Japanese Atmospheres of Criminal Justice

Introduction

Through interdisciplinary engagement and conversations over the last decade and a half, criminology has been evolving conceptually in numerous directions. Cultural criminology posited that crime and crime control are both 'creative constructs' that must be placed in the contexts offered by culture, (Hayward and Young 2004: 259), an idea later extended within visual criminology, which drew from aesthetics and cultural studies to argue that the ubiquity and power of images in contemporary culture posed particular challenges, and asked criminologists to 'fuse precise visual attentiveness with politically charged analysis' (Hayward and Presdee 2010: 3; see also Brown and Carrabine 2017, Millie 2016).

From geography and urban studies, criminology embraced (re)conceptualisations of place and location as dynamic and productive to think through the significance of the spatial both in understanding crime, and in developing an expanded sense of what space might mean (Hayward 2012). And after several years in which criminologists debated the value of acknowledging emotion in criminological scholarship (Jewkes 2011, Karstedt 2002), criminology has been engaging with the meaning and articulation of affect (and its relationship to emotion) in discussions of crime, victimisation and criminal justice, in order to elicit 'a more detailed analysis of the affective power of "crime" and its capacity to bring the city into being', (Campbell 2013: 21) and to analyse the 'affective encounter' between citizens, crimes and (the traces of) others (Young 2014). To date less studied than the central organising ideas of these nascent paradigms, the concept of atmosphere nonetheless cuts across and has implications for each one of them. Closely theorised in philosophy (Bille et al

2015, Sloterdijk 2009) and geography (Adey 2013, Bissell 2018, Edensor 2012), the concept has also recently been discussed in legal studies (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2015, Wall 2016). This article argues that atmosphere offers much of value for criminological thinking.

What is an atmosphere? It can usefully be thought of as that which connects individuals within and to the spaces they occupy or move through. It would be incorrect to associate atmosphere with any singular subjective reaction to a situation or place: 'an atmosphere is never exclusively a psychological phenomenon, as state-of-mind, nor solely an objective thing "out there", as an environment or milieu; atmospheres are always located in-between experiences and environments' (Bille et al 2015: 32). Instead, atmosphere should be conceptualised through the ways in which it takes place, and in respect of the bodies, or subjects, between whom it establishes relations and connections: 'atmospheres are generated by bodies… affecting one another as some form of environment is produced' (Anderson 2009: 80).

In this article, three scenes of criminal justice are considered: their distinctive atmospheres tell us much about affect, the aesthetic, and spatiality. Any atmosphere 'produces and seeks to capture multiple, expressive and overlapping spatialities' (Anderson 2009: 83), and detailed attention is therefore paid in this article to the textures and topography of the locations under consideration. Spatiality, affect and the aesthetic conjoin in atmospheres, which, as Stewart notes, 'have a characteristic spatial form – diffusion within a sphere… Affective qualities emanate from the assembling of the human bodies, discursive bodies, non-human bodies, and all the other bodies that make up everyday sites' (Stewart 2007: 80). In discussing the affective aspects of criminal justice atmospheres, my approach aligns with that of Anderson (2009) and Ellis et al (2013), whose theorisation of affect followed Massumi

(2002) and Deluze and Guattari (1987). When researchers such as Ellis, Tucker and Harper argue that affect has a 'non-representational quality' (2013: 725), this is not to argue in the terms of 'non-representational theory' (NRT), which seeks to expand the repertoire of semiotic devices and dimensions through which signification can take place. Instead, affect is argued to exist somewhere between or before experience and cognition; as such it is best conceptualised as an intensity rather than as emotion. Anderson writes:

> 'affective atmospheres are a class of experience that occur *before* and *alongside* the formation of subjectivity, *across* human and non-human materialities, and *in-between* subject/object distinctions… As such, atmospheres are the shared ground from which subjective states and their attendant feelings and emotions emerge.' (2009: 78) (italics in original)

To that extent, the affective quality of atmospheres exceeds relativistic limits that relate to potential variations in subjective individual experience or interpretation. Atmospheres are not (or not only) what *we* make them; instead, atmospheres exist in ways whose inherent potential ambiguities enables reflection on 'collective affects that are not reducible to the individual bodies that they emanate from' (Anderson 2009: 80). The prison guard and the inmate no doubt respond distinctly to a prison's atmosphere, but their varying emotional subjectivities do not undermine the particular components of the prison atmosphere that work to produce, for each of them, an affective attachment that becomes registered in their bodies as emotion. Thus, the structurally affective, poetic, spatial, and material qualities of the scene can be recounted and theorised, asking of them, 'what does an [atmosphere] make it possible to be, to experience, to do, to perceive, and to share?' (Thibaud 2015: 40). If we are to think of criminal justice settings as atmospheric, what can we learn?

In what follows, this question will be considered in the context of a research project examining aspects of criminal justice in Japan. After an initial discussion of the qualitative ethnographic method and critical comparativist perspective utilised at the project's selected locations, the article will consider in detail the varying affective atmospheres they engender, before concluding with proposals as to the suggested value of a focus on atmosphere for criminological research.

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Researching Atmospheres

Much of the time, atmospheres are almost imperceptible. While this might imply the impossibility of analysing atmosphere, there are moments when atmospheres become readily apparent: first, moving from one atmosphere into another. A shopping mall is substantially similar to a high street lined with shops, but entry into the mall will usher in a perceptibly different atmosphere, with piped music, fountains, polished floors, and numerous other design features, than that of the street with its traffic noise and fumes, concrete pavements and exposure to weather. Atmosphere exists most noticeably as a phenomenon that is encountered: most obvious in the initial moments of an encounter, receding or diffusing as it becomes familiar or expected. Secondly, atmospheres can be perceived when ruptured by an unexpected element or occurrence, such as when a fire alarm sounds. Rupture of one atmosphere might lead to its being replaced by another; alternatively, the sense of difference may retreat, as the previous atmosphere returns. In either eventuality, the rupture fosters a momentary ability to identify what has been interrupted or lost – a sense of peacefulness, or a quality of everyday activity, or an institution's orderly routines.

As a strategy of attunement to the workings of criminal justice atmospherics, it can be useful

to forsake the familiar environs of a domestic criminal justice system. To that end, this article approaches well-known institutions of criminal justice – the prison and police – in what may be the relatively unfamiliar setting of the Japanese system. Criminological interest in Japan has tended towards discussions of a range of discrete issues. First, scholars have engaged with Japanese social and cultural contexts thought to have influenced the contours of its criminal justice practices (Herber 2003, Komiya 1999). Interest has also been shown in Japan's comparatively low crime rate[1] and some of the specific and distinctive institutions or processes within Japanese criminal justice processes have received Western critical attention, especially with respect to its version of community policing, retention of the death penalty, and the introduction in 2009 of a 'lay judge system', called the *saiban-in seido*, which echoes, but does not correspond to, the Western jury system in criminal cases. Within this possibly unfamiliar jurisdiction, this article proposes to consider two well-known institutions of criminal justice – prison and police – in three scenes in which their atmospherics have been placed under examination. These are the small buildings from which the Japanese police engage in community policing, a museum dedicated to the leisure consumption of Japanese policing, and a metropolitan prison.

Research for this article was carried out as part of an ongoing project inquiring into the relationship between criminal justice and urban environments.[2] Research material was collected during several research visits to Tokyo between 2015 and 2017, and during a teaching exchange in Kyoto in 2017, which allowed extensive access to Kyoto Prison. As an investigation of particular places, the project can be located within traditions in criminological research emphasising situational and situated engagement coupled with qualitative ethnographic investigation of locales, in which the researcher observed interactions and made detailed field notes, videographic recordings and photographic documentation.[3] These ethnographic methods were adapted according to the exigencies of

the specific locations and institutions: for example, only one visit to the prison was possible, and the visit's duration and itinerary were determined by its officials. Furthermore, the prison was visited along with a group of students, a context that shaped the format and conduct of the time spent there, but also created opportunities for direct engagement with prison staff, including custodial guards and the Deputy Governor. In contrast, the researcher visited the Police Museum as an ordinary visitor would do and was able to move freely within the building and spend several hours there. Similarly, the locations of the various *koban* within urban neighbourhoods permitted repeated and lengthy observations, with the researcher able to return at different hours of the day and night, and to conduct video-recording and photodocumentation as well as compiling fieldnotes. This kind of detailed and flexibly adaptive ethnography of place allows the researcher to 'tune in' to the structure, appearance and interactions within an environment or experience.

The major risk for Western criminological investigation into Japanese criminal justice is that of constructing its processes as esoteric and idiosyncratic. In discussing any very different system of criminal justice, its characteristics can become viewed as peculiarities. As Nelken reminds us, 'we need to recognize that, although criminal justice practices gain their sense from the setting that shapes them and the conditions with which they have to deal, they can also be understood by outsiders and need to be evaluated according to cosmopolitan and not only local criteria' (2009: 292). Through reflexive engagement and critical attention, aspects of Japanese criminal justice can reveal shared commonalities and points of congruence through which taken-for-granted understandings of Western criminal justice processes may be questioned, critiqued, and enriched.

Scene 1: Atmospheres in Miniature

The *koban* is often explained to Westerners as a 'police box', a term that engenders for many an image of the Tardis in the long-running television series, *Doctor Who*. Police boxes in Britain were upright and narrow, with an inset telephone, based on an original design by Gilbert Mackenzie Trench for the London Metropolitan Police in 1929, and roll-out nationally from 1928 to 1937.[4] Conceived of in Britain as a kind of telephone box connected to a local police station, in Japan a *koban* is a miniature police station, staffed by officers available for interactions with the public.

There are over 6,500 *koban* in Japan.[5] They are found in most neighbourhoods in urban centres; in Tokyo, there are over 1200 *koban.*[6] Originally known as *hashutusho* ('despatch station' or 'local police station'), their uses are many: providing assistance in the event of a crime, giving directions to a lost passer-by, and acting as a reminder that the neighbourhood is under governance. *Koban* signify themselves to the public through a range of features and semiotic devices. They often have an exterior sign that states *KOBAN* in romanized lettering, and in a distinctive font. A police officer's cap, drawn in jaunty graphic style, sits atop the word. Other versions show a contemporary police car, or the cartoonish mouse that is the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Department's official mascot, or a drawing of a horse-mounted soldier in a long-outmoded uniform bearing a child happily waving to the viewer. At night, a red light is illuminated outside the box.

Inside, the main room of the *koban* usually contains a desk and chairs, a notice board, and sometimes a sink. There may be a small room to the rear, and an upstairs room might house a futon. Outside the *koban*, notices warn citizens about wanted individuals and any recent high-profile crimes. (Some *koban* have an electronic noticeboard; most opt for standard

paper posters encased in a narrow glass-covered cabinet.) There may be up to eight officers rostered on duty. At Shibuya Crossing, one of the busiest intersections in Tokyo, where thousands cross at the traffic lights every three minutes, frequently four or five officers are visible in the *koban* beside the Crossing. Occasionally, a *koban* will be empty of officers: officers may be on neighbourhood patrol or called to assist at an incident, leaving the *koban* unstaffed.

Even if they did not always include signage proclaiming their function, *koban* are immediately recognizable, by virtue of their petite scale relative to their environs, their narrow design, and location close to busy traffic intersections, train stations, or shopping malls. Rarely more than two-storey structures, they are often dwarved by much taller buildings, especially in the modernised neighbourhoods of Tokyo. In Ebisu, the *koban* sits below an overpass for train lines and next to a seven-storey shopping mall; in Ginza, the *koban* is anachronistically tiny amid a forest of neon-decorated skyscrapers.

The structures also share common features: a window through which officers look out at the scene before them, a doorway which is usually open if the *koban* is staffed, and a bicycle rack at the side or rear for officers' bikes. Beyond this commonality of shape, scale and location, the design of *koban* allows for infinite variation: no two *koban* are alike. There are variations in exterior colour, roof shape, and materials used. In Omotesando, the *koban* is grey, metallic and cube-like; in Shinjuku the turret on top of one of the neighbourhood *koban* makes it resemble a miniature castle from a fairy story; in Kyobashi, near Ginza, a *koban* seems to have a decorative 'hat' added to it.

A strict template governs the shape of a *koban*; beyond that there is extensive scope for diversity of adornment. In this, *koban* conform to a common Japanese mode of design: 'A

pattern exists for everything: for temples, kimono, carpenters' saws, and the new is often built in the shape of the old… This traditional rigidity is in the outline, the profile… In the decoration is individual variation: endless, myriad, protean invention' (Richie 2011: 26). Architectural inventiveness has been vast: 'From traditional Japanese architecture to art deco and ultra-tech futurism, every style is represented in these quirky little boxes' (Gianni 2011: no pagination).

Koban have become local architectural landmarks, and not just for their decorative diversity. The buildings are seen as *kawaii*, that particularly Japanese sense of 'cuteness' combining smallness, openness and vulnerability, and an often feminised youthfulness. Inextricably associated with products such as 'Hello Kitty' merchandise, *kawaii* imagery has also been 'incorporated and assimilated into mainstream Japanese culture and social institutions. Cuteness has even become infused into the Japanese government' in the mascots identified with the police force and army, among other organisations (Decatur 2012: unpaginated; see also Rush and Young 2018). As Parker writes, 'the ubiquity and small size of *koban* help to make the police seem more friendly; there is something cute about the tiny little buildings' (2016: unpaginated).

How do these 'cute', miniature buildings communicate an atmospherics of Japanese policing? Founded in 1874, in its early years, after the Meiji Restoration, the Japanese police force was originally concerned with the quelling of local rebellions and uprisings, adopting a repressive and strict mode of engagement with the public. In more recent years, however, Japanese policing has been transformed, with considerable emphasis on neighbourhood cooperative ventures, crime prevention, and community collaboration (Johnson 2014). As Aldous and Leishman relate, many Western commentators in the 1970s attributed Japanese

low crime rates to the impact of 'the kindly neighbourhood patrol officer based at the local police-box' (1997: 144). Contemporary criminal justice discourses still seem to assert the success of Japan's central strategy of community policing. The National Policy Agency remarked:

> For most community residents, community police officers are both tough crime fighters and friendly protectors. They call them '*omawari-san*' (Dear patrol officer) with a degree of respect and affection. The term conveys the image of someone who is gentle but strong, like a big brother or uncle.[7]

The atmosphere of criminal justice at and around a *koban* combines the central component of Japan's community policing strategy (officers whose everyday objective is to respond to and engage with the public) with an accessible architectural form both iconic and mundane (utilising stylistically variegated, small-scale, street-level buildings designed to be open and approachable) multiplied hundreds of times over, forming a network that connects together the neighbourhoods of a city.

Together, the tiny police boxes, with their small numbers of officers stationed inside, and the officers' embeddedness within local neighbourhoods signify the apotheosis of a union between 'community' and 'policing'. Interactions with officers in a *koban* exemplify this apotheosis. The *koban* is always approached on foot, and its location encourages this: the buildings are often located at a slight distance from the roadway so that it would be inconvenient to drive up to the *koban*. Passers-by can see into a *koban* through its window, and officers often stand at the *koban* door, which is left open: one does not have to knock or to claim the officer's attention through any means other than walking up and speaking.

Since many inquiries at *koban* have often been to ascertain the location of a nearby landmark or address, large maps can often be found next to *koban*; requests for directions remain frequent, however, especially from tourists grappling with the unfamiliar Japanese address system. Clear echoes can be found of the British sayings, 'if you are lost, ask a police officer' or 'if you want to know the time, ask a police officer'. That British police officers are now far less commonly seen as a repository of knowledge about locations and the time of day is partly a consequence of shifts in technology, since most citizens now possess geo-locative devices that can both tell the time and direct someone to a location. But it is also partly due to shifts both in policing tactics, whereby there are fewer officers 'on the beat' and accessible to an individual with a simple query, and in public attitudes to police officers, to the extent that it might never occur to many citizens that such an inquiry could be made. In Japan, however, that interactions such as these are understood to be a fundamental aspect of the relationship between citizen and police is encouraged by the atmosphere generated at and around every *koban*. For all of the obvious and necessary caveats regarding the *koban*'s function as an extensive surveillent net, while attempts in countries such as Britain to develop a successful 'ambient policing' have been criticised as meaninglessly 'wide but shallow' (Loader 2006: 203; see also Awan et al 2018), the network of *koban* in cities such as Tokyo point to another version of community policing, and a means by which a banally ambient policing could be replaced instead with an engaged and engaging atmosphere.

Scene 2: Curating Law Enforcement

In Kyobashi, near Ginza, the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Museum is situated on a busy road

(across from a *koban*). Rising five storeys high, the narrow building is an exemplar of modernist architecture in metal and glass. The words 'POLICE MUSEUM' are written in English from top to bottom down the front façade's right-hand side; the police mascot is painted there too. Videos play on a screen above the museum's entrance. Running on a loop are short segments featuring different Police Department divisions, with action sequences depicting officers arriving at crime scenes, in pursuit of criminals, or doing face-to-camera statements about their commitment to law enforcement. To the left of the entrance door sits a scale model of a *koban*; to the right a police car, thus melding scale models, mascots, high-resolution moving images depicting actual officers (albeit in staged settings), and an actual car. These disparate elements together link the spectator, the space of the museum and the work of the police officer engaged in the activities of law enforcement. As such, the forecourt display combines representational strategies of simulation, narration, and testimonial evidence – a combination that will also characterise each of the five floors of display within the museum.

Once inside the museum foyer, more models are on display: life-sized replicas of a police helicopter and of a police officer's motorbike, along with that of an officer abseiling down the wall. Visitors are encouraged by the museum receptionist to climb into the helicopter and to sit on the motorbike; in another section of the lobby can be found child-sized versions of police uniforms and changing rooms: children can dress up in uniform and pose in front of mirrors.

The museum's various floors are organised around a range of themes. The visitor is encouraged to start at the top of the building and walk down. The forms of display vary on each floor in accordance with that section's theme. On the fifth floor, which focuses upon the

TMPD's history, modes of display are conventional, with examples of past uniforms exhibited in glass cases, and didactic text highlighting key moments in the development of the police force, such as the stop-start inception of the TPMD thanks to the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877, which necessitated that the nascent police force be suspended for four years. Numerous examples of musical instruments played by officers in the Police Department band are displayed, and this emphasis on the police as music-makers finds an assonance in the offering of a listening station which plays to visitors a range of songs about the police or exhorting citizens to prevent crimes.

Other floors deploy more contemporary modes of representation and display, including maps of the city that light up to show the location and incidence of fictional traffic accidents and crimes. Another displays a near-actual sized scale model of a *koban*, into which the visitor can walk. When she does so, text, in Japanese and English, addresses the visitor as follows: 'You are now a police officer at a *koban*. What happens at a *koban* every day? Let's experience a day of duty at the *koban*'. A looped video plays as if it is the scene viewed by the officer through the *koban* windows. A series of individuals approach the *koban* and speak to the officer, announcing a traffic accident, a found wallet, or simply saying hello and continuing on their way.

Elsewhere can be found exhibits combining immersive interaction with didactic digital quizzes. Visitors can sit at a simulated lab desk to analyse fingerprints; another exhibit offers visitors the chance to match shoes to a series of shoeprints on a white plastic mat, resulting in an activity resembling a forensic distortion of the game 'Twister'. Visitors can also view themselves digitally 'dressed' in a variety of police uniforms. Interactive quizzes ask parents and children, using animated scenarios and multiple-choice options, to 'make

promises' about crime prevention. Children select from two threads, 'promises for when you're at home' and 'promises for when you're outside'. Parents work their way through a different thread, offering them scenarios that test their knowledge of the appropriate action to take to safeguard their child.

The museum builds a worldview of and within policing, encouraging the visitor to combine enjoyment of the museum's exhibits with admiration for the police force as an institution. There are a number of ways in which this is invited. Interactivity and participation prompts a certain amount of identification and projection, but the museum's exhibits also proclaim various ways in which the police as an institution represent the public, generating a secondary level through which the visitor can sense a police-public relation. On the fifth floor, where the history of the police force is showcased, exhibits recount 'the ten most significant criminal events in the history of the TMPD'. Didactic text informs the visitor that these ten events were selected according to public input.

Other displays focus upon occasions when police officers stationed at *koban* were attacked, such as the murder of an officer at the *koban* in Asahigaoka in 1992, by an individual who pretended to be asking for directions. Inclusion of such details positions the police as vulnerable as well as agents of the state possessed of great authority and offer a significant point of identification for visitors. Finally, the various video displays showcasing individuals talking about their work within specialised divisions of the TMPD function like recruitment videos as well as simple communicators of information. The interviewees are young, personable, articulate; simulations of their work are shown, in office settings or in the spaces of the city, allowing a visitor the opportunity to imagine themselves as a member of the police force acting in comparable situations. The museum thus offers a space of seductive

identification, playing out by means of a range of invitations to participate, and therefore to *join* (in). When the visitor departs from the street outside, an atmosphere of affirmation and admiration is constructed for the visitor. Being able to mimic the work of the officer in the *koban* or to view oneself 'dressed' in a hologram of a police uniform positions the visitor to desire the experiences of the police officer.

Although some visitors may not engage with the exhibits, or might mock rather than absorb their messages, the museum works hard to avert such resistance. Its affordances imply that pleasure is obtained through joining in; and in that participation, the visitor finds herself co-implicated in the ideology of law enforcement. As Bennett puts it, 'If the orientation of the prison is to discipline and punish with a view to effecting a change in behaviour, that of the museum is to show and tell so that the people might look and learn… to render power visible to the people and, at the same time, to represent to them that power as their own' (1995: 98).[8] Joining in becomes a form of conjoining, of belonging, of being part of a powerful institution. Entering the atmosphere of the Police Museum offers the visitor an opportunity to move their body around *as if* policing, to participate in the identity 'police officer', to sense its affordances. The potentialities of 'policing', throughout the museum's several floors, are enumerated as objects to be looked at and experiences to be desired. In contrast to this economy of exhibition and attraction, the Japanese prison locates itself within an atmosphere of dispossession and disappearance.

Scene 3: Carceral Atmosphere

Japan has 62 adult prisons, six juvenile institutions, and over 100 detention houses or

detention house branches (where suspects undergoing police interrogation are housed) across the archipelago. Some are located in remote rural settings (such as Tsukigata in Hokkaido), but many prisons are located centrally within urban environments. For much of its history, Kyoto Prison would have been located on the city's outskirts; but the city has grown around it, and although it can be reached from a subway stop that is close to the end of a line, it is by no means located on the city's fringe or distant from everyday urban life. A low-lying construction, the prison's modern appearance belies its long, and mobile, history within the city. Kyoto had two prisons during the Heian period (794–1185), and one main one from around 1585 onwards. Originally located in Furushiro-cho, the building burned down in 1708, and the prison was moved to Inaba-cho in 1709. Formally named Kyoto Prefectural Prison in 1869, in 1927 it was again moved, to its current location in Yamashina-ku. From 1986 to 2001 it underwent the renovation that rendered it the recognisably modern institution that it is today.

The Japanese correctional system stipulates that prison officers should live next door to the prisons in which they work, and so apartment blocks housing prison staff and their families sit next to the prison itself. Other apartment buildings hold civilian occupants: not connected to the prison by employment, they nonetheless can view it from their balconies. The prison, then, is visible within the neighbourhood, but its visibility is paradoxically couched within a withdrawal of the institution from the citizen's gaze. Inmates are housed in an inner complex surrounded by an outer ring of administrative offices, which in turn is surrounded by a concreted car parking area, and with a security guard and boom gate at its entrance. Next to the boom gate is a shop, which sells products manufactured by prisoners in the workshops of this and other Japanese prisons. Merchandise includes many items attractive to tourists (and some will find their way to tourist shops), as well as Japanese citizens: wooden sandals, traditional clothing such as *yukata* and *happi* coats, chopsticks, *kawaii* toys, place mats,

and leather goods. The shop acts as a node suturing the external world of the city, tourism, and commerce to the interior world of the prison; the souvenirs produced by the hands of inmates hidden from the sight of those who purchase them. If a citizen does enter the prison, entry is achieved through a series of ritual checks and controls, such as requirements to stand in single file and to pass through double-locking gates and doors in groups no larger than 10 individuals at a time, thus progressively schooling the individual into the architecture and behavioural dressage of this carceral setting. From this point of ingress, the prison buildings fan outwards.

The prison can hold up to 1,477 inmates; in September 2017, its population was a little over 1100.[9] Prisoners are housed in two-storey blocks, with cells located on two sides off long central corridors. On the lower floor, some small cells accommodate one prisoner at a time, but on the first floor, cells hold 6 prisoners at a time. These cells have just enough capacity for six tatami mats laid on the floor, a stove at which prisoners cook their food, and a toilet. During the day, futons must be rolled into a flat bundle and all possessions stacked within or on top of it. A visitor looking into the cell through its small corridor window would be able to discern very little about any individual within it; instead, personality dissolves into the group of bundled mattresses and belongings, with none of even the 'small manipulations' or 'micro-spatial arrangements' that register individual identity within cells in some British prisons (McGeachan 2018: unpaginated copy; see also Moran 2015). When the prisoners are out of the cells and in the workshops, their bodily traces are rendered almost invisible.

When inside the cells, in the workshops, and during meals, prisoners are expected to conduct themselves in silence, a fundamental element of the Japanese carceral atmosphere. Loud noise occurs rarely during an incarcerated day or night: prisoners chant as they march

between buildings but can only converse during association hours or scheduled exercise periods. Control of prisoners' sonic outputs, however, finds an unexpected parallel in an architectural modification designed to muffle sound made by the guards. Outside the cells, strips of green felt run lengthways from one end of each corridor to another. These strips silence the squeaking of guards' boots as they walk the linoleum corridors at night.

Cells have an interior window looking out into this corridor, and a second window located on the far wall of each cell. This window, however, does not give onto any exterior aspect. According to prison staff, being able to see out is considered risky, and flat, untextured, beige metal screens have been affixed to the outer wall. The screen is not flush with the wall but is positioned with a gap of around eight inches of open air between it and the window itself. Although the thinking may have been that a screen flat against the window pane may have been too oppressive, the effect created is that the gap of open space acts as a constant reminder of the removal of the view. In Japanese culture, absence is regarded as being as significant as presence (Ritchie 2011), and the empty, view-less space would provide a continual reminder that the inmates have no exterior visual space.

Most prisoners are serving a sentence of 'imprisonment with labour' and the prison timetable confirms that work takes up most of the day:

6.30am Waking up
6.50am Roll call
7.00am Breakfast
7.40am Start of work
11.50am Lunch
12.20pm Return to work

4.40pm	Roll call
4.50pm	Dinner
5.30pm	Free time
9.00pm	Lights out[10]

Prison timetables 'define a certain penal style' (Foucault 1977: 7), and Kyoto Prison's schedule of times and activities has all the characteristics of carceral strategies of control: 'in discipline, the elements are interchangeable, since each is defined by the place it occupies in a series, and by the gap that separates it from the others' (1977: 145). But while a timetable evidences the disciplinary style of the prison, it does not convey its textures or intensities, the details embedded within the temporal list of activities, such that we can begin to sense the atmosphere of the prison as a carceral space. Labour in the prison workshops, for example, is not the only labour that must occupy the prisoner in Kyoto Prison: between 6.30am wake-up and 7.40am start of work, prisoners will have to wash, dress, roll away their belongings within their futons, sweep the cells, cook breakfast for themselves, eat in silence sitting on the floor of the cell, clean up, and be ready, kneeling in silence, for inspection in the cell prior to being marched to the workshop.

Within the workshops, scattered throughout the prison grounds and connected to accommodation blocks by pathways, prisoners do not speak to each other, or to visitors; they do not even turn to look when a group of visitors enter. Heads remain bowed over the workbench; there is no pause in the flow of activity. Prisoners move between the workshops and accommodation blocks in groups: they must march in time, chanting as they go, matching their bodies' movements to a choreography devised by the prison authorities. 'One, two! Left… left! One, two, three, four!', chant the guard. 'One, two! Left… left! One, two, three four!' echo the prisoners, as they march along the pathways, taking steps of a prescribed size and with arms swinging to a prescribed angle. If a prisoner needs to leave the workshop for

some unscheduled reason, such as an unavoidable bathroom break, even an individual prisoner must move in a stipulated manner, this time with an awkward, half-jumping gait.[11] Guards travel between buildings by bicycle; but the effortful demands of the prisoners' stylised march is regarded as an effective securitising strategy. The requisite uniformity of movement means that any deviation from the narrow range of the norm would stand out within the prison; the demands of achieving the style of marching is also considered to be an efficient means of ensuring prisoners become fatigued (and therefore more docile).[12]

Even with such choreographed forms of movement, the walkways between buildings became viewed as terrains requiring additional securitisation. It was considered that if prisoners could see each other's faces when groups passed each other on a walkway, a shared glance could act as a conduit for communication. Guards were also thought to be vulnerable to the communicative potential of a glance, with the risk that an inmate might then follow this up with conversation.[13] In order to reduce the chance of interaction, screens were installed down the middle of each pathway, with the effect that only legs can now be viewed as individuals pass each other; from the waist up, the bodies of others are obscured from view. The passing bodies are shrunk to marching legs; the view from a window reduced to a gap of eight inches: just as the prison withdraws from the gaze of the citizen, so its interior atmosphere is one of withdrawal, reduction, and diminishment.

Thinking through Atmospheres of Criminal Justice

This article has considered three scenes in which distinctive atmospheres of crime control and criminal justice can be found. The first of these scenes is multiple in its locations, found

wherever a *koban* is situated within a city or town, forming a dense network of nodes through which a policing of the community takes place. The second scene, the museum, is designed as a set of enveloping experiences that enfold the visitor within a representation of policing as office and ethos. Finally, a scene of incarceration: the prison reverses the tendency shown in the previous two to mediate criminal justice through architecture or participatory engagement. In the prison, the enclosed individual (which might mean visitor but most especially applies to inmates) is so completely immersed that they almost disappear.

The purpose of this article has been to identify the atmospherics of each scene. To follow Adey on security, '[b]y attuning to atmospheres we may gain a far thicker and immersive sense of security's deployment: indeed, atmospheres may well be central to its working and the evolution of its practice' (2014: 838). Focusing on the atmospheres of criminal justice encourages us to consider the ways in which an environment of crime control mobilises relations between citizen and (agents of the) state in particular ways. Elements within crime control environments, such as lighting, architecture, selection of images, colour, sound and conduct of personnel, are the products of purposive choices regarding the style, or mode, of discipline, with noticeable variations between scenes: miniaturised, cute buildings that can spread a mesh of community policing across an entire metropolitan area; a museum organised around immersion in the activities of police work; and a carceral space premised on the invisibilisation of presence.

The design and organisation of such criminal justice settings have spatial, aesthetic, and affective dimensions, all producing atmospheres of criminal justice that appear to form 'a non-negotiable, constant and mostly unchangeable present that demands the total presence of bodies' (Phillippopoulous-Mihalopoulos 2015: 129). This is not to posit a uni-directional

relation between citizen-object and designer-subject, because atmospheres are always capable of being ruptured or challenged. Any such rupture or resistance can be a countervailing response to the dominant atmosphere of an institution of criminal justice, which is always seeking affirmation and endorsement of, or subjection to, the authority of criminal justice. As Phillippopoulous-Mihalopoulos notes, the rupture of an atmosphere does not lead to any end to atmosphere or exit 'out' of it. Instead, rupture creates the conditions for an atmosphere's renewal or replacement: our aim should not be to 'escape' from atmosphere, but rather to understand how atmosphere works, and thus to be able to reconfigure it – to 'crystallise new worlds', as Adey puts it (2014: 848).

What, then, can criminology gain from thinking about criminal justice as atmospheric? First, deeper engagement with the concept of atmosphere offers ways of enriching cultural, spatial and affective criminologies, as well as pointing towards a possible framework that draws connections across and between each of these increasingly important paradigms: understanding atmosphere depends upon an engagement with space, *and* affect, *and* aesthetics, thus encouraging us to generate a multi-layered form of theorising about crime and justice.

Second, acknowledgement of 'atmospheres as the shared ground from which subjective states and their attendant feelings and emotions emerge' (Anderson 2009: 78) assists in understanding hitherto little-studied aspects of the enduring power of criminal justice. Consideration of crime control as atmospheric helps us to understand how the institutions of criminal justice operate in the broadest sense: not just as powerful social agencies capable of controlling the movement, conduct or liberty of citizens, but also as environments that choreograph a range of spatial, affective and aesthetic attachments for

citizens.

As a result, thinking about atmospheres necessitates the acknowledgement of ambiguity. While this might initially sound like a weakness, it is instead a source of conceptual strength and a marker of the concept's inherently political potentiality. Conceptually, engagement with atmosphere invites us to extend and deepen the work of analysis to include both human and non-human bodies and elements, and to search for complications and complexity within the scene. Politically, the diversity of human and non-human bodies in any assemblage or environment means multiple possible points of contestation as well as multiple components of control. Studying atmospheres directs us towards ambiguity as an indicator of the occurrence of governmentality and as a potential fault line in the landscape of social control.

Finally, and following on from this, once we can read all the components of the atmospheres of criminal justice, and grasp how bodies and things are intended to function within them, then it becomes possible to understand more deeply both their operation and the possibilities for their interruption – to see scenes of criminal justice as produced rather than inevitable or natural, and, therefore, as capable of being changed.

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[1] In 2014, crime rates in Japan were 0.3 per 100,000 for homicide, 2.4 per 100,000 for robbery, 73.8 per 100,000 for burglary (which includes any theft from a car, shop, vending machine or other property belonging to another), 21 per 100,000 for assault, and 1 per 100,000 for rape. In comparison, in 2016, in Australia, the overall crime rate was 2,023 per 100,000 in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017); in the United States, it was 2,857 per 100,000 (Friedman et al 2017). For a critical engagement with the image, and reality, of Japan as a low-crime nation, see Leonardsen (2004).

[2] Research for this article was conducted during multiple fieldwork visits to Tokyo and Kyoto between 2014 and 2017. Support for the fieldwork was provided by the Australian Research Council, Discovery Grant 120100740 and the School of Social & Political Sciences, University of Melbourne.

[3] For examples of comparable urban ethnographic research in criminology see Fassin (2017), Ferrell (2018), Young (2014).

[4] The first British police boxes were introduced in Glasgow in 1891, with the first American ones installed in Albany, NY, in 1877.

[5] There are also 7,600 *chuzaisho*, or residential police boxes. These are more commonly found in towns and rural areas, and are staffed by a single police officer, who, along with family members, lives in accommodation next to the box.

[6] Police Box ("Koban") System, Japan National Tourism Organisation, http://www.jnto.go.jp/eng/basic-info/emergency-info/police-box-koban-system.html, accessed 30 June 2017. See also 'Japanese Community Police and Police Box System', National Police Agency, 31 August 2005, https://www.npa.go.jp/english/seisaku1/JapaneseCommunityPolice.pdf. Despite the

National Police Agency's impression of the public's unmitigated affection for koban, it should be noted that dissatisfaction with the police in general has been reported to be increasing (Hamai and Ellis 2015).

[7] 'Japanese Community Police and Police Box System', National Police Agency, 31 August 2005, https://www.npa.go.jp/english/seisaku1/JapaneseCommunityPolice.pdf. The term *omawari-san* means 'honorable Mr Go-around', referencing the officer's willingness to move around the community when called to assist.

[8] On the museological impulse in relation to criminal justice, see Biber (2019).

[9] Overcrowding has been a considerable problem in Japanese prisons: in 2006, the population of Kyoto Prison was 1899.

[10] Information provided during field visit to Kyoto Prison during September 2017.

[11] This was observed during the researcher's visit in September 2017; it can also be seen in the documentary film *Le Japon A Double Tour* (*Japan from Inside*) (2000, directed by Phillipe Couture), available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BJp9nKaO7c4 . Marching, cell cleaning and workshop activities can also be seen, in dramatized form, in the film *Keimusho No Naka* (刑務所の中) (*Doing Time*, 2002, directed by Yoichi Sai), available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ylYIQ3l6zdQ .

[12] Stated during the field visit by prison staff.

[13] According to prison staff, September 2017. It was the view of the Deputy Warden of Kyoto Prison that prisoners who are *yakuza* (members of criminal organisations) are particularly adept at manipulating guards through an accumulation of such small interactions.