

The Production of Behavior and Conditions for People to Live in a Town

In the chapter "Commonalities of Architecture," people's behavior was cited as one of the common resources that could be described as the bases of commonality, and public spaces identified as areas of spatial design which develop from this. We have encountered and observed practice of this kind of design throughout the world. We have learned much from the behaviors of people in urban spaces and we will describe some of these behaviors below. Before starting on these individual reports, we will describe the conditions for these behaviors by people, the background to our discussion of these, the framework that encompasses these, and also the possibility of linking these to the design of public space.

What we have focused on is the behaviors of people that characterize a town, the unremunerated, multiple, reiterated behaviors performed by the public at places in the town where others can observe them. These behaviors are neither specific behaviors nor special amusements. They are behaviors performed everyday, in a daily or weekly rhythm, by the people of the neighborhood without being particularly conscious of them. Consequently,

a festival held at an annual rhythm cannot be one of these. A festival belongs to the class of unusual events (festival preparations on the other hand may be usual and included in these behaviors). Above all, these are the autonomous behaviors of people, reiterated and transcending subjectivities. Unlike behaviors performed at a facility (such as at a school, library, or art gallery) created for the purpose, these do not constitute the basic purpose for which the place was created. And this is why they are difficult to understand from within the system of architecture, which is organized around the making of buildings. But this may be precisely why they have continued to exist without incorporating the "biopower" which has expanded particularly in the latter half of the twentieth century.

As described by Michel Foucault, "biopower"—a system that emerged in place of the ruler's "right to kill"—is a system that manages and controls people through structures that enhance their lives. Characteristically, since it enhances lives, it is impervious to criticism and since it is not oppressive, it may not seem like power at all. This new power has proved most radical in the field of health—in that people are alive and the state has a responsibility for their health—but it also penetrates the construction sector. Therefore, standards are provided for social infrastructures and construction, and production systems are managed by specialists and validated by an academic framework and a schema in which the environmentalization of biopower is promoted by a construction industry and is assembled by industry, bureaucracy, and academia. As this schema spreads throughout the entire society it seems likely that people's behaviors will become increasingly disciplined. To divert a little, let us consider the example of the sea-flood protection planned for the sites of the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami. The schema that accompanied this dictates that the height of the new sea defenses was calculated by a decision of the government, mobilizing the science of simulation, on the basis that the state maintains the safety of the people, and the design and construction were granted renewal aid and this in turn will have an economic effect. The problem is not just that that the sea defenses are so high that the sea is no longer visible from the land. This schema is a hybrid of politics, science, engineering, and economics, as described by the sociologist of science Bruno Latour, and other choices are

70 usual events, behaviors

repelled. These choices include the previous way of life of the local residents, in which they organized their lives so that they lived and worked where they could see the ocean, could rapidly detect any hazard, and immediately connect this to evacuation. When the new sea defenses are complete, some of the behaviors previously embedded in that way of life, with that view of the sea, may well not return.

The opinion that safety comes first is to be expected; also the plan has the attraction that investment is made locally. A concerning aspect, however, is that this creates people who, although living on a tsunami-prone ria coastline, do not know how to protect themselves from the risk of a tsunami. And despite the fact that this may well pose a higher probability of a risk in the future.

Thus, the biopower system does not address people's behaviors directly, but in the end, it has the tendency to enclose, and constrain, people's behaviors by piling up several layers of logic for the people's benefit. At the same time, the bonds between people produced by joint ownership of autonomous behaviors, where they think and act for themselves, are broken. This is a degradation of commonality. And when this is so, conversely, the power of mutual aid does not engage during a disaster or other emergency, as has been pointed out for a range of aspects. Another danger that has been described is that individuals with no common ground, who are also divided off from the government and the totality, are picked off and stripped bare by the logic of neoliberalism which, sheltering behind the universality of the market, recognizes no choice other than free competition. A framework used to comprehend behaviors must answer the question of how to address this problem.

Accordingly, we shall try considering people's behavior as something that is produced. If people's behavior is reiterated in transcendence of subjects, this is because there is at least something like a production line. The mode of action of the "biopower" system is that it does not address behaviors but continually addresses society, nature, culture, and the economy, narrowing the permitted range of behaviors, and increasingly remaking them into things where no autonomy can be exerted. This being so, then, conversely, the relationship between society, and nature, culture, and

economics, which produce behaviors, should be examined from the point of view of behaviors, by directly addressing behaviors with autonomy. Within this framework, it should be possible to protect and expand autonomous behavior by the containment of people's behaviors.

Not, of course, that this will be understood from the very beginning. Rather, a framework that gradually draws out the possibilities of behaviors that seem interesting may emerge as these observations continue. The relationship between behaviors and the various elements that constitute this framework will be examined from first principles.

The least dispensable thing for human behavior is the body. A body has size and nobody else can occupy the space occupied by the body. On the other hand, the body has inbuilt physical abilities (skills) not apparent from its appearance. These skills can be learned from others and refined by repetition so that they become part of the body. There has to be a certain space around the body for these skills to be exercised. Therefore, through a general agreement by all those with such skills, places where these skills can be demonstrated are produced in sizes and densities that accord to the types of skill. For example, groups of people assemble early each morning along the promenade of the Bund in Shanghai to take exercise. There are people practicing tai chi as well as ballroom dancing, doing aerobics to music, kite flying, walking backwards, and all the many other ways that people choose to keep fit. Circles of friends chat and clusters of enthusiasts evolve, with the space between these individuals dictated by the particular form of activity. Thus, an interior is formed by a common physical skill, and feelings of belonging to these interiors fill the area. This is an appropriation of the space. Moreover, in that there are no physical enclosures, the behaviors of neighboring clusters resemble the behaviors of boats on the river and the behaviors of cars and bicycles on the road. Thus, a single flat area of the promenade is changed into a lively public space in which multiple intimate spaces are arrayed.

This can be described as resembling children playing in a town: hide-and-seek, baseball on the street, soccer in a square, skateboarding on the steps. The basic skills are immanent in the body, provided there is the necessary minimum of equipment and companions, a large enough area, and a place where safety is assured can always be found. However, towns

were not designed for the playing of sport and the rules have to be modified to some extent to suit the place, but this does not interfere with the children playing and imagining their sporting idols. The example of the Shanghai Bund, however, only shows that with increasing age such play begins to take into account sociality and that it can still be regarded as playing with friends. The more one owns public space through physical skill, and changes it into one's own space, the greater is the pleasure of play.

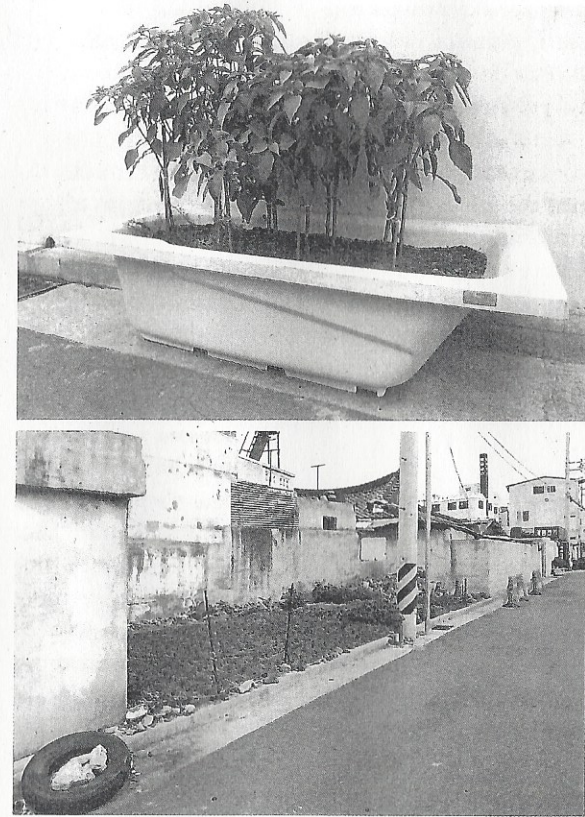
Something else that is indispensable for people's behavior is the behavior of nature. For example, cleaning and other work in which the body is used is a behavior that is reiterated and can be described as a behavior of people into which an element of nature has been introduced. In the older residential areas of Tokyo, where hedges and trees still surround rows of large detached houses, one may observe the figures of those sweeping up fallen leaves. This occurs daily in the autumn and winter when there are many falling leaves. Leaves, which are not seen as litter when they fall on earth, change into rubbish when they fall on asphalt. On occasion, over-enthusiastic people pursue the leaves so far that they finish sweeping them up in front of somebody else's house. This, however, might be unwanted interference in a neighbor's affairs and the person in the house whose front is swept in this way may feel some shame. The anxiety arising from this is caused by the existence of property boundaries. Thus there are: the leaf-sweeping behavior, including the attendant worry; the meteorological behavior that is the change of seasons; the leaves and the wind that are behaviors of nature; the road which makes the leaves look like rubbish; the broom that is the equipment for brushing them up; and the property boundaries, which cause the people anxiety about whether this behavior is some form of boundary infringement. The behaviors of leaf-sweeping are produced when a living and breathing body is placed where these interlink. Conversely, the behaviors of leaf-sweeping interlink elements in different dimensions.

Leaf-sweeping is a finite task that can be completed but the tending of plants and trees is a continuous task in which people engage together producing co-operative behaviors. In the South Korean City of Kwangju, for example, green chilies and sesame plants are grown in every possible place,

not only on small areas of spare ground produced by road alterations and the man-made slopes joining the road and building plots on different levels; green chilies and sesame plants flourish in old water troughs left by the roadside and polystyrene boxes on balconies. These urban farms have in common the food culture of South Korea, the memory of Kwangju's agricultural past, and the background of the crowded buildings of the residential area. Conversely, through this behavior, a relationship is established between specific plants, the sun, seasons, house rebuilding, and, on occasion, sizable pieces of refuse.

Green chilies and sesame plants are elements of nature, but they are cooked or processed to become edible. Cooking and processing combine ingredients available from various sites to make them enjoyable to eat or to give them a longer storage life. This is the culture of everyday life. Let us now consider a behavior that connects music and musical instruments to food and processed products.

As an example, in Dublin one Sunday evening, people drinking in a pub suddenly begin to play music. The pub staff says nothing. The other customers sitting at the same tables with the musicians continue to drink their beer. Mixed with the familiar instruments of violin, flute, recorder, guitar, and accordion is an instrument like small bagpipes (the Uilleann pipes) and what looks like a large tambourine (bodhrán). They perform Irish folk songs with great accomplishment. Noticing that during their performance they ask each other if they know a particular tune, we suppose that they do not all belong to the same band. Their performing skills have been polished by constant repetition so that they sound both accomplished and agreeable. This is the regular Sunday "session" at this pub, music making by customers for the pleasure of it, unscheduled by any management. Accordingly, no payment is made either for the performance or for the use of the pub. A behavior, the session, is produced in which Irish folk songs, a cultural resource built up through the history of the region, is the platform, and beer the lubricant, and multiple subjects participate in a demonstration of the skill of musical performance. This also demonstrates the general welcome offered by the pub (the public house), a place where performers, non-performers, and tourists could all be together. It was clear from the confident,



Kwangju, South Korea: green chilies and sesame plants grow in every possible place.

cheerful expressions of those performing in the pub that for the people living in this area, the session was undoubtedly a part of their cultural identity. The music is close to the people, their common property, and autonomous. It was obvious that this manifests as a commonality, which strengthens the bonds joining the people. Unlike the other examples, this session was not observed in an external space, but despite the fact that it was an extension of the eating and drinking that is the function of the pub, it is a behavior that links to a socially and culturally deeper stratum, and thus is described as an example performed in a public place.

In comparison with this, it is astonishing how intensely the musical environment that surrounds us has been industrialized. If we wish to choose music to listen to, we buy it; if we want to sing, then we pay for karaoke. We have a huge range of choices but usually nobody near us knows which songs we like to hear or sing. In an industrialized musical environment, pieces of music manifest as things that separate individuals and the relationship is passive and highly dependent on the commercial system. Perhaps, like the people of Vietnam during their resistance to the attacks of the USA, at the critical moment, a song may yet emerge from deep within us.

Vehicles and buildings, and other structures, are essential for a grasp of people's behaviors in towns. We could also discuss the complex of the behaviors of nature and the weather and people's behaviors here, but will leave this to a later section and instead present a summary of our claims. That is, people's behaviors are produced. There is something like a production line for specific behaviors in the town and the repetition of behaviors transcending differences in subjects is established through the relationship of this with living and breathing bodies. This production line is composed of the reciprocal relationships between the behaviors of climate and nature, things such as tools and vehicles, cultural skills such as sports, music, and cuisine, and the social infrastructure, and buildings, and so on, where these are located. Conversely, behaviors link things belonging to different dimensions. Therefore, by addressing the behaviors that characterize the town, one should be able to comprehend these reciprocal relationships in terms of behaviors. Finding the mutual relationships of things is linked with

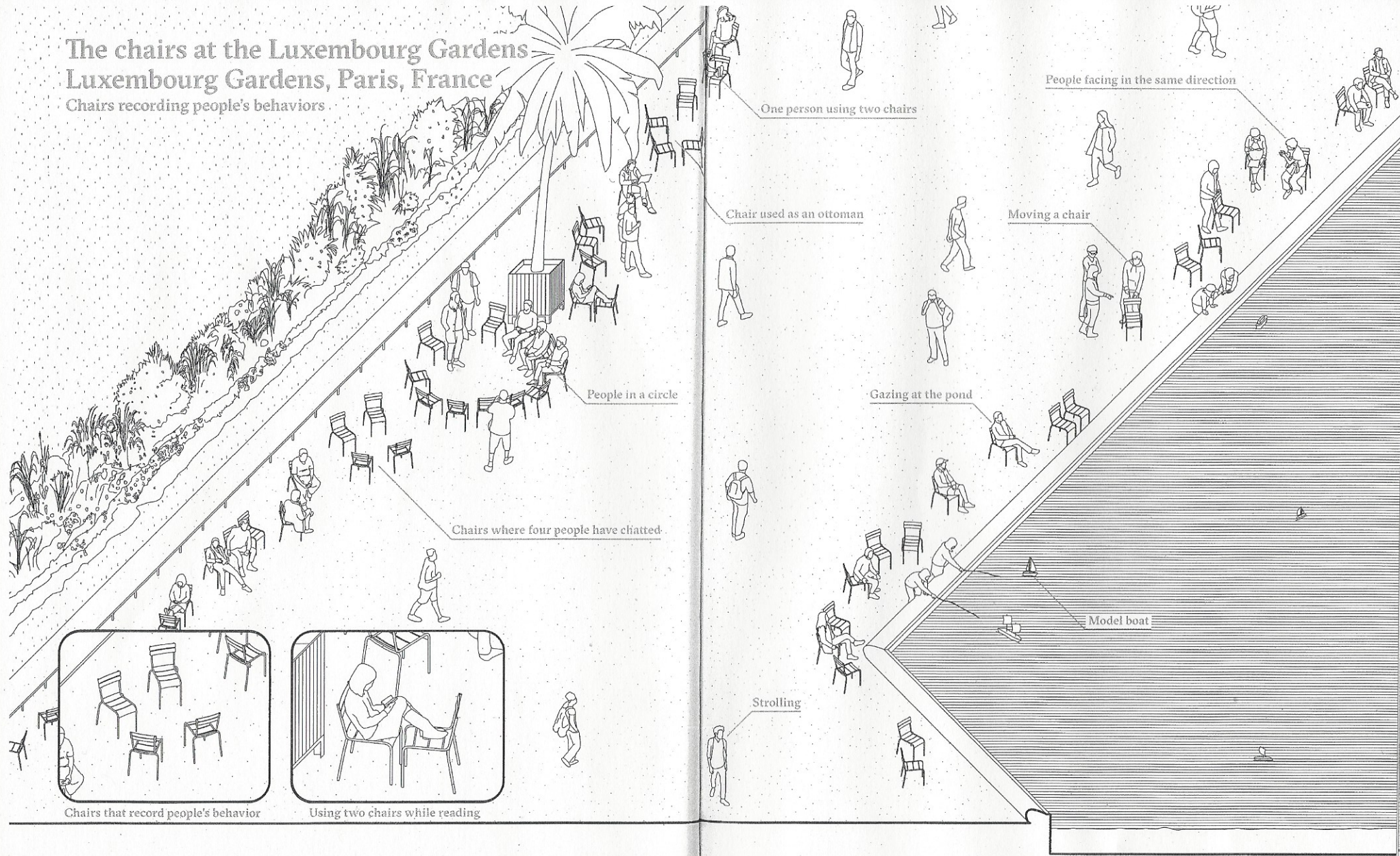
the unpicking of the relationships between nature, society, culture, and environment, the conditions under which people live in towns.

It can be said that the places where typical behaviors are produced spontaneously from these reciprocal relationships and the people who perform them are also characterized by the production of these behaviors. The reciprocal dependency of place and behaviors is sometimes termed "place identity." We find in these reciprocal relationships of things linked together by behaviors the opportunity to direct architectural design not toward "a totality as the sum of quantifiable individuals" but toward "a totality as a bundle of relationships between things." The reconstruction of this latter totality is of the greatest importance; its loss is linked to the current fragmentation of daily life, particularly in urban areas. This fragmentation is being accelerated by the endemic industrialization that surrounds daily life, from clothing, food, and housing to music. Architecture has also played a significant part in this. The rhetoric that claims that a widening of choice means an increase in free will is widely believed. Attention to people's behavior relativizes this rhetoric and liberates the possibilities of co-ownership and commonality from the distant corner into which they have been driven. Thus, to think in terms of behavior is an effective means of shifting the emphasis of architectural practice from "individuality" to "commonality."

However, architectural design cannot be directly in contact with behavior. This is because behavior is within the people's domain. What can be done is to intervene in the production line of behaviors, as described above, to understand the reciprocal relationships between things and continue this review so that it is linked with a more certain reconstruction of the totality. Based on this premise, when importance is placed on commonality, the design of public space and the provision of physical facilities, with society's agreement, will take a direction which is rich in the reciprocal relationships of things and in which the autonomous behaviors of people are consistently repeatable.

The chairs at the Luxembourg Gardens Luxembourg Gardens, Paris, France

Chairs recording people's behaviors



One person using two chairs

People facing in the same direction

Chair used as an ottoman

Moving a chair

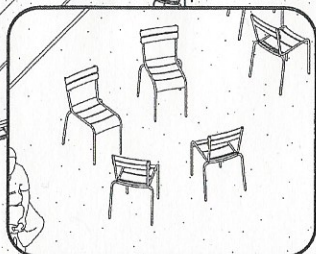
People in a circle

Gazing at the pond

Chairs where four people have chatted

Model boat

Strolling



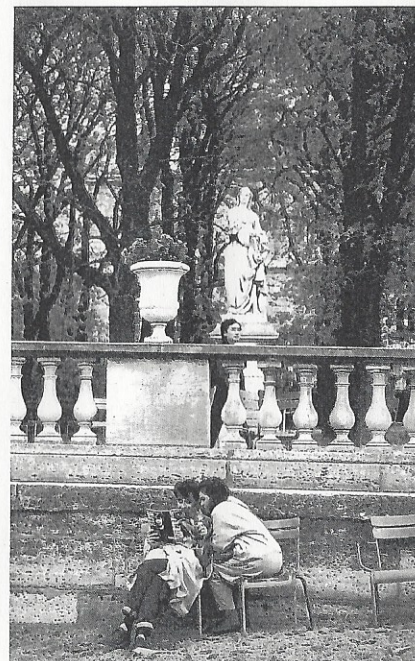
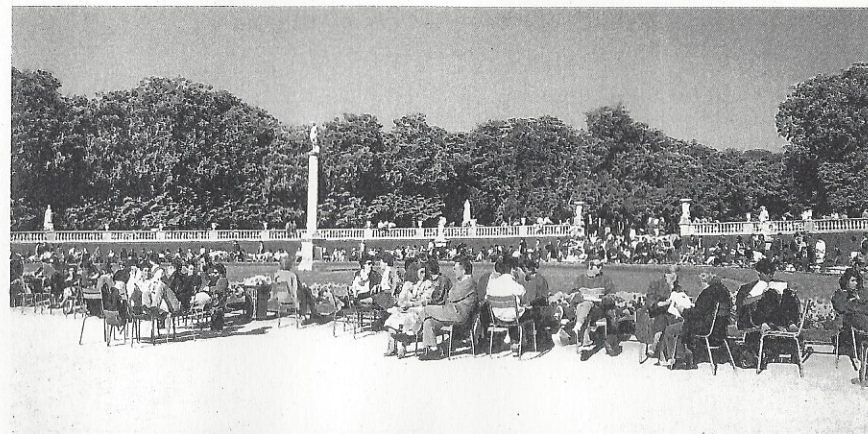
Chairs that record people's behavior



Using two chairs while reading

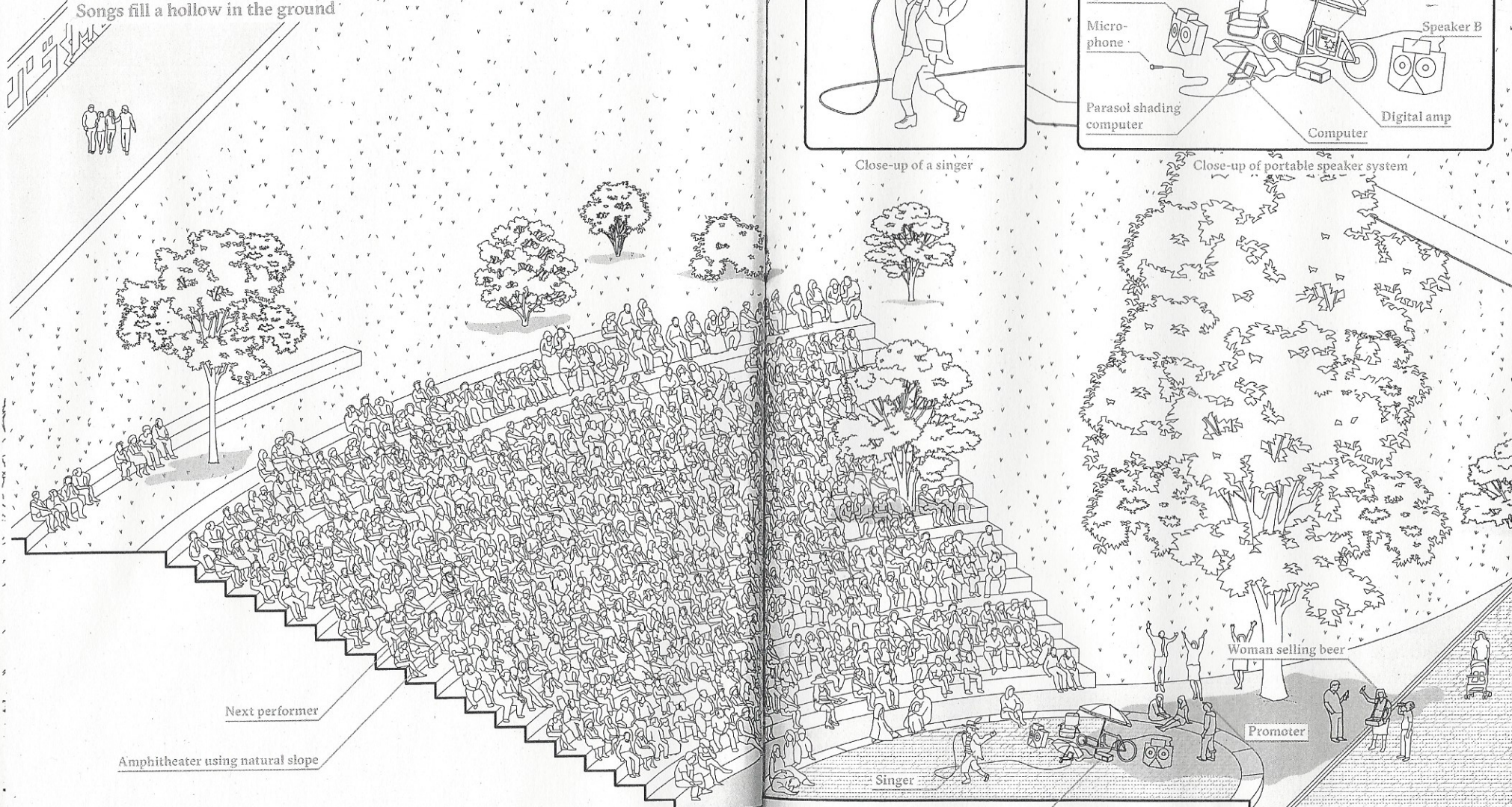
There is a host of iron chairs, painted deep green, placed in the Luxembourg Gardens in Paris. They are just light enough for an adult to pick up with one hand and can be taken anywhere in the Gardens and used as the person wishes. One person has parked a chair near a pond and is enjoying a tanning session both from direct sunlight and from the light reflected from the water. Another has arranged two chairs so that they face each other, has stretched out his legs as if on an ottoman and is snoozing. Another person has taken a chair to the foot of a tree and is reading in the shade. Yet others are sitting in a circle and chatting. There are many behaviors in the Gardens and most of them are produced by the use of the chairs in the Garden environment. The behaviors produced by the chairs are not only those of their living and breathing occupants. The forms of three people chatting seem to hover over the three empty chairs facing each other. This behavior is side by side with the behavior of the living. Since the chairs are not fixed, we were concerned that some characters might take them home with them, but, apparently, they are not taken out of the Garden. People know how these chairs should be treated and share common standards regarding them, and taking them away would be regarded harshly as something that would wound the Parisian's pride. In that sense, too, this is a wonderful invention. These chairs were introduced by the Paris Parks Department in 1923 and are to be found also in the Palais-Royal.

Chairs arranged exactly as people want them. →
Chairs recording people's behaviors.



"Bearpit Karaoke Show" in Mauerpark Mauerpark, Berlin, Germany

Songs fill a hollow in the ground



Next performer

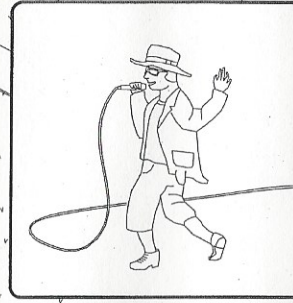
Amphitheater using natural slope

Singer

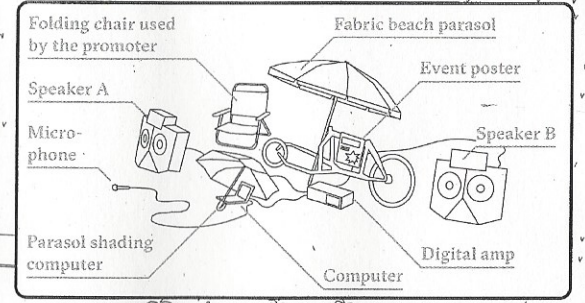
Portable speaker system

Woman selling beer

Promoter



Close-up of a singer



Close-up of portable speaker system

One weekend in Berlin, having heard there was a flea market, we set out for Mauerpark. In a large field scattered with trees there were rows of simple wooden stalls selling old clothes, old records, old furniture, and the like. Passing by these, we came out into a wide field. Here were many Turkish people gathered into extended family groups and enjoying barbecues. There was an amphitheater, using the topography of the slope up to a sports stadium to the east, with a full audience. There was a single singer on the stage and a man behind operating a small machine. When the song finished, this man took the microphone and called somebody's name. Someone in the audience put up their hand and came down to take the singer's place. Different music started and another song began. It was clear that this was an amateur karaoke concert. What was impressive was the audience's warm reception. Even when the singer was not very good they were encouraged with applause, and good singers were cheered. The audience enjoyed not only the singers' talent and their outfits, but also the character of singer, the selection of songs and the fact that they were rocking the place together. As the amphitheater faced west, the sun reached in until the end of the concert.

From what we heard, the karaoke concerts, which began in 2009, have become an established free event from 3 p.m. each Sunday. The organizer is Joe Hatchiban, from Dublin, and people who want to sing book ahead on the internet. Joe prepares the day's songs on a computer and, on the day, arrives at the park on a bicycle adapted to be a sound system. At first, he sings himself and then he calls the names of those who have booked and then plays the karaoke backing. His intention is to produce a venue where people gather who would usually be in completely different social positions. Occasionally, middle-aged women selling beer appear to serve the audience, which may be more than a thousand people. Recently, Coca-Cola has become a sponsor.

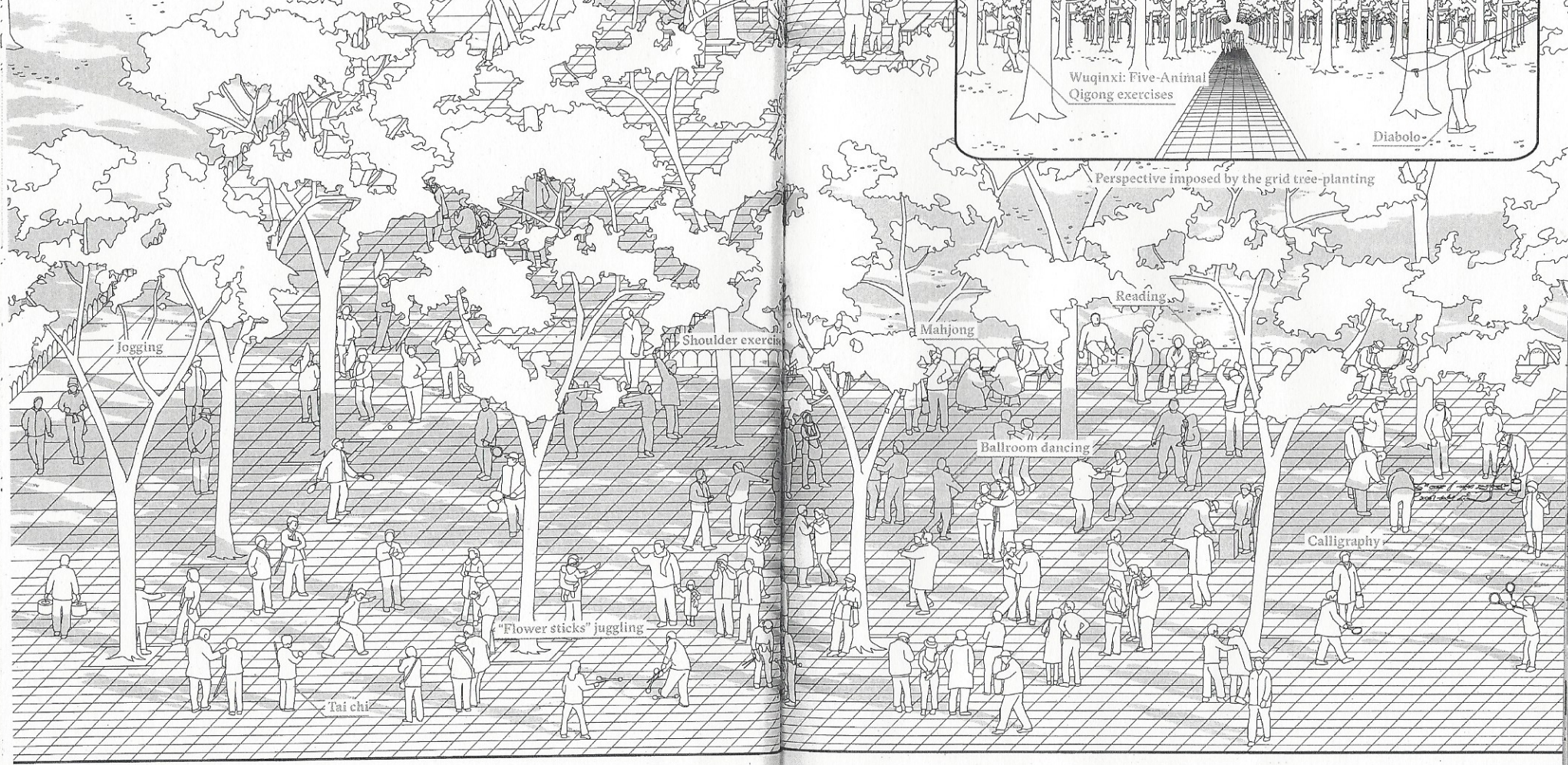
Mauerpark, a park and other facilities created from the no-man's land on each side of the Berlin Wall after its fall in 1989, also has the special feature of having an exhibition where it is possible to learn the many tales about the Wall at the very place these tales were created.



The audience fill the amphitheater. People who have booked to sing go down to the stage when their name is called.

Morning at the Temple of Heaven, in front of the Eastern Gate Temple of Heaven, Beijing, China

Possession of space by various personal exercises



Wuqinx: Five-Animal
Qigong exercises

Diabolo

Perspective imposed by the grid tree-planting

jogging

Tai chi

"Flower sticks" juggling

Shoulder exercises

Mahjong

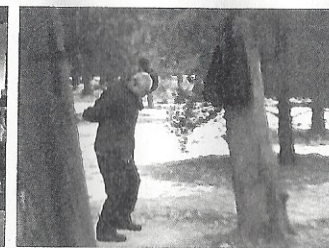
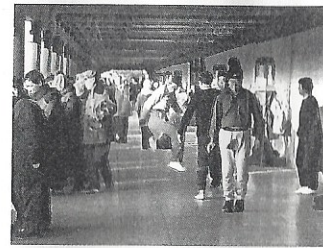
Reading

Ballroom dancing

Calligraphy

Beijing, the Temple of Heaven Park, 6 a.m. From various places in the pitch-dark park come strange calls of "Ho-ho!" There are people walking backwards round the stone pavement of the platform that forms the central axis of the park. At the facing South Gate, someone is walking backwards up and down the surrounding slope and another is pressing the pressure points of his shoulders against the head of one of the large nails in the door. As our eyes become accustomed to the dusk and the sky lightens, we find ourselves in the midst of an extensive forest. The park is planted with oaks and other trees in a grid pattern at intervals of six or seven meters and this opens up forwards, sideways, and at oblique perspectives. A slowly moving figure becomes visible a hundred meters ahead; a person passes straight by walking backwards. Everywhere there are glimpses of people in the shade of the trees carrying out their own favorite type of exercise. We knew that the slow movements are a part of tai chi but everything else we see is new to us. One person presses the pressure points of his back against the knots of an old tree, another slides her fingers up the trunk of a tree and rubs her entire palms down it again. There is a group exercising while reciting sutras, people playing something like battledore and shuttlecock, another operates a humming spinning top with a cord attached to a stick, another flies a kite, another flourishes a whip, there is a group street dancing, another person practices styles of swordplay, young women do aerobic exercises to pop music. In the Long Corridor, a group hurls weighted spinning tops high into the air, another group sits on the verandah to play cards, a choir sings. Some people use large brushes to write out poems in water on the stone pavement. All have discovered and are carrying out their own personal fitness regimes.

This imposing garden, created in the late fifteenth century for the Ming and Qing emperors to pray for good harvests is now busy every morning, mainly with middle-aged and older men and women. Since dying trees are replaced with new ones, young saplings less than ten years old stand next to ancient trees with a history of three centuries. The grid of trees creates a large volume of transparent "rooms" without walls in the park. This scene, in which a vast range of people's behaviors coincides and overlaps, resembles a picture scroll. It is said, that, in the background to this rich fitness culture are health-promotion policies, including the simplification of tai chi by the



top left:
An accomplished performer almost balletically keeps a shuttlecock in the air.

top right:
Tai chi practice between the trees

middle left:
Calligraphy with water

middle right:
Tai chi at the Long Corridor

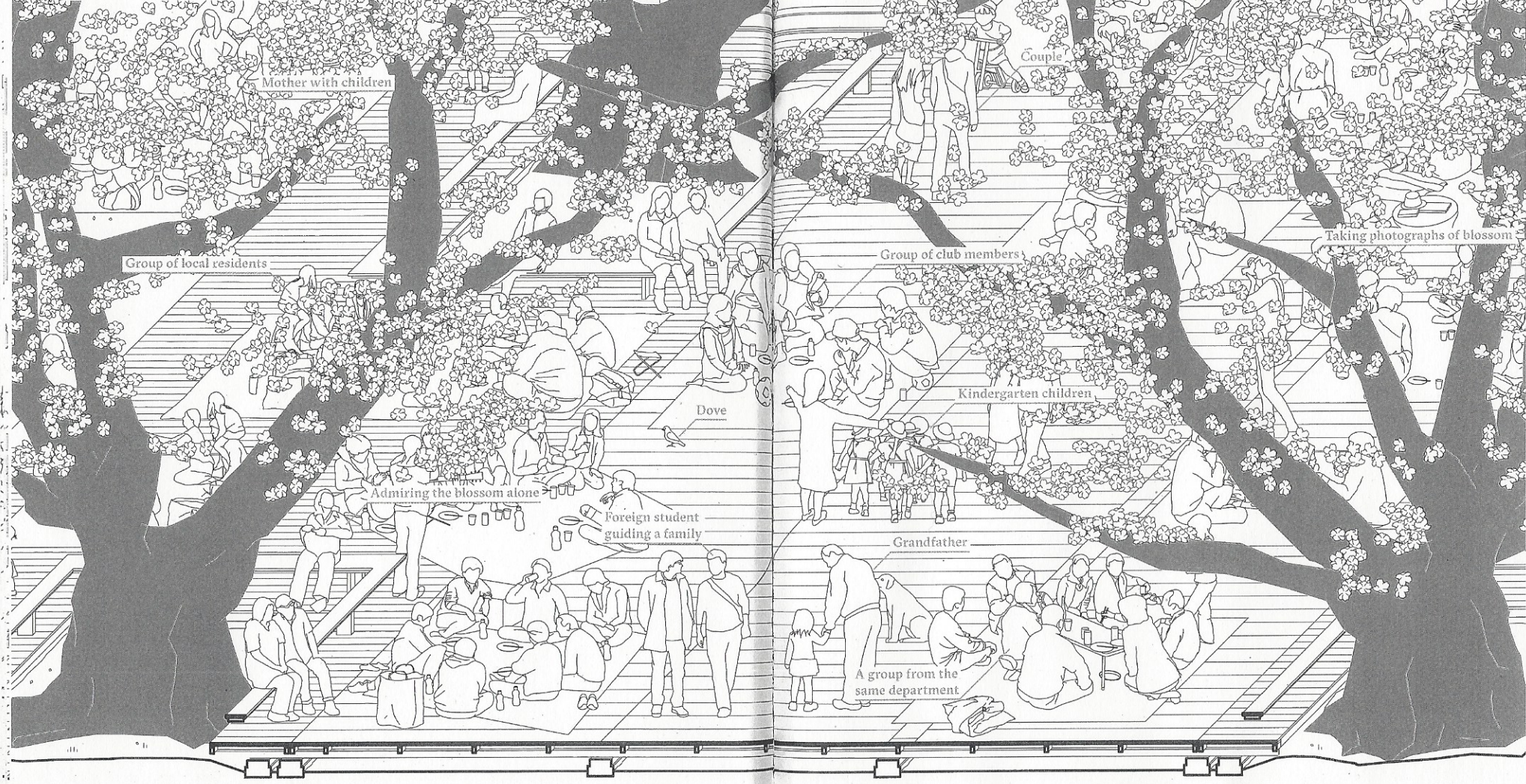
bottom left:
Tai chi Swords

bottom right:
Tai chi softball; a combination of badminton and taichi

government in the 1950s, but there is little sign of a bond between these people and the state. To master one's own technique is a fine thing. If, however, social customs change with the astonishing economic growth and the society becomes one where the environment is controlled, it may be that people's habits will be constrained as they adapt to this environment. As generations change, will the Chinese people be able to maintain bodies that produce such spatial performances?

Cherry-blossom viewing at the Tokyo Institute of Technology, Tokyo, Japan

People's behavior synchronized with the blossom



Mother with children

Group of local residents

Admiring the blossom alone

Foreign student guiding a family

Dove

Couple

Group of club members

Kindergarten children

Taking photographs of blossom

Grandfather

A group from the same department

Cherry-blossom viewing is a very interesting behavior when considering commonality. The flowering of cherry trees every spring is a blessing of nature. In the sense that it is a gift from nature, which everyone can accept, it is a common resource. Sensing the arrival of spring in the behavior of the annual cycle of cherry, the Japanese people have developed a behavior to celebrate this.

First, timing is more important than anything else for flower viewing. The alfresco meal that is so enjoyable while the cherry is in flower would seem fatuous if held before the blossom opens or after it has fallen. This kind of banquet does not require any special preparations: it is only done under a canopy of cherry blossom what normally would be done in a regular building. Indeed, in the case of Kanazawa's Kenrokuen Garden, the accepted practice is to stroll through the park to appreciate the blossoms before moving on to a restaurant, and there is little feasting under the trees. In Ueno Park in Tokyo, by contrast, karaoke is permitted. There is also a special way of carrying out the tea ceremony during blossom viewing. Thus, there are differences in flower-viewing behaviors according to community and place. But if anyone deviates from the way of doing things in a certain place, they are regarded coldly by others there and it also spoils the others' viewing. In this sense, flower viewing is based on a balance that is easily disturbed. Another important feature, therefore, is the sociality that is produced here. In a farming village, the generation of sociality to the rhythm of nature can be observed through agricultural work, whereas in an urban area overflowing with things, there is only the relatively recent custom of blossom viewing that might establish this.

There is of course cherry blossom in many other countries. The fact that the same things do not occur elsewhere as in Japan is because the people have not adopted the behavior. The Japanese have known this way of behaving in rhythm with the cherry blossom since the earliest times. So when the cherry blossom season arrives, without needing telling, they troop out of their houses to enjoy the blossom, eat picnics beneath it, and drink sake. An inherent behavior of the people is drawn out of them by the cherry blossoms' opening. And the pleasure of this behavior supported from within the people has continued since the Great Tea Ceremony of Kitano in 1587.

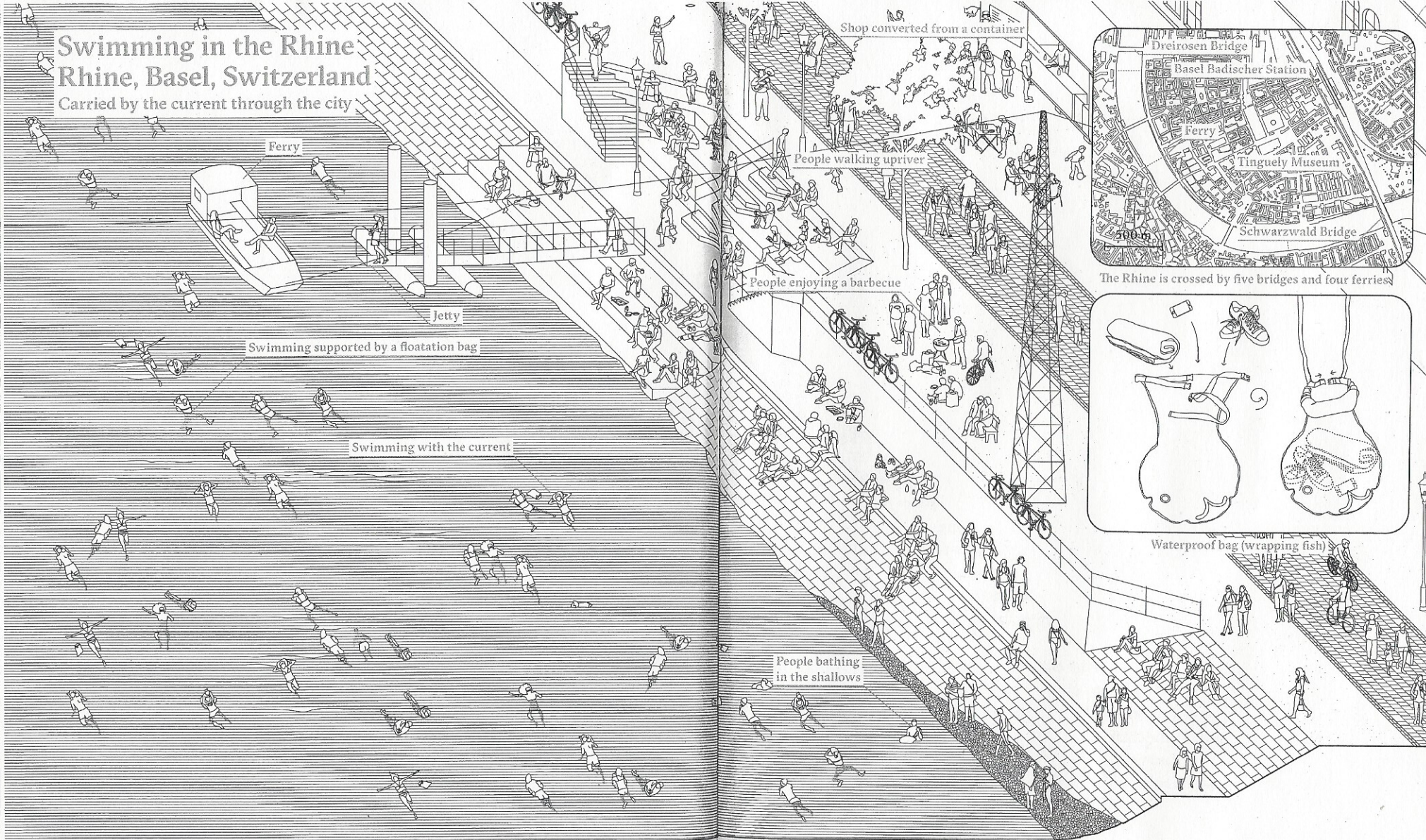


People holding outdoor parties as the cherry trees blossom.

By adapting to the timing of the blossoming of the cherry, the people have time in common, producing sociality, and the character of the place is also maintained through the commonality of individual behaviors. It is possible to see the coming about of a public place that produces a hybrid of nature and society. This is the core of the commonality of flower viewing.

Swimming in the Rhine Rhine, Basel, Switzerland

Carried by the current through the city



Ferry

Jetty

Swimming supported by a floatation bag

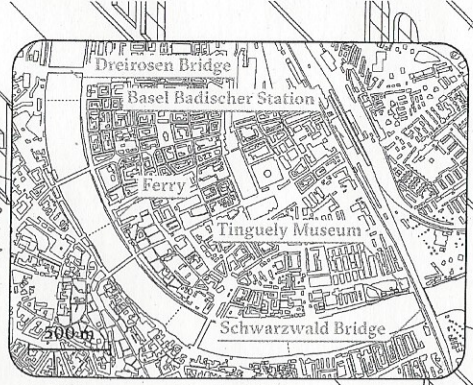
Swimming with the current

Shop converted from a container

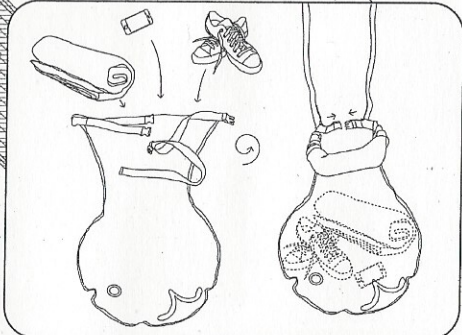
People walking upriver

People enjoying a barbecue

People bathing in the shallows



The Rhine is crossed by five bridges and four ferries



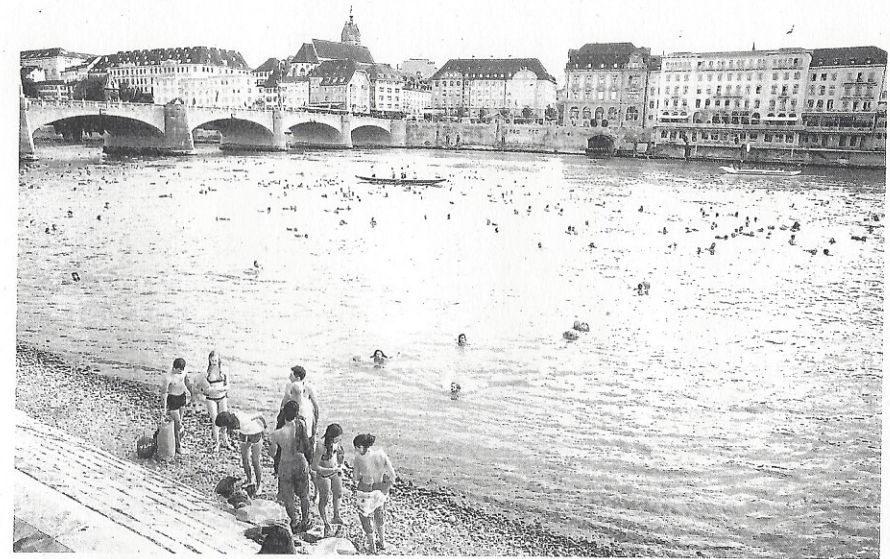
Waterproof bag (wrapping fish)

The city of Basel, built in a gentle curve of the Rhine, is divided into Grossbasel, the old town and administrative and commercial center on the south bank, and Kleinbasel, the industrial area on the north (or right) bank. There are five bridges over the river and these take the main part of the traffic but four small ferryboats connect the banks as well. These ferries have operated for many years and the way in which they operate, with the boat connected to the banks of the river by a cable and moved only by reaction to the current, is interesting.

In the summer, people swim in the river. Moreover, rather than swimming in one place, they swim the long distance past several bridges and ferry cables, letting the current take them under three bridges from the Schwarzwaldbrücke to the Dreirosenbrücke. That is 1.8 kilometers in about fifteen minutes. Other people can be seen walking toward the river to enjoy it in a different way. They are carrying a *Wickelfisch* (wrapping fish) and a *Strandkabine* (beach cabin). The *Wickelfisch* is a waterproof bag in which one can place clothes, shoes, and towel. It is made of seven layers of waterproof material and acts as a flotation aid. The *Strandkabine* is a kind of bath towel, shaped like a poncho, with holes for the head and arms. Wearing this, one can change clothes anywhere. A large number of people do this on hot weekends, of course, and on weekdays in summer, some business people pack a *Wickelfische* so that they can refresh themselves with a swim before returning to work. There is also an annual swimming meeting.

In the afternoon, the sun shines on the northeast and most people gather on the right bank. In the evening, people bring beer and barbecues to eat alfresco. There are permanent barbecues on the banks of the river and *Buvettes* (small bars), which look like shipping containers and sell drinks and food.

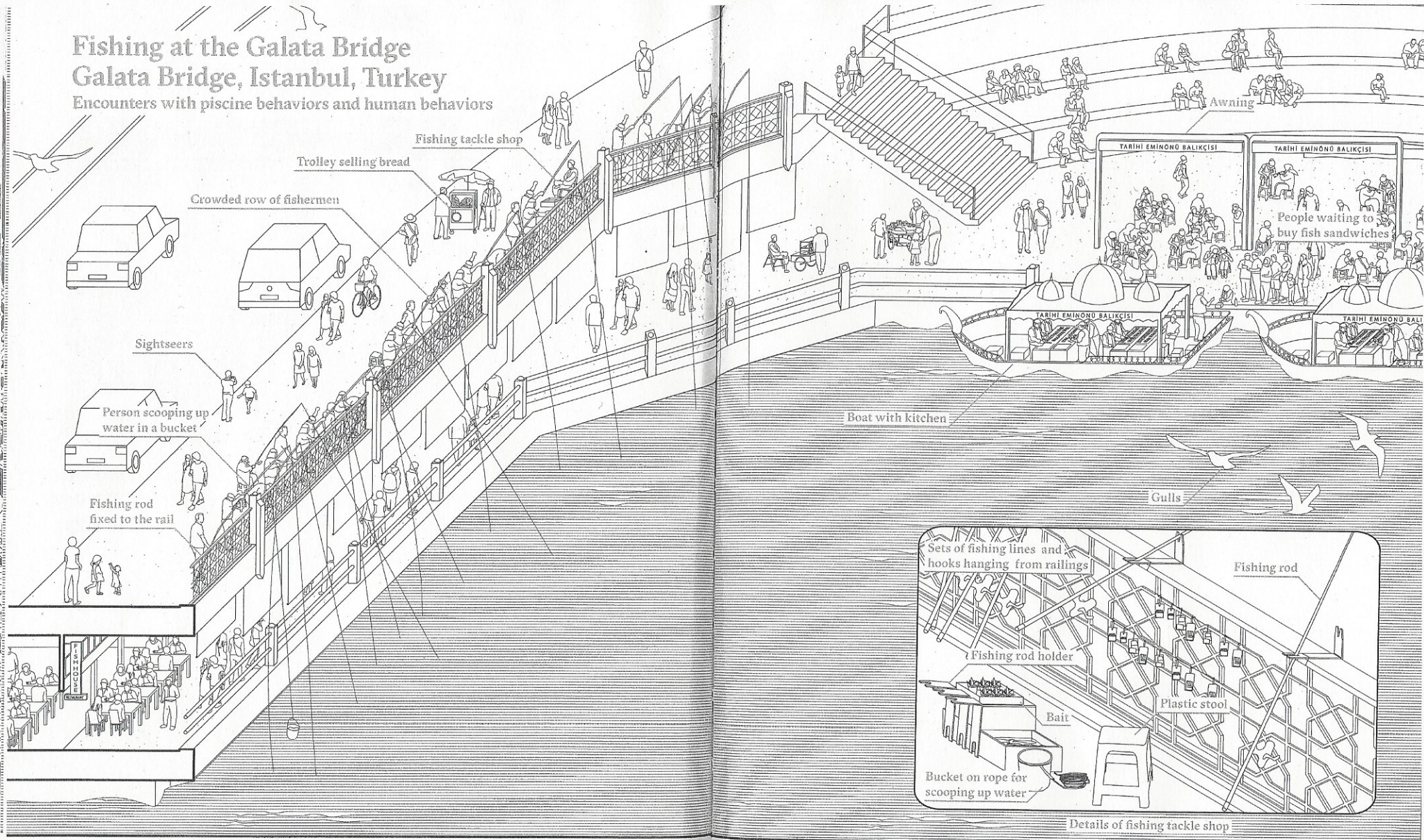
In 1986, when water pollution from the chemical industry and sewage outflows was still significant, a large fire in a chemical warehouse caused serious pollution, with major fish mortality, for a hundred kilometers downstream. At a press conference, the chemical industry tried to justify itself but some Basel citizens invaded the stage and threw dead eels at the executives. After this lesson, there was a major effort to clean up the river at Basel and there have been an increasing number of swimming events in recent years.



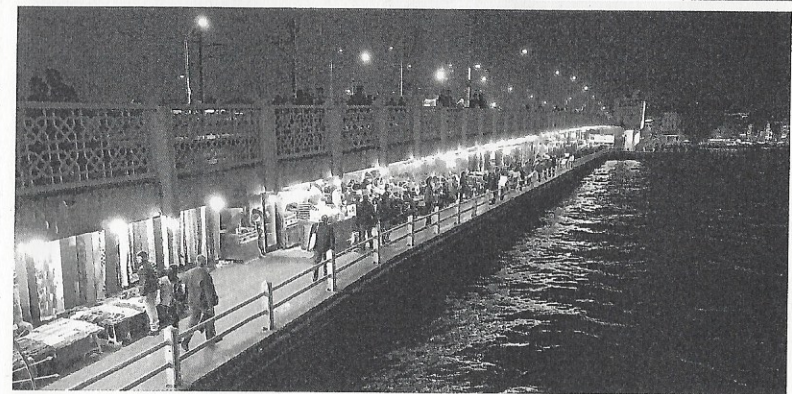
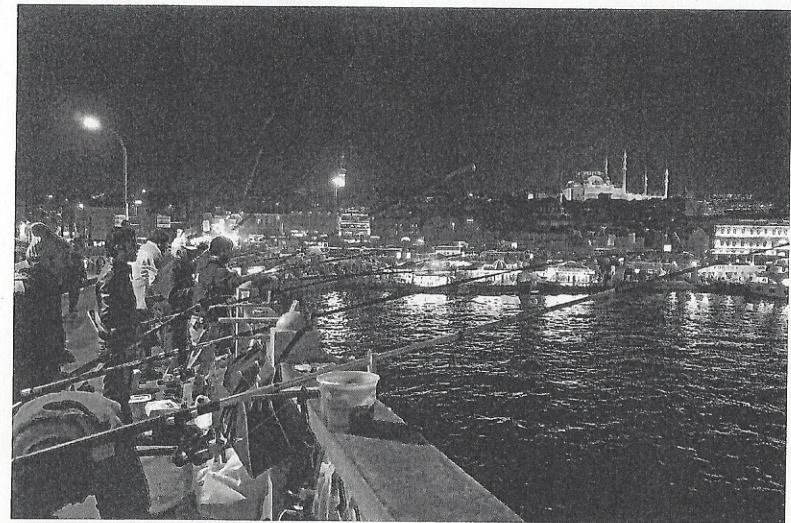
Entering the river from the shallows near a bridge and floating down with the current

Fishing at the Galata Bridge Galata Bridge, Istanbul, Turkey

Encounters with piscine behaviors and human behaviors



The double-decker Galata Bridge spans the Golden Horn in Istanbul. The upper deck carries cars and trams and the lower deck is a restaurant street. Since it is an important place linking the old city and the new city, the motor vehicle traffic on the upper deck is considerable. The first surprising aspect is a considerable number of anglers on the upper deck sidewalk. There are even people selling fishing equipment in this crowded line. Almost all the anglers are men and a glance at the small buckets at their feet reveals a catch including sea bass, sardines, and horse mackerel. The rods are fixed into clamps so that the anglers do not have to hold them for a long time and the parapet of the bridge is used as a cutting board for the fish and as a tie support for their various bags. There are apparently some anglers there all day and night and on Saturday evenings and other popular times there may be up to 400 people enjoying fishing at one-meter intervals along both sides of the bridge. Itinerant sellers gather to target these anglers. Tea sellers and mussel sellers enliven the scene with their cries of "çay, ochacha" and "moulemoulemouleme-oo, moulemoulemouleme-oo." In a square near the other side of the bridge, against the background of the Yeni Mosque and the Egyptian Bazaar, there is a large number of sellers of mackerel sandwiches working out of restaurant boats moored to the dockside. The boats have kitchens fitted neatly in them and customers take their sandwiches straight from the shore. Originally, these mackerel sandwiches were a famous dish sold from fishing boats that brought freshly caught fish from the Golden Horn, cooked by fishermen on the dockside, and sold by them in sandwiches. In recent years, however, these boats have been banished out of a desire to protect the beauty of Istanbul as part of Turkey's efforts to join the EU, and now only three boats are permitted to engage in this business. A somewhat complex behavior is produced from the rich fishing ground of the Golden Horn, a bridge that is a node of communication between Europe and Asia, fishing skill, and a fish-loving food culture.



top: Beyond the fishing rods the fish sandwich boats and farther away the Yeni Mosque

bottom: A row of restaurants on the lower bridge