 525). Being 'intrinsically emotional, or *felt*, processes', unexpected encounters often become 'revelatory

incidents' or key moments of fieldwork for researchers (Fernandez, 1986, p. 215, as cited in Trigger et al., 2012, p. 525). This point prompts us to describe more explicitly what we see, hear, smell and sense in the raw, rather than treating these sensory encounters as background information, to unleash the power of eye-opening moments in descriptive writing (Geertz, 1973).

Therefore, felt and embodied senses and ephemeral intensities deserve a much more serious consideration than they have been given in traditional methods of the social sciences, in order to further grasp practices of (im)mobilities (Lorimer, 2005). Nevertheless, there are confronting tasks of firstly, capturing the often ephemeral nature of affect (Rose, Degen, & Basdas, 2010, p. 340); and secondly, grappling with its unfolding and cascading as the participants move through different times and spaces (Merriman, 2014). In the face of this challenge, researchers have developed experimental mobile methods to examine affective dimensions of spatiality with participants in the field and with readers through the text. For instance, Kusenbach (2003) walks with informants 'on their "natural" outings, and – through asking questions, listening and observing – actively explore[s] [her] subjects' stream of experiences and practices as they move through, and interact with, their physical and social environment' (p. 463). In a similar vein, Spinney (2006) talks to racing and touring cyclists while cycling himself in order to observe them in the context of their kinaesthetic and sensuous practice and 'know what [they], the hybrid subject-object, felt and experienced not simply the person' (p. 716). These studies provide experimental approaches to understanding practices of mobilities.

One of the key methodological endeavours that I want to underscore in this thesis is the power of description in relation to auto-ethnography. Reflecting on the growing popularity of this practice, Cameron (2012) outlines three strands of research in geography, all of which 'have emerged as part of a project to reclaim what has been lost, overlooked, or otherwise poorly served by geography's cultural turn and particularly the ways geographers conceptualized narrative, power, knowledge and discourse through the 1990s' (p. 575). The first strand focuses on 'small [life] stories', as opposed to grand intellectual histories, to closely attend to and scoop up 'the personal, the mundane and the local' dimensions of individuals' lives and their specificity (Cameron, 2012, p. 575). The second strand positions storytelling as a transformative practice for bringing in alternative forms of political, economic and social realities (Cameron, 2012, p. 575). And the third strand is concerned with

descriptive storytelling that deploys expressive narratives as an affective device to 'move audiences towards new realms of thought and practice' (Cameron, 2012, p. 575). Among these three strands of storytelling, I intend to explore the prospect of the third strand in particular, in an effort to make sense of urban railway spaces through auto-ethnography.

One of the most discussed works of the third strand Cameron speaks of is Wylie's (2005) portrayal of long-distance walking in the South West Coast Path in south-west England. For Wylie, walking in the English countryside encompasses 'at least some attuning with the various sensibilities still distilling from sublime and romantic figurations of self, travel, landscape and nature' (p. 235). His approach to the landscape is unique in the sense that he evocatively articulates a number of subtle phenomena that he encounters during the walk, including the shifting angle of light, colour, mood and thickness of air in the surroundings and the accompanied vicissitudes of kinaesthetic and haptic intensities. Wylie artfully details a wide range of sensory inputs he received while walking. Poetically narrating his experience of being in and being with a landscape, he endeavours to 'describe some of the differential configurations of self and landscape emergent within the performative *milieu* of coastal walking … [which] … are variable and multiple' (Wylie, 2005, p. 236).

Such a beautifully crafted account of walking, however, requires a careful reading. Merriman (2014) reminds us that 'first-hand experiences and reflections may sensationalize the experience – dramatizing the events for poetic or literary effect, and reflecting on remarkable events and experiences rather than mundane occurrences' (p. 181). In addition, Cameron (2012) stresses that these writings require readers to be equipped with 'the capacity to understand and be affected … through immersion in the vocabularies, ideas and texts' (p. 585). Affective storytelling of the emergent self and its interaction with landscape may only serve those who share a similar background while being 'neither politically, intellectually, nor aesthetically compelling' for others (Cameron, 2012, p. 586). To readjust a strong emphasis and restricted focus on the internal emergent self and its interaction with a surrounding landscape, it is essential to provide 'the wider literature on the coastal landscape … and … some of the political realities surrounding access to the countryside' that might be shaping the nature of the walk (Blacksell, 2005, pp. 518–519). A set of contextual information outside the affective interaction between self and the landscape becomes the key to establishing a common ground between

the observer and the reader. To contextualize the individual experience, Clough (2001) points us to the method of 'rhizomatic writing' thus:

> [A] composing and recomposing that cuts into and cuts away from genres, technologies, images, scenes and screens and writing machines so that movement is never simply a narrative or life story, would summon an imagination of a critical practice capable of a more direct engagement with semiotic-material object of knowledge, locally and globally situated all at once. (p. 264)

This method suggests drawing out materials from diverse sources and bring them together as a collage. These materials are less likely organized in a particular order. The "cuts" and the incongruities between the materials however, provide observers openings for cultivating unforeseen encounters and new connections. In other words, it is similar to making an alternative kind of map, as described by Deleuze and Guattari (1987):

> [O]pen and connectable in all its dimensions; it is detachable, reversible, susceptible to constant modification. It can be torn, reversed, adapted to any kind of mounting, reworked by an individual, group or social formation. It can be drawn on a wall, conceived of as a work of art, constructed as a political action or as a mediation. … A map [that] has multiple entryways. (pp. 14–15)

This thesis is an attempt to draw this kind of map of Japanese urban railway spaces with the use of a range of methodological pathways including auto-ethnographic accounts, focused interviews and casual conversations with workers and passengers, analyses of corporate public relations reports, investor relations reports and technological reviews published by railway operators, other publicly available reports and media coverage. In addition to the richness of the face-to-face encounters, images and texts also offer significant corporeal and sensory experiences, especially when we have an encounter with affective illustrations, revelatory numerical scales and categorical schemes that showcase the world as an opening, rather than a closure and give us a platform for breaking away from a standard set of narratives. These provide threads through which I weave descriptive auto-

ethnographic accounts of urban railway spaces to reinvent a reality. The researcher's corporeal registers, in mediating her/his experience with material surroundings to make sense of the social world, testify to the significance of fieldwork. Fieldwork allows the researcher to saturate her/his sensory registers in a specific atmosphere that helps re-paint a version of the world in which s/he is enmeshed. In the following, I trace an itinerary of my fieldwork to illustrate the process of making sense of the world through the affective dimensions of interaction and spatiality.

**Fieldwork**

My earliest memory of urban railway travel goes back a long time. When I was nine years old, I used to make a weekly trip to Ochanomizu for English class. I always looked forward to the Wednesday afternoons when I got to travel on the subway (the Chiyoda Line) from Machiya to Ochanomizu. It was only a thirty-minute journey but was a rare chance for me to see the big world out there. For a primary school student, the world was a small place. My family members, relatives, school friends and their parents were all those whom I would encounter in my everyday life. The thirty-minute journey brought me into a whole new world of unknowns and wonders. Fellow passengers, advertisements, railway station infrastructures, these were all mysterious to me and every Wednesday afternoon became the time of discovery.

When I started commuting from home to school three years later, I had to bear with the notorious "commuting hell" for the first time. It was only a thirty-minute commute from the subway Chiyoda Line Machiya Station to the JR Yamanote Line, Komagome Station. However, being crammed into a small carriage engendered high levels of discomfort and unrest before I became used to it. I had no other option but to somehow find ways to deal with the inescapable situation. Observing fellow passengers' patterns of movement helped me learn how to re-imagine the space and make it less uncomfortable. I noticed that they tried to create a personal space for themselves. Some popular techniques included: listening to music through headphones, reading books and closing their eyes. I learned that these techniques were used not only for avoiding eye contact but also for building a mental wall to offset physical proximity in a crowded carriage. I often closed my eyes to imagine beautiful

scenery such as the endless desert, secluded beaches and dense forests. Although most of my encounters with these landscapes were mostly mediated by photography, I tried to imagine a picture and escape from the reality of uncomfortable physical proximity with fellow passengers.

This was already in the distant past when I conducted my fieldwork between February and December 2013. Going back to the routine of commuting, some memories came back while others faded away. Interestingly though, most of my recollections of the past are somehow related to railway infrastructures. For example, a recent development in the smart IC card reminded me that there was no such thing until the mid-2000s. Prior to the introduction of the technology, passengers still used a magnetic paper ticket/pass. Whenever passengers would enter and exit railway stations, they had to take the pass out from their wallet, and insert it into and pick it up from the ticketing machine. Moreover, I remembered that there was only a printed network map in the railway compartments. All advertisements were displayed in the traditional form of posters hanging from the ceiling and stuck onto the wall of the compartments. Changes in the railway infrastructures served as the most visible reminders of the passage of time and presented me with the power of immateriality in mediating the way I developed a sense of reality.

*Auto-ethnography*

During my fieldwork in Tokyo, I spent the first eight weeks from 11th February to 12th April 2013 taking a commuter train with other passengers on the Tokyo Metro Marunouchi Line between 7.30am and 8.30 am The subway Tokyo Metro Marunouchi Line was the second oldest subway to be developed in the city of Tokyo after the Ginza Line (Tokyo Metro, n.d.a). Since its opening in 1951, it has been one of the central railway lines connecting key areas of the city facilitating urban mobility.[10] My base station was Tokyo Metro Myōgadani Station, a 10-minute walk from my house. The fact that the station is adjacent to a number of prestigious schools makes it one of the most popular residential

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[10] These key stations are Shinjuku (the largest sub-city area of Tokyo), Yotsuya (old downtown area), Kokkaigijidōmae (Parliament House), Kasumigaseki (government ministerial offices), Ginza (central shopping district), Tokyo (the central station), Ōtemachi (central business district), Ochanomizu (traditionally a hip area for young adults), Kōrakuen (Tokyo Dome and entertainment complex) and Ikebukuro (the second largest subcity of Tokyo).

areas in Tokyo for families with young children.[11] The station is also the main gateway to a number of university campuses such as Ochanomizu University, Tsukuba University, Toyo University Takushoku University, and Atomi University. While residents in the area commute out from this station, a large number of students also commute into the area to go to these schools and universities. The total number of passengers who passed through the ticketing gates between April 2014 and March 2015 was 70,584, placing the station at 57th in the most frequented Tokyo Metro subway station ranking (Tokyo Metro, n.d.a). This number includes occasional visitors and passengers using the station at weekends, and the location puts Myōgadani Station as one of the most frequented stations that has only one single railway line with no connecting lines.

Throughout the two months of this commuting experiment, I explored different commuting time zones while following a similar pattern of commuting. I would wake up at 7.00am, pick up a newspaper from the mailbox and prepare/eat breakfast while watching the morning news on TV. I would then wash my face and brush my teeth before dressing myself. After all these, I would pack the newspaper and my lunch box in my bag and leave the house at various times, sometimes at 7.30am and other times 7.45am or 8am. It usually took five minutes to the station on foot. The primary purpose at this phase of the experiment was to observe differences between commuting time zones. To do this, I selected some of the busiest stations on the Tokyo Metro subway, including Ikebukuro Station (the busiest in 2012), Ōtemachi Station (3rd busiest) and Tokyo Station (11th busiest) to leave the railway and walk towards the exit (Tokyo Metro, n.d.b). These three stations have long been the gateways to the main business districts of Tokyo. Taking a subway from the station in a residential area to the nearby main business districts during the morning rush hours allowed me to observe the city's commuting scene through my skin. The choice of this subway route was made to simulate a white collar worker's morning commute from home to work. This short route from Myōgadani to Ikebukuro, Myōgadani to Ōtemachi and Myōgadani to Tōkyō would only take twenty minutes at most, leaving me with ample time to observe commuting passengers at the ticketing gate of each of these stations for the remaining peak hour.

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[11] They include: the Ochanomizu University Elementary, Middle and Senior Schools and University of Tsukuba Elementary, Middle and Senior Schools, and the Takehaya Kindergarten and Elementary School attached to the Tokyo Gakugei University. These experimental schools, run by the respective national universities are famous for providing a quality education at a reasonable rate. For more information on these schools, see: http://toyokeizai.net/articles/-/10543.

– Phase One –

For the first few days of the commuting experiment, I found myself in a state of disorientation or what Benjamin (1999) might call 'anamnestic intoxication' (p. 417). The symptoms of such a condition develop as 'the *flâneur* goes about the city [and] not only feeds on the sensory data taking shape before his [sic] eyes but often possesses itself of abstract knowledge—indeed, or dead facts—as something experienced and lived through' (Benjamin, 1999, p. 417). During this initial period, the most I could do was to weave stories and jot them down in my field notebook to describe abstract knowledge in a written form. After each commute, I sat down in a café near the stations and jotted down a few dot points using the note function of my mobile phone to make sure that I was not omitting small details that constituted the commuting scene. As soon as I returned home, I typed out the dot points using my computer. Struck by the opening between the habitual manners of commuting passengers and my embodied comportments, the first few days were filled with many surprises and prompted me to write a large amount of field notes. But as the days went by, the number of surprises diminished and my field notes became much smaller.

Meanwhile, I grew irritated by some passengers' intense gaze towards me, especially when I behaved rather differently from the way that would be regarded as acceptable in the railway spaces. For the first few days of the experiment, I was extremely annoyed by it while moving with them. Through their gaze, I felt that they were constantly checking to make sure that I was not doing anything disruptive. Some of these passengers took a certain distance from me when we walked in passenger flow. A series of negative intensities arising from the suspicious gazes I received in interaction with other passengers repeatedly instructed my body to reflect on and 'choreograph' (Symes, 2013) my movements in line with other passengers'. Through aligning my comportment with other passengers', I was unconsciously gathering a set of corporeal knowledge around "accepted" ways of moving in railway spaces. However, I still did not cognitively get to grips with an implicit rule that seemed to govern the spaces. Despite that, I still felt out-of-place and decided to stand at the ticketing gate of the busiest station of Tokyo Metro subway, Ikebukuro Station to closely observe patterns of passengers'

movement. After each commute to Ikebukuro I stayed at the gate for about an hour until 9.30am when the morning peak hour ended.

At first glance, the traffic passing through the ticketing gate appeared to be nothing but chaos. However, I patiently observed for over a week and some patterns of movement began to emerge. There was a hierarchy between those who had priority and those who were obliged to give way. The hierarchy mirrored that of the conventional social hegemony where older salarymen in their 50s or 60s in business suits assume their superiority and higher status than the rest. On many occasions, they behaved rudely towards younger passengers. For instance, on a number of occasions, salarymen in their 50s cut in on the lines of passengers waiting before the ticketing gate. On the other hand, these salarymen would usually give a long intimidating stare at younger passengers when they did anything similar to that effect.

Through this observation, the relational nature of my corporeal registers materialized as an 'effect' (Thrift, 2004, p. 60) of their encounters with other passengers' bodies or objects in railway spaces. A strong inflow of agitation engendered through encountering some disrespectful salarymen became contagious and stuck to and haunted my body even after I exited the station. Reflecting on the day's commute in the café with a mobile phone in my hand, these kinds of strong intensities often became a highlight. On other days, different intensities emerged from the busyness of the passageways, roughness of the terrain, darkness of the sidewalk, or angle of the slope. Encounters with these architectural infrastructures often made my legs tense, slow down or at times stop. These corporeal intensities invited me to write *through* the body. Gradually, I had developed an understanding that the body could become a medium that constituted a large part of how we make sense of the world and the very process of meaning-making unfolded through the hunches of the body.

– Phase Two –

For the next eight months from 16th April to 28th November 2013, I undertook the second phase of my commuting experiment. But this time, I put myself in the position of an actual commuter traveling from home to a workplace. From Monday to Thursday every week, I worked as a part-timer at a

convenience store located in Komagome Station approximately 35 minutes away from my house. I followed the pattern of commute that resembled many other commuters as my work shift started at 8.00am I set two alarms: one at 6:30 a.m. and the other at 6.35am to wake up, picked up a newspaper, had breakfast, brushed my teeth and left home by 7.20am to arrive at work by 7.55am While repeating the same routine from Monday to Thursday every week, my body increasingly became attuned so that I no longer needed to check my watch to see if I was on time. From the point where I would usually leave my house, I was incorporated into a flow with the same group of individuals every day. If I did not see some familiar faces on the way to the station, this was a sign that I was late. After some weeks of commuting, I familiarized myself with the faces of fellow commuters, posters and signs with which I would almost always come into contact and their absence sometimes made me uneasy. By readily interacting and engaging with other bodies and objects, my body enrolled itself into a flow of movements to constantly seek guiding cues to make sense of and orient the time-space of commuting. Whilst the routine made commuting much more effortless and spontaneous and put my body into "autopilot" mode, the passing reminders also made my body increasingly attentive and reactive to disruptions (cf. Middleton, 2011, pp. 2872–2874).

When my body sensed a change to the routinized landscape of commuting, it would start searching for the difference to figure out what was going "wrong". In this sense, my body formed part of the socio-technological assemblages with surrounding bodies and in-built environments. In other words, I as an urban commuter was transformed into one of multiple subjects in the web of routinized mobility 'with their agency secured in the coming together of things such as acquired walking skills and pavement design and construction' (Middleton, 2010, p. 590), and above all, adjacent bodies on the move. Engaging with the lived and felt experience of commuting in the course of commuting enabled me to grasp how heterogeneous bodies of commuters are incorporated and transformed into a flow or a population for management and mobilization.

*Interviews*

In addition to these phases of auto-ethnographic commuting experiment, I conducted two semi-structured interviews with manager-class employees from the urban railway operator known as the

Eastern Japan Railways (JR East) at an early stage of my fieldwork. These interviewees whom I call Yoshiharu and Yōko were the only manager-class individuals whom I could find through my personal connections and generously offered their time. These manager-class workers were key sources of information, as they possess a depth of knowledge in diverse areas of the railway operation, having experienced a range of positions within an organization to gain a broad perspective. These two informants gave me an extended period of time (four hours with Yoshiharu and three hours with Yōko) to carry out interviews in a friendly environment. This was made possible through a strong connection I had with the intermediary who introduced me to them.

The interviews were intended not only to gain insights into the railway operation but also to engage with the transition of the two workers' development of self in urban railway spaces. My aim was to reveal much more than just "matters of fact" that would be obtainable through a range of publicly available reports. Therefore, the primary intention of these focused interviews was to grasp the singular and situated experiences of these workers rather than gathering some representative generalizable sample data. This approach was premised on the belief that '[r]eality is not defined by matters of fact. Matters of fact are not all that is given in experience. Matters of fact are only very partial and … very polemical, very political renderings of matters of concern and only a subset of what could also be called states of affairs' (Latour, 2004, p. 232).

Text-based materials available to the public online provide detailed instrumental purposes and functions of particular infrastructures and technologies of urban railway spaces. However, the commuting experiment demonstrated the presence of more complex processes of negotiation between passengers, passengers and railway workers or passengers and infrastructures. Through these interviews, my primary intention was to observe how these informants would bring together their own stories and narrate their career and the company they work for, in relation to their customers.

On the day of the meeting, I was accompanied by the intermediary who introduced me to Yoshiharu. We arrived at a suburban station near Yokohama and his partner picked us up and headed to the couple's house. The house was a standard two-story suburban house. We opened the door and the couple's dog greeted us. Telling off the dog to calm down, a well-dressed middle-age man Yoshiharu

appeared. 'So you are Kaima! Welcome, welcome, welcome, come in! It must have been a long way from Tokyo!' He was much more casual than I initially expected. I greeted him and nervously started a little chat with him. Even though this was the first time I had met him, Yoshiharu treated me like I had known him for a long time. While his partner prepared lunch, we went outside to the garden to take a look at a smoked meat that he said he prepared for my visit. While fanning the smoke, I introduced myself to him and told him why I was interested in interviewing him. Yoshiharu responded to me, 'No worries, I will tell you everything as far as I am allowed to. For the time being, though, let's have lunch!' We ate lunch before we started a long interview.

Yoshiharu has served a railway company for over 35 years and now works as an instructor to teach induction and refresher courses to the company's employees. Having worked for the company for such a long time, he enthusiastically spoke about many of the significant achievements and improvements in customer service practice that he had helped to build over the past years. When he explained his instructor role in the company, he seemed to speak at a much slower pace with confidence as if he were giving me a lecture. I saw his face light up especially when he spoke about the company's historical transition in parallel with his service. In responding to my inquisitive questions, he stressed that what seemed to be a "matter of fact" entails a lot more depth and richness than it appeared on the surface. Yoshiharu spotlighted the "human face" of the railway system, affirming that, 'at the end of the day, the system is a human product. We build it and amend it for adjustment as we and customers see fit so the improvement never ends.' He looked satisfied with the way he wrapped up his answer and smiled at me so I concluded the interview and sincerely thanked him for his kindness and hospitality.[12]

A few weeks later, I had a chance to interview another employee from the same railway operator, Yōko, to whom Yoshiharu introduced me as a potential interviewee. Yoshiharu was Yōko's boss several years ago when the first wave of women were appointed as railway staff in the company. Since then, she has served the company for over ten years and is now a manager in charge of improving customer service. Yoshiharu kindly set up a meeting with Yōko in a luxurious hotel near Yokohama

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[12] I will elaborate on this interview further in Chapter 3.

station over coffee. As I greeted her, she told me that she had just finished her irregular work shift. Nonetheless, she appeared quite relaxed and delighted to see her former boss again. When I asked her some opening questions about her work, she carefully chose her words to brief her role in the company. Speaking like a public relations officer, she rhythmically described the company's approach to customer service and outlined some matters of fact. Possibly due to Yoshiharu's presence, however, she was hesitant to go into details about her own opinions. Her narrative almost always mirrored the company's official view, yet she still maintained that there was a lot more the company could do to enhance its performance. With a more expressive and advocatory tone, she insisted, 'the world is changing and we must also change' (personal communication, February 23, 2013).

From the beginning to the end of the interview, Yōko was mostly professional and only provided me with a series of facts and positive notes when she spoke. Nevertheless, her expressions conveyed much more than her words did. When she spoke, her facial expression and tone of voice varied. She paused when she reframed her descriptions and smiled when she tried to cover up her disagreements with the company's approach. There were clear differences in the rhythms of conversation and hand gestures between the parts she spoke with confidence and the parts she spoke with reservation. I closely attended to not only her words but also her expressions and spotted some lacuna between the linguistic representation and the felt impression. This allowed me to get a sense of ambiguity, which expressively spoke for itself alongside her verbal speech.

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My encounters with these two key informants offered me a rich context and a departure point to explore the contemporary customer service regime through affective registers. When flattened out and transduced into a "matter of fact" at the level of language, subtlety and nuances tend to be discounted and lose their meanings.

These interviews are not designed to be used to collect evidence or represent society at large as a sample. These interviews serve as lures for advancing concepts in novel ways to understand the world in another light, rather than taking these as a way to generate a comprehensive grand narrative to

explain away the world. Only through being with, moving with and being moved by others can we encounter and appreciate the messy world of reality in the context of urban railway spaces. The constant presence of complexities, contingencies and indeterminacies of the railway spaces reveal that these are all important building blocks of these spaces.

Instead of trying to figure out, classify, explain or represent observed phenomena, therefore, this thesis seeks to describe the unfolding of events that I came across through my corporeal registers. While urban railway spaces are often depicted by facts and figures, a series of encounters during the fieldwork revealed the fallibility of these representations. The facts and figures often fail to take into account the ontological reality. Encounters with disjointed, disorganized and incoherent multiple realities challenged my preconceptions about the railway spaces and revealed the world as an experiential entity. A number of contingent happenstances that actualized in front of my sensory registers were so trivial that, when set against the positivist social scientific criteria, they could be appropriated into semiotic signs and symbols. However, this chapter has argued that these fragments of reality or micro events require much closer attention. These pieces were intricately jointed with each other to generate and modulate railway spaces, consolidating the foundation for discussion in the later chapters (Chapters 4–7). While it may not be obvious in the first instance, what appears in front of one's body is in actuality a partial splinter of a large part of reality transduced by the beholder (Law, 2004, p. 24). By helping us patch these pieces together, however disjointed they may be, the rhizomatic method of mapping as suggested by Clough offers us an avenue for creating a 'mosaic' of a mediated reality as perceived by the researcher's embodied senses, enabling us to overcome imagined representation or representation of "what is" or "what is supposed to be", to actualize a reality of "what it does" and "what it can do".

Most significantly, this thesis is based on a particular methodological approach which is intended as a generative toolbox for assisting me to create and develop conceptual devices. This speculative approach is therefore, not designed to provide us with a scientific study of the railway spaces and railway passengers. This thesis does not claim to offer a scientific observation of the reality undergirded by the principles of validity and credibility. Rather, it takes a speculative approach to conceive the reality as being made up of a series of situational and non-generalizable events that may

only be experienced in the context of "here and now". This fundamental position of the speculative approach provides the platform on which this thesis makes its claims, enabling me to explore what may be omitted, cut out and/or smoothed out by the traditional methods of social sciences. Hence, I contend that the speculative approach provides us with the most appropriate and suitable method to investigate the mechanism of modulative control, which intervenes into passengers' bodies in such subtle manner that it may not be observable otherwise.

**Conclusion**

In the process of thinking about a particular phenomenon, methods inevitably make some elements of the world more visible and thinkable and others completely invisible and unthinkable, as Law (2004) summarizes:

> Method … is performative. It helps to produce realities. It does not do so freely and at whim. … At the same time, however, it is also creative. It re-works and re-bundles these and as it does so re-crafts realities and creates new versions of the world. It makes new signals and new resonances, new manifestations and new concealments, and it does so continuously. … Method, then, unavoidably produces not only truths and non-truths, realities and non-realities, presences and absences, but also arrangements with political implications. (p. 143)

Method in this sense, reifies a singular reality and shapes it as if it is *the* only objective reality. It is deployed to render some realities more tangible and others less so and give them coherency. By dismissing the realities that are illogical and incongruous with the hegemonic realities, the methods performatively (re)produce an "objective" reality.

The aim of this chapter was to call into question the policy-oriented or panoramic view of explaining what the railway spaces *are*. It set out a methodological framework for overcoming the traditional methods of the social sciences, and explored what the elements of the social world *are doing* to shape my sense of the world in search for an objective reality. This approach is reflective in the sense that it

allows the researcher as a participant to grasp how the urban railway station is constantly shaped by and shaping those who pass by or walk through the space. Similarly to other sociological projects, the current project can be understood as the product of a particular methodological framework. A set of methods provide this project with an epistemological and ontological vantage point to look into the social phenomenon in question. These methods shape the way this project discusses, understands and visualizes the phenomena in giving them some kind of framework for theorization. By cutting out particular spatial and temporal dimensions of a society to zoom into a certain element of the world, these methods become crucial in making a reality meaningful and intelligible, and getting to grips with it.

Hence, this thesis situates the body as the key medium for exploring the becoming of urban transit space. By engaging with other bodies and objects through the body, I endeavour to get to grips with passengers' encounters with a diverse range of sensations as they move through urban railway spaces. While most of the sensations experienced by the body of researcher tend to be erased from positivist social science texts, this thesis seeks ways to (re)vitalize these intricately entwined intensities with the use of a descriptive method. This innovative method enables this thesis to explore how we could document the process of becoming, rather than being, to challenge the world as configured and represented, to leave open possibilities of encounters with the unanticipated.

With this background, the following chapters discuss how these socio-technological assemblages of urban transit space affect the bodies on the move and their interactions with each other. As their mobilities become augmented by railway station infrastructures and fellow passengers, passengers' bodies are modified and modulated to become more susceptible to particular feelings and affective intensities. This kind of "control" is often so elusive that we cannot see but sense it vaguely. Using the rhizomatic method of mapping, I aim to list, narrate and describe various events from the auto-ethnography in order to re-construct and offer my reading of the world as my body encountered a range of phenomena and events in urban railway spaces. Redirecting our attention to contingent senses that may not be expressed in words or represented in facts and figures is crucial to localizing knowledges and is the vital task in which we need to engage in order to appreciate the world of complex multiple realities.

## CHAPTER THREE: POLITICAL ECONOMY

**Introduction**

This chapter explores the contemporary politico-economic landscape of railway spaces to contextualize how passengers become subject to economic governance in the contemporary service-oriented economy. By illustrating the evolving relationship between care and control in contemporary urban railway spaces, this chapter performs a conceptual exploration of the ways in which railway operators transform passengers into customers as they increasingly acknowledge their singularity and unique demands. While the main function of the railway remains as the carrier of passengers from one place to another in a safe and timely manner, railway operators are increasingly investing their efforts in customer service to appear more friendly and approachable and promote a customer-oriented image. This chapter provides some context as to why this might be the case.

This push by the railway operators to paint a customer-oriented image needs to be framed in the politico-economic conditions within which it is embedded. Contextualising railway spaces within the shifting landscape of late capitalist society helps us to better grasp the rationale behind the railway operators' aspiration to extend their operation further beyond its basic function to provide a means of transportation that is safe and on time. This chapter argues that urban railway operators strategically bring together railway and retail operations to tap into passengers' desires to be taken care of, in order to intervene into, and take control of, their bodies. This is to capitalize on the contemporary social landscape in which a large number of individuals tend to suffer from 'disbelonging' from the social realm, being cut off from the support network of family, friends and workmates in the 'relation-less society' (Allison, 2012, p. 354). As such, this chapter points out that the railway operators provide the services that are often appealing to passengers with the profound sense of disbelonging, and suggest that this could be helping the operators to effectively collectivize passengers' behaviours in the railway spaces.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part provides the background context as it traces the shifting macro-economic landscape of capitalism in conjunction with the transition in the Japanese economy from the boom period of the 1960s to the lost decades between the 1990s and the 2000s. It examines a recent turn to what theorists call "immaterial labour" to describe how the labour process and the products of labour need to be distinguished in applying this concept. The second part unpacks the privatization of Japan National Railways (JNR) and its aftermath, drawing upon an interview with a long-serving JNR/JR East employee, Yoshiharu. This part observes how Yoshiharu reflected on the implications of privatization, having worked for the corporation since the JNR era. Meanwhile, it also discusses one of many grave ramifications of privatization: changing labour relations, provoked by the large-scale dismissal of trade union activists. The third part moves on to document how railway operators commodify particular affective intensities and economic incentives to accommodate and manipulate passengers' bodies. By highlighting the expansion of retail operations by JR East through the *Station Renaissance Project*, the electronic-money (e-money) function of the smart IC card and the penguin character printed on the card, this part reveals how the powerful command of obscure forces could transform passengers into consumers. In sum, this chapter aims to explore the significance of the politico-economic context while tracing a structural shift in capitalism that effectively brings the figure of "customer" into urban railway spaces.

**Immaterial Labour**

To begin our discussion about the service-oriented economy, it is crucial to revisit the industrial economy. On this subject, Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times* (1936) provides us with a satirical depiction of the working life in the industrial economy. The film opens with the protagonist named 'Charlie' screwing bolts onto iron plates that keeps flowing through an assembly machine. Charlie's body is trained to eliminate all excessive movements and disciplined to strictly follow a set of procedures as his task was set against his competency. While Charlie tries his best to become a cog in the machine and stick to the task, he cannot keep up with the ever-accelerating

speed of the assembly line and starts suffering from a nervous breakdown, causing him to disrupt his fellow factory workers, and ultimately, the whole factory operation. Consequently, he gets sent to a mental hospital for treatment and ends up losing his job. The film's sardonic portrayal of working conditions in the mass production system was a cautionary tale of the extremely arduous nature of manual labour.

This kind of labour has lost its hegemony in many parts of the world and has been pushed aside by the increasing dominance of "immaterial labour", which focuses on creating 'immaterial products such as knowledge, information, communication, a relationship, or an emotional response' (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 108). Today, Charlie would probably be sitting in front of the computer in the office or interacting with customers at the shopfront and expected to do much more than silently follow a set of instructions and complete assigned tasks within an allocated time. In most late capitalist societies, a decline of industrial manufacturing is acutely observable through its shrinking productive outputs and employment figures (see *Figure 2*). A large part of manual labour is now performed by machines or outsourced to "developing" economies where production costs can be reduced (Urry, 2014). The emergence of this new environment in late capitalist societies demands workers' performance to be assessed 'on the basis of their attitudes, motivation, and behavior' (Weeks, 2011, p. 71). The workers are expected to develop communication skills and a customer-oriented mindset rather than just total obedience to the manager. This means that being committed to work is no longer good enough. The workers are now required to be flexible, adaptable when needed and willing to keep reinventing themselves in an ever-shifting consumer-oriented market (Weeks, 2011, p. 71).

| | Percentage of civilian employed in: | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Agriculture* | | | | *Industry* | | | | *Services* | | | |
| | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 | 1981 | 1991 | 2001 | 2011 |
| Australia | 6.5 | 5.3 | 5 | 2.9 | 30.3 | 23.2 | 20.8 | 20.7 | 63.2 | 70.9 | 74.3 | 76.4 |
| Canada | 5.1 | 4.4 | 2.8 | 2.1 | 28.5 | 23 | 22.4 | 19.8 | 66.4 | 72.7 | 74.7 | 78.1 |
| Denmark | 7.3 | 5.7 | 3.3 | 2.3 | 29.3 | 27.7 | 25.4 | 18.6 | 63.3 | 66.6 | 71.3 | 79.2 |
| Finland | 13 | 8.9 | 5.7 | 4.2 | 35 | 28.8 | 27.2 | 22.9 | 51.9 | 62.3 | 67.1 | 72.8 |
| France | 8.4 | 5.4 | 3.7 | 2.5 | 35 | 29.2 | 24 | 17.8 | 56.6 | 65.4 | 72.2 | 79.7 |
| (W.) Germany | 5.2 | 4.1 | 2.6 | 1.6 | 43 | 40.9 | 33.1 | 28.4 | 51.9 | 55 | 64.3 | 69.9 |
| Italy | 13.4 | 8.5 | 5.3 | 3.7 | 37.6 | 32.3 | 32.1 | 28.8 | 49 | 59.2 | 62.6 | 67.5 |
| Japan | 10 | 6.7 | 4.9 | 3.5 | 35.3 | 34.4 | 30.5 | 24.8 | 54.7 | 58.9 | 64.6 | 71.7 |
| Korea | 34.2 | 14.6 | 10 | 6.4 | 26.6 | 36.8 | 27.5 | 24.8 | 39.1 | 48.6 | 62.6 | 68.9 |
| Netherlands | 4.9 | 4.5 | 2.9 | 2.5 | 29.9 | 25.5 | 21.2 | 15.3 | 65.2 | 69.9 | 75.9 | 82.2 |
| Norway | 8.4 | 5.9 | 3.9 | 2.4 | 29.3 | 23.6 | 21.8 | 20.2 | 62.4 | 70.5 | 74.3 | 77.4 |
| Spain | 18.4 | 10.3 | 6.5 | 4.2 | 34.5 | 33.4 | 31.5 | 21.9 | 47.1 | 56.2 | 62 | 73.9 |
| Sweden | 5.6 | 3.3 | 2.3 | 2 | 31.3 | 28.3 | 23.8 | 19.9 | 63.1 | 68.4 | 74 | 78.2 |
| U.K. | 2.7 | 2.2 | 1.4 | 1.2 | 35.8 | 30.2 | 24.6 | 19.1 | 61.6 | 67.5 | 74 | 79.7 |
| U.S. | 3.5 | 2.9 | 2.5 | 1.6 | 30.1 | 25.3 | 22.5 | 17.3 | 66.4 | 71.8 | 75.1 | 81.1 |

Figure 2. Percentage of civilian employment in selected late-capitalist countries, 1981–2011.

This new work environment was the culmination of a large-scale shift in economic structure on a global scale. The shift was initiated in the late 1960s when rapid technological advancement coupled with inexpensive products from 'new geographical centres of accumulation – the U.S., Western Europe and Japan and then a range of newly-industrializing countries', triggered an oversupply of commodities in the global market (Harvey, 1990, pp. 185–186). Although loose monetary policies sustained the post-war boom until the early 1970s, the 1973 oil embargo turned the situation upside down and gave rise to a deep recession across most late capitalist societies (Harvey, 1990, p. 145). Ever-intensifying competition from manufacturers in the new centres of accumulation forced a number of labour-intensive manufacturers in late capitalist economies to review the existing system of production and undergo a major restructuring (Scott & Storper, 1992, p. 3). This restructuring involved the large-scale layoff of factory workers, followed by the relocation of production sites and outsourcing of labour. This was part of a drive towards more "flexible", "mobile" and "precarious" labour relations in which workers became subject to short-term contracts without any guarantee of steady long-term employment (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 112). In consequence, the economic turbulence of the 1970s prompted corporations to concentrate their design and marketing operations at their headquarters located in late capitalist economies and their manufacturing processes in developing economies where labour costs could be reduced.

In Japan, the post-war "economic miracle" facilitated by the rapid technological development and the government's protectionist policies supported a strong recovery of heavy industries – automobiles, steel, petrochemicals and electronics (Sugiyama, 2012, p. 468). The 1956 white paper on the Japanese economy famously declared, 'It is no longer the "post-war" period. We are now facing a different situation. Growth through recovery is over. Future growth is going to be bolstered through modernization' (Sugiyama, 2012, p. 464). In the early 1950s, the Korean War brought a special procurement boom. From 1955 to 1962 the country experienced two economic booms: *Jinmu Keiki* and *Iwato Keiki*. Then, through the 1960s, the government's trade/capital liberalization policies stimulated manufacturers to export products to overseas markets. Despite the "structural recession" triggered by insolvencies of large manufacturing and securities companies in 1965, the government's active intervention was still capable of containing the disorder and fragility to maintain the economic boom for the next several years with ever-soaring exports of machinery and automobiles (Yamaguchi & Ishii, 2013, p. 298).

While the Japanese economy enjoyed the boom period in the 1970s as one of the emerging industrial economies, the momentum was subsequently lost in the late 1980s and the following decades between the early 1990s and the 2010s are generally referred to as the 'lost decades' or *ushinatta nijyūnen* (Sugiyama, 2012, p. 513).[13] In these two decades, the country's economy stagnated and experienced an endless cycle of recession. The decline of the economy put an end to the celebrated era of 'high-paced economic growth', 'sustained industrial output' and the 'creative genius in new-age consumer electronics' (Allison, 2013, p. 21). This long economic drought pressed corporations to scrap some traditional management practices such as the lifetime employment scheme, the seniority promotion/wage system and the enterprise-based union. The revision of these practices introduced a new set of schemes including contract-based employment arrangement and a competitive promotion/wage system, which subsequently reduced the bargaining power of trade unions (Sugiyama, 2012, p. 498). Moreover, this shift to accommodate

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[13] Sugiyama (2012) points out that the primary cause of the two decades of deep recession was mainly due to the government's misinformed decisions on macro-policies and its short-sighted interventions. Hence, he uses the term *ushinatta* (lost due to inaction) rather than *ushinawareta* (lost in a rather forcible manner) to emphasise the aspect of failure.

a 'flexible accumulation' of capital (Harvey, 1992, p. 147) destabilized the lives of many full-time employees, let alone part-time employees, bringing about 'the debilitating air of anxiety (*fuan*)' (Yoda, 2006, p. 35). The effect of flexibilization however, extended beyond the realm of work to the 'everydayness of human relationships' (Allison, 2013, p. 81).

As the push towards labour flexibilization brought uncertainty and precarious future prospects to both full-time and part-time employees, an increasing number of individuals faced difficulty in securing the material resources necessary to realise the linear progression of their life course (represented by school-job-family-children-retirement), which was held as the ideal model in the post-war period (Allison, 2013, p. 81). In reaction to this turn, individuals have developed an impulsive desire for connectedness and togetherness (Allison, 2013, p. 45). The emergence of the socially withdrawn individuals known as *hikikomori*, obsessive fetishism towards speechless characters in 2-D computer games, maid café and care robots, for instance, reveals the social condition in which individuals desperately seek relationality. In response to the 'relation-less' society (*muenshakai*), corporations are escalating their intervention into the sphere of intimacy (Allison, 2013, p. 99).

Consequently, as the labour process has drifted towards engineering, cultivating and manipulating the sphere of intimacy, it has become crucial for workers to develop a high level of 'emotional skills', 'affective capacities' and 'communicative competencies' to engage with customers, cater for their desires to be taken care of, and work with their colleagues as a team (Weeks, 2011, p. 89). Many books, magazines and newspaper articles, documentary films, television and radio programmes preach the value of emotion management in social and work life today. One of the most well-known examples is Daniel Goleman's best-selling book *Emotional Intelligence*. The book emphasizes the significance of the non-cognitive ability to 'handle frustrations, control emotions and get on with other people' (Goleman, 2005, p. 35). Goleman claims that this 'emotional intelligence', measurable by the Emotional Quotient (EQ) - a different kind of scale from the Intelligence Quotient (IQ) - is becoming one of the most important indicators of wellbeing and success in contemporary society.

This kind of intelligence can be understood as an important know-how of "immaterial labour", which 'creates immaterial products, such as knowledge, information, communication, a relationship, or an emotional response', rather than industrial products (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 108).[14] Bearing in mind that 'what is immaterial [in immaterial labour] is *its product*' (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 109, original emphasis), it is necessary to make an analytical distinction between the product of labour and the process of labour. The immateriality of "immaterial labour" is thus limited to its product while the labour process itself continues to be industrial in the sense that 'workers are organized through a detailed division of labour in a labour process to which not just machines but technological systems are central' (Camfield, 2007, p. 39). Significantly, the power of the 'immaterial' product remains predominantly hinged upon the actual labour of sustaining it, which is often conducted under a precarious, physically and mentally taxing condition for the workers (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2008).

In railway spaces, passengers pass by many customer service implementations without noticing their presence because these are intentionally designed to enhance rather than disrupt passenger mobilities. Given that the main task of railway operators is to safely carry passengers from one place to another on time, a smooth operation has long been the sole token of good service. However, with the emergence of a service-oriented economy, railway operators are ever more pressed to promote their service implementations, express their willingness to closely listen to passengers and flexibly accommodate their requests. To meet customers' expectations, they must present a caring image, like other corporations in service industries (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005, p. 105). Showcasing themselves as good service providers allows railway operators to make passengers feel like they are being cared for.

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[14] More specifically, immaterial labour can be configured into cognitive labour and affective labour in accordance with the different nature of the work –the former is 'primarily intellectual and linguistic … [and] produces ideas, symbols, codes, texts, linguistic figures, images and other such products' and the latter 'produces or manipulates affects such as a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, or passion' (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 108).

The caring image is of course, a "sign" that is 'able to float free from objects and [is] available for use in a multiplicity of associative relations' (Featherstone, 1991, p. 15). However, it effectively mediates social relations between passengers and railway operators to the extent that it saturates and manipulates reality. Importantly, this image camouflages the ultimate drive of the operators, masking their chief objective to maximize profit through most efficiently and economically mobilizing as many passengers within the shortest time possible. In the guise of the caring image, the operators regulate passengers' movements and behaviours in railway spaces. The power, therefore, operates through the sign, invoking passengers' attachment to the system of mobilization and rationalizing their intervention into their behaviours.[15]

Building up a customer-oriented image has, therefore, become a crucial task for the railway operators. Then, how do they work on this in reality? The next part traces the case of Eastern Japan Railway Company (JR East) which was established after privatisation of Japan National Railways. In the 1980s, there was a popular perception that the operator lacked efficiency and customer-mindedness and thus required a radical reform through privatisation. The following chronicles the privatisation project and its effects while drawing on an interview with a long-time railway worker, Yoshiharu as he explains the development and some of the core principles of customer service implementations adopted by the railway operator today.

**Becoming a Service Worker**

On the first day of April 1987, Yamashita Isamu stood in front of many workers and gave his first speech as the president of a newly established private corporation. In the speech he stressed that 'Becoming a private corporation means being able to walk on one's own feet. Everything is up to our dearest customers. A supportive environment for creativity becomes the driving force for our corporation' (Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 1987). With a large banner showing the name of the new

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[15] It is also deployed to substantiate the railway operators' call for passengers to preempt imminent threats with their concerted effort. See the next chapter for more on this point.

private corporation, the East Japan Railway Company, the day marked a major turning point in Japanese railway history. The state-owned corporation previously known as Japan National Railways (JNR) was from this day on defunct. It was fragmented into six regionally based private railway corporations (including the East Japan Railway Company), and one freight service corporation. [16] These corporations formed the JR Group together but they all now had to independently support their own finances. In other words, they became private railway operators.

There were two key rationales for the privatization project. Firstly, there was the financial condition of the Japan National Railway, which had an enormous debt of 37.1 trillion yen. Secondly, there was the workers' strong resistance against implementation of change and a lack of impetus to reform its traditionalist culture (Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism [MLIT], n.d.b). In addition to these explanations, a report on JNR reform published by the Japanese Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism identifies more rationales for the privatization (MLIT, n.d.b). Firstly, there was a change in the structure of transportation and logistics. Secondly, JNR as a state-run corporation required parliamentary approval to modify passenger fares and this had prevented it from elastically adjusting them with regard to their finances in the 1970s. Since 1981, they had started to consistently increase the fares but it was already too late and made JNR unpopular among passengers. Thirdly, management and operational factors were standardized across different regions, hindering any autonomous flexible approaches. This centralized operation regulated by the state when adjusting fares, human resources and investment plans, obfuscated managerial responsibility in JNR. Fourthly, JNR was an extremely large organization with 277,000 employees in 1986 (460,000 at the peak time in 1965) and the management could neither operate sustainably with this number of workers nor

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[16] More precisely, JNR was fragmented into six railway corporations, one freight service corporation and miscellaneous others that are responsible for technological research and development, IT services, telecommunication and high speed train (bullet train) operations, maintenance and development. These are, namely, Hokkaido Railway Company (JR Hokkaido), East Japan Railway Company (JR East), Central Japan Railway Company (JR Central), West Japan Railway Company (JR West), Shikoku Railway Company (JR Shikoku), Kyushu Railway Company (JR Kyushu), Japan Freight Railway Company (JR Freight), Railway Technical Research Institute (RTRI), Railway Information Systems (JR System), Japan Telecom (now merged into Softbank Telecom) and Shinkansen Holding Corporation (now integrated into Japan Railway Construction, Transport and Technology Agency, JRTT).

educate them about the significance of productivity and cost consciousness due to the strong presence of trade unions.

Above all, proponents of the reform saw JNR as an embodiment of the *oyakata-hinomaru* mentality ("the Japanese national flag is our only boss"), which discouraged workers from treating passengers as customers and from developing cost consciousness. These problems were left unresolved mainly because of, according to the proponents of privatization, the strong presence of trade unions in JNR's decision-making processes. Many critics of the JNR accused unions of being the breeding ground of excesses that held back the state-owned railway operator from maintaining a healthy progress. These rationales were deployed to justify the explanation that the operator needed to be put into an open environment where it would face challenges from competitors and appreciate the value of the customer. From the early 1980s up to 1987, this narrative was widely propagated through a range of media outlets including newspapers, magazines, and radio and television programs.

On March 31 1987, the day of privatization, many television channels aired special programs to commemorate the historic event. For instance, Fuji News Network broadcasted live from several locations across Japan to celebrate the end of the JNR and the birth of the JR Group. Their reporters reiterated the main rationales of privatization, emphasizing the grave need for the newly established corporations to repeal the old traditions of JNR. The country's state-owned public broadcaster, Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai (NHK) showed a scene from the first day of the JR Group in which workers read out a charter of the new corporation: 'We strive to capitalize on every opportunity to increase the sales of our corporation; we rationalize our operation by closely attending to the costs; we develop our corporation and build our happiness – I will take the chance regardless of what lies ahead. Privatization has prompted me to cultivate an independent mindset and has reminded me of my ultimate task, that is, to live as a salesman' (NHK, 1987).[17] It depicted

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[17] Original interview in Japanese：「私たちはあらゆる機会を捉えて、売り上げの増加に勤め、常にコスト意識をもって、業務の効率化を図り、会社を発展させ、自らの幸せを築きます。」「当たって砕けろ式で、もうどんどん突き進んでいくという、自分の心構えとしてセールスマンとしてやっていくんだという、そういう使命みたいなものが、しっかりとして植えつけられましたので…

a JR worker being interviewed on the first day of work cheerfully saying, 'It is our mission to go for broke and to plough through' (NHK, 1987). These images conveyed that privatization was the inevitable destiny for the JNR after years of stagnation.

Contrary to the widely-circulated view of privatization stressing its "forward looking" character (Kasai, 2001), there were a number of damaging effects, particularly for the workers who campaigned against the government's plan. They organized many labour actions such as strikes and work-to-rule protests that had severe impacts on transport and logistical operations across the country. Throughout the course of a long enduring campaign from the mid-1980s, however, some members of anti-privatization unions turned into proponents of privatization and formed/joined new/existing pro-privatization unions or simply left trade unions altogether, due to the fear of losing a job or damaging their future job prospects. Towards the end of the struggle against privatization, therefore, the membership numbers of opposing unions declined significantly.

The transition from JNR to JR was not complete without large-scale redundancies. Among the 277,000 JNR employees, 201,000 of them were "re-employed" by a successor in the JR Group. However, the other 76,000 were sent to a human resources centre and put onto a work relocation scheme to look for jobs elsewhere. The job cuts mostly targeted those who were actively opposing the privatization of JNR as trade union members (Kokutetsu Rōdō Kumiai, 1996, p. 91). The corporation was ruthless in removing some of the most vocal critics of the privatization project, which later resulted in a number of lawsuits. For those who were actively opposing privatization, April 1987 marked the beginning of a dark age.

The privatization project had considerable social, political, economic and cultural ramifications on the later development of the Japanese railway industry. Privatization pressured the seven regionally based corporations to become financially independent by radically modifying the previous corporate practices. In other words, these corporations were now obliged to transform themselves into customer-oriented corporations. In the Japanese railway industry, JNR had long been the dominant player due to the number of its employees and expansive rail network across

the country. The primary objective of the state-funded corporation was primarily social. It was aimed at providing a means of transportation for residents not only in thriving urban areas but also declining rural areas, and a workplace for employees across the country. The social function of the JNR pivoted around its role as the state-run transport provider. When the privatization fragmented the JNR into seven regionally-based railway operators, it brought a radical change to many remote rural townships where railway served as the only mode of transportation for those who did not own a car. The corporation's insatiable urge towards capital accumulation overshadowed the social function of its railway service to abandon many unprofitable railway lines in rural areas.

While the social function of the service has been has been sidelined, the focus has moved to individual customers rather than society at large. For example, the current corporate charter of JR East (JR East, 2012) emphasizes that the railway operator is a service provider and its mission is to fulfil customers' demands. The charter paints a customer-oriented image of the corporation. Notice that the focus of this charter is not limited to the corporation's railway operation but is extended to its retail operation. The charter reads:

1. We provide a heartfelt customer service to always meet the expectation of our customers and local residents;
2. We provide safe and reliable logistics and superior customer service;
3. We retain an open mind and a challenging spirit to seek out our limitless potential.

To further examine the privatization project, its rationales and following developments, I interviewed an employee who has served both JNR and JR East in his career, which extends for almost forty years. This focused interview revealed that privatization brought a significant alteration to the relations between the worker and the passenger. Consequently, it provided me with a number of prompts to think through how the corporation is reinventing its social function in the service-oriented economy.

At a first glance, Yoshiharu looks like a perfect incarnation of the JNR "rail man", a tough, masculine guy who grew up seeing his father working for the JNR. After graduating from high school, he decided to follow in the footsteps of his father. At the time, it was a common progression for children born into a JNR family to go on to work for JNR. He has since served for 38 years and is now a management class employee responsible for training new graduates. He is among the few remaining workers who witnessed not just the transition from JNR to JRs in 1987, but also the last operation of steam-engine trains in 1976. By plotting through a number of momentous events, he took me through the histories of JNR and JR East. Taking me through a series of changes after the privatization of JNR he reflected upon his own career path as his quest for fulfilling his life. He is a proud JR worker and a substantial part of his identity is shaped around his work. His character mirrored that of an archetypal Japanese "salaryman", or "corporate warrior", who sacrifices his life to his work. He was born just after Japan's baby boomer generation (*dankai sedai*), and was part of the working force 'without whom the post-World War Two economic miracle would not have been possible' (Dasgupta, 2000, p. 192). By the time he joined the workforce in 1976, lifetime employment, seniority-based wage/promotion system and the enterprise-based union were already set in place. His loyal service to the corporation has won him the position of a regional manager responsible for employee training.

Yoshiharu told me that he was very dissatisfied with the JNR before privatization.[18] It was a corporation that had, in his words, 'very little incentive for improvement'. He constantly saw other workers just doing the bare minimum, as, 'They simply did not have to do any more than that and the future of the corporation was not really their business.' Showing me a feature video depicting the process of privatization, he recounted the time and stressed, 'We were facing a huge debt and needed a significant change but unfortunately, there was a lack of alertness on the ground, so the privatization was a shock therapy, a very good thing that happened to us.' The transition from the JNR to the JR group forcibly upset the deep-seated power dynamics between the worker and the passenger; in his words, 'The state-owned railway operator, the JNR represented authority

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[18] It is not clear whether he belonged to any labour union during his time in JNR.

– the JNR was trusted only because it was backed by the state. The JNR could not possibly go bankrupt ever, despite its ever-growing debt since 1965. The operator did not have to worry about anything, really.' But, Yoshiharu says, 'We now have to earn it; our salaries are paid by our customers. We should never forget that.' (personal communication, February 23, 2016) As a result of privatization, the corporation became financially dependent on passengers.

Privatization meant that the corporation now needed to stand on its own feet to profitably run its own railway operation. This change prompted the corporation to re-conceptualize the passenger as the self-determining "customer", introducing 'a culture of the customer, where markets subordinate producers to the preferences of individual consumers' in consumer capitalism (du Gay, 1996, p. 77). The key determinant of success for any corporation in this context, is defined by the extent to which producers can meet the demands and expectations of individual customers (du Gay, 1996, p. 77). To provide a quality service to customers, workers are increasingly 'encouraged to view work as *consumers* and to assemble, manage and market aspects of their experience and identity as consumers' (du Gay, 1996, p. pp. 78–79, original emphasis). This is not just a process of making better workers but also that of 'becoming better selves … in search of meaning and fulfilment' (du Gay, 1996, p. pp. 78–79). In doing so, workers are expected to extend their identity as consumers to '"add value" to themselves in every sphere of existence, whether at work or at play' (du Gay, 1996, p. 79). With the re-conceptualization of the passenger as the customer, workers are now asked to exploit their own self-realising desires to maximize their value as confident, self-responsible employees. This landscape of market-based consumer capitalism became more evident as Yoshiharu took me through the corporate history of customer service development in the corporation.

Yoshiharu presented me with an historical chart to explain three different phases of customer service development in the JR East. The first phase, starting from 1987, was centred on surveying customers' opinions to ascertain what they expected from the newly privatized corporation. The second phase, from 1990 to 2000, implemented and familiarized workers with a set customer service standard. One of the main goals in this phase was, according to Yoshiharu, 'to provide

what passengers *needed*, such as the sense of security that comes from trains running on time and safety, which we take for granted today.' (personal communication, February 23, 2013) Importantly in this phase, the railway operator attempted to promote an understanding among workers that a sense of security among passengers could be best enhanced through operational reliability. This call for operational reliability arose in response to the perceived inefficiency and laziness of the JNR. In addition, it could be read as a concerted call to restore order through maintaining the state of normalcy in the face of a number of disastrous incidents that sporadically debilitated the public transport system in Japan, such as the 1995 Sarin attack.

Following this period, however, there was a growing shift of focus from fulfilling passengers' sense of security through operational reliability to catering for their desire to travel comfortably. As Yoshiharu, explained, 'But it is no longer enough to just offer these services nowadays. Their basic needs have been fulfilled and now what? Passengers' *wants*. We have to be creative and develop customer-oriented awareness that makes them more comfortable.' (personal communication, February 23, 2013) The third phase, which commenced in 2000 and continues to date, promotes workers' active involvement in service improvement from the customers' point of view. Yoshiharu highlighted that workers are today given more opportunities and incentives to propose ideas for further improvements of customer service to the extent that the corporation awards monetary prizes.

The current five-year customer service improvement plan of the JR East, which was unveiled in 2011, states three key agendas to 'make the operator the best service provider in the railway industry' (JR East, 2011, p. 58). These agendas are: 1) 'offering a service quality with which customers feel comfortable'; 2) 'responding speedily to customers' requests as a team, to improve overall service quality', and 3) 'creating a corporate culture where workers can think and act on their own from customers' point of view' (JR East, 2011, p. 58). These agendas are, in Yoshiharu's words, 'nothing complicated, we are just trying to be take care of our customers'. There was only one common principle guiding the practices, as he insisted:

Being nice to customers and making them comfortable requires nothing special. We are using common sense to do that. There is no magic, you know. We just take care of customers like we take care of our family members. How simple is that? When they need assistance with anything, we are always with them and ready to help. Imagine, what would you do in a situation where your grandmother was finding it difficult to carry her stuff and walk up the stairs? You help her carry her stuff, right? It is common sense and should come naturally. Everybody does that whether at work or outside work hours. We are also conducting this campaign called *Koekake Sapōto Undō (Greeting & Support Campaign)*. It is very simple. We say hello and ask those who look confused if they require any assistance in the station. (personal communication, February 23, 2013)

According to Yoshiharu, all JR East workers are, required to take a two-day 'service helper' course, an accredited course offered by *The Nippon Carefit Education Institute* (NCEI). The website of this organization states that the course aims to nurture a better understanding of disabled and elderly persons and equip participants to support these individuals in the most caring manner.[19] Participants of this course have opportunities to corporeally experience a range of disabilities at first hand as they undertake a range of tasks with their eyes blindfolded, legs heavily bandaged with ankle weights, fingers taped to simulate paralysis and having to walk with a stick or navigate a wheelchair.[20] The course is intended to cultivate participants' consciousness to realise some of the obstacles that physically disabled individuals face on a daily basis. As Yoshiharu affirms, 'By completing this course, our workers are more equipped and feel comfortable to assist those requiring assistance.' (personal communication, February 23, 2013)

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[19] Participants of this course get a certificate of the care fitter.
[20] JR East created a video showing some scenes from the course:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qH9VWhRAQbU (accessed December 19, 2015).

Figure 3. The Nippon Carefit Education Institute webpage displaying a sample

of its clients.[21]

These customer service initiatives illuminate the two most essential qualities of a valuable

employee in a contemporary service-oriented economy. Firstly, such employees have to be able

to stand side by side with customers and examine railway spaces from the point of view of a user,

rather than as a service provider. Since the inception of the JR East, the changing dynamic of

worker-passenger relations has led the corporation to incentivize worker's active involvement in

providing new ideas and feedback through encouraging them to identify themselves in the role of

a customer. In the new environment, workers need to be stretch their imagination to appreciate

customers' perspectives. Companies like JR East are facilitating a learning platform through, for

example, the "service helper" course to prompt workers to imaginatively identify themselves in

the role of disabled and elderly customers to help develop awareness of their needs and wants.

This capacity to extend imagination and to harvest flexible understanding is thus seen as a vital

element for improving customer service (du Gay, 1996, p. 79).

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[21] These include railway operators: Tōkyū Corporation, Tokyo Metropolitan Transport Bureau (Toei), Osaka Municipal Transport Bureau, Hanshin Electric Railway, financial corporations, hotels and airlines. The webpage claims that 125,059 individuals have taken the certification course as of December 1, 2015.

Secondly, the valuable employee in the service-oriented economy is comfortable offering assistance at any time whether s/he is on duty or not, regardless of her/his position, training and experience. Yoshiharu's comment above suggests that the act of helping is supposed to be unconditional in nature, spontaneously deriving from kind-heartedness. Workers are encouraged to actively put their moral conscience to work as the rhetoric of moral responsibility makes the work appear "non-work". However, the act of kindness, which is assumed to come out of pure personal integrity, can be understood as part of "immaterial" labour. This form of labour, which was traditionally seen as the "non-work" practised in the feminized domestic space, engenders and mediates certain types of feelings, emotions and affective intensities to establish social relations with customers. The "Greeting & Support Campaign" for instance, capitalizes on the personal qualities of the worker in an effort to engineer and cultivate a friendly atmosphere in the railway spaces. Maintenance of the affective atmosphere becomes vital in upholding the image of openness and hospitability.[22] As such management keenly capitalizes on workers' creative input and personal quality (Weeks, 2011, p. 89).

The remaining part of this chapter will look at the three sites of attachment that exploit passengers' desires for relationality, particularly highlighting how the JR East's retail strategy imperceptibly yet steadily converts passengers into consumers.

## Customer Service as Economic Governance

### Station Renaissance

Since the early 2000s, there has been an ever-intensifying convergence of functions between railway and retail operations. Most Japanese railway operators today run shopping complexes inside major railway stations. In the mission to transform the railway station from a 'space of

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[22] Meanwhile, it also serves for the purpose of securitizing the railway spaces, which I consider in the following chapter.

passing' to a 'space of gathering' (JR East, 2005), JR East commenced a large-scale station rejuvenation project called "Station Renaissance". The "Station Renaissance" project was unveiled in the corporate plan entitled *New Frontier 21* and first put into practice in stations including Omiya, Tachikawa and Shinagawa with the building of Ecute in the mid-2000s. It is today spread across eight stations apart from other shopping complexes held by JR East such as Lumine, Atré and Gransta. The project was intended to transform stations into one-stop shopping centres, providing customers with a comprehensive set of services. Asked about the initial project of "Station Renaissance", Ōtsuka Mutsutake, the president of JR East in 2001, responded that the fundamental aim of the project was 'to bring in customers, including those who do not use the railway, to stations, by making these spaces more enchanting' (JR East, 2001). The website for the shopping complex Ecute for instance, displays the vision of the project: 'Changing the station for the customer' (JR East Station Retailing, n.d.).

These shopping complexes cater for urban dwellers with easy access to fulfilling all their necessities of life while in transit and also for weekend shoppers who are attracted by the wide range of stores and services available. Taking advantage of their easy access, these retail complexes are now playing an important role in the consumerist life of many passengers. Besides accessibility, they often present a space of enchantment with colourful lights and decorations for generating a particular atmosphere, which may be contrasted with the appearance of the railway spaces (Inoue, 2013). With convenience and charm, the shops are designed to provoke customers' desires for intimacy, care and affection to incorporate their lives into an all-inclusive system of capital accumulation. The transformation of urban travellers into potential customers in market-based capitalism is thereby further extended through the growing convergence between the railway and the retail spaces. By accommodating passengers' desires within the railway spaces, railway operators impose economic governance and transform them into customers.

*The Smart IC Card*

This process of economic governance was further accelerated through designating a particular medium of exchange. On November 18th, 2001, after more than ten years of development, JR

East finally rolled out the smart IC card with an electronic money function. The name of the card, *Suica* (read as su-wi-ca) or "Super Urban Intelligence CArd [sic]" signified 'the swimmingly-mobile IC card' or '*suisui ikeru IC kādo*' (Takai, 2003, p. 30, p. 31). Upon entering the ticketing gate, passengers only need to touch their *Suica* onto the ticketing machine. Depending on the type of card, they hear one beep (with a commuter pass), or two beeps (with other passes), or multiple beeps when the machine cannot recognize the card. This often serves as a disciplinary check for the staff to see if passengers have the correct card. The screen at the end of the ticketing machine displays the remaining balance of the card (Takai, 2003). Contrary to the conventional paper magnetic ticket, passengers can pass through the gate much more quickly with smart IC card. Since the machine automatically calculates the fare at the exit, there is no need for passengers to find the fare or buy a new ticket when they transfer from one railway line to another. The maximum top up amount of the card is set at 20,000 yen (about AU$260). The card is rechargeable at any ticketing machine, most convenience stores and online and can be used as a debit card with stored electronic money at various participating retail stores both inside and outside railway stations. Some retail stores even have a smart-card-only self-service register to popularize this method of payment. The release of the smart IC card, combined with its electronic money function, shifted the method of payment for railway fares and other consumables in the retail stores. The card collects personal data and builds up a database upon which railway operators can base their operational and marketing decisions to better manage customers' economic life.



Figure 4. *Suica* (Photo by author).

*The Suica Penguin*

In addition to its practical functions, what is particularly significant about *Suica* is the cartoonized penguin character representing the smoothness and swiftness that this new technology was intended to facilitate. This unique design was developed by the Japanese designer, Sakazaki Chiharu, and demonstrates a friendly, welcoming, embracing character to soften the traditional bureaucratic image of the railway operator often represented by JNR.[23] The penguin establishes an all-embracing image of JR East. This is despite having no name or distinct facial expression. The marketer of the *Suica* penguin from *Dentsu Inc.* reveals in an interview that the unnamed character is designed to carry neutrality, adaptability and openness so that it caters for all *Suica* users regardless of their gender and age groups (Dentsu, 2014). When the penguin wears a girlish hat for example, it represents a girl figure or puts on a moustache, a middle-aged male figure (Dentsu, 2014). This penguin is an ambiguous life form. It is not human but not fully animal either.[24] We do not know if it is a girl or a boy, good or evil. The only sure thing we know is that its ambiguity makes the penguin an innocent, cute, likable character.

Unlike Western cartoon heroes with moral undertones, the *Suica* penguin demonstrates vulnerability, dependence and gentleness, inciting passengers' 'passion for material goods … invested with the power to animate the lives, identities and communication networks of their possessors' (Allison, 2006, p. 86). This character displays traits such as procrastination, lack of productivity, inefficacy, softness and idleness, laying bare its fallibility and helplessness, subverting the traditional ethics of industrial discipline and obedience and instead, invoking 'feelings of attachment, nurturance, and intimacy' (Allison, 2003, p. 385). These traits make the penguin appealing and approachable to a diverse range of individuals who 'increasingly seek "life" in material things: objects that become the conduit for various forms of communication, intimate relationships and arousals' (Allison, 2006, p. 385). The growing popularity for the cute or *kawaii* objects arose in the shifting social landscape, exemplifying that consumption of 'the cute' offers

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[23] Sakazaki Chiharu's website illustrates a series of cute characters she created for merchandise:
http://sakazakichiharu.com/ (accessed December 29, 2015).
[24] Importantly, what sort of penguin eats a cake?

customers an avenue to the sphere of intimacy (Allison, 2013; Stevens, 2014). This all-embracing image of the cute therefore offers an asylum for individuals who seek belonging. The possession of the *Suica* penguin assures these individuals of a sense of togetherness.

The nameless *Suica* penguin asks the railway users to invest affection and cultivate a personal attachment to the experience of railway travel. The penguin is a void by itself and only with affective investment does it come to life; the character embodies cuteness most when it is objectified and 'more visibly shaped by the affective demands and/or projections of the subject' (Ngai, 2012, p. 65). The penguin is denied speech and only 'given just enough face to enable it to empathetically return our gaze, [but] a fuller personification becomes impossible because it would symbolically render that object our equal, erasing the power differential on which the aesthetic depends' (Ngai, 2012, p. 91). However, the objectified character reverts the relation between mastery and surrender through which it 'insist[s] on *getting something* from us (care, affection, intimacy) that we in turn feel compelled to give' (Ngai, 2012, p. 98). While the penguin on the smart IC card is transformed into an object of gaze and enacted through incarnating railway passengers' affective investment, it calls for a continual attachment to it. So long as affective investment is being made, the cute character returns the favour by relieving passengers' stress and alleviating their sense of loneliness (Allison, 2003, p. 391). Writing on the appeal of another cute character, a bear character known as *Rilakkuma*, against the background of the changing social landscape, Stevens (2014) also elaborates:

> Life in contemporary Japan is no longer the bright, shiny 'bubble' of the 1980s. …
> Dreamlike, Japan's denizens move through the contours of their daily lives much as they
> have in the past, for major social structures remain for the most part intact; instead, it is
> the vision of the future that has altered. In this environment, we can argue that *kawaii*
> aesthetics are all the more important, for if we are uncomfortable thinking about negative
> or depressing topics such as industries in decline, questionable consumer safety standards,
> and overcrowded trains, a cute bear can make it much more 'bear'-able. (Where to,
> Rilakkuma? section, para. 7)

*The Imagination and Real Life*

A series of JR East's advertisements that aired on television in the mid-2000s (2004–2006) presents the corporation's willingness to make *Suica* part of life or a prosthesis of the body for the users. Each version of the advertisement features a short story surrounding a young woman played by the then aspiring young actress Nishihara Aki and a speechless *Suica* penguin personified as her friend in a railway station or a nearby area, with songs by the famous J-pop singer Matsutōya Yumi in the background. In one of these stories, the girl protagonist finds her male friend at a railway station only to be disappointed by seeing him go with another girl. Having witnessed the woman's bittersweet experience, the penguin gestures to her to go to the department store and get a cake and forget about it. Following the penguin's advice, she buys two cakes, one for herself and one for the penguin using the Stored Fare function of *Suica,* and takes the train to go to a seaside town. While eating the cake and viewing the scenery by the sea, the penguin drops the strawberry and then the whole cake falls out of its wings/hands. The penguin is in shock and says "quack" as the woman finds a small crab biting its tale. With a grin, she utters, 'I like both the sea and the cake', and a hand-written message appears in the background with a train running alongside the ocean, 'I am living with *Suica*'. Behind the façade of the cute penguin character, however, there is a corporate strategy to take hold of the consumer lives of railway users.



Figure 5. A still image of a television advertisement by JR East.

Alongside the affective appeal to adapt to *Suica*, JR East further incentivized the use of the stored money function through upgrading the system to be more convenient, accessible and relatively

cheaper than the traditional paper ticket. In 2006, the corporation introduced 'Mobile *Suica*' to make the e-ticket and electronic money functions available on mobile phone devices (Kimura et al., 2006). The developers of Mobile *Suica* claim that this new technology brings together 'ride, buy and talk' on one device (Kimura et al., 2006); it helped further bolster the popularity of *Suica*. Mobile *Suica* makes online recharge readily available at any place and any time, eliminating the constraint of conventional stored money, which was only available for recharge through physically adding money at the machine or the store. Later, an auto-recharge function was introduced to remove the spatio-temporal barrier of recharging, allowing users to conveniently and swiftly purchase goods and services without much time lag and potentially helping retailers to increase their revenue.

JR East is trying to popularize *Suica* by giving economic incentives to those who use the card as e-money. When the Japanese government raised goods and services tax (GST) from 5% to 7% in April 2014, the corporation introduced a fare increase. This meant that passengers were charged an additional amount of money per trip reflecting the new GST figure. The fare increase was, however, differently applied between *Suica* users and paper ticket users. For the *Suica* users, the exact figure was simply added on top of the original fare, but for the paper ticket users, a rounded-up figure was added to the original fare. For instance, a trip from Ikebukuro to Shinjuku used to cost 150 yen but was increased to 154 yen for the *Suica* user but 160 yen for the paper ticket user. This economic incentivization demonstrates the corporation's eagerness to incorporate all customers into the system of stored electronic money transaction.

One of the key rationales for the JR East's push to popularize *Suica* is the user-generated "meta data" of the transactions. *Suica* users' travelling and purchasing histories, combined with their identity information, often become a valuable resource for the corporation on which to base its operational decisions. The fact that commodification of *Suica* users' metadata is becoming a source of extra revenue for the railway operator was made public in June 2013 when the corporation admitted to having sold the big data to Hitachi Ltd. without consent from the users; it was then resold to other private firms (Japan Times, 2013). While this profit-oriented act was

later met with harsh criticism, a recent revision of the Personal Information Protection Law, legislated on 3rd September and coming into effect on 9th September 2015, now gives increased autonomy for corporations to collect and handle personal information (Prime Minister and His Cabinet, n.d.). This support from the government authenticates and buttresses the corporation's endeavour to expand its operation to incorporate passengers into the structure of profit-maximization.

By offering immaterial products beyond a means of transportation, railway operators today attempt to make customers feel that they are dearly esteemed. In the service-oriented economy where consumer services and patterns of consumption shape individual identity much more than occupational roles (Bocock, 1993, p. 109), corporations need to maintain the identity of valued customers through constantly making available a platform for them to satisfy the same pattern of consumption over time. For the customers, '[n]ot being able to consume … becomes a source of deep discontent' (Bocock, 1993, p. 110). Therefore, the luxury of readily available services is the necessary condition for running a successful business. JR East's expansion of retail operation and the stored money function of *Suica* closely observe this late capitalist logic of consumption in this light. Hidden behind the pristine image of customer service is, however, the mechanism of soft control that exploits the shrinkage of the support network in contemporary Japanese society. This mechanism of control is subtly yet steadily encroaching into the lives of individuals in the "relation-less" society (Allison, 2012). In the following empirical chapters, I endeavour to expand on this analysis to investigate the ways in which the railway operator takes advantage of the gratified desires of passengers in transforming them into customers.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has investigated how the shift towards the service-oriented economy is unfolding in urban railway spaces. Central to this shift is the engineering, cultivation and manipulation of "immaterial" commodities such as feelings, intensities and atmospheres. Presentation and

maintenance of the image as the service-oriented corporation, and the actual provision of convenience and availability set the platform for the economic governance of railway passengers. Consequently, the role of the railway worker has increasingly been enlarged to include service work, in order to turn passengers into consumers. Railway operators encourage workers to develop a skillset that enables better communication, understand customers to promote social relations and paint a positive image for the corporation, and replace the figure of the passenger with that of the customer.

This chapter has also argued that railway operators are intensifying economic governance by incorporating passengers' lives into capital accumulation. Expanding on their most basic function as transport providers, railway operators are investing in their capacity to design spaces in ways that appeal to urban dwellers and induce a sense of belonging, even for a transient period of time. Following on from this, the next chapter similarly situates urban railway spaces as an interface of integration but this time, turns its focus onto the production of the sense of (in)security and the assurance of protection.

*PART II: MODULATION*

# CHAPTER FOUR: TECHNOLOGICAL CONTAINMENT

**Introduction**

This chapter explores the operation of 'affective labour' as a key interface of modulation and unpacks the adhesive character of affective intensities that galvanize passengers' bodies to coalesce them into a collective. By focusing on the railway worker's role in orchestrating and embodying desirable comportments of passengers' bodies, this chapter argues that this task of collectivization is predicated on the power of affective intensities to modulate their corporeal capacities. It positions this discussion in relation to the archetypally late capitalist enterprise of interactive service work and discusses how the production of subjectivity comes to be valorised, as it emphasizes the capacity of the body to forge affective relations as a *productive enabling force*.

This chapter draws upon the development and use of a smile-measuring machine known as the 'Smile Scan' by a railway company in Tokyo, to reveal that workers' performance management is today undertaken not just by managers but also by technology. The Keikyu Corporation's initiative to implement Smile Scan technology demonstrates the growing significance of the smile with greater affective capacities, as an inventive technique that allows authorities to take charge of passengers' bodies in urban railway spaces. The chapter suggests the potentiality of Smile Scan technology in transforming the comportment of smiling and inducing it to become "invisible social glue", which produces more than traditional performance management does. Importantly, this affective method of coalescing individual bodies prompts us to reconsider the power of relationality beyond consciousness.

Whilst thinking about the integrative force of affective labour, this chapter also investigates the changing landscape of the service-oriented economy in which railway workers become subject to intense scrutiny for their performance. While management plays a central role in training workers and improving their service quality, customers are intensifying their involvement in evaluating

workers' performance. Incidentally, the rate of abuse from customers has risen in recent years; according to a data published by the Association of Japanese Private Railways, there have been a large number of reported incidents involving violence against railway workers over the past decade (Nihon Min'ei Tetsudō Kyōkai, 2016). This can be read as an effect of the perceived superiority of customers as the money-paying service recipients. Following on from the previous chapter on political economy, this chapter investigates how the service-oriented economy has restructured the relationship between management, workers and customers. Effectively, it addresses the first research question to explore how different forms of 'soft' control are tied into customer service provision to (re)shape passenger mobilities.

Structurally, the first part of this chapter considers the growing significance of the customer in the service-oriented economy. To do so, it describes the significant role of affective intensities in service interaction and the forging of relations between workers and customers. It also introduces the concept of the 'enchanting myth of customer sovereignty', which constitutes customers as having their own agency to decide what they want to consume (Korczynski & Ott, 2004, pp. 580–581). The second part introduces a smile-measuring technology known as the Smile Scan and explores its potential to activate railway workers' bodies by inducing a smile with greater affective capacities, which enables them to engineer and cultivate particular affective responses on the customers' bodies. This part grapples with both the corporeal and the incorporeal dynamics of the human face to examine how an enhanced smile produced by Smile Scan facilitates the creation of differently-susceptible bodies. Moreover it illuminates how the affective smiling face could potentially become an important medium of soft control to reinforce the power of modulation. The third part then turns its focus onto the labour processes of interactive service work. This part illustrates how the face becomes a buffer to draw boundaries between life and work as scripted routine and performance are increasingly being displaced in the contemporary service-oriented economy.

**Affective Capture**

In everyday life, we encounter a wide range of ephemeral sensations such as excitement, comfort, anger, disgust, fear, shame and pain that cannot be fully articulated in language. These affective intensities, often 'disconnected from meaningful sequencing', are capable of infecting one's body and altering it (Massumi, 2002, p. 25). For instance, waiting for a delayed train on a platform gives rise to particular intensities between passengers, which often take hold of their bodies. In many cases, this corporeal charge is so powerful that it cannot be repressed by conscious "will", surmounting one's rationality to seize the body (Bissell, 2010a, p. 276). Importantly, these intensities are not a static property belonging to one's body, but rather only arise relationally, between more than two bodies.

In recent times, a number of social theorists have been interested in the concept of "affect", which refers to 'the body's capacity to enter into relations of movement and rest … the power to affect and be affected' (Massumi, 2002, p. 14).[25] Affective intensities are an interplay of affects, engendered in a web of *inter*acting bodies as they simultaneously flow and mutate in relation to each other, undergoing ceaseless processes of un-forming and re-forming. This complex relationality is underpinned by the fluidity of corporeal boundaries. Contrary to the popular perception that bodies are manoeuvred by the individual sovereign will, this perspective allows us to critically re-conceive how agency is (in)formed by forces that emerge in interaction, and the visceral intensities that operate in the world in which we live (Manning, 2010, p. 119; Thrift, 2004, p. 70). Much communication between bodies is often *beyond signification* and takes place at the level of 'lived affect' (Venn, 2010, p. 154). In short, affective intensities are a situationally-driven, unformed and unstructured potential that cannot be wholly realized in language (Shouse, 2005).

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[25] Most of these theorists are heavily influenced by and draw upon Deleuze's writings, for instance, Massumi (2002) and Thrift (2008).

It is crucial to distinguish "affective intensities" from "emotions". This thesis situates these intensities as raw sensation, or pre-formed emotive configurations. As the body reacts to particular stimuli and makes an initial response, the intensities emerge in relation to other bodies before any emotion materializes in the form of a response. Affective intensities may be transmitted between bodies that resonate with one another beyond consciousness, while at the same time, when habituated through routine practices, these intensities become "glued" onto one's body and begin to exert a certain degree of control over one's behaviour in the form of emotion (Ahmed, 2010, p. 39). When affective intensities become incorporated into "muscle memory", they bypass will and consciousness (Watkins, 2010, p. 279). Hence, affective intensities become a powerful social force that allows us to re-conceptualize many forms of media and technologies that have long been branded as mere ideological apparatuses.

Given that a subject is conceived through one's engagement and negotiation with the world, the event of *being-with* is the vital condition for one to bring one's body into being. In other words, one's body is always already embedded in a complex web of interrelating bodies that simultaneously affect and are affected by one another, and therefore, 'the capacity of a body is never defined by a body alone but is always aided and abetted by, and dovetails with, the field or context of its force-relations' (Seigworth & Gregg, 2010, p. 3). This emerging agenda reconsiders the relationality of our bodies and the intricate link between the 'incorporeal' and the 'corporeal'. Subsequently, it advances the claim that one's body is constantly being '*undone*' and '*re-done*' where it navigates and channels the flow of intensities in multi-layered social and affective forces (Braidotti, 2002, p. 21).

It might first appear that this concept is limited to abstract academic discussions; nonetheless, many private corporations are interested in excavating its potential. In particular, the service industries are nowadays seeking to exploit the affective capacities of bodies in order to win the hearts of customers and ultimately extract surplus value. A powerful example of this is how in the contemporary service-oriented economy, employers increasingly prize employees who put on a cheerful smile. In Japan, the smile has recently become almost synonymous with customer

service. For instance, there is a hotel chain known as the Smile Hotel. The self-proclaimed "smile consultant", Kadokawa Yoshihiko, runs seminars on smiling techniques.[26] In addition, some electronics manufacturers have invented digital cameras installed with smile detection software to spot smiles when taking photos.[27] These developments may be understood as part of the "culture of smiling".

The "culture of smiling" reflects the growth of service industries where "immaterial" forms of labour have prevailed over "industrial" forms of labour to become the hegemonic mode of production (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p. 209). Subsequently, the significance of these "affective workers" for the service sector has increased exponentially in the economy, which is primarily oriented to the production of social relations rather than commodities (Lazzarato, 1996, pp. 142–43). One key characteristic of the service-oriented economy is that workers' bodies are being trained to not only accommodate but also change or *manipulate* customers' bodies. In doing so, service workers have become the principal instructors of the disciplinary practices that shape, adjust and harmonize bodies and embed and activate them in relation with other bodies. The event of smiling enables workers to stimulate customers' corporeal registers and modify their bodies to a certain degree.

In this context, railway workers can put on an affective smile to temper intense affective energy in railway stations. In this sense, these workers are undertaking 'affective labour' (Hardt, 1999) at customer service desks, ticket offices, or striding through the flow of passenger bodies on platforms, intervening into and modulating passengers' temperaments to maintain the affective atmosphere of the railway spaces. While they assist and guide the passengers through the space like signposts and maps, they share with passengers a body at the basic physiological and somatic level. This most rudimentary tie enables the workers to approach the bodies of passengers differently from directional object-signs. Commanding the passengers' capacities for affecting

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[26] Kadokawa runs seminars on smiling in conjunction with Omron to promote Smile Scan technology. See for example: http://www.omron.co.jp/press/2009/09/s0917.html (accessed July 29, 2016)

[27] Sony's Smile Shutter is a function that detects a smiling face and automatically releases the shutter. For more information see the website: https://www.sony.com.au/article/287612/section/product/product/dsc-w230 (accessed July 29, 2016)

and being affected, railway workers are able to direct these passing bodies with an improved efficacy in an encounter that ideally generates the sense of trust and being cared for.

The event of smiling is in this sense, an "invisible social glue" that produces a bond between multiple bodies and demarcates a collective. Such incorporation of desirable bodily comportment confers on them 'the very condition … [they] depend on [for their] existence and … harbour and preserve in the beings that [they] are' (Butler, 1990, p. 2). Importantly, this engenders rapport amongst group members. To maintain this rapport, they repeatedly perform certain practices to performatively style their bodies in a desirable fashion. Bodily comportment is one effect of such repetitive inscription where cultural meanings are externally attached and incorporated. This reproduction of the body with desirable comportments then becomes the necessary condition that renders a subject recognizable as part of the crowd (Butler, 1991, p. 28). Occupying the position of the "subject", the body is compulsively modulated to express prevailing norms and disappear into the masses. Since the body is constantly exposed to an intense pressure to undo itself, a continuous reproduction of regulatory norms confers on the subject a social existence. When passengers habituate this almost involuntary act of reiterating normative practice, it gradually fades into the realm outside of conscious attention. In the face of this habituation, the body is made more susceptible to certain comportments and less so to others. This modulation becomes the instrumental force that underpins the prevalence of the service-oriented economy.

Meanwhile, this point raises a question about how the nature of work might influence relations between the worker and the customer. For instance, commission-based sales work and healthcare work may operate through different rationales (Korczynski, 2009, p. 959). The former tends to be one-off encounters largely incentivized by the main objective of capital accumulation while the latter requires workers to harvest a long-term ongoing relationship with customers based on feelings of empathy and care (Korczynski, 2009, p. 962). It is vital to account for this kind of divergence in order to better grapple with the 'enchanting myth of customer sovereignty' (Korczynski & Ott, 2004, pp. 580–581). In urban railway spaces, passengers are treated as customers occupying a place of authority with a heightened sense of agency and autonomy

(Korczynski & Ott, 2006, p. 914). They are constituted as subjects with their own agency to decide what they want to consume. In contemporary late capitalist societies, individual freedom is considered to derive from one's autonomy as a customer, as this conception effectively turns service-recipients into "individual agents". By promoting this myth, management attempts to make customers feel as though they are in charge and suspend their critical judgement about the strong affinity between customer-orientation and capital accumulation (Korczynski & Ott, 2006, p. 914). Where service quality has become one of the key criteria for competition in the service industries, the success of business operations hinges upon management's promotion of the myth of sovereignty (Korczynski & Ott, 2004, p. 586).

The enchanting myth of customer sovereignty is often promoted through a number of customer service techniques. Korczynski and Ott (2004, pp. 587–590) demonstrate that the promotion of the myth is conducted through: 1) the customization of services; 2) the cultivation of pro-customer empathy in workers; 3) the aesthetic labour of presentation through setting dress codes (for example, the wearing of uniforms) and; 4) the re-imagining of service-recipients as "customers" by calling them 'Sir' and 'Madam'. These seemingly banal customer service techniques become the vital instruments of illusion to keep customers charmed with the "enchanting myth" of customer sovereignty. While enchanting the customers, management intends to exert influence and control over them in ways that overcome the seemingly contradictory '*dual* logics of customer-orientation and continuing rationalisation' to ultimately maximize capital flow (Korczynski et al., 2000, p. 684, original emphasis).

Hence, the apparently simple expression of smiling could function as 'invisible social glue' to keep passengers pampered in the myth of customer sovereignty to resolve the contradiction between the image of customer-orientation and the actuality of bureaucratic control over passenger mobilities. What I want to suggest is that, for management, railway workers could potentially become the key instrument to make passengers feel as though they are valued customers and maintain the corporation's image as a customer-focused railway operator. Creating such an image of the corporation becomes vital to engender the feeling of being cared for, despite

the growing securitization of railway spaces. The pristine image can conceal the juxtaposing reality of the bureaucratic railway operation. The primary purpose of the railway operation is to maintain a safe, comfortable mode of transport to facilitate passenger mobility in the most cost-effective manner. As such, railway operators might be attempting to enhance and capitalize on workers' individual capacities to engender rapport with passengers at the most basic somatic level.

The next part of this chapter describes how the act of smiling can potentially become one of the key techniques to affectively "enchant" railway passengers, to "captivate" them in the myth of sovereignty. It spotlights the implementation of smile-measuring technology into service operations by a Japanese urban railway operator, Keikyu Corporation. This case study demonstrates the process through which affective labour becomes an instrumental device to modulate customers' behaviours. I argue that this is intended to improve customer experience and create an image of a service-oriented corporation on the one hand, while on the other hand designing a space in ways that make railway operation more efficient. The case study provides one reading of how the corporation capitalizes on the collective dynamics of social relations mediated by affective intensities to achieve these two objectives at the same time. Improving service quality today requires workers do more than just put on a performance. This means that some businesses could differentiate their services by training their workers to engage with customers' bodies so as to evoke particular affective responses. In consequence, affective labour obliges the labouring-body to put private life to work in order to engineer and cultivate certain types of affective intensities and could make passengers feel as though they are well cared for and re-imagine themselves as customers.

**Smile Scan**

The following discusses how the life of a railway worker comes to be inserted into the market to engender a sense of care in passengers and improve customer service quality in contemporary urban railway spaces. In 2009, the Japanese electronics company Omron developed a device

called a Smile Scan to measure one's "smile degree", intended for staff training and development purposes. Underscoring the significance of smiling, the technology automatically detects faces from a video camera and grades their smiles from 0 to 100%. It also provides feedback on how to produce a better smile, for example, 'lift your cheeks', 'raise your eyebrows', 'narrow your eyes' and so on (Omron Corporation, n.d.). The scan bases its assessment on 10,000 sample faces collected over a 10-year period by Omron. As the scan is designed to evaluate smiles by the same criteria at all times, Omron claims that it allows for an objective and quantitative assessment of a smile, which cannot be done by the human eyes. This point implies that the machine is capable of assisting the production of a more refined and truthful smile.
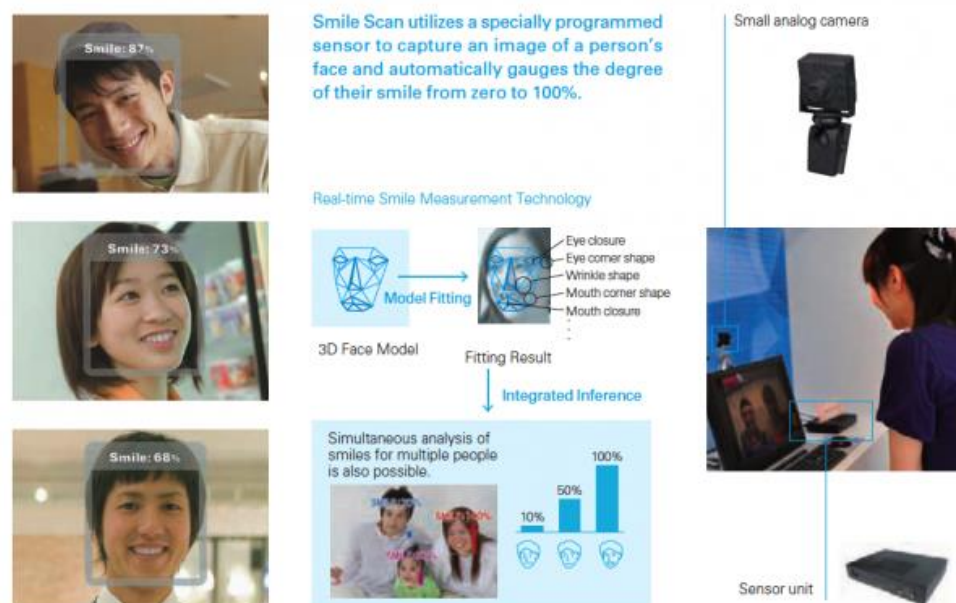


Figure 6. Promotional material on the 'Smile Scan' technology by Omron.

The Smile Scan adapts Omron's OKAO Vision face-sensing technology, which was originally developed for digital cameras to identify and focus on smiling faces. According to Omron, this technique derived from a consumer product is embedded in the scan to locate targeted areas of the face in the image and compares distinctive facial features, such as eyebrows, eyes, nose, mouth and face contour, with the faces compiled in the database (Omron Corporation, n.d.). The scan then estimates the age, gender, and ethnicity of the subject and constructs particular facial characteristics according to these measures. The database combines various types of 3D face

models from the database, onto which the recognized facial parts are mapped to work out the subject's "smile degree" as a percentage. Although there is no data available to confirm its "accuracy", the face models are most likely to show a "genuine smile" that is characterized by the contraction of the muscles around the eye and a lifting of the edges of the lip. Hence, Smile Scan technology is designed not only to match up human visual processing capacities but also attempts to capture and visualize elusive information such as the facial expression of emotion, which has long been thought of as difficult for machines to process (Toto, 2011).

The mixed reception of this particular technology can be discerned from publicly posted comments in online discussion forums. Many perceive the Smile Scan to be a catalyst of an Orwellian dystopia where human emotions constantly become subject to surveillance. As one commentator in the BBC online forum states 'Whilst it's always nice when staff are friendly and helpful this has taken it too far. I'd imagine the prospect of being monitored and told you're not smiling enough is more likely to make you unhappy anyway!' (BBC, 2011a) Yet under this system of control, self-reflexive exercises are designed in a way that workers *do not* feel that their subjectivities are being managed. Put differently, their senses become highly anaesthetized. Governing their subjectivity in this way creates an illusion that there is 'no conflict between the pursuit of productivity, efficiency and competitiveness … and the humanization of work' (Rose, 1989, p. 56). Alluding to the mutual benefit that both employers and employees may be able to jointly achieve, this ideological ethic of labour suppresses the instances where workers' subjectivities are exploited by the employers and alienated from their bodies.

Soon after the release of the Smile Scan in 2009, the Keikyu Corporation, which operates a railway service in the southwest part of Tokyo, announced that it would set up the technology at fifteen key stations and in one staff training centre. The press release from the time emphasizes that the primary goal is to improve employees' quality of service and make the stations more comfortable and pleasant spaces to be (Keikyu Corporation, 2009). To achieve this objective, workers are encouraged to check their smile before starting their work and carrying out operations that involve serving their customers face-to-face. Also, as part of an on-going personal

development scheme, they are required to print out and carry a photo of their best-scored smile recorded on the scan to remind them to keep smiling. With such regular and frequent exercises, these railway staff are expected to habituate the practice of responding to their customers with a smile. The implementation of the technology can be understood as part of the management's effort to encourage workers to work on their selves as part of their self-development and 'treat their work as if it were a calling' (Weeks, 2011, p. 71).

The use of the Smile Scan serves to make the workers' bodies more susceptible to affective gestures. The implementation of this technology by the railway operator potentially indicates that the quality of being attentive to affective intensities becomes one of the most vital factors for contemporary railway operators to be successful as service providers. Being attended by the "affecting" railway workers, passengers' bodies are tacitly yet progressively disciplined to incorporate desirable comportment such as being calm and still to avoid tempers flaring in times of crowding and delay. The tensed bodies could be relaxed as the railway workers manipulate them by modulating the intense energy flow. The effectiveness of this disciplinary practice can be accomplished through opening up the capacities of passengers' bodies and enhancing the capacity of railway workers to be affected. These two mechanisms often epitomize the role of railway workers. The potency of affective communication through non-verbal registers such as sight, sound, smell, taste, gesture and movement, should not be underrated. Adjusting these affective registers might allow railway workers to contrive particular affective intensities through the bodies of passengers and to refashion them as bodies that are more susceptible to control.

In the contemporary service-oriented economy driven by the creation of social relations, it appears that disciplinary power is increasingly practised through affective means. In this regard, Anderson (2010b) has pointed out that '[t]he excess of affect is now not so much regulated as induced, not so much prohibited as solicited. Modulation replaces constraint' (p. 168). Smile Scan could modulate the bodies of railway workers, which in turn, lead to inflect rather than hamper the passengers' bodies in prompting them to conform to a certain set of desirable comportments such as standing still quietly and patiently while waiting for trains to arrive. Seen from this angle,

smiling is not just an emotional expression, it is also a technique to provoke the irreducibly bodily and autonomic capacity of both workers' and customers' individualized bodies to coalesce and shape the 'collectivity of a life' (Manning, 2010, pp. 117–118).

The Smile Scan technology targets one of the most receptive surfaces of the body in seeking a more productive way to engineer affective intensities and inflect customers' bodies. The human face is one of the central corporeal surfaces responsible for projecting and capturing an excess of intensity, facilitating affective contagion among the interacting bodies. Smile Scan could transfigure one of the most responsive affective corporeal surfaces. This modulation of the face might extend its potency for affecting and being affected. Crucially, the contagious quality of affective intensity is so often engineered and transmitted through the face. The face is where much of the affective expression and communication takes place (Gibbs, 2010, p. 191). For this very reason, the face can be understood as most susceptible to being manipulated.

The Smile Scan technology takes advantage of the face, which is a highly receptive medium of communication. Even without conscious attention, individuals are often able to automatically capture affective signals expressed in subtle facial movements on the lips, nose, cheeks and eyes. Since human faces are extremely responsive to these affective signals, they can easily get affected in response to them. Significantly, they not only capture but also mimic the face of the interacting partner. The disposition to 'adopt the behaviours, postures, or mannerisms of interaction partners without awareness or intent' has played a fundamental part in the history of human evolution (Lakin et al., 2003, p. 147). Since the formation of social groups is fundamentally important for the human species to survive in the constantly evolving physical and ecological world, humans have developed the act of mimicry to facilitate a harmonious relationship amongst community members (Lakin et al., 2003, p. 149). In the field of social psychology, a number of studies have indicated that mimicking the behaviours of others creates rapport with them and a feeling of inclusion in the group (Lakin et al., 2003, p. 150). This rapport gets amplified between group members and leads them to repeatedly mimic each other, which in turn generates more rapport.

Here, mimicry could play a vital role in consolidating affective intensities and transforming them into concrete emotions and modulating the atmosphere of urban railway spaces.

Operating from within the prevailing power structure, subjects repeatedly mimic and reproduce desirable comportment to construct intelligible bodies. This is 'a necessary process fundamental to social continuity and stability' (Gibbs, 2011, p. 260). The regulatory conformity may be attributed to the material resources that these subjects do not have access to (Adams, 2006, p. 524) and for which they cannot seek any alternative stylization of the body. This beyond-conscious act of performative mimicry (repetition) is also actively performed in the interaction between affective bodies. Non-conscious mimicry is not just simple visual copying of an act but is a multisensory communicative process through various sensory and affective registers. This process of 'mimetic communication' (Gibbs, 2010, p. 186) drives synchronization between bodies as they affect each other to reinforce the regulatory power of conformity. Affective bodies stimulate other bodies to mimic and resonate with them. As they enter into an affective relation, they adjust their corporeal temperature and reciprocally attune to each other. This affective-tuning may be described as a 'relational merging' or 'co-constitutive becoming' (Manning, 2009, p. 39).

However, the process of integration may only go so far as *stimulating* suspicious bodies to mimic the bodies with desirable comportments. In other words, this integrative power does not necessarily coercively force, but still likely to induce bodies with undesirable comportments to behave in the "correct" manner. As Foucault asserts, power not only operates in a top-down direction but also acts in a diffusive fashion to discipline individual bodies (Foucault, 1988, p. 153). The potent corporeal dynamics of mimicry could enact a (con)formative power to assimilate bodies with undesirable comportments with those having desirable comportments. As such, railway workers might produce an affective charge as they spot suspicious bodies and prompt to correct their comportment. This affective practice thus potentially narrows the margin between the workers' bodies and the passengers' bodies to proliferate particular norms to an extensive populace. While smiling at these bodies exhibiting undesirable comportments in interaction, railway workers' bodies could affectively induce them to disembody certain comportments. With

the use of the Smile Scan, therefore, railway workers could train their bodies to enhance their capacities to catch and respond to affective intensities in order to flexibly accommodate customers with different bodily comportments.

The face certainly plays a central role in mediating positive affective communication since facial musculature is considered the location where happiness is most profoundly simulated (Oberman, Winkielman, & Ramachandran, 2007, p. 176). Charged with a strong affective intensity, the smiling face accelerates the proliferation of pleasure, comfort and joy to establish a collective among those sharing the space. This means that this particular affective intensity shapes 'not the subjectivity of an individual, but the subjectivity of an associated milieu that orients before it directs' (Manning, 2010, p. 126). Regulating and manipulating this intensity, workers might attempt to mould customers' bodies in a certain fashion so as to control space. In railway spaces, however, the affective atmospheres produced through corporeal interactions are temporary and erratic, as the affective bodies move to other spaces and merge with other bodies. That is to say, it is highly space-dependent and only produced by "being-with" and "here and now". Yet, these atmospheres may exert a potent force on the bodies to align themselves and form a 'mobile collective' (Bissell, 2010b, p. 485).

Whilst bodies just pass through railway spaces, affective sensations often capture these bodies and continually modulate their comportment. The transient, yet extremely intense charge of affective intensities that passengers receive in passing tends to dwell in their bodies to continually modify their biochemistry. The intensity of this affective "pull" is certainly not as strong as its first impression once it has seeped through and settled in bodies. Most of these affective intensities gradually wane and recede into the background, except in some cases in which enduring affective energies intensify and rise to the surface of consciousness, where they get discharged as emotional outputs (Massumi, 2002, p. 35). The remains of these sensations from past affective atmospheres frequently dislocate the regulatory working of bodies. A series of affective intensities seize bodies to constitute their behaviours and actions beyond the surface of consciousness. In this way, the

embodiment of affective intensities can be achieved by "what remains, what persists, what survives, when intention and activity ebb and flow away" (Harrison, 2008, p. 432).

The repetitive stylization (or disciplining) of workers' bodies through Smile Scan technology could diminish the boundary between the "performance" and the "self" as the latter makes its way into the former. Their bodies thus incorporate the disciplinary intervention that their employer imposes. While breaking down the border between public (work) and private (life), this emerging mode of labour opens the workers' bodies in the sense that it facilitates an uninhibited transmission of affective intensities. In other words, workers' bodies are opened up and made more susceptible to being affected. This increased susceptibility may help the workers to receive even the most diminutive affective signals seeping out of customers' bodies. In this way, Smile Scan technology removes the communicative impasse that lies between workers and customers, and accelerates the circulation of affective intensities between them. Consequently, the production of somatic effects triggered by these affective intensities can become an unmediated process and this leads affective bodies to coalesce. By engineering the event of smiling with the use of the Smile Scan, therefore, railway workers can potentially enforce this kind of encroachment in a subtle manner.

With the Smile Scan, railway workers are often able to put on affective smiles to *productively* integrate a range of bodies including the suspicious bodies that are marked as deviant *a priori* in railway spaces. In the service-oriented economy, the regime of security employs various affective techniques in an effort to regulate and align individuals and preserve social cohesion. These can be understood as "tipping points" from which some affective intensities including joy, comfort and security can disseminate over a wide population. When the event of smiling becomes incorporated into a diversity of bodies and generates somatic effects it may produce an incipient potential of the virtual. Meanwhile, the development and the growing popularity of Smile Scan signals the emerging trend that technology, rather than human managers, is increasingly being conscripted as part of the 'performance management' of service workers (Thrift, 2008, p. 241).

This raises an important question concerning the relationship between the emergence of affective labour and the technological interface of performance management in the service-oriented economy. The railway operator's initiative to implement Smile Scan technology can be seen as a means to engineer, cultivate and manipulate workers' affectivity in order to regulate passengers' bodies in railway spaces, which has become one of the critical elements for service-sector businesses to be successful in the service-oriented economy (Korczynski, 2005, p. 71). Whilst the management of service quality seems to be unfeasible without the routinization of scripted performance, the implementation of Smile Scan technology possibly gesture towards a replacing of the script as the affective event of smiling emerges as an essential feature of customer service. To further look into this point, the following part will analyse the transition from emotional labour to affective labour in relation to the development of Smile Scan technology as a performance management device.

## De-routinized Interaction and Customer Abuse

The service-oriented economy today attaches a higher premium to service interactions that appear more natural and spontaneous as management encourage service workers to break down the barrier between self and role. The contemporary service-oriented economy and the development of affective labour prompt us to 'question the classical definitions of *work* and *workforce*' (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 144, original emphasis). Performance management of affective labour cannot be conducted easily as the product of labour becomes an ideological environment that creates 'new stratifications of reality' and subsequently, '[n]ew modes of seeing and knowing [which] demand new technologies, and new technologies demand new forms of seeing and knowing' (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 144). The Smile Scan technology can thus be situated in this production cycle of demand. The remaining part of the chapter investigates how the nature of interactive service work undergoes a radical alteration to reveal the structure of commodification of not just emotions but also the worker's life itself in the prevailing service-oriented economy.

The contemporary operation of interactive service work follows a different logic from the previous one that emphasized the role of acting (Hochschild, 1983) and scripted routine (Leidner, 1999). In *The Managed Heart*, Hochschild (1983) observes Delta Airline's staff training and shows that the focus of the training at the airline company was on the maintenance of the distinction between 'inner-essence' and 'outer-face' through a patterned repetition of particular acting techniques. Through meticulous ethnographic work, Hochschild (1983) has found a tendency among experienced workers to excel at 'developing a "healthy" estrangement, a clear separation of self from role'. Without adhering to certain patterns of performance, the distinction between the inner-essence and the outer-face easily gets disrupted and undone. For this reason, Hochschild indicated that the worker's double subjectivity – inner-essence and outer-face – was most sustainable through performance by which the boundaries between natural and unnatural, genuine and fake, inside and outside are constructed and *consciously* policed.

In her study of Delta's Airline's cabin attendants, Hochschild identified two types of performance: "surface-acting" and "deep-acting". These types of performance require different levels of emotional engagement and detachment. On the one hand, cabin attendants momentarily make up a character and artificially act out in a particular manner to perform 'surface-acting'. The 'surface-acting' is considered equivalent to a 'fake act' (Hochschild, 1983, p. 38) in that the disembodied performance forecloses the actor's body and it prevents itself from resonating with other bodies. Focusing on just "showing" a performance to the audience, this fake act is not capable of penetrating into and affecting the other bodies. In this sense, surface-acting generates very little affective appeal but still manages to strategically maintain a boundary between the "private self" and the "performing self". These two domains are kept at a distance so long as the workers are consciously aware of their performance. As the workers start repeating a set of habitual performances, this boundary becomes more rigid and impermeable. In effect, the more performance they practice, the more habitual and reflexive the performance becomes.

In contrast, many experienced workers are equipped with "deep acting" techniques to filter their impulsive emotions into various channels. At one level, the workers frequently redirect their

feelings to prevent them from evoking a particular set of emotions that are not appropriate for serving customers. For instance, a tour guide, in an effort to control her/his disgust to a misbehaving client may turn her/his attention away from her/his character and focus on her/his work of guiding her/him around. At another level, these workers may construct an alternative version of reality through which they perceive phenomena differently. They train their imagination to deploy the 'as if supposition' in manipulating or suppressing the reality and instead creating a fantasy world for themselves (Hochschild, 1983, p. 40). As the worker 'actively suspends the usual reality testing, as a child does at play, and allows a make-believe situation to seem real' it makes her 'believe that an imagined happening *really is happening now*' (Hochschild, 1983, p. 42, original emphasis). It is commonly known that flight attendants visualize their customers as children and treat them as if they were, so that they can take care of them with a great degree of sympathy and compassion (Hochschild, 1983, p. 42). By employing this tactic, they skew the reality so as to feel what they *want* to feel.

Having developed the ability to 'depersonalize' situations', experienced workers are able to keep the performing-self and the private-self dissociated from each other (Hochschild, 1983, p. 133). Nonetheless, inexperienced workers who are not yet capable of using the technique conflate the emotions that they genuinely feel with what they "ought" to feel in their professional role (Hochschild, 1983, p. 132). As they act in accordance with the ways their employer expects, their feelings increasingly 'belong more to the organization and less to the self' (Hochschild, 1983, p. 198). Hence, the inexperienced workers are alienated from their "real self" and cease to know their actual feelings. This inadvertent consequence of surface-acting could result in these workers losing access to their 'innermost' feelings, which are the 'central means of interpreting the world around us' (Hochschild, 1983, p. 188).

The contemporary service-oriented economy is breaking down the dialectic tension between the "inner-essence" and the "outer face". The collapse of this binary separation, which would otherwise provide workers with protection, puts workers in a vulnerable position. While the "outer-face" serves as the 'resource to be used to make money' (Hochschild, 1983, p. 55), the

inner essence is also progressively being exploited for the purpose of capital accumulation. While the product of affective labour is "immaterial" social relations, and thus often immeasurable on a quantitative scale, it is ultimately intended to bring corporations "material" gains in terms of maximization of profit and efficiency. This means that the end product of immaterial labour is not just immaterial but also material. Hence, it is crucial to spotlight the active presence and intervention of capital to better grasp the nature of affective labour.

While being incorporated into the system of capital accumulation, service workers are confronted with the challenge of depersonalizing situations through 'a "healthy" estrangement' (Hochschild, 1983, p. 188). When the gap between the domains of the inner essence and the public face diminishes, workers struggle to maintain a clear separation of self from role (Hochschild, 1983, p. 188). Even though the balancing act between the inner-essence and outer-face requires workers to discern private from public, the boundary is becoming obscure and difficult to maintain in today's service-oriented economy. Management demands workers be fully engaged in manipulating and sustaining the "enchanting myth" of customer sovereignty. Since a "surface" act is not quite capable of engineering these impressions, the workers are instructed to undo their performing-self and instead, bring their whole body into play. That is, management asks the workers to smile almost exactly as they do in their private time at home. Workers' private lives are increasingly put to work so as to immerse passengers in a homely environment. Activating workers' personality at work and subsequently unleashing customers' bodies for affective interaction and responsive transformation thus become the primary concerns for contemporary service providers.

As an alternative way of maintaining role distance, Leidner (1999) has stressed the significance of routine work. Her ethnographic study on McDonald's and the Combined Insurance Company has observed the routine practice of service interaction that she calls 'scripting of speech, movement, and body language' (p. 87). The study reveals that the routinization of service work has the potential to 'help workers enforce their will over others, protect them from mistreatment, bolster their confidence in their abilities, or at least offer them some psychological distance from

disagreeable interactions' (Leidner, 1999, p. 93). Leidner has observed that the workers from McDonald's and the Combined Insurance Company willingly accepted routinization of service interaction despite 'the loss of autonomy, the requirement to behave like someone the worker does not want to be, the sense of indignity, the depersonalization, and the inauthenticity'. In her view, the workers bore with these ensuing drawbacks because routinization provided a "shield" that allowed them to maintain a distance from the role. The workers who occupy interactive service jobs tend to lack the 'status shield' that is available to those who occupy higher status positions in society (Hochschild, 1983, p. 186). This makes them more vulnerable to customer abuse than those who work in other industries (Leidner, 1999, p. 92). Therefore, routinization and standardization of service interactions have provided these workers with the ability to maintain role distance and 'avoid taking mistreatment personally or seeing themselves as deserving the low regard' (Leidner, 1999, p. 92).

As I described in the previous chapter (Chapter 3), railway workers are faced with a growing pressure from management to undertake affective labour in the contemporary service-oriented economy. The workers are expected to be willing to do more than they are told to do and flexibly care for the customer (Weeks, 2011, p. 72). In the contemporary service economy, the powerful discourse of self-development is spreading across low-waged service sector jobs in particular (Weeks, 2011, p. 73). In consequence, a worker occupying one of these jobs is 're-imagined as an individual actor in search of meaning, responsibility, a sense of personal achievement and a maximized quality of life' (du Gay, 1995, p. 78). The service-oriented economy intervenes into not just the public sphere but also the private sphere of the worker to invoke a certain range of feelings that are considered more intimate and affective than what Hochschild (1983, pp. 42–43) calls the 'deep acting' technique can produce. The use of Smile Scan technology can thus be read as an attempt by management to incapacitate workers' faculty of emotional labour and instead encourage them to engage in affective labour. The technology is designed to bring the act of smiling to consciousness, as it intervenes to nurture a mindful awareness over the already-incorporated act of smiling so that workers can manipulate and sway their customers with more

vitality. This could potentially bring a challenge to the workers as it hinders the routinization of customer service interaction that would otherwise help them maintain role distance.

In consequence, workers are often vulnerable to customers' expressions of impatience, disdain and annoyance (Leidner, 1999). A large number of customer abuse cases occur in the form of violence. The latest statistics published by the Association of Japanese Private Railways shows that there were 225 reported cases of violence against railway workers in railway stations across Japan during the period between April 2015 and March 2016 (Nihon Min'ei Tetsudō Kyōkai, 2016). According to the report, the number of violent incidents against railway workers jumped up from 81 cases in 2001 to a record high of 236 cases in 2008, and has exceeded 210 cases ever since for the eight consecutive years.[28]

In the face of this widespread customer abuse, workers are guided to deal with misbehaving customers professionally through not only:

> [C]alls for subjective investment in and identification with work, but also a kind of affective distancing from it. A professional invests his or her person in the job but does not "take it personally" when dealing with difficult co-workers, clients, patients, students, passengers or customers. As an ideal of worker subjectivity, this requires not just the performance of a role, but a deeper commitment of the self, an immersion in and identification not just with work, but with work discipline. The popular injunction to "be professional," to cultivate a professional attitude, style, and persona, serves as one way that the autonomy, especially of immaterial workers, can be managerially constituted up and down the post-Fordist labor hierarchy (Weeks, 2011, pp. 74–75).

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[28] The data suggests that most of these incidents occur later in the day (17.00pm until close of business) and later in the week (Thursday to Sunday) at the ticketing gate and on the platform. About three in four incidents involved those who had consumed alcohol.

For management to implement affective labour and cultivate rapport with customers, it is necessary to bestow workers with a certain degree of autonomy to deploy their own imagination to serve customers. However, acknowledging autonomy and vesting some decision-making capacities in the workers means that management no longer exerts such direct control over the workers' relationship with customers (du Gay, 1995, p. 78). This potentially brings irregularities in service quality. The workers are encouraged to think through how they should interact with customers and evaluate their own service quality (du Gay, 1995, p. 78).

As a result, there is a possibility that some workers retaliate against customers' misbehaviour and act in opposition to how management wants them to perform their work. In an interview, Yoshiharu, the JR East's management class worker mentions that he instructs the workers to step back when passengers appear to be aggravated for any reason. He highlighted that the workers were disciplined and refrain from reacting against such incidents, while CCTV collects evidence of customer abuse. However, he admitted that the workers would often find themselves in an extremely vulnerable position, especially on weekend nights when many passengers are intoxicated and become excitable and act violently against the railway workers.

In response to the rise of customer abuse, workers are told, according to Yoshiharu, to detach themselves from aggravated passengers and generate an in-between space. This gesture can be read as a strategic corporeal practice to retreat from the space of affective intensities to protect workers from being exposed to the risk of physical violence. It also prevents them from being subject to powerful intensities that could potentially lead them to react in a manner that would later cause harm to the organization. Yoshiharu says he repeatedly tells the workers not to argue back, let alone retaliate against customers, regardless of what they do to them. He pointed out, 'our workers work for and are the representatives of the corporation. Whatever action they take, it is always perceived as whatever the corporation does and deems correct. Thus, it is extremely vital that we teach them and make sure they understand that they must act reflectively.'

I argue that the fundamental basis of this problem of customer abuse is the growing supremacy of the customer, where workers become stuck between management and customer, being subject to scrutiny by both of them. In their well-cited article, Fuller and Smith (1991) have succinctly pointed out that workers are not just assessed on their performance by management but also 'judged on their interactions with customers *by customers* themselves' (p. 11, original emphasis). Furthermore, the problem of customer abuse is exacerbated by the fact that the target of scrutiny is no longer limited to their outer face. In the contemporary service-oriented economy, the worker's inner essence has become subject to judgement. While management promotes and attempts to normalize customers' authority, it bestows customers with 'de facto legitimacy' to intervene into workers' personalities (Korczynski & Evans, 2013, p. 779).

The implementation of the Smile Scan technology likely urge workers to develop capacities for affecting as well as being affected by customers, which effectively discourages the workers from "performing in the role" of service provider and instead pushes them to foster more "personal" rapport with their customers. The technology could turn the face of the worker into something that is more attuned to a particular range of affective intensities to create a shield and keep a "critical distance" from suspicious bodies that may potentially trigger unanticipated events to disrupt the orchestration of the railway systems. As a result, the workers might be able to develop immunity against particular kinds of affective intensities to suppress their corporeal capacity for being affected.

Meanwhile, the implementation of Smile Scan technology by the Keikyu Corporation suggests that its intention is not just to make the event of smiling natural and spontaneous to facilitate communicative competence between the worker and the customer/passenger but also to encourage the worker to continuously work on themselves. Here, the neoliberal principle of self-fulfilment through work (Rose, 1989, p. 56) reveals itself in a new mode. The use of Smile Scan technology could thus help workers acquire the 'skill to recognize what a situation consists in, and to activate the properties it requires of the self' (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2005, p. 461). This powerful rationale of adaptability could potentially destabilize scripted routine in the

contemporary service-oriented economy. However, even with the destabilization of scripted routine and role distance, the face for its nature as an affective medium, could function as a shell to protect workers' selves from being intervened upon by the management and the customer. The Smile Scan could then be thought of as a device that intervenes and modifies the affective capacities.

The Japanese philosopher Watsuji Tetsuro (2011) has asserted that the facial surface 'is not simply one part of the physical body, but it is none other than the seat of the subjective that subdues the physical body for itself, that is, the seat of personality' (p. 154). From this perspective, the face can be read as the corporeal medium that opens up for some and shuts out other affective intensities, allowing individuals to segregate the good from the bad. Therefore, I assert that the Smile Scan could possibly facilitate workers to (re)adjust the degrees of opening and closure of the body to differentiate which affective intensities to receive and which ones to block.

Significantly, this kind of capacity-building through the face could provide a "shield" for workers. Despite the mounting pressure to de-routinize customer interaction in service work, the facial skin as a filter may act as the buffer to retain a critical distance from customers. Even if the worker's self is conscripted and put to work to a large degree, the entrained corporeal surface might reserve the capacity to discriminate the inside from the outside, helping the worker to uphold 'a means of defense' and 'a way to avoid stress, a wise realization, a saving grace' (Hochschild, 1983, p. 183). The use of the Smile Scan by the railway workers can potentially enhance their capacity for maintaining estrangement of their self from the role. In this sense, the smile cultivated by the Smile Scan could offer workers a filter that enables both attuning to and separation from the role of service worker.

Nevertheless, the program of self-development is becoming an overpowering almost irrefutable force. The workers are selected and evaluated on the basis of their motivation to undertake insatiable improvement and reinvention (Weeks, 2011, pp. 70–71). When management puts workers under scrutiny, they often undermine scripted performance and instead, expect the

workers to lay themselves bare to forge affective relations with customers, making 'life inseparable from work' (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 137). As the production of subjectivity becomes the central focus of contemporary management practice, work penetrates into life with long lasting effects leading to, as Weeks (2007) suggests:

> Work and life … thoroughly interpenetrated. The subjectivities shaped at work do not remain at work but inhabit all the spaces and times of nonwork and vice-versa. Who one becomes at work and in life are mutually constitutive. There is no position of exteriority in this sense; work is clearly part of life and life part of work. (p. 246)

The underlying logic of this belief is that workers' exposition of self makes them more affective and approachable than their performing of a scripted routine interaction. At the same time, however, this does not completely debilitate the workers' capacity to shelter their lives from work as the workers turn the face into the strategic buffer to estrange self from role. While hindering workers from engaging in emotional labour to a certain degree management expects workers to capitalize on their personality in interaction with customers. The program of self-development encourages workers to further deepen their knowledge of themselves to not only spot their own fallibility and overcome any shortfalls, but also to understand and act in response to their customers' likings and requests.

However, due to the incalculable character of social relations produced by the labour process, the performance management of affective labour can rarely provide any objective measurement. While communicative competence of the service worker may promote its customer-friendly image, it does not necessarily constitute material gains in a direct way. Even though customer satisfaction surveys and other indices have been invented to quantify products of affective labour and may offer a glimpse of customers' impressions on their interactions, these do not always reveal revenue growth or output in numerical terms. In this manner, affective labour can be considered to produce value beyond measure, which Hardt and Negri (2000) refer to as the 'value beyond machine' (p. 355). This understanding of affective labour as nevertheless productive of

some value, gives recognition to workers' formerly unacknowledged contributions to the contemporary labour market in which 'the binaries of productive versus reproductive, waged versus unwaged, and with them, "men's work" versus "women's work" are increasingly inadequate' (Weeks, 2007, p. 239).

This signals the growing need to shed light on affective labour empirically from an alternative vantage point. To do this, the following chapters situate the contemporary service-oriented economy as the product of the management-customer-worker triad and explore their interactions with an emphasis on the nexus between desire and control. The aim of this is to reveal that the production of subjectivity is almost always coupled with the consumption and mediation of subjectivity. As such, the next three chapters are intended to extend the discussion of affective labour further by observing the active role of the consumer/passenger in accelerating the incorporation of the worker's life into work and destabilizing the traditionally-held boundaries between them.

**Conclusion**

Responding to the first research question of this thesis, this chapter has demonstrated an important way in which "soft" control is being tied into customer service provision to (re)shape passenger mobilities. In the contemporary service-oriented economy where natural and spontaneous service interactions are encouraged and promoted by management, affective labour is prevailing over emotional labour. This chapter has argued that the traditional form of emotional labour, which is underpinned by role acting and scripted routine practice, is waning as the intensifying push for affective labour by management and customers is redrawing the boundary between the life and work of the worker. Management today encourages workers to put their self to work for the purpose of cultivating affective relations with the customers. As such, it has become necessary for even urban railway operators to have an in-depth understanding of the affective process that unfold in interaction, in order to successfully run their operation (Korczynski, 2005, p. 71). In the

service-oriented economy, the development of affective techniques of modulation has provided railway operators with a device that allows them to subtly approach passengers' bodies and control their mobilities in the guise of customer service.

Against this background, this chapter has put forward the argument that the Smile Scan potentially plays a pivotal role in embodying railway workers' affective smiles, which enables affective sensations to be circulated more effectively. This could potentially help railway workers produce 'the invisible glue' (Massumi, 2002, p. 217) and facilitate the affectual navigation of passengers. In particular, the chapter has asserted the vital role that the face plays as a medium on which personal rapport comes to be stimulated through the corporeal faculty of mimicry to better grasp this changing landscape of service work. The face becomes a surface of mimicry to maintain the performative mechanism by which regulatory practice is reproduced to bring the subject into existence. The performative dimension of the human face can assemble individuated bodies to shape and coordinate masses in the railway spaces. This corporeal faculty of mimicry often serves as the hinge to collectivize passengers in urban railway spaces. As the mimicry operates at the level of the body to provide enduring comportment, the management of moving crowds passing through urban public spaces such as railway stations becomes feasible.

Through the intensifying commodification and deployment of life at work, the production of subjectivity increasingly pivots around the notion of self and the discourse of endless improvement, which forcibly incorporates the inner essence of the workers into their outer face. Consequently, the workers have so often become subject to intense scrutiny by both management and customers. In the meantime, there is a growing call for the strategic implementation of monitoring devices in urban railway spaces to monitor passengers' behaviours. The next chapter will look into the strategic placement of surveillance technologies and assurances of security that are designed to detect and modulate an excess of particular affective intensities emanating from the bodies of passengers.

## CHAPTER FIVE: SPATIAL CONTAINMENT

**Introduction**

This chapter aims to reveal what surveillance apparatuses do to conscript passengers to participate in security operations in urban railway spaces. It responds to the second research question about how the customer service provision intervenes into, and takes hold of, passengers' bodies in urban railway spaces. A range of security apparatuses have been implemented to create a particular type of space in which passengers feel assured of security while illuminating the imminent risk of insecurity at the same time. In the aftermaths of a series of indiscriminate killings and bomb attacks in the Europe during the mid-2000s, transport authorities across the world have intensified their campaigns to raise awareness about danger and risk of terrorist attacks (Manley & Silk, 2014). These campaigns have changed the dynamics of protection making the state play a crucial role as '[t]he call for protection *from* the state has been increasingly displaced by the demand for protection *by* the state. … The risk of unrestrained state authorities, or arbitrary power and the violation of civil liberties seem no longer to figure so prominently in public concern' (Garland, 2001, p. 12, original emphasis).

A number of scholars have written extensively on the ever-intensifying operations of security in the everyday life of the city, demonstrating how individuals are increasingly encouraged to accept authorities' reinforcement of surveillance operations and other security measures. However, they often fail to empirically engage with what these operations do to these individuals under the surveilling gaze. To develop the existing literature, we need to actually observe how these individuals are transformed as they embody the gaze. Based on extensive auto-ethnographic observation, this chapter describes how passengers in railway stations are transformed from passive surveillant texts into active surveilling devices. To extend the analysis of the previous chapter, which focused on the face of the worker and its faculty as a powerful apparatus of control, this chapter spotlights how the face of the passenger is deployed in and becomes part of security operations in urban railway spaces.

The first part of the chapter examines the processes through which certain affective intensities can be detected. Expanding on the analysis of the face explored in chapter 4, this part examines the mechanisms through which the face becomes detached from the body and deactivated for modulation. By focusing on face recognition technology, which dissects the face into fragments and reduces them into empty signs, this part shows that this strategy is the only way in which the face becomes digitally readable, recognizable and configurable in the language of computers. The second part turns to the potentiality of an inverse relation between the gazer and the gazed-at in situations of face-to-face contact. Detailing encounters with railway personnel and security officers from my field research experiences, this part considers the affective capacities of the bare face to intervene into an uneven distribution of authority between passengers and security personnel in railway transit spaces. The third part reflects on my fieldwork experience of becoming a passenger, in order to describe how the authorities' desire for control meets passengers' desire for protection and together transform urban railway spaces into a "theatre of insecurity".

**Infrastructures of Distrust**

In the morning rush hour of March 20th, 1995, members of a religious cult group *Aum Shinrikyō* were on subway cars: Hayashi Ikuo on the Chiyoda Line, Hirose Ken'ichi and Yokoyama Masato on the Marunouchi Line and Toyota Toru and Hayashi Yasuo on the Hibiya Line, all heading in the direction of Kasumigaseki Station, the station known as the main gateway to some of the major government ministries including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry. Most of these members carried two sealed bags containing poisonous liquefied sarin. [29] Just before they got off their respective railway compartments, they pricked the bags to make small holes using umbrellas and left them on the

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[29] Hayashi Yasuo carried three bags. Most of these individuals have been sentenced to death except Hayashi Ikuo.

ground. The liquid gradually evaporated into the air and filled the compartments to disrupt passengers' nervous systems. By the time the railway operator spotted the unfamiliar sight and smell, and stopped the trains, hundreds of passengers were already severely affected and required immediate medical attention. The authorities were initially unable to identify the cause of their sickness but eventually found out that it was the same poisonous chemical substance used in the indiscriminate killings conducted in Matsumoto City of Nagano prefecture in the previous year. At the time of the subway attack, it was not known that *Aum Shinrikyō* was actually responsible for the sarin attack in Matsumoto City, earlier in the year which left eight dead and 660 injured (NHK, 2014). The subway attack consequently killed 13 people, and left more than 6000 others injured and/or severely traumatized. Most of these victims were passengers who happened to be commuting on these subway lines and railway personnel who cleaned up the liquefied sarin spilled in railway cars without knowing that it was highly toxic. This attack was the first event of chemical terrorism in Japanese urban railway history.

Within the next few years after the sarin gas attack, a number of deadly events in commuter transit spaces followed across the world. Particularly notable examples were the two bombings targeting commuters in Madrid in 2004 and London in 2005, which claimed 191 lives (1841 injured) and 52 lives (more than 770 injured), respectively (BBC, 2011b; BBC, 2015). These events prompted authorities to address the issue of the vulnerability of enclosed railway spaces and to implement strategies to enhance the security of these spaces or at least engineer some assurance of protection.

In the aftermaths of the sarin gas attack and other subsequent deadly attacks in urban railway spaces across the world, the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (MLIT) of Japan prompted railway operators to implement tighter security measures and elevate the level of vigilance in urban railway spaces. Subsequently, the total number of CCTVs in railway stations across the country went up from 20,000 in 2004 to 61,000 in 2011 (MLIT).[30] As an addition to

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[30]After the bombing in Madrid the MILT advised railway operators to implement stricter security measures. This is promoted on the counter-terrorism campaign pamphlet published by Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (2015) and anti-terrorism policy document published by National Police Agency (2004).

patrolling railway personnel or police guards and the passengers' peer-to-peer vigilance, the proliferation of these mechanical eyes added another layer to a network of surveillance to make railway spaces amongst the most intensely monitored urban spaces in Japan (Murakami Wood, Lyon, & Abe, 2007, p. 557). This traditional form of surveillance through CCTV generally monitors spaces in real time, intervenes into threats that are unfolding, and alerts passers-by that they are being watched to discipline their own behaviour.

As I walked through the passageways, staircases, platforms and concourses of urban railway spaces in Tokyo during my fieldwork, it did not take long before I recognized one of these CCTV cameras and saw a sign indicating their presence. Furthermore, public announcements and posters constantly encouraged me to report suspicious persons or items. I saw rubbish bins that were transparent located at platforms, passageways and concourses so that railway staff could easily see through to the contents inside them. I felt as though I was expected to participate in a concerted effort to make railway spaces ever more harmless. These devices gave me a strong impression that potential threats are imminent. In other words, these devices were made visible to allow authorities to amplify passengers' perceptions of insecurity to engender and circulate a particular range of affective intensities including fear, anxiety and nervousness, using passengers' bodies as vectors. What I was witnessing was essentially a mechanism through which authorities rationalized their 'right to intervene … to improve life by eliminating accidents, the random element, and deficiencies' (Foucault, 2003, p. 248).

CCTV surveillance can be characterized by its 'detached' nature of operation since it is actually conducted in a room far away from the monitoring site (Smith, 2014). By assembling multiple real-time video images from distant locations, surveillance operators simultaneously observe different locations in search of threats through the lenses of these cameras, without physically being present in the space. While being able to monitor multiple spaces at the same time, the detached nature of CCTV surveillance impairs its capability to intervene into unfolding events in a timely manner (Dubbeld, 2011, p. 89). Even when a security threat is detected on CCTV footage, the officers in the control room cannot necessarily act immediately on the target. Moreover, this

mode of surveillance often fails to spot security threats from a large number of individuals ceaselessly gathering and dispersing in various directions. These monitoring officers are tasked not only with simultaneously dealing with multiple real-time footage of different locations but also quickly distinguishing those with malicious intent from thousands of other individuals who are often moving from one screen to another as they walk through the monitored space (Norris, 2003, p. 254). These security officers in the control room are 'not simply inactive, unthinking organizational robots/dopes' and could be prejudiced to profile suspects on the basis of their skin colour or facial features while dismissing unmarked others (Smith, 2009, p. 141).

The face is an easy target of the gaze often because of its visibility and accessibility among various corporeal media that have been represented as the truth-bearing signifier. Across many different cultures, the face (as part of the head) tends to be one of the least covered surfaces of the body, making it not only 'the window to the soul' but also 'the window to the heart and to the emotions' (Taussig 1999, p. 37). When CCTV scans the face of a passenger, the corporeal surface is rendered as the text on which certain intensities are simulated. Contrary to the conception of the face as the active modulative device (see Chapter 4), the face is here understood as nothing more than a passive object-sign. Seen as such, if not a 'token of [dis]trust' (Lyon, 2002, pp. 244–245), the face becomes the most distinguishable, recognizable and thus tangible feature of the body within these corporeal surveillance regimes. In consequence, the face is widely deployed to profile and identify suspects and detect their 'genuine' intentions in the process of crime prevention

By observing the face, therefore, authorities could endeavour not only to authenticate a person's identity but also to detect her/his intent. In this way, the face has been seen as a signifier of truthful inner intent and disposition which cannot be suppressed by one's will, in that 'what is expressed on [the] faces indicates their subjective states; the face provides an instrument panel upon which a scale of reflexes, emotions, and thoughts are registered' (Rushton, 2002, 224). This targeting of the face parallels an emerging trend, which renders the human body as an objective' pointer of the future (Andrejevic, 2010). The prime target of biometric surveillance also includes a range of other body parts including the fingerprint and the iris. These body parts are considered to be

'capable of "securing" or "fixing" identity in a way that makes fraudulent or multiple identities much more difficult, if not impossible, to maintain' (Martin & Whitley, 2013, p. 52). The fingerprint, for instance, is widely used to grant or deny access to personal computers, smartphones, office buildings, entertainment complexes and airports. In this system of "smart" access control, the human body replaces traditional methods of verification such as the password or PIN code, as the body is assumed more stable and theft-proof than the latter (Lyon, 2008, p. 504).

Individuals are given legitimate access and status through biometrically establishing their identification (Lyon, 2008, p. 500). As the body is increasingly being signified as 'a source of absolute identification' providing authorities with an incontestable site of reason (Amoore, 2006, p. 343), a series of new sensing technologies and recording devices have been developed to reveal the "true" intentions of individuals. These technologies, including the eye tracker, the thermal camera and mood detection technology can observe changes on a person's body to figure out what s/he is intending to do in the next instance. For example, if the eye tracker senses a passenger's eyes roving around incessantly, the person might be considered as potentially initiating some form of criminal act or even plotting a terrorist attack. By treating the body as the most truthful text, these technologies could potentially spot threats more immediately and "read the minds" of these suspected individuals with higher accuracy.

This endless pursuit for "truthful intention" has reached a level, which would be unimaginable to most people in the pre-computer era. Authorities can now even monitor blood flow and use brain scans to "reveal" if not construct the "ultimate truth" hidden behind people's consciousness (Andrejevic, 2010, p. 31). This modality of vision is considered to ensure the finding of the most truthful intention. As the body is seen as the embodiment of truthfulness, radiofrequency identification tags (RFID) could potentially come to be inserted into the human skin of offenders. These tags allow authorities to trace from a remote location the precise locations of the subject and potentially measure a range of somatic signifiers of inner intent, including heartbeat and blood flow (Monahan & Wall, 2007, p. 157).

The obsessive pursuit of the security regime to map onto subjects a one-dimensional identity has led to a widespread deployment of face recognition technology to intervene into the face as a key medium of interiority. In line with this development, a number of transport authorities and government agencies today deploy face recognition technology in CCTV surveillance systems to render the face as a kind of 'barcode' to identify potential threats in public space (Graham, 2005, pp. 572–573). The technology was originally developed for 'one-to-one matching' to grant entry or deny access to private spaces such as office buildings, work computers and electronic databases by matching the target face with the verified pre-registered data identity (Zureik & Hindle, 2004, pp. 117). Although the technology is still used to facilitate verification, it is now increasingly being applied for the more general purpose of surveillance in public space that could be referred to as 'one-to-many matching' (Zureik & Hindle, 2004, pp. 117). This kind of matching mechanism is deployed to search a database to see if the person is present in the stored records such as a 'watch list' or the 'most wanted persons list' to net out potential wrongdoers by their 'abnormal' responses (Zureik & Hindle, 2004, pp. 117).

Nonetheless, the facial images collected for the purpose of one-to-one matching have often been misused for the purpose of one-to-many matching. For example, the U.S., government agency's unauthorized collection of face images has become controversial in recent years. The CIA documents leaked by former CIA contractor Edward Snowden suggest that the intelligence agency collected 'millions of images per day' which included approximately 55,000 'facial recognition quality images' (Risen & Poitras, 2014). According to the documents, many people's facial images registered for the one-to-one matching were intercepted by state authorities without their consent and used for amassing the intelligence agency's master database and watchlist of suspected criminals. Such unauthorized collection and use of the face images represents the government's excessive use of law enforcement authority.

For face recognition technology to spot a target face, however, that face needs to be made visible and comparable with other faces on a database. Moreover, every single face must be given a data

identity in relation to distinctive facial features such as the eyes, mouth, nose, cheeks and wrinkles. These features are linked with static codes and signifiers enabling the device to quickly and efficiently process the information in the form of digital data. In sorting out faces into categorical groupings according to their presupposed gender, ethnicity and age groups, the machines almost always undermine the fluidities and ambiguities of these classifications. Only the digitally-processed face detached from one's subjectivity, acquiring an 'objective and thing-like quality' becomes legible, comparable and recognizable through the language of computers (Franko Aas, 2006, p. 147). The digitally-configured face dislocates from the actual face, which is imbued with pre-signifying forces that 'can only exist in the relationships between bodies, rather than *on* any one body in isolation' (Black, 2011, pp. 21–22, original emphasis). On this point, Ceyhan (2008) argues:

> The biometrical representation of the body de-links it from consciousness and subjectivity making it a readable text composed of signs and codes. At the same time it operates like an anatomist or physiologist revealing the possible pathologies that it contains. … Therefore, the body becomes the mark of riskiness and illegality leaving no place to the Other to become the witness of the Self. No place is left to the language, to the narration, to the presence of the Other to assess the Selfhood. As such in the context of uncertainty and fear the body is turning decisively into a source for prediction of actual or future dangers and risks. (p. 118)

When the bare face is converted into digital data, the technology treats the body surface as 'a source of information that is standardized and unambiguous' (Franko Aas, 2006, p. 150). Digitalization of the face removes its vitality where feelings, emotions and affective intensities enacted in interaction are neutralized and reduced to decipherable objective entities. When the face is fragmented into parts such as nose, mouth, eye and wrinkles to be processed as data on computer systems, it decouples the face from its contextuality and materiality, making the subject 'placeless' and 'faceless' (Gray, 2003, p. 326). This mode of knowledge production might allow authorities to construct the "truth" about the identity of a person while discounting the situated

nature of subject formation (Franko Aas, 2006, p. 153). When the face is "disembodied" and silenced, a series of elements constituting a subject, including personal belief, liking or habit are reduced to an empty signifier or a transferrable code and rendered as meaningless (Franko Aas, 2006, p. 153). Such practices of disembodying and silencing of the face have become the most common strategy for performing identity profiling and behavioural recognition. The next section provides a case study of how authorities in Japan have, despite many criticisms, initiated the implementation of these strategies.

Following the bomb attacks on the metros in Madrid (in 2004) and London (in 2005), Japanese railway authorities and government agencies expressed a strong aspiration to implement face recognition technology. By promoting the value of the technology in helping to reduce crimes, they rolled out plans to conduct large-scale face recognition "experiments". The first "experiment" was conducted in 2006 by a publicly funded policy research institute, the Institute for Transport Policy Studies (ITPS), in Kasumigaseki Station, one of the Tokyo Metro subway stations around which many ministerial headquarters are located. (This was one of the stations targeted by the sarin gas attack in 1995.) This experiment was the first of its kind to be conducted in any railway station in Japan. It was designed to test the technology to see how it would perform outside a controlled laboratory setting. More specifically, it was designed to discover how many digital cameras were required to screen passengers passing by the station's entrance/exit gates to most accurately identify pre-marked individuals from a database (Kanshi Shakai wo Kyohi Suru Kai Jimukyoku, 2006, p. 74). Due to protests from civil rights groups, however, the ITPS had to review its original plan and restricted the experiment to one hour (2pm to 3pm) a day from 1st to 19th May 2006 (Teranishi, 2006, p. 106).

The second "experiment" was unveiled in November 2013 by another publicly funded research institute, the National Institute of Information and Communications Technology (NICT, 2013). It was designed to 'determine whether or not sensor data on crowd movements can be used to validate the safety measures of emergency exits for when a disaster strikes' (Hornyak, 2014). Initially drawn up as a two-year "experiment", it involved the NICT setting up approximately 90

networked CCTVs in Osaka station and associated entertainment/shopping complexes (known together as Osaka Station City) to collect pedestrians' facial images and patterns of movement to create a database. The NICT claimed that this project would help relevant authorities to seek the best solutions to mobilize people in times of disaster. The database was to be made available to owners of the property where the data was collected so that they could use it for business solutions.[31] Nonetheless, similar to the first experiment, due to the number of complaints from the public, the project has been postponed until further notice as of March 2014.[32]
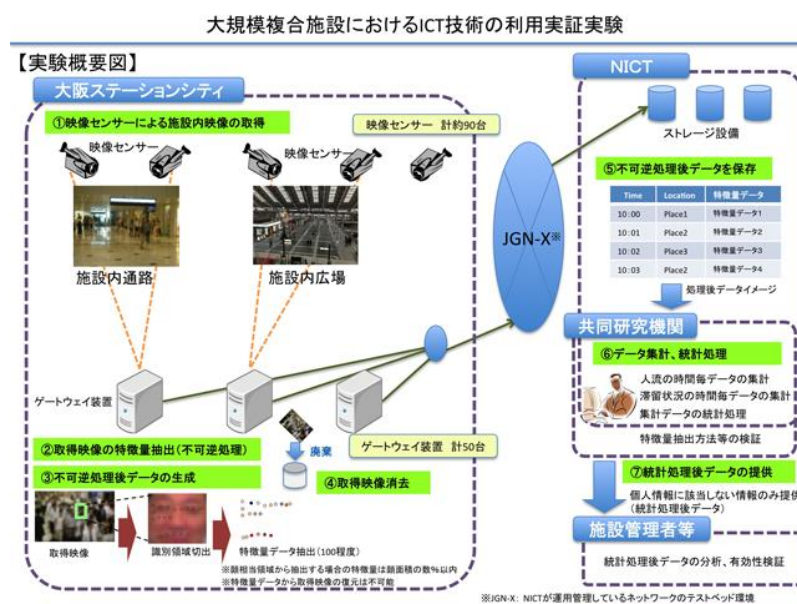


Figure 7. Proposed procedures for the Osaka Station City monitoring experiment.

The National Institute of Information and Communications Technology (2013).

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[31] These property owners would include government agencies, city councils, railway operators, property management companies and retail stores.

[32] For instance, the Anti-Surveillance Coalition (Kanshishakai wo Kyohi Suru Kai) showed their objection by sending letters to the NICT and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, which oversaw the project. The group also submitted public enquiries to JR West and the Osaka Terminal Building, which authorized permission for the NICT to use the space and conduct the monitoring. In addition, Osaka Bar Association (2015) sent an open letter to the NICT, claiming that the project potentially breaches people's privacy. The NICT also reportedly received a number of individual enquiries from the public regarding its capacity to protect personal privacy. Due to an overwhelming amount of public disapproval, the NICT announced in March 2014 that the project would be postponed. As of August 2016, the NICT has not made any further announcement about the project. Having received many complaints, both of these experiments faced objections from media commentators, scholars and civil society organizations. Most of their concerns were primarily related to two issues. First, the face recognition technology required to screen a large number of individuals and collect their facial images without their consent, in order to locate potential target faces. In other words, it scrutinizes every single individual passing through the railway station before identifying a particular few. Second, when the algorithm of the machine becomes superior to human discretion in sorting out and judging the criminal from the innocent, it is likely that the programmed codes are biased and the technology could wrongly detect, identify and label suspects (Graham, 2005, p. 574).

Targeting the face with the aid of advanced technologies renders the surveillant object's composition visible from a distance. However, where certain distinctive facial features are spotlighted and identified as a reliable measure of one's character and intentionality, some markers of distrust such as a thick beard and a brown complexion are rendered more visible than others (Noble & Poynting, 2008; Patel, 2012). Such 'statistical discrimination' and categorical suspicion denies opportunities to a particular individual 'on the basis of the attributes of the group to which he or she is assumed to belong' (Gandy, 2012, p. 126). This work of sorting individuals into different 'visually-constructed' categories therefore helps to reinforce a culture of suspicion and distrust that is riven with stereotypes (Lyon, 2007b, p. 55). As the face becomes the canvas upon which classificatory regimes can distinguish the good from the bad, and whether a subject is complying with security authorities or, being subversive, her/his truthfulness is set against her/his "face" value.

**The Bare Face and Performance**

Despite the spread of CCTV, we can still see the continued presence of police guards or patrolling railway personnel in railway spaces. Before the development of digital surveillance technologies and the introduction of CCTV, the most common surveillance device in railway spaces was their patrolling staff. For example, Japanese National Railway (JNR) deployed its employees to Railway Police units in different municipalities. These units carried out railway patrols both on the JNR lines and on other private railway lines. Since the disintegration of JNR, however, railway patrols have mostly been taken over by a team of police officers known as the Railway Police Force. In recent times however, some railway companies such as Tōkyū Corporation and Keiō Corporation have deployed security guards to patrol railway spaces. These privately hired guards are not permitted to carry firearms and their capacity to act when faced with suspected criminals is limited compared to that of police officers. Therefore there is a mixture of these types of security guards in urban railway spaces. The guards are tasked to watch over passengers and intervene into their actions when deemed necessary.

These personnel could instigate a "proactive" form of surveillance, rather than a "reactive" form of surveillance. This "proactive" form of surveillance is often mediated by the politics of the face. For the security guards, the skill to identify even the subtlest facial gesture, and immediately act on those who display a sign of being a potential hazard, often becomes extremely decisive. These guards in railway stations and airports focus on 'systematically reading the faces of passengers in order to discover … intentions and emotions displayed in facial expressions' (Adey, 2009, p. 280). Being 'an extremely rapid medium of communication' (Gibbs, 2001, para. 6), the bare face in a face-to-face encounter becomes a highly receptive surface of the body affecting and being affected by a diverse range of intensities of the interlocutor's face. The bare face could easily get caught in and react to affective intensities expressed in subtle facial movements on the lips, nose, cheeks and eyes of the interlocutor's faces. These affective intensities are highly contagious because they often bypass the surface of consciousness (Watkins, 2010, p. 279). In other words, the power of the bare face is the power of resonance where the face-to-face interaction forces the interacting bodies to orchestrate with each other. It could tune these bodies into a particular frequency and synchronizes their affective qualities. The focus on the surveillance capacities of CCTV in transit spaces tends to overlook this quite different form of affective modulation.

To provide a context to this theoretical discussion, the following draws on my field notes to reflect on my experience of passing through a railway station heavily attended by police guards, focusing on the face as a contested surface of the body on which a series of intensities are most intensely projected, received and circulated (Gibbs, 2010, p. 191). It considers the complexity of the power relations at play where intensities emanating from the faces of the watched affect the watchers' bodies in the way that might prevent them from engineering and installing a particular atmosphere in a space

During off-peak hours of a Friday afternoon in August 2013, I was heading to the National Diet Library of Japan, the main national library located in Tokyo. I took the subway to Kokkaigijidōmae station from which I walked to the library. When I walked out of the train and

across the platform, I gradually felt an intense atmosphere. As soon as I exited the ticketing gate, I saw a number of police guards standing in line from the ticketing gate to the exits. Most of the guards appeared to be in their 20s and 30s and fit and yet quite thin. Dressed in a distinctive blue uniform with a peaked cap, while less armoured than the riot police, they nonetheless presented themselves as the guardian of the space. These police guards were dressed in a particular way in order to be 'easily distinguished from passengers, who form part of the chorus line and who come dressed and packed for travel', as Symes (2013, p. 545) observed in Sydney's transit spaces.

The presence of these guards and their blank faces engendered a very tense atmosphere, urging passengers to suspend their state of mindless walking and instead closely regulate their own behaviours. In passageways and corridors, police guards stood almost ten metres apart from each other to control the ceaseless flow of passengers making their way through the station to the exit. Most exits were shut down so passengers had to detour their way through the few available exits. By engineering a tight and edgy air, the guards watched passengers pass by as though prompting them to act in a submissive manner. This tense atmosphere made me feel as though authorities were telling me, 'if you have nothing to hide, you have nothing to fear' (Dean, 2001). Regardless, I could feel heightened intensities from their presence.

Observing the guards as I walked past them, however, I noticed that their eyes were almost always fixed on passengers' body surfaces. These guards were seemingly avoiding face-to-face interactions with the target of their gaze. They were neither shying away from confronting passengers' faces, nor circumventing eye contact with them. Instead, they were paying close attention to their bodily movements. Perhaps, these guards were trained not to be manipulated by the looks on the passengers' faces. Based on this observation I suggest that it is not just passengers' expressions but is also the power of the bare face that potentially manipulates the guards' ability to control the space of transit. Fixing their eyes on passengers' body surfaces rather than their faces, the guards appeared to intentionally prevent themselves from being swayed and affected by the intensity of the bare face, which could interfere with their capacities for monitoring and screening the individuals passing by the space.

Later, I found out that these guards were being deployed to control the crowd arriving at the station for an anti-nuclear power demonstration. The dominant presence of a large number of police guards was intended to monitor and direct protesters to the exit. In fact it was just an hour before the start of the demonstration when I left the station. Since the nuclear meltdown in the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant in 2011, protesters had staged a weekly gathering on Friday nights in front of Parliament House to demand the government abandon nuclear power plant operations in Japan. Kokkaigijidōmae Station, as the main gateway to Parliament House, became the stage of conflict and contestation between the protesters and the police guards.

The police guards seemed to be mindful of the protesters' affective bodies that might have potentially hindered their abilities to claim control of the space. This strategy can be considered as a way to help them develop immunity against particular kinds of affective intensities. While engineering "negative" intensities such as fear, anxiety and distrust to manipulate passengers' behaviours, they appeared to stay mindful of preventing their own bodies from being affected by the powerful faciality of protesters. The guards appeared most concerned about reducing the affective receptivity of their own bodies. Although bodies in the contemporary service-oriented economy are conditioned to become more receptive to affective charge, these surveillance workers, in contrast, seemed to be training their bodies to retain a "critical distance" from the affective flow of intensities. By putting on a blank face, the police guards set up a buffer between their private self and those subjected to surveillance. This strategic implementation of an "emotional blockade" was intended to prevent them from being overwhelmed and swayed by protesters' affective charge.

My argument here is that these guards acted as part of the spatial infrastructure in the railway station to block out the intensities generated by protesters and prevent them from infusing their bodies. Some of them stood with hand-held signposts indicating available exit gates in an effort to bring protesters into orderly flows through to the exits. Whilst showcasing a high level of alertness in this fashion, the guards acted as part of the railway station infrastructure to tone down

the protesters' sense of animatedness and to immunize themselves from being provoked by it. The guards seemed to be quite successful in exerting control of the space and regulating the protesters' movements. This technique of containment capitalized on the power of facelessness to bring individuals together. Acting as a faceless infrastructure, if not object-sign, the guards were possibly trying to cover up their modulative intent on the one hand and to block them from being affected by the intensities of the protesters' faces on the other hand. The (blank) faces of police guards that I witnessed in Kokkaigijidōmae Station can be read as a strategic manifestation of a defensive mechanism intended to control the affective atmosphere of the contested space: a technique through which the trained workers try to take precautionary measures to circumvent potentially overpowering intensities from entrapping their body. The consciously executed expression of the police guards can thus be read as a buffer to keep their own bodies away from potentially overwhelming affective intensities in face-to-face interactions with the protesters.

Similarly to how face recognition technology splits the image into segments in objectifying the face, the blank face of the police guards potentially acted as a mechanism for deactivating the affectivity of the protesters' faces. This could possibly demonstrate how the watchers' aspirations to 'govern at a distance' (Rose, 2000, p. 337) culminate in a "detached" mode of surveillance. Distance might allow security authorities to determine scope, and simplify and objectify a complex web of interactive human relations. This mechanism could construct an asymmetrical relation between the gazer and the gazed-at, which can be found at the heart of other modern disciplinary instruments. Foucault (1977) showed that Jeremy Bentham's panoptic prison was designed to disable prisoners from knowing when they are being watched.[33] The surveillance machine functions like the architectural structure of Bentham's panopticon, which engineers power differentials between the prisoners and the guards and enables the latter to discipline the former without requiring much physical confrontation. In the context of railway spaces, this

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[33] The panopticon is a circular building with several stories built around a tall central tower in which prison guards are stationed. While the windows in the outer walls of the building light up the cells for the prison guard to see every inmate, the central tower is concealed from view with blinds and partitions, rendering inmates unable to distinguish when they are being gazed at and when they are not (Davies, 2012). As Foucault illustrates, 'in the peripheric ring, one is totally seen, without ever seeing [and] in the central tower, one sees everything without ever being seen' (1977, p. 202).

mechanism not only shapes self-disciplining passengers but might also effectively conscript these individuals to monitor each other's behaviour. In the remainder of this chapter, I will expand on this, one of the most significant strategic functions of contemporary surveillance practice, through reflecting on how my engagement with other fellow passengers was reshaped in the course of commuting.

**Theatre of Insecurity**

When commuting to and from work in the course of the fieldwork, I came across numerous CCTV cameras and signs alerting the public about ongoing surveillance of particular spaces. However, whenever these devices came into sight, their presence puzzled me. Why are they here? Is this space even dangerous? Who is watching me? Or am I really being watched? Is the watcher a person or a machine? How are my actions evaluated? Who cares what I do? An endless stream of questions and reservations came to haunt me. However, the surveilling interface excluded me from knowing what was going on behind its veiled operation. At the same time, the network of security devices made railway transit spaces appear meticulously monitored and governed by a seamless web of surveillance. However, these devices create a space in which passengers' and workers' desires meet. This final part explores the work of engendering congruent desires in urban railway spaces.

Similarly to the 'Big Brother' figure of Orwell's *Ninety Eighty-Four* (1949), the presence of surveillance devices may be understood to serve not only as a practical monitoring device but also as an ideological apparatus to call forth a particular modality of awareness. These devices often cultivate awareness among passengers that they are being watched from afar and reminding them that they are not just being exposed to intense screening but also being "protected" by it. In other words, these devices can be read as a warning, an attempt to deter illegal conduct and also as a mark of assurance to guarantee safety for all "good" citizens (Whybrow, 2015, p. 168).

Contemporary security strategy hinges on the production of assurances wherein individuals are optically and aurally made aware of their status as "the protected".

The notion of "public security" gained popular support and prevailed over that of "privacy" in Japan soon after the event of the sarin gas attack (Abe, 2004, p. 217). Significantly, the attack provided the government and the police opportunities to reinforce surveillance 'not only for the purpose of arresting the members of *Aum Shinrikyō*, but also for purposes of public security in general' (Abe, 2004, p. 221). These authorities drew not just on the sarin attack but also on the subsequent bombings in Europe as the rationale for gathering personal information and facial images and storing them in a database for future use. The sequence of shocking events gave an authentic justification for intensifying the practices of surveillance. A flood of media images showing the consequences of attacks and bombings seemed to vindicate viewers' reluctant acceptance of preventive strategies in an attempt to advocate for the '"inevitability" and the "necessity"' of administrative and governmental surveillance (Abe, 2004, p. 220).

In major large cities across Japan, the feeling that security strategies are "inevitable", is, frequently promoted and, deceivingly amplified so that potential threats appear more immediate and present than they might actually be. The techniques of amplification might include events such as counter-terrorism drills and public symposiums and promotions about counter-terrorism strategies and "terrorism awareness week". These events are mostly organized by government agencies in cooperation with railway operators and are broadcast via mass-media outlets to present a set of counter-terrorism strategies against possible scenarios and a call for the public to work together to denounce potential terrorist activities. These events justify the intensification of security operations as the only way to minimize the risk of terrorist attacks and other unforeseen threats to make individuals feel safer when they are being monitored (Lyon, 2014, p. 25).

In a recent study conducted by Luther and Radavic (2012), individuals in Japan were asked about their perceptions of privacy and the surveillance operations that were being conducted by government agencies and private corporations. The interviews revealed that the respondents

largely accepted and even welcomed the state-led surveillance and intervention into their lives, while being concerned about private corporations' surveillance activities over their employees (Luther & Radavic, 2012, p. 272). This finding seems to confirm that a large number of individuals in Japan see the role of government as the custodian of public security and thus their surveillance activities are considered acceptable or even necessary (Luther & Radavic, 2012, p. 273). They are inclined to tolerate authorities' collection of their private information in return for the assurance of security. This result resonated with what Saito (2004) found through interviewing a wide range of individuals in which respondents mostly expressed a willingness to support ever-intensifying policing and surveillance activities by government agencies in public spaces.[34] Many of the respondents believed that surveillance operations would enhance their security in contemporary urban spaces where traditional forms of social bonds around family, workplace and community had progressively been fragmented (Saito, 2004).

Capitalizing on the "relation-less" society, anti-terrorism campaigns further call upon the public to act together against potential threats and maintain the safety of their living spaces. For example, one anti-terrorism poster produced by the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department reads, 'Everyone is the protagonist. With you, we protect the safe city, Tokyo' (Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department, 2013). By presenting what "everyone" is expected to do as a guardian of the city, it shapes an impression that there is no outside to the configuration of "everyone". The poster stimulates the viewers' desire for social relations and comfort that derives from being with others in an attempt to engineer an all-encompassing sociality. To elucidate how this desire is stimulated to incorporate passengers' bodies into such a configuration, the following reflects on my fieldwork experience. This reflection traces three stages of development through which my body was gradually transformed to retreat from a conscious engagement with the crowds of fellow passengers in railway spaces.

On a number of occasions in October 2013, I sat on a bench on the platform of Tokyo Metro

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[34] Saito Takao is a Japanese investigative journalist who has reported extensively on the issue of growing economic inequality in Japan.

Kōrakuen Station to observe passengers during peak hours. Throughout these observations, a number of passengers looked at me with suspicion. I was sitting and staying still for a prolonged period of time and observing the formation of passenger flows. I was neither waiting for a train nor moving with other passengers to actively participate in the "flow order" sustained by their constant movements in and out of the space. Their stares were transitory yet intense, charged with a heightened sense of distrust. When facing unknown fellow passengers, individuals might 'rapidly scan the face of the other, [and] look away as they pass' in order to show a lack of hostile intent (Giddens, 1990, p. 81). This act of 'civil inattention' is often a way to develop a trust between two strangers (Goffman, 1963). In contrast, staring carries a feeling of hostility or distrust. Despite a lack of verbal communication, I sensed that their eyes not only conveyed that I was deviating from a normative order, but also provoked my body to respond to the suggestive call and return to the flow. Even so, the process of integration only went so far as *stimulating* my body to mimic other bodies.[35] This integrative power did not force, but rather induced my body in stillness to be "correct" where the measure of correctness was measured by one's degree of synchronization with fellow passengers in the space. An implicit rule of the space was to "go with the flow". I felt I was out of place and a sense of anxiety slipped into and gradually entrapped my consciousness.

After a few weeks into the observations, I succumbed to the call and started to engage in a staged performance to "go with the flow". I tried to closely analyse the actions of fellow passengers by consciously imitating what they were doing, everything including the way they would walk the corridors, wait for trains on the platform, enter and exit the train carriages, conduct themselves in the carriage and so on. Self-disciplining of my own conduct was intended to evade excessive attention in an effort to dwell in the crowd. I wanted to see if this was the way to attest to fellow passengers that I was not a risk factor. It really made me mindful and introspective of my own behaviour but gradually I became aware of not just how I was behaving but also how others were

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[35] This point verifies Foucault's assertion that power does not operate in a top-down direction but in a diffusive fashion to discipline individual bodies (Foucault, 1988, p. 153).

behaving. I watched others to see if I was doing something wrong that needed correcting. However, when these performances were repeated over time, my consciousness soon slipped away and became oblivious to my own bodily engagement. When acting evolved into a habit, therefore, I began to execute performances without being attentive to them. Unless something disrupted them, these performances remained invisible to me.

Put simply, this environment fostered in me a desire for comfort that became a powerful imperative to actively mimic and regulate others' behaviours to tune into the atmosphere. These practices produced an orchestrated rhythm that brought other passengers and me into a spatial flow. Contrary to other surveilling devices such as CCTV and security personnel, which forcibly align subjects "from above", this "peer" dynamic "from below" modulated my body through subtle, intangible and obscure means to actively take part in the creation of a more secure space and undertake my obligations as part of the space. This "attached" approach affectively prompted me to participate in the making of a smooth flow. My body was brought into a dynamic force of 'relational merging' and 'co-constitutive becoming' (Manning, 2009, p. 39) in a search for comfort. In this context, comfort encompassed a togetherness in a similar way to what Ahmed (2004) describes as:

> [A]n encounter between more than one body, which is the promise of a 'sinking' feeling. It is, after all, pain or discomfort that return one's attention to the surfaces of the body *as body*. To be comfortable is to be so at ease with one's environment that it is hard to distinguish where one's body ends and the world begins. One fits, and by fitting, the surfaces of bodies disappear from view. The disappearance of the surface is instructive: in feelings of comfort, bodies extend into spaces and spaces extend into bodies. The sinking feeling involves a seamless space, or a space where you can't see the "stiches" between bodies. (p. 148)

Being embedded in a passenger flow required me to think only minimally about how to better move and navigate my body through the crowd. While letting my body travel in a flow, I was in

an "auto-pilot" mode, echoing Middleton's description of the practice of walking (2011). This allowed me to not only bypass the intensities arising from the kinaesthetic register but also to become more aware of the intensities generated through the visual register. While being desensitized to the rough ground surface or little shoulder-to-shoulder bumping with fellow passengers in a passing encounter, my body became more attuned to watching how fellow passengers behaved in the flow. When deeply entrenched in a passenger flow, therefore, my body annihilated some intensities while becoming more mindful of others.

This shift of the locus of intensities was vital to the making of a vigilant subject as I unintentionally embodied authorities' demands to not only self-discipline my own but also to closely monitor other passengers' behaviours. It was then my face was transformed from a surveillant text to a surveilling device to be vigilant about other passengers' conducts. This had effectively brought me into a theatre of insecurity where I was made alert to even a subtle change or irregularity of other passengers' behaviours as I began seeing them as a potential disruption to the orderly flow. This "bottom-up" approach to spatial containment therefore reinforces a consensus of what constitutes irregular behaviours in railway spaces. Combined with the top-down approach to spatial containment through detached devices of surveillance, the theatre of insecurity appears sealed and complete, devoid of an "outside".

The theatre of insecurity speaks to individual bodies from different angles in an attempt to incorporate them into a singular flow where they find a strong sense of comfort. As I travelled through railway spaces for an extended period of time, my body gradually became habituated and was transformed into a machine constantly desiring the highest level of security. With the passing of time, my body increasingly sought a sense of comfort from being part of the flow together with other passengers and watching out for deviants in the railway spaces.

However, this mechanism of control revealed slippages when orderly flows dissipated in the concourse of a railway station where each passenger had to autonomously determine how to orient her/his body in the space. As soon as I was thrown into the concourse, the flow disbanded and I

was forced to effectively "turn off" my auto-pilot mode. I now had to rely on my instincts to predict how other passengers might act or react. I assumed that there would be some rules governing their movements, for instance, keeping to the left and prioritizing those who appeared to be senior. Nonetheless, I was confronted with a feeling of insecurity for being disparate from a collective while my sense of distrust for other passengers intensified. It made me self-protective and suspicious that others might not necessarily share the same set of rules with me. Consequently, the spatial environment of the concourse forced me to detach myself from the comfortable zone of being together with others as a collective. This break in containment allowed me to follow my individually situated knowledge to inform my movement, which surprisingly gave me the joy of being in control of my own movement until I was forced back into a flow again.

When the railway operators' desire to control passengers converges with the passengers' desire to be protected, it annuls the terrain of contestation to bring out a sense of comfort. Passengers' bodies become enrolled into reinforcing the operation of security when the theatre of insecurity numbs their sense of being an individual autonomous subject, registering power at the molecular level. This kind of power can be understood as an incipient form(ing) of fascism as Deleuze and Guattari (1987) describe:

> [W]hat makes fascism dangerous is its molecular or micropolitical power, for it is a mass movement: a cancerous body rather than a totalitarian organism. … Only microfascism provides an answer to the global question: Why does desire desire its own repression, how can it desire its own repression? The masses certainly do not passively submit to power; nor do they "want" to be repressed, in a kind of masochistic hysteria; nor are they tricked by an ideological lure. Desire is never separate from complex assemblages that necessarily tie into molecular levels, from micro-formations already shaping posters, attitudes, perceptions, expectations, semiotic systems, etc. Desire is never an undifferentiated instinctual energy, but itself results from a highly developed, engineered setup rich in interactions: a whole supple segmentarity that processes molecular energies and potentially gives desire a fascist determination. (pp. 236–237)

Whereas CCTV and security personnel serve as "detached" measures to distantly observe passengers in railway spaces to identify suspect persons or unattended objects, the gazes of these devices engineer affective intensities to cultivate passengers' desire for an expansive protection. In other words, encounters with these surveillance devices may reify a fear of crime 'through one's corporeal body as visceral and proprioceptive modulations' to give passengers an impression that danger is imminent (Brands, Schwanen & van Aalst 2015, p. 441). When passengers' feelings of insecurity become amplified, these individuals are usually enlisted to join force in securing railway spaces. The loss of trust among passengers and emergence of 'a world of risky strangers' (Furedi, 1997, p. 127) becomes the *productive enabling force* to make authorities the most trustworthy agent and gather support for the intensification of spatial containment. In the increasingly "relation-less" Japanese urban society where social bonds have progressively been fragmented, this call for collectivization may possibly be received with enthusiasm and willingness to reinforce extensive policing and containment of space.

**Conclusion**

This chapter, corresponding to the second research question of this thesis, has shown one of the key approaches through which customer service provision intervenes in, and takes hold of passengers' bodies to intensify securitisation in urban railway spaces. The primary intention of this chapter has been to explore, by way of fieldwork and conceptual work, how passengers are enrolled into the reproduction of security in railway spaces and become active agents of surveillance. Since the sarin gas attack in 1995 and subsequently the 9/11 attack in the US in 2001 and the subway bombings in Madrid in 2004 and London in 2005, we have witnessed an expansion of CCTV use and continue to see security personnel policing railway spaces today. As such, authorities tend to amplify the feeling of insecurity among passengers by ensuring that innocent individuals are today constantly faced with imminent threats that may potentially destroy their lives. In the meantime, however, authorities provide passengers with the reassurance of

protection from these threats. This is nonetheless promoted under the condition that passengers cooperate with authorities. Being asked to participate in a concerted effort to eliminate threats, passengers are in many cases conscripted as the key vector of securitization.

This chapter was intended to better understand how customer service provision might be able to effectively circulate a certain range of affective intensities across urban railway spaces. It expounded on a particular configuration of space, manifested by the passenger's corporeal capacities for affecting and being affected through the medium of the face, arguing that it performs a vital role in security operations. Building on the previous chapter, which focused on the role played by the worker's face in urban railway spaces, this chapter reflected on my fieldwork encounters to think through how the passenger's face could become a contested site of containment for security operations in railway spaces. While the existing literature on security and surveillance tends to stand outside of the actual practice and operation to discuss instances of the intensification of control, such observation is often limited to exploring "hard" forms of control, and the proliferation of disciplinary apparatuses. To build on the literature, this chapter closely attended to what these "hard" forms of control produce as an effect, which I referred to as "soft" forms of control. These are mediated by feelings of fear, anxiety, nervousness and mistrust to modulate the way passengers see themselves and interact with each other in urban railway spaces.

While this chapter has shown that the pleasurable aspect of togetherness can help bring passengers to cooperate with authorities and refract their gaze towards others in installing a theatre of insecurity, passengers' desire for securitization is nonetheless not limited to the spatial dimension, but extends to the temporal dimension of urban railway spaces. The next chapter continues this enquiry to investigate other modulative techniques of customer service provision in order to further reveal its strategies of control. More specifically, it looks into the production of desire for punctuality among passengers and how their habituated bodies could potentially become a contested terrain of temporal containment.

## CHAPTER SIX: TEMPORAL CONTAINMENT

**Introduction**

The previous chapter addressed the spatial dimension of containment by exploring the punitive nexus between surveillance and security. This chapter looks into the temporal dimension of containment to investigate some of the ways through which railway workers and passengers become subject to temporal discipline. The modern inventions of transport and information/communication technologies have produced an 'overwhelming sense of compression of our spatial and temporal worlds' (Harvey, 1990, p. 240). At the same time, they created a sense of compression, and 'what is experienced as being annihilated was the traditional space-time continuum which characterized the old transport technology [or] … a subjective perception of space-time (Schivelbusch, 1986, p. 36). As a result, speediness and temporal orderliness have come to be seen as an important index of performance for railway operators (Symes, 2011, p. 162). The modern emphasis on time in railway spaces reflects on how the temporality pivots around the measure of efficiency under which a working body became subject to management in industrial capitalism (Cresswell, 2006, pp. 87–95).

Following the previous chapter which explicated the techniques of spatial containment, this chapter focuses on the techniques of temporal containment to further enhance our understanding of how the customer service provision intervenes into, and takes hold of, passengers' bodies in urban railway spaces (Research Question 2). This chapter primarily examines the production of desire for temporal orderliness and the process of habituating time discipline through which passengers are integrated into a mobile flow in urban railway spaces. It also observes the process of being decoupled from the flow when orderly operation disintegrates. In times of disruption, passengers are temporarily disbanded from a mobile flow, which would otherwise give them a sense of security and allow them to autopilot their bodies. As a delay or a stoppage of a train halts the flow of regularity and certainty, it intensifies passengers' desire to re-orchestrate their

movements with others and recreate a mobile flow. This desire emerges as passengers become habituated to 'the relentlessness of the machine' (Highmore, 2005, p. 157), which brings:

> [T]he experience … of slowing-down, time stretching out, a torturous boredom as the line sluggishly and insistently moves; fast enough to stop you doing anything else, slow enough to leave you constantly waiting.

Building on the historical development of clock time and the concept of time discipline in Japan, this chapter illuminates how the desire for temporal orderliness is reproduced and maintained in contemporary urban railway spaces. The chapter provides an avenue to understand the mechanism of temporal governance, which makes passengers' bodies actively seek containment by and within the conveyer belt-like operation of railway spaces. To do this effectively, this chapter is divided into three parts. The first part reviews the historical context of time discipline in Japanese railway spaces. While railway operations commenced in the 1880s, it was only in the 1930s when time discipline was implemented in a stringent manner in Japanese railway spaces. An intensification of the speeds of the railway facilitated the realization of time discipline (Takemura, 2002, p. 43). The second part turns to a railway derailment accident in Amagasaki, which was the most fatal railway accident in Japanese railway history. A team of investigators examined the accident and filed a report that pointed out three key triggers of the accident including the railway operators' disciplinarian re-education schemes, its dense timetable and its failure to adequately maintain railway infrastructures. I propose that this derailment accident can be read as a form of resistance indicative of the limits to the passengers' and the operators' endless desires for strict time discipline. The third part moves on to investigate the pleasure of time discipline through my encounters with delays and stoppages of railway operations during my fieldwork in Tokyo. This empirical observation closely attends to the powerful appeal of time discipline despite all the maladies that it can bring.

**Clock Time and Time Discipline**

This part of the chapter explores how the fixed temporality of clock time was introduced to Japanese railway spaces and how time discipline was implemented to enable on-schedule railway operation. The introduction of the mechanical clock radically altered the fundamental conception of time based on seasonal time, but did not have the impact to displace it altogether to install a new time system in Japan (Hashimoto, 2008, p. 125). When the mechanical clock was initially introduced to Japan in the early 1800s during the Edo period, it was converged with and readjusted to a seasonal time system and thus did not bring a significant change to the conception of time in the society (Hashimoto, 2008, p. 125). Most foreign visitors observed a lack of time discipline among Japanese people as they 'found themselves vexed by the work habits of the Japanese, and the main reason for their vexation was the apparent lack of any sense of time' (Hashimoto, 2008, p. 124). It was only in the Meiji period starting from 1868 when the projects of modernization and industrialization took off that the mechanical clock and time discipline were institutionalized through schools, factories and railways (Hashimoto, 2008, pp. 127–128). For the purpose of this thesis, however, I focus on the development of time discipline through the implementation of the mechanical clock in the context of railway operations in Japan.

The first Japanese railway, which started its operation between Shinagawa and Yokohama in 1872, necessitated "fixed hour" time to 'ensure unvarying intervals of time between trains' (Nakamura, 2002, p. 14). However, "fixed hour" time only came into effect on the 1st of January, 1873 when the government officially implemented the solar calendar (Nakamura, 2002, p. 14). Prior to this, time was measured in what is called the "variable hour" time system that 'arbitrarily established that sunrise was 6 a.m. (*ake mutsu* 明け六ツ) and sunset was 6 p.m. (*kure mutsu* 暮れ六ツ)' (Nakamura, 2002, p. 14). While the "variable hour" time system was still commonly used in 1872, the railway operator needed to establish a fixed time by which its operation could be regulated. Hence, the railway section of the Ministry of Public Works requested the higher government authority to compel those living around Tokyo to follow one standard time and to facilitate this,

to move a temple to the top of the mountain near the city to strike a bell every hour from one to twelve every day to remind residents of a common time (Nakamura, 2002, pp. 14–15).

In the early years of railway operation, passengers, railway conductors and stationmasters became subject to varying degrees of time synchronization. The first timetable issued to the public in 1872 stated a rule that passengers were 'required to arrive at the station at least fifteen minutes before the departure time shown and [to] purchase tickets and complete other necessary procedures. … In order to prevent [the] delay of train departure, stations will be closed five minutes before each departure time' ("Tetsudōryō jimubo kan-no-san", n.d., as cited in Nakamura, 2002, p. 16). In 1887, the Railway Bureau of Japan established the 'Regulations of Private Railways' to align the service standards of a growing number of private railway operators with that of the state-run railway operation (Nakamara, 2002, p. 19). One of its key emphases was time synchronization between conductors and station masters, rather than the punctuality of railway operation (Nakamara, 2002, p. 20). The practice of time synchronisation became particularly significant after local times such as "Tokyo Time" were replaced by a national standard time in accordance with Greenwich Mean Time in 1888 (Nakamara, 2002, p. 20).

In the 1900s, the tardiness of railway operations became of paramount concern for passengers as their frustration with train delays and railway workers' lack of time consciousness grew (Nakamura, 2002, p. 30). In these formative years of railway operation in Japan, many accounts suggest that 'discipline had been fairly lax since the days of railroad founding' (Takemura, 2002, p. 43). In response to passengers' dissatisfaction with the punctuality of the railway operations, a major private operator, Nihon Railway, had gone as far as implementing a number of rules to enforce workers' strict adherence to fixed time (Nakamura, 2002, pp. 31–32). These included the use of watches and the introduction of penalties for tardiness (Nakamura, 2002, pp. 31–32). Over time, railway operators managed to minimize delays and in the 1930s on-schedule railway operation was somewhat realized (Takemura, 2002, p. 44).

One of the most important factors that realized on-schedule operation was the intensification of railway speeds, which 'became the only standard for passenger service' through the 1920s (Takemura, 2002, p. 44). This may be read as a sign of 'time-space compression' - 'processes that so revolutionize the objective qualities of space and time that we are forced to alter, sometimes in quite radical ways, how we represent the world to ourselves' (Harvey, 1990, p. 240). Increased speed was made possible not only by the cultivation of time consciousness among railway workers, but also significantly by the development of technological interfaces of the railway operations (Harvey, 1990, pp. 58–59). For instance, the Japanese Government Railway constructed large-scale tunnels, rationalized the manufacturing process for both steam locomotives and electric locomotives, and introduced pneumatic brakes to all of its railway cars in an effort to achieve on-schedule operation (Takemura, 2002, p. 54). However, the most substantial development was the replacement of the screw coupler with the automatic coupler that is used for switching the operation of railway cars (Takemura, 2002, p. 53).

Since the switching operation of railway cars involving the screw coupler was often dangerous to the point of being fatal, replacement of the screw coupler considerably reduced the number of accidents and delays to realize on-schedule operations (Takemura, 2002, pp. 52–53). In Honshu Island where the screw coupler was commonly used, among the 355 deaths and injuries of brakemen who engaged in switching operations in 1922, 167 of these were reported to have occurred during decoupling and coupling operations (Takemura, 2002, p. 52). Meanwhile in Hokkaido where automatic coupling had already been in use since 1909, four of the thirteen deaths and injuries during switching operations in 1922 were related to coupling and decoupling operations (Takemura, 2002, p. 52). These numbers indicate that the automatic coupler brought a significant improvement to the safety of the railway workers.

As the government nationalized railway operations and railway engineers were brought together from previously private railway operators to work together on the automatic coupler project, Japanese Government Railway conducted a simultaneous single-day changeover from the screw couplers to the automatic couplers on 16th July, 1925 (Takemura, 2002, pp. 53–54). Through this

nationwide coupler-mounting project, the screw coupler was abandoned for the superior safety and efficiency of the automatic coupler. Since this intensive one-day operation required a high level of coordination between the engineers, they conducted a series of practice drills prior to the event (Takemura, 2002, p. 58). During this preparation stage of the project, the Japanese Government Railway made factories compete against each other to adopt modern industrial management practices through which the engineers were trained to most efficiently perform the coupler mounting work. These engineers were required to study and follow the "most efficient" operational procedures, which were established through a number of time and motion studies of the coupler-mounting work in factories, locomotive sheds and inspection sites (Takemura, 2002, p. 58). The project gave the Japanese Government Railway one of the very first occasions to implement time studies, which were already well-established through the work of management experts such as Frederik Winslow Taylor in the U.S.

In his treatise, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, Taylor (1911, p. 7) stressed the need for management to assume a greater degree of responsibility to regulate production procedures and eradicate inefficiency and wastefulness. Taylor proposed that management select the most suitable candidates for a particular task according to scientific criteria, and train them to undo their customs and privileges and teach them the single most scientifically sound method for performing the task, rewarding them accordingly (Cresswell, 2006, p. 87). Hence, cognitive work needed to be 'removed from the space of the worker (the shop floor) and the body of the worker' to let management take over the planning and design of the manufacturing process (Cresswell, 2006, p. 87). Taylor (1911) held that workers were not capable of understanding the value of labour efficiency since they 'still firmly believe[d], as their fathers did before them, that it [was] against their best interests for each man to turn out each day as much work as possible' (p. 18). It was the management's task to assume more responsibility for their workers' labour output and to develop a scientific method of production, as Taylor (1911) explained:

> [O]wing to the fact that the workmen in all of our trades have been taught the details of
> their work by observation of those immediately around them, there are many different

ways in common use for doing the same thing, perhaps forty, fifty, or a hundred ways of doing each act in each trade, and for the same reason there is a great variety in the implements used for each class of work. Now, among the various methods and implements used in each element of each trade there is always one method and one implement which is quicker and better than any of the rest. And this one best method and best implement can only be discovered or developed through a scientific study and analysis of all of the methods and implements in use, together with accurate, minute, motion and time study. This involves the gradual substitution of science for rule of thumb throughout the mechanic arts. (p. 25)

Taylor saw the implementation of rationalized methods of production as an educational, 'universally friendly cooperation' process whereby management should help workers to better understand the quickest and the "best" way to manufacture products and in doing so bring them prosperity, happiness and freedom (Taylor, 1911, pp. 28–29). Even if the worker failed to perform the task, Taylor (1911) argued that management should not discharge them straightaway but educate or assign them to another task to which they were better suited, as management must work 'almost side-by-side with the men, helping, encouraging, and smoothening the way for them' (p. 85). Taylor (1911) believed that the most fundamental tasks for management were 'the training and development of each individual in the establishment, so that he can do (at his fastest pace and with the maximum efficiency) the highest class of work for which his natural abilities fit him' (p. 85). From Taylor's rationalistic standpoint, scientific management was thus an endeavour to transform workers from the 'irrational' and 'threatening' animal to the 'regular, rhythmic, and speedy' machine (Cresswell, 2006, p. 92).

The introduction of scientific management to Japan led management to impose strict time discipline, particularly on blue collar workers who worked in the manufacturing, mining and

transport sectors (Hashimoto, 2002, p. 115).[36] By installing a standard time around which activities could be organized and eradicating wasteful time use, this form of discipline was deployed as a means to control these workers. Time discipline was not as rigorously applied to white collar workers who were treated as "gentlemen" and the nature of their work diverged from the blue collar workers' (Hashimoto, 2002, p. 112). Prior to WWII, there was a clear division between blue collar and white collar workers in terms of their pay, working conditions, employment contracts and benefits in Japan (Sugayama, 2011, pp. 175–181, 207). This division, which was later narrowed through the formation of the enterprise-based union rather than the trade-based union in the post-war years (Sugayama, 2011, p. 190), possibly explains why the white collar workers were able to remain indifferent to time discipline long after it was imposed on blue collar workers. Above all, the development of time discipline in Japan was first introduced by the railway and the manufacturing sectors to govern their operations and the rapid growth of these sectors had helped normalize the principle of time discipline across Japanese society.

If we turn our attention to contemporary Japanese urban spaces, almost a century after the implementation of the Time Day, we find a range of technologies that reinforce a fixed temporality and intensify the suppression of temporalities outside clock time. In the context of urban railway spaces, time discipline is enforced by, for instance, displays of digital clocks and timetables. Railway operators impose time discipline on drivers and conductors to (re)produce a

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[36] Taylorism was introduced to Japan through two channels. The first channel of dissemination was through so-called "efficiency experts". Taylorism was first introduced to the Japanese audience in 1911 by Ikeda Toshirō who wrote articles for the newspaper *Sakigake Shimbun* after returning from a tour in the U.S. (Tsutsui, 1998, p. 18). These were well received and by 1913, Hoshino Yukinori, who visited North America a year before Ikeda as an official of the Kajima trust Bank, translated Taylor's most well-known work, *The Principles of Scientific Management* into Japanese (Tsutsui, 1998, p. 19). In 1919, the first course on Taylorite management principles was taught at the University of Tokyo while other universities, technical and commercial colleges followed suit to teach new management practices (Tsutsui, 1998, p. 20). The ideology of Taylorism was further promoted by advocates such as Ueno Yoichi who founded the Institute of Management (*Sangyo Nōryoku Kenkyūjo*) in 1925 and helped establish Japan Management Association in 1927, and several other "efficiency experts" such as Muramoto Fukumatsu having studied at Harvard Business School, and Godou Takuo and Yamashita Okiie returning from their visits to factory workshops in the U.S. Soon afterwards, a number of both private and state-run textile producers, including *Kanebuchi Spinning* Company and *Toyo Cotton Spinning Company*, took up the ideology in their factories to standardize the quality of products and increase productivity of the individual worker (Kuwahara, 1996, as cited in Kasuya, 2012, p. 169). Meanwhile, the second channel of dissemination was through some major corporations that had maintained affiliations with foreign capitals including *Shibaura Industries* and *General Electronic*, and *Mitsubishi Electronics* and *Westinghouse* (Takahashi 1994 & Sasaki 1998, cited in in Kasuya, 2012, p. 169). This American ideology had an impact on the previously influential "rationalization movement" of the Weimar Republic to become the state-supported dominant management ideology in Japan (Kasuya, 2012, p. 168).

fixed temporality, which then acts as the central vector of spatial assemblage to 'influence and exert power over the coordination and coming together of human bodies and objects in space' (Schwanen, 2006, p. 884). The next part will look at the Amagasaki Rail Crash, a deadly derailment accident, to illustrate a case of resistance to time discipline, and depict the complexities of this form of temporal containment.

**Amagasaki Rail Crash**

It was towards the end of the morning rush hour of an ordinary sunny spring day on the 25th of April, 2005. It was past peak hour and the train was not as crowded as it would have been otherwise. The train head-coded as No. 5418M on the JR West Fukuchiyama Line was running at the speed of 116 km/h into a curve approaching Amagasaki Station (Aircraft and Railway Accidents Investigation Commission [ARAIC], 2007, p. 13). The driver pulled a brake but was a little too late. The compartments could not hold onto the rails, instead leaning to the left, and then crashing into an apartment building that stood alongside the railway beyond some fencing. This accident was one of the deadliest railway accidents in recent history, claiming the lives of 107 people including the driver, and leaving 562 others injured.

In the aftermath of the crash, there were a number of speculations about its causes, which were later investigated by the Aircraft and Railway Accidents Investigation Commission (ARAIC) under the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism. The ARAIC was given the task of submitting an accident report that looked into various details of the crash to determine possible triggers of the disastrous incident. The final report became a 263-page document and was made public in 2007. It compiled a large number of interviews and testimonies, computer and on-site simulations to replicate the situation prior to and during the derailment. The final report concluded that the accident was caused by a delay in braking the train. The reason why the driver did not pull the brake on time, it was suggested, was because the driver feared he would face JR West's disciplinarian re-education scheme (ARAIC, 2007, p. 243). Apart from this main

trigger of the derailment, the report also found that there were technological failures in speedometers and brakes that could have contributed to the accident (ARAIC, 2007, pp. 238–240).

The ARAIC report (2007) provides detailed chronological proceedings of the accident. The derailed train was a seven-compartment express, which arrived in Itami Station after overrunning the stopping sign by 72 metres and having to re-adjust the position of its compartments (ARAIC, 2007, p. 1, 12). When it arrived it was 00:01:08 late but when it left Itami Station at 9:16:10 a.m. the train was running behind by 00.01.20 (ARAIC, 2007, p. 12). On its way to Amagasaki station, it passed Inadera Station and Tsukaguchi Station 80 seconds late and the driver was trying to catch up the lost time by speeding (ARAIC, 2007, p. 12). When it passed Tsukaguchi Station, the train was running at 125 km/h, 5 km/h over the speed limit of 120 km/h (ARAIC, 2007, pp. 12–13). However, the accident report suggests the possibility that the speedometer was faulty and indicated 119 or 120 km/h at the time (ARAIC, 2007, p. 91). A few seconds later, the train entered a curve (the 70km/h zone) at the speed of 116 km/h (ARAIC, 2007, p. 13). Due to the braking and the friction between metal wheels and the rail, the speed of the train went down to 105 km/h at the curve (ARAIC, 2007, p. 13). However, the first compartment could not stay on the rails and went off the track. It leaned towards the left side at the right curve, lost balance and derailed at 9.18.54 am (ARAIC, 2007, p. 13). Soon afterwards, other compartments followed until the last one (the 7th compartment) finally stopped on the rail at 9.19.04am (ARAIC, 2007, p. 13). Within the ten seconds, the first five compartments came off the rail and crashed into the left-hand side wall and subsequently into the adjacent apartment building (ARAIC, 2007, p. 1).[37]

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[37] The report claims there is evidence that the driver sped up in an attempt to make up the delay caused by the overrun at Itami station (ARAIC, 2007, pp. 220–221). Soon after leaving the station, the 23-year-old driver called and asked the conductor on board the seventh compartment to file a false report by reducing the distance of the overrun at Itami Station (ARAIC, 2007, p. 17). While the conductor was on the phone talking to the driver, a passenger knocked on the conductor's room door (ARAIC, 2007, pp. 17–18). The conductor told the driver that the train overran quite a bit, he had to hang up the phone and opened the window of the conductor's room door (ARAIC, 2007, p. 18). The passenger demanded he make an announcement and apologize to passengers about the delay caused by the overrun (ARAIC, 2007, p. 18). While the accident report could not pin down the exact cause due to a lack of concrete evidence, it indicated that there was a high probability that the driver was thinking of an excuse to cover up his mistake so that he could escape another round of punishment (ARAIC, 2007, p. 220). The fact that the conductor hung up the phone could have made the driver more worried about the potential punishment, which would almost certainly lead to a salary cut and affect his promotion – he had said that he wanted to become a bullet train driver one

The report stresses that JR West's re-education scheme was one of the key factors that led to the accident (ARAIC, 2007, p. 243). Previously, the 23-year-old driver had been given penalties for minor misconducts: overruns (twice) and falling asleep when instructing a test driver (once) (ARAIC, 2007, pp. 51–54). JR West temporarily reduced his salary and took him off job rotation for thirteen days while still forcing him to come to the workplace, as a punishment for these incidents. In the course of this period, he was obliged to write a report to reflect on the incidents but it involved almost no technical training (ARAIC, 2007, p. 49).[38]

Using this disciplinary re-education scheme, JR West constantly made drivers feel nervous and insecure (ARAIC, 2007, p. 243). If a worker was running late or failed to perform set procedures or even minute tasks, he would be forced out of job rotation and put onto a mandatory re-education scheme (ARAIC, 2007, p. 238). While there was no written instruction on how to undertake the re-education scheme (ARAIC, 2007, p. 64), the scheme was almost always composed of making individuals write reflective reports and read them aloud in front of colleagues. After this initial phase, the scheme also involved forcing workers to weed grass and clean toilets and other miscellaneous cleaning tasks that are unrelated to driving techniques (ARAIC, 2007, pp. 66, 204–205).[39] The scheme was intended to invoke in train drivers a sense of shame (rather than guilt) as

day (ARAIC, 2007, pp. 220, 41). The conductor later reported to the operation centre that the overrun was about 8 metres while he thought it was actually 30~40 metres (ARAIC, 2007, p. 18).

[38] In the accident report, his colleagues commented that going through this re-education scheme must have been an extremely embarrassing experience for him as he was forced to read aloud his answers to the reflective report in front of his fellow drivers (ARAIC, 2007, p. 49). The report hinted that the driver's fear of receiving this re-education again could have led to a delay in pulling the appropriate brake before the crash (ARAIC, 2007, p. 221). Because of this delay, the train went into a curve (diameter of 304 metres, 70km/h zone) at 116km/h (ARAIC, 2007, p. 13). The driver was a healthy 23 year-old man and the accident report could not identify any failure in his body or mental health (ARAIC, 2007, p. 39, pp. 45–46).

[39] According to the datasets provided by JR West in the accident report and Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport (2005) – interestingly, not all the numbers match, the longest re-education scheme given during the period between April 2003 and March 2005 was 23 days while suggesting that the average length of the scheme (including those given as consequences of some minor incidents) was 3.5 days. These numbers diverge from the testimonies made by 'H' and 'I'. What does this tell us? Perhaps, the data does not reveal the entire length of the scheme. Rather, it only shows the length of the initial stage of the re-education scheme. It is very likely that the entire length of the scheme was actually much longer than the statistics tell us. JR West workers filed lawsuits against the corporation for their suffering incurred by the re-education schemes in Osaka, Kobe and Hiroshima. In Osaka where 258 workers filed a

a consequence of their failures. It is the affectivity of shame in terms of what it does to bodies that is significant here. Contrary to the sense of guilt, shame is 'sticky', as Probyn (2005) posits; '[w]ithin a system of reparation, guilt prompts recompense and then is done. But … shame can revisit you long after the particular moment of shaming has passed. ... [S]hame, left unspoken, solidifies as a layer of intensity that never seems to go away' (pp. 46–47). In fact, the report's findings suggest that the driver of the derailed train could have been *haunted* by a sense of shame and feared that he would have to go through the re-education scheme again to resurrect the feeling.[40]

The re-education scheme personalized the cause of an operational error and blamed it on drivers while deliberately leaving out other actors that could be more crucial in shaping up the event. The driver is only part of the system that becomes functional through a wide range of actors that include not only work-related actors such as railway infrastructure, work colleagues and passengers but also non-work-related actors such as friends and family members. As Mol and Law (2002) suggest, 'to talk systems is to talk relations and relations effects' (p. 6). Since a complex interplay of actors culminates in an event of failure, '*any particular attempt to locate an explanation in a web of relations is in turn susceptible to erosion*' (Mol & Law, 2002, p. 7, original

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collective lawsuit, the case was settled in the High Court with JR West agreeing to pay total compensation of 8,000,000 yen (Nihon Keizai Shimbun, 2012).

[40] In the accident report, three drivers (H, I and J) in Kyōbashi section, gave testimonies about their experiences. 'H' was taken off the job roster for a month because he filed an inadequate report after being involved in a "jump-in-suicide" incident as driver (ARAIC, 2007, p. 68). He commented that he wrote reflection essays and reports for the first week but was not yelled at or subject to harsh words (ARAIC, 2007, p. 68). He was later assigned to the timetabling section with those who were too ill to drive trains, and helped with some documentation work (ARAIC, 2007, p. 68). 'I' was also taken off the rotation for a month after leaving a train unattended with passengers on a platform due to his personal business (ARAIC, 2007, p. 68). He was given a harsher time as he was yelled at in front of his colleagues during the investigation of the incident (ARAIC, 2007, p. 68). He was then obliged to go on the platform for an hour and a half in the morning and three hours in the afternoon and say to the drivers in passing, 'Hello, please be careful' (ARAIC, 2007, p. 68). 'J' was also put to the scheme due to his inattention to a red signal (ARAIC, 2007, p. 69). Upon returning to the staff room his boss told him that he was 'incapable of driving' and 'may never be able to drive again', in the course of a 20 to 30 minutes discussion (ARAIC, 2007, p. 69). As a result, he realized that he would not be able to put up with the humiliation anymore and also because of his age, he decided to ask the corporation to relocate him to another section (ARAIC, 2007, p. 69). These testimonies are only partial accounts of what workers experienced through the re-education scheme; however, they provide rare insights into the nature of the punishment and unveil the commonly-employed practice of shaming in JR West.

emphasis). That is, pinning down the cause is an impossible task because parts in a system are located differently and assembled in different configurations.

This accident exemplified a serious cost of habitual punctuality, laying bare the emotional costs of pursuing efficiency, orderliness and precision in an extremely stressed condition. In addition to the adverse effects of JR West's disciplinary re-education scheme, the accident report emphasized the problem of the dense timetable. Due to intense competition with other railway operators that operate in the same area, the speed limit of Fukuchiyama Line was elevated from 100km/h to 120 km/h in March 1991 (ARAIC, 2007, p. 96). Moreover, the density of the timetable was increased a few times, in 2002, 2003 and 2004 (ARAIC, 2007, pp. 140–143) and the stopping time of the train at Itami Station had been gradually reduced since 2003 (ARAIC, 2007, pp. 143–144). JR West pressured drivers to closely follow the set timetable and warned they could be taken off job rotation, face a temporary salary cut and be subject to the humiliating re-education scheme (ARAIC, 2007, pp. 70–72).[41] The re-education scheme emphasized that the causes of errors could be reduced to behavioural problems and attempted to address the issue through disciplining individual drivers. This corporate attitude is reflected in the comment made by the railway operation manager of the Kyōbashi section where the accident occurred: '[The] corporation is now becoming the central site of disciplining for behavioural adjustment because home and school are no longer fulfilling the disciplinary function' (ARAIC, 2007, 67).

The accident report and media coverage of the accident nonetheless left one fundamental question unanswered. That is, the question of the part of the passenger who is habituated to having the trains arrive at stations on time every few minutes. Once the system established punctual operation as a routine, passengers developed a habitual attachment to it and were subsequently conditioned by it, which may be understood as an 'entubulated' form of agency (Bissell, 2015, p. 132). When delays or stoppages disrupt this routine, passengers feel anxious about its absence and request that

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[41] While JR West demanded a high level of compliance from its workers, the accident report found that the corporation failed to fulfil its own responsibility to keep up to date with the latest safety requirements, particularly with regard to the Automatic Train Stop (ATS) device. At the time, the latest ATS device with speed limiter was a standard feature for trains that travelled at the speed of 100km/h or faster but the derailed train did not have it (ARAIC, 2007, p. 230).

railway operators restore it. To respond to passengers' requests, railway operators intervene into and eradicate elements that could potentially dislocate temporal orderliness. For instance, the operators insert an extra margin of time as a buffer in the operation schedule so that the system can absorb unanticipated interruptions, which JR West repealed in the lead-up to the accident in order to design a dense timetable (ARAIC, 2007, p. 140). However ill-advised it was, JR West's re-education scheme was certainly an attempt to maintain orderliness that was taken for granted by passengers. While such misguided practices of JR West were certainly the trigger of the crash, it is difficult to deny that passengers' habitual desire for absolute orderliness and convenience played a role in the accident.[42]

The day after the crash, a column in a leading newspaper, Asahi Shimbun (2005, April 26) read, 'However large the delay becomes, it is incomparable to the sorrow of a never arriving train'. Reminding readers of the significance of human lives over punctual railway operation, the column called upon readers to suspend their everyday busyness and contemplate what the most important thing is. Similarly, in her documentary film *Brakeless* (Wexler, Matschke, & Miyake, 2014), which reflects on the Amagasaki Rail Crash, Miyake Kyōko invites us to question the idea of development centred around the ever-intensifying pursuit of speed in the railway industry and Japanese society in general. In an interview with Miyake one family member of victims says, 'I think it is the backwardness of Japanese people, always wanting everything to be faster. Can we say this is the peak point of efficiency? Actually, I think it is beyond the peak point. How much more do we want to exploit people?' A survivor of the accident looks back on the day of the crash and comments, 'What we need to change is the feeling of always being hurried by something. Unless there is a balance between what society demands and what we humans are capable of doing, we cannot bring about changes in a genuine sense' (Wexler et al., 2014).

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[42] JR East developed a sophisticated system of adjustment and improvisation such as the Automatic Decentralized Transport Operation Control System (ATOS). This is a de-centralized system of information distribution, which enables railway stations to simultaneously share information about arrival/departure times and delays of every operating car with stations on the line (Fisch, 2013). When normal operations get disrupted by, for instance, traffic light failure or suicide, the system is capable of simultaneously communicating the information between multiple stations and (re)adjusting the running schedule to contain irregularities to a minimum level and instantaneously notify passengers of the situation. These instruments provide the system with "resilience" through which time becomes more easily governable.

Despite the wish of these survivors and family members of the victim, contemporary passengers are so deeply ingrained in the structure of orderliness that they are often blinded to the cost of their endless desire for security while they risk being jeopardized by it. Railway operators today continue to operate on a dense timetable and promote on-time operation as an avenue to fulfil customers' desires and provide them with satisfaction. To follow Stiegler (2014a), the endless desire for security is strongly driven by:

> *[M]otivation*, another name of desire, that makes capitalism function the motivation of the entrepreneur, the producer, the investor, and the "consumer." Now, motivation is produced by motives, which are themselves objects of desire, that is, the objects that desire is capable of projecting as its future. Capitalism is a machine for producing motives (what Bergson also calls "gods"), which is just as well to say phantasms: objects that do not exist, however, neither more nor less than objects of desire in general, understood here in their most sublime forms, called "idealities." (p. 42, original emphasis)

In the context of Japanese urban railway spaces, the phantasms may be what is left to hold individuals together to offer them a sense of security. The next part of this chapter will consider how the passengers' desire for security is wrought by their search for a sense of orderliness as I draw upon my fieldwork experience to describe the pleasurable appeal of time discipline.

**Disruption and Detachment**

Eliminating the potential of disturbances to a scheduled time becomes vital to operating railways in a punctual manner. However, both major and minor disruptive events occasionally materialize. An item of disorder may be related to: railway infrastructures (compartment doors, traffic lights and rail points); passengers (ill passengers, suicides, and quarrels between passengers); weather conditions (fog, snow and wind, or physical obstructions placed or abandoned on the rail, for

example a stone, car, bicycle etc.). Due to the densely interwoven running schedule of the urban railway network, a delay of one train affects others, which then need to readjust their departure and arrival times. Accordingly, passengers are informed about the next train arrivals and possible delays. When an orderly operation collapses, passengers tend to develop a 'feeling of detachment' (Ahmed, 2004, p. 66) from a flow movement that would allow them to autopilot their bodies through railway spaces. To illustrate this point, it is useful to draw upon my fieldwork experience.

During my fieldwork in Tokyo, I had several encounters that demonstrated passengers' desire for temporal orderliness. While waiting for the next train on the platform at JR Ochanomizu Station in the morning rush hour of a cold winter day in December 2013, I heard a railway worker say through the address system, 'To all our dearest customers, we have an announcement. Due to a "human body" accident this morning at Nakano Station, there have been disruptions to the *daiya* (operation diagram). We would like to apologize for any inconvenience this may cause and would appreciate your understanding and cooperation'. I was on my way back home and did not have any concern with a delayed train on this particular day. In the meantime, I observed how other passengers reacted to this delay. To my surprise, passengers around me seem to show no sign of anger or frustration for the first five minutes or so. They acted as though nothing had happened, and they kept everything peaceful for a while, perhaps because it was at 10 a.m., an hour after the morning rush hour. Ten minutes after the announcement, however, I could feel that a tense atmosphere had started to build up among these passengers. They increasingly appeared anxious, checking their watches and mobile phone. Then I overheard a conversation between two high school girls standing in front of me:

*Girl A:* Hah (sigh) where is the next train?

*Girl B:* Umm, the announcement said there was a 'human body' accident in Nakano. But it must already be done by now but it is running pretty late…

*Girl A:* Yeah, 'human body accident'… have you seen it before by any chance?

*Girl B:* No, never, but I hear it is super gross. I never want to see it.

*Girl A:* Neither have I. Yeah, I imagine it would be really gross. But you know, it really bothers me. What right does he have to stop the train? I don't understand why did he have to do it that way and why now?

*Girl B:* Yeah, I can't understand either. He could just do it in the bush or at the cliff somewhere far away so he doesn't bother people.

*Girl A:* True, I am sure there would be more refreshing and easier ways to die.

*Girl B:* It is just so irritating, really!

This was a familiar a scene from an urban railway space, as I recalled a similar exchange with my friends as a high school student. Hearing the conversation now took me back to that time. A jump-in suicide was then nothing but a bothersome disturbance to my daily schedule while I saw myself as the primary victim of the event and expressed almost no sorrow for the person who decided to take her/his own life on the rail. This sentiment is often reinforced by the reports of a delay or stoppage of railway operation, which almost always refer to the number of passengers affected by the event as though this is more significant than what caused the disruption. In these reports, a death is reduced to a mere hindrance to the operational schedule and scarcity of time is underscored to the extent that this measure precedes all the other values (Fisch, 2013). This prioritization of orderly operation first appeared startling to me. However, I was again reminded about passengers' strong desire for orderliness when a daily commuter told me in a casual conversation, 'Passengers pay money to endure a long hour of commuting in packed trains. Of course, we expect from railway operators that the trains arrive at a destination safely and on time. This is the only thing we want from them… nothing else!'

Such desire for temporal orderliness often stems from passengers' strong sense of obligation to work. This became evident in the reaction of those who were directly affected by the sarin gas attack that I discussed in the previous chapter. In a collection of interviews with survivors of the event, Murakami Haruki (2002) finds that many of them kept trying to go to work immediately after inhaling the fumes of the liquefied sarin gas. Despite witnessing a chaotic situation in stations and feeling unwell themselves, these survivors first called their workplace and told their

co-workers about their being late. Many victims of the attack felt sick but managed to go to their workplace. It was only after watching or hearing the news of the attack that they realized that sarin gas could be the actual cause of their sickness. Subsequently, most of them ended up being hospitalized for two or three nights. What this event demonstrated most strikingly was that these passengers' strong sense of obligation to work was so deeply entrenched in their bodies that it kept driving them to work amidst the unfolding of a disruption. Passengers' perseverance in trying to arrive at work on time becomes a crucial reinforcer of temporal orderliness in urban railway spaces. These working bodies adhering to embodied time discipline resemble what physicists idealized in the advent of industrial capitalism as the 'motors that converted energy into mechanical work' (Rabinbach, 1992, p. 2). In their conceptualization, the language of energy played a central role in constructing the view of the worker as 'a machine capable of infinite productivity and, if possessed with true consciousness, resistant to fatigue … [whose] body [could be seen] both as a productive force and as a political instrument whose energies could be subjected to scientifically designed systems of organization' (Rabinbach, 1992, p. 2). The insatiable desire to be on time and the security that would derive from it made these passengers disregard the unfolding situation and kept driving them to their workplace.

While I was commuting to work in the course of the fieldwork, I was confronted with some significant delays and felt idle and detached from a mobile flow that would otherwise bring me to work almost automatically without requiring me to cognitively think about time. Commuting from Myōgadani Station to Komagome Station via Kōrakuen Station, I knew exactly what time I needed to be looking at a particular clock in each station to arrive at work on time. On one Monday morning of July 2013 during my fieldwork, I was waiting for a train in Myōgadani Station on my way to work. I left home late on this particular day and thought I had missed the 7.32am train, which I would usually catch. But when I reached the platform, the train had not arrived. An announcement was just being made to notify passengers of a delay of the coming train due to a sick person being on board. While hearing the announcement, I realized that I might have to take a different train from the one I would normally take from Kōrakuen Station. I knew the next train from Kōrakuen Station was coming in three minutes at 7.45am but I was not sure whether I could

even get there by then. If I could not take this train, I would be late to work and my record of never being late would forever be tainted.

As the delay dislocated the orderly flow of commuting, I was suddenly thrown into a state of contingency. I grew anxious and felt my heartbeat go up. I had to suspend my autopilot mode and think about how I could get back the time lost to arrive at work. I pictured station corridors, escalators and the stairs of Kōrakuen Station to figure out which way might be the fastest route to transfer to the Namboku Line that would take me to Komagome Station while bearing in mind the arrival times of the next few trains. Mirroring other passengers calling their workplace to let them know about the delay, I made a call to work knowing that the store is often short-staffed and there was little chance that someone would pick up the phone. No one picked up the phone, and this made my waiting increasingly nerve-racking. Although I was a part-time member of staff and knew that other staff would fill my role even if I was late, I could not escape from the embodied sense of obligation that kept reminding me that I had to be at work on time. It was an embodied habit that kept ruminating back (Bissell, 2012).

Within the next minute, an announcement was made to notify passengers that the delayed train had just left the previous station. When it finally arrived, the compartments were as fully packed as I expected. Although I did not feel like pushing other passengers in to enter the compartment, I forced myself to do so in the slightest hope that I would still make it to work on time. As soon as the train arrived at Kōrakuen Station, I ran as fast as I could, hopping down the stairs and passing through the wrong side of the pedestrian flow. When I arrived at the platform to catch the Namboku Line, I jumped onto the train, which was almost empty as usual. Even though I did not know which train I was on, the fact that I was in the compartment relieved me. However, as I sat down on a seat, a ruminating thought came back. I could still be late to work. At this stage, however, all I could do was hope that the train would leave the platform as soon as possible. When I arrived at work, I checked the time. I found out that I had somehow made it. The digital clock was indicating exactly 8.00am I recorded the time on my timesheet and started my shift with the joy of being a punctual worker.

Railway operators draw up a railway timetable to install a temporal regularity and place both digital and mechanical clocks in railway spaces to determine whether the operation or the passenger are "on time" or "behind time". In consequence, any delay is assessed on the scale of a lag between timetable and passenger, timetable and driver or timetable and clock time. For instance, the lag between timetable and clock time was precisely what the driver of the derailed train in Amagasaki Rail Crash was pressured to fill in by speeding the train to the limit. Meanwhile, a timetable without any lag with clock time stabilizes elements of passengers' routines and reduces contingency and spontaneity (Zerubavel, 1981, p. 44). Hence, clock time becomes the ultimate reference for a railway timetable to provide the ultimate measure of time discipline. Temporal orderliness defined by clock time is pleasurable as it helps passengers suspend the perpetual anxiety of being late, slowing down and in effect preventing them from being decoupled from the world of regularity and certainty – the phenomenon exemplifying 'social acceleration' (Rosa, 2013, pp. 152–153).

Although it was realized only in the 1930s, time discipline has, in the course of industrial development, become one of the few sites where passengers' desire for security may be satiated. The sense of security that derives from being with fellow passengers and being embedded in a mobile flow was the most pleasurable aspect into which I was drawn as I moved through urban railway spaces in Tokyo. Once time discipline stuck to my body, it acted as a productive force to habituate and regulate my body. This habituated comportment was almost like an 'intense virtual infrastructural effect' (Bissell, 2015, p. 135) providing a mobile shell in which I could feel at ease. However, when the temporal orderliness of the railway's operation was disrupted, passengers' bodies assembled in a mobile flow become fragmented into parts and were subsequently individuated. The experience of being disparate individuals, however, generated in me a strong sense of uncertainty, which prompted me to anxiously and hurriedly search for an alternative vector to reconnect with a mobile flow, hoping that this would bring my body back into regularity. Alongside spatial containment (Chapter 5), temporal containment can modulate passengers' sense

of insecurity to approach their bodies and amplify their embodied temporality to constantly pull disparate individuals back into a mobile flow.

**Conclusion**

To further enhance our understanding of how the customer service provision intervenes into, and takes hold of, passengers' bodies in urban railway spaces (in response to the second research question of this thesis), this chapter explored the temporal dimension of containment and reviewed its historical development and subsequent confrontation with resistance in the form of a deadly derailment accident. The chapter further augmented this exploration with reflections on embodiment and the operation of time discipline through my fieldwork encounters in contemporary urban railway spaces. Significantly, it has pointed out that the operator's effort to eradicate temporalities outside clock time was not possible without the role of passengers in desiring time discipline. This chapter therefore, analysed the operation of temporal containment through which passengers are conditioned to assume and operate under a particular modality of time. This seemingly endless pursuit of time discipline makes both railway workers and passengers 'slaves' to clock time (Cottrell, 1939, as cited in Symes, 2011, p. 151) and shows how passengers' bodies become captivated in the configuration of a particular temporality, which is implemented by railway operators under the banner of customer service. However, the act of being on time becomes the key measure of performance for not only railway operators but also passengers. But importantly, the implementation of temporal governance almost always accompanies cooperation from those who are subject to temporal control.

This chapter discussed the rise of time discipline not just by looking into its emergence in parallel to industrial modernity but also through suggesting the significance of habitually provoked desire for temporal orderliness among passengers. When passengers take for granted that the railway system operates in a timely manner and act accordingly, the idea of punctuality could become embedded in their bodies. The orderly operation assumed by passengers might make them less

aware of time discipline unless a disruption unfolds and detaches their bodies from the embodied temporal modality. When I encountered delays during my fieldwork, time discipline offered a great pleasurable appeal through which I sought ways to bring myself back to a flow of time and to be mobile with fellow passengers. This sense of being together with others could nurture a powerful desire to be enfolded in the flow. However, as the next chapter goes on to explore, the railway compartment is host to a somewhat different mode of interaction between passengers while their bodies are brought together at the distance that is physically intimate and yet emotionally detached.

# CHAPTER SEVEN: SELF CONTAINMENT

## Introduction

While the previous chapters have focused on the technological, spatial and temporal containment of the passenger's body in relation to the nexus between the desires for control and security, this chapter seeks out the potential for escape from control. Up until this point, I have extensively discussed the dialogic implementations of control with a particular focus on the technological, spatial and temporal dimensions. Although this chapter also extends the analysis to look into the workings of responsibilisation, which enlists passengers to actively gaze at fellow passengers' (mis)behaviours in railway compartments for the purpose of self-policing, it also suggests that this activity could turn them into mere onlookers and lead them to imagine a world of alternative reality. While being stuck in the compartment, there are all manner of opportunities for fabricating fantasies that move away from the spatial confines. Thus, this chapter investigates the power of "imaginative mobilities", which is one of the key regimes of mobility along with the corporeal and the virtual, as Urry (2007, p. 169) suggested in his important contribution to mobilities studies. Key to this is how these imaginative mobilities intersect with the corporeal and virtual mobilities that have been the focus of the previous two chapters.

A first-time passenger would be surprised at the serenity in the compartments of Japanese urban railways. As I witnessed during my fieldwork, passengers are almost always silently engaging in their own activity whether that be reading books or magazines, tapping their smartphone screens or resting with their eyes shut. Contrary to how passengers pace their way through the platform, move swiftly through corridors and interact with the ticketing machine, passengers' mobility is very restricted in the space of the compartment. The compartment forces passengers to spend a mandatory dwelling time; there is no physical way out as long as the railway car is on the move. However, what I want to suggest in this chapter is that passengers can, instead, move in different ways through imaginative travel. Such a mode of travel offers a way for passengers to temporarily break away from the physical immobility of the compartment to create and enter into a world of

fantasy that potentially destabilizes some of the logics of control that have been discussed so far in this thesis. Passengers have an abundance of signs and images from which they can fabricate a fantasy, including not only advertisements that are designed to target passengers trapped in a compulsory dwell-time in the compartment but also their fellow passengers to assist imaginative travel. These dimensions of the travelling environment have not received due scholarly attention but seem crucial in terms of understanding the workings of control and resistance and their potential limits in railway spaces.

Passengers who frequently travel on the railway develop the skill of auto-piloting their bodies, or the 'virtual infrastructure of habit' (Bissell, 2015, pp. 132–134). They can then move through railway spaces without closely attending to their actions. However, as I experienced during my commuting experience, the more skilled a passenger becomes, the more s/he can potentially find the process dull and unattractive. For the first few journeys, it may be necessary to pay attention to where the train is stopping next or where the platform or the exit is. Once the body ritualizes these knowledges however, identifying the next station and orientating through railway spaces can become an effortless process. In other words, the repeated experience of travelling allows passengers to vacate a mental space to attend to something other than their own movement (Bissell, 2015). The diversion of attention away from movement potentially allows passengers to dwell in their own dream world.

In relation to the third research question about the possibility for escape from the networked circuits of control, this chapter argues that passengers can take advantage of the conflation of signs and images in urban railway spaces to generate virtual mobilities by and for themselves. It is this production of fantasy that potentially calls into question the pervasiveness of securitization techniques. The first part of this chapter considers how the repeated experience of travelling develops a habituated body to bestow passenger with imagined mobilities. The second part examines how such banal objects as the hanging advertisement become a powerful inducer of imagination in the railway compartment to bring passengers to their dream world. It suggests that this is precisely where passengers turn themselves from passive consumers and recipients of signs

and images into active producers of imaginative mobilities. The third part then moves on to spotlight the potentiality of imagination for freeing passengers from the reality of the packed railway compartment and their hectic everyday work-centred life. The main discussion of this chapter pivots around the capacity of imagination to mobilize passengers away from their habituated body to develop a sense of autonomy. Conceptualizations of fantasy and imaginative mobilities offer us a way to grasp the complex and uncontainable nature of urban railway spaces, which inevitably leaves an opening for destabilizing the technologically, spatially and temporally contained passenger/customer.

**Economy of Inattention**

In the morning rush hour of Marunouchi Line, I, as much as other passengers, had to endure being compressed in the compartment between Myōgadani and Kōrakuen. It was only a matter of four or five minutes but the proximity with other passengers was so close that I could even feel others breathe and their hearts pound. I found that this intense physical proximity was distressing, but inescapable. Being cramped in the carriage, most passengers shut their eyes but for some it served as perfect "smartphone time" and they kept their eyes fixed on the screen. Others seemed to be enjoying music through their headphones and indulging in their own personal space. Simmel (1950, pp. 413–414) observed almost a hundred years ago that modern urban dwellers confronted with the condition of sensory overload intentionally block off sensory inputs and retreat into their own personal space. In a densely populated metropolis, an endless flux of stimulations drowns their sensory registers leading them to close down. He argues:

> The psychological basis of the metropolitan type of individuality consists in the *intensification of nervous stimulation* which results from the swift and uninterrupted change of outer and inner stimuli. Man (*sic*) is a differentiating creature. His (*sic*) mind is stimulated by the difference between a momentary impression and the one which preceded it. Lasting impressions, impressions which differ only slightly from one another,

impressions which take a regular and habitual course and show regular and habitual contrasts – all these use up, so to speak, less consciousness than does the rapid crowding of changing images, the sharp discontinuity in the grasp of a single glance, and the unexpectedness of onrushing impressions. These are the psychological conditions which the metropolis creates (Simmel, 1950, pp. 409–410, original emphasis).

Throughout my fieldwork in Tokyo, never-ending inflows of sensory stimuli consisted of the vast number of fellow passengers, advertisements and audio announcements. As I commuted to and from work over a long period of time, these stimuli exceeded the threshold of my corporeal receptivity. The habitual encounters with these stimuli increasingly dulled and desensitized my visual, aural and olfactory functions. This "blasé attitude" increasingly took over my body to suspend its responsiveness to most sensory stimuli that I came across during my commute. This kind of attitude constitutes an economy of *in*attention in urban spaces. Crary (1999, p. 49) suggests, 'modern distraction was *not* a disruption of stable or "natural" kinds of sustained, value laden perception that had existed for centuries but was an *effect*, and in many cases a constituent element, of the many attempts to produce attentiveness in human subjects'.

When passengers' blasé attitudes annihilate the majority of stimuli that they receive in their passing encounters, advertisements in urban railway spaces might become indistinct and fade into the space 'in ways more mundane and less spectacular' (Cronin, 2006, p. 622). Passengers on the move are not always capable of allocating a sufficient amount of time to focus on, read, comprehend and interpret meanings of advertisements even though they might maintain a 'permanent low-level attentiveness' (Crary, 1999, p. 77). Writing from a marketing perspective, Davenport and Beck (2001) define attention as a "scarce commodity" and emphasize the value of attention in contemporary society, as they point out:

In postindustrial societies, attention has become a more valuable currency than the kind you store in bank accounts. … The problems for businesspeople lie on both sides of the attention equation: how to get and hold the attention of consumers, stockholders, potential

employees, and the like, and how to parcel out their own attention in the face of overwhelming options. People and companies that do this, succeed. The rest fail. Understanding and managing attention is now the single most important determinant of business success. Welcome to the attention economy. (p. 3)

The main argument of these marketing experts holds that the rise of the internet resolved 'the key limiting factor in economic success' of the industrial time, which was 'access to means of production, … markets and consumers' (Davenport & Beck, 2001, p. 3). Nonetheless, they point out that contemporary competition is over 'the number of eyeballs one can draw to an ad or a Web page, and the number of brain cells the mind is willing to devote it. Firms will think nothing of paying much more to attract attention than the cost of the product or service itself' (Davenport & Beck, 2001, p. 3). They assert that corporate success today hinges on the ability to capture the attention of most passers-by. In other words, a rapid switching of attention and perceptual adaptability mediate accelerated exchange and circulation to form the integral part of the cultural logic of capitalism today as Crary (1999) points out:

> Attention always contained within itself the conditions for its own disintegration, it was haunted by the possibility of its own excess – which we all know so well whenever we try to look at or listen to any one thing for too long. In any number of ways, attention inevitably reaches a threshold at which it breaks down. Usually it is the point at which the perceptual identity of its object begins to deteriorate and in some cases (as with certain sounds) disappear altogether. Or it can be a limit at which attention imperceptibly mutates in to a state of trance or even autohypnosis. (p. 30, p. 47)

This operation of habit cultivates inattentiveness of the body to provide a cocoon, while being exposed to a range of sensations moving through the railway spaces. Habit as a form of 'virtual infrastructure' becomes a protective shield for the body (Bissell, 2015, p. 134). From this perspective, inattentiveness can be understood as a corporeal tactic of coping or aversion, rather than a cognitive failure. It provides the body with an avenue to generate a temporal void that can

then be spent on engaging with other activities such as finding the shortest route to a destination or indulging in the world of fantasy. At the same time, this can be read as the work of 'emptying of the consciousness', which Augé (1995, p. 93) describes as one of the most characteristic experiences of 'supermodernity'. A frequent travel through transit spaces and the subsequent development of inattentiveness make the travelling universe appear only as "non-places" to passengers' eyes, as I observed during my fieldwork.

While commuting to and from work almost every day of the week, I felt myself slowly detaching from a number of sensory stimuli that had strongly drawn my attention when I initially commenced travelling. After two weeks of commuting, I found myself becoming increasingly accustomed to a certain flow of movement. While I began to get to grips with the skills needed to efficiently walk through station corridors and platforms, my body also developed a greater level of inattentiveness to external stimuli. As a result, I often failed to clearly remember what came across my senses and what I passed through during my commute.[43] In other words, the repeated experience of commuting incarcerated my senses and prevented them from wandering around, making sure that I followed the same path. Such cultivation of inattentiveness to external stimuli enabled me to actively suspend concerns arising from the potential for disruption to my schedule and kept my anxiety to a minimal level. Hence, inattentiveness became an adhesive, setting my body to concentrate on the task of moving to a destination.

This emptying of consciousness also protected me from excessive and yet ruminating worries about fellow passengers' misbehaviours. Throughout my fieldwork, it was common to have fellow passengers shoving me hard in order to get out of the compartment and/or stepping on my work shoes in a packed compartment. In the early stage of my fieldwork, I became extremely annoyed to the extent that I developed a strong urge to catch them and tell them about their ill manners.[44] However, as time passed, I developed inattentiveness as a capacity for ignoring these

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[43] This is different from the early stage of my fieldwork where I was actively paying attention to a range of phenomena unfolding in urban railway spaces (see for example Chapter 5).

[44] In fact, I once yelled at a passenger who shoved me hard to get out of the compartment. I chased him on the platform, looked into his face and told him how disrespectful he was and that he needed to wait rather than pushing others out of

incidents. As these incidents became trivial, I no longer paid much attention. My attention was instead focused on arriving at work without any delay. Whatever happened in the railway spaces did not matter to me anymore, unless they affected the ultimate goal. In Augé's view, this is what supermodernity does to individuals in transit spaces. Such development of purpose-orientation makes one 'no more than what [one] does or experiences in the role of passenger, customer or driver. Perhaps [one] is still weighed down by the previous day's worries, the next day's concerns; but [one] is distanced from them temporarily by the environment of the moment' (Augé, 1995, p. 103).

The condition of "supermodernity" imposes the habit of inattentiveness on passengers, which subsequently maintains an economy of inattention. The economy of inattention brings passengers to concentrate their attention primarily on arriving at a destination on time and minimizing engagement with fellow passengers. Accordingly, passengers try to eliminate all distractions to create their own personalized space. In consequence, as I observed, the majority of urban railway passengers in Japan today spend their compartmentalized time in silence. They are almost always 'strikingly quiet' compared to how passengers behaved in the earlier days of urban railway travel (Freedman, 2011, p. 13). According to Nagamine (2004, pp. 108–118, as cited in Tanaka, 2007, p. 45), it used to be common for passengers to read a book aloud to themselves in the compartment. Indeed, several accounts of Japanese novelists in the early 20th century suggest that the practice of silent reading had perhaps only begun as recently as the 1920s (Maeda, 1989, p. 122). Prior to this, due to low literacy rates and the fact that the main mode of communication was verbal, those who were capable of reading often read aloud to tell stories to the public in railway spaces (Maeda, 1989, p. 122). In contrast, this kind of practice, which approaches other passengers through the auditory register, is today perceived as a disturbance to be eliminated through campaigns to improve manners (see Figures 5–7).

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his way. Being infuriated, I could not repress my impulse to confront him and make him feel responsible for what I saw as extremely bad manners. I felt as though somebody had to keep the railway orderly and it was my turn. This was an instance that demonstrated how peer-to-peer surveillance operates. This was the moment when I turned myself from an observer to an agent to "securitize" the space.

Figure 8–10. A series of JR West manner posters (2013):

Figure 8: 'I will call you later because it would bother other passengers now' (left).

Figure 9: 'Sitting on the floor and relaxing? You are disturbing everyone else in the compartment' (centre).

Figure 10 'I do not (want to) turn my enjoyment into someone else's discomfort' (right).

In recent times, customer satisfaction surveys conducted for urban railway operators have consistently shown that the vast majority of complaints have been directed at fellow passengers' behaviours (Nihon Min'ei Tetsudō Kyōkai, n.d.). The five most frequent complaints have long been related to: 1) loud conversation; 2) seating manners; 3) pushing and queue jumping when entering and leaving the compartment; 4) speaking on the phone and ringing phones; 5) sound leaking from headphones (Nihon Min'ei Tetsudō Kyōkai, n.d.). This survey result suggests that one of the primary sources of annoyance is fellow passengers' inattentiveness to noise. Many urban railway operators have attempted to address these complaints through posters designed to improve manners. These posters enrol individuals and responsibilize them to inform authorities of any disturbing event they have observed, while bringing passengers to police inattentiveness to their own and others' behaviours in the railway compartment. In this sense, these posters cultivate passengers' attentiveness and encourage them to become vigilant policing subjects.

A series of JR West's manner improvement campaign posters featuring a middle or high school girl in school uniform with captions that "encourage" rather than "order" certain behaviours in the viewers (Figures 5–7). Through a critical reading of these posters, I assert that these are not intended to regulate viewers' own behaviour, but rather, to effectively enrol them to police fellow passengers' misbehaviours, to realize fantasies of reciprocity and justice 'whose very impersonality and constitution in an ongoing near future is a source of relief and optimism' (Berlant, 2008, p. 11). These posters invite passengers to partake in their role as an agent to watch over fellow passengers in an implicit and yet effective way. The girl, positioned as the figure to be gazed-at, encourages passengers to also turn their gaze onto fellow passengers and perform a latent form of surveillance or the 'surveillance of peers by peers … the most common and efficient surveillance system in any society as it is omnipresent and ubiquitous' (Jiow & Morales, 2015, p. 329).

The girl in these posters prompts the viewers to not only attend to fellow passengers' inattentiveness but also their own inattentiveness to fellow passengers' bad manners. This may be understood through the logic of responsibilisation, whereby passengers are 'encouraged and assumed to take positions previously held by authorities' (Koskela, 2011, p. 56). Accordingly, these posters could function as a medium for encouraging passengers to closely attend to fellow passengers and practice lateral surveillance over their inattentiveness. This idea of lateral surveillance further reinforces the network of control while providing an ultimate measure of "good manners" and vesting in passengers the power to make judgements about their fellow passengers' behaviours. This mechanism of surveillance mirrors the de-centralized implementation of "rhizomatic" control (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 7). In the context of railway spaces, each passenger becomes a node to impose control onto other passengers. In contrast to a centralized system of discipline, this mode of control distributes the role of policing to individual passengers. For the rhizomatic mode of control to multiply its nodes and expand its reach, however, it requires a mediating surface or interface (Bogard, 2013). The girl in the posters here becomes the interface, while in the case of CCTV surveillance it was the face of the gazed

passenger (see Chapter 4). The posters aimed at the improvement of manners thus play a vital role in transforming passengers into policing inattentiveness in the railway compartment.

While the lateral form of surveillance makes every passenger both the gazed and the gazer in theory, this was enacted in uneven ways in the actual railway compartment that I observed during my commuting experiment. In reality, there was often a clear division between those who could be the gazer and those who could not. In other words, the ones who might have positioned themselves as policing agents to monitor fellow passengers were limited, while the unfolding of the relation between gazer and gazed was highly complex. On my way to work, I closely observed passengers in the compartment so as to better grapple with the workings of their "eye discipline" on JR Yamanote Line. I spotted a man in a suit rudely staring at a woman sitting in front of him. He was probably in his 40s or 50s. As he stared at her for a minute or so, she noticed, but only glanced at him and returned her eyes to the screen of her smartphone. However, she later took a photo of him with her smartphone just before leaving the compartment. As the man noticed her taking a photo of him, completely to his surprise, he suddenly became subject to her gaze. It is unknown if she reported the incident, shared the photo amongst her friends or just deleted it later; nonetheless, this sudden inversion of the gazer-gazed relation seemed to have troubled the man. He left the compartment at the following station. Despite the continued presence of asymmetric gender relations in the railway compartment space, new technologies are now enabling the gazed subjects to gaze back.

This encounter suggests how some passengers do not necessarily behave as authorities expect them to behave. It invites us to critically investigate the complexity of ubiquitous control and the effectiveness of lateral surveillance. While being transformed into a gazer through the manner improvement posters, some passengers only become consumers, and not enforcers, of the fantasies of reciprocity and justice. It is not only authorities that capitalize on this, as passengers similarly tap into the suggested means (that is, watching) to realize fantasies and rationalize their behaviour. However, this does not guarantee that passengers actually play the role of policing agent. In fact, these fantasies tend to be closeted in the sphere of imagination but suddenly

resurface to work in unintended ways. Hence, the manner improvement posters do not necessarily serve their intended purpose, only turning passengers into onlookers. The temporary nature of encounters in railway compartments allows passengers to unleash their imagination and fantasize about unrealistic romances and fanciful ideas in relation to fellow passengers to "re-enchant" themselves (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010). From passengers' standpoint however, this can be read as a tactic to dislocate the authorities' intervention into their inattentiveness, while also finding a way to entertain themselves in the dull space of a compartment.

However, even to the most habituated passenger's body, some disruptive events continue to intervene. One example of such an event is an encounter with an eye-catching advertisement in the compartment. Towards the end of my ten-month fieldwork, railway travel became increasingly dull and colourless. Nonetheless, a series of engrossing advertisements kept me entertained in the compartment. These advertisements approaching passengers' visual register often created another opening in my habituated body to suspend purpose-oriented inattentiveness. The following part of this chapter looks further into the capacity of advertisements to enthral the inattentive body and dislocate the economy of inattention.

**Attention Hanger**

Colourful advertisements saturate the compartment space of many commuter trains in Tokyo. Advertisers strive to capture the sustained attention of passengers in the space where they often spend their time focusing their attention on personalized activities such as browsing the internet and messaging on their phones or listening to music through headphones. One of the most characteristic forms of advertisement in Tokyo hangs from the ceiling of the compartment space. It is widely known as *nakazuri kōkoku*. This type of advertisement is designed to be viewed by the passengers inside the compartment. Indeed, the spatial configuration of the compartment may influence how the advertisement is received, in addition to the strategic use of various "compositional" details such as content, colour, font and layout, which is particularly designed to

appeal to certain segments of the travelling population (Rose, 2001, p. 26). The form of advertisement and organization of texts and images therefore shapes how passengers perceive and approach the advertisement and, in turn, how the advertisement appeals to passengers' eyes and affect 'how an image looks and therefore … what it might do and what might be done to it' (Rose, 2001, p. 26).

When I undertook the commuting experiment in Tokyo, hanging advertisements were often the first thing that came to my attention in the railway compartment. These advertisements promoted weekly magazines, electronic appliances, computer games, music titles, television programs, long-distance travel packages, soft drinks, beers, tobaccos, beauty products, language schools and department stores, to name only a few. Some public awareness campaign posters by government agencies and railway operators also hung from the ceiling of the compartment. Having browsed through this form of advertisement for almost a year, I became acquainted with a set of compositional patterns. For instance, advertisements for women's magazines tended to display fonts in pink and red while the ones for weekly current affairs magazines might be densely filled with text; these were designed to speak to a particular readership. To build on this observation, the following looks into two advertisements, both of which were displayed as hanging advertisements in the railway compartment shortly after my fieldwork. By analysing these advertisements, I intend to grapple with some of the ways in which passengers' pleasure is provoked and how their desire is redirected in the railway compartment today.

Browsing through the nakazuri advertisements of 2015 when I visited Tokyo sometime after my fieldwork, two images stood out. The first image is an advertisement for a special issue on climbing of *Tarzan*, a magazine that intends to cater for male professionals with some money to spare on weekend hobbies. The title of the issue reads 'The reason why the mountain works on the body. … The mountain = a naturalistic entertainment gym'. At the forefront of the image is a tall man in climbing wear equipped with a backpack walking on a rock against the background of what appears to be a panoramic view of the city of Tokyo represented by a glimpse of a tower that looks like the Tokyo Skytree.

Figure 11. Hanging advertisement for *Tarzan*, 2015.6.11.

Special issue on mountaineering.

Without going into a detailed semiotic analysis, it can be noted that passengers may be lured to the contrast between city life and nature, as depicted in this advertisement – the blue sky, the mountainous rocky ground on which the climber stands and the urban jungle that spreads underneath. The exotic backdrop is designed to invoke fantasies among passengers – who in reality are bundled in a crowded compartment – and the slim male climber at the edge of the rock in a walking pose conveys the masculine energetic figure. While the colour of his climbing wear tones down the splendour of the background to construct an approachable image of mountain climbing, the man depicted as an active figure looks further towards the other side of the space in the image to demonstrate his confidence and adventurous spirit, unafraid of risk and ready to conquer any mountain that comes his way. This is a reference to the fearless, audacious attitude and the yearning for perfectibility that this advertisement envisions Japanese salarymen to have. With the main caption of the advertisement, the image particularly speaks to salarymen who are looking to effectively incorporate exercise into their leisure time hobbies.

The second image is an advertisement for the special issue of a women's magazine, *an.an,* which features a catalogue ranking for cosmetic products and articles on make-up and colour. The image shows the actor Saitou Takumi kissing the fashion model Hirukawa Yū. Such an overt display of kissing is extremely rare in the context of Japanese public spaces and this advertisement seems to

subvert this norm to draw passengers' attention. The main caption of this image reads 'Spring 2015 The Likable Cosmetics Awards: The skin that makes people want to touch. Seductive lips'.



Figure 12. Hanging advertisement for *an.an*, 2015.3.18.

Special issue on The Likable Cosmetics Awards.

The scene is set in daylight and the room is decorated in pastel colours to emphasize serenity and purity, which also implies the integrity and honesty of the romantic relationship between these two individuals. In the room, the light shines from behind the sofa to highlight her hair as a sign of beauty and innocence. The young handsome boy wraps his arm around the girl's shoulder and holds her, as she appears to be quietly sleeping on a sofa, exemplifying a stereotypical image of the gender binary between masculinity (active, assertive, dominant) and femininity (passive, docile, submissive). The spatial arrangement of these two individuals further reinforces this binary as the boy sits in the centre and pushes the girl towards the corner of the image, making the former superior and the latter inferior. Moreover, the different skin colours of these two individuals represent a binary construction – the tanned skin of the boy indicates an extroverted character and the pale skin of the girl an introverted character. The girl is positioned as a passive submissive object – her skin silky smooth, her lips pure and seductive, waiting to be touched and kissed. The main caption of the issue, when read in relation to the image, conveys that the magazine can help the reader find a way to be this girl – a desirable object to a handsome young man.

In the compartment, passengers could observe an advertisement hanging from the ceiling in relation to other signs, images and themselves (Rose, 2001, p. 23). In other words, they might endeavour not only to figure out the meaning of an advertisement in relation to others but also to identify themselves with reference to given signs or images in the advertisement. For instance, the two advertisements that I discussed above both embody a conventional gender code to appeal to particular groups of consumers to whom the advertisers want to sell these magazines (Rose, 2001, pp. 88–89). Since these magazines are targeted at age-specific and gender-specific audiences, they might not necessarily appeal to a wide range of audiences. These advertisements thus require the viewers to identify themselves in relation to the signs and images depicted in them. While passengers usually situate themselves in relation to signs and images provided in advertisements, this does not necessarily mean that these signs and images stabilize passengers' identity in return. Rather, some signs and images potentially engineer and manipulate passengers' identity to incorporate them into a certain categorical order. In this regard, Harvey (1990) makes an important observation about contemporary forms of advertisements, when he says:

> Advertisements have come to play a very much more integrative role in cultural practices and now assume a much greater importance in the growth dynamics of capitalism. Advertising, moreover, is no longer built around the idea of informing or promoting in the ordinary sense, but is increasingly geared to manipulating desires and tastes through images that may or may not have anything to do with the product to be sold. If we stripped modern advertising of direct reference to the three themes of money, sex and power there would be very little left. (p. 287)

Approaching the issue from a different ontological vantage point, Stiegler (2014b) has also argued that subjects in late capitalist societies continue to face "hominization" or '*functional externalization of individual and singular experiences*' (p. 6, original emphasis). In his view, the loss of individual and singular experiences in late capitalist societies originates from 'the *loss of participation* in the *production of symbols*' (Stiegler, 2014b, p. 10, original emphasis). Free market capitalism renders individuals as consumers and excludes them from producing symbols

that bear 'the fruits of intellectual life (concepts, ideas, theorems, knowledge) as of sensible life (arts, know-how, mores)' (Stiegler, 2014b, p. 10). He argues that this consequence emerges in the form of "dividuation" where individuals turn into hominized beings. Despite the powerful effect of culturally-loaded symbolic codes, however, I want to suggest that there may be certain cleavages that open up potentialities to dislocate Stiegler's suggestion of hominization.

While the signs and images serve as the objects of desire for consumers, they are also received at the level of affect. The themes of money, sex and power are, for instance, not only symbolically but also affectively loaded to appeal to the audience (Harvey, 1990, p. 287). While the use of certain words and colours in advertisements might be culturally coded to serve a particular purpose when read by the viewers, this still leaves space for deviation from the intended effects. Such deviation is the work of affective intensities. The abrupt and uncontainable quality of affect often dislocates the symbolic meanings encoded in advertisements. The affective capacities of advertising signs and images might offer passengers some fragments to start developing a dream world of their own (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 173). This capacity for producing one's own dream world could open up a potential avenue for dislocating the society of control.

In the compartment, a variety of advertising signs and images are readily available, allowing passengers to assemble, cut, crop, paste and patch together seemingly unrelated signs and images to tailor their unique dream world. This point suggests that the affective capacities of these advertising images can often be sidelined by the current semiotic analysis that almost exclusively examines an image as a symbolic construct. To further build upon this discussion of a patchwork dream world, the next part of this chapter looks into the process of fabricating a fantasy through affective consumption of signs and images in the railway compartment. In the process of reorganizing signs and images in the compartment and situating themselves in relation to these symbols, however, passengers could become creative producers rather than passive consumers. Mediated by the practice of "prosumption" (Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010), passengers affectively engage with signs and images. By situating the vision as the central medium of prosumption, the

following intends to explore the operation of fantasy as an avenue for the re-enchantment of the habituated world of dullness.

**Imaginative Mobilities**

Apart from browsing through hanging advertisements, passengers might reserve their compartmentalized time for reading, checking emails and messaging friends, studying work-related materials or resting. During the commuting hours from 7.30am to 8.30am in particular, I encountered a large number of passengers who simply looked so exhausted that they spent their commuting time sleeping in the compartment. In the meantime, other passengers just seemed preoccupied with their work-related or private activities trying to make full use of travel time. Meanwhile, many appeared to just let the moment of void pass. Perhaps they were daydreaming. From a rationalist perspective, this kind of "dead" time is considered pathological (Jain & Lyons, 2008). However, Ehn and Löfgren (2010, p. 141) suggest that this time is far from "dead" but gives individuals 'a chance for intensive daydreaming'. For some passengers, this is most likely the time when they are allowed to be free from everyday constraints that demand them to be 'realistic', 'productive' and 'efficient' (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 127). The waiting time could thus allow these passengers to be unproductive and inefficient, and to fantasize about the 'unrealistic' (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 127). It might also provide them with 'a way to mould everyday life, fabricate biographies, plan and rehearse future action, and recapitulate past events' (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 127). The waiting time can be read as a productive time in which passengers are given the opportunity to suspend the present to retreat into their imaginations, reflect on the past and plan for the future.

While passengers' daydreams can be surreal, at the same time, they can be shaped by the spatial and material environment in which they are situated (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 144). The spatiality of railway compartments could become especially pertinent to what passengers might daydream about. While commuting to and from work during my fieldwork, the compartment space often

took me back to my school days hurrying my way to school and chatting with friends in a late night train on my way back from school. Being in the compartment space thus offered me an imaginary escape to this past. In this sense, daydreams can be 'subversive and subordinating, they remind one of freedom – and of captivity in the prevailing circumstances. You cannot come and go as you please – except in fantasy' (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 156). Once the doors are shut, passengers are physically and spatially confined in the compartment but they can unleash themselves to go anywhere they choose in their own unique dream worlds. A daydream can become a buffer to help these individuals endure with the reality of, for example, being squeezed into a compressed space and having to suffer from mental discomfort (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, pp. 196–197).

Despite its fantastic quality, daydreaming often requires passengers to engage with the reality from which they draw signs and images to produce a dream world. Such active involvement of passengers as consumers in the process of production was, however, for a long time sidelined in the traditional understanding of consumption. For many years, sociologists primarily focused on the process of production and relatively little on consumption. Therefore, the domain of consumption was understood as being pre-determined almost solely by the producer and the process of production. Consumption was merely an artefact of production in the economy and consumers were perceived as no more than submissive puppets, as du Gay (1996) writes:

> [C]onsumers are regarded as fully determined by capital. Consumer desires and needs are "created" as fully determined by capital. Consumer advertising and market research are then "satisfied" by goods and services provided by those same producers. There is no sign of "dislocation" here; consumers simply follow to the letter of the law a script pre-written by capital. … In this account, there is no room for "human agency". "Structure" predominates to such an extent that the universe appears to be nothing more than a self-regulating totality. (p. 81)

However, Ritzer and Jurgenson (2010) assert that the late capitalist economy has collapsed the perceived dichotomy between production and consumption and narrowed down the gap between these processes. These authors have coined the term "prosumption" to delineate the process that 'involves *both* production and consumption rather than focusing on either one (production) or the other (consumption)' (Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010, p. 14, original emphasis). Stressing that prosumption and "prosumer capitalism" are unique to late capitalist economies that are no longer plagued by scarcity but rather have an abundance of available products, these authors contend that consumers enjoy their involvement in, rather than feel exploited by, the process of "prosumption" (Ritzer & Jurgenson, 2010, p. 14). In line with the previous discussion of care and control in the service-oriented economy in Chapter 3, producers and service providers are also actively trying to enact a close proximity between production and consumption. Where customer satisfaction provides the ultimate measure of service quality, managers often encourage workers to incorporate their knowledge from their personal experience to think like a customer when offering a service (du Gay, 1996, pp. 77–80).

The late capitalist mode of consumption pivots around the symbolic value of commodities. Featherstone (1991) points to 'the ways in which the purchase and consumption of commodities, an allegedly material act, is [sic] increasingly mediated by diffuse cultural images (via advertising, display and promotion) in which the consumption of signs or the symbolic aspect of goods become the major source of the satisfaction derived' (p. 96). In addition to the process of 'using up, wearing out, wasting away' (Clarke, 2008, p. 128) in a material sense, some commodities such as vintage wine and art may be consumed in a symbolic sense to satisfy the prestige or status values of individuals. The symbolic value of commodities can be understood as "secondary use-value" as opposed to the material value of commodities as having primary "use-value". When mundane consumer goods or services become attached with secondary use-value, they come to be 'associated with luxury, exotica, beauty and romance with their original or functional "use" increasingly difficult to decipher' (Featherstone, 1991, p. 83).

Even though late capitalist society excludes individuals from producing signs and images as Stiegler (2014b, p. 10) suggested, it can almost never remove their affective capacities and faculty to assemble and reorganize, re-order and "mash up" these signs and images to fetishize them in the process of daydreaming. In this sense, Walter Benjamin suggested that the dream world never vanishes, even in the world of rationality, but is only repressed in the façade of disenchantment. Reading Benjamin's *Passagen-Werk*, Buck-Morss (1989) points out, '[u]nderneath the surface of increasing systematic rationalization on an unconscious "dream" level, the new urban-industrial world had become fully re-enchanted' (p. 255). What the project of disenchantment or de-mythification does is not only rationalization but also the 'reenchantment of social world … and through it, a "reactivation of mythic powers"' (Benjamin, 1982, p. 494, as cited in Buck-Morss, 1989, pp. 253–254). Benjamin depicted the figure of *flâneur*, an urban stroller, to explore traces of re-enchantment in early 20th century European cities, which were rapidly being colonized by the logic of industrial capitalism at the time. As he observed urban crowds through the figure of *flâneur* to draw out the amphitheatre of "modernity" (Buck-Morss, 1989, p. 304), the urban space was turned into a public spectacle and the repressed potentialities of reenchantment were unleashed in the process of strolling.

In the course of assembling signs and images for the fabrication of a fantasy, vision plays a pivotal role for the *flâneur*. Being one of the most primary sensory registers for capturing one's encounter with the world (Jay, 1994, p. 30), vision allows a *flâneur* to gather fantastic materials. The *flâneur* as a gazer picks up signs and images through the process of objectification, and assembles and reanimates these symbols to create a fantasy, which in turn builds on and reinforces categorical representation. Take for example, Michael Wolf's close-up photos of passengers' faces in a crowded railway compartment of Odakyu Line in *Tokyo Compression*. To capture the spatial and temporal effervescence experienced by commuting passengers in Tokyo's railway spaces, these photos situate the viewer in the position of a *flâneur*. Wolf records passengers' faces in his camera while standing away from them on the platform; these individuals are being forcibly put into the position of the gazed. Sealed in the compartment, they can only shield themselves by looking away from the camera, closing their eyes or covering their faces with their hands at best. Wolf (as

cited in Williams, 2011) comments on his encounters to reveal his privileged position as a bystander outside the compartment to gaze at passengers:

No one was pleased with it … My being there made them suddenly aware of how horrible the situation is and they were ashamed of it, but there was nothing they could do. They couldn't move away, leave the train, so some people tried to hide behind their hands. Others had this idea that if they closed their eyes, and they couldn't see me, then somehow I couldn't see them. (para. 5)

As a *flâneur*, Wolf frames the subjects in compressed carriages as immobile, docile and silenced bodies thrown into an automatized system of hyper-modern instrumental rationality, thereby transforming them into the object of gaze. The eye of a *flâneur* is almost always loaded with cultured, habituated and embodied ways of seeing where the viewer's gaze situates subjects in object positions, as Haraway (1988) writes:

[A]n optics is a politics of positioning… only those occupying the positions of the dominators are self-identical, unmarked, disembodied, unmediated, transcendent, born again… Positioning is, therefore, the key practice in grounding knowledge organized around the imagery of vision and much Western scientific and philosophic discourse is organized in this way… Politics and ethics ground struggles for and contests over what may count as rational knowledge… Struggles over what will count as rational accounts of the world are struggles over how to see. (p. 586)

Similarly to Wolf's photos, Tayama Katai's short story *Shōjo-byō* (*Girl Crazy*) puts readers in the position of *flâneur* to gaze at passengers and turn the railway compartment into a space of spectacle. The protagonist of the story, a man known by his surname as 'Sugita', is married to an aging wife and has a child, but constantly develops a fetishistic attachment to the young girls he come across in railway compartments in the course of his commute to work. He assembles together fetish images of these girls such as 'glossiness of their skin', 'whiteness of their upper

arms', 'smell of their perfume' and 'fecundity of their figures' to fancy a flawless trope of girlhood (Fujii, 1999, p. 126). Sugita's multisensory experience invites us to think beyond the visual inputs. In this regard, Marks (2000) points out that some sensory media such as smell, taste and touch are 'more immediate' while others 'provide more room to manoeuvre, a "zone of indetermination" … in which memory may intervene. Only the body's surface do sensation and perception coincide: perception is like contact to the degree that reaction is immediate' (p. 147). Along with vision, smell and texture occupy a large part of Sugita's fantasy.

For such a *flâneur* as Sugita, the principle 'look but don't touch' (Benjamin, 1982, p. 968, as cited in Buck-Morss, 1989, p. 365) is strictly observed. In particular, Sugita's repressed desire of touch amplifies the pleasure incited through visual and olfactory stimuli. Fujii (1999, p. 126) analyses Sugita's objectifying act in the compartment through the concept of 'alienation':

> [T]he crowded train and the contradictory sensation of "mass anonymity" provided a new, urban venue for the expression of lust and desire. … [I]n modern city life, … a "mass-ive" anonymity would provide an extra measure of illicitness. In an impersonal compartment used for mass transit of total strangers, people are thrown together in a space that provides no excuse or framework for establishing social relations. If urban life helps produce anonymity through sheer numbers, the space of the train provides both large numbers and propinquity. This apparent contradiction, close physical contact with people whom one does not know, or whom one knows only visually – alienation, in a word – provides a new "logic" of sensual arousal. Put differently, alienation is what produces Sugita's montage.

Despite their ephemeral character, a strange mix of alienation and intimacy evokes a fantasy in a physically distant and yet emotionally proximate relation with the schoolgirls, which Fujii (1999) describes as 'intimate alienation' (p. 128). In this condition, Sugita maintains his fetish of the purity, gentleness, sacredness and divineness of these young girls in his highly sexualized fantasy where they are associated with the goddess (Freedman, 2011, p. 52). Sugita knows that he is too

old to be acquainted with them so instead 'dreams that the embrace of one of these alluring schoolgirls would give hope to his otherwise bleak life' (Freedman, 2011, p. 52). Despite that, these girls imagined in Sugita's fantasy transcend all humankind to bring him a magical charm and reenchant his gloomy life (Freedman, 2011, p. 52).

Signs and images include, then, the two advertisements analysed above, the photos of Michael Wolf and the text of Tayama Katai. These fragments of fantasy, however, assume the viewer's subject position as a gazer, subscribing the viewers to a particular way of seeing. In the process of fabricating a fantasy therefore, passengers are conscripted to become a gazer and attach meanings to comprehend signs and images in relation to themselves. Although passengers are often prohibited from participating in the production of symbols (Stiegler, 2014b, p. 10), they can reorganize and exploit these symbols to bestow themselves with agency. This production of a subject position can provide passengers with agency to decide not only what to draw upon, but also what to do with it and when to stop (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 188). In other words, fantasy allows passengers to reclaim some control over what happens and acts as a 'silent critique of the here and now' (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 203). Passengers in the railway compartment may be haunted by work obligations, personal duties and above all, social norms, but they can temporarily suspend these through imagining themselves in a fantasy. Fantasy allows individuals to elaborate on socially repressed thoughts and experiment with subversive ideas (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 193). In this way, fantasy as a cultural practice and a personal skill provides individuals with an avenue to deal with and transform reality (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, pp. 172–173).

In the course of my fieldwork, the process of fabricating a fantasy helped me overcome a constant influx of anxiety that preoccupied my mind. The most common anxiety from which I suffered was the unfolding of a fearful event. On my way back from work at a convenience store, I almost always fantasized the situation where I would get caught for mistakenly selling a cigarette to underage customers and having to pay an enormous fine. In reality, I insisted customers show their photo ID when they requested cigarettes so the likelihood of my fantasy to become true was extremely low. However, my anxious mind kept ruminating back to this improbable situation.

This paranoia-like anxiety kept provoking me to suspect a fallibility of my memory. I was constantly confronted with this anxious rumination for the first few weeks of work. Nonetheless, as I became used to the thought and developed the skills to divert my attention away, I was then able to deal with this nerve-wracking thought and the sense of anxiety retreated into the back of my mind. This experience revealed an alternative face of fantasy that debilitates its liberating capacity. Fantasy enfolds a constant tension between the real and the virtual. By fantasizing an unfolding of the unrealistic, I attempted to contain its potentiality in the world of imagination.

The skill of distraction that I developed to deal with anxiety consisted of a thought experiment involving a practice of "mashing together" some random signs and images with reality to plot a story. In one fantasy, the references I drew upon from reality included the store manager, co-workers, customers who visited the store, customers who requested a cigarette, store layout, back office, checkout machine, work uniform, automatic door, the station corridor that leads from the store entrance, the public roads nearby and so on. These objects from my workplace were combined with the contrasting scene of a deep forest that I found on a poster in the railway compartment, the scene of a film premiere in which my favourite actress Takeuchi Yuko was giving a TV interview, and the scene of the underground world in the film, *Pan's Labyrinth*.

Combining these signs and images created a chaotic fantasy of an outing with Takeuchi Yuko to a scenic rural area. In this fantasy, Takeuchi comes to my workplace to forcibly take me out on a railway journey. We get off the train at the farthest station and start walking with other passengers, not knowing where we are heading. A tunnel suddenly appears and as we go through it, like Chihiro and her family from *Spirited Away*, the temperature suddenly drops and in the next moment, I am out in the forest walking across a rough rocky surface while tightly holding Takeuchi's hand. At one point in the forest there is a large hole and Takeuchi pulls me into it. Inside the hole, there is a staircase towards the underground, which I follow and meet the same fairy that appears in *Pan's Labyrinth*. We get to talk to the fairy but by the time I try to comprehend what it says, I bring myself back into reality, having to leave the compartment. Although such a fantasy did not offer a permanent fix, it certainly helped me enjoy a moment of

distraction from a constant influx of anxiety. It was only for the duration of ten minutes or so but this fantasy released me from social norms, regulations, insecurity, loss, worry, agitation, boredom, tediousness, and most of the negativity and ordinariness of reality.

While indulging myself in a dream world, I did not have to worry about how others would perceive my fantasy as long as it was kept inside my mind. With this momentary lapse, I was recharged and ready to face reality again. In this view, fantasy can be understood to fulfil '[w]hat is felt to be lacking' in life (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 178). In other words, it can be an 'expression of a specific longing' (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 182). In reality, some longings may be almost impossible to fulfil. For instance, one cannot resurrect the dead; however, fantasy enables individuals to spend time with those who are long gone. Moreover, fantasy might allow individuals to have debauched imaginings that involve breaking social taboos (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, pp. 187–188). Fantasy is often unlimited – any social misdemeanour, violence or harassment that would be unacceptable and illicit in real life becomes imaginable in the world of fantasy. These wishful or forbidden aspects of fantasy have long been featured in contemporary novels, soap operas, TV drama series, films, and pornography. The distant and unrealistic world depicted in these mediatized images potentially affords viewers with an opportunity to take a break from reality while allowing them to indulge in the unrealistic imagination.

However, fantasy might provide much more than just a pathway for escape. It could also become a means for passengers to imagine an alternative reality and identify themselves in it (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 199). It could create an opening in the economy of inattention to temporarily halt their habituated inattentiveness. The creation of fantasy requires attentiveness to the surrounding environment and memories from the past, however blurred they are. Contrary to popular assumptions about the separation between reality and fantasy, the latter almost always engages with the former to source referents including signs and images. Apart from being an escape, fantasy is also inherently an alternation and a dislocation of reality in the way one hopefully anticipates (Bloch, 1986). Fantasy allows passengers dwelling in the compartment to 'play with the ideas of alternative realities' (Ehn & Löfgren, 2010, p. 181).

**Conclusion**

The aim of this chapter was to identify potential openings that emerge in the seemingly most controlled and surveilled railway spaces, in attempt to respond to the third research question. This research question that this chapter sought to examine whether the mechanisms of control, which I explored in the previous chapters, are completely impenetrable. Until now, I have depicted the seemingly comprehensive mechanisms of control where passengers develop a desire for technological, spatial and temporal governance from which they seek the pleasure of security. The previous chapters have shown how pervasive the network circuits of control are becoming in urban railway space today as the customer service regime modulates the bodies of passengers. In these chapters, I suggested that passengers not only willingly submit themselves to this mechanism but might also partake in (re)enrolling those who deviate from it and those who try to dislocate it. This seems to suggest that it seems almost impossible for passengers to find asylum from the mechanism of control. In contrast to this, however, this chapter has revealed that passengers can actively create fissures in the mechanism. It looked into the potential capacity of passengers' desire for envisaging a world outside the limit of what they see or experience. While consuming signs and images at the symbolic and affective levels, they might be able to assemble these elements to fabricate a dream world and reenchant themselves in it. Hence, passengers do not stop short at consuming signs and images but they can actively produce their own unique dream world from these referents. This productive capacity of imaginative mobilities potentially bolsters passengers' virtual mobilities even in the railway compartment where they find physical confinement. The dream world thereby creates an asylum for passengers.

In the advent of modernity, Simmel (1950) argued that urban subjects suffered from sensory overload and as a result developed a blasé attitude to shut out most stimuli from their sensory registers. Many of these overpowering stimuli including noise and speed, however, recede into the background as they become used to them. This chapter has thus shown that passengers' inattentiveness to sensory stimuli in railway spaces emerges from habituation rather than withdrawal, as they embody certain coping mechanisms through repetitive encounters with these

stimuli in railway spaces. The habituated body develops inattentiveness to physical movement but at the same time cultivates a space for imaginative mobilities. The chapter observed how passengers might find a way to "pause" their habituated body and play with their autonomy and yet sometimes wander off in unexpected directions that are far beyond their wilful control (see also Bissell, 2012). This is for passengers only a momentary pastime but can serve as the necessary break from their insecurity with which they are confronted on an everyday basis. Even though contemporary railway spaces are constructed around the desire for and pleasure of containment, imaginative mobilities continue to provide passengers with a sanctuary to bear with the demands of reality and a strong propulsion to keep their hopes for the future alive. If anything, imaginative mobilities provide us with a better understanding of the complexities of reality and move us forward every day.

**CONCLUSION**

I opened this thesis with the oft-asked question: 'Why are Japanese people so orderly?' As I explained in the introduction, this question requires a reframing. How do individuals become orderly? What is the mechanism behind it? These were the main questions that this thesis explored in the context of urban railway spaces in Japan. The thesis has been concerned with the rise of "soft control" through which passengers become not just subject to control but also active agents of control themselves to collectivize their multiplicities and differences. The thesis built upon the discussion in the fields of mobilities studies and surveillance studies to bridge a knowledge gap between these two fields. While current research in mobilities studies discusses very little about securitization, the literature in surveillance studies has tended to overlook the contributions of a mobilities perspective. To close the gap and advance these fields of study, this thesis responded to the following three research questions:

1. How are different forms of soft control tied into customer service provision to (re)shape passenger mobilities?

2. How does customer service provision intervene into, and take hold of, passengers' bodies in urban railway spaces?

3. How pervasive is this form of securitization and is there any possibility for escape from the networked circuits of control?

To tackle these questions, this thesis looked into four sites of affective modulation – technology, space, time and imagination – and investigated how passengers' desires are engineered, cultivated, manipulated, controlled and contained within narrow confines in urban railway spaces. The thesis has argued that the modulative mechanism of soft control mediates interactions between passengers to not only curtail but also redirect and circulate a certain range of affective intensities in urban railway spaces. Through this, the thesis has suggested that passengers' bodies are induced rather than suppressed to actively embody a certain set of comportments so that they behave in an orderly manner and act upon those who may potentially bring about disruption. The thesis

situated these modulative mechanisms as a means of collectivization of disparate bodies in the formation of a passenger flow as a strategy for promoting security and producing comfort, providing passengers with a strong impetus to intervene into other passengers' conducts. In doing so, this thesis addressed the subject of securitization through certain forms of soft control, which have thus far been little discussed in the existing literature.

The primary aim of this closing chapter is to bring together discussions around the key themes of this thesis with reference to the question of control in the context of the late capitalist Japanese economy. The first part discusses the growing significance of better understanding urban railway spaces today. In this part I return to some of the key issues discussed in the previous chapters that examine the transformation of railway spaces and of railway passengers. The second part moves on to re-articulate the main argument of this thesis and surveys possible implications of the changing face of control in urban railway spaces. The final part then reviews the discussions I put forth in this thesis around the overarching theme of security and the potential opening in the seemingly impenetrable network of control.

As this thesis has demonstrated, Japanese transit spaces of urban railway travel are organized in a particular configuration. Due to their configuration and materiality, these spaces have given rise to particular forms of securitization. Urban railway spaces are often intersections of a diverse range of individuals, constituting what Freedman (2011) describes as 'a traveling universe, temporarily enclosing unrelated people together' (p. 41). The thesis focused on urban railway spaces where individuals with a range of socio-economic backgrounds come together. It is one of the busiest intersections of urban space, where individuals with different occupations, age, class, gender, ethnicity and religion, gather to share the same space in the course of their railway travel (Adey, 2010, p. 23). Such experience of sharing space and time with fellow passengers potentially brings a great level of stress, discomfort and exhaustion.

In such enclosed spaces as railway platforms and the compartments, the physical proximity between passengers imposes a large degree of immobility while on the move. According to a

report made by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism in 2012, the congestion rate reaches above 180% in fifteen sections of the main commuter railway lines during the rush hours in Tokyo (MLIT, 2013). In some of these sections, it was reported that the rate even occasionally goes above 200%, a rate at which passengers can neither avoid touching each other's bodies, nor enter the carriage without pushing other passengers. Despite this, the report notes that conditions had improved since the 1970s, when a vast number of migrant workers from rural areas put pressure on urban population and transport infrastructure; a 300% congestion rate was not unusual then (Sugiyama, 2012, p. 472). At times, congestion in the railway station concourse can be as demeaning as that inside the carriage. It prevents individuals from moving freely, slowing down their speed of movement and restricting their mobilities.

In the past decade, the rise of the 'new mobilities paradigm' (Sheller & Urry, 2006) has led to a growing interest amongst sociologists to capture the significance of experiences and events unfolding in transit spaces such as railway stations and airports. This paradigm endeavours to critically examine the branding of the spaces of mobilities as "non-places" where passengers may be confronted with 'ordeals of solitude' (Augé, 1995, p. 93). Instead, the paradigm follows Bergson to propose that the 'perception of immobility is an illusion, a fiction. In reality a body or an object is always moving, it is always changing' (Adey, 2010, p. 6). The paradigm analyses spaces of mobilities as vibrant intersections between human bodies and between bodies and objects. This is to situate mobility as a key building block of society to better understand what it means to being "on the move-with", how mobilities shape and reshape lives of individuals (Adey, 2010, p. 13).

To develop this paradigm, this thesis explored how interactions between passengers in railway spaces are modulated to collectivize their differences in the shaping of passengers' bodies, spotlighting the multiple processes of 'becoming' rather the more static lens of 'being'. The thesis conducted empirical observations to investigate how passengers' bodies are intervened, engineered, cultivated and manipulated through various forms of soft control. Where the existing literature of mobilities studies has often overlooked the significance of the contemporary service-

oriented economy, this thesis underlined the powerful force of the networked circuits of control in which passenger mobilities are embedded. This nuanced analysis revealed the complexities of passenger mobilities in urban railway spaces. In this setting, however, excessive intensities arising between passengers could potentially unfold in an unexpected manner that is difficult to manage in its entirety (Bissell, 2009). In other words, the relations forged between passengers could possibly generate unpredictable events and disrupt the orderly working of railway operations.

This thesis has described how railway operators have in response implemented a range of devices to mediate, contain and modulate these intensities and control their mobilities. The thesis has pointed out that the current literature has so far tended to focus on various technologies of "hard control", which deploys forces of discipline and punishment. In contrast, this thesis has underscored different techniques of "soft control", which intervene and modulate passengers' bodies to subtly yet forcefully modify their behaviours. This thesis suggested that the techniques of "soft control" are increasingly shaping a vital part of the security operations in urban railway spaces. In other words, securitization in these spaces is increasingly conducted through encouragement, promotion and manipulation rather than discipline, repression and punishment. Put differently, passenger mobilities are not just circumscribed but also facilitated and reinforced in a certain direction by various forms of "soft control". By interrogating the shaping of passenger mobilities in connection with security operations conducted through different forms of "soft control", this thesis contributed to and advanced the existing literature in a new direction in both mobilities studies and surveillance studies.

Moreover, this thesis has advanced new agendas in the existing literature by bringing in the discussion on the service-oriented economy where the figure of the customer has become a prevailing force to whom the management and the worker become obligated in the pursuit of capital gain. Today, passengers are treated not just as "passengers" but also as "customers", as the rise of the service-oriented economy has brought a radical change to the railway industry. This thesis has described how recent years have seen a number of Japanese urban railway operators promoting their new customer service implementations that are claimed to transform the stressful

experience of railway travel into one that evokes a sense of security. To further expand on this point, the following part summarizes a transition in the concept of the working body in parallel with the growth of the service-oriented economy.

The intensification of modulative control has re-conceptualized the role of a railway worker today in a radically different manner from that in the industrial economy, in which the worker was often conceived in relation to industrial machinery that 'converted energy into mechanical work' (Rabinbach, 1992, p. 2). For most physiologists back then, the language of energy played the central role in conceiving of the working body as 'a machine capable of infinite productivity and, if possessed with true consciousness, resistant to fatigue … [and] the body both as a productive force and as a political instrument whose energies could be subjected to scientifically designed systems of organization' (Rabinbach, 1992, p. 2). As such, the factory worker's body was trained to become the most versatile and productive instrument and undertake as many tasks as possible within a limited time period. Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times* iconically illuminated this ideal. Workers were conceived as mere instruments of a machine in order to undertake a repetitive assigned task within a set time while being forbidden from thinking about the process of production itself.

However, as this thesis has shown, the working body has been reconceptualised in the contemporary service-oriented economy. The body is no longer seen as a passive instrument but is now reconceived as a vital medium for nurturing a good relationship with customers to accommodate and manipulate their desires. This thesis has argued that this kind of labour, known as "immaterial" labour, plays a central role in exercising soft control. This reconceptualization of the working body prompts workers to develop skills for interactive service work as they become the central figure in engineering, cultivating and manipulating customers' bodies. In the context of railway spaces, as I have demonstrated in Chapter 4, Smile Scan technology has been used by an urban railway operator to modulate workers' faces so that they can affectively reach out to passengers' bodies. The technologically mediated face becomes an important vector through which affective intensities are circulated and distributed to collectivize bodies on the move in

urban railway spaces. This "soft" approach to collectivization may be contrasted with the "hard" approach involving intensive security operations that gained support particularly in the aftermaths of a series of indiscriminate bomb attacks in Madrid and London in the early 2000s.

While the literature on the intensifying security operations in public spaces has almost always focused on surveillance, this thesis has demonstrated that the practice of surveillance is often more complex than it has been suggested thus far. To analyse the complexity of surveillance practices in urban railway spaces, this thesis delineated the distinction between "hard" technologies and "soft" techniques of surveillance. Markedly, CCTV and security guards are the two most commonly deployed "hard" surveillance devices in urban railway spaces with which the current literature on surveillance has extensively engaged. The literature has illuminated the ubiquity of these devices and how they produce power relations between the gazer and the gazed-at in railway spaces (see for example Muller & Boos, 2004). These "hard" technologies are intended not just to monitor passengers' conducts but also to provide an assurance of security, making passengers feel more protected when they are on the move.

There is, however, another form of surveillance. Unlike the "hard" forms of surveillance, which manifest clear power differentials between the watcher and the watched, the "soft" forms of surveillance induce the subjects of surveillance to watch each other's behaviours. By illustrating the operations of soft surveillance at work, Chapter 5 augmented the literature on surveillance, which has tended to downplay the complexity of the gazer-gazed-at relations. In particular, very little has been written on the contagious dimension of contemporary surveillance practices that transform the gazed subjects into the gazing subjects. The modulative force is impinged upon railway passengers' desire for security. The sense of insecurity is amplified to induce passengers to voluntarily lay themselves bare to authorities in return for the assurance of security. However, I looked further to argue that this "theatre of insecurity" engenders a sense of mistrust between passengers and as a consequence, prompts them to watch each other to ensure that fellow passengers are observing the same set of rules. This mechanism of enrolment transforms passive recipients into active agents of surveillance and prompts them to monitor and discourage others

from engaging in behaviours that are regarded as deviant. The "theatre of insecurity" therefore encourages individual passengers to take part in the networked circuits of control. This understanding of security operations, emphasizing the significance of the body not just as the surveillant text but also as the surveilling device, offers us an understanding of the obscure yet extremely effective nature of "soft control" in urban railway spaces.

In addition to spatial governance, this form of "soft control" provides a strong means of assuring normalized and punctual railway operations and of assuring passengers of security – the central theme of Chapter 6. Mobilizing a large number of passengers without any hindrance in pursuit of logistical efficiency cannot be achieved singlehandedly by the operator but, most vitally, requires cooperation from passengers. Here, passengers' desire for punctuality becomes essential to warrant their cooperation. To do this, railway operators run railway operations in a punctual manner to offer passengers a sense of security. Passengers then habituate themselves to the order of operation, which enables them to "autopilot" their movements in urban railway spaces. However, when the orderliness of the railway operation is disrupted, passengers develop a 'feeling of detachment' (Ahmed, 2004, p. 66) and their bodies become dislocated from "autopilot" mode.

There is almost always a risk that disorderly events will materialize from railway infrastructures, caused by passenger misconduct, weather conditions and/or other obstructions. Because of the densely interwoven running schedule of the urban railway network, a delay of one train affects others, which then need to adjust their departure and arrival times. Accordingly, passengers are informed about the next train arrivals and possible delays, and importantly, railway drivers are often trained to strictly follow a set timetable. These technologies organize urban railway spaces in a way that enables passengers to flow without disruption. Hence, the mechanism of temporal governance demonstrates its strength in regulating passengers' bodies and upholding their mobilities in urban railway spaces in enforcing an on-time railway operation. Once time discipline is adhered onto passengers' bodies, the act of being on time begins to invoke a pleasurable experience for passengers, and in turn this cultivates a strong attachment to the idea of punctuality. As the fixed temporality regulates and aligns passengers' bodies, it engenders a sense of security

to facilitate their mobilities. This dialogical mechanism is what makes the "soft" form of control so seductive and effective.

While the "soft" form of control targets passengers' bodies in an indirect and subtle manner to provoke certain responses to engage in particular behaviours, it sometimes leads to unintended consequences. This is mostly due to the uncontainable nature of affective intensities (Manning, 2009). This thesis has discussed the productive force of affective intensities, which are almost always contested, and any attempt to intentionally manipulate, engineer or eliminate a particular range of intensities almost always generates by-products. Hence, these intensities cannot be managed or directed to a full extent, while they may be induced and manipulated to a certain degree. At the core of the contemporary logic of control is cooperation and contestation between authorities and passengers in the context of urban railway spaces. Against this background, this thesis has posited that railway operators cannot just designate passengers as active agents of control. The uncontainable nature of affective intensities, however, can encourage passengers to deploy forces of imaginative mobilities to create and dwell in their own world to temporarily escape from the network of control in which they are forcibly enfolded.

This powerful modulative mechanism does not necessarily mean that passengers are helpless cogs in the machine prevented from moving away. As I showed in Chapter 7, passengers often engage in an alternative tactic of sanctuary to break away from the network of control. In addition to "material" shields such as the newspaper, the mobile phone and the music player, passengers habituate to the dwelling-state of being mobile with others. This dwelling-state helps them not only maintain a sanctuary in which they can move through the railway spaces smoothly without their mobility being overly disrupted, but also enhances their "virtual" mobility. Being part of a mobile collective leads passengers' bodies to develop an "autopilot" mode, allowing them to turn their attention away from the act of walking itself and open up a mental space for daydreaming (Bissell, 2015). As I demonstrated in Chapter 7, this space might provide an opening in the apparatuses of containment constructed through both "hard" and "soft" forms of control. Even in this seemingly comprehensive system of control, passengers might be able to actively create

fissures through their potent capacity for envisaging a world outside the limit of what they see or experience "here and now". Hence, passengers' imaginative capacity can be understood as productive and enabling in the sense that it augments their virtual mobilities even in a setting where they are given very little physical space. In this sense, imaginative travel can potentially create a space of hope that is yet to (be)come (Bloch, 1986).

For future trajectories beyond this thesis, the prevalence of different forms of "soft control" in urban railway spaces prompts us to turn to its socio-political implications in the context of the "post-political", which has become a key analytical framework in the field of political theory in the past decade. In the "post-political" world, we are faced with a growing prevalence of harmony rather than conflict, consensus-making rather than claim-making, deliberation rather than confrontation, and modulation rather than compulsion (Mouffe, 1993). In this light, critical social theorists such as Mouffe (1993; 2000), Rancière (2001) and Zizek (2008) contend that the nature of politics is inherently conflictual and the real potential of democracy lies in its "agonistic" dynamism. To build on the main concern of this thesis, future studies may be able to explore how the "soft" form of control becomes instrumental in shaping individuals to reinforce the "post-political" world in which '[r]elations of power and antagonisms are erased' (Mouffe, 2000, p. 20). These critical theorists theorizing the "post-political" nonetheless only discuss this subject in the confines of high level politics in terms of political systems, institutions, regulations, or policy arenas. Future research should thus consider how the routine act of railway travel, occurring at the "low" everyday level of politics, ultimately contributes to the formation of a "post-political" subject. This will demand a further analysis of how "common sense" could be deployed as a totalitarian instrument to marginalize differences.

To sum up, this thesis underscored that the growing concern about security in urban railway spaces has led to not just "hard" approaches of securitization involving the traditional surveillance technologies but also "soft" approaches practised through service implementations directed at generating particular configurations of time and space to make passengers feel assured of protection from disorder. One of the key arguments of this thesis was that the contemporary

customer service regime is becoming a medium through which passengers are collectivized. Affective intensities, modulated through technology, space, time and imagination become central to the shaping of individual passengers and interweaving them into the networked circuits of control.

The aim of this thesis has been to examine how the four interfaces of modulation – technology, space, time and imagination – mediate passengers' bodies while bringing them into structures of governance. Urban railway spaces can potentially be an uncomfortable dwelling for those who travel frequently. Being squeezed into a carriage can be a distressing, exhausting and stressful event. By putting myself in the role of a daily railway traveller during the fieldwork, I observed that urban railway travel was rarely a pleasant experience and was usually a physically and mentally taxing activity. However, what made such an experience bearable was that it was often buffered, curtailed, channelled and mediated through "soft" technologies of control. In contrast to disciplinary strategies, the network of "soft" control incorporates passengers into an orderly flow through facilitating an atmosphere to inhibit disruptive behaviours from materializing.

Being part of a flow often invokes a strong sense of security, forcing passengers with undesirable comportments to coordinate their behaviour in line with those with desirable comportments. This work of coordination becomes a vital force for maintaining smooth mobility in contemporary urban railway spaces in Japan. The prevailing form of control – "soft" control – is contingent upon the constant reproduction of the desire for security. The sense of security engendered through being mobile with others induces passengers to take on the role of authority themselves to actively police fellow passengers' behaviours. In the process of becoming part of the flow, they are enrolled to participate in the networked circuits of control and themselves become agents of control. This underlying mechanism of collectivization forcibly annihilates differences and multiplicities. This is perhaps what makes individuals appear "Japanese".

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