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Chapter 1 – Introducing a risky experiment

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Abstract

The first chapter presents the monograph's central theme as an exploration of the modalities or styles of judgement regarding what a crisis is, and how this is revealed atmospherically. Tokyo 2020 is used as an example, in which 'crisis', 'judgement', 'mobility' in concrete forms (what/who moves in mega-events) as well as 'space' and 'place' are interrogated. Because these are mostly conceptualised in Eurocentric and Western institutional laboratories, the chapter questions their universal applicability.

The Japanese approach to space and mobility is used as an example of such misreadings. Because it differs from Western conceptions of spatial organisation, it bears the potential to improve theoretical and practical approaches to the spatialisation of events, the experience of socialisation and belonging in their domains, but also the right to move in them. These interrogations feed into the study's critical approach to the new mobilities paradigm's Western-centrism, but also the postcolonial tradition's anthropocentrism.

Serendipitous events

In August 2021, global reports swamped the internet on an unfortunate incident: the celebrated artist Yayoi Kusama's giant sculpture that stood on the pier of Naoshima in the Seto Island Sea since 1994, was swept off its base during a tropical storm. The so-called 'pumpkin', a yellow and polka-dot vegetable-like structure, had served as an international tourist attraction and an Instagram pilgrimage for years. For a nation that had just delivered the Olympic Games, its partial destruction by strong winds 400 miles south-west of Tokyo carried immense symbolic weight. In 2017 a brand-new museum had opened in Tokyo to host Kusama's celebrated artwork. The disaster immediately prompted art experts to consider whether the 'pumpkin's' restoration plans should include its installation in the original spot or move to enclosed space. Thanks to the sculpture, the pier had turned into a 'mediated centre' (Couldry, 2000) for Japanese avant-garde-ness and a focal point for the international 'travel glance' (Larsen, 2001). Filmed and immortalised by millions of amateur and professional photographers and artists, it had produced a new spatiotemporal narrative of 'cool' travelling art made by the Japanese creative class for the world (Florida, 2002).

The 'pumpkin' was not a lightweight travelling balloon. It took immense natural force to unhinge it, so its unhappy dip into the sea told a story of planetary proportions. The event's storytelling involved the ways a crisis is implicated in the unpredictable 'undoing' of cultural and civilisational development. Such 'undoing' appeared to have psychic, cognitive and physical dimensions. When placed next other contemporaneous incidents, the storyline produced a 'map' of material and immaterial complexities: only a few days before this incident, extensive reporting on the high temperatures in Tokyo,

had turned Tokyo 2020 (but really, 2021) into the hottest mega-event ever, putting at risk the lives of athletes and native audiences alike. Prominent among the reports concerning the heat-affected athletes was that about Russian archer Svetlana Gomboeva's collapse while checking her scores; other such sensational storylines involved the fact that some wheelchair athletes were forced to abandon the Paralympic competition for similar reasons (Lo and Jacobsen, 6 August 2021). After a whole year's delay of Tokyo 2020 and an eventful preparation by the Tokyo Organising Committee for the Olympic Games (TOCOG), nature responded with vengeance. Not only did climate events mess up with material structures, but they also affected those networked socialities most associated with athletic excellence and urban regeneration. The governor of Tokyo had to concede moving the prestigious concluding event of the Marathon and other walking events 800 km north to Sapporo, where the average August high temperature was supposed to be by 5C degrees lower than that in Tokyo (Lo and Jacobsen, 6 August 2021).

<Figure 1.1 here>

None of these problems truly entered the opening and closing spectacles of the Olympic Games – far from it. From my living room, I watched a harmonious ceremony with traditional undertones culminating in the procession of a small group of renown Olympic athletes, who carried the Japanese flag to the podium for the national anthem. The atmosphere was sober and befit to carry the gravity of an Olympic spectacle plunged in mourning for COVID-19 (SARS-CoV-2) deaths and infections, remembrance references to disasters that hit Tokyo in the past and rumours concerning

the sacked director of the ceremonies, who was caught making inappropriate racist comments. To this constellation of controversies, we could add South Korea's demand that the symbol of the Japanese nation, the Rising Sun Flag, which was in principle banned from the Olympics. Seen by the Koreans as a symbol of Japan's imperialist past, which they rank next to the swastika, the Rising Sun served as a reminder of a painful past (Pilling, 2014, pp.231-232). This almost subliminal affective background was amplified from the camera's and my couchsurfing's angle: unexpectedly, the athletes titled the flag, and the Rising Sun at its centre formed a heart. However, in my makeshift journey to Tokyo's mediated centre, I would come to realise that this unintended glimpse into Japanese banal nationalism (Billig, 2005) in the cosmopolitan spaces of a mega-event would not really be my focal point. In the summer of 2021, the Rising Heart was breaking in several pieces on a live Olympic platform by a multiplicity of contemporary crises unfolding on a planetary scale. Crisis in mega-events, rather than nation or Japan would stage my unlikely 'journey'.

These three events cannot be nominated 'crises' or 'controversies' on their own. A 'crisis' develops on judgments a mind/body/soul enunciates about the environment it resides, whereas a 'controversy' points to disagreements between two or more actors in the sociocultural field. Controversies can be discursively shaped into a crisis, but they may also fall short of an essential criterion: the 'threat value' they demonstrate. Venturini and Munk (2022) propose a method of mapping controversies by distinguishing conflicts involving attempts to manipulate public opinion from the conflicts guiding sociotechnical organisations, vital to collective life. However, theirs is a project of 'civic mapmaking', whereas my main concern is the tools of we use in our

research. To return to my couchsurfing example, a researcher would step back from this particular ceremonial moment, de-sociate their spontaneous reading of it and consider it in relation to three sites: that of production, of the image itself as a globally broadcast statement, and of audience (Rose, 2014). However, I am looking for ways to separate the viewer/researcher from their tools and methods altogether but reflect upon the ways they 'feel' their way through them. What Gillian Rose (2014, pp.16-17) has developed as a critical visual methodology that 'takes images seriously', I reshape through theories of affect and emotions into a critical atmospheric paradigm. By analogy to Latour's (1987) studies of 'science in action', I set out to investigate how we may assemble judgements about what is going on, implementing them in our research and then the world as we think it is (Latour, 2005). Otherwise put: this book's central theme is an exploration of the modalities or styles of judgement about what a crisis is, as this is revealed atmospherically in two overlapped fields: that of the actors shaping its perceptions and the researcher(s) who relay such perceptions to academic audiences. In Tokyo 2020 as well as previous mega-events or mega-events to come, in the first field this is demonstrated in different virtual and architectural spaces of the mega-event's multi-host (Degen et al., 2017; Tzanelli, 2017, 2018; Sumartojo & Pink, 2018). In Tokyo's case, it was demonstrated by a viral pandemic and numerous mobile groups of professionals, travellers, and vagabonds at a particular moment in the history of humanity and its home, earth. My focus on 'atmospheres' supports an investigation into the 'traces' these (mega-) events leave on the urban landscape and the human experience of living in such difficult times. If I move between my two fields again: tracking the traces by myself places such atmospheres in a digitised world, from which I

retrieved data about the mega-event – this is also part of my critical atmospheric portfolio (see also Degen and Rose, 2022).

However, talking about a 'methodological diagnostics' would not fully articulate my epistemological stance that, becoming a crisis hotspot or a mega-event host is a process never complete. I am closer to Rauch's (2018, pp.105-106) idea of transforming 'atmospheres' into a 'project diary' of places but disagree with the way he limits this to photographic documentation. My 'project diary' is more fluid than his. Elsewhere (Tzanelli, 2015, 2016, 2020), I used the idea of a 'travel' as an epistemological device anchored to emancipatory synaesthetic methodologies with cognitive *and* affective dimensions. I have already used the term 'journey' more than once, so I need to stress that I will not be discussing tourism or travel but will also not be discarding its absent presence during Tokyo 2020's Olympics, or particular travel/tourism theories as methodological tools. 'Travel' is a polysemic term I will repeatedly use to transcend the limitations of objectivised and subjectivised knowledge. The rift between objectivity and subjectivity has also featured as a binarism between 'globe' and 'sphere' in humanities and social science scholarship (Ingold, 2011). A step up such economies of perception, we encounter the 'planetary' sphere as defined by Dipesh Chakrabarty (2018), however, his definition does not align with what I proceed to develop. Weibel and Latour (2007) argue that design interventions share an experimental fundamental that they call 'thing-ing'. This refers to the materialisation of a world that users can explore and experience. For me, 'thing-ing' works better when we use atmosphere theory to bind matter to the invisible world of affect. So, one could read in my 'journey'

a virtual-performative intervention in reality, which induces reactions and produces knowledge. This forms the basis of my materialist phenomenological heuristics.

So, how does my thesis differ from Chakrabarty's and why is 'travel' so important? My key premise is mobility as action on the world – something I will critique in subsequent chapters. Chakrabarti's 'planetary' is for me a constellation of purposeful movements of animate and inanimate things that shape/affect the environment, the social and the cognitive/affective domains of being and becoming. Journeys have travellers and pilgrims, but a traveller of the Anthropocene would become a haphazard ideal type, when not contextualised. However, I do not perform traditional ethnographic analysis here; I develop big ideas ethnographic researchers may test and of course critique and adapt to their own research. My key term, *planētis* (ancient Greek *πλανήτης*- plural *planētes* [πλανήτες]), which is used in the place of the aforementioned ideal types, suggests that we rethink the significance of ordinary enchantments in the ways we act on the world around us. Since we cannot access the logic of 'nature' and 'climate' (besides what we access scientifically as feedback loops in localised climate catastrophes), I revert to an investigation into the attitudinal roots of movement as an 'affective commons', an 'atmosphere' animated by human-nature-built-environment encounters (Bennett, 2010).

Suffice it to stress at this stage that originally a *planētis* designated the roamer or the vagabond (Tzanelli, 2013), and soon thereafter the one who *apoplaneí* (*αποπλανεί*): enchants and deceives (Tzanelli, 2020). Such stereotyping survived in some regions of the world, where vagabonds transformed into the psycho-motors of movements for

social justice, as Ray (2021) convincingly argues. The original assumption of such roaming was that a hidden plan was in place behind this deception, driven by a nefarious agent, who gazes at the world and acts on their gazing to shape the perceptions of fellow humans. It is significant that *πλανήτης* and *αλήτης* (from (*aláomai* [*αλάωμαι*]= to wander),) share both in etymological origins and engagement with place-based movement and theory in ancient texts (Tzanelli, 2013, chapter 1). The travel mindset they purport is that of a topophilic scientist (Tuan, 1974) and an ego-enhancing globetrotter (Dann, 1977), a tourist-child full of curiosity. In fact, a contemporary mega-event's guests and visitors can also be considered a form of *planētes*: they are both the primary recipients of hospitality and the source of controversial mobilities. One of the key debates in critical Olympic scholarship involves how Olympic visitors, who engage in technologically mediated and embodied flânerie in spaces of consumerist fascination, enhance the Olympic city's cosmopolitan horizons but also generate social conflict. If anything, when it comes to human actors on the world, we deal with forms of phantasmagoric, digitally-enhanced cosmopolitanism (Schmid et al. 2011, pp.7-8; Germann Molz, 2004).

However, a *planētis* can also afford a perspective on such controversies and crises when they research these phenomena. If we also acknowledge contemporary understandings of 'planning' and 'plane' as a surface of inscription, then a *planētis* becomes an invitation to move away from (*apó*) an established spatial (and thus conceptual) arrangement: thing-ing is challenged at the most fundamental level. So as to not sound irrelevant to my example's context (Tokyo 2020), there is a serendipitous concurrence between this definitional introduction, and the ways travel, and the moving subject are

conceptualised in Japanese culture. This cosmopolitan convergence is philosophical and pragmatic, as its organises Japanese society and political action on planetary rules at the same time. Planetary thinking is a movement that commences with deception (*pláni*) because the human mind suffers from its nurturing limitations (how it is socioculturally inculcated to think about the world), including the fact that its body always traverses a physical plane. Scribano (2021) speaks about a 'practices-made-body' which becomes the *topos* of formation of a moral-political economy. To adapt this to my argument: this economy is above all, *habitual*, hence ethical, in that it weaves 'must' and 'ought to' rules into the natural lands and sociocultural landscapes it traverses. The very critical discourse on the Anthropocene as the era of human spoliation of our planet is based on the exploratory nature of all these *planētes* (Prigogine and Stengers, 1984). Undoubtedly, this approach has a biopolitical theme, but as I proceed to explain, to reduce planetary analysis to postcolonialism or biopolitics in our era is yet another anthropocentric construction.

Such metaphorical thinking needs analytical backing. To this end, I draw on the rich sociological and geographical traditions associated with Richard Brown's reflections on illustrative and iconic metaphors as the basis of model-construction in sociology (1977, p.107); Zygmunt Bauman's (1996a, 1996b, 2000) writings on the vagabond, tourist and pilgrim but also his observations on the magical-realist nature of hermeneutics (Bauman, 2021, pp.84-102); John Urry's (2000, pp.21-48) extensive analysis of metaphors of mobility, in which he includes some notes on Japan's place in contemporary global contexts; Soja's 'thirdspatial analysis', which I interpret as a voyage with a collection of pathways and arrivals (1996, pp.26-52); but also Susan

Sontag's (1991, p.90) observation that science has always relied on metaphors, and Rosi Braidotti's (1994) transversal model of female mobility resisting phalologocentrism. In my several stops we will also meet some decolonial theorists, such as Walter Mignolo, and 'situations'. These challenge the aforementioned scholars through non-Western styles of modelling, knowing and being in the worlds that surround us, or we envelop. All these perspectives can also assume gendered or racialised dimensions, as different forms of vision and different prioritisations in somatosensory apprehension align with different cosmic views and different experiences (Massey, 1994; Skeggs, 2004; Kaplan, 2006; Sheller, 2016). A lapse from 'travel' or 'journey' to 'pilgrimage' will become increasingly more felicitous but also contentious, given the role of pilgrimage in shaping religious ideology.

I use Tokyo in my research journey as an example of contemporary complexity in being and becoming a world-leading urban formation in the era of overlapping crises. I support my analysis by drawing occasionally on other urban formations which previously served as Olympic city-hosts. I argue for a re-conceptualisation of atmospheric epistemologies and urban footprints that challenge dominant understandings of space, time and belonging in the era of urban crises. This will push me to re-examine the validity of Western epistemological paradigms and endorse an alternative critical/posthuman 'cosmopolitan' poetics of becoming, to better support connections between planetary needs on the one hand, and regional lifeworlds and their theosophical ecosystems on the other. This adjustment will occasionally mobilise established arguments on globalisation as adaptation, hybridisation or uncompromising conflict and systemic malfunction. However, I will primarily be using a critical

mobilities approach to spiritual-material development, which I aspire to re-shape into a 'critical atmospheric paradigm'. This approach acknowledges the presence of compromise, blending and conflict, often in the same space of movement and belonging.

My emphasis is on the ways 'crises' produce new ways of knowing, hoping, and designing the future (Urry, 2000, 2016), while triggering reflexive changes in collective and individual identities and collective subjectivities and becomings, especially without the West as a conceptual and ideological domain. However, I do not intend to reduce this book to a postcolonial or traditional decolonial thesis on 'multiple modernities' (Eisenstadt, 2003) or social inequalities. Rather, I want to transcend the modern notion of cause and effect to consider futuristic design invention as the product of disaster - what I consider under the rubric of 'serendipity' or more-than-accidental discovery. For this, we need a stratigraphic appreciation of the ways our planetary ecosphere (including humans, floral, faunal, and geo-spheric/atmospheric habitats) is perceived of and put into use in sociocultural contexts that exceed those of national borderlines. I understand 'stratigraphy' as the layering of times (Alcock, 2010, p.12). This often draws attention to the ways different temporalities may overlap or even mix (Nederveen Pieterse, 2006) as social, cultural, physical, or technological warps (Urry, 2000, p.112, p.120). Because my stratigraphic account taps into different domains in which the staging of Tokyo 2020 took place (including actual venues, ceremonies, and their reporting by different representational actors), it is far more useful to stress the importance of 'serendipity patterns' in perceptions of, and actions on crises. These patterns produce what is called a 'trope' in literary theory (White, 1978), a '*refrain*' in postmodern analysis of affects

(Bertelsen and Murphie, 2010) and a 'strategic datum' in sociology: an opportunity to develop new theory or extend an old one by focusing on key moments and places (Merton, 1957, p.276). We could consider this as an account of spatiotemporal vignettes.

My 'vignettes' are used to interrogate planetary atmospheres of affective quality, replete with normative beliefs. Their implication in the production of' 'home' and 'travel' (as pilgrimage) are 'chrononormative' through and through: they make spatiotemporal maps in which human bodies and their cultural-political extensions are reshaped as institutional properties (Freeman, 2010; Sharma, 2014; Tzanelli, 2015b). Of course, in our global hypermobile contexts, such essentially biopolitical sorting leaves its clearest stratigraphic footprint in mediated formats and media sites/platforms, if we follow Maren Hartmann's (2020, pp.45-46) work on time. My stratigraphic method is based on deep spatiotemporalities for which we need to prioritise an analysis of 'hidden rhythms': forms of experience that appear natural to those whom they privilege because they were inculcated in them (e.g., Freeman, 2010, p.3). Digging into the organisational logic of Olympic mobilities allows for an appreciation of the ways the global mandate of 'sustainability' and 'security' pushes hosts to discard their own rhythms in favour of a hegemonic template of planetary (mega-event) production. The host's *refrain* emerges out of this context of emergency (Deleuze & Guattari, 1988, p.315). If we are patient enough to appreciate its specificity, we may also appreciate how earth itself as our home *moves* our collective futures.

In organisational contexts of event management, abiding by a series of structural rules is supposed to yield positive results (Nohria in Ziakas et al. 2021, p.19). However, invention and excellence require more than following a map of predetermined tasks. Horace Walpole's double (experiential and training) journey to the mythical Serendib or Ceylon (contemporary Sri Lanka), from which 'serendipity' comes as a word, suggests that invention and innovation are not possible without the experience of loss or misfortune (Morley and de Rond, 2010, pp.3-4). Paul Virilio (2003, p.6) also suggests that invention is a way of approaching/seeing things, 'of grasping accidents as signs, as opportunities'. But nowhere can one find a more astute observation on the phenomenon than in the revised writings of the sociological master of serendipity, Robert Merton. Merton ponders on the contemporary 'science wars' with particular reference to Thomas Kuhn's public presentation of what science is. He finds inspiration in developmental psychologist Jean Piaget's division between one's thoughts and the order in which these are presented to others (Merton and Barber, 2004, p.270). Could futural planning be based on the ways 'internal conversations' (Archer, 2003) are brought to public discourse in viable and just ways in the form of 'hidden rhythms'? The urban stage is the most suitable venue to actualise this 'revelation' (Tzanelli, 2021, chapter 6) – a proposition I intend to put in practice in the following chapters, with reference to Tokyo as a global creative city.

'Justice' is not just for the poor or the disenfranchised, but for all in equitable proportions, reflecting different capabilities (Sen, 2009). We must always remember that not all of us have the same starting point, so our liberalism may have to be kept in check. Even bodily health is entangled in/with other capabilities, including the right to

citizenship, emotional health, interspecies coexistence, dignity, and control over the environment (Nussbaum, 2011, pp.34–36). Let me then begin with ethics before backtracking to pragmatics: to think about viable and fair urban futures in the era of crises we must recognise that different parts of the world came from different cultural contexts – hence our map-makings deserve to be produced with greater care than that provided by mono-modernist gurus. It is not enough to explore how Tokyo staged a delayed Olympics with impeccable precision. We must also be aware of the 'internal conversations' that took place within various local and international communities of experts to arrive at the finished product. My genealogical approach to designing a safe mega-event involves placing the whispers of spiritual wisdom next to (post)modern scientific and artistic performances to see what Tokyo really is in its plurality of intimate and public worldviews. Achieving even a fraction of this convoluted journey will shed new light on 'justice' – not as a generic mobility good, but a desire grounded in the specifics of geopolitical and cultural experience (Sheller, 2018). Injustice thrives not just through its spatial spread: for example, national systems are incrementally infected by it, in temporal instalments that cannot be acknowledge if we assume only a synchronic analysis of events. The skills national systems display in their arbitration of injustices are not immune to their struggle for recognition on the international plane. Thus, their public articulations of the future may lose in agility, fairness and spiritual uniqueness, and their dreams may turn into privatopian properties in international markets.

As both one of the most ancient cultures and most developed contemporary Asian states, Japan has had its own (un)fair journeys to the future. As its modern capital,

Tokyo bore the burden of this development more than other peripheral urban formations. Since I began with an excursus on serendipity and sustainability in mega-event spectacles, I will keep on the same genealogical path with a few notes that I expand later in the book. However, at this stage I am only relaying public articulations of Tokyo. As official narratives go, once under British economic and subsequently American economic and cultural influence, Tokyo proceeded to develop into a true world player in cultural-industrial terms, with a strong *anime* and *manga* international industry, which drew on native forms of culture. This was coupled with postwar economic recovery that lasted until the 1980s, when recession affected Japan's international urban standing, without diminishing the country's development altogether. Culture and economy interact, but this interaction is more complex than what Frederick Jameson (1986) argued in his celebrated excursus on allegory. In the case of Japan, the interaction partially follows the rules of what I will call 'magical' development as these were set across several continents and cultures since the emergence of artistic-social movements and discourses of scientific innovation. I do not intend to refute the damage capitalism does to these creative mobilities, only to stress that Jameson favours one aspect of this damage and simultaneously ignores its contribution to the rise of new movements for planetary recovery and homemaking. This homemaking can be metaphorical, but it can also be loaded with normative notions of belonging, which are anything but progressive.

Thus, I use hybrid artistic-like movements as pathways to creative thinking, not art-styles or art-worlds in a conventional sense. I am particularly interested in intellectual movements. These replace 'art' as a creative activity with the 'creativity of action',

(Joas, [1996] 2005), which can include artistic performances in mega-events. As windows to imaginaries of the future, they craft serendipities that are not available to techno-scientists, often revising techno-scientific language (Cluley, 2012). Subsequently, I do not intend to sing the praises of artists nor denigrate scientific discoveries and styles of thought and action. My suggestion is rooted in the belief that there is always an agonistic complementarity between disinterested art-making and scientific intentionality. This interplay helps me to rethink key ideas developed by some of my favourite interlocutors, such as John Urry, Steve Fuller, Bruno Latour, Donna Haraway, Anna Tsing and Mimi Sheller, among others.

An appeal to figurative articulations is already part of debates on climate and climate change. In thinking about future scenarios on climate change, John Urry (2016, pp.159-162) draws on Bronislaw Szerszynski (2010) exploration of the decision to drop from 'sciences' the term 'weather' in favour of a postdisciplinary framing of 'climate', which maps human behaviour. The same observation guides Mike Hulmes' (2017, pp.94-103) thesis, which also delves into the cognate domains of creativity, including virtual climates, visual arts, and literary fiction to discuss their contribution to representations of 'weathered' phenomena, which are not approached phenomenologically in hard science. To get the best from these two agonistic fields, it is better to place 'creativity' on a continuum with 'invention' outside the oculo-technical formats of prediction (Szerszynski, 2016; Tzanelli, 2020a). Other scholars, such as Steve Fuller (2011, 2012) venture in the grander plane of the philosophy of social science to argue that humanity is rationally organised into communities of interest, one group of which is the ecological and the other two the biomedical and the cybernetic. However, Fuller forgets

the creativity stemming from arts-based activities – probably, because he places it under one of his three categories. Thus, what comes before scientific invention - the 'internal conversation' (Archer, 2003, chapter 1) as it were - is silenced, and the first leg of a grand journey to collective wisdom disappears.

Of course, I am interested in what happens to our comprehensions of just planning when we talk about 'science' but not beauty as harmony for all; when we draft 'scenarios' to deliver impeccable spectacles and calculate hospitality deliverables exclusively on the basis of economic returns; when our 'home garden' is not just systematically weeded to often accidentally discard beautiful weeds, to paraphrase Bauman (1992, p.178), but also pumped with so many pesticides that the buzzing of life eventually stops cold. But I am rushing here and may give the impression that I am interested in the fortunes and mishaps of the capitalist system instead of the conditions under which we respond to contemporary crises and the tools we use to explore this. This brings me to the apodeictic nature of our tools and especially the reductive nature of visualism rather than vision (Jay, 1993, p.49). Instead of blaming experts, I point the finger to the erosion of *ex-perio* (from experience) which plagues humans and emotionally numbs them. Visualism needs affect to translate into reality-making, but this does not guarantee that it will produce irrefutable 'truths' (Boltanski, 2014, p.6).

In *The mushroom at the end of the world* (2015) Anna Tsing performs similar acrobatics to interrogate the stylistics of contemporary multispecies resilience to what seems more and more like the 'end of our times'. I am snuggling into a crack she generates by an ambivalent take on precarity, which she mostly links to labour insecurity, but

occasionally also to our appreciation that we face the risk of extinction. She oscillates between the two throughout her book, partly because of her rhizomatic narrative, which is not intended as a problem-solving exercise, but the journey of a curious 'forager' in mushroom forests. I will be discussing 'foraging' as an activity performed by particular groups in Tokyo 2020's spaces. The 'foragers' of the mega-event can be curious travellers collecting impressions, but some would argue that they can also be numbed to the suffering of others. I would problematise this statement, because it does not a good chrononormative job, assuming that we always have to be carers devoid of the ability to preserve our emotional and cognitive health in the roles we are asked to discharge as social beings. Hence, Tsing's foraging raises questions applicable to mega-event and urban development at large: what does it mean to *pre*-care? Who pre-*cares* for whom at the end of times, when climate catastrophe, viral pestilence and terrorism seem to destroy human civilisations? How is this made possible (and how do we know we pre-care well)? Talk about capitalist disasters just scratches an ossified epistemological surface; through the crack I also see errors of translatability, and thus a rather blurred vision specialists tend to favour. Heretofore, my own reading of pre-care addresses a meeting of different horizons of unbound risk and hospitality as grossly misunderstood affective capital. Translatability can foster cosmopolitan meeting points but can also lead to a variety of ecological mishaps, including cultural and environmental disasters. Mega-events can serve as incubators of such mishaps.

Adjusting the new mobilities paradigm

It is time to return to Urry's (2000) inclusion of Japan in the 'rim' of developed countries, on which, about ten years before his mobilities manifesto, he built together

with Scott Lash the celebrated thesis on disorganised capitalism (Lash and Urry, 1987). Because I dedicate the first chapter of this book to the study of Tokyo as a miniature of Japanese attitudes to mishaps (serendipity), here I limit my observations on a paradox. The paradox is unique to cultures that experienced some form of subjection to other cultural forces, even if this never extended to full military subjection or administrative restructuring of their indigenous management styles (Herzfeld, 2002). Unlike all the other countries included in Urry's model of mobilities, Japan – and Tokyo as one of its main urban nodes – remained stranded between organisational worlds to date. This in-between-ness cost in self-reliance not at a material, but a psychic/spiritual level, 'teaching' the country that, by following the twin political and aesthetic paradigms of the West, would help it to climb up the hierarchy of value in a fully urbanised ecumene (Herzfeld, 2006; Nederveen Pieterse, 2006). The end of the Cold War system removed Japan's legitimacy as partner of the United States in the Asian-Pacific region and fostered a climate of insecurity and frustration, both with regard to security issues, and the country's economic, political, and cultural standing (Klien, 2002, chapter 4).

In contradistinction with understandings of place in relation to everyday practices of placemaking and homemaking, political games unfold on a political-doxic matrix that encourages abstraction (Foucault, 1968, pp.9-40; Bourdieu, 1993, p.33). The understanding of this doxic matrix is shared by all players in the political field. My excursus on the meaning of place does not discard decades of spatial analysis developed by Western theorists such as Bachelard, Lefebvre, Massey or Soja. Instead, I want to show how traditions are based on structures of thinking that are themselves products of spatialised reasoning (for the 'deep psychic' extensions of such reasoning see Bhaskar,

2011, pp.109-110). We do owe Lefevre for his determination to rectify the pitfalls of Marxist materialism, by exposing the problems introduced by the Cartesian *res cogitans* in understandings of 'lived space' and the experience of placemaking. *The production of space* ([1974] 1991) commences with a critique of the principles of Western Logos. However, Lefebvre is also hostile to the postmodern ontological theses developed by Kristeva, Derrida and even Foucault, because he sees them as the prelude to a circular journey from crypto-ideological forms of mental space to practice theories (Lefebvre, [1974] 1991, pp.5-7). His argument guides to a great extent Soja's analysis of 'thirdspace', and both of them are indebted to Bachelard's ([1958] 1994) ground-breaking poetics of spatiality, which outlined the vectors of intimate and public spaces in everyday and numenal contexts. I would insert Doreen Massey's (1994, 2005) thesis into these debates as a resolution for those who are interested in the experiential production of space. I would argue that we cannot study vectors of hospitality, intercultural engagement and civilisational growth in the development of Olympic urban hosts without Massey's phenomenological sojourns, which are closer to non-Eurocentric paradigms. Her approach matches far better Japanese cultural forms of engagement with others that can revise the ossified structures of the collective Japanese self. Her phenomenology of space/place points to the mystery of the non-Western 'incommunicative worlds' to which Lefebvre and Soja refer but cannot really explain without having recourse to the very modes of communication they criticise: the visionary/creative arts and urban design (Lefebvre, [1191] 2015: 27; Soja, 1996, pp.64-65).

Aside from Massey, Bachelard seems to be the one who better anchors European social philosophies of becoming to my argument. On the one hand, his poetics of space rectify Bergsonian gaps and inaccuracies pertaining to the role of image-making (as space-making) in what he calls the 'productive imagination' ([1958] 1994, p.xxxiv). On the other, he is among those few grand theorists, who showed how the material presence of houses as spaces of bodily movement (he discusses this as the 'human living' of the house and connects it to its 'objectivity' – ibid., p.48), also serves as the locus of cosmological 'daydreaming' and thus of humanity's 'intimate imagination'. In *Imaginary cities* (2019), Darren Anderson places his observations on the ways intimate spaces mimic human consciousness in material ways under a section he playfully titles 'home is where harm is'. For him, in contemporary metropoles such as Tokyo, an 'internet of things' meddles with human connectivity in material and immaterial ways and to beneficial and evil ends (i.e., to connect us emotionally but also monitor our behaviour – ibid., p.27). Although I do not intend to reduce (or even attribute) the harms of Olympic development to the digitisation of urban spheres, Anderson's conception of domestic harm chimes with some theses that place an internet of things under the mantle of mental colonisations, which eventually assume material proportions (Scribano, 2021).

If we shift attention to the scholarship on phantasmagorias (after Walter Benjamin's [2002] 'arcades project') and the controversial 'themed spaces' of postmodern consumerism (Sorkin, 1992; Ren, 2007), it becomes obvious that for Western scholars 'space' as a series of contained places exists only when it becomes nominated by its human dwellers, organisational forces or the nation-state that controls it. I cannot but

ask two crucial interconnected questions: does the material presence of a space necessarily precede that of its cosmological production as a place? If only the latter is 'real' as the procession of simulacra (Baudrillard, 2009), is it analytically right to examine its sociocultural presence, structure, associations, or functions in normative styles? Here Lefebvre's irk with 'hauntologists', and postmodern feminists is relevant: all too often moralist discourse dismisses context. He claims that the separation between epistemology from ideology reproduces the logic of bureaucratic organisation (Lefebvre, [1974] 1991, p.13), but does not acknowledge that hauntologists actively refute this separation. To know from experience, places us in contexts of self and other-emergence, but also the emergence of our studied fields, and their communities. We need hauntology as the prelude to material becoming. To access the nuances of Japanese notions of 'space' we need a different cultural grammar, in which borders, and centres are perceived and materialised differently. Such difference forms relationships between the body and space in registers that can both communicate with dominant worldviews of culture, civilisation, and nature, and enable us to depart from them. This is one of the reasons Japan features among some studies of 'critical cosmopolitanism' as a culture allowing for fusions of horizons (Delanty, 2014). I will return to this in chapter 4, as even critical cosmopolitanism has its limitations. First, I must explain how we arrive at such communications and the consequences of this achievement.

Japanese understandings of personal and public space have their cosmological roots in clashes that occurred at the level of religious civilisational development. To denote physical and emotional distance and proximity between individuals the Japanese use the terms *hedataru* (: to separate one thing from another, but also alienate in friendships)

and *najimu* (: to become familiar or attached to someone or something) (Davies and Ikeno, 2002, pp.109-11). The ability to keep one's distance from others is a sign of respect for their viewpoints – until the moment they understand them and re-establish respectful proximity. The Japanese 'way' (*dō*) of making space orchestrates both physical (embodied) and psychosocial distance to produce *uncluttered* socialities. We cannot separate this from discourses of urbanisation in a city suffering from congestion, pollution, and a housing crisis. What appeared at first to be mere philosophical observation now becomes crucial for our understanding of two consecutive analyses: the projection of Tokyo's (and Japan's) historical and contemporaneous pluriworlds on the Olympic ceremonial stage and the big stadium screen on the one hand (chapter 2), and the performance of embodied urban mobilities and immobilities in the Olympic city on the other (chapter 3 and 4).

These observations *seem* to endorse a transfer of Western symbolic interactionism of the Chicago school of urban studies, the philosophical writings of George Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer but also the studies of pragmatic-embodied symbol-manipulation by Howard Becker (1982) and Arlie Hochschild (1983) to Japanese space. However, we must pay attention to goal orientations: in Japanese contexts, emphasis is placed on achieving harmony and symmetry, so more important in vernacular Japanese symbolology is to arrange relations between humans and things in ways that maintain harmonious cosmic structures. This should prompt us to rethink space in planetary terms, especially in the era of overlapping crises. However, at this stage, I use this observation to bring to discourse a growing rift between Western and Eastern ways of

doing. My field of practice emerges where these discourses unfold and unfurl in urban policy and postindustrial practice, with particular reference to the Olympic Games.

I ask a simple question then, to make this debate relevant to my study: is it enough to think about mobilities in Tokyo as an Olympic city by using *Western anthropocentric* conceptions of space and movement? How many modes of being, belonging and moving or staying put should we account for to do justice to what exists and develops in Tokyo's contemporary urban lifeworlds? Given the cultural emphasis of Olympic ceremonialism, which incorporates art, how do these lifeworlds connect with the organisational 'artworlds' discussed by Becker (1982)? I declare aversion to Sinophilia as well as Chinese and Japanese nationalism (all play a major role in my critical analysis), but in subsequent chapters I will not excise my own methodological 'kinetic patterns' from their spatiotemporal coordinates. It will become obvious that what theorists of mobility understand as 'lived space' and movement across different human and non-human domains does not always coincide with the plurality of living, moving, understanding, and feeling in this Olympic city and any Olympic host. We should be concerned that the Olympic 'Kinocene', if I may borrow Nail's (2019) term, may be developing within the organisational coordinates of a Western, Eurocentric, and anthropocentric imagination. For this reason, I replace this conceptual model with my own phenomenalist concept of the 'Virocene', which is both a reference to a material crisis threatening to eliminate the human body (the COVID-19 pandemic) and natural environments (climate change) on the one hand, and a socio-political crisis of representation and recognition (racism, sexism, class-ism and disablism) (Tzanelli, 2021a). All these crises form and inform bundles of social action (a-la Joas, [1996]

2005). Who does what within their spatiotemporal coordinates tells us a story about the environment, space, culture, and power in the era of globalisation.

What urban praxeological sociologists (e.g., Pierre Bourdieu or Luc Boltanski) may call 'ontological practice' or postcolonial and political sociologists identify as the 'slow violence' of mobility systems (Sheller, 2020, pp.29-30) necessitate a change in perspective on the production and construction of reality. In fact, Sheller's (2020) recent turn to discourses of extractivism in postdisaster contexts generates two different perspectives on the violence of mobility as a universal good. To consolidate this thesis, Foucault would ask us to 'excavate' and so would decolonial theorists from the strongholds of postcolonial and the philosophy of social science. As Bhaskar (2011, p.102) warns us, 'only a discourse in which the explanatory, as well as the critical, condition is satisfied can be intrinsically emancipatory'. To re-adjust Sheller's thesis, a science of 'kinomenology' (Nail, 2019, p.443) does not exist as a uniform field outside the watchful eye of Western scholarship and systemic politicking. Instead, we deal with a series of regionally specific 'kinopolitics' that employ communicative infrastructures and codes to regulate borders within borders (Sheller, 2020, pp.32-36). Sheller debates the invisible aspects of bordering as forms of identity sorting across categories of sex, gender, and race (ibid., p.31). This regulation endorses a slide from the figurative to the material domain, doing material violence. I suggest that we do not use this slide as an innocent epistemological tool. Further down the line, such epistemological decisions will affect the aesthetic and moral outcome of our scholarship. I favour interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary exchange when it is productive and felicitous. So, for example, in the second part of *Being and motion*, Nail (2019) develops a series of 'ideal kinetic

patterns' which have a clear affinity with established histories and methodologies of pilgrimage and sociologies of religion, as well as theories of visual and popular culture.

Respecting context does not equate with endorsing regional ideology – a lesson we learned from Lash and Urry's (1994) analysis of the power that economies of sign and space carry to determine labour and living standards across categories of class, race, and gender. Herein resides the invisible world-shaping force to which I suggest that students of mega-events turn their attention: the affective *refrains* of the hosts and their guests in the era of crises. Unlike Tsing's (2015) use of precarity, the 'labour' to which I refer focuses on affective and figurative ambiguities of the kind residing in mobilities as part-conscious and motivated movements. The production of such ways of 'knowing/affective movement' in institutional contexts (academia), exposes the crypto-political glitch in kinocenic programmatic statements. The geopolitical resonance of such staged mobilities agrees with Derek Gregory's (1995, p.447) argument that a 'cartography of identities 'discloses how geographical imaginaries supplement the Euro-modernist interest in time with an equivalent understanding of spatiality'. But perhaps we should examine the consequences of this cartographic inscription within a multispecies framework that mobilises rhythmical juxtapositions ('contrapuntalism' [Said, 1994, pp.78-79]) to study posthuman contexts of terrorism (Korstanje, 2017), extreme urbanism, and climate crisis (Sheller, 2018).

Critical atmospheric mobilities and the Olympic project

Mega-events have been discussed in academic scholarship as fragments of utopian planning and model privatopias of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries (Gaffney,

2013; Vainer, 2016). The new mobilities paradigm has developed a plural framework of studying such events as manifestations of systemic inequalities, cultures of secrecy and corruption but also urban strain and pro-rights social movements (Salazar, 2016). The mega-event's actors and acted upon subjects and environments to which I pay tribute are so diverse, that invite me to consider the development of a post-postcolonial contrapuntal study of their phenomenal mobilities. This would suggest that I place the local social *and natural/environmental* rhythms against those of Western paradigms of knowledge. I also opt to join these purposeful movements as part of my affective/performative analysis. My 'travel' articulates a full model of mobility-in/and-stasis that draws on traditions of (1) magical realism as a critical manifesto and (2) pointillism as an art of mapping. My journeys are characterised by directionality (I drafted my own map with a starting point and a point of arrival – Ahmed [2010, p.32] would recognise this as part of my practical horizon) and intentionality (my end is to demonstrate how arrivals are not politically or socioculturally neutral zones, but 'interior colonies' [Fuss, 1994] occupied by categorisations of humans on the basis of class, gender, ethnicity and race and non-humans as 'actants' or acted upon objects). Scribano (2021) draws on an even more potent metaphor to debate the ways world capitalism has captured individual and social bodies, completing the 'colonisation of our inner planet'. In short, my journeys are enacted both within and against structures of knowledge to challenge them.

Directionality and intentionality are the rules of pointillist mapmaking. Pointillism was a revolutionary technique in modernist painting, which was pioneered by Georges Seurat and Paul Signac in the mid-1880s Paris. Pointillism emphasised the following:

(1) painting by dots (otherwise known as 'divisionism' or 'chromoluminarism'), (2) using pure colours, (3) meticulous and measured technique in dotting canvas surfaces and (4) rethinking art through the science of optics. At first, pointillism was based on French chemist's Michel Eugene Chevreul's *Principles of harmony and contrast of colours*, which suggested that producing striking tapestries was not due to colour chemistry but appropriate combinations of colours, which complemented each other in subtle ways (Kandinsky, 1977, p.30; Sotherby's, 21 May 2018). The technique influenced Pablo Picasso and Wassily Kandinsky in their early careers. Picasso would go on the produce a poignant optics of European modernity in *Guernica*, which relayed the transmutation of one of the most insidious emotions (*ressentiment*) into a self-destructive revolution (civil war). Picasso cast the language of revolution in artistic styles: visual fragmentation in unity reflected the modality of silent envy, or envy of perceived sociocultural superiority that can transform into (self-) destructive pessimism (Urry, 1978, p.64). Sabu Kohso (2018, pp.8-10), whose work on postgrowth nuclear Japan features prominently in what follows, remarked that such eschatological fatalism in real(ist) apocalyptic contexts, such as that of the Fukushima thermonuclear disaster, has also led to a liberating transcendence of victimhood.

As humanity lives the scenario of a total disaster, in which planetary becoming also features as a possibility after total death, we enter a plane of open possibilities. The binary is embedded in my analysis of atmospheres as contingent formations. Thus, Sarah Ahmed (2010, pp.30-31) stresses that happiness originates in the old English 'hap' or chance, which can be serendipitously related to good or evil opportunities, pleasure, or pain. Death and rebirth are possibilities and opportunities at the end of the

world. In subsequent chapters, I explain that Sabu Kohso's (2018) thesis represents one of the imaginaries of the future currently circulating in Japanese public discourses but also some discourses in other parts of the world. Another 'strong imaginary', which is more favoured in Olympic contexts, combines ceremonies of mourning with *refrains* of solidarity and resilience. We must be mindful that this imaginary (explored in more detail in chapters 2 and 3) is endorsed by native movements and some Japanese creative classes affiliated with Eurocentric visions of hope. In such frameworks, scholarly evaluations of happiness and prosperity may fall prey of one's inculcated normative vision about what is right to support or feel in public. This also applies to what cultural institutions aspire to communicate to their audiences in mega-events, which represents only one aspect of what Hui (2014) calls 'effervescence' as our 'ability to relate' (Hui, 2014, pp.172–173) through a multiplicity of intersecting mobilities of affect and history (Tzanelli, 2017, p.126; Bærenholdt et al., 2004). My critical take on pointillism is in fact an invitation to decolonise our understanding of alternative visions of life and death by not valorising them. In terms of atmospheric residue, such conflicting imaginaries adhere to *ressentiment*, which they are not de facto 'good' or 'evil'.

Let me explain some more: Kandinsky's eventual combination of an interest in atmospheric attunements between painting compositions and what spectators feel about them is important. He used the term '*Stimmung*' (: atmosphere) to discuss the production of feeling through this communion between human subjects and objects of art as the 'essential spirit' of visual art (Kandinsky, 1977, pp.1-5). Despite acknowledging the uncommunicable of this spiritual experience, he would advance pointillism through the study of triangles, which according to his essayist analysis,

move upwards towards an end, akin to Platonic perfection. He envisaged this aesthetic perfection as a 'spiritual revolution' that is progressively more 'godless' (as is the case with Marx's *Capital*, which he cites – Kandinsky, 1977, pp.11-12). However, he also warned that as much as the visionary engineers of modernity ('architects', 'mathematicians' and 'politicians' – ibid.) wish to maintain urban harmony, their project of triangular perfection is enveloped in insecurity and all planning 'may be shaken suddenly by the uncontrollable force of nature' (Kandinsky, 1977, p.12).

Although artistic pointillism excelled at manifesting how aesthetic singularities contribute to understandings of an organic whole, the very practice of joining the dots is more akin to state strategies of mapping difference and demarcating borders. Paramount to the production of spatial intelligibility, the geographic and military logic of mapmaking is based on reducing life to geometrical design (Scott, 1998, pp.54-55). Descartes expressed alone among Enlightenment scholars a ubiquitous aesthetic preference for the production of straight lines and visible order – a habit guiding the God's-eye view we associate with the planner's gaze (Mumford, 1961, p.369). Achieving a synoptic view of a collection of otherwise indecipherable lifeworlds, urban designers could gloss over the spatial irregularities of the real 'dots' (neighbourhoods, houses and woodlands, where bridges would eventually mushroom), while also emulating their pointillist appreciation as miniatures. The technique, which in Tokyo 2020 would develop into a technology of governance, is not that alien to contemporary Japanese contexts of design. Based on ocular reductionism and the principles of photographic captures of reality, it informed Katsumi Masaru's attempt to develop the Tokyo 1964 pictograms (*ekotoba*) in the tradition of Otto Neurath's concept of the

'isotype', a symbolic way of presenting information via easily interpretable icons (Traganou, 2009, p.66). If anything, 'joining the dots' produces images that Japanese enunciators use to develop a universal language, which conforms to externally dictated rules. Pictogramic design was developed at a time the country had to stage an international mega-event but was yet to adopt the principles of International Traffic Signs. Masaru's objective was to communicate Baron de Coubertin's universalist vision in intelligible ways, thus allegedly 'deciphering' the intractable aspects of Japanese culture.

Tokyo's governance can be examined with the help of some atmospheric 'barometers' that cast the ways crisis is perceived in affective terms. A unifying factor in crises such as the ones faced by Tokyo pertains to the human ability to perceive and be moved by events, ultimately moving material worlds and sociocultural values *with them*. For this reason, although I use various media templates to access information, I am not interested in turning this into a media studies and methodologies book. Our souls mirror the world we perceive 'but not the mirror' itself', exclaims Klages (in Griffero, 2014, p.14), so, media images and formats are useful only to the extent they help us project atmospheres. Unlike philosophical understandings of 'atmospheres', I recognise a pragmatic relationship between what those affected by crises perceive and the auratic component of what is perceived. Ivan Illich goes as far as to see an analogy between each person's aura and the non-dimensional properties of a given space, especially an urban space. If a city's aura does not exist (i.e., cannot be perceived), then we deal with a malformation of *ou-topia* as a nowhere with no purpose (Illich, 1985, p. 52). Active urban utopias, even in times of crisis, are formed from shared sensory and political-

aesthetic atmospheres - what Illich (2002) sees in the conspiracies (cum-spiro) or sharing of revolutionary spiritedness in a social group or across social groups. Much like Simmel's (1997b, pp.117-118) belief that the other emerges first as an olfactory phenomenon, a city's material-and-phenomenal presence in the world is radiated in its atmospheric signatures.

Simmel and Illich's theses need interpretation as atmospheric objectivities in the ways groups breathe in and sense the air of crisis – what Ichiro Yamaguchi discusses along the lines of the Japanese *ki* (気) or inhalation (Yamaguchi in Griffero, 2017, p.29). For anyone puzzled by this excursus, I am trying to explain the gap between the poetics and politics of life in the era of COVID-19 mortality and climate change in the Olympic city-host. The Japanese spiritedness of the virus stands miles apart from Beck's 'risk society', but it is only the latter a spectator accesses in the form of *kiki* or risk – a term I develop in subsequent chapters. Ziakas et al. (2021, p.56) note that professional event managers are always asked to make 'judgements' under uncertainty in operating environments 'characterized by multiple situational inputs'. This uncertainty can be exacerbated by the environments in which risks manifest, so a social-constructionist approach is often employed in event analysis. However, social constructionism of this type calls for prior knowledge and personal embodied experiences in the design of safety planning at a regulatory-industrial level (its atmospheric inhalations). For this to work, experts must discard naïve realist or technoscientific styles of judgement and acknowledge that 'cognitive psychology' can address user/audience perceptions but not avert disaster or avoid misreading the host, their cultural worldview, and environments. Hence, we need a sociocultural (Lupton, 2013) and ecopractical approach to risk

perception, with the latter forming part of my experimental journey. Although the sociocultural debate stands at the margins of my analysis, it helps me ground my genealogical analysis of cultural reality constructions. It is my intention to show that, when we look past the necessity of rationalisation, Western anthropocentric imports of 'risk' disrupt local rhythms and strangulate variations of difference. Such disruptions take time to manifest and solidify – which is why I will be working on long time stretches that exceed those of a generation or the spell of an Olympic bid to assess Tokyo 2020's now-time. Here it is helpful to directly quote Lefebvre's pronouncement of the organisational roots of psychological materialism as the cause of rhythmic disruption: 'those institutions of growth, of the population, of exchanges, of work […] (([1992] 2015), p.53).

Transitions from the poetics to the politics of culture in hyper-urbanised contexts generate tension in collective self-presentation (rather than 'media representation'), advocacy and mobility. Lefebvre's 'trialectics' ([1992] 2015, chapter 1) of physical, mental, and social space are in fact renditions of Raymond Williams' (1961, pp.57-70) inscriptions of culture as ideal, documentary, and social. Where the social produces formalised and institutionalised versions of self and/in community, which are enacted in habitual forms in everyday life, the documentary regresses to these aspects of intimate belonging and self-recognition that may survive the slaughter of contemporary hypermobility. Karl Mannheim's ([1936] 1968) documentary method extricates these intimacies from their hearth, turning them into methodological tools. I will have to do such violence to the local matrix of the mega-event host that I use as an example to advance my argument – or we risk never bringing to light the invisible core of what I

call ‘pre-carity’, prioritising instead technical analyses of crisis. Such ‘cultural intimacies’ (Herzfeld, 2005) may crack a shy smile during the staging of an important mega-event; however, more often, they take refuge in unwanted performances of collective and individual ‘selves’ that institutions demonise and exclude from the show. At times, the very same sources of power remember aspects of them, but make sure that they project them in ornamental styles. Such ‘ornamentalism’ does not copy postcolonial analysis on race and class (e.g., Fanon, 1963; Cannadine, 2001), but invites us to think beyond two-warlordist planetary discourses based on religion in cultural and economic development (Spivak, 2012, p.341. The ‘beyond’ will replace postcolonial with posthuman perspectives (Braidotti, 2007) and help me to explore how the aesthetic complexities of Olympic mega-events shape the management of planetary crises.

The structure of the book

Chapter 2 explores Japanese conceptions of space as part of the politics and poetics of cultural placemaking. It interrogates the social sensibilities of Japanese urban identification with established/dominant tropes of cultural mobility and hybridisation as pathways to cosmopolitan flourishing and belonging. Adopting a diachronic approach to Tokyo’s development from a crypto-colonial outpost to a global city, it places to work the ‘travelling sociology’ introduced in chapter 1. Tokyo’s urban growth is characterised by a displacement of discourses of civilisational development to the domain of culture, in which technology is transformed into a technique of glamour or phantasmagoria. This is based on the affective logic of competition or *ressentiment* as a centrifugal Japanese force (away from Chinese heritage) and a centripetal project (towards the creation of a coherent urban identity aligned with Western cultural-

industrial globalisation so as to move up global hierarchies of worth). Japan's cultural centripetalism/centrifugalism is used to further refine mega-event theory as a field of critical atmospheric mobilities.

Chapter 3 develops a critical theory of atmospheres in relation to mega-event organisation. It is argued that culture is increasingly subjected to technocratic rationalisation in event-management contexts. On the one hand, such rationalisation enables the rise of professional assemblages and the translation of place-bound cultural specificities and risks. On the other, the process enforces cultural homogenisation, thus impinging upon the Olympic host's cultural autonomy. In turn, the host reduces the autonomy of native forms of human/social and non-human/natural life and ecology to ensure safe and impeccable mega-event delivery. Tokyo 2020 is used as an example of this process. To this end, chapter 2's genealogical investigation into Tokyo's simultaneous spectacularisation and militarisation is connected to the management styles of the 2020 mega-event by native and global experts explored in chapter 3. Such structural-organisational homogenisation has various implications for the host's recovery from the multiple crises they attempt to keep in check during the mega-event, but also for planetary survival and flourishing.

Chapter 4 is a theoretical introduction into the place of Olympic ceremonies in the mega-event as: (a) embodied and digital meaning-making apparatuses (*dispositifs*) of the city-host and the nation to which the city belongs, but also (b) opportunities for the researcher to examine the cultural and political attitudes of its leading creative classes towards national and global sociocultural problems. Weaving *refrains* of risk into those

of social inequality (gender, sex, able-body-ness, and race/ethnicity), this prelude to ceremonial analysis provides a form of methodological diagnostics that is stylistic in a cultural-sociological manner. Expanding the materialist meaning of 'crisis' to figurative fields, the chapter provides an alternative exploration of ceremony as an affective site, in which the host conflates different domains of human activity (imagination, compassion and art vs surveillance and control), with harmful consequences for human populations and the environment.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to a detailed analysis of the opening ceremony of the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games, as well as some key snapshots from the closing and the entire Antwerp (handover to Paris 2024) ceremony. Considering all three of them (after chapter 4's analytical introduction) as figurative examples of globalisation of the city-host, it further advances the argument that native cultural forms, environments, and landscapes, are 'museumified' in the Olympic mega-event. This museumification achieves a simultaneous denaturalisation of human nature and native environments and a museumification of both in managerial ecologies. The strategy of museumification remains auxiliary of realist risk-management portfolios, in so far as it 'tames' variations of risk and danger at a figurative level. This figurative taming also enables the convergence of digital/cybernetic representations of the city-host, a biopolitical sorting of the entire nation-host's sociocultural diversity and an ossification of ecosystemic/environmental vitalist movements, to advance the objectives late capitalist networks.

Chapter 6 is an analytical prelude to chapter 7, which focuses on contexts of mega-event mobilities, by following two groups that move within the Olympic city. Its aim to announce revisions to the project of critical cosmopolitanism, which is often used in critical mega-event analysis, to accommodate the planetary changes introduced by multiple crises that affect the earth. Drawing on the social-philosophical principles of pragmatism, posthuman decolonial epistemologies and mobilities theory, it departs from organised ideas of climate technics but also their scholarly analyses. It argues that crises affect human and nonhuman behaviour in the mega-event, prompting them to forge action 'on the go'. The emergist styles of such behaviours are studied stylistically and affectively so that a new type of mega-event analysis is produced.

Chapter 7 follows the embodied and affective movements of two different groups in different spaces of the Olympic city of the Tokyo 2020 Games. Both groups act as aggregates of more than one social groups, thus forming ideal types of movement in the Olympic city during any mega-event. The first is termed '*homegenisers*', and includes native, regional, and international protesters against the staging of the mega-event during such a period fraught with risks and crises. The second is termed 'foragers' and includes mobile professionals visiting the city for the mega-event (athletes, journalists, and volunteers). Outlining the differences between their styles of affective and embodied movement, the chapter suggests an alternative study of mega-event mobilities as products of Anthropocenic crises.

The conclusion (**Chapter 8**) inspects the results of the experiment that this study enacted across seven chapters. It elaborates on the futures of 'hybrid' events, which

have lost touch with the deep cultural plots of hybridity, as well as native understandings of space and the world. Mega-event 'hybridity' is criticised for its technocratic grammar that simultaneously stifles human creativity and the free-play of planetarian vitalism. However, by the same token, 'native knowledge' is not exoticized or used as an organisational panacea, but a tool in the process of expositing the ways technocratic regimes of event management suppress diversity (human/cultural and multispecies) from their design of risk-aversion policies.